Histories of the Red Cross Movement: Continuity & Change

FLINDERS UNIVERSITY • ADELAIDE • AUSTRALIA • 9-11 SEPTEMBER 2016

THANK YOU TO OUR MAJOR SPONSORS

redcrosshistoryconference.com.au
All images from Melanie Oppenheimer's book, The Power of Humanity 100 Years of Australian Red Cross, Harper Collins, 2014
Youth
The Foundation for the Future —

Junior Red Cross
for Service to Others.
Australian Red Cross Society.
We acknowledge this land that we meet on today is the traditional lands for Kaurna people and that we respect their spiritual relationship with their country. We also acknowledge the Kaurna people as the custodians of the Adelaide region and that their cultural and heritage beliefs are still as important to the living Kaurna people today. We also pay respects to the cultural authority of Aboriginal people visiting/attending from other areas of South Australia/Australia present here.
This conference has been over two and a half years in the making. It has its origins in a chance meeting at a First World War conference held in Singapore in early 2014 where we discovered our mutual and passionate interest in Red Cross history. We decided the time was right to host an international Red Cross history conference at Flinders University. We then invited two colleagues, Christine Winter and James Crossland, who also have an interest in the Red Cross to join us as conference convenors.

Since the 1990s when the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) opened up their archives, there has been an increasing number of historians making the journey to Geneva to research aspects of Red Cross history. National societies, too, have been ordering and preserving their records which has facilitated public access to a range of archives and memorabilia, thus stimulating interest in this oldest and most complex global humanitarian organisation.

With its origins in the mid-nineteenth century, the Red Cross Movement includes the ICRC, originally formed in Geneva in 1863, the IFRC created in 1919, as well as the 190 National Red Cross and Red Crescent societies.

The conference, with its open call for papers, is the first of its kind to be held in Australia and indeed in the world. It acknowledges the growing numbers of historians, especially early career and post-graduate students, museum curators and archivists working in the field on a range of historical ideas and contexts across time and place. We are thrilled to welcome over 50 speakers or ‘kindred spirits’ from round the world with papers and presentations that focus on an historical feature of the Red Cross Movement and its humanitarianism over time.

From the beginning, we have been supported by IFRC archivist, Grant Mitchell. He embraced the idea and has helped with selecting the films for the Red Cross at the Movies night on Saturday 10 September. We are also facilitating an Archives meeting on Monday 12 September where Red Cross archivists from around the world as well as some conference participants will be attending.

We would like to thank all the volunteers especially our sub-committee members, and our sponsors for making the event possible. Last, but not least, we acknowledge our speakers for making it ‘down under’ and to Adelaide, South Australia.

Melanie Oppenheimer
FLINDERS UNIVERSITY

Neville Wylie
UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM
# PROGRAMME

**Friday 9 September**

Flinders City Campus, Level 1, 182 Victoria Square, Adelaide  
Registration: Open 12:30pm to 2.00 pm, Level 1, Victoria Square

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session 1</th>
<th>Session 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 2:00pm     | Early Origins of the Red Cross Movement  
Chair: Andrew Webster  
The Americans Lead the Way?  
Re-evaluating the influence of humanitarian action during the American Civil War on the Red Cross movement  
*James Crossland*  
Red Cross and civil war in Spain during the 1870s: the humanitarian ethos of the British ‘neutral volunteer’ John Furley  
*Jon Arrizabalaga*  
The Impact of Religion in International Help – The Red Cross Movement and the Ottoman Empire, 1867-1913  
*Julia Marzoner* | Contemporary Humanitarianism  
Chair: Natalie Wells  
Evolution of the Principles and Rules for Red Cross and Red Crescent Humanitarian Assistance (P&R)  
*Hiroshi Higashiura*  
The humanitarian initiative to ban nuclear weapons  
*Richard Slade*  
Auxiliary status and Australian Red Cross  
*Petra Ball* |
| 3:30pm     | Free time: An opportunity to view the Australian Red Cross Tracing Display, building foyer; take refreshments in the café |                                                                                             |
| 4:30pm     | Registration for Keynote Address                                             |                                                                                             |
| 4:45pm     | Plenary 1 hosted by Australian Red Cross and Flinders University Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research) |                                                                                             |
| 5:00pm     | PLENARY 1 - Is the ICRC a humanitarian or human rights organisation?  
Chair: Rob Saint  
*Professor Michael Barnett*  
University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science at The George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs |                                                                                             |
| 6:00pm     | Reception                                                                  |                                                                                             |
| 7:00pm     | Close                                                                      |                                                                                             |
# Programme

**Saturday 10 September**

Flinders City Bedford Park Campus, Sturt Road, Bedford Park  
North Lecture Theatres 1 & 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Theatre 1</th>
<th>Theatre 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 9:00am  | Museums & Red Cross  
Chair: Grant Mitchell  
The tangible Red Cross heritage in the German Red Cross Museums  
*Rainer Schlösser*  
Badges, boxes and brassards: Red Cross items in the Australia War Memorial collection  
*Kerry Neale*  
‘Fine artistic buttons to cater for every taste’ – South Australian Red Cross fundraising badges of the First World War  
*Corinne Ball* | Historicising responses of National Societies  
Chair: Neville Wylie  
The Dutch Red Cross, 1940-1945 and the Dutch East Indies Red Cross, 1942-1949: a comparison  
*Leo van Bergen*  
The British Red Cross still exists: negotiating with NHS and post-war Britain  
*Rosemary Wall*  
Feed the hungry – no matter what? The Norwegian Red Cross and Biafra 1967-70  
*Eldrid Mageli* |
| 10:30am | Morning tea                                                               |                                                                           |
| 11:00am | Australian Red Cross Tracing Service: Past & Present  
Chair: Jennifer Lawless  
Searching for Searchers: the operation of the Australian Red Cross Missing and Wounded Enquiry Bureau in the First World War  
*Tony Cunneen*  
The State Library of South Australia and its centenary project of the South Australian Red Cross Information Bureau  
*Andrew Piper* | A Certain Family Resemblance:  
Australia, Canada & New Zealand Red Cross National Societies  
Chair: Rosemary Wall  
Coming of age in the crucible of war: the Canadian Red Cross Society 1914-1919  
*Sarah Glassford*  
Re-alignment in the aftermath of war: Australian Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies  
*Melanie Oppenheimer*  
Raptures and Fault lines: Earthquake and the Emergence of a National Red Cross Society in New Zealand  
*Margaret Tennant* |
## PROGRAMME

### Saturday 10 September

Flinders City Bedford Park Campus, Sturt Road, Bedford Park
North Lecture Theatres 1 & 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Theatre 1</th>
<th>Theatre 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:30pm</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30pm</td>
<td><strong>ARCHIVES PLENARY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: <em>Melanie Oppenheimer</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Presentation of the Archives of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Grant Mitchell</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The Australian Red Cross’ ‘Gift to the Nation’</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Moira Drew</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The Norwegian Red Cross</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Tove Gundersen &amp; Anne Mette Fladen Lie</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30pm</td>
<td><strong>PLENARY 2: ‘The ingrained arrogance of humanitarianism’</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: <em>Neville Wylie</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Professor Davide Rodogno</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Head of the International History Department at the Graduate Institute of International Studies Geneva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30pm</td>
<td>Afternoon tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00pm</td>
<td><strong>Australian Red Cross Women &amp; WWI</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chinese Red Cross – pre &amp; post 1949</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: <em>Margaret Tennant</em></td>
<td>Chair: <em>Michael Barnett</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Vera Deakin’s contribution to the Australian Red Cross</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Carole Woods</em></td>
<td><strong>The story of the International Medical Relief Corps (IMRC) of the National Red Cross Society of China from 1939-1945</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Three cheers for Miss Chomley</strong></td>
<td><strong>De-administrating the Chinese Red Cross: a ‘tiger head and snake tail’ reform?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jennifer Lawless</em></td>
<td><em>Anna Shpakovskaya</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00pm</td>
<td>Participants make their way to the Capri for the <strong>Red Cross at the Movies</strong> event/conference dinner (bus will leave Flinders 5:30pm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## PROGRAMME

### Sunday 11 September

Flinders City Bedford Park Campus, Sturt Road, Bedford Park  
North Lecture Theatres 1 & 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Theatre 1</th>
<th>Theatre 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 9:00am | **Australian & Canadian Red Cross Societies: Colonising new areas of activity**  
Chair: *Sarah Glassford*  
Rest, recovery and rehabilitation: Red Cross convalescent homes in NSW  
*Ian Willis*  
Children, Charity and the Red Cross  
*Kristine Moruzi*  
Blood, Sweat and Some Tears: Twenty years of the Australian Red Cross Blood Service  
*James Thyer*  
National Red Cross Societies: Challenges of Global War  
Chair: *Davide Rodogno*  
The strange case of the Macau delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross during the Second World War  
*Helena Lopes*  
Politicisation and Militarisation of the Red Cross in the Philippines during the Pacific War and the Japanese Occupation period 1941-1945  
*Arnel Joven*  
The British Red Cross and the parcels crisis of 1940-41  
*Neville Wylie* | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:30am</td>
<td>Morning tea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 11:00am| **PLENARY 3: ‘Sister Societies in the Red Cross Family’**  
Chair: *Melanie Oppenheimer*  
*Professor Emeritus Margaret Tennant*  
Honorary research fellow at Massey University’s Palmerston North campus, New Zealand. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 12:00pm| **Histories of American Red Cross**  
Chair: *James Crossland*  
Failure to Launch: the American Red Cross in an era of contested neutrality 1914-1917  
*Branden Little*  
The Spirit of the Red Cross (Jack Eaton 1918)  
*Heather Robinson*  
‘This marriage has a reasonable chance of success’: the American Red Cross assessment of the marriage prospects of US servicemen and Australian women 1941-1945  
*Vicky Grieves*  
The Red Cross Movement & Humanitarianism in the inter-war period  
Chair: *Christine Winter*  
Examining American Support for Early 20th Century Middle East Relief & Humanitarian Action 1917-1925 with implications for today’s Middle Eastern refugees  
*Jess Bonnan-White*  
The International Red Cross movement and natural disaster in the inter-war period  
*Lukas Schemper*  
The Contested Ideal: Red Cross humanitarianism and the creation of international public health order in Asia  
*Yoshiya Makita* |
# Programme

**Sunday 11 September**

Flinders City Bedford Park Campus, Sturt Road, Bedford Park  
North Lecture Theatres 1 & 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Theatre 1</th>
<th>Theatre 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:30pm</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30pm</td>
<td><strong>National Red Cross Societies, Individuals &amp; responses to conflict</strong></td>
<td><strong>ICRC &amp; contested movements in war</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: Andrekos Varnava</td>
<td>Chair: Andrew Webster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Red Cross and the Armenians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Vicken Babkenian</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Nimmo’s War</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Seumas Spark</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negotiating with the devil? The Norwegian Red Cross and Mrs Karadzic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996-2002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Elisabeth Gade</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30pm</td>
<td><strong>Summary &amp; Next Steps</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Neville Wylie, James Crossland, Christine Winter, Melanie Oppenheimer</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00pm</td>
<td><strong>Close</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transport to Adelaide airport and back to the city</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Knight Hospitaller of Saint John of Jerusalem, John Furley (1836-1919), was – along with Vincent Kennett-Barrington (1844-1903) – the most active member of the British National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War – reconstituted as British Red Cross in 1905 – involved in humanitarian tasks on the occasion of the last Carlist War (1872-1876).

