

# Toufan International

The International Bulletin of the Party of Labour of Iran

No. 24

December 2005

## The Political Report to the Third Congress of the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) (Part 3) – Excerpt

**- On the Inter-imperialist Contradictions**

**- On the Imperialist Ideological-Economical Tools of Exerting Influence**

### The Myth of Protection of the Environment and the Imperialist Rivalry

With the Kyoto treaty on environment, the imperialists pretend that they are concerned about the world and the people who live on it. After the discussion on privatisation of the water that fight about the domination of its market has not yet finished, the discussion to sell the air has started. The bourgeoisie turns everything to commodity. The discussion these days is on how to turn the air to commodity and make profit from it. The imperialists have legally secured their rights to buy and sell the air. The air is becoming a commodity and can be privatised as usual. To implement this goal, the imperialists are advancing step by step. They first, in the international gatherings, generously grant the countries certain rights to the shares of the air that could have been breathed freely so far. The imperialists tell the people of the world to be aware of the rights that they did not know they have till yesterday! Who may dislike or worry about these beautiful words and who may look at them with suspicion? Apparently, no one will be hurt by these words. The imperialists tell the participants of the Kyoto Conference about their equal rights and ask them not to allow the violation of these laws. They do not tell these countries that they have the intention of making the so far free air a commodity under the cover of these nice words. In this step, the policy attempts to make an abstract notion set in the minds of

and admissible to the people. The imperialist show up on the scene as the heroes of the protection of the environment and call on the states not to pollute the air. They argue that the people of the world have the right to breathe clean air! When they generously and harmlessly divide these empty rights and when they pass the laws to protect these rights and when they define the violators of the laws, they buy the shares of the air given to non-industrial and non-developed countries of the three continents and of even less-developed countries of Europe. By this method, the imperialist countries will gain a bigger share of the air and can legally pollute their own air. This process is similar to the process of selling kidneys or any other vital organs of the poor people. First, having kidneys is naturally recognised. Then the right to donate a free kidney is advertised as a humane act. When a society accepts at some level the notion of free donation of a kidney, then the rights to buy and sell kidneys are already established, and the market can put a price on different parts of a human body. When the human parts become commodities, then they can be put on the stock market, and the capitalist system can offer the body parts through the private companies that send their marketing representatives as "good intention" ambassadors to seek markets in Asia, Africa, and Latin America for body parts. When it becomes a commodity, the situation with the air

**Continued on page 2**

**Political Report**

we breathe freely now will become similar to water and kidneys. Soon a fight will be waged for the purchase of the shares of less-polluted air and this will generate a sphere of rivalry and creation of barriers for rivals. The air shares will gradually enter the stock market. The imperialists try to make the principle of the private ownership of water, air, and body parts acceptable to the societies while they question the territorial integrity (the ownership of a land) of smaller countries.

We will see a day when capitalism sells the air capsules for breathing. These days, people have to use air mask as a protection against pollution. This is the first step. A society in which production is based on anarchy and in which profit is the motive and profitability, not the material and moral needs of the people, is the law of development, will not find itself in a better situation. The promotion of unnecessary consumption and of unnecessary production for solely the purpose of making maximum profit will draw a dark future for human kind. Only socialism can put an end to the pollution of the environment and provide the people with clean and free air to breathe.

**On the Arena of the Space Exploration and the Domination of the Skies**

One of the arenas of tense rivalry between the US and the European imperialists is the domination of space. For the imperialists, space exploration means the access to the data that is vital for international rivalry. The state that dominates the skies can use satellites to take photos of the military and economic installations of the other countries, can control radio, television, telephone, and electronic waves, and can establish a sophisticated space spy center for military, economic, scientific, and educational issues. The US has supremacy in this arena so far and has the intention of preventing the others from gaining similar knowledge and technology that helps them to explore space. The US threatens its rivals with disabling their satellites and argues that it has produced weapons to do so. The space satellites occupy significant place in the future military confrontations because they can collect data on military activities, can

direct the destructive missiles to important strategic locations, and can control and disable the communications. The significance and the role of satellites became clearer in the two Gulf wars. The Europeans are trying to build the space satellite system Galileo against the US system GPS in order to end by the year 2008 their dependence on the US system. The Europeans have allocated one billion euros for this project. Europe has intensified its scientific space activities and has launched a space shuttle in order to catch up to the US. The European imperialists are ahead of the US in aircraft industries and in economical transportation of passengers and have been able to seize the aircraft market from the US Boeing Corporation by manufacturing the giant airplane Airbus. The attempts by Boeing in the past few years to stay unrivaled were fruitless.

