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#### **EDITORIAL NOTE**

We introduce you to the fourth edition of RUN - ROSA United Newspaper. This zine aims to give a voice to ROSA - Radical Organization of Students in Amsterdam. ROSA is a marxist feminist organization at the universities in Amsterdam and we want to educate, learn and discuss with each other within this framework. We hope you use this zine to spark conversations, to build connections, to question, to quote from, to convince your friends and family. We write on a range of topics, as our struggle can be found in all aspects of life. In this edition, we explore the theme of Trust. We begin with a mobilizing call to join the Ant-NATO summit — a reminder of the purpose of this zine: not only to write and theorize, but to mobilize and radicalize. Then we delve into a historical and personal piece about the colonization of Cyprus. We continue upon this historic trajectory, examining NATO's staybehind armies and their suppression and coordination. Then, we explore where Dutch money is going, and who suffers and benefits from a war in Ukraine. We next turn philosophical with a dialogue picking away at what freedom means and how it fits within capitalism. We then find ROSA at the annual Rosa Luxemburg conference, and hear of the international solidarity in the face of police repression. Next, we interview the filmmaker of a documentary about the stories of migrants at the Italian-French border. Trust is then explored in a psychological and medical turn through a narration of psychiatric institutions, and how to trust when reality feels unknowable. Our Dutch readers will be able to sit back and enjoy this next piece, a contemplation on a small statue in the writer's room, and how it can be linked to our systems of consumption. And does the community trust NATO? We reflect on our questions to fellow students of how they understand NATO, and in what we can all agree. Then, you can join us alongside ROSA at our KARL event; come join the next one at MKZ: look at our instagram for more info. Finally, we end on our classic and inspiring comic preparing us for protests and police violence. Throughout this zine, we examine where we find trust. Which institutions have we been told to trust, but have given us every reason to dismantle them? Where do we resist? And how? Let us become conscious of the tools of propaganda that have told us for too long to trust. Instead, we turn to our comrades with our trust, as we turn to the revolutionaries before us.

"The leaders of the petty bourgeoisie must teach the people to trust the bourgeoisie. The proletarians must teach the people to distrust [them]"- Lenin

We hope you enjoy reading this edition of RUN, in revolutionary spirit!

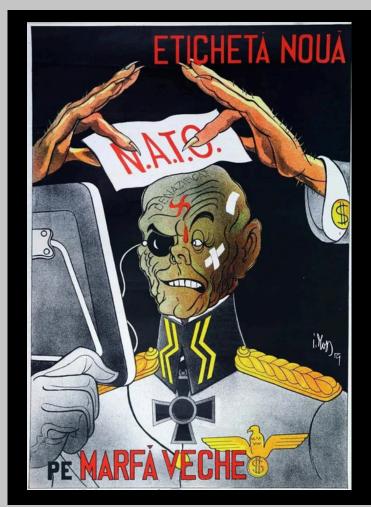






We, as students, stand against NATO and its war machine. We demand an immediate end to its imperialist wars and we demand the liberation of all oppressed people. Kabinet Schoof (the current Dutch government) is already decreasing educational spending and increasing pressure on students. Kabinet Schoof will continue to do so with the increased military spending proposed by NATO leader Mark Rutte. Therefore, as students, we must unite and speak up against NATO, militarization, and war.

NATO is the leading military alliance in the world. NATO has not only committed



several war crimes, but is also perpetuating the colonial legacy of the West worldwide, especially in the SWANA (South West Asia and North Africa). From Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Kurdistan, and Palestine to Ukraine and Bosnia. Peace is never NATO's end goal but profit.

The youth will suffer the most in the end. It is the youth that is sent to the front to fight, it is the youth that suffers from the destruction of war in the future, and it is us, who pay for the wars. Mark Rutte, as the new head of NATO, demands that the military spending in all countries go up. This money does not come from anywhere, but we, the students and workers, have to pay for it with our tax dollars, education, health and social benefits.

STUDENTS AGAINST

BLOED AAN JE HANDEN



## CHILD OF A BROKEN HOME

#### -MARTINOS-

My country is often reduced to simply being the battleground where the conflict between two other countries - two "real countries" - takes place. The so-called motherlands of the two largest communities of our own population. An island in the eastern Mediterranean, our very geopolitical existence is

elevated into a poetic metaphor: a tiny rock floating in the middle of the sea, with our two motherlands standing above us in their respective safe continental corner. Large and scary entities, with tiny little us, vulnerable in our own little marine corner. A dysfunctional household. In a dysfunctional neighborhood, if I may add.

