

Bozen, den 5. Juni 1987.

Internationale Kommunistische Partei



WAS UNSERE PARTEI UNTERSCHIEDET:

- ★ die Linie von Marx bis Lenin, bis zur Kommunistischen Internationale und zum Kampf der Linke gegen die Degenerationen dieser Weltpartei;
- ★ Ablehnung der Widerstandsblöcke der Partisanenbewegung;
- ★ die schwere Arbeit der Wiederherstellung der revolutionären Lehre und des Organs der Revolution im Kontakt mit der Arbeiterklasse ausserhalb jeglichen persönlichen und wahlvergötzenden Politikantentums.

MILITARISMUS und PAZIFISMUS

GEGEN PAZIFISMUS, UND KRIEGSHETZE!

FOR DEN INTERNATIONALEN KLASSENKRIEG DES PROLETARIATS!

Der Erste Weltkrieg sollte der letzte sein. Der Zweite Weltkrieg sollte der letzte sein. So sagten es die Kapitalisten und ihre Lakaien. Inzwischen ist es eindeutig: Sie bereiten einen dritten Weltkrieg vor. Und sie müssen es tun. Die Produktivkräfte sind zu groß geworden für die Parzellierung der Welt in nationale Staaten, "Einflußsphären", Blöcke usw. Imperialistische Kriege sind die Antwort der Bourgeoisie darauf. Produktivkräfte werden vernichtet, die Welt wird unter den imperialistischen Staaten neu aufgeteilt.

Damit aber der Krieg ausbrechen und ausgefochten werden kann, genügt es keineswegs, daß die Imperialisten aufrüsten, daß die verschiedenen Staaten sich zu zwei Kriegslagern fest zusammenschließen und daß die internationalen Konflikte einen Siedepunkt erreichen, an dem sie heute noch nicht angelangt sind. Nicht zuletzt muß auch das Proletariat, das Kanonenfutter der Bourgeoisie, auf den imperialistischen Krieg eingestimmt werden.

Und so paradox es scheinen mag - die Bourgeoisie tut dies nicht allein durch die Vergiftung des Proletariats mit *Nationalismus*, sondern auch mit *Pazifismus*. Sie beschwört die apokalyptischen Schrecken des Krieges herauf, um das Proletariat in eine Front zur "Sicherung des Friedens", der "Entspannung" zwischen den imperialistischen Staaten einzubinden. Besonders die deutsche Bourgeoisie übt sich heute in dieser Kunst, denn sie befindet sich in einer Klemme zwischen den beiden Weltmächten und es steht für sie noch nicht endgültig fest, in welchem der beiden Kriegslager sie ihre imperialistischen Interessen am besten durchsetzen kann - die "Fortsetzung der Entspannungspolitik" ist die ihr eigene Art, sich auf den Krieg vorzubereiten.

Wenn aber die Stunde der Generalabrechnung schlägt, dann wird jede Bourgeoisie ihren Proletariern erklären, sie habe alles getan, um den Frieden zu bewahren; der Gegner sei schuld, er sei der "Aggressor". Und die Proletarier müssen sich in Verteidigung des "Vaterlandes", der "Demokratie", der "Freiheit" oder, wenn sie im kapitalistischen Ostblock leben, des "realen Sozialismus" usw. abschlachten lassen, sie müssen sich zur "Wiederherstellung des Friedens" den Schädel einschlagen lassen. Friedensheuchelei mündet in Kriegshetze und entfesselten Chauvinismus.

Proletarier! Genossen!

Im Westen wie im Osten bereitet die Bourgeoisie den Dritten Weltkrieg vor, und dieser Krieg wird noch schrecklicher sein als der *imperialistische Frieden*, unter dem wir leben, unter dem *kein Tag ohne Krieg* irgendwo in der Welt verging, kein Tag ohne Massaker an Proletariern und unterdrückten Völkern, kein Tag ohne mörderische Arbeitsunfälle; unter dem das Kapital ganze Bevölkerungen in der "Dritten Welt" ins wachsende Elend gestürzt hat; unter dem die Bourgeoisie mit allen Mitteln der Abschreckung, des demokratischen Betrugs, des parlamentarischen Wahlzirkus und der Korruption mit dahinschwindenden Brosamen und Scheinsicherheiten versuchte und versucht, unsere kämpfende Klasse sozial zu atomisieren und zu ihrem "Sozialpartner", sprich Hausklaven zu machen; unter dem sie uns - sofern Arbeitsplätze vorhanden - in den Betrieben in einem immer höllischeren Tempo und bei einer immer stupideren Arbeit bis aufs Mark ausbeutet, uns übermüdet in ihren Wohnsilos einbetoniert und mit ihrer Ideologie, mit ihren verblödenden und abstumpfenden Massenmedien Vergnügungsindustrien (und beschwörenden Reden ihrer Aufrüstungs- und Abrüstungsaposteln) berieselt und demoralisiert; unter dem sie einen immer entschlosseneren Krieg gegen unsere Lebensbedingungen führt und den wachsenden Lohnabbau durch geradezu höhnische Tarifrunden bestätigt; unter dem jede Unmutsäußerung der Jugendlichen, jeder Widerstand gegen Ausbeutung, Unterdrückung, Wohnungsnot auf brutale Repression stößt.

Proletarier! Genossen!

Die Organisationen, politische Parteien und Strömungen, die uns zur "sozialen Partnerschaft" aufrufen oder die Schrecken des Krieges heraufbeschwören, um uns für die Sicherung dieses verdamnten imperialistischen Friedens einzuspannen, vertreten die Interessen der Bourgeoisie in unseren Reihen. Ihr Werk besteht darin, das Proletariat wehrlos den Angriffen der Bourgeoisie auf seine Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen auszuliefern und ebenso wehrlos in den Schlachthof des imperialistischen Krieges zu führen. Mit solchen Organisationen und Parteien muß das Proletariat brechen, um seine *eigenen* Interessen vertreten zu können.

Die Proletarier haben keinen imperialistischen Frieden zu sichern, und sie haben sich für keinen imperialistischen Krieg zu opfern; sie brauchen keine nationale Partnerschaft und keinen Pazifismus, diese Waffen des Feindes. Sie müssen einen *eigenen* Krieg führen, einen *Klassenkrieg* gegen den Kapitalismus. Sie müssen die Bourgeoisien aller Länder, die sich zwar gegenseitig in den Haaren liegen, aber - ob sie nun zur NATO, dem Warschauer Pakt oder den "Blockfreien" gehören - gegen das Proletariat eine einzige Front bilden, unerbittlich bekämpfen. Und sie müssen die Gegensätze der kapitalistischen Welt, die Verschärfung ihrer Widersprüche im Frieden wie im Kriege ausnutzen, um durch den selbständigen Zusammenschluß für den unmittelbaren Widerstandskampf wie durch die wachsende internationale Parteiorganisation die *eigene* Sache, die Sache der *kommunistischen Weltrevolution* voranzubringen.

Denn allein das Proletariat kann - durch seine Revolution - die kapitalistische Welt, in der der Frieden ein Schrecken ohne Ende und der Krieg ein immer wiederkehrendes Ende mit Schrecken ist, zerstören, um *durch seine eigene Diktatur* eine Gesellschaft ohne Kapital und Lohnarbeit, ohne Klassen und ohne Staaten und daher ohne Krieg zu errichten.

Die Frage des Krieges ist eine *Klassenfrage* und eine *Machtfrage*: Solange die Bourgeoisie an der Macht ist, solange diese Gesellschaft besteht, ist der imperialistische Krieg unvermeidlich.

Proletarier! Genossen!

Wir müssen uns die Schrecken des imperialistischen Krieges vor Augen halten, und wir müssen unseren Blick für die Schrecken des imperialistischen Friedens schärfen, aber wir müssen dies tun, um unseren *Klassenhaß* gegen diese Gesellschaft anzufachen und ihr *den Kampf bis aufs Messer* anzusagen. Und dies heißt auch, daß man sich durch die Schreckensvisionen nicht lähmen lassen darf, sondern vielmehr nach der Devise handeln muß: Wenn es uns nicht gelingt, dem Krieg *revolutionär* zuvorzukommen, so werden wir nichts unterlassen, um den Ausbruch des Krieges und die Katastrophen des Krieges *auszunutzen*, um den *Bürgerkrieg gegen die Bourgeoisie* zu *entfesseln* und *siegreich* zu führen.

KAMPF DER SOZIALEN PARTNERSCHAFT!

KAMPF DEM NATIONALISMUS! KAMPF DEM PAZIFISMUS!

FÜR DIE PROLETARISCHE WELTREVOLUTION!

FÜR DIE DIKTATUR DES PROLETARIATS! FÜR DEN KOMMUNISMUS!

