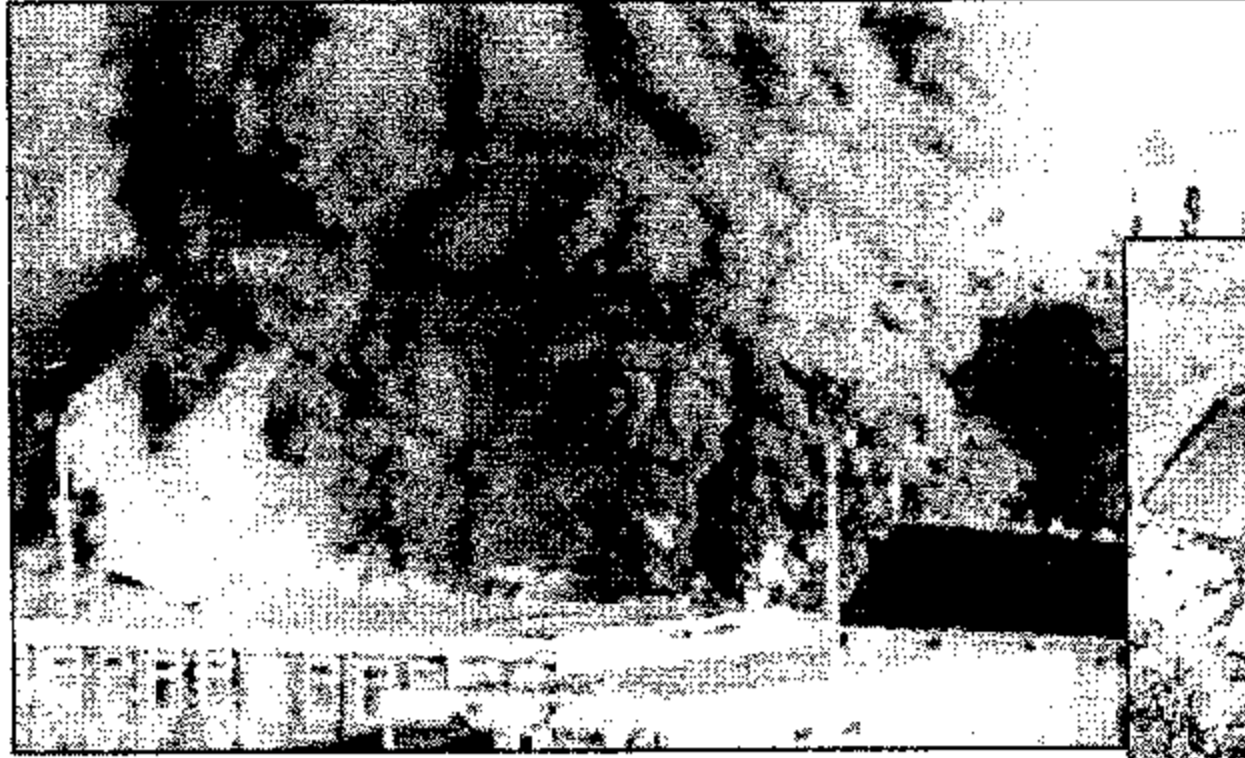


International Socialist League

socialist

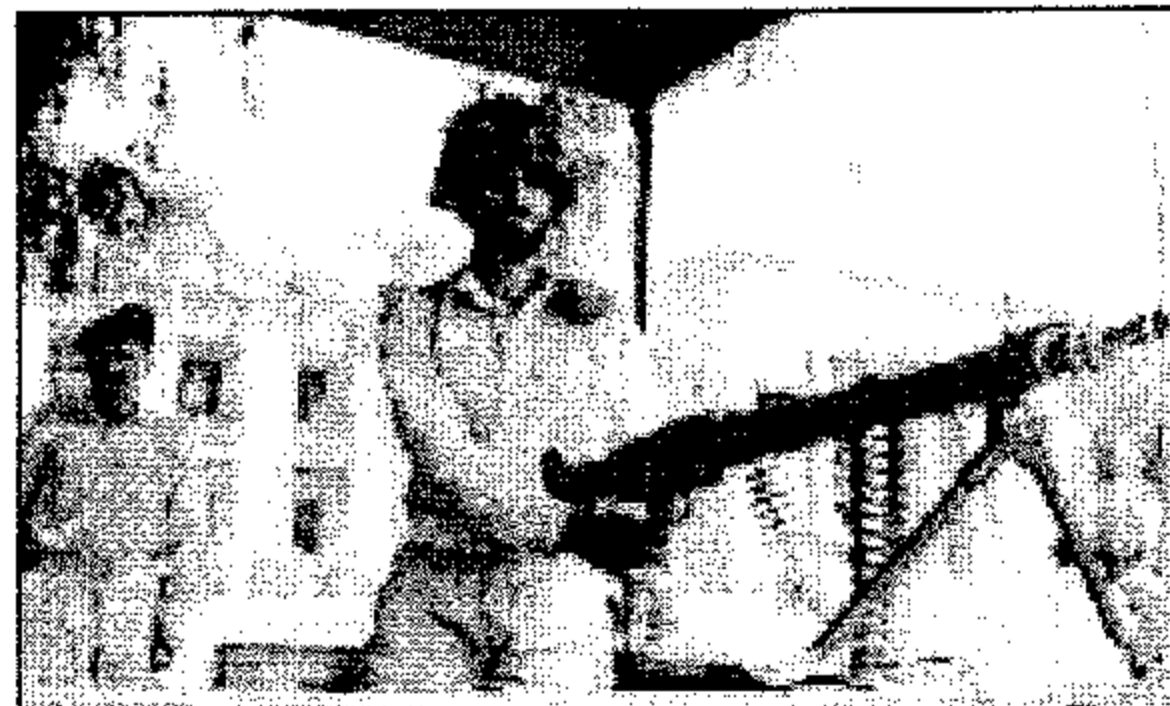
VOICE

50p • November 1999 • Volume III Issue No 5



Privatisation kills - For Public ownership

**Down
with
the**



Pakistan Coup

Barclay's Bank, Roots of Marxism, East Timor, Iran
Revolutionary memory and Poland

Contents



- 3' NEW MOVEMENTS AND CLASS ALLIANCES
- 4 BARCLAY'S: PARTNERSHIP ENDANGERS YOUR HEALTH
- 6 RAIL PRIVATISATION
- 8 ROOTS OF MARXISM - WAGES PRICES AND PROFIT
- 10 OPPOSE THE COUP IN PAKISTAN
- 12 PAKISTAN LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE
- 13 INDEPENDENCE FOR EAST TIMOR
- 14 HOW REVOLUTIONARY MEMORY LIVES
- 16 IRAN

Subscribe!

- £5 for six issues including postage
- Cheques should be made payable to ISL
- ISL PO Box 9 Eccles SO Salford M30 7FX

International Socialist League
socialist VOICE

- Edited by Peter Marshall
- Published by:
ISL PO Box 9
Eccles SO
Salford M30 7FX

- Socialist Voice, is the Journal of the International Socialist League and is published every two months.
- Signed articles do not necessarily reflect the views of the ISL.
- We welcome contributions and comments from readers.
- Subscriptions cost £5 for six issues including postage.

New movements and class alliances

Many people can feel the tensions in society are creating increasing anxiety in the working people and for everybody who are not rich. That shows in the undiminished anger against the Tories since their defeat in 1997 but also in the fact that bitterness has steadily increased against New Labour.

In the countries of Europe and the USA the working population and the youth is characterised by an increasing scepticism, and anger against capitalist politicians. We are in the beginning of a new world rise of the working class.