As in all such cases, it's of course more complicated. Metaphors rarely convey the magnitude of these situations, where the geopolitical and social context needs to be taken into account, at both the national and the 'neighborhood' level. First things first; reducing our history into the conflict between the "motherlands" erases our own history. We're being denied our very identity, and the agency of our people is downplayed. We're being denied our own existence as a people.

We're neither Greece nor Turkey. We're not anyone's unsinkable aircraft carrier, nor the cute little vulnerable kid of any motherland who doesn't really want anything to do with us. We're Cyprus. An island, a country, a people. We do exist.

When I was around 6, my grandpa picked me up from my house, driving me to his, where some of my cousins would also be. My grandma would spend the day making the Cypriot cheese  $\chi\alpha\lambda\lambda\delta$   $\dot{\mu}$ L (halloumi)/hellim, with such activities always turning into a family gathering back then. The reason I remember that day so fondly, however, was something my grandpa said in the car. We were driving past a small lake near where I live, a remarkable sight in a dry island increasingly threatened by desertification. The smell around the lake used to be terrible, due to the untreated sewage dumped into it. Two options in the heat of the Cypriot summer: roll-up the window and suffer through the heat, or let it down and suffer through the smell. Either way, both were usually unbearable, no matter what you did. It was at that part of the drive that my grandpa started explaining the ethnic realities of our small island to me. I can't remember what sparked this mini-lecture, perhaps something said on the radio, but I clearly remember his words. "There's no such thing as a Cypriot. There's Greeks of Cyprus, there's Armenians, there's Maronites, and [a little reluctantly, clutching the steering wheel] there's Turks.

You're not a Cypriot because that's not a thing. They call it Greek-Cypriot nowadays, but always remember that you are Greek". I mean, what an absolutely batshit crazy thing to say to a six year old, grandpa, seriously? But truth be told, although I've come to wildly disagree with my gramps on this issue, and many more (still love you and admire you  $\pi\alpha\pi\pi\sigma\dot{\nu}$   $\mu\sigma\nu$ ), it didn't sound totally crazy to me at the time. Growing up, I'd see the Greek flag flown way more often than the Cypriot one. I had learned how to draw the Greek flag from scratch, while the map of the island on our own flag was deemed too complicated for us to learn. We sang the Greek national anthem; it made sense to have the same one since we're one nation. Imagine my surprise years later when I found out we have our own anthem, which was only used for three years after 1960. In school, we'd celebrate the Greek national holidays along with the Cypriot one (yes, just the one). Of course his statement was easy to believe.

Nonetheless, it also came into contrast with another lived reality I had been experiencing for as long as I could remember. A key aspect of my identity ever since I was born; my identity as a refugee. Although the war and displacement took place 28 years before I was born, and the bicommunal tensions that led to it had begun another whole decade earlier, being displaced has been a core aspect of my lived experience. My father, my grandparents, my uncles, my aunt, all talking about προσφυγιά; a word that has no translation in English, and refers to the state of being a refugee. A word encompassing the family's whole existence since 1974. A state of being I was taught to accept as my essence. I grew up with stories about  $\Lambda \acute{\alpha} \pi \eta \theta o \varsigma$ , their village, our village. The house they called home, the house I was supposed to consider my



My grandparents, in conversation with the current occupant of the house they were displaced from in 1974. Lapithos, Cyprus (territory under occupation). 2023

home, a house now occupied by another family. A family my grandpa would call Turks. A family my grandpa, the refugee, would call Turkish-Cypriots. A family I was taught to hate because "they took our land and our homes". A family I was taught to empathize with by my grandma, because they also had to leave their home, forced to move to the north part of the island to enjoy the protection of their motherland. Confusing, right?

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Taking it another step back, and tying everything together, would be a concept I grew up hearing all the time; in family gatherings, in the news, in classrooms: το Κυπριακό; the Cyprus Problem. As a kid, I thought of this as a puzzle that the serious men on the news were dealing with, an envelope with a secret code waiting to be cracked, and furthermore, a puzzle that the serious men on the news of all countries had to deal with. Little did I know.

What are the causes that led poor little me down a path of confusion and doubt? What could possibly cause so much generational and national trauma?