This long and bloody civil war in Peninsular Spain was also the baptism of fire for Spanish Red Cross (SRC) which was determined to relieve the wounded on both sides under the principle of neutralization adopted in Geneva, despite the fact that only international wars – and not civil ones – were not contemplated in the Geneva Convention.

Before his two-month stay at the theatre of this war in 1874, John Furley had volunteered for hospital service during the Crimean War in 1854, visited the Danish troops on the occasion of the Schleswig-Holstein War (1866), and become one of the British National Aid Society’s commissioners in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1), having remained after the armistice with the supplies of the Society at Paris throughout the Commune (March-May 1871). The proposed paper is intended to analyse John Furley’s narrative about his humanitarian experience during the Carlist War – mostly through his works Among the Carlists (London 1876) and In Peace and War: Autobiographical Sketches (London 1905) – in order to show his humanitarian ethos and agenda, and the impact of the adventure on his views about humanitarian action.

Jon Arrizabalaga is located with CSIC, Department of Historical Sciences, Spain.
Vicken Babkenian

The Red Cross and the Armenians

The persecution of the Ottoman Empire’s Armenian population in the late 19th and early 20th centuries sparked a global relief movement which attracted the interest of various humanitarian organisations.

Among them were a number of international Red Cross societies. In 1896, Clara Barton, the president of the American Red Cross, led a humanitarian mission to the Ottoman Empire which helped provide relief to tens of thousands of Armenians.

It was one of the organisation’s first major international missions, giving rise to what historian Peter Balakian calls ‘the modern era of American international human rights relief’. Continued persecution of Armenians in 1909 resulted in the establishment in the Ottoman Empire of the first chapter of the American Red Cross outside the United States or its dependencies. During the First World War, the advance of British forces in the Sinai/Palestine front allowed Red Cross societies to establish refugee relief centres in occupied areas. In Australia, Red Cross branches mobilised their efforts to help Armenian refugees during the interwar era. The Red Cross response formed a critical part in the global humanitarian relief campaign which helped save the Armenian people from near total annihilation. My paper will explore the role played by various Red Cross societies in this episode of international humanitarianism.

Vicken Babkenian is an independent researcher for the Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Sydney, and a committee member of Manning Clark House, Canberra. Vicken has written several articles on Australian international humanitarianism for peer-reviewed history journals. His latest article on Australian women and the Armenian relief movement was published by the Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society in December 2015. Vicken’s research has been cited in radio and television documentaries on the First World War and its aftermath. He is the co-author (with Professor Peter Stanley) of Armenia, Australia and the Great War (April 2016) by NewSouth Publishing.
The Migration Museum holds over a hundred badges relating to Australian Red Cross, South Australian Division. Acquired from a private collector in the mid-1980s, the majority of the badges date from 1914 to 1920, and represent a wide range of Red Cross groups and activities. They include metropolitan, regional and rural groups, and the fetes, comfort appeals and other fundraising events these groups undertook. Some of the badges feature the iconic ‘angular nurse’ imagery of the time, some have depictions of soldiers (often wounded or recuperating), while many others show landmarks, places and produce from around the state, as well as images of native flora and fauna.

These Red Cross badges are a rich source of evidence of the material and cultural history of voluntary organisations in South Australia during the Great War. The symbols, colours and mottoes used on the badges also express ideas about the values and identity that South Australians held in the early twentieth century, and of their attitudes to war. This presentation will include a chance to see some of the highlights of the collection up close.

Corinne Ball is a curator at the South Australia Migration Museum who has a particular interest in the work and role of women’s voluntary organisations.
‘Auxiliary status’ is one of the defining characteristics of a Red Cross National Society; central to its legitimacy within the Movement, and to its unique stability, access, and reach.

However, it is not a concept which has been consistently understood across time and across the various components of the Movement. Auxiliary status is prized by National Societies and frequently cited in discourse about their role and function; however it is subject to multiple interpretations and narratives, variable by individual and organisation.

This paper will critically examine how the Australian understanding and implementation of auxiliary status has evolved, from Australian Red Cross’ role as auxiliary to the military in WWI, transitioning to today’s conception of auxiliary to the public authorities in the humanitarian field. It will seek to examine and contrast the differing perspectives over time of the various stakeholders to the auxiliary relationship, namely the Australian Defence Forces, Australian Red Cross staff and volunteers, and beneficiaries.

Finally, it will explore the historical relationships and strategic interlinkages between Australian Red Cross, the Australian Defence Forces, and successive Australian governments with a view to solidifying understanding of the localised meaning and practical implications of auxiliary status. The paper will also seek to inform understanding of how auxiliary status may, both in the Australian context and across the Movement, develop in response to changing humanitarian needs, norms, and environments.

Petra Ball is a Senior Adviser to Red Cross People, International Humanitarian Law and Movement Relations Department with Australian Red Cross.
Several decades ago the boundaries between humanitarianism and human rights seemed settled: human rights focused on the relationship between the state and its citizens, while humanitarianism on the conduct of war between sovereign states and the mitigation of suffering of those caught in humanly-made and natural disasters.

Today the boundaries are less obvious, as human rights and humanitarianism have found themselves occupying the same ground – a development that leave many in the humanitarian community unnerved. What is the difference between human rights and humanitarianism? Are these distinctions with or without a difference? Where does the ICRC stand?

Michael Barnett

Is the ICRC a humanitarian or human rights organisation?

Michael Barnett is University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science at The George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs. Currently, he is an Associate Editor of International Organization. He is spending 2014-15 at the Transatlantic Academy working on a project on religion and the liberal international order. He previously taught at the University of Minnesota, the University of Wisconsin, Macalester College, Wellesley College, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; was a visiting scholar at the New School for Social Research and the Dayan Center at Tel-Aviv University; and was a Visiting Professor at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland.
Following World War I, millions of people in Europe and in the Middle East were impacted by conflict, forced displacement, and infectious disease.

In Eurasia, an estimated 320,000 Armenian refugees required assistance throughout Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Egypt, Iraq, Greece, France, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Palestine, and Jordan. Communities in Palestine also suffered from a series of infectious disease outbreaks, including cholera, tuberculosis, and typhus.

As the American Red Cross, among other international humanitarian organizations, extended war-time relief activities in Europe (particularly Belgium) to the Middle East, supplementing and supplanting older missionary-based public health services. On the home front, expansion of American Red Cross activities during World War I represented a decentralization of the organization and an increasing reliance on local volunteer leaders to fulfill international commitments. Individual chapters were responsible for raising funds for services, including international response among local communities.

This paper will address three interrelated research goals. First, analysis of archived meeting minutes from a sample of southern New Jersey chapters in one county and material from regional and national bulletins (dating between 1917 and 1925) will examine the role of the local American Red Cross chapters in supporting post-WWI Middle East humanitarian efforts. Second, special consideration is taken to contextualize American home front support for early 20th-century Middle Eastern refugees in light of the Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and local volunteer perceptions of the role of the American Red Cross. Third, insight from the historical examination of humanitarian responses to early 20th-century refugees serves as a framework for understanding challenges to serving refugees from the same areas in the early 21st-century.

Dr. Jess Bonnan-White is an Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice at Stockton University, where she teaches courses in emergency management, homeland security, criminological theories and research methods, and peace and conflict studies. Dr. Bonnan-White holds a Ph.D. from the University of Iowa (Anthropology), a MA from Northern Illinois Univeristy (Anthropology), a BA from Washington University - St. Louis (Archaeology), and a post-graduate certificate in Conflict and Peace Studies from the University of North Carolina - Greensboro. She examines barriers to emergency management practice in communities facing prolonged conflict and has gained experience through travel and fieldwork in Palestine, Israel, Jordan, and, most recently, Northern Ireland. She has published scholarly research in a variety of peer-reviewed journals, including Journal of International Humanitarian Action, Journal of Interpersonal Violence, Journal of Trauma & Dissociation, Contemporary Justice Review, PLOS Currents: Disasters, and Agriculture and Human Values. She has also provided critical review and commentary for Peace Review. Dr. Bonnan-White serves as a volunteer for Disaster Services, Services to the Armed Forces, and International Services for the American Red Cross New Jersey Region and is a Board Member and Director of Training and Education of the Forage Center for Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Education.
In 1861 President Lincoln authorised the creation of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) – a body comprised of humanitarian volunteers whose purpose was to complement the work of the Union’s Medical Bureau by sourcing supplies, inspecting hospitals and providing general succour to wounded soldiers.

Two years later, when news of the first Geneva Conference reached the ears of the USSC’s leaders, they naturally assumed that the Committee of Five had been inspired by the American example to pursue its aims. Historians of the USSC have repeated these claims, despite the comprehensive rejection of the idea of an American origin for the Red Cross movement by several leading Red Cross scholars.

This paper will re-examine the issue of American influence on the Red Cross movement by turning away from the idea of the USSC inspiring the Geneva Convention, to instead focus on how the performance of the USSC during the American Civil War captured the imaginations of the first Red Cross volunteers and contributed to the fundamental re-shaping of the Committee of Five’s conception of the Red Cross by the dawn of the 20th century.

James Crossland

The Americans Lead the Way? Re-evaluating the Influence of Humanitarian Action during the American Civil War on the Red Cross movement

James Crossland joined Liverpool John Moores in 2014 as a Senior Lecturer in International History. His primary area of research interest is the development of international humanitarian law up until the Second World War. He also has an interest in wartime propaganda, prisoner of war history and the early history of the Red Cross movement.

James is the author of Britain and the International Committee of the Red Cross, 1939-1945 (Palgrave: 2014), the first dedicated study of Britain’s humanitarian policy during the Second World War. Currently, James is working on a monograph that examines the interconnected responses of humanitarian groups, military surgeons and international lawyers to the changing nature of warfare in the late nineteenth century.
The Australian Red Cross Missing and Wounded Enquiry Bureau was founded in Sydney by the local barrister, Langer Owen KC, at the behest of his wife, Mary, in the months after the Gallipoli landings in 1915.

The bureau was operated by lawyers and spread across Australia and eventually had connections worldwide. The digitised files at the Australian War Memorial are widely used in historical accounts of the period. The bureau was an important interface between the Australian population and the war front.

Central to the operation of the Bureau were the selection and conduct of the designated Red Cross Searchers who visited hospitals, canteens and camps in Europe, the Middle East and Australia to interview soldiers. Their aim was to ascertain the fate of men missing, killed or wounded in action. These Searchers had to negotiate difficult diplomatic issues and were subject to a range of official and unofficial restrictions.

The paper conceptualises the activities of the Searchers as being essentially a Frontier Experience between the Home Front and the world of the military, where the Searchers operated in the same manner as representatives of one powerful social world, interacting with another. The essential nature of the experience was through localised negotiations which were based on shared cultural values as well as compromises which shaped the nature of the reports back to the civilian world. Both soldiers and searchers were active agents in the shaping of those reports.

