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THE FRUITS OF TORY POLICY

Figures issued by the Government during the latter end of February show clearly the disastrous results of Tory economic policy. These people who lecture the working class on the need for greater productivity and the end of restrictive practices have managed by their 'restrictive practices' to level off productivity. Because of under-capacity working, lack of confidence caused by 'on-off' policies, the slackening of demand in whole sectors and the credit squeeze productivity has dropped in many industries (figures for output per man 2nd quarter 1959 equals 100, Guardian index) for the third quarter 1961 against the same quarter 1960: Chemicals, 103 to 100; Vehicles, 88 to 84; motors, 89 to 82; Ferrous metal, 98 to 89; non ferrous metals, 95 to 92 and Glass, 108 to 105. It is almost certain that the figures for the fourth quarter will reveal a greater drop.

Industrial production slipped another point in December making a decline of 3% as compared with last summer. Although there has been a slight let up in the number unemployed, a more decisive relationship - unemployed compared with unfilled vacancies - again shows the fruits of Tory policy. From a position in September when the number of people unemployed was less than the unfilled vacancies things now stand where there are twice as many unemployed as there are unfilled vacancies. This Tory Party which when out of power used to upraid Labour for its 'excessive' spending now has to increase its estimates for the next financial year, not by the 2½% it promised both its followers and the I.M.F. but by 4½%. Over £99 million extra is to be spent on defence and another £66 million on increased agricultural support (no doubt to sweeten the farmers into accepting the Common Market negotiations) and another of the largest items, £43 million extra on British Railways deficit, is directly attributable to Government policy. Deliveries of steel have declined so much that the railway's income has catastrophically slumped in this sphere.

These facts, and many others, should be widely known in the labour movement. They give lie to the right wing policies of the Labour Party and trade union leadership. Their analysis and deeper consideration will do much to show the necessity of a workers' answer to the crisis of British capitalism.

COMMUNIST PARTY 'SCHIZOPHRENIA' IN THE N.U.M.

Whilst rank and file C.P. members are campaigning at regional level for the rejection of the National Coal Board's wage offer, it was the Communist Party general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers who proposed on behalf of the executive of that union the acceptance of the offer at the national conference. Will Paynter, no doubt, was obliged to say many things in his ninety minute speech which he did not believe in. He is under the discipline of the right wing majority of the executive but this, along with many other similar things (see last Bulletin on Scottish situation), can only confuse and demoralise the militants of the N.U.M. who follow the C.P.. Holding full time positions in Unions and other organisations can be of great benefit, if used properly, for the workers' struggle but never at the expense of heading off the struggle of the workers. We cannot rule out the possibility of under certain circumstances, marxists being obliged to follow discipline of the right in the wider interests of movement, but the key factor is the level of consciousness of the workers. Had Paynter resigned from the secretaryship of the N.U.M. and stood for re-election on the ticket of rejection of the offer and militant action and the C.P. mobilised on this programme, we feel certain he would have been reelected and the whole situation in the coalfields transformed. This is not merely a matter for the coalfields either, the acceptance (which now seems inevitable even on a regional basis) of the Coal Board's offer plus the action of the railway union's in accepting their offer from the Transport Commission has probably prevented a combined struggle of the sections of the working class against the Tories. This in turn, despite the militancy shown by the engineers, probably means that the present period of struggle will gradually peter out, in a stalemate with the Tories and the capitalist having improved their position somewhat. Although no decisive defeat has been suffered and a second round of struggle is inevitable in the course of the coming year, the relationship of forces has, in general, moved against the working class. For this, the Communist Party has a big responsibility to bear.

ALGERIA - A CEASEFIRE IN SIG INT?

At the time of writing the exact terms of the agreement between the French authorities and the Algerians are ^{not} known in entirety. Even more uncertain is how the actual course of events will go once the French authorities try to implement the agreement. Reports are divided as to the extent to which the French forces ^{are} under the control of the DeGaulle regime. Incidents such as the seizure of the Casbah and ensuing slaughter of Moslems would indicate that such control is very shaky. With the evergrowing provocative campaign of the O.A.S. it is extraordinarily difficult to predict how things will work out.

