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## Who are the real terrorists?



**Sources:** Rebellion

'The Civilization and the justice of the bourgeois order appear in all their sinister splendour wherever the slaves and outcasts of this order dare to rebel against their lords. At such times, that Civilization and that justice are shown for what they are: savagery brazen and lawless vengeance. Every new crisis that occurs in the class struggle between producers and appropriators highlight this fact more clearly. To the atrocities committed by the bourgeoisie in June 1848 pale in comparison to the Indescribable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with which the The people of Paris – men, women and children – fought for eight days after the entry of the Versailles into the reflects the

greatness of his cause, like the infernal exploits of the soldiery reflect the innate spirit of that civilization of which is the avenging and mercenary arm. Glorious civilization The great problem is to know how to get rid of the piles of corpses made by her after the cessation of the battle!"<sup>1</sup>.

Fodder We must remember these words of Marx that go to the heart of terrorism They are the best way to start the paper that I am presenting for debate international and anti-imperialist debate on the reason for the increase in inhumanity, about its root causes, and especially about the how to put an end to the only existing terrorism, the imperialist one. In the presentation document of this Symposium organized by the Front Anti-imperialist to be held in Berlin from 3 to 6 November 2023, we can read: "Anti-Terrorism Laws Are Legalization of the unlimited exploitation, plunder, and plundering of the imperialism.", and a little later, referring to the recent attacks on basic freedoms, we read: "The Germany's paragraph 129b is a perfect example of how the laws of the They do not comply with the law. : -Does not comply with the rules of the State of law, not even civil rules. -Suspend separation of powers. -Eliminates the presumption of innocence. -It does not punish the crime, but the citizens' view of the world."

The impunity with which the Zionist entity – "Israel" – massacres the people The Palestinian tradition these days is reflected in the words of Marx about the extreme brutality of the "soldiery", of the "arm of the avenger and mercenary" of the civilization of capital and its Bourgeois justice when it feels endangered by power revolutionary movement of the working class. These are more current words today than in 1871 because capitalist globalization has extended where it has been able and, above all, it has multiplied and perfected their instruments of physical and moral terror.

One industrially manufactured terror practiced with the technology of mass death, that is to say, by this "industry of the slaughter of men"<sup>2</sup>, which was how Marx and Engels defined it in their correspondence which already had an enormous productive/destructive weight in the capitalism of 1866, five years before the Communard massacre. The Industrialization of Death Is a Productive/Destructive Force for the survival of capitalism and for the correct Understanding the Role of Terrorism within Ideology bourgeois<sup>3</sup> during the stages of its formation and in present-day imperialism. No We can extend here to pre-capitalist terrorism, and less to the 35 centuries of "bioterrorism"<sup>4</sup>.

Now Okay, so what is "terrorism" in the first place? One of the best The answer is that of Alfonso Sastre, an international playwright and companion of the unforgettable Eva Forest, communists and Basque independence activists: "In this way, as early as 1949, we

tackled the "terrorism" (1949), and then we have insisted so much on it as in torture; and this in literature as well as in the theatre; and likewise in our social and political life. By the way, in Sometime out of many, I said something that you can remember very well today, and that always comes to mind when we hear the opinions well-thinking "against terrorism"; And it's called terrorism to the war of the weak, and war – and even "war "To the terrorism of the strong"<sup>5</sup>.

Taylor He put his finger on the wound: the dialectic of opposites between oppressed, defensive, and terrorism of the oppressors, as explained by another author by filling the empty, hollow and empty definition with concrete history. Abstract<sup>6</sup> of the "terrorism" of bourgeois ideology according to Alain Gresh. Not to go on too long, the dialectic of antagonistic opposites The concept of 'terrorism' is also expressed in the following terms: George Labica<sup>7</sup> In the concept of "violence" as it could not be otherwise: dominated violence against dominant, bourgeois and the latter being the only one that can and must be classified as a terrorist. And often, defensive violence of the exploited must make the leap to the "self-defense of the masses"<sup>8</sup> against the gangs of thugs of the bosses who, through terror, They want to defeat the labor movement.