INTERNATIONALE KOMMUNISTISCHE PARTEI

Nachrüstung und Pazifismus

Das westliche imperialistische Bündnis, das durch zwei Säulen getragen wird, nämlich die großen Staaten Westeuropas und die USA, sieht sich im Zuge der Kriegsvorbereitungen auf einen dritten imperialistischen Weltkrieg zu einer weiteren Aufrüstung gegenüber dem imperialistischen Gegner im Osten gezwungen, die beschönigend "Nachrüstung" genannt wird. Insbesondere herrscht eine Disparität auf dem Gebiet der Mittelstreckenwaffen, die im wesentlichen Westeuropa betreffen. Die USA drängen mit imperialistischer Folgerichtigkeit auf die Stationierung von Mittelstreckenraketen in Westeuropa. Hierbei stoßen sie auf Widerstände bei den europäischen Verbündeten, Widerstände, die keinesfalls die militärische Zweckmäßigkeit der Nachrüstungsmaßnahmen betreffen, ist doch unbestritten, daß man die militärische Überlegenheit über den Gegner erreichen muß. Es geht vielmehr um den politischen Zusammenhalt des westlichen Bündnisses und schießlich um seine *politische Substanz*, d.h. um die Frage, ob sich die verschiedenen Mitgliedstaaten heute bedingungslos der Offensivpolitik des amerikanischen Imperialismus unterwerfen wollen. Der sog. "Nachrüstungsbeschluß" wird zu einem ernststen politischen Test für die Einstimmigkeit und letztendlich den Zusammenhalt der NATO.

Eine breite pazifistische Bewegung hat sich gegen diese Nachrüstung etabliert. Die Opposition gegen die geplante Stationierung von Mittelstreckenraketen in Westeuropa reicht bis hinein in die regierenden SPD und FDP. Auch in anderen westeuropäischen Ländern wie den Niederlanden, Dänemark, Belgien, Norwegen erkennt man eine ausgeprägte Tendenz, sich einer militärischen Stärkung des NATO-Bündnisses zu widersetzen. Bei diesen letzteren Ländern ist ein klassisches, kleinstaatliches Beiseite-sein-Wollen erkennbar, das - wie zwei Weltkriege lehren - die Einbeziehung in den imperialistischen Konflikt niemals verhindern kann. Im Falle der BRD ist es aber objektiv und zum Teil auch subjektiv etwas anderes. Zu groß ist das weltwirtschaftliche und auch weltpolitische Gewicht des Landes, zu groß seine militärische Bedeutung in Europa. Eine Verschiebung - selbst nur hin zum Neutralismus - beinhaltet hier entscheidende Änderungen der Kräfteverhältnisse im Weltmaßstab. Gerade hier liegt das Dilemma, das sich in der BRD besonders kraß zeigt. Den imperialistischen Verflechtungen und den Zwängen des

Imperialismus des "eigenen" Landes kann man sich nur in einer revolutionären Perspektive entziehen, in einer Perspektive, die sich die Zerstörung der kapitalistischen Weltordnung und nicht eine angeblich friedliche oder neutrale Politik auf der Grundlage der Herrschaft des Kapitals zum Ziel setzt. Die pazifistische Bewegung kann daher nur Illusionen verbreiten und festigen helfen. Hier liegt ihre Klassenbedeutung gegenüber dem Proletariat. Zugleich dient sie bewußt oder unbewußt einer bestimmten imperialistischen Lösung. Hier liegt ihre Bedeutung im Gerangel der imperialistischen Mächte. Schauen wir uns vor diesem Hintergrund die Bewegung gegen die sog. Nachrüstung an.

Zunächst ist festzuhalten, daß sie sehr heterogen zusammengesetzt ist und die Motive für die Ablehnung der Nachrüstung stark differieren. Das gibt es die *Gesinnungspazifisten* ohne Hintergedanken, die eigentlichen kleinbürgerlichen Friedensapostel, die mit nichts als ihrer kläglich und hilflosen Moral bewaffnet, dem unerbittlichen Mahlstrom des imperialistischen Zeitalters zu entrinnen glauben.

Da gibt es weiter die *Eiferer des russischen Imperialismus* (DKP und diverse trotzkistische Gruppierungen), denen es hinter der Maske von aufrichtig um den Frieden besorgten Pazifisten nur darum geht, die westlichen Kriegsvorbereitungen zu stören, damit die östlichen umso reibungsloser vonstatten gehen können. Offene Fürsprecher des einen zukünftigen Kriegslagers, dessen Militarismus nur dem Frieden diene, ja das im kommenden Krieg "seine" Proletarier nur für den Frieden ihr bürgerliches Vaterland verteidigen läßt und auf die Proletarier des anderen Lagers schießen läßt.

Schließlich gibt es dann noch die breite Palette derer, die auf der Welle *neutralistischer Tendenzen* schwimmen. Hiervon tritt man die Auffassung, daß die Aufrüstung nicht mehr nötig wäre, wenn man gleiche Distanz zu beiden Supermächten halten würde. Getragen wird diese Position von vielen "linken" Gruppen, Teilen der SPD und der FDP sowie den Gewerkschaften und relativ breite Strömungen der Kirche. Die "Linken" und die sog. christlichen Linken, die keine Rücksicht auf die Realpolitik zu nehmen brauchen, sind mehr oder weniger offen für den radikalen Austritt beider Teile Deutschlands aus den vorhandenen Bündnissystemen. Und vonseiten der neutralistischen Kräfte in der regierenden Sozialdemokratie und bei

den Freien Demokraten ist man für erste kleine Schritte in dieselbe Richtung, was sich politisch in einer zunehmenden Distanzierung von den USA und ihrer Politik und in einer Schönfärberei des russischen Imperialismus ausdrückt, dem man eine defensive Politik bescheinigt. Es handelt sich dabei um eine wahrhaft vaterländische Strömung, der es im Grunde um eine selbstständige Wehrpolitik Deutschlands geht und die die sog. Nachrüstung als Bestandteil der US-Strategie ablehnt. Das Ergebnis einer solchen Politik könnte nur darin bestehen, das militärische Gewicht der BRD zu erhöhen und damit auch ihre Trümpfe in der Stunde der Entscheidung zu vermehren.

In der zur Zeit massiv auftretenden Friedensbewegung vermischen sich diese drei Tendenzen und lassen sich nicht immer klar voneinander abgrenzen. Die pazifistische Bewegung hat mithin nicht nur Wurzeln in sozialen Schichten kleinbürgerlicher Prägung (welche sowohl was die Klassegegensätze anbelangt, wie auch was die äußere Politik betrifft, immer einen versöhnlicherisch-"neutralen" Standpunkt einnehmen), sondern sie entspringt ebenso wohl aus der eigentümlichen Rolle, die der westdeutsche Staat geopolitisch spielt. Dies erklärt, warum sich in der BRD ein typisch kleinbürgerlicher Pazifismus eng mit einem pazifistischen Neutralismus verbindet, der bis hinein in die herrschende Klasse reicht. Die jüngste Debatte in der SPD, aber auch in der FDP, über den NATO-Doppelbeschluß, die zu einer Zerreißprobe für die Regierungskoalition geworden ist, verdeutlicht das Gewicht, das diese Strömung inzwischen bekommen hat. Niemals zuvor wurde in solcher Offenheit innerhalb der Bourgeoisie die Frage diskutiert, ob die bisherige Politik der vorbehaltlosen Verankerung im westlichen Bündnis und der kompromißlosen Unterstützung der amerikanischen Politik nicht überholt sei. Die Zeit ist zwar noch nicht reif für eine radikale Änderung der bisherigen Orientierung des westdeutschen Imperialismus, aber sie ist offensichtlich reif für erste Schritte in Richtung auf die Distanzierung vom amerikanischen Imperialismus.

Daß die Frage des Bündnisses zunehmend aufkommt, kennzeichnet unsere Epoche erneut als Epoche der Vorbereitung des III. Weltkrieges, in dessen Vorfeld sich die verschiedenen Mächte gruppieren müssen. Und die Tatsache, daß eine definitive Entscheidung des deutschen Imperia-

lismus - um die die beiden Weltmächte zunehmend und mit allen Mitteln ringen werden - noch nicht unmittelbar auf der Tagesordnung steht, zeigt, daß wir uns noch nicht am Vorabend des Krieges befinden.

Daß die neutralistischen Strömungen in der BRD eng mit der "deutschen Frage" zusammenhängen, zeigte sich jüngst in der Kontroverse über die Vorschläge von Gaus (SPD, ehemaliger Leiter der BRD-Vertretung in der DDR), deutsch-deutsche Konsultationen auch über die "Sicherheitspolitik" einzuführen. Wir sehen hier deutlich eine nationale, d.h. auf beide Teile Deutschlands bezogene Politik durchschimmern.