**On the US and Other Imperialists' Approach to the UN and How to Use it as a Tool**

On this subject, we must clean the dust of forgetfulness from history and bring attention to the US evaluation of the UN and to the historical events that followed it.

Irving Kristol, the special advisor of President Reagan, stated the US approach to and the evaluation of the UN in a speech at the "Conference for a Free World" in New York. He said that:

Another important issue for the US is the question of the UN, which is not only a nonsense organization but is also a harmful one for the US policy. The fundamental work of this organization, which was a useful and positive organization at the beginning, has been to create a nonsense called Third World. If there were no UN, there would be no unit called the Third World countries. Now that the Third World is causing troubles for our diplomacy, one significant point of our foreign policy should be to reduce the influence of the UN first and then to get rid of it. (Paraphrased)

Mr. A. Lichtenstein, the deputy of the US delegation to the UN, stated on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1983 that:

"This is it. If the UN does not agree with us, it rather finds something else to do".

Not only have the **Continued on page 3**

**Political Report**

spokesmen for the US imperialists made these statements, but they have acted upon them too. The UN is acceptable to the US imperialists only to the extent that it secures their greedy interests or their looting and the plunder of the world's resources. Otherwise, they try their best to end the life of this international body. The US debt to the UN is the biggest among all member states. The US and Israel are the only countries that explicitly violate the UN resolutions. The US faced defeat in its attempts to secure UN agreement through fabrication and falsification for its colonial aggression in Iraq. In this regard, the UN members did not bow to the US and UK bullying and lying. The US imperialists invaded Iraq despite the opposition from the most of the UN members and from its General Secretary. Since the invasion of Iraq, a significant contradiction has developed between the US-UK and many other countries. Alongside the contradictions between the "Third World" countries (Read: countries kept underdeveloped) and the global bully, we must bring out the contradiction between the imperialist countries over the characteristics and the role of the UN. Except for the US, almost all other countries prefer to keep the leverage of the UN in order to put a diplomatic bridle on US imperialism. In this dispute, the smaller imperialist countries respect the UN and see the necessity of its existence in order to protect their own interests, and they do not show interest to discredit the UN at once. They, for example, try to force the US and UK to involve the UN and its other imperialist members in the activities in Iraq and therefore to secure their own shares of the plunder in Iraq and to divide "fairly" between the powers the wealth and resources of the Iraqi people.

The European imperialists' suspicious respect for the UN is based on their own interest and on the contradictions they have with the US. While recognising that the UN is under heavy influence of the imperialist powers and that the UN has been and is being used by these powers as a tool to seek domination, we evaluate positively the UN existence over its non-existence and believe that the UN still is a podium for diplomatic expressions of the

demands of the "Third World" countries.

**On the Membership in the Security Council of the UN and the Right to Veto**

Germany and Japan are trying to become the permanent members of UN Security Council and to obtain the right to veto. This new arena of quarrel fits the imperialist interests of these two countries. Germany and Japan do not want to see that the UN is forced by the US to make decisions that oppose their interests. Furthermore, the occupation of a permanent seat in the Security Council and having a veto power give Germany a bigger influence in the world and a chance to seek bigger concessions from other states. The power to veto will strengthen Germany's diplomatic positions in the world and will make it, to some extent, independent from France. The right to veto also gives Germany the chance, whenever its interests demand, to present itself as a defender of the interests of the "Third World" countries. The US imperialists oppose granting Germany the veto power. We are witnessing a new arena of conflict in the UN between the US and Europe. The US will try to discredit the UN further.