Without However, this truth is so obvious in the light of history and the present it is silenced and even annulled to a large extent in the consciousness reformist and confused, if not reactionary, of the alienated workers. M. Walzer claimed in the mid-1970s that: "The word "terrorism" is used in most cases to describe revolutionary violence. This It's a small victory for the champions of order, in whose The uses of terror are by no means unknown."<sup>9</sup>. The victory of order in imposing the label of "terrorism" on The revolutionary struggle was due to factors that we must analyze in the first chapter. the brevity of this text, but we must say that it is not a victory total and irreversible because it cannot sweep away completely and forever The effects of social contradictions on the consciousness of the and because, as we shall see, sooner or later the class struggle with varying intensities.

The Walzer himself recognized it. He wasn't a radical communist, so The following is even more valuable: "Of course, there are moments in which armed struggle is necessary to achieve the freedom of human beings"<sup>10</sup>. And here is the reason why the bourgeoisie does not succeed in ending the sweep away, with the recurrent tendency to re-emerge from what she defined as "terrorism". If the armed struggle reappears in certain moments as "necessary" to conquer freedom, as recognized in the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Nations. Human rights, it is because there are structural imperatives that

arise from Objective contradictions are embedded in the exploitative nature of the world capitalist system.

The resurgence of defensive, just, and repression and terrorism against them, is simply due to the the objective character of social exploitation and objective reality of the class struggle on the margins of the subjective consciousness that is can have of it. One of the insurmountable contradictions of the Capitalism is the one that confronts the right/necessity of struggle against exploitation with the right/necessity of the bourgeoisie to exploit working humanity. Marx explains it Thus, in the Book I of *The Capital*:

"Fighting to extend the working day as much as possible, even going so far as to If you can, to turn a day By working in two, the capitalist asserts his rights as a buyer. On the other hand, the specific nature of the goods sold entails a limit opposite to its consumption by the purchaser, and, at the same time, to strive to reduce the working day to a certain normal magnitude. In the case of work, the worker asserts his rights as a seller. Us We are, therefore, faced with an *antinomy*, in the face of two rights found, sanctioned and coined, both by the A law governing the exchange of goods. Between equal rights and Against the contrary, force decides. That is why, in the history of the capitalist production, *the REGULATION OF THE WORKING DAY* Work is reveals to us how a struggle is being waged in *Around the boundaries of the day*; between the universal capitalist, i.e., the *capitalist class*, on the one hand, and on the other the universal worker, i.e., *the worker*."<sup>11</sup>.

Comes a moment when the bourgeoisie's need to squeeze the The proletariat until its last breath clashes head-on with the Proletarian Need to Live Creatively: Train Wreck. To the to try to extend capital to the maximum, the exploitation of life, the The struggle of the working class for the limitation of the working day, is that is to say, by the limit of exploitation, it arrives at its character universal. Marx shows that the clash of the two forces and the two antagonistic rights/needs the one that exploits and the one that is exploited, is also and is embodied in each and every one of the expressions of that exploitation, albeit with ups and downs and periods of even apparent disappearance, but with an objective tendency to reappear. See An example of how this train wreck is universalized, now in The experience of Our America:

'The The list of objectives for which we are fighting is enormous: privatization; for agrarian reform; to reclaim spaces Urban; for the rights of indigenous people and blacks; against the introduction of genetically modified seeds; because of the increase wages and labour rights; protection of the biodiversity and the environment; for women's rights; to

block roads controlled by corporations and the airport construction; for the dismissal of officials corrupt government officials; health and education programs; by popular access to the media controlled by the corporations; for the nationalization of natural resources, and and so on."<sup>12</sup>.

Responding To this, the forms and intensities of repression and terrorism They are becoming more complex and diversified because they are also forms of exploitation that tend to be total by the blind needs of the expanded accumulation of capital. To the If these expressions multiply, sooner or later the demands and the ensuing struggles. This makes the laws "anti-terrorists" also tend to be "anti-terrorists" because they must repress new forms of resistance, in addition to the existing ones. According to Subjective consciousness is going to overcome alienation and Fetishism, is ascending from simple political-syndicalist reform for wages and a less restrictive bourgeois democracy towards a revolutionary consciousness aimed at the destruction of the state of the capital and the creation of a socialist power based on the people in weapons, as this advance takes place, repressions are hardened until terrorism breaks out, so that what is detailed in the the *Lau Collective Haizetara Gogoan*:

"-Disappearances Forced. -Clandestine mass shootings and assassinations (walks, mass graves, ditches...). -Mass arrests and incarcerations on ideological grounds, racial discrimination, creed or identity sexual. - Internment of thousands of political and social prisoners in concentration camps and extermination camps. -Abduction of girls and as acts of war, genocide and reprisal against the "vanquished." -Confinements, banishments... as a measure of repression and annulment against individuals and their activities. -Massive punishments to forced labor and slave labor. -Physical sequelae and caused by terror, loneliness, exclusion social... It is often the leading cause of death. - Use of hunger as an element of war and repression. - Torture and humiliating and humiliating treatment for ideological reasons, ethnic and cultural issues. -Gender repression. The woman suffered a Added repression: she was a victim of sexual abuse and rape as a strategy of war and repression. He also suffered the effects more oppressive aspects of education and, in general, a situation of marginalization and dependency. - Establishment of military tribunals and exceptional civilians. - Establishment of the school as an element repression, including the forced loss of identity cultural, linguistic, and ideological. - Prohibition of the use of the own language and culture. -Forcing prisoners of war to serve in the forces of an enemy power. - Outlawing of political parties, trade unions, socio-cultural organisations, etc. -Contracting of labour under exploitative conditions. -Layoffs of

workers and measures of social exclusion. - Cancellation of all civil, political, social rights, freedom of expression... -Purges: of civil servants, teachers... -Robbery and looting of property and goods as a means of repression and a means of enrichment of those responsible"<sup>13</sup>.

The German and world experience since the mid-nineteenth century gives us more lessons on that. The basis of Marxist theory had been since 1848 to put a date, the resounding demonstration of There always came a time when the bourgeoisie refused to to any concession or reform, no matter how ridiculous in order to stop in its tracks and to push back self-organization the ascendant socio-political movement of the working class oriented towards the seizure of power. power. For this reason, and in order to pre-empt a terrorist coup, it was theorized the necessity of establishing a "despotic power", a "dictatorship proletarian," a people's government that would "frighten" the bourgeoisie or "break" their will to organize a counter-revolution murderous, as Marx reiterated in 1881: a permanent insistence on the It was necessary for the people in arms to impose the necessary measures to ensure the advance to socialism.

Since the bourgeois perspective, the workers' necessity/right to put an end to the exploitation by taking the necessary measures, was and is "terrorism", For the proletariat it was and is "freedom." While Marx drew the lessons of the Commune, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs. The repression of the moment said that the revolution beats in every strike. The Bismarck's anti-socialist laws of 1878 to 1888, an advance on the current one "anti-terrorism," led the bulk of the bourgeoisie to believe that the Social-Democracy would renounce the right to revolution in order to be legalized. He was required to waive that right and It will accept bourgeois legality only and exclusively.

Well Well, in that debate Engels, who was totally against accept the bourgeois demand for unconditional workers' surrender, wrote: "Just By defiant resistance we have gained respect and transformed into a powerhouse. Alone Power is respected, and only as long as we are a power will we be respected by the Philistine. Whoever makes concessions will not be able to continue being a power and will be despised by him. The Iron Hand It can make itself felt in a velvet glove, but it must be done feel"<sup>14</sup>. In this response to the capitulationists, the relationship between the two is decisive. between power, iron hand with velvet glove and strength and decision to strike at the bourgeoisie at the right moment.

The Anti-socialist laws were repealed and the "soldierly" barracks, although it continued to keep an eye on the revolutionary groups. that what the State was looking for was to grant

some reforms to deactivate the rise of workers' consciousness by counting on the task of of reformism supported by the press and by the state. He decided to attack the proletariat by other means, such as war ideological movement in favor of the reformist currents that were growing in the parliamentary, trade union, political and political bureaucracy. internal tension that erupted openly in the wake of the 1905 revolution.

During this revolution that surprised the whole reformism, but less so to the Russian party, which had been preparing From 1902 onwards, in a repressive context, a surprising and rich Interaction of Forms of Struggle: From the Soviets to the Revolutions guerrillas, passing through the urban barricades. Analysing the role of armed violence, Lenin wrote that "The Workers' Party Latvian Social Democrats (section of the RSDLP) normally publishes its newspaper, with a circulation of 30,000 copies. In the lists of spies are inserted, the suppression of which is a duty for every honest person. Those who help the police are declared "enemies of the revolution" who must be and to answer with their property"<sup>15</sup>.