Die bürgerliche FAZ erkennt durchaus klar den Konflikt, der aus dem Widerstreit von deutsch-nationaler Politik und Westbindung entstanden ist: *"Die eigenständige, nationale Politik der Deutschen, welche Rücksicht auf die Landsleute in der DDR nehmen muß und deshalb auch auf die Interessen der Sowjetunion, liege in einem Interessenkonflikt mit der internationalen Sicherheitspolitik, zu der sich die Bundesrepublik in der NATO bekenne."* (9.2.81).

Zugeständnisse in der deutschen Frage zusammen mit wirtschaftlichen Vorteilen (man denke nur an die Erdgaslieferungen) sind auch die Lockmittel, mit denen die SU - die natürlich auch ihr militärisches Gewicht in politischen Einfluß umzumünzen versteht - die BRD in ihren Bannkreis zu ziehen versucht. Die Westpolitik der SU fördert bewußt die neutralistischen und pazifistischen Tendenzen in der Ostpolitik der BRD. Die Angebote eines Raketenmoratoriums vonseiten Breschnews - vom Standpunkt ausgewogener militärischer Kräfteverhältnisse ein Witz - sind in diesem Sinne zu verstehen. In dem westdeutschen Pazifismus trifft sich also ein opportunistisches, extrem nationales Bestreben mit der systematischen Westpolitik der östlichen Imperialistischen Großmacht.

Und die logische Konsequenz dieses vom Nationalismus geprägten Neutralismus und Pazifismus ist weder der Frieden noch die Neutralität, sondern - wie es kluge Realpolitiker in der Bourgeoisie wissen - ein möglicher Bruch des westlichen Bündnisses bzw. ein Bündniswechsel und dementsprechend auch der Versuch der USA, dies zu verhindern - eine weltpolitische Machtfrage, um die der Krieg ausbrechen kann oder die durch den Ausbruch des Krieges geklärt werden wird. ..

In diesem Kräftefeld muß sich die deutsche Bourgeoisie zwangsläufig "spalten", in ihr müssen sich zunehmend Kräfte differenzieren, die die eine oder die andere Lösung maßgeblich tragen können. Die offizielle Politik muß aber trotz einer gewissen Nachgiebigkeit gegenüber den neutralistischen Tendenzen sich heute noch scharf von ihnen abgrenzen, wohl wissend, daß die Zeit eben noch nicht reif ist und daß die Risiken einer anderen Politik noch nicht kalkulierbar wären.

Die pazifistische Bewegung ist somit nicht allein eine falsche Reaktion auf den Kurs hin zur Vorbereitung des III. Weltkrieges: Sie ist - ob sich ihre Teilnehmer dessen bewußt sind oder nicht - Bestandteil dieses Kurses. Sie hat von vornherein ihren Burgfrieden mit dem deutschen Imperialismus geschlossen, dem sie zu einer "besseren" Verteidigung seiner Interessen verhelfen möchte. Sie steht

vom Anbeginn im Bündnis mit staatstragenden Kräften. Durch die Verbreitung der Schreckensvisionen vom atomaren Holocaust versucht sie nicht, das Proletariat zum Kampf gegen den Kapitalismus anzuspornen, sondern ihm die Sicht für eine eigene, klassenmäßige, revolutionäre Lösung der Frage des imperialistischen Krieges zu sperren. Die moralische Friedensideologie, die sie predigt, ist der Idee des Klassenkampfes absolut feindlich. Nicht von ungefähr tragen die Gewerkschaftsbürokratien die pazifistische Bewegung mit.

Das Proletariat kann nicht pazifistisch sein. Es ist für den Klassenkrieg. Unter der Devise "Die Arbeiter haben kein Vaterland" und "Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land" bereitet es sich darauf vor, auf den imperialistischen Krieg mit revolutionärem Defaitismus und mit der Revolution zu antworten.

Geistige Aufrüstung

Daß die Welt sich nunmehr in einer düsteren Epoche befindet, die man als Vorkriegszeit zum 3. imperialistischen Weltgemetzel bezeichnen muß, läßt sich inzwischen auch an den Tönen, die in der bürgerlichen Publizistik anklingen, deutlich ablesen. Hatte man dem Proletariat in den drei Jahrzehnten nach Kriegsende immer wieder stetigen Fortschritt, wachsenden Wohlstand und üppige Freiheiten versprochen und diese Versprechungen durch soziale Prämien, die das zunächst enorm wachsende Kapital erübrigen konnte, garniert, so ist dies heute grundlegend anders geworden. Nach dem reformistischen Singsang kommt der Trommelwirbel nationaler Opferbereitschaft. Eine der Haus- und Hofpostillen der westdeutschen Bourgeoisie, die "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", schlägt in einem Kommentar vom 31. Mai 1980 folgende klare Töne an: "Die Bundesrepublik war nicht gegründet worden zu dem Zwecke, ihren Bürgern Wohlstand und bequemes Leben zu verschaffen."

Jetzt gehe es darum, die erreichten "Freiheiten", den ideellen Wert nationaler Existenz zu verteidigen.

"Sicherheit im Besitz und Gebrauch von Grundfreiheiten kann es nur durch individuelle Opfer für das gemeinsame Wohl geben."

Um den Ungeist der Verweigerung (dessen Symptome man in den Bremer Ereignissen erblickte) zu verscheuchen, verweist die

FAZ auf die Notwendigkeit, auch geistig aufzurüsten.

"Daß die Bundeswehr das bestausgerüstete Kontingent der NATO in Europa sein sollte bedeutet nicht viel, wenn ein Teil der Wehrpflichtigen und ein großer Teil der übrigen Gesellschaft diesem Dienst nicht zustimmt. Der Geist vor allem bestimmt den militärischen Wert einer Armee."

Zu einer solchen geistigen Aufrüstung gehört aber nicht allein die individuelle Opferbereitschaft, die beschworen wurde, sondern auch der Wille, die Nation zu verteidigen. Im Einklang mit der "Entspannungspolitik", die man durchaus befürwortet, verweist die FAZ (vielleicht etwas verfrüht?) auf deren unausweichliche Konsequenz (den "Linken" ins Stammbuch zu schreiben):

Man solle nicht glauben, "es sei möglich, Freiheit zu bewahren, ohne dafür kämpfen zu müssen, oder Frieden zu erhalten, ohne dazu physische Macht und den Willen zu ihrem Gebrauch im Notfall parat halten zu müssen". Es sei nicht "WIDERSINNIC, FRIEDEN MIT DEN MITTELN DES KRIEGES ZU SICHERN."

"Entspannungspolitik", Pazifismus und Kriegshetze sind also nicht zwei entgegengesetzte politische Alternativen, wie es der kleinbürgerliche Linke glaubt, sondern ergänzen einander. Wir wiederholen es: der Pazifismus ist nur eine Form der Kriegsvorbereitung!

Eine verheerende Reaktion auf das Kriegsgeschrei

Eine der ältesten Waffen, die die Bourgeoisie gegen das Proletariat anwendet, besteht in dem Versuch, es durch die Beschwörung ihrer angeblichen Allmacht, die selbstgefällige Beschreibung ihrer neuen Kriegswaffen und ihres Polizeiparates usw. zu terrorisieren. Die aufgeschreckte Kleinbourgeoisie beteiligt sich offensichtlich an diesen Machenschaften und versucht ihrerseits, bestmöglich dazu beizutragen, in dem Proletariat die Überzeugung zu verbreiten, daß, wenn die Bourgeoisie sich beweert, es verloren ist.

Die Übertreibung des heutigen Vorbereitungsstandes der Weltbourgeoisie auf einen Krieg, der Aufruf zur Resignation im Falle, wo dieser Krieg ausbrechen sollte, sowie die Übertreibung der heutigen Fähigkeit des Proletariats, der Austerität und der chauvinistischen Propaganda zu widerstehen, laufen in Wirklichkeit auf dasselbe hinaus: dies alles sind hervorragende Alibis, um die Aufgaben zu verschleiern, die der revolutionären Avantgarde und dem Proletariat selbst zukommen. Kurz gesagt, heute ist es nicht notwendig,

mehr zu kämpfen; und morgen (wenn das Proletariat bewaffnet sein wird!) wird dies... unmöglich sein.