The reception given to a book by a French writer Viviane Forrester, *L'horreur Economique*, is reflecting the shaking in the world. According to the Guardian, 26 October, it has sold more than one million copies world wide and may be the best economics best-seller since Karl Marx's *Capital*. She says, "Waiters, bankers, housewives, taxi drivers, students, young unemployed..." are all reading it and agree with its central themes, that, "the constant downsizing of ever larger tranches of the working and now, middle classes; the steady attrition, internationally, of welfare and union rights; the growing destabilisation of the lives of those in work, let alone the unemployed. (70 per cent of all new jobs in France in 1996 involved some form of part-time or fixed term contract; as early as 1993 two-thirds of British jobs were estimated not to be the steady, traditional, benefits-and -holidays jobs upon which one might base a life.)"

This is not what Tony Blair wants to hear, he calls people like Forrester dinosaurs and says they are resistant to modern ideas, mold breaking change and bold initiatives. But 400,000 in France have bought the book, 200,000 in Germany, 50,000 in Italy, it is a best-seller in Canada and Japan, it is very popular in Latin America and sold 50,000 in Argentina.

Throughout France, according to the Guardian, unemployed people in their twenties have been photocopying pages from *L'horreur* and sticking them up in jobs centres.

Forrester thinks that this subject is the subject on everyone's mind, it is the subject of the modern world. It is.

Many youth are openly expressing themselves as anticapitalist and there are increasing demands for public ownership amongst workers. There is an increase in anticapitalist feeling with a determination to take independent action and an increase in confidence in the power of class struggle.

For example, having fought for one and half years, twen-

ty one of the Tameside strikers are taking their fight for justice to an industrial tribunal in February, they are still meeting every week and are also determined to remain connected with the struggle for public services. In Lewisham, a community based campaign recently won against a council bent on privatisation of the housing stock; in Sheffield bin-men surrounded the council with bins in protest against plans for privatisation. In Manchester the firefighters forced a retreat from the management, without a fight, after they voted seventy eight percent in a ballot for rolling strike action. In many areas of the country workers are fighting these types of attacks in addition to the better known campaigns such as the opposition against privatisation of the London underground and the great desire to elect Ken Livingstone as mayor of London. Young people are also mounting campaigns, such as in Newcastle against the development of an incinerator.

Not all the campaigns are successful, some win and others lose. But there is a feeling that these campaigns have to link up and have to overcome their isolation. The rise of struggle will proceed in a very uneven and contradictory way in Britain, Europe and throughout the world. There are different tempos for example even between England and Scotland and different conditions, such as over student grants, should be used to get the best conditions north and south of the border. The fact that Forrester's book can enjoy such huge popularity is a powerful proof that modern capitalism has everywhere in the world forced conditions which are similar - just as the Liverpool dock workers found. It is a development of the world that Marx analysed and foretold would happen unless socialism put an end to the savagery of capitalism, although he wrote 150 years ago.

In the last half of the nineteenth century Marx and Engels also wrote about the central importance of the class movement taking place in the break of workers to independent class politics and developing their own political expression.

The population is coming into struggle and in particular the youth are having to learn the old lessons - in a new way. One way this is expressing itself is in the development of the anticapitalist alliances and the desire both in the working class and sectors of the left to overcome some of the old sectarian barriers in the left and some of the old sectional barriers in the class.

The socialist alliances which are developing are an ex-

Many youth are openly expressing themselves as anticapitalist and there are increasing demands for public ownership amongst workers.

pression of this process. We think the greatest drive inside must be to link the discussion of building a class alternative to Blair to the needs and struggle which are coming up in the class and the youth.

That means not only giving solidarity but developing the will to fight together and to give a political leadership linked in many ways with the struggles coming up, including the trade union and community struggles. Such alliances cannot be developed by seeking easy solutions or by any group or individual trying to impose or vote through a particular point of view. It is done by patiently seeking to unite on the common grounds in the class struggle and common points of a class programme.

The notion that a party is more important than the class or above the class should be buried. A party or an alliance can only develop inside the struggles of the class and differences can be fraternally tested out in the class of struggle and should not be regarded as evil. This new process should be conducted on a basis of agreements for common struggles in the class, the discussion on programme should concentrate on the essential points of the class struggle with sensitivity to local conditions, the different sections and issues of the class and internationalism.

The experience of Arthur Scargill and the Socialist Labour Party proves that a new workers' party cannot be built by excluding people and tendencies just because a leadership disagrees. In fact in France, Scotland, Italy and Portugal there has been a turn to revolutionary groupings in the European and national elections and the same can be said of Brazil (as in the case of our section in Brazil - the PSTU) and Pakistan (the Pakistan Labour Party - see this issue) from sections of the working class, the youth and the peasantry. These are all experiences that have gone further than Scargill and in many areas the SLP is now in decline.

The movement towards principle unity and struggle is strong enough to push the Socialist Workers Party towards common agreements in elections, but they withdrew before the agreements could be completed and in so doing they prevented testing out the same process in England and Wales. Nevertheless the process of building a workers' party with all working class tendencies as millions of people turn away from the social democratic and old bureaucratic structures has in the last few months taken a step forward internationally.

The possibilities in England and Wales can be measured will be expressed by how far the struggles can break out of their isolation and a national expression given to the fight against New Labour. The linking up of the trade union struggles with the youth and the communities and the interweaving of the socialist fighters with the working class and the youth here and in Europe is part of the process and is also a precondition for a growing movement.

Barclay's:

In the form of a 'partnership project' with their employers, staff in Barclays Bank have had the latest New Labour industrial strategy hoisted upon them. They are thus presently experiencing the doubtful pleasures of Blair's 'Third Way'.

The TUC affiliated, Banking Insurance and Finance Union (BIFU) had some traditions as a partisan advocate on behalf of its members. However, in the run up to the merger with the previous union-busting bank staff association UNIFI, it began to discuss a 'partnership' deal with the bank.

In Barclays' case the 'partnership' process began at the instigation of BIFU in 1998. The process accelerated and, during the past year, various joint bank/union committees have been formed to discuss and recommend on issues from flexible working to new grievance and disciplinary procedures. In all there are nine different working parties where union lay members join with bank personnel and make recommendations to both the union and the bank.

These working parties are succeeding to subvert all the previous work of the union. Now the union finds itself acting as one with the bank; recommending initiatives instead of using its own expertise, gained over many years defending and improving conditions but, most importantly, acting independently. For instance, the union became skilful in protecting members when the bank tried to discipline them. Now, as well as agreeing to a shortening of the time for a member to defend himself or herself, it implies the bank is correct. If the bank invokes rules it has formulated hand in hand with the union, then the employee must be guilty!

If the bank invokes rules it has formulated hand in hand with the union, then the employee must be guilty!

'Partnership' in Barclays involves an insidious concessions to the management on a host of matters, from health and safety to measuring the performance of staff. It covers every aspect of working life. For example, as part of so called 'flexible' working, the bank is adamant that the union must agree to Saturday being a normal working day. This is instead of the present arrangement whereby staff have Saturday and Sunday off; their normal working week being Monday to Friday. The bank is saying that staff must agree to giving up their Saturdays off because of competitive pressures.

An executive of Barclays told UNIFI (now the name of the new merged union; not just the old staff association), at its annual conference for Barclays members, that a Part-



Partnership Projects Endangers Your Health

nership deal means the union agreeing to Saturday as a normal working day and in return, the bank would recognise the union in its telephone banking arm. But it is the job of a union to fight for recognition, not to give away the conditions of its own members!

When Partnership came about towards the end of last year, it was just when the bank was beginning to slash jobs in earnest. It was in their naivety that the union began meetings with Barclays management to explore the benefits. 'Naivety' is too generous a word because the union bureaucracy undoubtedly encouraged and cajoled lay members to enter into Partnership discussions.