For the first time the Japanese, despite adopting after WWII a pacifist constitution that prohibits the use of military force to resolve disputes, have sent military personnel to Iraq under the cover of "peaceful goals" and "humanitarian aid" and thus has created the ground for military activities in the Pacific Ocean. In December 2004, the Japanese imperialists set their defensive strategy for 10 years. According to this strategy, Japan can participate in the international missions for the "preservation of world peace". One can sense the smell of war under the name of peace! Japan has decided to relax the limits on its arms exports. Of course, Japan considers the change of its policy a matter that is related to the fight against terrorism and to the politics and geography of today's world and has labeled its army as "self-defense army". It has explicitly declared that People's Republic of China and North Korea are dangers for its security and that it has intention of rapidly increasing its military budget and strengthening its arm forces. Japan talks even **Continued on page 4**

**Political Report**

about "preemptive strikes" and manufacturing long-range missiles. The US imperialists need Japanese militarism to siege China and Russia. Japan is also seeking the veto right in the Security Council of the UN in order to strengthen and to stabilise its international positions.

For the communists, the situation is clear. We do not recognise the veto power for any country and believe that all countries must enjoy equal rights and respects. We believe that the UN is used and will continue to be used as a tool in the service of the imperialists' interests and the bitter experience of Congo of Lumumba will repeat. At the same time, we prefer the UN existence over its non-existence because it can yet be a stage to further expose imperialism.

**In Whose Service is the International Criminal Court?**

The European Union is trying to establish an international criminal court whose signatories have an obligation not to commit offenses that are considered crimes against humanity. This court will have the authority to prosecute military personnel from member states who are accused of such crimes. The establishment of this court is for securing the interests of the imperialist powers that want to charge their opponents with crime against humanity and to put them on formal and orderly trial. Taking Milosevic to The Hague and putting him on trial is an example of what this court wants to do. At the same time, the European imperialists have the intention to control the madness and the criminal activities of the US imperialists and to create difficulties for the US that has committed innumerable crimes against humanity. The Europeans know that the US may behave similarly with them and the bird may land on their roofs too. The Europeans want to be silent only on the crimes in which they have interests. The events of dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the use for the first time of germ bombs on Korea, the use of napalm and phosphoric and cluster bombs in Vietnam and Cambodia and Laos, the use of noise and cluster and napalm and gas bombs in Afghanistan, the use of depleted uranium

bombs in Yugoslavia and Iraq, the use of chemical bombs by Saddam in Iran and the Kurdish regions, etc , show that this bird may land, if it is not controlled, on the European roofs too. The European states want to require the US to obey a definite set of rules for the game. Every one knows the bombardment of 400 thousand – populated city of Fallujah and the slaughter of over 130,000 Iraqi people by the imperialist colonists are crimes against humanity. The US imperialists' conduct in Abu Ghraib prison, Guantanamo, Kundus and other open and secret prisons in Iraq and Afghanistan and on the US naval ships are criminal and deserve to be brought before an international tribunal. But the US imperialists continue to commit these crimes without hesitation.

The European imperialists do not want to put on trial the perpetrators of crimes against humanity, otherwise they would have accepted the responsibility of NATO's massacre of Kosovars and would have put on trial all those who prepared the ground through lies for the NATO invasion of Yugoslavia. But they have put on trial Milosevic who defended the independence of Yugoslavia and did not sign the shameless "Rambier" document. They put Milosevic on trial as a war criminal in The Hague without having any documents and evidence to convict him. The ICC is not an authority to punish the criminals, but it is a court to advance the interests of the European imperialists. ICC is set up for the purpose of, along with controlling the US wildness, eliminating as war criminals those who do not yield to the pressure and threats. ICC is a tool of ideological aggression of the European imperialists. It is a tool for making deals and colluding but not defending human rights.

**On the Membership of Turkey in the EU**

Turkey is one of the staunch and reliable allies of the US. It has been seeking EU membership for 40 years, but it has been faced with difficulties, new demands, and barriers every year. The Europe's last trick was to promise Turkey membership negotiations 15 years later provided that it sincerely dances to the Europe's music during this period. **Continued on page 5**