This presentation uses the letters and memoranda on file at the Australian War Memorial, first-hand accounts from Searchers of their experiences and the pressures they were under as well as a selection of files of men who were casualties and investigated by the bureau to construct a narrative as to how the bureau operated and the patterns of reports that it produced as well as a profile of the people who acted as Searchers. The bureau is a fascinating and often overlooked aspect of the war behind the front lines and during the conflict was held in an almost reverential respect.

Tony Cunneen is currently the Student Studies Coordinator at St Pius X College, Chatswood. His research interests include the social history of the Australian legal profession and the way communities such as the legal profession responded to the trauma of war. He has published two books, *Suburban Boys at War* and *Beecroft and Cheltenham in World War One* and over 70 articles on history, education and travel. He is a member of the Francis Forbes Society for Australian Legal History and has written articles on the social history of lawyers in the First and Second World Wars for a variety of journals including the *Australian Law Journal*; the *Law Society Journal*; *Bar News: the Journal of the New South Wales Bar Association* and *Hearsay: the Journal of the Queensland Bar Association* and *The Army Journal*. He was the research consultant for the Queensland Supreme Court In Freedom’s Cause Project as well as for the New South Wales Law Society’s Honor Roll Project.
Moira Drew

The Australian Red Cross ‘Gift to the Nation’

One of the feature events of the Australian Red Cross Centenary in 2014 was the announcement of a ‘Gift to the Nation’, whereby the archives of the organisation are transferred to public archival repositories.

In South Australia, records had already been transferred to the State Library, and have been publicly available there for some years.

In the case of the national and Victorian offices in Melbourne, an agreement has been reached with the University of Melbourne Archives, one of the largest non-government archives in Australia. Similar arrangements are being discussed with archival institutions in other states and territories.

The initial agreement covers archival material up to the year 2000 and the first transfer took place in June 2015, with two additional transfers during 2016. The agreement includes an understanding that further transfers will take place at intervals in the future.

The paper will provide an overview of the project, including the background to the decision, the preparation involved and the expected outcomes. It will also touch on the challenges of preparing the ‘Gift’ at the same time as supporting a range of Centenary events and projects.

Moira Drew is an archivist who has worked with the Australian Red Cross for over 15 years. Her work has involved various aspects of collection management, initially with the Victorian office ‘museum project’. Since 2009 she has been the archivist for both the national and Victorian offices.
In July 1996 the Norwegian Red Cross (the NRC) established a rehabilitation project at the Sokolac Psychiatric Hospital in Republika Srpska, in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The project lasted for nine months and involved cooperation with the ICRC, the Ministry of Health in the Serbian entity and the Red Cross of Republika Srpska. The NRC received NOK 5,000,000 from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in financial support to the project. After the rehabilitation project was completed, the NRC continued to support the hospital until 2002. While implementing the rehabilitation project and supporting the hospital, the NRC faced a crucial and delicate dilemma: How to cooperate with the Red Cross of Republika Srbska and at the same time maintain its reputation as a neutral and impartial humanitarian actor? The dilemma was caused by the fact that Mrs. Ljiljana Karadzic was the President of the Red Cross in the Serbian entity. Mrs Karadzic was the wife of the former president of Republika Srbska, Radovan Karadzic who was also indicted for war crimes.

In August 1996, while the rehabilitation project was being planned, a Norwegian national newspaper reported that humanitarian aid channeled through the Red Cross in Republika Srbska was being misused for political ends. The article highlighted the close connection between the local Red Cross and the former President Karadzic’s political party, and questioned the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement’s (the RCRC Movement) credibility as a neutral and impartial humanitarian actor. The article sparked off a broadly based newspaper debate in Norway that lasted for more than three weeks. The debate mainly focused on the abuse of the Red Cross emblem during the ethnic cleansing of Prijedor in 1992 and whether the RCRC Movement had directly or indirectly contributed to it. The debate went on to question whether the Movement and the NRC were supporting persons affiliated with war crimes. Within the NRC the coverage was viewed as a threat to the organization’s and the RCRC Movement’s reputation, and in order to salvage the situation the NRC sought support and advice from the International Committee of the Red Cross (the ICRC) in Geneva.

This paper discusses how the Norwegian Red Cross managed the dilemma of cooperating with the Red Cross of Republika Srbska and at the same time maintaining its reputation. Through an analysis of the organizations management of the media coverage in August 1996 and the projects at the Sokolac Psychiatric Hospital, the paper suggests that the dilemma was perceived first and foremost as a public relation issue rather than a challenge for the implementation of the projects.

Elisabeth Gade

Negotiating with the devil?
The Norwegian Red Cross and Mrs. Karadzic, 1996-2002
Sarah Glassford

Coming of Age in the Crucible of War: the Canadian Red Cross Society, 1914-1919

Although it was created in 1896 as the first colonial branch of the British Red Cross, and mustered a respectable response to Canadian participation in the South African War (1899-1902), the Canadian Red Cross found growth and consistent support hard to come by in its early decades. The founding members strictly adhered to their original British mandate which specified that the Society be largely inactive in peacetime. By the early 1910s the Canadian Red Cross lagged behind not only the American, Japanese, and mainland European national societies but also the British Red Cross itself, as they forged peacetime roles in disaster response and Voluntary Aid Detachment training.

This paper examines the role of the First World War in transforming the Canadian Red Cross Society almost overnight into a nation-wide patriotic and humanitarian cause, its wartime work fueled by a potent combination of British imperialism and an emerging sense of a distinctly (English) Canadian nationalism born of the war. War-related national and transnational currents then jointly contributed to Canadian Red Cross leaders’ 1918 decision to take up the cause of peacetime public health, a move that marked a turning point in the history of the Canadian Red Cross as a national organization as well as its relationship with its British parent Society and the international Red Cross movement. The years 1914-1919 therefore offer a useful window into the influence of national, imperial, and transnational forces on the evolution of the Canadian Red Cross Society.

Dr Sarah Glassford has been teaching in the Department of History at the University of Prince Edward Island, Canada. Her book Mobilizing Mercy: A History of the Canadian Red Cross will be published by McGill-Queen’s University Press in Fall 2016. She has previously published articles on women’s and children’s Red Cross voluntary work during the two World Wars and the wider 20th century.
Family separation is a hidden trauma of war, conflict and disaster. Not knowing whether your parent, child, sibling or relative is alive or dead is an anguish that remains long after the end of a conflict or disaster for many families.

From the battlefields of Gallipoli and the Western Front of World War I, to World War II, from post-war migration, innumerable natural and man-made disasters and to current crises across the globe, the Tracing Service has helped thousands of people worldwide reconnect or know the fate of their loved ones. A glimpse into the Australian Red Cross archive of tracing files from the past 100 years demonstrates the significant impact of global conflict and disaster on the Australian community. From family seeking news of sons, brothers and fathers on the battlefields of Europe during WWI and Vietnam during the 1960s, to families separated as a result of conflict in regions all over the world and desperately seeking to restore contact.

Technology has revolutionised the Tracing Service and its methods over time. In recent years, Red Cross has introduced online tools for registering and trying to locate missing family. Still, traditional hand written Red Cross Messages are delivered to and from family members in Australia as a way to restore and maintain contact with separated family.

Through this global history of war and disaster and changing technological landscape, Red Cross continues to respond to this critical humanitarian need – families’ need and right to know the whereabouts or fate of separated family.

Megan Goodwin, National Manager, International Tracing Service, Australian Red Cross.
The entry of the USA into the War in the Pacific in 1941 saw approximately one million military personnel stationed in Australia during this war.

Under pressure from a concerned public the US Congress sanctioned the marriage of serving personnel, dependent on the approval of the Commanding Officer. In order to assist in the process of making an informed decision about approving individual prospective marriages, the military organised with the American Red Cross to visit the home of each woman who was a fiancée of a US serviceman. The Red Cross worker interviewed her and her family, encouraged them to agree to certain conditions for the marriage to proceed and forwarded a report of this meeting, including the race characteristics and socio-economic circumstances of the prospective in-laws, to the Commanding Officer concerned.

These reports provide interesting vignettes of Australian socio-economic life of the time, and often betray the biases and judgements of the Red Cross workers themselves.

When the Australian Red Cross, the United Associations of Women and the broader Australian public became aware of this practice they were demonstrably offended. The American Red Cross, embarrassed in the extreme, re-examined their role vis a vis the US Military and Australian society. This paper details the process of marriage assessment, the debates surrounding it and the American Red Cross negotiation of changed relationships as a result.
The Norwegian Red Cross was established in 1865 (a year after the Swedish national society was formed.)

For the first 25 years the Norwegian society was small and did little. This changed in 1890 when the largely passive, male dominated Red Cross society in Norway was encouraged to become more active in the Norwegian society. Local branches including a number of women’s Red Cross associations were established. The women sewed sanitary equipment. Disaster preparedness was the main aim.

In the 1890s, the Norwegian Red Cross began to educate nurses, and in the early 1900s to plan and later build hospitals. The education of nurses and the running of hospitals was to be main activities for the organisation for the next 60-70 years.

In the inter-war period, the Norwegian Red Cross was mainly concerned with health related issues. The Red Cross became a symbol of civilisation and progress. In the 1950s and 1960s its democratic scope became wider, with a more varied membership base. However, until the 1970s, a large part of the Red Cross members continued to be recruited from the middle classes.

After the Biafra war in 1970, the organisation established a foreign division with its headquarters in Oslo. Since then, international operations have increased. Somalia, Balkan and the Middle East are a few of the places where the Norwegian Red Cross has been present in crises situations. In the 1980s we were pioneers in dealing with HIV/AIDS.

The Norwegian Red Cross today has 140 000 members, some 40 000 volunteers and around 400 local branches all over Norway. Volunteers engage in a wide range of humanitarian activities. In the fall of 2015, with a dramatic increase in refugees arriving in Norway, refugee related activities expanded greatly, both among employees and volunteers. It is to early at this point to assess the consequences of this involvement, for the organisation at large.
In 2001, the IDRL Programme was created in order to explore the role of law in the response to disasters, particularly international disaster relief.

Although its desk study found that the idea of developing an intergovernmental organization to ensure international assistance to the victims of natural disasters had been promoted in 1921, an article had previously been published in the International Review of Red Cross in March 1919 proposing that several concise articles shall be embodied in a convention which shall be applicable especially in time of disasters and health emergencies.

After the WW11, major compilation and/or revisions of P&R were made four times, 1954, 1969, 1995 and 2013. The first known as “Oslo Principles” was made in wake of North Sea floods in 1953.

With lessons learned from the Hungarian refugees, "Oslo Principles" were reviewed, revised and new P&R versions adopted between 1969 and 1995 in the form of additional paragraphs and/or additional articles.

Since 1995, there have been further revisions, an updating of the P&R following recommendations (2007) from the Tsunami Forum held in Kuala Lumpur; the Governing Board decision that at least 10 percent for longer-term disaster preparedness and risk reduction work should be included in each appeal (2011); and that National Societies (NSs) be encouraged to link relief, recovery and development and should assess recovery needs and commence planning within the immediate response (2013).