If you ask the *Greeks*, it's the *Turks*. If you ask the *Turks*, it's the *Greeks*. Reality is not subjective, however. And if you were to ask reality, it would reply something like, *It's kinda complicated, but you can pretty much blame the British*.

Under British colonial rule, which was preceded by the Ottoman Empire, and a long line of conquerors and rulers going all the way back to antiquity, relations between the different communities of the island had reached their nadir. Which makes sense when you consider that the clear distinctions between the different, ethnic communities were only made explicit under the British. And it was not accidental. The tactic of divide and rule, successfully implemented around the world, and resulting in various partitions and divisions, was also a hit in Cyprus. Although the bourgeois classes of each community had largely different aspirations for the future of the island, the working class was to some extent united across "ethnic" lines. The 1948 Miners' Strike demonstrated what class unity can achieve, with Cypriots of all communities striking

together, united against the U.S. owned Cyprus Mining Company, the British colonial government, the Church, and the reactionary rightwing union federation  $\Sigma$ .E.K. The violent repression of the colonial police, who indiscriminately opened fire against the miners, and the retaliatory measures of the company, which went as far as discontinuing the provision of milk for the miners' children, sparked



My family has been "lucky" in this regard, but consider that Turkish-speaking Cypriots are now a minority even in the north of the island, vastly outnumbered by Turkish settlers from the mainland. Look up Turkish settler colonialism in Cyprus for more info.

further, Pan-Cyprian strike action, with chants, banners and placards in both Greek and Turkish.



Chíldren of stríking miners, with signs in Greek and Turkish, Mavrovouni Mine, Λεύκα/Lefke, Cyprus. 1948

It had become clear to the colonial government that a united population was too dangerous for their continued presence on the island. Through their divisive policies, and the chauvinistic attitudes of the local bourgeoisie and religious leaderships, we reach 1955, where the armed struggle against the British is carried by pro-Greece nationalists, EOKA, led by a rabid anti-communist, ex nazi collaborator. An armed struggle admitted by its leader to be "primarily anticommunist", with his group killing a higher number of "communists and traitors" Cypriots, compared to that of British colonizers. With the aim of Ένωσις (Union with Greece) the struggle alienates Turkish-

speaking Cypriots, who are employed into a special unit of the colonial police force, further exacerbating the divide. A pro-Taksim (Partition) Turkish nationalist group, TMT, emerges in 1958, with a similar legacy of targeting "treasonous" Cypriots.

Amid a global decay of European colonialism, possible to a large extent due to the funding and aid of anticolonial struggles by the USSR and the socialist bloc, the diminishing British Empire admits defeat on the island. Independence is achieved in 1959, with the Republic declared in 1960. An "independent" Republic only in name, with a constitution handed down by the imperial powers, written with Western interests in mind, and having to be approved by Greece, Turkey, and the UK. The Cypriot delegations, separated between the Greek and Turkish communities, almost relegated to mere bystanders, mere signatures.



There are a lot of problems with the Constitution, which are beyond the scope of this piece. The main issues lie in the clear distinction between a Greek and Turkish community of Cypriots, which affects one's political rights based on those lines. The Treaty of Guarantee gave Greece, Turkey and the UK the "responsibility" of guaranteeing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the new-found Republic.



The Green Line UN Buffer Zone, Λευκωσία/Lefkoşa, Cyprus. 2022

What this meant in practice was a right to intervene, which was used as pretext by Turkey to invade the island on July 20th, 1974, after threatening to do so on several occasions throughout the 1960s. The invasion came 5 days after the Greek, U.S. backed, military dictatorship, the Junta, with the help of the far-right EOKA B, staged a coup d'état against the government. The right to intervene was there all along, enforced upon us. A Treaty to guarantee that neither union with any other country nor partition of the island would take place, used by two of the signatories with the explicit purpose of doing those exact things they were supposed to prevent. What about the UK then? As a condition for granting independence, they demanded retaining two sovereign military base areas on the island, along with 40 more 'retained sites' for military use,

including a radar station on top of the tallest mountain of the island, making it inaccessible to the general population. All three signatories of this Treaty with the right to station troops on the island, foreign troops breaching our sovereignty, with the proclaimed purpose of protecting it.