The concessions given by the Algerians do not in any way detract from the main feature of the situation, that is, that THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION HAS BEEN VICTORIOUS AND THE FORMATION OF THE ALGERIAN STATE IS ENSURED. The original objective of the Algerian revolution is won and now the next stage is that of building up the economy and structure of the new Algerian state. This, no doubt, was paramount in the minds of the leaders of the F.L.N. when they pursued their path of ending the war by an agreement which involved some concessions to imperialism. Not to have done so would have been to throw away the opportunity of taking advantage of the conflict of interests within the French camp and sentenced the Algerian people to years of more slaughter and destruction. The balance sheet between this and the concessions is a matter of opinion and assessment of the factors involved. From the outside it is extremely difficult to form such an opinion. This, however, has not stopped certain people from rushing into print and screaming about a sell-out. The Newsletter of 3/3/62 has a hysterical item on these lines. We are obliged to answer this article and also to examine the record of the group around the Newsletter in relation to Algeria. This will be done comprehensively in the next one or two issues of the Bulletin but some things need to be said immediately.

This is not ^{the} place to make a theoretical assessment of the F.L.N. or the Algerian Revolution. This has been done very adequately in issues of the Fourth International, in particular comrades should read M. Pablo's article in the latest issue No. 14. The attitude of the Fourth International throughout has been a principled one and one completely in line with the traditions and principles of the marxist movement. This attitude has two aspects (1) unconditional support for any movement engaged in struggle with imperialism (2) fraternal criticism of the policies pursued and the ideology of the leadership of ^{any} anti-imperialist movement. The conditions of admission to the Comintern, adopted ^{at} its second congress and in the main drafted by Lenin, said on this subject: (condition eight our emphasis)

".....Every party which wishes to join the Comintern is obliged to expose the tricks and ~~edges~~ of 'its' imperialists in the colonies, to support every colonial liberation movement not merely in words but in deeds, to demand the expulsion of their imperialists from these colonies....."

The attitude of the group around the Newsletter was, instead, to back the rival nationalist organisation M.N.A. against the F.L.N. although the latter was clearly leading the Algerian Revolution. Even after the M.N.A. had exposed itself by refusing to condemn its only maquis force under Bellounis when the latter signed an agreement with the French forces in Algeria to fight against the F.L.N. they continued supporting it. Not merely in words but by publishing the M.N.A. English language newspaper - Algerian Voice. These people who attack others for creating 'confusion' characterised the M.N.A. (after the Bellounis affair which is referred to in the article in question) as "the precursor of a revolutionary socialist party of the future." (original emphasis - Labour Review March-April 1958). In more recent articles the M.N.A. has been 'forgotten', never once has the group publicly disavowed the M.N.A.; for them the 'precursor of the (Algerian) revolutionary socialist party' has ceased to exist!

The Newsletter says that the agreement leaves the positions of French capitalism intact in Algeria. This is not true, even if things work out as per the agreement, the continued exploitation of the resources of the Sahara, which is presumably what the Newsletter means, will be done within the confines of the Algerian state which will have its own armed forces and be determined by that state. The U.S.S.R., in the time of Lenin, agreed to foreign concessions, providing they were under its control. One has only to consider the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the existence of the American base at Guantanamo in Cuba, etc. to see the nonsense of the Newsletter argument that any concession to imperialism is a sell-out. The Newsletter is aware of this and in fact supported the M.N.A. when the latter's line was that of a 'Franco-Maghrebin Commonwealth', the 'preservation of French interests in Algeria' and for a 'round-table conference' before the recognition of Algerian independence - a condition the F.L.N. would never concede. (see the above mentioned article in Labour Review).

The development of the Algerian Revolution will be determined by many factors but principally the social content of the main force of the Revolution - the A.L.N. (liberation army). The main force of the leadership of the F.L.N. has arisen from the A.L.N. and has proved its anti-imperialist character not by words but by fighting with arms in hand.

An interesting disagreement at an international CP conference in Moscow comes to light in a report in the December issue of Marxism Today. The conference on "Problems of contemporary capitalism" was held from the 23rd of August to the 3rd of September. The main item of discussion was a memorandum prepared by A.A. Arzumanyan who said. "The existence of the world socialist system has created new conditions which make it possible to achieve through the working class struggle in the capitalist countries results which go beyond the scope of ordinary reforms". The fight should centre on ... "general democratic demands" which would draw in the support of "broad democratic forces". He supported the view that demands for nationalisation are correct in the present situation: "Today, when state monopoly capitalism continues to develop, favourable economic and social requisites have matured for a mass struggle for democratic nationalism which opens up broad prospects for social transformations leading to the establishment of people's power"....