The study Group on the Great East Japan Earthquake & International Humanitarian Assistance published their Recommendations to prepare for future mega-disasters in Japan which include (1) to receive international assistance in an efficient manner and (2) to establish national minimum standards in humanitarian assistance based on the international norms and stands in order to protect rights of affected population.

Should the P&R be really applicable to international assistance, the Movement coordination and cooperation mechanism in time of the gigantic emergencies even in the developed countries should be incorporated in its future revised text. By doing so, the Movement will be able to take a lead role in the further development of international humanitarian assistance.

With the advent of the Pacific War in December 1941, the Philippine Branch of the American National Red Cross became the coordinating agency for medical institutions assisting Filipino and American casualties. This was expected of the Red Cross after months of planning and coordination in preparation for the possibilities of Japanese invasion. However, as the Philippines fell under the Japanese in 1942, all American-related agencies were rendered illegal. The Japanese Military Administration then authorised the Japanese Red Cross to create the ‘Philippine Red Cross’ under it to take over medical and humanitarian operations originally carried out by the banned American Red Cross.

In the United States, the Japanese-affiliated Philippine Cross was not recognised by the Americans. The effect was that it became very difficult to coordinate relief efforts for allied prisoners-of-war and civilian internees across battle lines given the politicisation and militarisation of the Red Cross in the Philippines. Yet, despite this, the Philippine Red Cross, which functioned with the support of the Filipino collaboration government, continued to provide humanitarian services to civilians affected by occupation realities. This paper looks at the challenges encountered by the Red Cross in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation as the agency was caught between the Japanese and the Americans in the Pacific War. This paper also looks into wartime developments, institutional efforts, and public support that made it possible for the Philippine Red Cross to continue to render medical and charitable humanitarian services to Filipinos, Americans, and Japanese in wartime Philippines.

Dr Arnel E Joven finished his PhD from the University of the Philippines and specialised on the History and Anthropology of Health and Medicine during the Japanese Occupation Period. He is currently an Assistant Professor and Chairperson of the History Department of the University of Asia and the Pacific.
Miss Elizabeth Chomley was an Australian woman of enormous dedication and organisational ability. She held the position of Secretary of the Prisoner of War Department of the Australian Red Cross in London from 1916-1919 and was later awarded the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1918 for her contribution to the Red Cross Society.

Drawing from the archives of the Australian Red Cross POW files, the organisational ability and overall humanitarian efforts of Miss Chomley towards aiding the approximate 4,000 Australian POWS held during World War I will be outlined. The main focus will be on the correspondence between Miss Chomley and the Australians held in Turkish POW camps. At times poignant, dealing with friends and family members seeking information of captured soldiers through to her attempts at political change for the care of the POWS, she showed herself to be a determined and devoted supporter of the Red Cross. Her supportive and extremely caring letters to individual soldiers will be highlighted as well as the overall achievements of the Australian Red Cross POW Department.

Dr Jennifer Lawless was the NSW History Inspector for the Board of Studies for 12 years, responsible for NSW School History curriculum. Her PhD topic was the experiences of the Australian prisoners of war captured at Gallipoli in 1915 and published as Kismet: The Story of the Gallipoli POWs. The Australian Red Cross POW Department was a focus of her research. She has published twelve history books currently used in Australian schools. She has been awarded a number of research scholarships, teaching and publishing awards, including a Churchill Fellowship, an Endeavour Research Fellowship, a NSW Premiers History Prize and two Australian Publishers Awards.
From 1914 to the early 1920s—the era of the First World War—the American Red Cross (ARC) is best known for its dynamic growth into an organisation boasting tens of millions of members who energetically participated in a wide array of relief and reconstruction initiatives across war-torn Europe.

Less is known about the ARC’s profound struggles to determine its initial war policies relating to combatant and non-combatant aid, superintend war relief programmes, and establish its primacy as a humanitarian organisation in a contested field with other major entities that were directing relief initiatives throughout Europe and the Near East. The ARC’s ‘failure to launch’ was best signified by its aborted overseas relief programme in 1914-15. An immature fundraising mechanism in a highly competitive field for charitable dollars and general inexperience in conducting global operations impeded the ARC’s overseas agenda. Had the United States remained neutral during the war, the ARC would have likely remained an unimportant organisation in American society and in war relief.

Its claims to neutrality, impartiality, and affiliation with the US government did little to elevate its stature among Americans who invested more heavily in other humanitarian endeavors. The United States’ military entry in the conflict in 1917, however, created a second chance for the ARC to redeem itself. American belligerency made possible the institutional efflorescence of the ARC. Armed with the US president’s endorsement and the public’s receptivity to calls for alternative forms of war mobilisation in 1917-1918, and aided by a vigorous new leadership, the ARC transformed rapidly into an astonishingly successful humanitarian enterprise that eclipsed its competitors and its reputation for failure. This paper considers the birthing pains of a large and esteemed humanitarian agency, the near-impossibility of establishing explicitly neutral relief policies and programmes, the cutthroat nature of competition among relief organisations, and the ways in which the mobilisation of the body politic powerfully determined organisational success.

Branden Little is an Associate Professor of History at Weber State University in the United States, where he researches the international history of the United States and especially humanitarian interventions in the era of the First World War. He earned a PhD in history from the University of California, Berkeley (2009) and an MA in national security affairs from the US Naval Postgraduate School (2002); he received prizes for his dissertation and thesis. Little has published numerous essays and reviews on humanitarian relief and naval history.
In 1943 the Macau delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross was established in the South China enclave at the height of the Second World War. Two years later its president was assassinated in the streets of Macau and the following year the delegation ended its activities. It was not the first time a Macau delegation had existed nor would it be the last but the brief period (1943-1946) during which this Red Cross delegation operated reveals many important features of wartime Macau, the activities of a small Red Cross delegation under extreme circumstances, and the challenges of neutrality during the same period.

Surrounded by Japanese occupied areas, including the neighbouring British colony of Hong Kong since December 1941, Macau was a haven of neutrality in the context of the Second World War in South China. With a population that some authors consider to have swollen to as many as half a million people, the small Portuguese-administrated territory harboured many refugees from various provenances, including many relatives of Hong Kong POWs.

Why was the Macau delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross created in the midst of the conflict? Who was involved in its establishment? What were its main activities? How did its wartime experience influence its later re-establishment in 1949? How can the delegation be analysed in the interplay of local and international dynamics? The present paper will seek to answer these questions by drawing attention to a largely forgotten Red Cross delegation in the context of the equally little-known case of wartime Macau, in particular its connections with Hong Kong. It will show how the Red Cross in Macau was, simultaneously, a local creation, a delegation integrated in a national/colonial context, an inter-imperial structure, and, naturally, part of a transnational institution with global reach.

This paper is based on original research of primary sources previously unused and unpublished held at the Archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva and the Historical Archives of the Portuguese Red Cross in Lisbon, among several other archives.

Helena FS Lopes is a DPhil (PhD) student in History at the University of Oxford. She is currently working on a thesis about Sino-Portuguese relations during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), with a particular focus on wartime Macau. She holds doctoral studentships from the Portuguese Foundation of Science and Technology (FCT), and the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC).
During the post-cold war crises in the 1990s, the right to ‘humanitarian intervention’ came to the forefront of debates.

According to this line of thinking, people matter more than their governments. If atrocities are sufficiently awful, outsiders have a right to intervene. There is increasing realisation that such intervention may have negative political consequences, and sometimes prolong conflicts and people’s suffering, in spite of good intentions. The principle of ‘Do No Harm’ in aid is emphasised. These issues, however, precede the debates of the 1990s, even as they were couched in different terms. This paper will address the issue of humanitarian aid during a conflict that today is largely forgotten, but which brought out dilemmas that are as relevant as ever: Aid may prolong conflicts.

Aid to starving people in the locked-in enclave of Biafra during the civil war in Nigeria in the late 1960s alleviated suffering, but also most probably contributed to the prolonging of the war for more than a year. In the Red Cross movement, the Norwegian national association (the NRC) took an activist approach. For the NRC, the main issue was to bring in as much aid as quickly as possible, regardless of legal restraints. When the International Committee of the Red Cross (the ICRC), complying with international rules, grounded its planes because federal Nigerian authorities demanded it, the NRC objected to the decision. This created considerable tension between the NRC and the ICRC. The paper will discuss the impact of Red Cross aid to Biafra, the role of the NRC in the conflict, and its objection to ICRC policy in the Biafra crisis.

Eldrid Mageli
Feed the hungry – no matter what? The Norwegian Red Cross and Biafra, 1967-70

Eldrid Mageli is a historian, previously attached to the University of Oslo, Department of History, where she completed her PhD in 2001, on NGO activism in Calcutta in the 1980s and 1990s. In 2014, Mageli completed a commissioned work on the Red Cross 150 year history in Norway (Med rett til å hjelpe. Historien om Norges Røde Kors. Pax, 2014: “With a license to help. The history of the Norwegian Red Cross”). Among several topics, this book explores Norwegian Red Cross aid to Biafra during the Nigerian civil war in the late 1960s, and humanitarian aid to Bosnia in the 1990s. The book also traces several aspects of Red Cross activities and campaigns in Norway, such as health and hygiene in the 1930s, assistance to handicapped children in the 1950s, improved search-and-rescue preparedness in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as anti-violence and anti-racism campaigns in the 1990s. Eldrid Mageli is today senior advisor at the Red Cross headquarters in Oslo, in the Department of Organizational Development.
This paper examines ideological politics of humanitarianism in Asia after the First World War through an analysis of public health initiatives pursued by the American and Japanese Red Cross Societies.

After the devastation of the First World War, Red Cross humanitarians extended their field of activities from wartime to peacetime programmes by launching the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS) as an international health organization. Under the guidance of the LRCS, American and Japanese humanitarians promoted the standardization of public health measures in their colonial territories in postwar Asia. This paper demonstrates that behind these public health initiatives lay ideological contestation over the notion of Red Cross humanitarianism between the West and East. Facing the rising demands for national self-determination in postwar Asia, American and other Western colonizers reshaped their colonial rule by replacing overt violence with subtle intervention into the colonial lives in the name of humanitarian aid. The extended activities of the Japanese Red Cross conferred on Japan a moral guise of a “civilized” country as an exception in “uncivilized” Asia, thus reinforcing Japanese colonial order as a humanitarian patronage. Against these ideological drives, colonized Asians appropriated the Western ideal of humanitarianism, utilizing their newly-established national Red Cross societies in order to claim sovereignty over humanitarian issues in their countries. By focusing on the transnational circulation of humanitarian ideals through the international Red Cross movement, this paper unveils ideological politics of humanitarianism in Asia in the 1920s.

Yoshiya Makita
The Contested Ideal: Red Cross Humanitarianism and the Creation of International Public Health Order in Asia

Yoshiya Makita is an assistant professor at the College of Policy Science, Ritsumeikan University in Osaka, Japan. His current project examines the transnational circulation of public health ideas in the early twentieth century by focusing on the activities of Japanese and American Red Cross Societies in (semi-)colonial territories in the Asia-Pacific.
Robert Mamlok

The story of the International Medical Relief Corps (IMRC) of the National Red Cross Society of China from 1939-1945

In 1937, the Japanese invasion of China created a critical need for humanitarian aid.