Anstatt zu zeigen, daß das Nahen des Krieges - und der Krieg selbst - Zeichen für die wachsende Instabilität des Kapitalismus sind und also *Gelegenheiten* darstellen, die das Proletariat für seinen Kampf ausnutzen muß; anstatt dem Proletariat den *wirklichen* Weg seiner Emanzipation, die zu Überwindenden Schwierigkeiten und die Mittel aufzuzeigen, die es ermöglichen werden, seine riesige, heute noch vom Opportunismus behinderte Kraft wiederherzustellen; anstatt zu den Bemühungen des Proletariats, zu kämpfen und

sich zu organisieren, beizutragen, auch durch die direkte Teilnahme an seinen selbst partiellen und noch unklaren Kämpfen, kurzum anstatt das Proletariat durch die allgemeine Propaganda wie die "tägliche revolutionäre Arbeit" darauf vorzubereiten, eines Tages *seine Lösung* gegen jene der Bourgeoisie - die Revolution gegen den Krieg oder, wenn der Krieg ausbricht, den revolutionären Defätismus und die Verwandlung des imperialistischen Krieges in den Bürgerkrieg - durchzusetzen, anstatt dies zu tun, wiegen die Herren von der IKS ihre Leser und sich selbst in der Illusion eines graduellen und automatischen Prozesses, in dessen Verlauf das Proletariat das "allgemeine Bewußtsein" seiner historischen Aufgaben erlangen würde. Und sollte dies nicht vor Ausbruch des Weltkrieges geschehen, so wäre im Übrigen sowieso alles verloren!

Was die Proletarier zur Revolution treiben wird, das wird keineswegs ihr revolutionäres "Bewußtsein", ob nun "allgemein" verbreitet oder nicht, sein. Es werden materielle Bestimmungen sein, bei denen auch die tiefen Erschütterungen und die Leiden des Krieges eine entscheidende - wenn auch nicht automatische - Rolle spielen können, wie das 1871, 1905 und 1917 der Fall war. Damit diese Bestimmungen zur Revolution führen, bedarf es auf alle Fälle einer Partei, die bereits lange im voraus das Proletariat vorbereitet hat und die stark und entwickelt genug ist, um in der Klasse ihren Einfluß dem der reaktionären Klassen und aller opportunistischen Parteien entgegenzustellen, um die Führung der Klasse zu erobern. Diese "kompakte und starke Partei von morgen" und ihr Einfluß im Proletariat sind es, was wir mit unseren beschränkten Kräften, aber mit Entschlossenheit vorbereiten, um der Kriegsmobilisierung wie der kleinbürgerlichen und opportunistischen Zersetzung die Mobilisierung der Klasse für ihre Revolution entgegenstellen zu können.



Bozen, 23. Dezember 1989

INTERNATIONALE KOMMUNISTISCHE PARTEI

"Die Kommunistische Partei"

P r o m e t h e u s i n K e t t e n

WENN DAS ZENTRUM EUROPA WEINT - DAS ZENTRUM AMERIKA LACHT NICHT !
FALSCHER SOZIALISMEN, FASCHISMEN, ODER DEMOKRATIEN UNTERSCHIEDLICH
CHER STUFE UND FARBE GEHÖREN ZUM SELBEN IMPERIALISTISCHEN KOMPLEX,
DER TAG FÜR TAG DIE GESAMTE ERDKUGEL DOMINIERT UND ZERRÜTTET, DA=
BEI DIE "MEINUNGEN" DER GROSSEN MASSES ZWISCHEN OST UND WEST IN
EIN GEWIRR VERSETZT; DAS MEIST GROTESK IST, UND MANCHMAL AUCH
LÄCHERLICH !

Die jüngsten Vorfälle Panamas und Rumäniens sind weiter nichts als die Fortsetzung jener Politik, die der internationale Kapitalismus und Imperialismus nicht mehr unter Kontrolle halten kann, da sich alles innerhalb des immer frecheren Konkurrenzsystems abwickelt, in einer kontinuierlichen Verfolgung des entmachtenden und unmenschlichen Profites.

Der Kampf um die Herrschaft über den Panamakanal, der Bananenstraße, der Rauschgiftstraße etc. ist sicher aktueller, als die Kämpfe ethnischen und nationalen Hintergrunds des Zentraleuropas (und Umgebung), aber deshalb nicht minder verwirrend und nicht jüngsten Ruhms.

Bis zu welchem Punkt wir in der unmittelbaren Zukunft all diesen unkonsequenten "Bewegungen" beiwohnen werden müssen, ihren widersprüchlichen Erfolgen und Mißerfolgen, oder ob sich explosive Revolutionen bewahrheiten werden können, wird sicher nicht vom Grad der Unterdrückung der imperialistischen Maschine abhängen, als vielmehr vom Andauern oder weniger der unangefochtenen Herrschaft des Opportunismus, der, so wie er die Nadel des Revolutionskompasses der großen Metropolen wie verrückt drehen ließ, so den Kurs der großen peripherischen Massen hat ändern lassen.

In jedem Fall können wir uns auf das grundsätzliche Prinzip berufen, daß die objektive Begegnung der materiellen Bewegungen des Proletariats in einer einzigen revolutionären Kraft, nur mit dem Wiedererscheinen und der Wiedergenehmigung im Innersten der vielfältigen Klassenkämpfe des gesamten kommunistischen Programms eintreten können wird. Die Inangsetzung einer revolutionären Entwicklung, sei es im Zentrum oder in der Peripherie, die Auflösung der umfassenden Probleme des einen und der anderen wird sich nicht Kraft pietistischer "entgegengestreckter Hände" verwirklichen können, noch aus Umarmungen zwischen demokratietrunkenen Arbeitern und Politisierern der "zweiten", "dritten" oder "vierten" Welt, allen Lastern der Diplomatie ergeben, und umso weniger mit Guerillaabenteuer der "vergoldeten" Jugend auf den großen Plätzen, in den Savannen oder in den Dschungeln, aber nur mittels der Wiedergeburt einer Partei, die die "Besonderheiten" der verschiedenen Situationen zu überwinden versteht, den unwandelbaren Weg des revolutionären Marxismus verfolgend, starrköpfig bis zum Unwahrscheinlichen wiederholend:

PROLETARIER DER GANZEN WELT - VEREINIGT EUCH !

(selbst vervielfältigt; Beilage zur Nr. 178 von "Die Kommunistische Partei")



CATHERINE SMITH, IMPACT VISUALS

Sam Lwin and five other New York reservists refused to go.

By TOD ENSIGN

"For me, war is immoral, killing is immoral," declared Marine reservist Sam Lwin, explaining his refusal to report when his unit was activated for Persian Gulf duty Nov. 24.

"I felt like I should be proud, but I wasn't," said Colin Bootman, who also refused to go. "Every drill, I saw guys walking around with knives strapped to their hip and I thought, 'Why don't I feel like they feel?'"

On Nov. 24, Lwin and Bootman, members of a Marine Reserve unit in the Bronx, N.Y., were part of the first act of mass GI resistance to foreign military deployment since the Vietnam War. Six members of the unit known as Fox Company publicly disobeyed orders to report for active duty.

The six are part of what is clearly a growing number of active-duty resisters throughout the country. The Pentagon contends that fewer than 100 U.S. troops, reservists and National Guard members are resisting service in the Gulf, but anti-war organizers say the number is many times higher.

NO 'BOX COMPANY'

Evidently in response, meanwhile, the Army has ruled that soldiers in units on alert for Gulf service will not be allowed to file for conscientious objector status until they actually arrive in Saudi Arabia. Most Army units are now on alert status.

Four of the Fox Company refusers

held a press conference at New York's New School for Social Research Nov. 26 to explain their reasons for resisting Gulf service.

Lwin, 21, a Burmese-American from Queens, N.Y., and the group's leader, had taken a public stand against Middle East duty several weeks earlier. An ad hoc group of New School students and faculty members calling itself the "Hands Off Sam!" committee was organized to support him and other reservists. The group conducted leafleting and vigils outside the Ft. Schuyler Marine armory in the Bronx.

This effort paid off when several other Marines decided to join Lwin in refusing activation. The Marines adopted as their slogan, "Don't let them turn the Fox Company into the Box Company!"

Citing a supporter's comment that he was a hero, Lwin observed, "The real heroes are all the people in this country who are taking action to try and stop President Bush from launching this catastrophe."

The other reservists at the press conference, Bootman, Keith Jones, and Wayne McWhite, are Black New Yorkers. Bootman, 24, was born in Trinidad and immigrated to the United States as a child. He explained that he enlisted partly to repay what he felt was a debt to this country. Once in the Marines, however, his thinking changed.

Bootman cited the U.S. invasion of Grenada as a reason for his resis-

(Continued on page 2)



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PMS 23

April 1991

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Peace Media Service, an independent nonprofit foundation established in Holland, provides news, articles and graphics about movements and people seeking to build a just society through nonviolent methods. We also follow the response of religious communities to issues of justice, peace and the integrity of creation. We assist journalists trying to report and encourage nonviolent approaches to conflict resolution. PMS is published approximately ten times a year. We welcome volunteer correspondents willing to work within their own region to make use of PMS, assist with translations, and to provide news for dissemination to other countries.

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PMS subscription: f250 (\$125/£85/DM2240 or equivalent) for 10 issues. A reduced rate is available for shoe-string publications: f150 (\$75/£50/DM145). Personal subscription: in Europe f100 (\$50/£35/DM90); outside Europe: f130 (\$65/£40/DM120).