However, against this a Japanese speaker was suspicious: ... "The argument that state monopoly capitalism may be turned into machinery to control capitalism through participation and interference of the working classes in the bourgeois state(is)..... the most obsequious subservience to state monopoly capitalism, a theory of gradual evolution to socialism leading the people from the path of revolutionary struggle to compromise and capitulation."

KOREAN COMMUNISTS DISCLAIM "EXPORT OF REVOLUTION" THEORY.

The Chinese in their polemics with the Kruschovites are "speaking through the Koreans" to greater extent as time goes on; so much so that at the Czechoslovakian CP Congress they too were criticised by several delegates. The Korean Workers Party (CP) paper "Worker", on Dec 19th carried an editorial which was obviously designed to answer the accusation against the Chinese of wanting to export revolution by war. We reproduce extracts:-

The successful completion of the Korean revolution clearly shows the process of the combination of the main internal force with the complementary international conditions. But here the most important question is the preparation of the internal force. A revolution cannot be victorious before the internal revolutionary force has been prepared, however favourable the international conditions may be. On the other hand when the internal force is fully prepared, the revolution can be successful even if the international situation is somewhat unfavourable. The timing, speed, ways and depth of the revolution - all problems of the revolution - are determined first of all by the extent to which the internal force is prepared. The victory of the Cuban Peoples' Revolution is an eloquent proof of this. Of course it is conceivable that the victory of the Cuban revolutionary can be separated from the victory of the international revolutionary movement. The Cuban revolution triumphed under the conditions of the existence of a powerful socialist camp and the successive victories of the struggle for national and class liberation in various parts of the world, and it triumphed as part of the struggle. But it must be stressed that the Cuban revolution faced the most difficult international conditions, considering the country's proximity to the head of imperialism and chief of world reaction, US imperialism, and the fact that Cuba was once in its claws. Nevertheless the Cuban people have emerged victorious in their revolution and are stubbornly defending their revolutionary gains. They have become invincible.

The article says that this factual analysis should lead to the conclusion that the decisive factor in the revolution of any country is its internal force. Though international conditions are important, they work only to expedite or delay the revolution of that country. N.B. The article has been reproduced in full by all important Chinese newspapers and by Hsinhua, New China News Agency.

CUBAN PRESS CARRIES "PEOPLES DAILY" EDITORIAL.

Several Cuban papers have carried extensive reports of the Chinese CP "Peoples Daily" editorial of December 15th: "Workers of all worlds unite to oppose our common enemy". This is the article which states the full Chinese case in relation to Cuba - accusing the Kruschovites (whilst not actually naming them) of "adventurism" in placing the missile base in Cuba in the first place; and then of "capitulationism" for removing them under pressure of US imperialism. On December 17th both "La Tarde" and "Revolucion" carried the full text of this article. On Dec. 21st, the magazine "Bohemia" carried extensive extracts.

KOREAN AND ALBANIAN DELEGATIONS ARRIVE IN CUBA. from Hsinhua 27th December 1962

A Korean delegation headed by Kim Wal Ryong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean General Federation of Trade Unions, and Albanian Friendship delegation headed by Fadil Pacrami, Director of the propaganda Dept. (!) of the Albanian Labour Party arrived to take part in the celebration of the 4th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

The Malayan Monitor, published in London for many years, and generally accepted as the mouthpiece here of the banned Malayan C.P., has in its December 31st 1962 issue dealt with the Sino-Indian border dispute, and in doing so has clearly lined up with the Chinese C.P., and thus in England has been the first to express publicly the views of the pro-Chinese fraction of the British C.P. It starts with a list of actions of the Indian Government since 21st. Nov., 1962, including all its pro-Imperialist turns, and the "intense jingoism and war hysteria churned out" by radio, etc....and the "renegade 'Left' group which calls itself the 'National Council of the Communist Party of India." (sic.)