An exodus of tens of millions of people from the war zones into the interior of China was exacerbated by a severe shortage of physicians and medical supplies. The virtual absence of a Chinese Army Medical Corps and the restrictions of international help in war zones prompted the National Red Cross Society of China (CRC) to form a new organisation; the Medical Relief Corps (MRC). Under the leadership of Dr Robert Lim, the MRC provided a path for 180 Chinese physicians to join the fight against Japan. At about the same time, China Medical Aid Committees (CMACs) in England and Norway were created. In 1939, the CMACs and the Comintern obtained asylum and passage to China for twenty European healthcare providers who had served with the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. These predominantly Jewish doctors had been placed in internment camps after the Republicans were defeated in the Spanish Civil War. They traveled from France to China and were soon joined at the Guiyang, China headquarters of the CRC/MRC by seven more anti-Fascist Western healthcare providers. In addition, nineteen other international volunteers served episodically with the MRC. Through the early 1940s, the IMRC physicians came under increasing pressure from the Kuomintang controlled CRC to prevent medical aid from reaching the Chinese Communist Party affiliated soldiers and civilians. As the IMRC physicians spoke out against corruption and the restriction of delivery of healthcare as a political weapon, their position with the MRC became increasingly conflicted and untenable. The IMRC physicians endured a period of forced inactivity until the United States entered the Pacific War. Through the efforts of General Joseph Stilwell, the Allied Commander in China, and Dr Robert Lim, some of the IMRC physicians became US Army contract surgeons or liaison physicians serving with the Chinese Army in India and Burma. Other IMRC members continued to serve with the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in Yunnan, China until 1945. The story of the IMRC shares the political complexities of providing medical aid in a world at war along with the strength of personal convictions to fight for humanitarian aid under the worst of circumstances.

Dr Robert Mamlok is a Clinical Associate Professor of Pediatrics at the Texas Tech University Health Sciences Center, Lubbock, Texas, USA. He is the son of a physician who served in the International Medical Relief Corps of the Chinese Red Cross and the founder of the Friends of the IMRC. Email: robert.mamlok@ttuhsc.edu
While the very beginning of the Red Cross Movement is topic of many books, the time of its constitution as an international and impartial charity organization before the First World War remains often unconsidered.

This presentation shows one of the many conflicts the ICRC had to fight before becoming the worldwide accepted organization as it is now. The conflicts with the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the century made clear what difficulties the cultural and religious differences posed for the ICRC’s claim of absolute neutrality. Turkey refused to use and respect the cross as the symbol claiming that it was inherently Christian.

The ICRC had a hard time denying the religious connotations of it. Religion became a topic again when during the Balkan Wars Muslim organisations sent help explicitly only for the Muslims as they believed the Christian charity societies neglected the Turks. This shows that a non-Christian culture like the Turkish perceived the Red Cross Movement as a Eurocentric, imperialistic organisation with Christian values. The wars Turkey fought forced the Red Cross Movement to develop strategies to include non-Christian cultures to realise its plan for becoming a charity organisation on a worldwide level. The paper wants to open the field of the historical research of the Red Cross Movement for questions from the religious studies showing that religion played a pivotal role in its development.

Julia Marzoner

The Impact of Religion in International Help –
The Red Cross Movement and the Ottoman Empire, 1867-1913

After her Magister degree in History at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, in 2014, Julia Marzoner started a Ph.D. position at the Institute for Comparative Religious Studies at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. Her thesis examines the religious roots of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and their reception in non-Christian cultures.
The presentation of the Archives of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies will focus on the following topics:

• a brief history of record-keeping at the International Federation: statutory records; central registry; office filing in parallel to central registry; collection of publications of member National Societies; publications of the International Federation; establishment of the Archives in 1996; decentralisation of the International Federation

• a brief overview of the main activities documented in the Archives

• audio-visual archives: posters; photographs; films / videos. Where they are located and how to view them.

• rules of access

• on-line archives catalogue

• a brief summary of the types of research conducted by users of the Archives

---

Grant Mitchell, Manager Library and Archives Unit, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), Geneva.
Kristine Moruzi

Children, Charity and the Red Cross

Through the children’s magazines published by the Canadian and Australia Junior Red Cross organisations, the Canadian *Red Cross Junior* and the Australian *Junior Red Cross Record*, children were encouraged to embody the values of the organisation and assist others in need through fundraising and other charitable activities.

In the early years of these two publications, child readers in each country were guided towards similar behaviours and attitudes related to health, hygiene, and service. Each country’s magazine was nonetheless also set within a specific national framework that pointed to its unique characteristics, especially in regards to geography and culture.

The magazines incorporated a variety of content – including photographs, short plays, prize competitions, games and correspondence – that encouraged members to see themselves as important contributors to the Junior Red Cross while also including content from other JRC organisations to encourage an international mindset in which children shared ideals based on their similarities rather than their differences.

Kristine Moruzi is a lecturer and ARC Discovery Early Career Researcher in the School of Communication and Creative Arts at Deakin University. She is currently finishing a project, with Michelle Smith and Clare Bradford, on colonial girlhood in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand print culture. Her latest project examines the intersection of children and charity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in British and colonial print culture. With Michelle J. Smith, she edited *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950* (2014) and *Girls’ School Stories, 1749-1929* (2014), a six-volume anthology published in Routledge’s “History of Feminism” series. She has published journal articles in *Children’s Literature in Education, Children’s Literature Association Quarterly, Victorian Periodicals Review*, and *Women’s Writing*. 
From the brassard worn by Corporal Harold May while he tended the wounded at Gallipoli in 1915 to the flag flown in 2004 outside the Expeditionary Combat Support Squadron (ECSS) Hospital in the Solomon Islands; on a myriad of fundraising badges, Christmas gift boxes and care packages; the symbol of the ‘red cross’ is seen on many items in the National Collection of the Australian War Memorial.

This is not surprising given the long-running and close relationship between the military and the Red Cross Movement. Historically, for those fighting overseas, Red Cross packages could bring a little comfort and a reminder of home, and especially for prisoners of war, they could mean the difference between life and death. For those at home, being involved in fundraising efforts and the work of the Red Cross helped them feel like they were contributing to the war effort and connected to loved ones fighting far away.

Highlighting stories from across a century of service, this paper will look at a range of items in the AWM’s collection, and discuss the relationship between war, the military and the Red Cross Movement.

Dr Kerry Neale is a curator in the Military Heraldry and Technology section of the Australian War Memorial. Kerry completed her doctorate through the University of New South Wales, Canberra campus, with a thesis focusing on the experiences of disfigured veterans of the First World War.
By the end of World War I, Australian Red Cross, formed in August 1914, had firmly established itself on the national stage as a major wartime voluntary organisation that played a significant role assisting the sick and wounded at home and abroad.

The post-war period brought both challenges and opportunities for this young national society not least because of the establishment of the League of Red Cross Societies in 1919. One of the early supporters of the League, Australian Red Cross was represented on its inaugural Board of Governors by Viscountess Novar, the foundation President of Australian Red Cross and the Board’s only female representative. This paper explores how Australian Red Cross projected itself to the ‘world’ of Red Cross through the League of Red Cross Societies as a young, dynamic national society. The paper explores the foundational years of the League, its relationship with other national societies like Australian Red Cross, and how the League and Red Cross Movement more broadly negotiated the increasingly contested spaces of humanitarianism and internationalism of the early 1920s.

**Professor Melanie Oppenheimer** is currently Professor of History and Dean of the School of History and International Relations at Flinders University. She has previously held positions in Australian History at the University of Western Sydney and the University of New England. Her research interests include the role of voluntary organisations and patriotic funds in peace and war; the history of volunteering and voluntary action; gender and imperialism; and more recently ARC funded projects on soldier settlement schemes post WWI, Meals on Wheels, and sustaining volunteering in Australia. Her centenary history of Australian Red Cross, *The Power of Humanity: 100 Years of Australian Red Cross* was published by HarperCollins in August 2014. Melanie is currently completing *The Last Battle of the Great War: Soldier Settlement in Australia 1916-1939* (co-authored with Professor Bruce Scates) to be published by Cambridge University Press in 2016. Melanie is a member of the ARC College of Experts.
Andrew Piper

The State Library of South Australia and its centenary project of the South Australian Red Cross Information Bureau

The State Library of South Australia is honouring the memory of those who served at the front lines on World War I and on the home front, through a series of projects.

The principal project was the creation of a new web resource of the records of the South Australian Red Cross Information Bureau (SARCIB) released in early 2015 with additional features added in early 2016 to coincide with the 100th anniversary of the Bureau’s opening in Adelaide.

From 1916 until 1919, the South Australia’s Information Bureau undertook research into more than 8,000 enquiries from family and friends of missing Australian Imperial Force (AIF) personnel who served in World War I.

An envelope was created for each enquiry containing:
• information about each soldier or nurse enquired upon
• letters from the requesting family
• eyewitness statements about the soldier’s last known whereabouts
• and, in most cases, the resulting information on the fate of the soldier, expressed to the enquirer.

The Bureau’s donation of its records to the Library has allowed the library to honour the work of the Red Cross and its contribution to the home front through a resource that enables other institutions, researchers and family historians worldwide to interrogate, contribute to and harvest the database, and highlight South Australia’s contributions to WWI.

The recruitment of volunteers for data entry was a natural alignment for this project, neatly creating a full circle that commences with volunteers in 1916 and ends with volunteers in the 21st Century.

Andrew Piper is Manager Online Services for the State Library of South Australia and is responsible for the development and delivery of the Library’s online services to customers. With a background in history and exhibitions, he has been Project Manager for the State Library’s extensive Centenary of Anzac commemoration programme (1914-1918). One of the key projects in the programme is the South Australian Red Cross Tracing Bureau.
Little academic research has been published on the British National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War, the precursor to the British Red Cross.

Though this research is long overdue, this paper examines the interaction the Society had with the British print media in and around the Russo-Turkish war of 1878-1879. The Russo-Turkish war took place directly after the British atrocities movement in support of the massacred Bulgarians and though the Society was specifically designed to support those affected by war, their work took place in an era of a particularly strong ground swell of humanitarianism and humanitarians in the mould of the great William Gladstone.

This paper examines first, how the Society used the media to garner support for their efforts in the Ottoman provinces impacted by the ongoing war and second, how the media support for the society’s objectives was portrayed and responded to in the pages of the print-media. Using as sources the very newspapers themselves this paper, by addressing the impact of the society in the words of the major Victorian newspapers, will demonstrate the importance of publicity and supportive media sources in achieving the required saturation of information and empathetic feeling required for the support of humanitarian organisations.

Casey Raeside obtained a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) from Flinders University in 2014 and is currently a PhD candidate in the school of History and International Relations at Flinders University. Casey’s research addresses the emerging humanitarianism in late 19th Century Britain and examines the impact of the print-media, public opinion and domestic politics in creating an environment of humanitarianism during the Bulgarian and Armenian massacres.
Claire Adams Mackinnon was an actress from the silent era of the US motion picture industry who spent the second half of her life in Melbourne and regional Victoria.