Cooperating sources for this issue:

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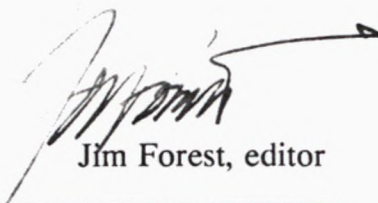
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March 27, 1991


Jim Forest, editor

DEADLINE FOR PM-24: April 22

Gulf War: What Did It Mean? What Will It Mean?

Extracts from statements from three US peace and environmental organizations:

Fellowship of Reconciliation: While grateful for a quick end to the war and few American and allied casualties, we do not agree that the Gulf War was necessary, nor that it has ushered in a new world order, nor that it calls for a renewed arms race. The defeat of a nation led by a brutal dictator, with less than one percent of the American GNP and with the economic output of Kentucky, does not prove that might makes right, nor will it bring long-range peace and stability to the region. All we know for sure is that Iraq's military prowess — vastly over-rated by many hawks and doves alike — was no match for the forces arrayed against it.

The idea that the costs of the war were "remarkably low" reveals a narrow moral and ecological sensitivity. Iraq and Kuwait lie in ruins. Out to "get Saddam Hussein," our bombs and missiles instead devastated not only military targets but the entire infrastructure of Iraq. The scale of human suffering has yet to be documented, but it was massive — certainly dead and wounded in the hundreds of thousands. The few reports of civilian casualties that filtered out of the censorship exercised by both sides were widely discounted and often treated in the US with thinly disguised contempt.

The raging fires of six hundred Kuwaiti oil wells and the oil-coated shores and waters of the Persian Gulf are environmental disasters directly precipitated by the war. The torching of those wells by the Iraqis and the dumping of oil into the Gulf (whether intentionally by the Iraqis or accidentally caused by the coalition bombing), as well as the Iraqi atrocities against civilian and military personnel and their use of Scud missiles, were unbelievably callous acts, as was the US saturation bombing of Iraqi cities.

The unprecedented sanctions voted by the United Nations were having a powerful effect on an Iraqi nation whose one principal export, oil, was completely stopped. Iraq, debilitated after an eight-year war with Iran, was already greatly weakened: in the five months of the pre-war embargo, its GNP had dropped by fifty percent. The sanctions, if given time to work and combined with a UN Peacekeeping Force instead of the massive military force ordered by Bush, would have protected Saudi Arabia and eventually brought Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. The deprivations of the Kuwaitis and Iraqis resulting from the sanctions would have been far less than the death and destruction brought on by this war. But the success of such a creative international nonviolent response to aggression was undercut by the militarized mind-set of President Bush. The precipitous January 15 deadline was uncalled for, with so many lives at stake; it was also hypocritical

in the light of US inaction on sanctions against South Africa, which has been at war for years with its own people and with neighboring states.

...We call for reconciliation. Resistance and reconciliation are the twin callings of those who would be peacemakers in our time. We remember A.J. Muste's admonition that resistance must not lead to hatred. Drawing upon the resources of faith, those of us who would build "the beloved community" must begin within our own lives and within our own communities. We must reach out with acts of compassion to all those, near and far, who suffer despair, pain, and loss. Out of such actions arises hope for a new day. With Dorothy Day, we affirm that this is all that is required of us; the rest we leave up to God.

[In a second section, the FOR called for the withdrawal of US military forces from Iraq and the Gulf region; asked the US government and the international community to provide aid for the rebuilding of Iraq and Kuwait; called for the lifting of all restrictions on the delivery of humanitarian aid for Iraqi civilian casualties; appealed to the US and UN to lift the economic sanctions against Iraq while maintaining the arms embargo; supported a UN Middle East peace conference to address regional issues, including disarmament negotiations and the Palestinian/Israeli conflict; and supported the redirection of resources from the military budget to fund human needs and develop alternative energy sources, conservation measures, and an environmentally sustainable economy.

Pax Christi USA: A central responsibility of the church in our society is to raise the moral questions about the Persian Gulf War and to provide the pastoral help to face them. Pax Christi wants to be at the service of the church in this work. We call upon the church to grapple with the following concerns:

1. Has modern warfare made the just war theory obsolete? In our judgment, the just war criteria provided no clear moral guidance during the Persian Gulf War....The principle of just conduct during war could not be assessed....When casualty figures show 150,000+ Iraqi to 200 US dead, Pax Christi asks, was this a war or a massacre?...Can the principles of proportionality, probability of success and right intention ever be adequately assessed before a war starts? Doesn't the Persian Gulf War show that the just war theory is only good for historical analysis, but not for making moral assessments during a crisis?
2. Did Catholics receive clear moral teaching from US Catholic bishops during the Persian Gulf War?...Public debate among US Catholic bishops was a source of confusion, both for US policy makers and for the

Catholic community. When President Bush and military officials used just war teaching to defend morally dubious US military strategy in the Persian Gulf, church leadership was strangely silent. Even more alarming, there was no outcry from the Catholic community when administration and congressional leaders (Catholic politicians included) publicly discussed the "need" to use nuclear weapons....Pax Christi is disheartened, too, that all official church statements focused on the just war position and never legitimized the nonviolent stance, even though the US bishops' peace pastoral concluded that both were credible Catholic positions. It is evident that the bishops did not measure the morality of the Persian Gulf War by the same strict standards used on other moral issues, especially those involving sexuality....An honest evaluation of the bishops' commitment to a seamless garment position on life issues is in order.

3. What is the church's responsibility toward Catholics in the military?...Did Catholic chaplains give moral guidance to US soldiers about their rights and duties to refuse orders to use unconventional weapons or to participate in indiscriminate killing?...Since selective conscientious objection is not recognized legally in the United States, Catholics in this category are prosecuted and jailed if they refused orders....Pax Christi asks if dioceses offered adequate counseling services to reservists and others who had concerns about participating in war?

4. What does it mean to be a Catholic, "universal" church in time of war?...If humankind is the living body of Christ, how can the church justify war, the killing of our brothers and sisters, God's children all? How do Catholics follow Christ's command to "love your enemies" during time of war?...Can you pray for someone and wish them harm at the same time?...In light of our claim to be Catholic, to be truly universal, Pax Christi calls upon the Catholic community to reflect on its attitudes and actions during the Persian Gulf War.

Greenpeace/USA: At the start of the war we stated our conviction that waging war for oil was wrong, and that the human and environmental consequences of the war were known before we got into it. Now, with the shooting war over, those consequences are taking on even more frightening dimensions: 100,000-plus dead and wounded, oil spills of unknown size and impact, hundreds of burning oil wells, a devastated land, undetermined loss of agricultural and water infrastructure. These tragic costs highlight why war is an unacceptable means to solve conflict.

If the shooting is over, we are no closer to solving one of the underlying reasons for the gulf conflict. The war was waged in large part, in George Bush's words, to

preserve American "energy security." As long as energy security means access to cheap oil in the Middle East, the need for US dominance in the Middle East is guaranteed to continue. It is simple geography and economics: Two-thirds of the world's oil is in the Middle East; six of the thirteen largest US corporations are oil companies that import from the Middle East; the US, with five percent of the world's population, uses 25 percent of the world's oil.

...We must have an energy policy based in energy conservation, efficiency and development of renewables....The barriers to this goal are political, not technical. Energy efficient lighting already developed could cut US electricity use by 25 percent, saving \$30 billion per year. Cars exist that get 120 miles to the gallon. Light rail systems are being built for a fraction of the cost of urban highways -- and result in 500 times less hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide emissions per person than if cars were used for the same purpose. By increasing the fuel efficiency of cars driven in the US by just 2.8 mpg., we could displace all the oil formerly imported from Iraq and Kuwait.

A Letter from Baghdad

The following letter was written by an Iraqi living in Baghdad, the father of seven children. It was first brought to Amman, the capital of Jordan, in two parts, then mailed to a Finnish friend. The names of people mentioned in the letter have been changed, and the names of the sender and receiver omitted, for security reasons. The letter provides a glimpse into life on "the other side" while the bombing of Baghdad was underway as well as a vivid impression of the climate of life under Saddam Hussein's rule. The letter was first published in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, a Finnish weekly news magazine, on February 15.

— Teemu Leisti, University of Helsinki

Dear Xxxxxxxx,

I do not want to worry you by my letter, but now I have a good chance — maybe the last chance — to get it out of the country, now that our friend Mohammed is leaving for Amman.

I know you are worried and are thinking of Iraq, though I presume you know more than we do about events of the war on both sides. However, you surely know nothing about what an ordinary resident of Baghdad is experiencing.

I have sent Amal and the children to the north, but I have no contact with them because the telephones are not working. I hope that they are safer there than here

in Baghdad. Life here is confused and dangerous, one never knows what will happen next.