Famagusta (Αμμόχωστος/Mağusa) beach, with the fenced Varosha (Βαρώσια/Maraş) 'ghost city', closed off since 1974, in the background. Cyprus (territory under occupation). 2023

What do the three Guarantor Powers have in common? Their membership in NATO. In the context of the Cold War, their policy for Cyprus when negotiating for its future was in line with Western - and in extension, anti-communist interests. It is therefore hardly surprising that during negotiations then Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey, Karamanlis and Menderes, reached a "gentlemen's agreement" for Cyprus' entry into the North Atlantic Alliance. An agreement that never came into effect, with a subject deemed taboo for Cypriot politics ever since its inception, and steadfast refusal to abide, being one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement. Only the current government, amid a pro-U.S. frenzy, has dared to openly call for NATO membership on the official level, setting a worrying trajectory for the future and safety of our island, our population,

and the region. Our representatives and officials, eager to sell out more and more, lick the imperialist boots, become complicit in the very system that is consuming us, a system that seems to be eating us from within as time goes on.

Let's go back to that car ride with my grandpa. Remember that small lake? Guess what the British wanted to do with it during WWI? Dry it out and turn it into an airstrip, for military purposes. The airstrip lines are still visible in the lake to this day. This was the initial destruction of one of the few remaining wetlands of the island, an important ecosystem for native and migrating bird species, and a site that could be turned into a grand park, if only we were one of those civilized, Western countries.



Satellite view of the lake, with the airstrip clearly visible. Google Earth, 2024.



Our drive continues. Between my house and my grandparents', you run into one of the two sovereign base areas I mentioned, those permanent scars on our land. Even though there's no checkpoints, no border control, and the seamless movement is taken for granted, it's absurd to think that I would pass through a foreign country, its sovereign land, just to visit my grandparents, with one of the two houses located in one of the three exclaves of the Republic of Cyprus. Sixty five years after "independence", the scars remain. On the geopolitical map, on the land, on the people. We hardly have a say in our own lives, in our own country; our very existence increasingly feeling like a forced, twisted form of resistance.



In faint blue letters, "ΕΝΩΣΙΣ Η ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ" (UNION (with Greece) OR DEATH"). Lapithos, Cyprus (territory under occupation). 2023



Pergamos Crossing Point, between the British Dhekelia Sovereign Base Area and the territory under Turkish occupation, 2024



Wall of an abandoned army camp. Faded, the image of the Phoenix and soldier, a symbol used by the Greek mílitary dictatorshíp (1967-1974). Myrtou, Cyprus (territory under occupation). 2023



# History of NATO

NATO is unequivocally an extension of Western imperialism, functioning to safeguard capitalist interests on a global scale. Established in 1949 in the aftermath of World War II, the military alliance was proposed by American Republican senator Arthur H. Vandenberg as a treaty that would operate outside the UN Security Council, where the Soviet Union held veto power. NATO was framed by its member states as a defensive alliance to deter communist expansion, but in reality served to preserve American capitalist provided Western European ruling classes with a mechanism to suppress left-wing movements within their own countries. As the military arm of capitalist imperialism, NATO worked in tandem with the Marshall Plan, the American foreign aid initiative used to rebuild Europe in its image, which was used as economic leverage to coerce European nations into aligning with U.S. interests. The US threatened to cut Marshall plan funding if left wing movements were not suppressed, which led to the banning of communist parties in Italy and France. The imperial core of the US and UK used NATO to train and oversee military networks whose purpose was to snuff out socialist movements before they gained widespread traction.

Following its formation in 1949, NATO indirectly managed a network of clandestine stay-behind armies in Europe whose purpose was to maintain capitalist hegemony in Europe. Named Operation Gladio, these networks were coordinated by NATO in collaboration with the CIA and MI6 through the Allied Clandestine Committee and the Clandestine Planning Committee. Gladio networks were a tool of imperial power made up of right-wing elements which committed massacres, sabotage, and widespread political manipulation.

In Turkey, Gladio's local counterpart, the Counter-Guerrilla, was dominated by neo-fascist groups such as the Grey Wolves. This network carried out numerous atrocities, including the 1977 Taksim Square massacre, the 1978 Maraş massacre — which killed over 110 people, mostly from the Alevi minority — and supported the 1980 NATO-backed military coup. The coup led to the crushing of labor unions, the imprisonment of over 650,000 people, the exacerbated marginalization of Kurds, and widespread torture and executions.