**Political Report**

Turkey has the difficulty of resolving the Kurdish question. Turkey has a big influence in Central Asia and has historically followed a Pan Turkish policy. The growing Islamic movement in Turkey has mixed Pan-Islamism with Pan –Turkism of the Ottoman Empire and has made an amalgamation to form its identity. The occupation of part of Cyprus, historically having eyes on Iranian Azerbaijan and on the Republic of Azerbaijan (Aran), and the appetite to swallow the oil fields of Kirkuk and other parts of Iraq are all indications of the expansionist policy of Turkey. Turkey has problems with all its neighboring countries. The Turkish authorities have been the US servants in the Korean War, in the war in Afghanistan, and even quietly in the present war in Iraq. For Europe, the conflict with Syria over water resources and the collaboration with Zionism in the region have turned Turkey to an instigating and unpredictable state. The presence of several million Turks in Europe who strongly preserve both their Islamic and Turkish identities by creating national ghettos is considered by Europe to cause security problems. If the Turks are granted European citizenship, then Kurds must be granted citizenship too. If the Kurds are granted European citizenship, then Europe has difficulty to find a justification why several million Iranian and Iraqi Kurds cannot be considered Europeans. Anyhow, a seed with an unpredictable fruit for 10 years will be sowed. In this regard, everything is accompanied with risk and uncertainty. If Europe grants citizenship to Turks, then what will happen to the present constitution of Turkey that considers every Turk a citizen of Turkey? Will the citizens of Central Asia and the Caucasus region and Chechnya who have Turkish origin be considered Europeans? Where will Europe draw the demarcation line? The civil, legal, and political rights must be redefined with a great care. What will Europe do with the millions of Kurdish refugees who entered Turkey (means Europe) from Iran, Iraq, and Syria? What will happen to the military treaties between Turkey and Israel and to the border agreements between Iran and Turkey and to many other present agreements and treaties?

The US wants to assist its ally Turkey with the membership in the EU in order to keep it as a thorn in the side of Europe and also to compensate Turkey for its service in other part of the world. The Europe's ill-treatment of Turkey in regard to EU membership is not caused by the fear of Islam as is claimed. It is caused by fear of the possibility of US influence in politics, economy, and military security of Europe. Is the number of the Moslem citizens of Britain and France small? Why might the Turkish Moslems cause problems now? Aren't Albanians and Kosovars Moslems and aren't they considered Europeans? Some European ruling parties hope that they can split Turkey from the US by facilitating its EU membership and by attracting Turkey more towards Europe. They hope they can minimise the role of the US backed Kamalist army of Turkey. By promising membership in the EU, the Europeans are trying to pull Turkey towards a long and exhaustive fight and are raising new demands in order to subordinate the Turkish bourgeoisie. They want to cut smoothly the Turkey's head. They are pulling Turkey towards a vicious circle of looming crisis that is dark and uncertain and that puts Turkey on the edge of a cliff. This will be a defeat for 40 years of propaganda and for Europeanisation policy of Turkey. With this defeat, the danger of increased influence of radical Moslems in Turkey will intensify and will force Turkey to revise its policy on Iran, Syria, Israel, Central Asia, and the Caucasus region. Turkey already has hesitations toward the activities of the Americans and Israelis and Kurds in Iraq. The developments of the events in Iraq will definitely influence the policies adopted by Turkey. Some European circles consider Izmir, formerly inhabited by Greeks, and Istanbul (Constantinople) part of Europe and extend the borders of Europe to inside Turkey and close to the borders of Eastern Rome Empire. While the European imperialists have no serious pity for Armenians or Kurds or Greeks, the question of Armenia, Kurdistan, occupied Cyprus, and formerly Greek inhabited regions of Turkey, and the massacre of Armenians that is considered a crime against humanity by many European circles are hung over the head of Turkey by **Continued on page 6**

**Political Report**

European statesmen like Damocles' sword. The map of Greater Armenia and Independent Kurdistan cast in Turkey's teeth and pulls Turkey towards crisis and disintegration. Turkey has to be in the agony of death till the threshold of its entrance to EU. It is with this point of view that one has to see the contradictions between Turkey and the EU and the inter-European contradiction on Turkey's membership in the EU, and to evaluate the crisis-ridden future of Turkey. Turkey is bowing under the heavy imperialist loans and its economy is in ruin. This unstable condition has forced Turkey to move closer to Iran and Russia and to resolve its problems with Syria. Apparently,

resolve its problems with Syria. Apparently, along with the view of Turkey joining the EU, another view is shaping up, the view that stems from the fear of disintegration of Turkey and that sees the salvation of Turkey not in alliance with Europe or the USA, but in closer relations with Russia, Iran, and Syria. The suspicious and dubious role of the US imperialism and the Israeli Zionism in Iraqi Kurdistan strengthens this view and accelerates the development of the events. The Middle East region is hot with the burning fires of vicissitude and is pregnant with significant events. We give special importance to the cooperation between the communist forces of the region including the fighting communists of Turkey.