Bomber planes are flying above us even now. The sirens are wailing unceasingly. Wild dogs bark hysterically at them. They are not getting used to it and are still afraid. I have seen them bite people running away in fright. Is this turning into the daily life one must get used to? In the last war few Iranian bombs hit Baghdad. Now there are flying and exploding things all above and around us. Nevertheless, on the radio it is said that the damages are not great, there are not many dead, nothing is hit; however, we hear explosions, we see fires, ruins, and blood. The house of my neighbor's brother got hit. We tried to go there, but it was tightly guarded; we had no business going in there, not even my neighbor, who was worried about his brother. He still knows nothing about what happened to the family. He has gone through all the hospitals in the city, and because he cannot find them, he hopes that they left the city before their house was bombed. It would seem strange, because the brother would surely have told him about leaving the city.

The news I tell you are all bad except for one thing. I cannot find joy even in that one at the moment. I will tell it first: Amal is pregnant. The calculated time for our eighth child is in July. We hope, *inshallah*, God willing, that it is allowed to be born in peacetime.

Last night we had "guests." Several soldiers burst inside with a great noise. They said they were looking for Tareq, our oldest son, who, they said, had deserted his military base. I know nothing about the boy. Naturally he is afraid to come home, because he is sure that our house is being watched. I was told that if I cannot get him back on the front, I should send his brother, the 17-year-old Omar, in his place. I said that Omar is not home and that I did not know exactly where he was. They promised to return in a couple of days. I had better be home and have a "replacement" for Tareq.

I am glad that my family is away. I am almost glad for Tareq. I expected him to desert. He never wanted to go to war, likewise with many of his friends. There are thought to be about 100 000 deserters. The thought that he is hiding somewhere, that he is cold and hungry, is almost driving me mad.

I cannot help him. Neither can I help your Kurd friend Faiq, who was taken away a couple of days ago. His family asked me to inquire about his disappearance, and through many convolutions (because of my own past and my own "disappearances") I cannot inquire myself, and had to put my friends to work. I found out that he is in a prison near Baghdad with many other Kurds. They are being charged with activities against the state: planning their own Kurd state, the punish-

ment for which can be death.

I would like to write to you about other, easier things, but there are none at the moment. We try to live in the middle of all this. The shops are sometimes open, we cook if we can, drink when we can get water. We even laugh and tell jokes to each other. Now and then I visit my workplace, but nothing much is happening there. The offices are open irregularly, the schools are closed. Everyone wants to be home and near their families, if the families are still in the city. Unconfirmed rumors tell about thousands of dead and injured, but no one knows anything for certain.

I also must tell you about Hamida, the little daughter of my friend, for whom you drew those princesses and the picture of your dog. Did you know that she eagerly studied English and was saving money to come and see that dog of yours that lived inside with you and whom no one was allowed to kick?

Water distribution in the city is not functioning properly. We only get water for a small period a day and cannot use it for washing. Hamida felt dirty and got the idea of washing herself and her little brother in the Tigris. At the same time, they drank water because of their thirst. Nothing happened to her brother, but Hamida got sick so that she is unable to keep food inside. In the hospital there are no antibiotics which could cure her. Even if there are, they are being saved for the soldiers. They wish that girls like Hamida will get better without medicine and with God's help! She is already only a shadow of her former self.

Dear friend, tell, is our country accursed! Why are some countries called holy and promised and they can do anything, and some others are under a perpetual curse, there is no peace nor justice for them and all their attempts to go forward fail?

I do not know what you people are told about our lives, I do not know if you are even interested in it. We have a feeling here that we're living in a bag with a small hole, and through that hole is pushed that information which is thought to be needed in the bag. Those who know English listen to BBC. The Arabian broadcasts of Radio Monte Carlo are popular. They tell of different things than our own papers and radio. We have no electricity, except at random intervals, so those who own battery-operated radios are in a luckier position, so long as the batteries last.

Television, when it works, shows demonstrations in which the whole world is demonstrating for us. They tell that even in Europe and America people think of Saddam Hussein as a great hero, whom only the governments hate. Many believe in that. We are assured we will win the war. We listen to hours of explana-

tions of why America has no chances of winning.

The Peoples' Army fills the streets of Baghdad. They have started to give out weapons to us, in case the Americans attack into the city. Hate against the Americans is being fanned. The more civilian buildings are bombed, the greater the hate grows. At first there was belief in the humanity of the Americans, now they are said to go after civilians, because they hate Arabs.

You notice that I talk of America, and do not mention the other nations that have sent troops against us. Today the name of our enemy is still America, but there are signs here that it may soon be the West.

You once asked why we hate America, and you were answered that because America only thinks of money and oil and because it helps Israel, our enemy number one, and because American politicians are bribed by their Jewish lobby....Now the whole West is being united in one front.

I'm listening to the radio right now. It calls for all Muslims of the world to come together. "The war is being waged between religion and technology. We are the religion, God is on our side," it says. We are being prepared for a long war.

Everything that has happened on the battlefield up to now has happened exactly according to plans. What has happened, then? The radio tells that already in the first week, a couple of hundred enemy planes were shot down. It also tells of American soldiers who throw beer and wine bottles on the grave of the prophet Muhammad. It tells of half-naked American girls sunning on the beaches of Saudi Arabia. We are being exhorted to even commit suicide, if we only can damage the Americans that way.

There is whispering here that there is a suicide group of about one hundred that has managed to slip into the West through Turkey and Yugoslavia.

We are being promised a war which the whole world will join. We will get back our face which we lost almost a thousand years ago. Too many want to believe in victory and an honor long sought after. The causes for our failures are searched for in the West. Is there no cause in ourselves and in our leaders, and in that we have let ourselves be led in a wrong manner?

The war could have been prevented. The West, which thinks itself wiser than we, should have known that an Arab cannot be told: unconditionally, without negotiation, without bargaining. Saddam was told to get out of Kuwait unconditionally. He would have needed a back door, there should have been a concession somewhere.

I want to add that Ismael Tatar, Saddam's personal physician, a family member of whom you once met, has also disappeared. They say he had diagnosed symptoms of schizophrenia in the president.

I have a feeling that fronts that have been quiet are becoming louder than before. Defiance and resistance are growing against the leadership of our country as fast as sympathy and solidarity for it. People on both sides have started to talk louder and more.

My friend, you see that I try to talk objectively about the matters of my country. You know what I think myself, on which side I will act for as long as I can.

My heart bleeds for my son. It already bleeds for things which have not yet happened, but which seem to be ahead for the whole of the nation.

Musa

Children in the Palestinian Intifada

by Nafez Assaily

On December 9, 1987, four Palestinian Gazans were killed and several injured when an Israeli military vehicle ran into a taxi transporting them to jobs inside Israel. The tragedy sparked a long-simmering mood of frustration among residents of the Occupied Territories, the West Bank and Gaza over Israel's occupation policies and spontaneous protests erupted. This was the beginning of the *intifada*, the grassroots uprising which has captured the world's attention and which continues unabated to this day.

Many of those in the forefront of the *intifada* are boys and girls, ranging in age from five years old to young adults. These children, born and reared under the Occupation, with nothing more than a stone often face tanks and heavily armed soldiers who shoot both rubber bullets and live ammunition. These children are wounded, maimed and killed. Yet wave after wave of them, throughout the Occupied Territories, sweep the *intifada* forward.

This generation of children, born under the Israeli Occupation, have experienced humiliations and beatings, have heard special sound bombs go off in their own homes, have seen their homes raided and their fathers and brothers arrested, have watched family members be killed or wounded. They too have been wounded or killed. Many have seen their homes demolished, leaving them homeless. They have been tear-gassed, often at medical clinics. They've seen their pregnant mothers lose babies as a result of tear-gas inhalation. They have also resisted the Occupation

through strikes, defying curfews, nonpayment of taxes, boycotts, throwing stones, burning tires, raising the Palestinian flag, blocking roads, marches and demonstrations. They have been arrested and taken to jails far from home. While jailed they've been hooded, beaten and been given urine to drink when thirsty. When released at midnight or the early morning hours, they have not known where they were or how to get home.

The older children, along with many adults, began to realize that time itself was a very important factor for Israel in dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. They began to see that over time, Palestinians would forget their aspirations for an independent state. Israel would then easily control them.

Israeli policies of administrative detention, fines, land confiscation, house demolition and all kinds of collective punishment tried to affect every Palestinian individual who challenged Israeli rule. Israel wanted to make it clear to each child that not only would he be the loser but also his family and community, two very important components of Palestinian life. He would be the troublemaker who caused his family, neighbors and village to be punished. For instance, a father would have to pay a heavy fine for his child's stone throwing or would be fired from his job. The village would be put under curfew, or olive trees would be uprooted because stones had been thrown.

Israeli military forces concentrated on penalizing the older people for what the younger ones did, to pressure children into obeying their parents. The parents had much to lose if their children did not obey them.