Like the majority of her peers, she has largely been forgotten by film history. However, on closer examination, there is evidence that she was quite an extraordinary personality and her contributions to the war effort 100 years ago were on a level not easily matched. The product of two Canadian military families, she put aside her burgeoning film career when war broke out to train and work as a nurse. She returned to the screen in spectacular fashion as the star of The Spirit of the Red Cross, produced as part of a nationwide fundraising drive for the US Red Cross, a cause she continued to support for the rest of her life.

This article examines available evidence to reconstruct this period of her career (1914-1919), encompassing her nursing experience, her role in The Spirit of the Red Cross, and her contribution to a government sexual hygiene campaign, which ignited one of the first censorship storms of the early film industry. By placing this period of her work within a firm historical context, one dominated by the fight for women’s suffrage, sex education and the First World War, we gain an appreciation of her significance within the early film industry and the true depth and value of her ongoing community service.
Davide Rodogno

The ingrained arrogance of humanitarianism

My presentation reflects on a number of false dichotomies that seem to imprison the historian's creativity.

It attempts a plaidoirie for the history of humanitarianism(s), whilst warning against humanitaro-centric historical analyses. It ends speculating about the motivation of humanitarians and humanitarian institutions putting forward an ad hoc definition of arrogance and its alleged ingrained nature.

Professor Davide Rodogno holds a PhD from the Graduate Institute of International Studies and University of Geneva. He has held numerous academic positions and since 2014 serves as head of the International History Department (2014-2017) at the Graduate Institute. His publications include Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire (1815-1914): the Birth of a Concept and International Practice (Princeton University Press, 2011); a co-edited volume (with Liat Kozma and Magaly Rodriguez) on the Social Work of the League of Nations (UN Press, 2016); and in 2014, he started an e-publishing project on the history of International Organizations and Development programmes (1900s-1970s).
Several natural disasters in the first quarter of the 20th century that also provoked international forms of relief by national Red Cross societies (in particular the earthquake of Messina 1908) showed the need for greater international coordination.

Although plans to create an international organization for the coordination of disaster relief existed prior to the First World War, the idea only materialized in 1927, when the International Relief Union was created at an international conference in Geneva. The ICRC and the League of Red Cross Societies did not only closely participate in the creation process of this new organization, but also jointly managed the secretariat of the IRU.

The IRU was the brainchild of the Italian Red Cross president Giovanni Ciraolo, who had experienced the chaos after the Messina earthquake. After Ciraolo presented his plan for the first time at the International Red Cross Conference of 1921, reactions by the ICRC and the LRCS were mixed. After its expansion during the First World War, the Red Cross movement in general was in search for a new raison d’être in times of peace. However, there was a lack of clarity about which organization – the ICRC or the LRCS – would assume leadership in that domain. Throughout the creation process of the IRU, therefore, one organization tried to oust the other.

Based on archival research at the archives of the ICRC, the LRCS and the League of Nations, the contribution thus tries to shed light on the stance of the respective organizations and their individuals in the process of internationalization of disaster relief in the inter-war period. It will further analyse the position of the national Red Cross societies towards the “Ciraolo project,” which were initially supposed to constitute the “relief army” of the IRU. Although a variety of factors (financial, political context) contributed to the eventually dysfunctional state of the IRU, the support or lack of support of actors from the international Red Cross movement also decided considerably over the fate of this international organization.

Lukas Schemper is currently finishing a Ph.D. in International History and Politics at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva. His thesis “Humanity Unprepared” deals with the history of disaster management and international organizations in the 20th century. He was teaching assistant at the International History Department of the Graduate Institute (2013-2015), visiting lecturer (2014) and visiting scholar (2016) at Sciences Po Paris, as well as visiting scholar at the History Department of Columbia University (2015) and St. Anne’s College, Oxford (2016).
When Henry Dunant developed his idea of what was to become the Red Cross in 1863, there were several German States among his most fervent supporters. In 1871, the German Empire came into being; nevertheless the Red Cross societies existing in the 25 states that constituted this Empire kept their sovereignty as national societies. Not until 1921 did they merge into the German Red Cross. Furthermore, many men’s and women’s associations worked side by side, and from the early 1950s up to the unification of Germany in 1990, two national societies coexisted.

In more than 150 years, the most heterogeneous and federally based origin of the German Red Cross has left an enormous tangible heritage. Thanks to Red Cross volunteers with an interest in history and a sense of responsibility towards it, the initially private collections began to grow in the 1960s.

Today there are 15 Red Cross Museums spread throughout the whole country, and they are integrated in the Red Cross structure. However, as in their beginnings, they continue to be run by volunteers, who in different ways made the transition from formerly being a collection to being a museum.

The lecture intends to give a survey of the German Red Cross Museums, their history and current situation, their collections, and their role in propagating the Red Cross idea, which often seems underestimated.

---

**Rainer Schlösser** studied Romance, Nordic, and Classical Philology. Since 2001 he has been a professor for Romance Linguistics at Friedrich Schiller University in Jena/Germany. Simultaneously, he is a volunteer in the German Red Cross: head of a Red Cross Museum at Luckenwalde near Berlin, speaker of the *Association of the German Red Cross Museums*, and he has published several articles on international and German Red Cross history.
In the wake of the internet crisis of 2011 when credibility of the Chinese Red Cross was put under public scrutiny, the Chinese Red Cross Headquarters newly appointed leadership initiated a set of reforms with the main goal of rebuilding public trust.

In the reform proposal *de-administratisation* was put forward as the key reform guiding concept and the CRC was believed to become the first pilot case of *de-administratisation* in China. However, despite mounting anticipation and excitement, in the course of the reform the idea of *de-administratisation* the Chinese Red Cross has been abandoned. Leadership weaknesses, organizational over-reliance on government resources as well as the Chinese Communist Party’s and government’s unwillingness to diminish its control over the organization were quickly identified as the main causes of the reform failure.

In this paper I offer possible alternative explanations to why the ‘tigerish’ attempt to *de-administratise* the Chinese Red Cross failed to gain momentum. Based on field data collected between 2012 and 2014 in Beijing and Geneva and guided by Resource Dependence Theory, I first conceptualize the notion of *de-administratisation*, then analyze the nexus between the Chinese Red Cross and other major actors and finally propose two hypotheses. First, the proposal to *de-administratise* the Chinese Red Cross has declined due to insufficient alternative resources. Second, *de-administratisation* of the Chinese Red Cross is a high risk organizational change that does not align with the general pattern of reform-making in China.

Anna Shpakovskaya

De-administratasing the Chinese Red Cross - a ‘tiger head and snake tail’ reform?

After graduating from Shanghai University, Anna Shpakovskaya joined Risk and East Asia Training Group in Duisburg-Essen University, Germany. Since 2012 she has been working on her PhD Thesis that investigates organizational transformation of the Chinese Red Cross in the post 1949 period. In 2015 Anna published “An Introduction to the Red Cross Archives in Geneva” in Chinese.
Nuclear weapons are the most destructive weapons ever conceived and built by humans.

Global disarmament and non-proliferation efforts have reduced by two-thirds, the 60,000 nuclear weapons that were stockpiled during the height of the Cold War. Despite this progress, 16,000 nuclear warheads exist today, and the ‘nuclear weapons states’ and their allies continue to hinder the categorical prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons under international law.

Humans have created 70 years of nuclear weapons history, constructing the decades-long view of nuclear weapons as symbols of power, providers of security, and alleged deterrents of greater wars and suffering. In a way, we cannot escape the history of the use of nuclear weapons, principally the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But in the present day, we are in the enviable position of being able to use international law to extract ourselves from the presence of the past, and determine the future history of nuclear weapons. Encouragingly, recent global debate has refocused on the humanitarian impacts of nuclear weapons. The so-called Humanitarian Initiative is an informal coalition of states, International Organisations (IOs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), and individuals, who share the goal of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons under international law due to their humanitarian impact. There is now growing confidence from these actors that the ‘humanitarian initiative to ban nuclear weapons’ provides a fresh opportunity to negotiate their prohibition in 2017.

This presentation discusses the role of civil society organisations and the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement in the humanitarian initiative to ban nuclear weapons, and how in reframing the debate about nuclear weapons, the Humanitarian Initiative is re-writing nuclear history.

Richard Slade is a Ph.D. (Law) Student at Monash University, and his project is titled Civil Society Contributions to the Development of International Law: A Case Study of the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons. The aim of his thesis is to demonstrate the benefits of Civil Society contributions to the direction and development of international law, by examining the impact of CSOs in international forums pursuing the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons under international law. Richard has previously worked in the New Zealand Parliament, the Coalition for the International Criminal Court in The Hague, and was most recently a Senior Research and Policy Officer at Australian Red Cross. He is currently an Australian Post-Graduate Award Scholarship Recipient. Richard co-authored an article in the 2016 Nuclear Weapons edition of the International Review of Red Cross titled, “Protecting Humanity from the Catastrophic Humanitarian Consequences of Nuclear Weapons: Reframing the Debate towards the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons.”
Sir John Nimmo (1909-97) led a remarkable life.

From humble beginnings in country Victoria, he became a successful barrister and eminent judge. Among other notable appointments, he served as a Royal Commissioner, Chief Justice of Fiji, and on the bench of the Australian Federal Court. The success of his legal career has overshadowed his service with the Australian Red Cross during the Second World War, a period which he described as the most important and constructive of his professional life. The war certainly presented Nimmo with challenges and opportunities, taking him from the frontline to the corridors of power and places in between. He searched for missing and dead soldiers and civilians in the Middle East and New Guinea; was among the first people to enter Bergen-Belsen concentration camp following its liberation in 1945; represented the Australian Red Cross at Geneva and elsewhere on the world stage; and helped arrange the repatriation of Australian prisoners-of-war from Europe. In 1943 Nimmo even found time to stand for election to the Australian parliament, coming a creditable third to the incumbent member of the electorate and former Australian Prime Minister, Robert Menzies.

This paper will draw on the extensive archives of the Australian Red Cross to explore Nimmo’s wartime service, a subject of which little is known. The paper contends that Nimmo’s wartime engagement with the Red Cross had a profound effect on his post-war life and career, shaping his principles and ideals. As a barrister, judge and citizen, Nimmo was known for his support of the downtrodden and oppressed. This concern for the disadvantaged was manifest also in his ongoing support of the Red Cross, which he served throughout his life.

Seumas Spark works at Monash University. With two colleagues he is writing a history of the Dunera and Queen Mary internees.
After nearly sixteen years of problematic existence as ‘The New Zealand Branch of the British Red Cross and Order of St John’ (the latter association a particular point of contention) a New Zealand Red Cross Society was formally recognised as an independent entity in December 1931. This occurred ten months after a major earthquake devastated the Hawkes Bay area and the cities of Napier and Hastings in particular. The Hawkes Bay earthquake is often regarded as the ‘turning point’ which led to the formation of a national Red Cross society in New Zealand. The country’s particular vulnerability to earthquake has ever since provided occasion for a particular kind of Red Cross emergency response, not least in the Canterbury earthquakes of 2010 and 2011.