The network was also very active in Italy, where in 1969 the Gladio backed far-right groups orchestrated the Piazza Fontana Bombing in Milan, killing 17 people and injuring 88. The attack was falsely blamed on anarchists, notably Giuseppe Pinelli and Pietro Valpreda. Pinelli died under suspicious circumstances, jumping from a fourth-floor window while in police custody -an incident widely believed to not have been suicide but murder. These bombings were part of a broader "strategy of tension", designed to create and instability, justify crackdowns on leftist movements, and strengthen police and military presence across the country. Greece's Lochos Oreinon Katadromon (LOK), a special forces wing of Greece's Armed Forces, was trained by NATO. As special forces of Greece's right wing government they were utilised to enforce the Greek state's anti-communist stance, and were essential in securing Greece's 1967 military coup which resulted in a 7-year authoritarian right wing military junta that brutally suppressed left wing movements through imprisonment, torture, and executions.

These are just a few examples of the activities carried out by the stay-behind armies of Operation Gladio that have come to light. However, they underscore not only the possibility but the near-certainty that NATO's clandestine networks committed many more massacres, assassinations, and acts of political manipulation throughout the Cold War as part of their "strategy of tension." These operations, designed to destabilize and suppress leftist movements, have only been partially uncovered decades later, which most goes to show that the full extent of NATO's crimes remains, most likely, hidden.

Following the collapse of the USSR, having in effect accomplished its goal of securing capitalist dominion in Europe, NATO had to rebrand itself. It did so by marketing itself as a 'defensive' military alliance used to uphold the organization's member states 'common values of individual liberty, human rights, democracy, and the rule of law' in line with the United Nations charter, which is ironic, given the fact that NATO has on multiple occasions broken International Law set in the UN charter by interfering in sovereign foreign countries using unsanctioned military violence, and done so multiple times in a decidedly non-defensive manner in Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan to name a few.



## Logan Hathaway-Williams & Oskar Zach

On January 16th, 2025 the Netherlands sent another of its annual 7 Million Euros military support to Ukraine. After 3 years of dreadful war, with at least 250.000 Ukrainians and Russians killed, we demand an end to the war machines. We, as the youth and the workers, are the ones paying for these military packages that are sent to Ukraine, which only prolong the war and pour fuel into the fire. It is the youth and workers that are being killed on the battlefields as we are the ones sent to fight in the capitalist wars. We, as internationalist students and young workers, call upon our governments to stop sending war equipment to Ukraine, we demand an immediate ceasefire and we call upon the Russian and Ukrainian youth to rise up together with us against our governments.

#### Where does Dutch money go?

Until September 2024 the Netherlands sent 3,76 Billion Euros in military supplies to Ukraine. About one third (1,64 Billion) of the weapons and military support are directly sent from the Netherlands to Ukraine. With the other 2.02 Billion, the Netherlands purchases weapons which it sends to Ukraine. Of these 3,76 billion euros, they bought and sent 174 tanks, more than 300 armoured vehicles, 24 fighter jets, 8 howitzers, over 1300 military vehicles, ammunition and explosives and many, many more weapons. All of these weapons are then forcefully put into the hands of the Ukrainian youth and workers. Since 2014 Ukraine has reinstalled their mandatory conscription and drafted thousands of young workers. Fleeing or deserting is considered a crime and Ukraine has a "conscription crisis" from all the people refusing to fight. Just as in Ukraine, there is mandatory conscription in Russia. But this war is not a war between the Russian people against the Ukrainian people, it is a war between the western capitalists and the Russian oligarchy, in order to extract the resources of Ukraine.

Our fellow young workers in Ukraine and Russia are put to the guns, to the guns that the Dutch government sends them. The guns that we paid for and which they are now forced to use to kill each other, to either secure the western interests and extend the sphere of influence of NATO, the US and Europe to Ukraine and Eastern Europe, or to extend the sphere of influence of the Russian Oligarchy.

In contrast to what our governments are claiming, that the weapons are to deter, the weapons are directly used to kill our fellow Ukrainian and Russian students, workers and the youth. The tanks shoot young people into pieces, the fighter jets drop bombs burying workers under the rubble.



This is what happens with the weapons our government sends, with our social benefits, with our education and the taxes.

#### Where does the money come from?

The war fought in Ukraine is carried out on the backs of the youth and the workers. It is us, who have to endure the military spending, in the name of the "protection of the nation". In Germany during the first months of the war, politicians and war mongers demanded from the German population to "freeze for Ukraine". They urged workers and the youth to turn off their heating in winter to save energy. The following social crisis and the consequences for the students and young workers was secondary to the government.