---

**The Imperialist Ideological-Economical Tools of Exerting Influence in Rivalry and Collusion against the Working Class, the Nations, and the Independent States**

**The Twisted Language of Imperialism**

Naturally, the quarrels between the imperialists are not expressed in the same language that we communists are expressing them. The imperialists have to handle the quarrels in a language that the people and the working class do not understand. The imperialists use expressions that disguise their intentions and deeds. Otherwise, there will be no room for ideological struggles and no need for political education and training. For example, we do not need to expose an individual who is criminal, looter, and anti-human and who introduces himself in this manner. The difficulties arise when a looter and anti-human criminal introduces himself in disguise through lies and fabrication of documents. We are facing this situation in the world today.

We believe that the imperialists, in order to hide their true intentions, carry out a worldwide campaign of deceit of public opinion by using their propaganda machines, mass media, films, books, newspapers, satellites, etc. This ideological fight takes place on many fronts. The knowledge about these fronts arms us in the fight against imperialism. Our Organisation must gain further knowledge about these fronts and expose them to the masses and must be vigilant to discover new fronts of this fight

on time and to inform people of our proposed methods for exposing them.

Along with this, the imperialists have to find theoretical justifications for their offences. The following are samples of the deceitful theories they use.

- The Supremacy of the value of the human rights over the value of the rights of nations and over the independence
- The rights of nations to self-determination
- The fight against dictatorship and the establishment of democracy and free elections
- The supremacy of security over freedom
- The fight against terrorism

**The Imperialistic Attitude towards the Right of Nations, the UN, and the Rights of Nations to Self-determination**

The UN has been supposedly established on the basis of equality of nations and of the states. The rights of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states have been expressed in UN documents and have been agreed upon by the all member states. In regards to the rights of the states, it has been expressed in the UN documents that a country cannot invade or destroy another country or cannot take measures against another country without the UN decision or on the basis of speculations. Also, the right to self-defence

**Continued on page 7**

**Political Report**

is defined clearly in the UN documents. But the US imperialists grant themselves the special right to violate these internationally recognised rights and the corner stones of the UN at any place, in any form, and at any time that they decide to defend their exploitative interests. To implement these special rights, the US imperialists have invented the theory of "preemptive strikes". This theory puts them above the UN laws and regulations. The US-invented theory of "preemptive strikes" negates and destroys the UN and it enables the US to invade an "unfavorable" country. The events of September 11 helped the US imperialists to further justify this theory and implement it with an open hand. We communists do not forget that the theory of "preemptive strikes" has no relation with the events of September 11 and that it has been and will be the general policy of the US imperialists. Were the twin towers of New York attacked before the US invaded Korea and South Vietnam, bombarded the dams and forests of North Vietnam, invaded Cambodia and built towers from human skulls and made its land useless by dropping napalm on it, invaded Laos, Panama, Cuba, Granada, Dominican Republic, Lebanon, and acted covertly in Iran and Chile and Iraq and Indonesia and Argentina and Guatemala, Columbia and....? Imperialism needs these invasions in order to survive. The colourful imperialist arguments must not deceive the people. The US theory of "preemptive strikes" allows for invasions that are not only limitless but can be based on fabricated and unverifiable documents. This theory is to establish the law of jungle and must be refuted.

The European imperialists feel that their interests are threatened by the aggressive US conduct. Their present weakness necessitates that they curb the US free reign by appealing to the UN and its regulations and to the will of the US oppressed and dominated UN members. Insistence on having the UN to make decisions and pass resolutions about affairs and hiding behind the UN are all indications of the weaknesses of the European imperialists and, at the same time, of disagreements and contradictions with the US imperialists. The US - Europe contradictions over Iraq

expressed themselves explicitly. The same European imperialists, the Germans at the top, committed similar crimes in Yugoslavia, lied and fabricated documents, bombarded the industrial and residential areas, and broke into pieces the independent state of Yugoslavia and started to plunder the resources of each piece.