This paper examines the Red Cross response to the 1931 earthquake in the light of other formative influences on the emergence of a national Red Cross Society in New Zealand, national and international. It will also consider the place of ‘foundation stories’ in the longer term identities of such organisations. The dramatic event and heroic response provide a linchpin of such stories, but in the case of the New Zealand Red Cross, they were underwritten by less stirring machinations and pressures from afar which shed light on the New Zealand Red Cross as both an imperial and transnational body.
Margaret Tennant

Sister Societies in the Red Cross Family

The story of the Red Cross inevitably embraces the ‘big two’, the ICRC and the Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the sway of the lofty principles which underpin ‘the Movement’.

It less often extends to the national societies, each with its own history informed by an interplay between local conditions, social and political contexts, and membership of a widely valued transnational movement. This presentation will look upward, taking as a case study one national society, New Zealand, but also referring to some of its ‘sister societies’ and the members, volunteers, governments and transacting international relationships which calibrated their responses to the Federation.

The metaphor of the Red Cross ‘family’ is one that inevitably appears in papers presented at this conference. As in many families, relationships within and across societies and inside the Federation have been complex, changing, even fraught. More histories of national societies are needed to understand the Movement and the potential, as well as the limitations of its core principles across time and place, in large spaces and small.

Professor Emerita Margaret Tennant is an honorary research fellow at Massey University’s Palmerston North campus. Her specialist areas of research are in women’s history and the history of social policy, with a recent focus on the non-profit sector. Two of her most recent books reflect this interest: the official centennial history of the New Zealand Red Cross, Across the Street, Across the World: A History of the Red Cross in New Zealand 1915-2015 (2015); and The Fabric of Welfare: Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand 1840-2005 (2007).
The Australian Red Cross Blood Service was formed by amalgamating Blood Transfusion Services run by the state divisions of the Australian Red Cross Society, with the oldest being Victoria’s service that began in 1929.

Following on from the HIV and hepatitis C crises, incoming Red Cross Secretary General Jim Carlton in 1994 grasped the seriousness of Red Cross running a fragmented service, and the Australian Red Cross Blood Service (Blood Service) was formed in 1996.

The Blood Service was formed as a separate operating division of the Australian Red Cross Society. It functions on a close to standalone basis with separate finance, human resources, computing and planning functions to name a few. It has its own board that reports to the Australian Red Cross Board, and is not a separate legal entity. The formation of the national organisation wasn’t as easy as first thought. Each state blood transfusion service was predominantly funded by their state government, so there was some inability to create truly national functions and policy.

This was recognised by government, who after one of the many reviews of the Red Cross’ blood services, recommended the establishment of a statutory government body known as the National Blood Authority, which would control and purchase Australia’s supply of blood and blood products. Whilst the rationalisation of funding was welcomed by the Blood Service, there were some teething problems as both organisations came to agreement as to how the new contracting environment would operate.

The Blood Service has since become a truly national organisation, with much of its operations directed by the NBA via a long-running legal contract. Its position within the Red Cross Society will be discussed – as to why Red Cross is operating in an area that could be characterised as being the direct responsibility of governments, and bearing some of the risk that comes with operating a complicated biomedical and manufacturing organisation.

James Thyer has written a history of the Blood Service, during his work as Senior Advisor on Blood Governance and Policy for Australian Red Cross. He has previously worked as a scientist at CSIRO, Incitec Ltd, Progen Industries and CSL Ltd - where he worked on blood product safety and the threat of the human form of mad cow disease in blood.
This paper examines the role of the Japanese Red Cross and of the International Committee of the Red Cross, which worked in concert to mediate contact between the Japanese government and Japanese overseas in the wake of defeat.

Such overseas Japanese included Japanese soldiers retained as labourers in Southeast Asia until 1947, those convicted for war crimes and held in overseas jails until their repatriation (last repatriations from Australia in 1953) and Japanese whose repatriation was delayed (predominantly from the USSR and the People’s Republic of China) until the mid-1950s.

Amongst those were also several Red Cross nurses, who had been deployed into Northeast China during the war and whose repatriation turned the Japanese Red Cross into an interested party and an active participant in the growing domestic political movements for the progress of repatriation. This paper shows how the Japanese Red Cross’s work meshed with the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross on delayed repatriations globally: it highlights the importance of non-state actors in Japan’s negotiations with other countries during its loss of sovereignty until the Occupation ended in 1952, bringing attention especially to the diplomatic work performed by Red Cross representatives in Japan, China and Southeast Asia.

Beatrice Trefalt is Senior Lecturer in Japanese studies in the School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics at Monash University. She is the co-author (with S Wilson, R Cribb and D Aszkiewicz) of Japanese War Criminals and the Politics of Justice, 1945-1958 (Columbia University Press, 2017, forthcoming) and articles on Japanese repatriation issues and Japanese war criminals in Indochina and the Philippines.
When in 1940 the Germans occupied the Netherlands they allowed the Dutch Red Cross to continue its work, be it with a collaborator as chair. In the hope and believe in this way it could prevent a lot of harm and continue the good work, the DRC accepted. It turned out to be a rather dramatic decision. Red Cross work is defined by ideology, capability, history, and political and political context and especially because of its (conservative, militaristic) history and (racial) political context the main committee of the DRC in The Hague became anything but an adversary of the Nazi regime.

The Dutch East Indies Red Cross (before the war absolutely a tool of empire) was forbidden by the Japanese with the exception of some local branches as long as their work came in handy. Because of its history and the vast amount of the indigenous population, it had to (legally or illegally) restrain itself to helping the Europeans in concentration camps, but one should not think too much of this.

On the other hand, collaboration was nowhere near. However, after the war, during the war of independence, it turned back to being an anything but neutral tool of Dutch reign. It became the carrot in the carrot and stick military strategy. Red Cross aid, so was said, was as well ‘a humanitarian as a national task’. The conclusion: staying away from the powers that be diminishes the chance of getting a job done, but also diminishes the chance of this job violating Red Cross principles.
In 1947, the British Red Cross Society’s Public Relations Department issued a statement, detailing a mechanism for ‘a smooth machine for the handling of the news.’ ‘We want the public generally to know that the British Red Cross still exists and has even more work to do since the War ended.’ The introduction to the 1947 annual report reflected that people did not understand why the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) needed to raise money, considering that £63 million had been donated to the Red Cross and Order of St John during the Second World War. Yet this money had already been allocated. The BRCS appealed for more funds for wounded servicemen, the hospital library service, the St John and Red Cross ambulance service, and for training activities. Further complicating matters, the provision of many interwar and wartime BRCS services would now be led by the new National Health Service (NHS) which was launched in July 1948. The BRCS adapted by developing a range of activities in order to support the new health service, including assistance with staff shortages. Despite the BRCS’s continuing support of national health before and after the Second World War, the role of the Red Cross has not been recognised in key histories of the NHS. The end of the Second World War and the beginning of the welfare state was followed by a reframing of the charity’s status and aims, especially with regard to humanitarian relief work at home and overseas.

Dr Rosemary Wall is a Senior Lecturer in Global History at the University of Hull, UK. She is the Principal Investigator for a new project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council: ‘Crossing Boundaries: The History of First Aid in Britain and France, 1909-1989’, for which she works with Co-Investigator Professor Barry Doyle at the University of Huddersfield. She is also writing a book on the history of the British Red Cross, for which she has further funding through a University of Oxford Bodleian Libraries Sassoon Visiting Fellowship in 2017. Previously, she has published research on the history of colonial nursing with colleagues at King’s College London. Her first project investigated the use of bacteriology in hospitals, workplaces and local communities and culminated in the monograph, Bacteria in Britain, 1880-1939 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013; Routledge 2015, paperback 2016). Rosemary also enjoys engaging with the public. She has co-designed an iPod app entitled Navigating Nightingale – which explores the history of London through Florence Nightingale’s interests in topics such as war, religion and social deprivation. She has led curation for exhibitions, such as ‘The Thinking Nurse’ at the Florence Nightingale Museum, and film shows, including ‘Screening the Nurse’ at the Imperial War Museum. Rosemary was educated at the University of Liverpool (BA) and Imperial College London (MSc and PhD), and has held postdoctoral research and teaching roles at the University of Oxford, King’s College London, and Imperial College London.
The ICRC and the Japanese Red Cross Society were well-known and respected institutions in Japan prior to the 1930s, but by the Second World War the ICRC was severely restricted by Japanese authorities in its mandate to visit prisoners of war.

The ICRC was able to visit only a small number of POW camps in Japan and had no access whatsoever to camps in Japanese territories, such as Malaysia, Borneo and the Philippines. This was an obvious setback for the ICRC’s ability to fulfil its humanitarian role on behalf of prisoners of war, a shortcoming that also occurred in Europe.

Just after the war, the ICRC attributed its failure to protect captives in Japanese hands to ‘the very considerable differences which existed between Japanese conceptions and Western ideas on the subject of prisoners of war’. Why was this anthropological reason given? How does the excuse of cultural differences account for Japan’s earlier embrace of humanitarian values? And what other reasons may have been behind Japan’s refusal to permit ICRC to conduct its humanitarian activities?

Our paper will examine the factors – cultural and non-cultural – that limited ICRC’s ability to act for the protection of prisoners of the Japanese Army during the Second World War.

---

**Natalya Wells** (presenter) joined the International Committee of the Red Cross Australia Mission in 2013 as Policy and Political Affairs Officer. She was previously an Inquiry Secretary for the House of Representatives Committees Office at Australian Parliament House and has a Master of Arts with honours in Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies from the Australian National University.

**Daniel Palmieri** joined the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1994 and has been Head of Historical Research at the Library and Public Archives Unit in Switzerland since 2002. He is the author of numerous works on ICRC history, the history of war and conflicts, and the history of humanitarian action, primarily in French.
During the First World War the Red Cross in New South Wales became a major provider of convalescent facilities for sick and wounded soldiers.

Initially Red Cross workers cared for convalescing soldiers and naval personnel from the Australian Navel and Military Expeditionary Force, which took control of the German possessions in the Pacific in 1914. Recovering personnel were cared for in private homes while others stayed in convalescent hospitals in the Sydney area. These efforts were led by Mrs Isabelle Wallace Turner, the president of the Greenwich Red Cross branch, and as the Gallipoli casualties returned in 1915 were supported by private individuals like Professor Edgeworth David.

In late 1915 the Red Cross in New South Wales mirrored the example of the British Red Cross and established dedicated Red Cross convalescent homes. Starting with a seaside cottage at Cronulla this was followed by others in the inner Sydney suburb of Darlinghurst and the Sydney harbourside suburb of Woolwich, and with more in country New South Wales.

By June 1916 the Red Cross in New South Wales was responsible for the management of 14 convalescent homes for soldier rehabilitation which increased to 19 by 1918 along with a tuberculosis sanatorium, all up treating over 10,000 soldiers. These facilities were primarily staffed by voluntary aids who qualified in first aid and home nursing.