In the Netherlands, we see the same: military over social support. The money for military supply is not coming from nowhere. The ministry of defense admitted to taking money from the general national budget to replace the weapons sent to Ukraine. At the same time, we see how social spending is decreasing. The health care support shrunk by 20%, the student benefit has decreased more than 160€ and everyone is probably familiar with the anxiety-inducing budget cuts for higher education. And this is happening while inflation is still going up and everything is becoming more expensive. However, we are expected to take this, because we supposedly have to defend "our" nation and Europe. While the war in Ukraine is ongoing, the Netherlands is at war as

well; at war against the working class and its students to finance and secure their imperialist interests in Ukraine and eastern Europe. And while we have to "freeze for Ukraine", the Ukrainian and Russian youth are sent to die to "protect their nation". But really, it is all for the interest of the capitalists and imperialists.

#### Who does the money help?

We as students in Amsterdam have no interest in this bloodshed. We have no interest in the wars that are fought in the name of imperialism and capital. Although our governments try with every effort to justify their wars, to supposedly unite our interests by calling us one nation, we, the students and young workers know that our interests are not aligned with theirs. We know that the division of the world is not between nations, but between the classes and we know that our bourgeoisie is our real enemy. We know that our interest is not in killing our fellow workers in Russia or Ukraine, that it is not our interest to wage wars. The only ones benefiting from the weapon supplies to Ukraine are the capitalists and imperialists: The weapon industry, which is making billions of profits by exploiting young workers to produce their own poison, the imperialists who extend their spheres of influence by war, and the investment capitalists who are already speculating on the profit of rebuilding the damage they have been making. At the Ukraine Recovery Conference in Berlin, large financial institutes like the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC) are already securing investment projects as they reek large profits.

It is the working class who are cannon fodder in the wars, who suffer and freeze under their wars, and who



are exploited when rebuilding from the destruction they have brought on Ukraine. This is why the youth says no to wars! No to NATO! No to war mongers! And no to the weapon supplies to Ukraine!

#### A Dialogue on Freedom By Nina S.K.

Kashi: You know, I have been giving it

some thought recently.

Rishi: Giving what some thought?

**Kashi**: What does it really mean to have a sense of freedom? I keep stumbling upon the concept of "true freedom", but does

that even exist? Can we do as we please?

Do we live as we please? Hell, we don't even have a choice in the life we are born in!

Rishi: Is having a choice what constitutes freedom to you?

**Kashi**: Well, isn't it? The right and capacity of people to determine their own actions.

**Rishi**: Then, in that case, you only have true freedom if you have money.

**Kashi**: Why money? You think freedom is tied to the possession of wealth?

Rishi: Money allows us enormous latitude to make decisions about how we live our lives. We are free to innovate and create, free to voice our opinions, free to get an education, to apply for a job and to quit it, free to buy what we want, go where we like, choose where we live. We work hard, pay our dues, and then we reap our rewards. This sense of simply existing, living - living comfortably - is freedom.

**Kashi**: But, are you even living by your own standards or the standards set by others? Do you really have a choice?

**Rishi**: You ask about choice as if it exists in some absolute, untainted form. But isn't every choice we make influenced by something, our upbringing, culture, experiences? No one exists in a vacuum, Kashi. The idea



that we could live by standards completely detached fromsociety is unrealistic.

Kashi: Of course our choices are influenced by the world around us, by our material conditions, but there's a difference between influence and control. Case in point, have you noticed that our own education systems only pump out mindless consumers, half-created human beings that fail to exhibit any sort of morality?

Rishi: Sure, education has its flaws but calling people "half-created" or "mindless consumers" is unfair. Education isn't just about producing high-minded, morally conscious people; it's also about knowledge, progress,

and discovery. You wouldn't even be able to think about these issues without the very education system you're criticizing.

**Kashi**: "Flaw" is an understatement Rishi. However, I do see the very point you're making, but how much of what we learn is about critical thought, self-determination, or questioning the system? We aren't taught to imagine new possibilities, just to maintain the old ones. That's not education, that's indoctrination.

Rishi: Oh Kashi, naturally, to be part of a society you are expected to obey its rules. Before, you asked "are we really living by our own standards or the standards set by others?". Of course we are living by our own standards. Again Kashi, we do have choice! Maybe not absolute, limitless choice, but we shape our lives within the framework given to us. If I enjoy my job and find meaning in it, why should it be considered suppression? Not everyone who works to survive is a slave to the system - some of us want to contribute, to innovate and

improve the world.