But Barclays workers are now in dire straits. Under its rolling redundancy plans each division of the bank is planning to shed staff, from small rural branches to the high-tech IT departments. The main IT division, Barclays Technical Services, under its Stretch program intends to reduce staff from the 1,590 workers it has now down to 1,080 in 2002. Whilst the branch network has just announced 430 job losses.

As older technologies are replaced by ever newer ones IT staff have called for retraining in the new generation of programming languages such as Java and Visual Basic but the bank says that it will take too long to retrain staff.

Despite being immensely profitable (earning about £1.4bn last year) Barclays is being compartmentalised into various divisions and each division, in the plan of things, has to be profitable instead of, as in the past, the whole bank acting in aggregate.

When, early this summer, the bank announced the cutting of a further 6,000 jobs, many staff were simply told not to bother coming in to work as their jobs had "disappeared".

Barclays sees that presently it is in a position of extreme strength. It sees its staff as completely demoralised with their careers in tatters. Barclays is now going in for the kill.

However the national committee of the union do not

want the Partnership deal the bank wants and voted against any concessions to the bank. An Executive from the bank has threatened employees with

Despite threats by senior Barclays executives of the untold consequences of resisting the bank's demands many staff now feel enough is enough and are openly talking of strike action to defend jobs and conditions.

"dire consequences" if staff do not concede conditions.

Despite the threats many staff now feel enough is

Money, money, money - another bank story

The Bank of Scotland was the bank the Tameside Care Group borrowed money from. In 1997 TCG received a letter from the bank which stated that they had long held the opinion that the wages of the Tameside Care Workers were too high and were much higher than the going rate in the area. In 1998 TCG cut care workers' wages and provoked a year and half strike.

This is the same bank which is trying to take over NatWest, with plans to cut costs. Shareholders need not worry, the NatWest managers are holding on - by sacking over 1000 staff.

enough and are openly talking of strike action to defend jobs and conditions.

So the position is that the bureaucracy has pushed the membership into partnership negotiations. The bank entered them because the bank could make a cost cutting deal with the unions (undermine existing conditions). The union cannot deliver as the national committee will not concede what the bank wants.

Now in the latest move the bank's Legal Group Director, HR - Elizabeth Slattery, has written to Iain Maclean the senior full time union employee (also chief of the union-busting staff association prior to merger of the two organisations) saying the "dots must be dotted and the ts crossed" on a deal by the end of January.

Barclays reflects the situation within the whole financial services industry. Speed-ups, amalgamations and it is happening on an international scale.

Workers are told that their future is connected with the prosperity of their own individual places of work. Workers must work in 'partnership' with the bosses and forget previous class struggles that built trade unions and went on to force governments to create such things as the NHS.

There must be a concerted push by the union to reverse the attacks by the bank under the cover of Blair's Third Way. For many years the main banking union has had, as a goal, the reduction of the working week from 35 hours to 28 hours. This campaign must be resurrected and pursued with renewed vigour.

A program has to be developed and it should be based on the need for full, comprehensive retraining for staff whose jobs fall away and a reduction in the working week. It is important that there is created a unity amongst all financial services staff throughout the industry internationally and a common strategy formulated on the basis that an injury to one is an injury to all.



Labour Supports even if

Three recent events show the direction and method of this government: the rail track disaster, the announcement two weeks afterwards that John Prescott, the Secretary of State for Environment Transport and the Regions, had decided to continue with the privatisation of the Air Traffic Control and the poll in *The Guardian* showing the desire amongst the majority of the population to re-nationalise the railways.

Prescott had, of course, announced just after the train crash that the privatisation of air traffic control was being reconsidered. It was nothing more than a cover, an attempt at showing concern: New Labour with a human face. But really it was merely 'spin-doctoring' to cover the Government's real intentions.

All the talk about running industry by capitalists because it is "more efficient" was a lie pushed to an extreme level by Thatcher. And it has been pushed still further by Tony Blair and his cronies.

After the crash the stock exchange plummeted by £850m. The big investors were there for what they could make; talk of bringing in safety measures helped to send them running.

Opposition to privatisation is deepening as increasing numbers of people see that privatisation kills.

On a radio phone-in just after the accident one driver was almost in tears when he described working up to 72 hours a week and being very over-tired when driving. In an anonymous letter published in the *Labournet* another driver commented that many drivers are working 13 out of 14 days, night shifts are often 11 hours long and train drivers are often on their own.

Bob Crow, an assistant general secretary in the RMT union (the main rail union) accused the companies of trying to "wash their hands" of the tragedy. He said: "Blaming the staff is not good enough. We will always get human error but you have to look at why this happened...The human cost of failing to protect passengers and workers is now enormous. The travelling public knows where the real blame lies."

The Paddington disaster shows that demands for safety

and accountability must be linked with the need for public ownership. It shows that nothing has changed since the Southall disaster. Both events occurred on new track between Paddington and Reading. Paddington is the fastest approach track in London and speed limits had been increased to accommodate the Heathrow Express. In the work carried out some signal positions were altered and could have affected the sight of drivers in the two tragic accidents. Mike Rix, general secretary of the train drivers union Aslef, said the union had been pressing Railtrack to tackle the problem of signal 109 for four years, but it had done nothing.

Larry Elliot and Rebecca Smithers in *The Guardian*, 7 October commented that: "The fragmentation of the railways through privatisation has also led to disputes over responsibilities for accidents, with rival companies blaming each other and inevitably dragging out the findings of public and police inquiries.

"In British Rail's day, all the different parts of the organisation would work together towards a common goal.

Rail industry sources yesterday claimed that the critical information about near misses is not shared among train companies because of its commercial sensitivity."

The rules of the market operate between the railway companies, so there is no fully worked out plan to cover the development of railways in relation to the needs of passengers. Such a thing, under privatisation, is impossible.

Rail-track and the train operators say that safety is their main priority. But who is going to believe them after this? The prime responsibility of a private company is, as has always been and always will be, to make as much profit as possible. No amount of fine words, promises or regulations can change this. Prescott says he is going to take the responsibility for safety out of the hands of Railtrack and put it into the hands of an independent body. But what difference will that make? As the head of Railtrack correctly said, all this means is that targets for certain things will be set by someone else. But implementation, the actual day to day practices, will still be done by Railtrack





Privatisation it kills

and the train operators.

Railtrack say that rail travel is safe and there have been very few deaths in the last two years. But this was a disaster waiting to happen. Rail-passenger deaths in Britain between 1986 and 1996 were three times those of Italy, Belgium, Spain and Sweden and higher than the European Union average.

Britain has a mixed rail network in which high-speed expresses have to share the same track as freight and local trains. Safety rests on a complex system of signals that tell drivers when they can proceed. Yet ATP, which applies the breaks automatically if the engine passes a red signal, and which has been implemented in a number of European countries such as France and Germany has not been implemented in Britain. The number of signals passed at danger last year was 643, an increase of 8% over the previous year and the number of broken rails, a potential cause of derailment, increased from 801 in 1997 to 973 in 1998, a rise of over one-fifth.

The motivation of the directors of the rail companies' is to maximise their own company's profit ...and their salaries. Gerald Corbett, Railtrack's chief executive earns £400,000 and the Head of Safety at Railtrack, Rod Murtram, earns £125,000. What is more important to them, their salaries or safety?