Next follows a polemic against "some" and "those" who "delve deep into history, even mediaeval and pre-mediaeval history to garnish their point, but who affect a kind of genteel horror at historical research which is necessary to prove and show the causation of vital events." Then follows an analysis of the Chinese withdrawal and the Colombo Conference. "Only a fool or a Party", says the Monitor, "with unhealthy secret motives would interpret the Chinese action of ceasefire and voluntarily withdrawal as otherwise"(than "a polite or merciful gesture" Ed. note.)

It then calls on India to respect the decisions of the Colombo Conference, "for the well-being of Asia and Africa (including India), for the integrity of the Bandung spirit, and for the peace of the world" Shades of "peaceful co-existence"!

But lastly under the heading of "BEWARE OF POLITICAL SCAVENGERS" comes the most remarkable passage of all. The Monitor deals with those "scavengers" thus: "In addition to the open interventionists who have bedevilled Sino-Indian relations as from the very beginning -- namely the U.S. and Britain -- one must also take note of the less prominent political scavengers who are thrashing about in the muddied waters of Sino-Indian relations looking for scraps. The scavengers, like the imperialists are not interested in the restoration of tranquility between India and China. They are not interested in Afro-Asian solidarity. They do not want peace in Asia, or anywhere else for that matter. All they want is the opportunity, to create trouble out of normalcy, and chaos out of trouble in order to extend their rotten regime of fake independence, fake democracy, fake socialism, fake communism, fake peace, fake neutrality, and fake non-alignment. Already these modern revisionists are trying to exploit the Colombo Conference by devious ways, hoping to turn it into an extended 'third force' sphere."

Such violence is aimed clearly at the Yugoslavs, but if it is them alone, why is there failure to mention them specifically? It seems just as likely that it is aimed also at the Khrushchevians. In any case it is a remarkable article, more by what it omits than what it includes. Many questions are left unanswered...though we can have a fair guess at the answers of most of them!
(ED. NOTE, the above was written for the Bulletin by a South London correspondent)

DANGE VISITS BRITAIN, GETS COOL RECEPTION

Dange, the leader of the extreme right wing group which now controls the Indian Communist Party with police help, visited Britain after seeing Russian leaders in Moscow. A communique issued by Political Committee of the Communist Party on December 20th, stated: "The P.C. of the C.P. has today had a meeting with Comrade S.A. Dange chairman of the Indian Communist Party. Following a friendly exchange of views in which some differences between us on the Sino-Indian border dispute were discussed, it was agreed that following the ceasefire the most urgent efforts should be made by all concerned to solve the dispute by negotiation."

There has been no public statement as to what these differences were so far. The same day as he met the Communist Party leadership, Dange spoke at a public meeting in London called by the London office of New Age (the Indian C.P. theoretical journal). The Daily Worker carried an advert for the meeting but did not report it, nor has there been any further reporting of Dange's activities.

OBSERVER REPORTER SAYS BENGAL COMMUNISTS STILL 'PRO-CHINESE'

In a report from Rawle Knox in Calcutta, dated December 29th, the following reference to Bengal's Communists occurs:

".....It is not surprising that the city has one of the strongest Communist Parties in the country. At the moment, the leaders of the pro-China faction have been locked up; the pro-Russian group has nominally taken over control, but everyone who knows anything about the party says that the rank and file look far more warmly towards Peking than they do to Delhi.....the powerful Communist Party in Pakistan's East Bengal is also in the hands of the pro-China group....."

All comrades are asked to respond as they can to the following appeal just received from the youth of Zanzibar. "The unjust persecution by the British colonial police of the Zanzibar progressive papers, the news bulletin "Zanews" and the organ of the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions the "Worker", has evoked our strongest protest against the ruthless action of the British colonialists in Zanzibar. This illegal action is yet another British colonial suppression of our demand for immediate independence and yet another colonialist persecution of our country's militant freedom fighters.

"To this end the Youth's Own Union condemns in the strongest terms this most brutal act of force by the British colonial police in Zanzibar, who have turned Zanzibar into a police state of terror, persecution and suppression of our people. The British colonial police have in vain attempted to level five false charges of "a defamatory libel" and three false charges of "sedition" against the acting publisher of "Zanews" Comrade Said Salim, who is the organising secretary of the Youths Own Union. They have also levelled three frame-up charges of "sedition" against the editor of "Worker" Comrade A. Qulatin.