Reading Lenin we are reminded of A's definition. Tailor of terrorism that we could call "good", "legal" as the "clean war" of the oppressor classes, and at the same time, Dialectically, "bad", "criminal" terrorism, such as War of the Poor, of the Exploited: for Tsarism the The execution of spies and collaborators with repression was pure "murderous terrorism," as the Communard resistance had been just a third of a century earlier. The expropriation of the property of The collaborators with tsarism were for the bourgeoisie the example of the "communist danger" that attacked the right to private property, and that it was therefore necessary to to be annihilated with the "clean war" without regard to costs. And it was so crushed that even what would later be known as the The Bolsheviks were almost liquidated, despite having been prepared for a long time. at least three years thanks to the theoretical lessons of the *What Playing Lenin*.

Of in the same way as the bloody extermination of 1871 in Paris and that of The Russian Revolution of 1905 laid bare without any veil the structural reality of capital's terrorism, to stick to Europe without mentioning colonial atrocities, in the same way put the changes on the table of theoretical-political debate that were already taking place within capitalism by the beginning of the imperialist phase as they would be openly suffered since 1912 and that would definitively explode from 1914 until now. Forced by these changes, the debate on relations arose between parliamentary action and counter-violence in the class struggle. It was then that Rosa Luxemburg wrote what Go on:

"The terrain of bourgeois legality of the Parliamentarism is not only a field of domination for the class but also a terrain of struggle, on which The antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are at odds. But of the Just as the legal order for the bourgeoisie is only a expression of its violence, for the proletariat the struggle It can only be the tendency to carry one's own violence to power. If behind our legal activity and There is no violence of the working class, always ready to take action at the right time, the Social Democracy Becomes a Pastime as spiritual as drawing water with a slotted spoon. Lovers of the realism, which underline the "positive successes" of the activity of the Social Democrats to use them as arguments against the necessity and usefulness of violence in the workers' struggle, They don't realize that these successes, however small, can only be regarded as the products of the invisible and latent effect of violence"<sup>16</sup>.

This and other ideas raised eyebrows in the They became more powerful reformist bureaucracy and created enemies for him. Rosa and the group to which she belonged, enemies who They had her tortured and murdered along with her comrades by means of the Terrorism of capital to drown the German revolution in blood of 1918. In 1923 fascism triumphed; in 1931-37 Japan invaded Manchuria, attacked the USSR and invaded China; In 1933, Nazism, in 1936-39 Francoism... and in 1941 a part of the terrorism of the the capital invades the USSR while the other part, that of the "war of U.S. and British imperialism, commit crimes "minors" and are forced to ally with the USSR in order to defeat the Nazi-Fascism and Japanese militarism for reasons of pure competition inter-imperialist, not to help the socialism that was demonstrating its guerrilla effectiveness in occupied Europe<sup>17</sup>. U.S. and Britain "limited to a minimum"<sup>18</sup> his participation in the war against Nazi Germany, in order to to bleed the USSR as much as possible, in order to weaken it in the face of a attack to destroy it completely.

In fact, WWII had not yet ended when it was The new historical phase of aggression against the USSR and the world socialism, in which the remains of the world will play a crucial role. of Nazi-fascism, of Francoism, of Japanese imperialism. The two expressions of capital's terrorism – Germany/Japan and the US they are unified into one: NATO, which has a corollary in other political-military alliances that "protect the free world," reinforced most notably by the creation of the Zionist state. This architecture is also based on impositions Bretton Woods and the UN, all coordinated and directed by the U.N. by the U.S.

With these and other instruments, "civilization and the justice of the bourgeois order," began a permanent "war that concealed the tsunami of imperialist terrorism on the all



against India, Indonesia and Vietnam<sup>19</sup> but that it was already applied in practice with less intensity within the imperialism against the revolutionary forces. In Germany Federal, for example, from the autumn of 1945 the Allied army He turned to former Nazis to create the "industrial police" that supported him in the control and even repression of the incipient Workers' self-organization<sup>20</sup> mobilized in those times of extreme hardship. Is known as thousands of Nazis turned into "democrats of the whole world." were integrated into the new power structure and the NATO, and how it used criminal mafias and far-right in the dirty war against trade unions and political parties. left.