The problem is not only about individual aspects of safety. There must be immediate action taken to outlaw bad safety procedures but part of the 'safety' question is how to make services safe from capital. It is only under public ownership that a complete assessment of what measures are needed to ensure safety can be made and implemented. And that raises another issue: without public ownership and public control of the government and its

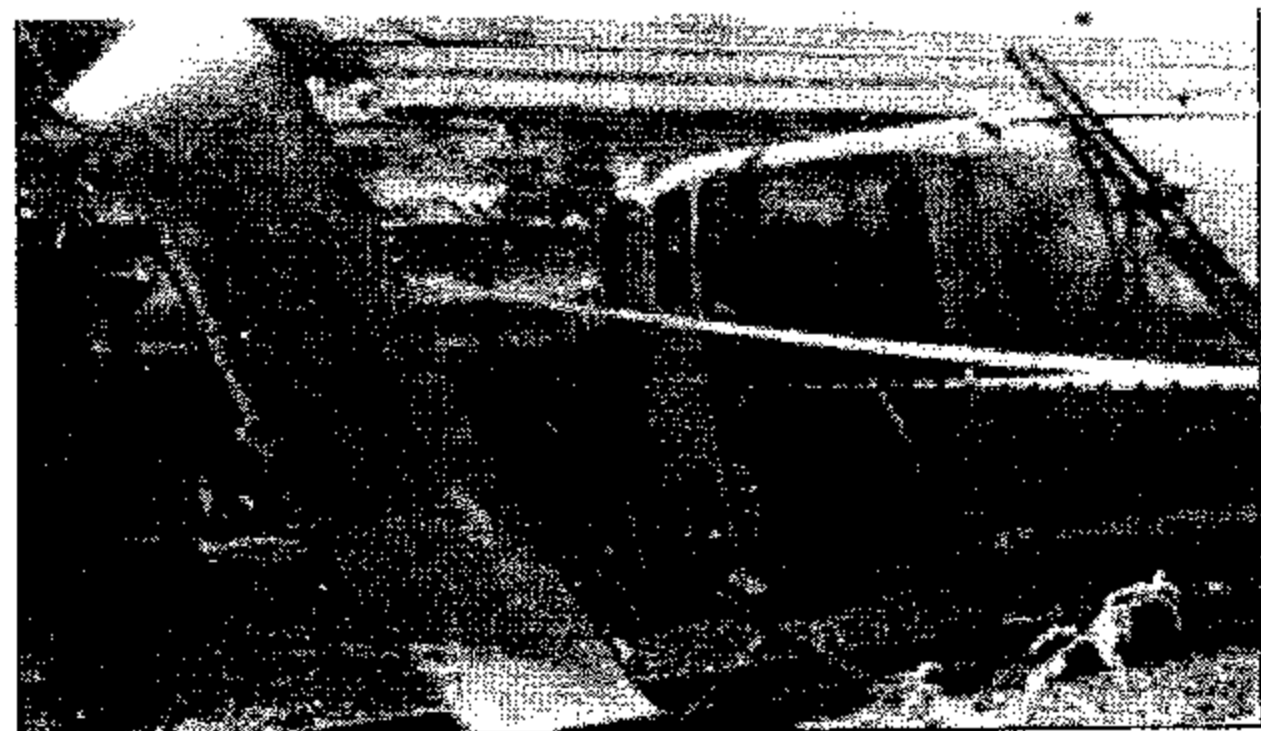


finances any nationalised service and industry can be starved of the money it needs. Nationalised industries cannot last for long in a sea of capitalism.

The Paddington disaster has pushed the demands for re-nationalisation to the fore. But will not be achieved without a big movement. It needs much greater inter-connection between the railway unions, community transport groups and all people genuinely interested in the safety of rail. It also means linking up with all those fighting against the affects of privatisation or to defend public services in other sectors. Rail safety and all these other questions are also international. There is a lot for us in Britain to learn from workers on the continent and in other parts of the world.

Privatisation has become the basis of government policy: schools, hospitals, care services, benefits, pensions, fire services... Tony Blair recently wrote to Tameside Council to congratulate them on their "bold" programme of council house privatisation where the entire lot is going to go! He wrote this letter after the rail disaster. And Prescott is still pushing ahead with privatisation of the London tube with the proposal that Railtrack and Amec, the subcontractor responsible for signaling, taking over some of the underground lines.

In a different form this government is creating conditions for a wide struggle against its central policy and it is possible to that a movement as dynamic as the anti-poll tax movement can develop - but the question is not about refusing to pay, it is about how to run society. In this process one thing is clear, this government is not our government, it is a government of the right, the feelings of the population for public ownership is growing. Its view are not only different to the governments but completed opposed. And that is the basis for a genuine mass movement.





Bill Hunter continues his series on the Marxist 'Classics' with a look at the famous Wages, Price and Profit

Wages, Price and Profit is a pamphlet that has been extremely popular, among trade unionists in particular, for nearly a century and a half. Its sales did not achieve the level of those of the *The Communist Manifesto* but, like that little book, it pithily lays out basic teachings of Marxism. A great number of trade union fighters for the working class have seized hold of it as a weapon against the hoary old argument that increases in wages push up prices and, therefore, do not increase the workers' real wages.

The pamphlet comprises an address of Karl Marx to leaders of the British trade unions on 20 and 27 June, 1865 at two sessions of the General Council of the First International. Marx spoke on wages and how they were determined under capitalism.

Marx was a member of the General Council, with leaders of the British trade unions of the time, as well as trade union leaders from the continent. In this address he was answering, General Council member Citizen Weston, an English worker and a long-time follower of Robert Owen, the British Utopian Socialist and one of the founders of the cooperative movement. Marx's address, for millions of trade unionists and socialist workers since, was the first pamphlet on Marxist Political Economy that they read.

Weston maintained that the struggle for higher wages was self-defeating as there was an 'iron law' which meant that, in capitalist society there was only so much 'cake' to divide between capitalist and worker. So prices went up automatically as wages rose. The 'iron law' of wages was used by capitalist economists, and by reformists and opportunists in the Labour movement since, and still is today, to oppose trade union struggles for wages, and declare them futile.

Marx demonstrated that prices and wages did not depend on an iron objective law or the *will* of the capitalist owners of commodities to increase or lower their price as they desired. If capitalist society allowed its rulers to plan in this way it would not be capitalism with its private ownership, class divisions, competing capitals and consequent anarchy. In the many years following his address, the arguments he so completely demolished have continued to be raised by supporters of capitalism (which Weston was not, it must be stressed).

It is also true that current among many of the 'Marxist' intellectuals who write on the capitalist production today is the acceptance of an objectivist determinism outside of society's antagonisms and class struggles carried on by living people.

Marx began by immediately attacking Citizen Weston's premises, saying: "Citizen Weston's argument rested, in fact, upon two premises, firstly, *that the amount of national production is a fixed thing, a constant quantity or magnitude, as the mathematicians would say; secondly, that the amount of real wages, of wages as measured by the quantity of the commodities they can buy, is a fixed amount, a constant magnitude.*" (Emphasis in the original).

He goes on to declare that Weston's first assertion is evidently erroneous: "Year after year you will find that the value and mass of production increase, that the productive powers of the national labour increase, and that the amount of money necessary to circulate this increasing production continually changes. What is true at the end of the year, and for different years compared with each other, is true for every average day of the year. The amount or magnitude of national production changes continuously. It is not a constant but a variable magnitude."

He shows how Weston 'proves' the iron law of wages, only by asserting it. His demolishing blow is to pose: "If the amount of wages is a constant magnitude, then it can neither be increased nor diminished."

"If then," he said, "in enforcing a temporary rise of wages, the working men act foolishly, the capitalists, in enforcing a temporary fall of wages, would act not less foolishly."

In the real world, however, the capitalists do not act so foolishly but act to protect their interests by lowering wages. That was the object of 'Thatcherism' in Britain. With policies of lowering the costs and power of labour by attacking its unions, it steadily increased the inequalities of wealth in Britain.