"In defiance of the peoples' opposition and world public opinion, the British colonialists detained for months without trial fifteen fighters including our nationalist heroic leader Abdul Rahman Muhammed, well known as Babu. The British imperialists are still persecuting him in their prison after having imprisoned him on a frame-up charge of "sedition" for fifteen long months since June. They now turn to other pretexts under which they can step up their persecution of other militant patriots. They hope in this way to put an end to the most persistently anti-imperialist front and also to the most outspoken of their opponents in the ranks of the opposition press.

"We are convinced that the struggle for freedom of the press of "Zanews" and "Worker" is a component part of the struggle of the people including the youth and workers of Zanzibar for our national liberation from British colonialism and imperialism. The imperialists hate the sight of the resolutely uncompromising papers because the people of Zanzibar look upon them as their voices, and because they stand against colonialism and for national unity and independence, for peace, against war and imperialism, that is, they advocate the policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment closely upheld by all the freedom and peace loving people of Zanzibar.

"The Youth's Own Union strongly insists that Zanews and Worker must exist and must continue to speak for the colonially subjugated people including workers and youth of Zanzibar, and strongly condemn the barbaric persecution of the acting publisher of Zanews and the editor of Worker, whose only crime is they oppose colonialism and demand complete independence for their mother country. We therefore urge you to extend your support condemning the prosecution and the subsequent ban of Zanews and Worker and imprisonment of Comrades Abdulla and A. Qulatein.

"Messages of solidarity should be sent to the Youth's Own Union, P.O. Box 1188, Zanzibar and the Federation of Progressive Trades Unions, P.O. Box 1233, Zanzibar, East Africa.

"LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY ! DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM ! LONG LIVE
WORLD PEACE !

Youth's Own Union,
ZANZIBAR,
12th December 1962.

EUROPEAN CAPITALISM HELPS BOLSTER PORTUGALS ECONOMY.

According to a Financial Times Supplement of December 10th, entitled "Spotlight on Europe", the Portuguese economy is receiving extensive assistance in maintaining its balance of payments position from West Germany, France and the USA. Thus they are being assisted to offset the bad effects of high taxation caused by the Angolan revolution and the loss of the Angola colony. Tourist income is rising and the Financial Times reports that the rise has been 11 per cent on the same period last year. Despite the fact that the exiled leader Gen. Delgado has said that he would not honour foreign loans contracted by Salazar, loans have been negotiated with the Export-Import Bank, for financing the Tagus bridge, the West German Kreditanstalt fur Wiederaufbau and groups of French and USA banks. So far loans totalling over \$145 million have been negotiated for financing the latter half of Portugals Second Development Plan.

The High Command of South Africa's UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Spear of the Nation) has issued a message marking the first year of its underground struggle, according to a report from Johannesburg. The message said that the movement is "an independent body subjecting itself voluntarily to the political guidance of the national liberation movement."

"UMKHONTO WE SIZWE makes a solemn pledge to the nation that whatever the difficulties and hardships, it will not rest until white supremacy has been wiped off the face of our country". Referring to the adoption of armed struggle against the Fascist rule in South Africa, the message said: "We have not embarked upon this course of violence of our own choice. We have adopted this course because every channel of legal and constitutional struggle has been closed by the state." The message said that the South African Government maintained itself in existence by violence. It had brought about in South Africa "A situation in which the only real answer will be a direct test in the field of armed struggle. The fact that we have embarked upon this course does not alter our belief in the mass political movement as the corner-stone of the struggle against white supremacy. The legal and illegal activities of this movement are our inspiration. But the realities of the situation demand more than this;" the message said.

It pointed out that in face of the merciless suppression by the enemy one could not remain silent and confine ones activities to writing editorials etc. To do so "will be a surrender of our moral right to challenge our oppressors", it said. The message denounced the South African Authorities for using their army and police forces and courts to crush the innocent South African people. The message said that Spear of the Nation was led by those in South Africa who belonged to the most oppressed section of the proletariat - the Africans. It welcomed participation by members of all race groups. The message said that the movement had just begun its struggle. Its activities would grow and be extended.