Were the Israelis wrong in their assumptions of how to control Palestinians? No, they were not wrong if they looked for the usual results of behavior under the conditions they imposed. There could only be submission to what they would offer. But the Israelis neglected to take into account one crucial factor, the generation reared under the Israeli Occupation.

Many older children refused to live as their parents did. They felt that death was preferable to living under the Occupation, for was it not a living death that they faced daily, whether they resisted or not? They knew that killings and terrorism would only play into Israeli hands and give the authorities the opportunity to annihilate them. Longing for justice, they knew that no outside force would deliver them. They reached into themselves and found that they and their families could begin to make a difference in how they perceived themselves and in how the international community perceived them by their resistance to the Occupation. At the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, we have documented that 90 percent of all actions of the *intifada* are nonviolent.

Most children of the *intifada* cannot articulate the steps in the process that brought them to the forefront of the *intifada*. Many of them are simply observing and patterning their behavior of resistance on what they have seen. What becomes clear in conversations with them is that they have been victims of the Occupation. Having been violated in so many ways for so long simply for being Palestinians, they now have a sense of worth and dignity, rather than feeling powerless.

Here are some stories of Palestinian children under the Israeli Occupation:

The Palestinian Flag incident: The army entered Kalandia Refugee Camp, north of Jerusalem, in order to arrest some of the Popular Committee members, to take down Palestinian flags from electricity posts and to rewrite the graffiti. The inhabitants confronted the army with stones. The army released dozens of tear-gas bombs and shot live ammunition as it advanced in some parts of the camp and withdrew from other parts, arresting people as they went. By afternoon, the army controlled two-thirds of Kalandia. The children and youth had gone to nearby hills and valleys.

The soldiers were tired. One soldier stood against a wall to urinate. From the top of the wall, 11-year-old Mussa quietly and carefully hung a small Palestinian flag on the antenna of the walkie-talkie the soldier carried and then quietly left. After the soldier finished and began walking away, the women and old people laughed loudly. An officer shouted at the soldier, "Take that flag down!" The soldier, confused, looked around and saw that flag on his antenna.

A soldier without a rifle: In the Old City of Jerusalem, soldiers were following masked youth of the Popular Army, unarmed except with stones. The soldiers fired tear-gas bombs, rubber bullets and live ammunition. A helicopter was guiding the soldiers on the ground to the children who had joined the confrontation by burning tires and blocking streets. The streets emptied except for the smoke from the burning tires. One child shouted he had been shot, another fell unconscious from the tear-gas, another was being beaten by the soldiers using clubs and rifle butts.

Ismael, 8, was watching the situation behind a window at his home. He turned to his mother and said, "Do the soldiers have children?"

His mother answered, "Yes, they have." "Do they open fire against their children?" asked Ismael. "No," responded his mother. "So they love their children?" "Yes." "Why are they killing us?" "They kill us because they are occupiers and we do not have a government to protect us." "When will we have a government to protect us?" "Very soon!" "Then shall I be a Palestinian

soldier to protect my friends and people?" "Surely." "But I will not carry a gun to kill anyone, especially not the children."

The Kaffiyeh: George is a 10-year-old Christian Palestinian. One day he heard people chanting slogans in the streets and waving Palestinian flags. He became enthusiastic and taking his father's *kaffiyeh*, wrapped it around his face and joined the demonstrators facing tear-gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition. George's neighbor, recognizing him, whispered, "George, go back to your home." George went back home and told his parents, "I failed. I am surprised that our neighbor recognized me despite of my covering my face." George spent all night learning how to put on the *kaffiyeh* in a way that he would not be recognized the next time he joined a demonstration.

Ahmed and Moshe: Ahmed, 13, participated in a meeting with an Israeli "Peace Now" group. He considered them the good side of Israel. He had a dialogue with Moshe, a 17-year-old Israeli.

A: When do you go to the military service?

M: Next year.

A: If you refuse, will they take you to jail?

M: Yes, but I want to clarify for you that I go into the army, not because I am afraid of jail, but because I consider the army the protector of the state and the people and it preserves peace.

A: When you join the army and you carry a gun, will you shoot at me in a demonstration?

Moshe did not answer.

A: Are you proud of your state and to be a soldier? Do you give me the right to demonstrate to have a state?

M: I support the establishment of a Palestinian State but I do not agree about your way of violence — throwing stones.

A: Do you consider throwing stones violence? What do you think of live ammunition, rubber bullets and tear-gas?

The father of Moshe said, "Why are our children speaking about war and soldiers and killings instead of playing and having fun?"

Ahmed's father replied, "Shame on those who wipe the smile and happiness from the faces of our children."

The fathers and sons began to speak of ways of peace.

Nafez Assaily is a former elementary school teacher and Boy Scout leader. He became the Acting Director of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence in East Jerusalem when the Director, Mubarak Awad, was deported in 1988. First published in *Reconciliation International*.

For the Sake of the Children

PARTAGE (Partage Avec les Enfants du Tiers-Monde — Sharing with the Children of the Third World) began in 1973 in response to a United Buddhist Church of Vietnam appeal to help Vietnamese orphans stay with Vietnamese families rather than being placed in orphanages or sent abroad. Pierre Marchand created a small organization to help Vietnamese foster parents. Today PARTAGE has 45,000 foster parents, an annual budget of 30 million francs and a staff of 15 in France, plus a representative in Lebanon and another in Honduras. PARTAGE is affiliated the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

— Françoise Pottier

FP: What are PARTAGE's objectives?

PM: PARTAGE's objective is to support people with projects but without the means to realize them in the Third World. PARTAGE has no project as such and doesn't make any appeal. We support local projects that have a particular spirit, the spirit of Emmanuel Mounier's *Personalisme Communautaire* (Community Personalism), with neither the individualism which kills solidarity, nor the collectivism which denies individual rights. All the children's projects must be conceived with the children's community in mind. Supporting an individual child shows that we take care of people and that the project itself is not of the most importance. However, the money is never used for a individual child but for a community.

Where does PARTAGE have projects?

In Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Bangladesh, India, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Haiti, Honduras, Chile and Egypt. That's all for now! We have two types of programs: one emphasizes the assistance aspect, the other the development aspect. In Thailand, we support a center for the protection of children's rights. The center is led by lawyers who help children sold into slavery or prostitution. We work to help these children get out of their situation and get them back to their families. In India, with Assefa, an organization created by Vinoba Bhave, we help development in about 30 villages.

We support long-term projects, projects between people living in the West and people living in the Third World. We are convinced that there are people with many great skills. These skills can be developed after suitable training. If we can give these committed people the means they need, we help people who know their own culture, who know what is needed and are there to stay. We try to bring about such a change within French charitable organizations in their relations with their partners from the South. ▶

How do you support children?

We do it in three steps. First by *fostering*, which we consider is the children's due, supporting them in their school years up until they are 12, 13 or 14. Then a *study or training fellowship* can be provided, according to the children's skills. It is not systematic and is considered a gift. Finally a *loan system* which helps the children — now young adults — for higher training or education. As it is an interest-free loan, children should reimburse it within a certain period, which helps us finance other loans. PARTAGE compensates losses in the fund. This system allows us to help a child of five for a long time, so he can develop all of his skills to the maximum.

We choose people who are engaged in social change through nonviolent means. We start with a personal relationship. Our goal is a sharing between two persons — or two groups of persons — which expresses itself, among other ways, by financial help. Our focus is on people and not on programs. We work only with people who are already working with other people or organizations, whose actions benefit children. So we work with networks in Vietnam and Thailand; with Gandhian groups in India; with the Center for the Protection of Human Rights in Honduras and a similar organization in Chile; with Buddhist monks in Bangladesh who try to find a nonviolent solution to the Chittagong Hill Tracts conflict.

How do you work?

We work for children, because they can unite people from very different horizons. We have seen that in the Third World countries in which we work, the best way to enter into contact with adults is to do something for their children. As soon as we start a small school, it's possible to organize parents and then to think about programs which will benefit not only children but the whole community. For example in India, after we built a school, we installed a system so everyone can have access to drinking water, then a small dispensary with a communal pharmacy, plus trained villagers as health care workers, and we helped develop the whole agricultural sector. We have several programs where a major part of the financing is used chiefly for adults. Children benefit simply because their parents' income increases.

Do you work especially for and with children?

In Thailand we don't try to help children in trouble case by case, but work so the child protection laws can be modified. There we work with a group of lawyers who are lobbying members of parliament. We also make a lot of publicity for the Thai media so the children's situation and rights are made known.

The same organization, "Foundation for Children," has several programs: the legal center is one, another is a children's village where prostituted and abused children, or children exploited in factories, are welcomed. We want to show that these children can become responsible adults through a pedagogy — inspired by that of Summer Hill — totally new in Thailand. The village is administered by the children and uses examples from Gandhi's teaching.