Marx took Weston through all the absurdities his conclusion implied. If working people's wages are cut then under those circumstances, he must accept that workers must combine, and struggle for a rise. If he does not accept that the wage cut is against economic law, then he cannot say that the amount of wages is a constant property. Marx told him that he would be saying of the real wage-level then: "although it cannot and must not *rise*, it can and must *fall*, whenever capital pleases to lower it".

He then commented: "If in one country the rate of wages is higher than in another, in the United States, for example, than in England, you must explain this difference in the rate of wages by the difference between the American capitalist and the will of the English capitalist, a method which would very much simplify, not only the study of economic phenomena but of all other phenomena..."



Karl Marx

“The *will* of the capitalist is certainly to take as much as possible. What we have to do is not to talk about his *will*, but to inquire into his *power*, the *limits of that power*, and *the character of those limits*.”

“If we deal only with will, then the limit of wages is arbitrary and not necessary. It may be changed by the will of the capitalist, and may therefore, be changed *against* his will”.

Marx demonstrated that prices and wages did not depend on the will of the capitalist. If they did, then it would mean capitalism would be able to plan, but this is contrary to the reality of capitalist relationships, with private ownership, competing capitals, and anarchy.

Marx discussed the relationships in capitalism that determine the real limits under which the capitalist moves. In theory and in history, he demonstrated that wages had risen without increasing prices, with, among other results, forcing forward productivity in capitalism.

He told his audience of leading trade unionists: “I propose calling your attention to the real rise of wages that took place in Great Britain from 1849 to 1859.

“You are well aware of the Ten hours Bill or rather Ten-and-a-Half Hours Bill, introduced since 1848. This was one of the greatest economic changes we have witnessed. It was a sudden and compulsory rise of wages, not in some local trades, but in the leading industrial branches by which England sways the markets of the world. It was a rise of wages under circumstances singularly unpropitious. Dr. Ure, Professor Senior, and all the other official economic mouthpieces of the middle class, *proved*. and I must say upon much stronger grounds than our friend Weston, that it would sound the death knell of English industry. They asserted that the twelfth hour you wanted to take from the capitalist was exactly the only hour from which he derived his profit. They threatened a decrease of accumulation, rise of prices, loss of markets, stinting of production, consequent reaction upon wages, ultimate ruin, in fact... Well, what was the result? A rise in the money wages of the factory operatives, despite the curtailing of the working day, a great increase in the number of the factory hands employed, a continuous fall in the prices of their products, a marvellous development in the productive powers of their labour, an unheard-of progressive expansion of the markets for their commodities.”

Marx put to the General Council, three resolutions which arose from his address:

Firstly: A general rise of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities.

Secondly: The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but sink the average standard of wages.

Thirdly: Trades Unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail

generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system.

He called for the unions to alter their aim from a *Fair Day's Pay for a Fair Day's Work*, to *Abolition of the Wages System*.

The working class, he wrote: “Ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curbing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerrilla fights incessantly springing up from the never ceasing encroachments of capital or changes in the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the *material conditions* and the *social forms* necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto, ‘*A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!*’ they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, ‘*Abolition of the wages system!*’” (Marx's emphasis).



Oppose the Coup

The following report was sent to Socialist Voice by the Pakistan Labour Party immediately following the military coup.

The coup appeared to have been provoked by Nawaz Sharif's announcement of the dismissal of the General that the Government had promoted only a week before to Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff Committee.

During that week, the General had purged some of the senior military officers who were known as Nawaz Sharif supporters and, in retaliation, the Prime Minister wanted to sack the general. This was the immediate causes of the military take over but the main reasons were deeply rooted in the current economic crisis and its political effects.

The economy was in absolute shatters. The Government's attempt to introduce a general sales tax was successfully fought back by the small traders association of Pakistan. It successfully organized a nationwide strike on 4 September. In a bid to cool down the traders, the government, in opposition to IMF instructions, withdrew the GST and introduced a different tax.

In a move to reschedule the loans from IMF, the Nawaz Sharif Government recently took another U-turn and blamed the Taliban Government in Afghanistan for the terrorist activities in Pakistan. Pakistan is the only country in the world to have formally recognized the Taliban Government in Afghanistan and it had actively supported the Talabans take-over in Kabul and other parts of the country. This U-turn was not appreciated by the various religious trends within the army.

In another development, the cotton growers across the country were taking over the roads and organizing massive demonstrations. They were demanding an increase in cotton prices. The powerful All Pakistan Textile Manufacturers Association, APTMA, was opposed to the increase. Cotton amounts to 70 per cent of total export from Pakistan, 10 per cent of the world's cotton. On 10 October, a nationwide protest of peasants and cotton growers blocked all the main roads in the country for hours.

These developments showed the extreme unpopularity of the present government. It was a remarkable change in the consciousness of the masses in the last two and half

years. In the beginning 1997, the present Nawaz Government won the general elections with 40 per cent of the vote, winning an absolute majority of two thirds in the national assembly. It used its majority to introduce amendments to the constitution against those trade union rights that remained, against minorities, women, and small nationalities. It tried to bring the bureaucracy under its absolute control. It humiliated it in public.

Nawaz wanted a Mughal Emperor type rule, where *his* words must be translated into actions within seconds. He had introduced a telephone help line where he would listen to any complaint and, after only a matter of minutes, take action. The TV would follow the story and the impression would be given that justice had been done in seconds. This was without any proper investigation of the complaint.

The government of Nawaz Sharif had a highway construction mania. He would like the roads build in days and all the so-called 'encroachments' had to go ahead without any alternatives being considered. Many historical buildings were bulldozed in this process. This led to widespread reaction among the urban population.

Despite his demagogy, Nawaz was unable to implement the agenda of IMF in regard to the speedy privatization of the main public sector institutions like railway, telecommunication and electricity. He came into conflict with some of the international power companies. They had made contracts with the previous Benazir government to build power generation plants. They had signed the contract with Benazir government to sell the electricity at a higher rate than the international competitive rate. They bribed the government of Benazir rather than the Nawaz Government. So it caused problems for them. This led to the intervention of World Bank who asked the Nawaz Government to seek a compromise with the power companies.

The Government tested a nuclear bomb despite the hypocritical opposition of the Americans. It went to war with India and lost. It retreated from the border in a humiliating manner. This led to the Nawaz Government's isolation from its own religious constituency and also from its international backers. It also developed trade relationship with the dying Daewo.

The Nawaz Government was seen as very weak, unstable and isolated. Against this background, the take over of the military was not met with any resistance from the masses. There was a sense of confusion and to some extent a sense of relief by the masses.

Military has not yet developed its future strategy. As,



Support Pakistani Workers and Peasants

contrary to the past practices, the military this time has not used religion as the main cause for its action.

If it goes for open military rule, under martial law, it may face opposition from the IMF, World Bank and America. The possibility is that it will install a civilian puppet government under its control. The main aim of such a so-called civilian government would be the speedy implementation of the IMF agenda.

The Labour Party of Pakistan anticipated that this government would not complete its full five-year terms. But it had not seen the open intervention of the military at the present level. The military takeover is yet another setback for the Left and trade union movement in Pakistan. The LPP has issued a press release opposing the military takeover and demanding an immediate announcement of a general election under an interim government of workers and peasants.

LPP, 14 OCTOBER

Comment

The International Socialist League fully supports the demands of the LPP and its decision to launch a campaign for the restoration of democratic rights in Pakistan. The Pakistani workers and peasants should not have to shoulder this fight on their own. We call on workers everywhere and particularly in Britain to support their struggle in every way possible.