NEW MOVE AGAINST U.S. UNIONS

from Financial Times of 28/12/62

Riled at the U.S. long shoremens strike the influential Senator John L. McClellan has announced his intention to reintroduce a Bill in Congress to curb the powers of transportation unions. McClellan indicated that the bill originally put forward in the last session of Congress would subject these unions to legal regulations similar to the anti-trust laws governing U.S. business. Such a measure if accepted, would presumably allow the U.S. Justice Department to indict the transport union for exerting undue power in the economy.

FORDS IS ON THE OFFENSIVE IN THE U.S. TOO!

John Williamson in his Daily Worker column - the American Scene - gave on December 17th some very interesting facts on the activities of the Fords management in the States. Reporting a strike by 4,500 workers at the firm's Mahwah New Jersey, plant, he said this was because of: "increased workloads, intolerable speed-up and eight months stalling on the settlement of grievances." After a two week strike the firm agreed to adjust all grievances. The company has also said, when declaring 1,600 men redundant at Highland Park, Michigan, that 1,000 of the jobs will be transferred to Britain.

Williamson also quoted a report in the American Worker as follows: "A sinister figure in the present battle of the English Ford workers is John S. Bugas, former chief of the Detroit F.B.I., now a Ford vice-president. The hand of Bugas is in the firing of English Ford workers, just as he was involved in firing hundreds of Ford River Rouge plant workers when they fought against a 25% increase of productivity in 1949....The company (then) to break the morale of the workers got some misguided housewives to picket the gate saying: "We don't want a strike." The U.A.W. Women's Auxiliary...came out by hundreds to march in solidarity with their husbands, brothers and sweethearts."

ENTRY INTO COMMON MARKET WOULD MEAN AN ATTACK ON NATIONALISATION

Advocates of entry into the Common Market within the Labour Movement have denied that anything in the Rome Treaty, etc. would 'interfere' with Britain's nationalised industries. Complete refutation of this naive view is contained in the December Bulletin of the European Community. In an item covering E.C.S.C. negotiations it states: "...At the latest ministerial meeting it was agreed that the powers of the British Iron and Steel Board and the National Coal Board would have to be examined." and later "...As a result, therefore,.....structural modifications of the British coal industry may have to be considered by the delegates."

REPORT OF KESSINGLAND CAMP (1962) COMMITTEE OF 3/3/62

At a meeting of the Kessingland Camp Committee on March 3rd, 1962, the following programme was agreed between Messrs. Rex, Butterworth and Mrs. D. Thompson, representing the New Left, Messrs Grillo and Swingler representing ML, Messrs Heym and one other representing Young Guard, and Ken Coates as camp organiser:

Friday 7th September:	Arrival and settling in.
Saturday 8th September	Keynote session: <u>'Reform or Revolution'</u> speakers E.P. Thompson and Henry Collier
	<u>The foci of Power in Britain</u> speakers R. Milliband and Michael Barratt-Brown.
Sunday 9th September	<u>European Reaction and the Common Market</u> speakers Barratt-Brown, Bourdot and European speakers.
Monday 10th September	<u>The Collapse of Empire</u> (a) Imperialism's last-ditch stand (b) Democracy & Development - can they co-exist? M. Kidron.
Tuesday 11th September	<u>The Cold War</u> Stuart Hall on Cuba and Neutralism. Isaac Deutscher on Modern Communism & the Cold War.
Wednesday 12th September	<u>Socialism, Peace, Labour - Which way?</u> The Industrial Movement: Clive Jenkins John Hughes. The Disarmament Movement: Judith Hart, Alan Lovell
Thursday 13th September	<u>The Political Future of Labour</u> speakers: J. Saville, J. Milliband, R.T. McKenzie.

It was also agreed to ask Wright Mills if he would come. All the above have since been invited.

The Kessingland Camp where the school will be held, is at a fishing village 4 miles from Lowestoft. The school will cost £6 for the week, or £2.5. for the weekend. Deposits of £1 should be sent to Miss Pat Fryd, 54, Park Road, Nottingham. The deposit is the same for the weekenders or for those spending a full week, but should be marked accordingly.

The sooner deposits come in, the more adequately the publicity can be prepared.

It is hoped that large contingents will be coming from Europe.