Outside Europe, terrorism was applied there where bourgeois property was in danger. In 1954 the CIA organized a coup d'état in Guatemala to prevent a lukewarm Agrarian reform that somewhat limited the power of *the big U.S. agrobusinesses*: about 100,000 people were murdered. The most shocking thing about this crime is that a The U.S.-trained coup leader declared that "It is enough to kill the 30% of the population to obtain peace."<sup>21</sup> In 1957 the US launched the "Eisenhower Doctrine"<sup>22</sup> to support the Arab bourgeoisies supposedly threatened by the USSR, that is, to suppress any popular demands uncomfortable to capital.

The crisis of the late 1960s and the The pre-revolutionary wave that swept the world, reinforced the Tendency towards a "strong state"<sup>23</sup> which was already controlled internally by the structure imperialist political-military, NATO being a power unquestioned. By that time, the "clean war" had become more and more popular. soiled even in its outward appearance with that nearly a million exterminated in Indonesia with the Jakarta Method<sup>24</sup> which was one of the best experiments of terrorism at that time. decade, the lessons of which were applied in the Condor Plan<sup>25</sup> of tragic fame, which along with other massive crimes opened the door to the Phase of "American terrorism"<sup>26</sup> from the Reagan Era until now. Between 1980-89 Central America was object of a relentless U.S. counterinsurgency supported by mercenaries in the pay and troops of the local bourgeoisies, estimated at least 250,000 killed, tortured and Missing<sup>27</sup>. The transition from the "strong state" to the "terrorist state" was expressed as follows by W. Schulz:

"The terrorist state It is characterized by two particular elements: 1) the creation of a arcane or clandestine structure of repression, parallel to its visible or manifest structure; and, 2) massive and systematic use State terrorism through the following systems: Illegal (Disappearance)-Interrogation/Torture-Disappearance definitive [...] In theoretical terms, it is a process of concentration and autonomy of power at the core of the state, that is, in its military-intelligence complex – supported by usually by fractions of the ruling class and

sometimes by middle sectors – which, through the creation of a repression and the use of terrorism, seeks to achieve Four objectives:

- 1) Neutralize the *internal* controls of the political society (the State), for example, e.g., judicial control over police forces;
- 2) Neutralize the civil society controls. The relationship between civil society and the state is normally regulated (in bourgeois society) by a series of defined norms that make explicit the rights of both entities and stipulate their obligations. This normativity, expressed in in the Constitution, the right of *habeas corpus*, the division of of powers, human rights, the existence of a press independent, etc., limits the capacity of power to act executive. By acting outside of these controls using a system repressive arcane, the bourgeois state can employ measures to target certain sectors of civil society, or without having to abandon its façade of formal democracy.
- 3) Increases the effect It is a psychological crisis of repression by making it anonymous and omnipresent.
- 4) Protect Yourself Against criticism of the violation of human rights both within the at home and abroad"<sup>28</sup>.

The devastating psychopolitical effects on the subjected to the most planned terrorism, have been left confirmed by multiple investigations, especially when suffers the programmed disappearance of relatives, friends and acquaintances through the hands of the state. There are multiple "political uses of fear"<sup>29</sup> and very resistant to therapies, their devastating effects on the personality than those who suffer the enforced disappearance of children on a daily basis. loved ones, as is discovered by studying the consequences in The Chilean People of the "Caravans of Death"<sup>30</sup> organized by the Pinochet dictatorship under the leadership of the U.S. Co.

The "Terrorist State" of the Late Twentieth Century is being hardened in response to the relative decline of the "imperialism of the dollar" so that the "identity between production and destruction"<sup>31</sup> It goes to extremes that confirm with blood the very correct thesis Marxist theory of 1845 that there comes a time of no return in which the productive forces are transformed into destructive forces, so that that we must insist that we are in the midst of 'terrorism'. Global State"<sup>32</sup> which normalises and legitimises that the British secret services and can detain, torture, and murder anyone in the U.S. world"<sup>33</sup> because it resists the blind necessity of capital accumulation. So do other imperialist secret services, not to mention Talk about the Zionist policy of terror against children Palestine"<sup>34</sup>, terror of arrest,

ill-treatment and imprisonment that has been going on for some time. More than a week is pure fear of being killed by bombs Zionists.