We know that many people have sent protest letters to the Pakistan Embassy in London and urge our readers to continue protesting and at the same time raising the issue in the Trade Union and community movement in this country to explain about the situation and support the position of the Pakistan Labour Party against the coup.

Military raid the Weekly Mazdoor Jeddojuhd Offices in Lahore

The Mazdoor Jeddojuhd is the weekly paper of the Pakistan Labour Party
Report By: Farooq Sulehria

The military raided the offices of Weekly Mazdoor Jeddojuhd on 21 October. A truck load of military men came to the office this evening at 5.30pm and entered the premises of Pakistan trade Unions Resource centre. They asked about the owner of the weekly paper and they took some copies of the paper.

In the meantime, The LPP chairman Shoaib Bhatti asked why the military team had come. They asked "why you are writing against the military." Comrade Shoaib told him that it is our point of view. After this, the military left without taking any further action.

The LPP general Secretary Farooq Tariq and Shoaib Bhatti, Chairman have issued a joint press statement terming this harassment as an attack on the freedom of press. They said that that it is a violation of the promise made by the Chief Executive General Pervaiz Mussaraf in his first address that the freedom of the press would be respected. They said that it is our democratic right to oppose the military regime.

They demanded an end of these raids.
The first issue of the Weekly Mazdoor Jeddojuhd was printed on 19 October with a title "No to Martial Law" and an appeal to the working masses to fight against the military dictatorship. It has detail articles on the present situation and LPP point of view to fight back against the military take over.

The LPP is the only political party which have not welcomed he present military take over.
Please protest against this attack and send your Emails and faxes to the Chief Executive General Pervaiz Mussaraf Islamabad, Pakistan.

See overleaf for report of the conference of the LPP



The Pakistan Labour Party Conference

The Pakistan Labour Party (LPP) held its first Punjab Conference in Lahore on 25-26 September. Farooq Tariq, the LPP's General Secretary, describes the conference and the events surrounding it.

The LPP, was until recently a member of the CWI (often referred to as the Militant International). The LPP attended the recent International Workers' League World Congress in Brazil as a visitor.

Two hundred thirty six delegates and observers attended the conference.

A three day and night illegal wall-chalking before the conference, done by a team of 8 members of the National Students Federation, the student wing of LPP, made sure that the conference was known about throughout the 7 million strong city. The central part of the city was full of wall-chalkings with slogans of socialism and welcome to the delegates. In one incident, the NSF made the main student religious fundamentalist group apologise for over writing our wall-chalkings.

Over 200 red flags covered the main roads leading to the Lahore Press Club, where the conference was held and 5,000 posters were fly-posted in the main industrial areas of Lahore.

A conference document had been printed in Urdu and discussed by the party branches across the country. The document included the main arguments on politics and organisation.

The discussion on Pakistan perspective on the first day was very lively. It concluded that it is possible that the present capitalist government of Nawaz Sharif might not complete the remaining two and half years of its term. The capitalists have not solved any of the basic problems of the masses.

In the new era of globalisation, the process of recolonisation of the poor countries has gone along way. The increased exploitation means that the per capita income in Pakistan has fallen from \$460 in 1990 to \$340 in 1999.

Religious fundamentalism has grown but a new Afghanistan or Iran-like situation is not an immediate threat. It is difficult for the army to take direct control. It is possible that a new transitional government might take over for the speedy implementation of the IMF agenda of privatisation and new taxes.

Fifteen comrades took part in the discussion. There were no major differences. Comrades agreed about the collapse of the capitalist system and the inability of the capitalist class to solve any of the basic problems of the masses. Comrades reiterated their commitment to the ideas of permanent revolution.

In the evening, a demonstration was held in front of the American Consulate against the sanctions on Cuba and Iraq. Over 300 comrades and supporters took part. A heavy presence of police blocked the way to the Consulate. A petition demanding an immediate lifting of the sanctions was handed over to the consulate.

The organisational discussion took place on the second day of the conference. The priorities of LPP were finalised. It was agreed that the main work would be in the fields of youth, trade unions and amongst other 'Lefts' in the province. Comrades acknowledge the recent successes of the LPP in Sind province.

A 43 members Punjab council was elected with only 4 voting against the list. The council met for a short time to elect its main leadership. The newly elected chairman, a railway worker from Rawalpindi, used to be a leading member of the Communist Party. His group had been in discussions with the LPP for three years and the whole group of 33 joined the party last August.

At 4pm, a play called Chingari was put on by the party's cultural wing. The press club hall was absolute full. The 40 minute play exposed brilliantly the exploitation of peasants by the feudals of Pakistan and showed the fight back by the peasants.

At 5pm, a second demonstration was held against the imposition of central rule in Sind province. Over 400 participated in a march to the main Mall Road of Lahore.

The conference will prove a landmark in the development of the revolutionary forces in Punjab. It was reported by most of the national media and was a major step forward at a time when the religious fundamentalists are making new inroads among the disenchanted youth. The wall chalking, the posters and the news coverage have already brought new members into the party.



Independence For East Timor No to Indonesia or the United Nations

Millions of people throughout the world were appalled and angry at the blood bath that swept through East Timor following the announcement of the result of the 30 August referendum in which almost the entire indigenous population voted for independence.

As the East Timor International Support Centre in Australia said: "Within hours Indonesia started a systematic and planned campaign of intimidation, killings and physical destruction of buildings and infrastructure. This plan resulted in a cleansing of Dili and most cities followed by a scorched earth policy..." The paramilitary forces were armed, organised, and directed by the Indonesian army. For days the United Nations did nothing.

The UN role has been despicable. Independence leaders had warned about a bloodbath unless there was a transition period during which the militia were disarmed - Gusmao, the East Timorese leader, even talked of a five-year period before the ballot. The Indonesian army's plans in the event of losing the ballot were publicised months ago in the Australian media. Despite this, the ballot proceeded and the celebrations on the day the result was announced allowed the army and militia to identify people for execution.

The Indonesian occupying forces reacted as had been predicted by observers on the scene. The weapons that had been stockpiled and the forces that had been mobilised conducted a well-planned operation. They proceeded to drive out anyone who might bring the terrible story to the outside world and cut off communications, while massacring and expelling tens of thousands of people to an unknown fate, burning and destroying and murdering.

The referendum was a pact made in May 1999 between Portugal and Indonesia with the agreement to be supervised by the UN and the Indonesian army. The UN encouraged the referendum because the Indonesian regime itself was becoming weaker. The mobilisations in 1998 that led to the fall of Suharto were accompanied by the rise of the movement for independence in East Timor. Repression did not resolve the situation and the regime was threatened. It was at this time that the USA demanded a rapid change of leadership, Habibie came to the fore and was forced to accept some of the demands of the masses. But the military remained intact. The subsequent developments in East Timor have compounded the crisis of the Indonesian regime. Habibie is very weak and the army is fearful that East Timorese independence will fuel the resistance movements in Irian Jaya and Aceh.

The UN sent troops to East Timor not because it was concerned about the terror and killings but because of international pressure and actions from the supporters of the East Timorese, above all the working class organisa-

tions and their supporters. The Maritime Union of Australia banned an estimated \$80 million in cargo of Indonesian shipping in protest against the unrelenting violence by Indonesian military and militia in Timor and was quickly supported by other Australian unions and internationally. All containers coming onto the wharves were being isolated in holding areas, any Indonesian bound containers found on board ships were being offloaded and cargo from Indonesian ports were being delayed, banned or held in port. MUA members in the ports of Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Darwin, Fremantle, Townsville, Newcastle, Gladstone and Burnie took action against Indonesian cargo. In Burnie, Tasmania the unionists from the CFMEU, AMWU, TWU, Education Union, Health and Community Services Union supported the MUA picket lines.