Did PARTAGE welcome the UN Convention on the Rights of Children?

We would have been even more happy if our three proposals (we had been invited to take part in formulating the text) had been accepted! We wanted child protection organizations to be authorized to bring cases to court. This is and remains extremely important. In Thailand for instance, lawyers know children who are abused but cannot do anything because only parents can bring cases to court. Unfortunately, the parents often don't know anything about the legal system. If an organization could act, groups of lawyers in various countries could be organized, with the sole purpose of protecting children's rights.

We wanted humanitarian organizations to be able to help any child in danger in any country that had signed the Convention. Bangladesh, for instance, signed the Convention, but it is legally impossible to help children in danger in certain areas. This should be one of the rights of children, to be able to receive humanitarian help from the outside.

We also wanted the media to have access to children, again in any signatory country. When access to some areas is forbidden to the media, it is inevitable that rights are not respected. A country which signs the Convention should commit itself to letting the media meet freely with any child on its territory.

This being said, this text is a big step forward: this is the first time that a Convention provided some means of enforcement if a signatory is not practicing the Convention.

Have all the countries where PARTAGE works signed the Convention?

Almost all. Thailand was the first to announce that it wouldn't sign the Convention. We understand why: the Convention states that all children born in a country automatically have that country's nationality. As Thailand has welcomed many refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, it doesn't want to give Thai nationality to all children born in the refugee camps. In that case, the children would probably never go back to their own country. ▶

Can you tell me about Cambodia?

In Cambodia, the worst fear is of the return of Pol Pot to power. I went there in September 1990 and I saw a real respect for children. It is one of the countries with the greatest will on the part of the authorities to educate children. It's really surprising, given the overall economic context and the problems of the past years, to see so many children going to school.

During the Khmer Rouge regime, anyone who knew a foreign language, or who knew how to read and write, was massacred. The biggest issue in reconstruction is the lack of trained people. It is extremely difficult to find teachers. One hopes that, if peace is restored, Khmer refugees will come back from abroad in great numbers. In this case, the fact that they were able to get out during the war will be a good thing for Cambodia's future.

We have a two-part program: to help create a local Cambodian humanitarian organization, whose mission is communal village development, beginning with schools. There are already organizations working in specific areas like agriculture. PARTAGE wants an integrated and long-term approach to development. The starting point is a school; then a health program in the school which spreads to the whole village. Buddhist monks are the best people for this task. Historically, they are the ones who created schools in Cambodia. In January 1989, pagodas were allowed to reopen and many monks began their work again. In agreement with the religious authorities, we want to organize a training program for the monks so that they are able to determine the priority needs, see in what order to tackle them and seek financing for a program.

Local resources are still practically nonexistent in Cambodia and we want to try to redevelop them. If peace returns, it's possible to double agricultural production and to relaunch the textile industry, which has almost disappeared — clothes come either from abroad through Red Cross gifts or are made with Thai fabric. The monks will learn that, to help disabled people, they can contact Handicap International or for help with an agricultural problem they can contact such-and-such non-governmental organization. They will have a resource catalogue of organizations. They can select village people with skills and send them for further training.

We always work in collaboration with the other organizations already in the country. In Cambodia, this functions very well, with a weekly meeting of all the foreign aid organizations. We also have monthly meetings for specific areas: medical, agricultural, etc.

What does PARTAGE do in Lebanon?

We have limited our action to a very particular area, that of mentally handicapped children, for specific reasons: we began our work in Lebanon ten years ago. At that time, no organization was interested in these children, because of the war. And because of the war, there has been an increase of the number of handicapped children. We know that some of these children, treated during the first weeks or months, can be "recuperated" up to 80 percent. If nothing is done, the situation stabilizes and is impossible to change. A Lebanese nurse and mid-wife who worked in Vietnam during the war came back to Lebanon to create this service for handicapped children. We welcome also physically handicapped children for physiotherapy.

What does the program in Tanzania deal with?

Since January 1990, PARTAGE has worked against the AIDS epidemic and especially the consequences for children. This epidemic affects only a particular strata of the population. The population disappearing because of AIDS is between 20 and 50 years of age, which means that in some villages only children and older people are left. This is very serious. The explosion of the number of orphans is a real time-bomb for Africa's future. In the African tradition, when a parent dies, the children are taken care of by an uncle, an aunt, or the grandparents. That is what happened in Tanzania since the AIDS epidemic started in 1972. When both parents of a five-children family die, the uncle takes care of these five children, on top of his own; when he dies himself, another uncle takes care of the five first, plus the three or four of the one who just died, on top of his own! In one village I saw a grandmother making do alone with 18 grandchildren. She cannot produce food or things to sell, the children are too young, and the situation is a catastrophe.

These children, contrary to others in war situations, will inherit the house and the land when their parents die. If they can stay in their village of origin for fifteen years or so, life can go on. If they are not taken care of — they cannot survive alone in the villages — they will go to the already overpopulated cities, which means all village development work for the past 50 years goes down the drain. The villages will die. Consciousness raising on this issue is needed: there may be more deaths from this situation than from the virus itself. There is talk of about 20 million orphans just in Africa. The number of people who will die of AIDS in the countries where thirty to forty percent of the population is already affected may well be less than the number of children who will starve to death because no one can take care of them. ▶

What can PARTAGE do?

In Tanzania, in the Kagera area near the border with Uganda, we have started a pilot-program which can be reproduced in other countries. We help create in each village a day-care center where children can spend the day; they have schooling, clothes, medical help, etc. The children go back home at night, where an older brother or sister or the grand-parents will take care of the younger ones. Family connections are preserved and daily life can go on. The children take part in agricultural work during the day to grow their own food. If we can now multiply this type of program in villages affected by AIDS, there is still some hope that life will resume after the epidemic.

In Honduras?

The Honduran government asked Bernard Kouchner, French Minister for Humanitarian Aid, about the increasing number of street children. It's a recent phenomenon but affects many cities in Latin America, as well as in Africa and Asia. I went with Kouchner to Honduras in July 1990. What the government wanted is what is done more or less everywhere: the creation of services for street children. I sent a report to the government against this kind of program! Honduras already had some services for street children. I asked for it to stop and to replace it by a program of prevention and reintegration of the children into their original community. The government accepted our challenge.

What about the children already in the streets?

Fifty people spent three days and nights in the streets to get the children to fill in questionnaires. We reached 2,200 children, and found out which ones are totally on their own, which ones live between their family and the streets, where they are from, ages, etc. Now we can start a double-pronged program: school during the day and reintegration of the children into their community of origin. If services are created in the streets which don't exist in their original communities, inevitably the number of street children will increase! This happened in Brazil, Colombia and in Thailand. The mistake is to have a short-term view. I proposed a 15-year-long program, which could be adapted in other places.

Everything depends on the reception they receive. All children have a tremendous need for affection. They lack this in the streets. Most of them also want to learn. With an adapted pedagogy, which deals with their lives and not with books made for rich children; with play grounds, football clubs, communal television, and a whole infrastructure, they will very likely choose to live in their community rather than in the streets.

The problem of many children PARTAGE takes care

of is that they live in conflict situations. On top of all of PARTAGE's work we cannot undertake actions for human rights, for social change and for peace. It is for this reason that PARTAGE is affiliated with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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Human Rights Delegation to Burma

by Shelley Anderson

During the first week of March, I took part in an international delegation to Burma to take a first-hand look at the deteriorating human rights situation. Our group of 14, from the US, Bangladesh, Nepal and other countries, was led by Dr. Paula Green, whose concern for exiled Burmese students has led her to establish the Karuna Center in the USA. (The visit followed the meeting in Thailand of the International Network of Engaged Buddhists; see related story, "Buddhist Peace Conference.")

It was a frightening time to be in Burma. During the INEB conference, a military coup occurred in Thailand. One of the few countries to congratulate the military for overthrowing the democratically-elected Thai government and rescinding the constitution was SLORC — the State Law and Order Restoration Council which currently rules Burma. SLORC has extensive experience in suppressing democracy. In August 1988, during massive pro-democracy demonstrations throughout Burma, the military massacred 3,000 students. The National League for Democracy and its leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi won the national elections last May, but SLORC has refused to hand over power. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been under house arrest since July 1989. (Her recent nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize may provide some protection to her and will at the same time increasing international awareness about the human rights situation in Burma.)

After the 1988 massacre, thousands of Burmese students fled the cities for the jungle; many are now dead from malaria and malnutrition. Some fled to Bangkok, where they are harassed by Thai authorities who are making plans to round them up and put them in a camp. Others were befriended by indigenous groups — the Karenni, the Shan, the Pao and others — who live in the jungle, and who have been fighting the Burmese government for over forty years. ▶

Collection Number: AG1977

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PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

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