The "Terrorist state" has tightened censorship, prohibition and It condemns those of us who explain the truth of this terrorism. They say that We live in a "hostile territory"<sup>35</sup> For those of us who defend the right to armed resistance of Palestine, when in reality we suffer more than just "hostility" to the ever-necessary right to freedom of expression. critical research and communication. The "Terrorist State" imposes their "right to secrecy"<sup>36</sup> and monitors and represses the need/right to truthful information and to hide the fact that the European Union collaborates with the Zionism by preventing Palestinians who wish to do so from being able to do so. Taking refuge in European countries<sup>37</sup>. Right here in Germany, repressive control took another leap in 2021 when judicial follow-up of *Junge increased Welt*, a prestigious Marxist publication<sup>38</sup>, and processes the outlawing of Samidoun<sup>39</sup>, Collective of solidarity with Palestinian prisoners.

The controls, surveillance, and internal repressions in Germany you have Multiple functions, one for each claim and for each form of workers' and people's struggle, but as a whole, in its unity doctrinal, one stands out, the essential one: to ensure internal order in the as far as your private property is concerned and as far as your very imperialist militarization necessary. The most current form of that doctrine of the state as the politico-military form of capitalism is the so-called "German Pact" which is nothing but a real "War alliance against the population"<sup>40</sup>.

The U.S.-led Western imperialism knows it is losing power and money throughout this third Great Depression, and not just because of the higher productivity of other competing countries in the market but above all because its productive structure is obsolete, because its average rate of profit is going down, and because, at a time, it is becoming obsolete. At the same time, the working class has not been totally defeated. It still curbs the longed-for over-exploitation that all the bourgeoisies, From the Yankee to the Greek to the German, etc., they want to impose with blows if possible.

In In 1859 Marx wrote that when the productive forces reach a At a certain stage of their expansive development, they collide with the brakes imposed on them by existing property relations, so that of this contradiction between the productive forces and the interests of the An epoch of social revolution emerges from the ruling class<sup>41</sup>. Now, the gigantic emancipatory potential latent in the forces can solve the pressing problems that we are facing. strike at humanity if it is developed and developed. rationally and consciously

directed towards the resolution of the problems and needs, but imperialism refuses to do so. with fanatical desperation.

The fact that a phase of social revolution was definitively opened on a world scale does not mean that pre-revolutionary processes arose automatically and linearly everywhere, and that all of them triumphed mechanically. It means that we have entered the critical phase of anthropogeny because this development of the productive forces is at the same time, dialectically, the simultaneous development of the destructive forces so that the world class struggle can end in socialist victory, capitalist victory or the mutual destruction of the struggling classes. in the Holocaust. It all depends on the class struggle. Since even before the third Great Depression in 2007-08, they were accumulating subcrisis that, in its evolutionary tendency towards the confluence of synergistic, they announced that capitalism was going to enter the most devastating genetic-structural crisis in its history. Thus it has Hence the age-old dilemma of choice between socialism or socialism. barbarism, already enunciated by Engels but concretized by Rosa Luxemburg In 1915, he has given way to the dilemma of choice between communism or chaos elucidated by Bolshevism in 1919. They are not dilemmas or opposites, not opposite or even different, but the second is the dialectical confirmation of the former after the terrible lessons of the World War II and the wave of revolutions between 1914 and 1919. But the The dialectic of history does not stop. WWII taught us the inhumane terrorism of the U.S. nuclear bombs, and if it hasn't I was able to pitch later as I had planned, it was because I was in front of it had the USSR. In addition, since the late 60s they have gone confirming explosive dynamics inherent in irrationalism capitalist as such, as the destruction of Nature; New forms of structural contradictions have also emerged.

The third Great Depression, which at the end of 2023 is more aggravated What 16 years ago, since 2011, it has forced the recomposition of alliances between peoples and states in the face of imperialist fury. Shape explicit and official, it was the "Nobel Peace Prize," Obama, the that ordered the Pentagon to reactivate militarization as much as possible Or, to put it correctly: the industry of human slaughter as a method of the genetic-structural crisis to the benefit of the United States in first and then by the bourgeoisies who are loyal to him. Therein We are: terror and the industry of human slaughter are the same thing.

BASQUE COUNTRY, 27 October 2023.

**Notes:**

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