The International Transport Workers' Federation, London, called on all its 500 affiliates worldwide, to follow the example of the MUA and "organise appropriate protest action against Indonesian commercial interests including air and sea traffic coming from or bound for Indonesian ports and airports." The UN had to try to divert this movement.

Major General Peter Cosgrove's first remark when he, as leader of the UN army, met the Indonesian commander, was to commend the military for 'first class assistance'. He insisted that "the main task was to help all East Timorese that needed help - not to disarm the militia".

East Timorese history is littered with similar examples of its duplicity and treachery. In 1979 as the terror in East Timor reached a peak the Security Council of the UN ordered Indonesia to withdraw at once, but without effect. In his memoirs Moynihan, US ambassador to the UN, explained the reasons: "The United States wished things to turn out as they did," and he dutifully "worked to bring this about," rendering the UN "utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook." As for how "things turned out," Moynihan comments that within a few months 60,000 Timorese had been killed, "almost the proportion of casualties experienced by the Soviet Union during the Second World War."

How this country has suffered. The 24 years of occupation is a history of state terror supported and covered up by imperialism and its agencies.

The officers of Kopassus, the most prominent killer squad sent to East Timor, were trained in the United States. The Australian military was also heavily involved in the training of Indonesian armed forces. The British government is no better. Undoubtedly, they will wish to go on with their 'special relations' with the regime.

The UN does not respect the fight for independence or the territorial integrity of the country. The UN is there to



help apply the demands of the World Bank and the IMF for privatisation, control of oil and other resources and the payment of the external debt. It wants an economy integrated with the interests of Australian and regional capitalism. Its forces comprise mostly Australians whose leaders signed the infamous deal with Indonesia over the oil deposits in the East Timor Gap and was the first to recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor after the invasion of 1975.

The International Socialist League is unconditionally in support of independence for East Timor. We support the armed resistance of Falintil. We also support the recent student mobilisations in Jakarta.

We are against the intervention by the UN in East Timor and the region. Western governments and the multi-nationals are consistently exploiting the peoples of the region. Extremely low wages, slave and bondage labour are growing in the area. John Pilger in his book *Hidden Agendas* describes the wages of Indonesian workers as less than \$2 a day and a history of the government imprisoning and killing trade union fighters. He also talks of the rapid growth in 1995 of new trade unions. The situation facing these workers is worst today after the collapse of 'Tiger' economies and the IMF plans.

The weakness of the Indonesian regime is rooted in the combativity of the working class and the continual struggle for independence of the East Timorese.

It is only by a development of those who have already begun to fight, that is by the Timorese resistance and people, the Indonesian workers and students that toppled Suharto twelve months ago, the organised international working class like the Australian dockers and all those who believe in real justice, that independence can be achieved.

Our governments are seeking even greater control and domination in the area. The use of the UN and direct US and British force is increasing: Iraq, the Balkans, Philippines (see the last issue of *Socialist Voice*) and elsewhere.

The only way of supporting the East Timorese people is by supporting the victory of Falintil over the Indonesian occupiers, by supplying arms to them and by mobilising an international campaign for trade unions bans on Indonesia to demand the immediate withdrawal of all Indonesian troops.

The British government must be forced to recognise the independence of East Timor and respect the decision of the people. Stop all British arms sales to Indonesia and support all boycotts of the trade unions against Indonesia and all companies who benefit from relations with the Indonesian government.

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Indonesian forces from East Timor! Independence for East Timor!

End the repression against Indonesian students and workers! No to the intervention of the UN! Arm the Timorese resistance!

Letter from Argentine

HOW REVOLUTIONARY MEMORY LIVES

The following story was written by Elizabeth, a long time member of the International Workers' League. Elizabeth now lives in Argentina but spent a number of years in Poland from the 1980s until quite recently. The story comes from that period.

"He who ignores the truth is a fool. He who knows it and conceals it, is a criminal" - Brecht.

X was one of the many young men who do not fit exactly into either of the two categories mentioned by the poet quoted above. Like his father, he was a member of the Polish United Workers Party and called himself a Communist even when his party became the leading element in the restoration of capitalism. I had had many discussions with him, but I had never been able to find the right argument to prove that what he considered to be the last stronghold of Communism in his country was nothing but its own opposite.

For more than three generations his family had been living in the same small house in the suburbs of Warsaw. When X's sister moved in after their grandfather's death, they decided to redecorate the house. When they were knocking down one of the walls, they noticed to their surprise that some of the bricks sounded hollow. They made jokes about their grandfather - an old Communist, too - hiding a treasure there but little did they suspect how near the truth they were until they found a wooden box, covered in tar to protect it from humidity. Inside there were some papers. Among them, they found a little booklet, 32 yellowish pages with the print fading away. Its title was: FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL. It had been published in 1933. One of the writers who had contributed to it was Leon Trotsky. It would serve no purpose to try and translate here all the arguments, but some sentences do sound as if they were written but yesterday:

"Internal regime is something which must be extremely well taken care of...Workers' democracy is not a question of organisation. It is a social issue. The more does a party



lean away from proletarian policy, the less it can support being controlled by the workers' advanced guard.

"A revolutionary policy is unthinkable without a revolutionary practice. It is here, at least, that we do not have to start from the beginning. We come from Marx's and Lenin's standpoint... The first Congresses of the Communist International are our priceless ideological heritage... We shall not move an inch from the first four Congresses, if for nothing else, then for the fact that the Stalinists have already forsaken them.

"He who demands guarantees of success right from the very beginning will have to give up the idea of doing anything at all.

"Nobody has taken the trouble to make the road to the liberation of the workers a smooth one... We shall have to advance with all the unavoidable stops, flows and ebbs. On our way we shall find rubble from the past... He who fears, step away!

"Any revolutionary organisation is subject to the pressure coming from enemy forces and this holds true as long as class society exists in the world... This pressure can express itself in many ways: centrism, opportunism, sectarianism and other deviations are just a part of it.

"Let us be clear about it. Bolshevik Leninism will continue the task no matter what the conditions are but the workers' state can only be saved by the international struggle of workers led by an international party... it is this party that is nowhere to be seen. And that deepens the bitter disappointment of the workers who often find their struggle pointless.

"One of the psychological sources of opportunism is the fear of undertaking great tasks, i.e. the lack of faith in the revolutionary possibilities... Great tasks do not fall from the blue. They come as a result of the class struggle and that is where we must search for what we need. We know that we are quite weak now, but history will not grant us any facilities in the future. The right method is to assess whether a task is historically necessary, and if we find that it is, then start gathering the necessary forces... That is not adventurism. It would be so if we proclaimed ourselves now as the great international... An international cannot be simply proclaimed. It must be built..."

X read the booklet. It caused a Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde battle in his heart. Mr Hyde advised him to burn it. Dr Jekyll, the scientist in search of truth, bade him rethink his entire political approach. He was consistent with neither. But he did bring the booklet to me and said: "As a Trotskyist, you are in a better position than I am to be the executor of my grandfather's will".

I looked at the ageing pages and I thought. More than half a century ago a young revolutionary held these in his hands and discussed them at his party meetings. I could almost hear the voices. Some agreed. Some wondered whether it was not too early for such radical steps to be taken. Others wondered if it was not too late to do anything at all. There must have been some who wagged a warning finger against those who were getting influenced

by the "pernicious ideas of the imperialist agent". A battle against the degeneration of one of the greatest conquests of the October revolution was being fought.