A venture of this scale was ground-breaking in New South Wales and reflected the deeper culture of caring within the Red Cross instilled by its Australian founder Lady Helen Munro Ferguson. A strong network of local branches in New South Wales, which was only surpassed in number by Victoria, provided the resources which allowed the Red Cross to quickly fill a niche which extended to military and field hospitals. These activities in conjunction with divisional and national fundraising campaigns meant that the Red Cross provided a level of soldier welfare activities never seen before in Australia.

---

**Ian Willis**

Rest, recovery and rehabilitation: Red Cross convalescent homes in New South Wales from 1915

By June 1916 the Red Cross in New South Wales was responsible for the management of 14 convalescent homes for soldier rehabilitation which increased to 19 by 1918 along with a tuberculosis sanatorium, all up treating over 10,000 soldiers. These facilities were primarily staffed by voluntary aids who qualified in first aid and home nursing.

A venture of this scale was ground-breaking in New South Wales and reflected the deeper culture of caring within the Red Cross instilled by its Australian founder Lady Helen Munro Ferguson. A strong network of local branches in New South Wales, which was only surpassed in number by Victoria, provided the resources which allowed the Red Cross to quickly fill a niche which extended to military and field hospitals. These activities in conjunction with divisional and national fundraising campaigns meant that the Red Cross provided a level of soldier welfare activities never seen before in Australia.

---

**Dr Ian Willis** is an honorary fellow at the University of Wollongong, NSW, a member of the Professional Historians Association (NSW and ACT), the Australian Historical Association and the Independent Scholars Association of Australia. He has a special interest in local studies, place and the Red Cross in Australia.
The ‘Convention (IV) relating to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Geneva 12 August 1949’, gave the ICRC, for the most part, equal status to the protecting power. This was a major departure from the 1929 conventions.

In my presentation I will explore some of the experiences and difficulties during WWII that led to this groundbreaking change in the status of the ICRC.

This presentation explores the role of the ICRC supporting civilians during WWII, who were stateless and unsupported by their country of origin. Through no fault of their own a great number of civilians were interned, who had lost citizenship or citizenship entitlements through political events in Europe.

This paper looks at the problems the Geneva Convention for POWs that was voluntarily applied to civilian internees did not cover: political dissenters (non-Nazis and anti-Fascists), citizens from Nazi-occupied Europe, and ‘racially’ persecuted individuals. How did their plight transform internment procedures during WWII for example in Australia, and how did it shape international law. I argue that the experiences of structural and legal shortcomings in regard to statelessness opened up a special space in future conventions that elevated the ICRC to a replacement agency for the Protecting Power.

Unrepresented: the ICRC and advocacy for stateless civilians during WWII

Christine Winter

A/Prof Christine Winter is an Australian Research Council Future Fellow and inaugural Matthew Flinders Fellow in the School of History and International Relations, Flinders University. Christine is a historian who has written widely on legacies of colonialism, scientific racism, and humanitarianism in the Asia-Pacific. Her research on internment during WWII examines the national and international structures during war that influenced the lives of civilians.
Vera Deakin (1891-1978), the youngest of the three daughters of Pattie and Alfred Deakin, grew up in South Yarra, Melbourne, and took advantage of opportunities provided by the fledgling Australian Red Cross for women to participate in the First World War effort.

In October 1915 Vera became the inaugural honorary secretary of the Australian Red Cross Wounded and Missing Enquiry Bureau in Cairo. Vera transferred the Bureau to London in 1916 and gained an outstanding colleague in Lilian Whybrow (later Scantlebury). As she welded disparate volunteers into a cohesive team, Vera developed impressive leadership skills that were to become a hallmark of her later roles in the Red Cross.

In 1920 Vera married Thomas White, a former Australian military pilot who had been a prisoner of war in Turkey. While raising four daughters and supporting her husband’s political career, Vera returned to high office in the Red Cross. During the Second World War she provided advice to the ARCS national enquiry bureau while co-directing with Lilian Scantlebury the Victorian Division’s Bureau for Wounded, Missing and Prisoners of War. As divisional commandant, with Lilian as her deputy, Vera fostered the significant emergency service companies. Illness forced Vera’s temporary retirement in 1945 but she witnessed the transforming of Red Cross enquiry work into ongoing invaluable tracing services.

Vera served as vice-chairman of the Victorian Divisional Council and twice as vice-chairman of the ARCS; on the second occasion she took over after the death of Lilian Scantlebury. A longtime member of the Victorian Division’s Hospital Services Committee, Vera pioneered Music in Mental Hospitals, which led to the introduction of a music therapy course at Melbourne University. Red Cross leader Noreen Minogue asserted that Vera Deakin White probably ‘had a greater influence than any other single person on the development of the Australian Red Cross’.

Carole Woods, an independent historian, is a fellow and honorary secretary of the Royal Historical Society in Victoria. Carole was the curator of the popular exhibition “The Australian Red Cross in the Great War” held at the RHSV in 2014. She is the author of *Beechworth: a Titan’s Field, Vision Fugitive: the Story of David Allen.*
Between the autumn of 1940 and the late winter of 1941, the British Red Cross Society faced one of the biggest administrative and political challenges to its independence and public standing.

Together with the Order of St John, with whom it had joined forces at the start of the war to form the ‘Joint Organisation’, the BRCS assumed responsibility for providing relief parcels for British POWs held in enemy hands. The turn of military fortunes in the summer of 1940, followed by a catalogue of defeats for British arms in the Mediterranean the following spring, massively increased the number of British servicemen in enemy hands, and threw European transport networks into disarray.

The task of producing, shipping and distributing relief parcels for British POWs became a test of the Joint Organisation’s competence, and severely strained its relations with the government authorities, the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva and damaged its standing in the eyes of the British public.

This paper examines the BRCS’s response to the ‘parcel crisis’, and argues that while the turn of events exposed some of the inherent institutional and cultural weaknesses of the BRCS leadership, it also suggests that the organisation was victim of government attempts to use the Red Cross as a lightening conductor for public irritation, and evade its own responsibility for the crisis.
Flinders University was founded in 1966, and has established a reputation as a leading research institution with a strong focus on innovation. In a fitting celebration of our 50th Anniversary in 2016, Flinders University has been ranked in the Top 50 universities under 50 by Times Higher Education.

Our campus is amongst Australia’s most beautiful, located in a natural setting with on-campus accommodation in safe and affordable Adelaide, one of the world’s most livable cities.

Flinders’ achievements are underpinned by the network of strong external links that we have developed with our stakeholders and with the communities we serve. We commit to being a university that is outwardly engaged, continuing to build the supportive and valued relationships which will be vital for the future.

The School of History and International Relations (SHIR) is a major sponsor of the Histories of the Red Cross Movement: Continuity and Change Conference. SHIR offers exciting opportunities to its students and is at the cutting edge of the study of modern history, the international relations of the Asia-Pacific region, and the challenges of developments.

SHIR research in history is rated as ‘above world standing’ (level 4 ranking) according to the most recent (2015) Australian Research Council Excellence in Research Australia (ERA) exercise.

Making a difference – it’s driven us for the last fifty years and will for the next fifty, and the fifty after that.

Flinders University is proud to be supporting this conference and welcomes all participants to our world-class facilities.
Australian Red Cross helps vulnerable people in Australia and around the world. Its mission is to prevent human suffering, protect lives and health, and ensure everyone – no matter who they are – are treated with respect.

Red Cross in Australia was founded on 13 August 1914, just nine days after the outbreak of World War One, by the wife of the then Governor-General, Lady Helen Munro Ferguson.

Today, Australian Red Cross helps people most in need across the country and around the world. It gives comfort to elderly people at home, clean water in communities overseas and disaster relief and recovery support to communities affected by floods or bushfires. Red Cross provides long-term care so that people and whole communities can break the cycle and overcome hardship and disadvantage.

Australian Red Cross is part of the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement – the world’s largest and most trusted humanitarian organisation. The movement operates in 190 countries with a vast network of volunteers and supporters and each year it helps tens of millions of people. Around the world, Red Cross acts with neutrality and impartiality: it takes no sides and shows no preference. This gives it access to places others can’t go – from battlefields, detention centres and prisons.

In Australia, it has over one million members, volunteers, partners, staff, donors, blood donors, and supporters. To do its work, Red Cross relies on the generous support of donors and the spirit of volunteerism and commitment of everyday Australians to its humanitarian values. This spirit is as strong today as it was in 1914.

We are delighted to be working again with one of our Australian Red Cross Ambassadors and Australian Red Cross historian, Professor Melanie Oppenheimer, and her team. We take this opportunity to thank Flinders University for organising this international history conference.
The University of Nottingham has rightly been described as ‘the nearest Britain has to a truly global university’ (TGUG 2016). Ranked 70th in the world and in the top one percent of universities internationally (QS World University Rankings 2015), the University of Nottingham boasts a unique global footprint, based on a network of fully-integrated campuses, not just in and around the city of Nottingham, but also in the port city of Ningbo, China and in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Many of its degree programmes can be studied in part or in whole across the network; one in five of the University’s 43,000 students are registered at its Asian campuses, and one in five currently elect to spend periods abroad as part of their studies. The University of Nottingham has long been one of the most popular universities in the UK for undergraduate applications, and one of the UK’s most favoured destinations for foreign students. It is currently one of the two universities most targeted by businesses included in the UK’s ‘top 100 graduate employers’. Its global position also marks the quality and scope of its research and knowledge transfer activities.

A comprehensive university, Nottingham was ranked eighth in the UK in terms of its ‘research power’, and had more than 80% of its research recognised as either ‘world leading’ or ‘internationally excellent’ in the most recent Research Excellence Framework exercise (2014).

The University of Nottingham is delighted to sponsor ‘Histories of the Red Cross Movement: continuity and change’. Its staff and students have over the years enjoyed close relations with a wide range of institutions within the Red Cross movement, at a local, regional, national and global level. The British Red Cross Society currently collaborates with the School of Law to promote the study of international humanitarian law, while students in our Malaysia campus regularly volunteer or take up internships and research positions at the IFRC’s Asia Pacific Regional Office. One of the university’s key research priority areas is particularly relevant to our conference: ‘Rights and Justice’ draws on research groups across the UK, China and Malaysia campuses, and encompasses work on human rights, civil rights, criminal justice, social and economic justice, minority rights and all forms of political and social equality. The research establishes rights, and justice as transformational routes towards the creation of sustainable societies, which are equal, just, secure, free from slavery and unfree labour, with a humane vision towards migrants and a commitment to children’s rights. The University also hosts a four-year project on the cultural and historical geography of the origins of internationalism.
The Canadian Network on Humanitarian History connects researchers, teachers, archivists, librarians, and practitioners of humanitarian aid who share their research and engage in an international dialogue on the state of global humanitarianism, both past and present. Working with humanitarian agencies, the Network provides access to resources, publications, news, and other items of interest to its membership. The Network hosts an annual workshop where members come together to discuss their ideas about the direction of humanitarianism and the global community.

Become a member. Join the conversation and access all the resources the Network makes available.

For more information or to join (for free!) visit our website: www.aidhistory.ca
IN THE TOP 2% OF THE WORLD’S UNIVERSITIES... AND RISING.

Making a difference.

Flinders UNIVERSITY

CELEBRATING 50 years OF INSPIRING ACHIEVEMENT

study.flinders.edu.au