The European and American imperialists are trying to preserve and expand their own interests and are not for the rights of nations to self-determination. The recognition, defence, and implementation of the rights of nations to self-determination are to directly negate their imperialist natures and to tie their hands in exploiting and looting the world's resources. A knife cannot cut its own hand. History has shown that the imperialists never respect the rights of nations and of the states. The history of colonialism is the history of the violation of these rights. The European imperialists who try to unite Europe and who talk about the united Europe divided Yugoslavia into pieces under the cover of defending the rights of nations to self-determination and made Croatia and Slovenia colonies of Germany, two states that cannot continue to live without dependence on the European imperialists. Kosovo, which is defended by NATO and which was the pretext of the invasion of Yugoslavia, is still trying to gain the independence that will never be achieved and has become a prostitute house for the NATO soldiers. If an appearance of independence is granted to Kosovo, it will practically be a formal title and a cover to hide the colonial rule in Kosovo. The condition of Bosnia-Herzegovina is so bad that one can hardly consider Bosnia an independent state. The imperialists have divided the powerful and viable Yugoslavia into several smaller and hostile countries in order to easily colonise and bring them under the control of finance capital. The rights of self-determination of these smaller countries were the rights to choose an imperialist master. The imperialists that do not recognise the rights of Palestinians to their self-determination and that contribute to the continuation of the Zionist occupation of Palestine are pretending to defend the rights of nations and dividing the countries that can stand

**Continued on page 8**

**Political Report**

up to them. The British imperialists violate the rights of Irish, the rulers of Spain suppress the people of Basque, the government of Turkey continuously violates the rights of Kurds and has occupied Cyprus, and South Korea is still under the domination of the US imperialists who do not want to end the occupation of the country. The roles of the imperialists in violation of the rights of African and Asian countries are known to human kind. All these supporters of the rights of nations to self-determination are the decrepit colonists and the world plunderers. The events in Iraq show that the American, British, Danish, Italian ... imperialists are committing hideous crimes of all types in order to continue the occupation that is against the will of the Iraqi people. By using the slogan of self-determination and by appealing to the many problems that imperialist-backed ruling classes have created for the people, the imperialists are trying to divide the countries into smaller pieces and swallow them easily and quickly. The attempts are being made to implement this policy in Iran, Russia, and China. The propaganda of "national hate" in Iran where there has been neither hate against the Kurds nor against the Azerbaijanis or Turkmen or Baluchis or Arabs or ... with a banner of "anti-Persian hate" and giving financial aids and holding military training sessions in the US and Israel and in special camps in Germany for the Iranian secessionists are all parts of the imperialists' policy that is being carried out patiently and according to a long term plan. Behind the apparently neat cover of support for the rights of nations to self-determination hides the imperialists' colonial intentions that the

imperialists cannot achieve if these nations unite under the leadership of a progressive force. Communists always recognise the rights of nations to self-determination, and they defend the struggle for achieving these rights only when it is against imperialism and colonialism. Communists promote the democratic unity and not the colonial divisions of nations within a country and fight for the unity of the proletariat of these nations in a single political party of the working class. The single party of the working class of Iran is the expression of the revolutionary unity of the workers of various nations within Iran and lays stress upon the common interests and not upon the national distinctions of workers. No struggle under the banner of national chauvinism is a struggle for freedom and independence. Today, a political struggle without anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist content cannot be considered progressive and defensible. We consider the struggle of different nationalities for self-determination a part of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, a part of the real and general liberation struggle against colonialism, and in the service of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. By the proper initiation of the national question, by linking the struggle for self-determination to the general anti-imperialist struggle, and by stressing the common interests in the class struggle the communists must preserve the main direction of the struggle against the biggest violators of the rights of nations and of human rights. This is one of the struggles that our organisation will continue to wage in the coming years. It is the task of our Party to expose the essence of national chauvinism and its incompatibility with internationalism.

**Toufan International is published quarterly and includes selected articles from Toufan, the Central Organ of the Party of Labour of Iran.**

**Send all correspondence to :**

**Toufan**

**Postfach 103825**

**60108 Frankfurt , Germany**

**E-mail address: [Plitouf@hotmail.com](mailto:Plitouf@hotmail.com)**

**Fax: 069/96580346 (Germany)**

**Web Site : [www.toufan.org](http://www.toufan.org)**

**[toufan@toufan.org](mailto:toufan@toufan.org)**