WAR and the
Red **+** Cross

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THE UNSPOKEN MISSION

Nicholas O. Berry

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*Nine delegates of the International Committee
of the Red Cross were murdered while
this book was in preparation. This dedication is
a memorial to their bravery.*

Died in Burundi, June 4, 1996

CÉDRIC MARTIN
RETO NEUENSCHWANDER
JUAN PASTOR RUFFINO

Died in Chechnya, December 17, 1996

NANCY MALLOY
FERNANDA CALADO
SHERYL THAYER
GUNNHILD MYKLEBUST
INGEBORG FOSS
JOHAN J. ELKERBOUT

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Preface

This is a story about the world's leading war-relief organization and its unspoken mission to undermine and resolve civil wars. It is also an analysis—illustrated by six case studies—of the changing nature of these wars.

At times, the subject seemed overwhelming. And, as the dedication indicates, I was dealing with sensitive information that could affect the lives of Red Cross workers who accept grave risks in order to bring protection and relief to the victims of war. More than once I thought of abandoning the project. The story, however, needed telling. I hope it adds a small voice to the shouts of those who labor against the terrible institution called war.

There were always people who helped. Ursinus College was generous in its support, as was its library staff, especially Judith E. Fryer and David H. Mill. My colleagues, Steven Hood, Paul Stern, Gerard Fitzpatrick, Houghton Kane, and William Akin gave advice and encouragement. The graphics were expertly designed by Paul Bashus. Melissa Grafe compiled the index. I learned some essential legal and political-military information at seminars, for which I thank John Norton Moore, Director of the Center for National Security Law at the University of Virginia School of Law; Scott L. Silliman, Executive Director of the Center on Law, Ethics and National Security at the Duke University School of Law; and Pamela Aall, Deputy Director of the Education and Training Program at the United States Institute of Peace. My thanks to Colonel Charles J. Dunlap, Jr. at the Air Force Judge Advocate's Office for helping me understand the practical problems involved with peacekeeping operations, especially those he experienced in Somalia. Nik Gowing, diplomatic editor for ITN's Channel Four News in London, shared his thoughts on the impact of real-time television coverage of wars on foreign policy decisions.

All of us who write about humanitarian action in today's wars owe much to the pioneering studies of Larry Minear and Thomas G. Weiss, both at the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University, and to David P. Forsythe at the Political Science Department at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln.

International Committee of the Red Cross officials, delegates, and staff were most forthcoming with documents, photographs, and papers. They welcomed me into their offices in Geneva, New York, and Guatemala City. They patiently answered my often indelicate questions, and a number of them kindly read portions of the manuscript to correct errors of fact or interpretation. Any errors that remain, of course, are my own. Some ICRC officials thought I exaggerated the ICRC's unspoken mission. Others did not. Some, quite frankly, were displeased to have the politics of the ICRC out in public. Others were not. All were helpful, and my deep appreciation goes to ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga, André Pasquier, Daniel Augstburger, Patrick Zahnd, Graziella De Vecchi, Laurent Burkhalter, François Bugnion, Olivier Dürr, Sylvie Junod, Jean-Paul Fallet, Carlo von Flüe, Kim Gordon-Bates, Tony Burgener, and Alan Dorsey.

Finally, my wife Janet has again proven to be an indispensable editor for shaping-up my all too frequently highly original prose. She made the work of the editors at St. Martin's Press—Michael Flamini, Elizabeth Paukstis, Wendy Kraus, and Diana Gavales—less of a challenge.

NICHOLAS O. BERRY

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