Then the second World War broke out. The nazi army invaded Poland. That

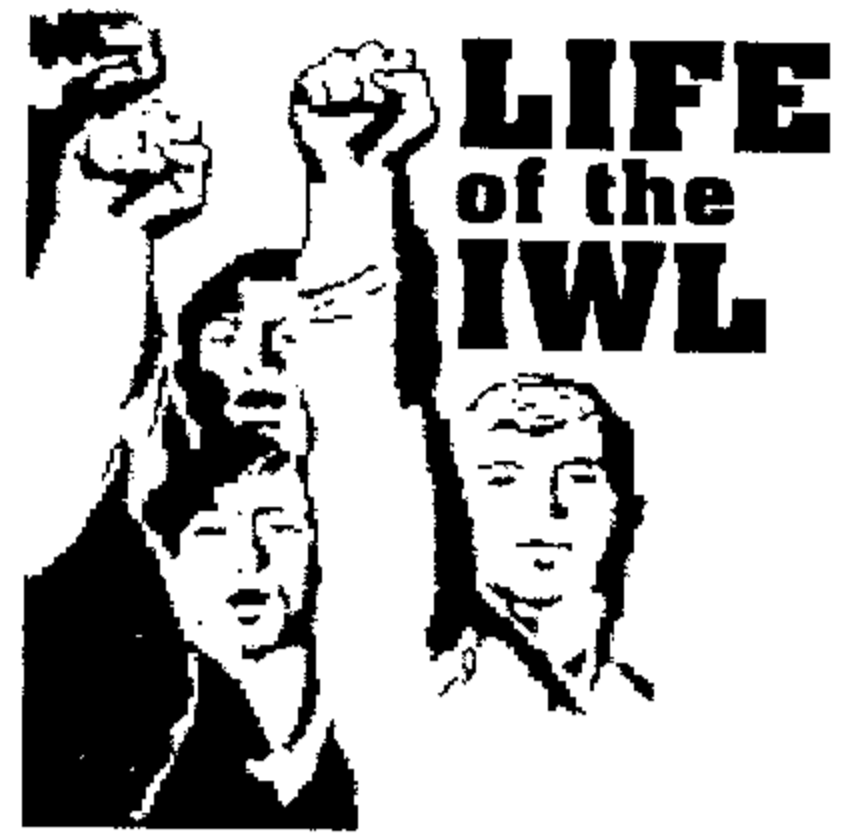
young revolutionary built his party documents into the wall of his house so that they could still be found when the war ended and the discussion could be taken up once more. But the end of the war did not bring the hoped for liberation. Again a counterrevolutionary pact was signed. Again Stalin's signature was there, though this time next to those of Churchill and Roosevelt. Trotsky's ideas, though with different methods, were persecuted on both sides of the Berlin war.

Then even that pact fell. The Yalta-Posdam agreements no longer sustain the bourgeois world order. And once again young revolutionaries - and those not so young - take up the same discussion: What kind of organisation do we need to overcome the oppression and exploitation?

It is precisely at that moment that the papers hidden for two generations inside a brick of an old worker's home once again see the light of day. Does this mean that we are now in a better situation than then to find the right way out of the crisis of revolutionary leadership? In a way we are. It all depends on whether we can learn things from past experience. This experience is there because there were those who, as Trotsky put it, continued the task no matter what the conditions.

We shall have to advance with all the unavoidable stops, flows and ebbs. Even in times of peace we are subject to all kinds of pressure. We have been pressed to believe that the fall of the Berlin wall meant the end of socialism. We have been pressed to believe that capitalism was the source of democracy. We have been pressed to believe that imperialism was invincible. We have been pressed to believe that getting organised in a party built round the Leninist concept of democratic centralism was a thing of the past. And this pressure will not disappear as long as classes exist. Millions of dollars have been spent to organise this pressure, for the bourgeoisie knows that its existence depends on how many yield to this pressure. And many did; both inside and outside of the revolutionary ranks.

But haven't we reached the point where the tar and concrete surrounding the truth should be broken to pieces so that those who ignore it should have a chance to learn it, and those who intentionally hide it should be forced to reveal it?



Stop Another Massacre of Political Prisoners

A large number of students and political activists were arrested after last July's pro-democracy demonstrations in Teheran. The lives of many of them are in danger. There have been repeated calls by the ultra-conservative faction in Iran for the death sentence on demonstrators who have been labelled 'mohareb' (someone who fights God), 'molhed' (heathen) and 'mofsed' (corrupters). Four have already been sentenced to death.

We are pleased to publish the following appeal and urge all our readers to take whatever action you can.

Reports from Iran suggest that the Islamic authorities are planning another blood bath in the country's prisons. Recent comments by Ayatollah Yazdi and other senior judiciary officials, and leader columnists in the newspapers linked to the security forces, leave little doubt that the regime is planning a large scale execution of political prisoners, especially those arrested following recent students protests.

It is not the first time that religious despots in Iran have used mass execution of political prisoners to confront popular opposition. Indeed the atmosphere today is reminiscent of the weeks preceding the massacres of 1981-83 and again of 1988 after Khomeini submitted to a ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war.

The students' protests of July, supported by other social groups, have challenged the legitimacy and authority of the regime at a level comparable with the defeat in the war with Iraq. It is not difficult to see the regime's urgent need to launch a blood bath in order to assert its authority and to confront the spreading protest movement. However, given the current internal and international climate, serious efforts at stopping such a massacre are likely to be effective. Under these circumstances we can be optimistic that an urgent, united reaction will deter the Islamic regime from such a crime. It is with this conviction that we, the signatories of this statement, express our solidarity with the democratic, anti-dictatorial movement of the Iranian people, evident in last July's student protest movement and:

1. Consider all sentences issued against those arrested in recent demonstrations and protests null and void and call for the immediate unconditional release of all those arrested, including Manouchehr Mohammadi, Gholamreza Mohajeri-Nejad, Maryam Shansi, Elaheh Amir-Entezam, Khosrow Seyf, Bahram Namazi, Heshmatollah Tabarzadi ...

2. Condemn the continued harassment and detention of political activists in Iran and demand an end to the terror unleashed by the security forces.

3. Strongly support the students' demands for freedom of thought, expression and organisation, and condemn attempts to disband independent student associations.

4. Call on all political organisations, trade unions, political and cultural personalities, academics and scientists to join the international campaign to defend Iranian students and to actively protest at state sponsored repression and crimes in Iran. Make every effort to stop another blood bath.

5. Demand that an independent international commission is allowed into Iran to investigate the chain of political murders, as well as the attacks on students, writers and intellectuals.

6. Urgently call for an international tribunal to try those in the Islamic regime, who have committed crimes against humanity. We call on human rights organisations throughout the world to help us prepare for such a tribunal.

Signatories include: Dr Haleh Afshar, Tariq Ali, Lord Eric Avebury, Tony Benn MP, Prof H Bernstein, Prof TJ Byres, Jeremy Corbyn MP, Maurice Farhi, Prof. Ben Fine, Professor Khalil Hindi, Richard Hogarth, Reverend Bruce Kent, Esmail Khoi, Prof Basil Kouvaritakis, Ken Loach, Stan Newens MEP, Prof J.B Sender, Hillary Wainwright and Prof. J. Weeks (UK);

Dr Suzi Weissman, Prof Ervand Abrahamian, Prof Aziz Al-Azmeh, Noam Chomsky, Prof (Emeritus) Morris Halle and Younes Parsa Bonab (USA);

Ali Asghar Haj and Said Javadi (France); Reza Barahani Shahzad Mojab and Haideh Moghissi (Canada); Nihar Mukherjee (India) and Lutz Sikorski and Rupert von Plotnitz (Germany)

Mehdi Kia, 20 September, 1999

Co-ordinating Committee, Workers' Left Unity & editorial board of Iran Bulletin.

BM Iran Bulletin, London WC1N 3XX, Fax (44) 0181 926 9144

E mail: 101543.707@compuserve.com