**Kashi**: Okay, let's say what you are saying is true. We have freedom. How do we get this freedom? Money.



So that means, people who are richer than you have more freedom. The richest of the world have total freedom, even though everyone is born equally, we have become deserving of less freedom simply because we have less money. But what if I told you that freedom doesn't have to be measured in wealth? That real freedom isn't about competing with the rich, but about rejecting the idea that money should dictate how we live? True freedom isn't about climbing a system designed to keep us in place, it's about stepping outside of it and living by our own values.

**Rishi**: You talk about stepping outside the system, but isn't struggle itself what defines us? It's not about escaping reality—it's about shaping it. The world doesn't hand out freedom, Kashi. You have to seize it. If you want

more control over your life, you don't reject the system—you outgrow it. If there's any kind of higher existence, it's not found in circumventing the obstacles, but in conquering them. I can see why you think that more money equals more freedom. But Kashi, this way has been proven, so I simply just must work more, get more, and



have more. If I have less freedom than them, I simply must work harder and get that freedom.

Kashi: You say freedom is about navigating reality, but what if reality itself is a cage? You call it "just how societies function," but isn't that exactly the problem? We weren't born to be mere cogs in a machine, following a script handed down to us. What if real freedom isn't about adapting to the system, but rising above it and creating something entirely new? I agree that liberation must be seized, but real freedom isn't just about gaining more money and choices within a structure that's designed to

keep you dependent. Our labour is sold for next to nothing, making only the rich richer. I fear that we are heading in a way where we could no longer live as the people we really are. We deserve to feel human again, to feel like we have a choice, a voice.

Rishi: What are you proposing Kashi?

Kashi: I am proposing that to bring back our humanity, to return to our values and create new ones, we must live as a collective, a community, and not as individuals who are only keen in pushing their own agendas. I refuse to spend my life chasing a version of freedom that was never truly mine to begin with. If we are to struggle, let it be in pursuit of something greater than just survival. Let it be in the pursuit of creating a world where we are no longer bound by these invisible chains where we rise beyond the limitations imposed upon us. That, Rishi, is true overcoming. That is what it means to live as something more.

**Rishi**: Hmm, so what you are saying is that we must live in a harmonious way where we look out for each other, rather than push a personal agenda that doesn't benefit the collective but only those who are in power?

**Kashi**: Yes exactly! Otherwise, if we fail to abandon these individualistic values that are governed by personal gain, consumption, and power, we will become less than human.



Rishi: You know, I've spent so much time believing that the only way forward is to work within the system to play the game better, to win by its rules. I told myself that struggle was just the way things are, that the only way to be free was to earn enough to buy my choices. But maybe I was only justifying my place in a structure I never questioned.

Kashi: Yes Rishi! You see, in this life, we must not become slaves to wealth. We do not redeem ourselves by playing a game designed to keep us weak. We redeem ourselves by dismantling it, by reshaping the world in a way where power belongs to the people and not to those who hoard wealth and call it freedom. Instead, we as a collective can choose to see that our actions - silly or wise, accidental or intended - are all in part of becoming something greater than ourselves.

The future does not belong to those who take the most. It belongs to those who build something new. That, Rishi, is the true revolution. That is what it means to become more. You may not know what that world looks like, Rishi, but maybe that's the point - we must create it.



#### INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY - QUR EXPIERNECES

OF BERLIN

WILL FISHER

#### DIE INTERNATIONALE ERKÄMPFT DAS MENSCHENRECHT!

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The struggle of oppressed people is an international struggle. This truth has remained central to leftist political action for centuries, and remains as true today as ever. Yet international solidarity will not emerge out of thin air. Our common causes unite us in spirit, but it is only through practice that this solidarity can be realised, championed, and acted upon.

Here lies the importance of events such as the Rosa Luxemburg conference. Held annually in Berlin, it aims to bring together Marxist activists and organisations from around the world, united in common spirit and aims. This January, a group of ROSA members attended the event, as well as the memorial march commemorating the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Our experiences of both paint a clear picture of the necessity for international solidarity.

The feeling of community present in the conference was inspiring. Speakers ranged from Irish politician Clare Daly, to the delegates of the committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, to Burkinabé musician Ezé Wendtoin, amongst many others, representing a diverse and multinational segment of the left. While some guests were unable to attend due



to VISA denials - a pertinent reminder of the systemic inequality we fight against - their messages were delivered remotely, occupying no less of an important space in the proceedings.

In the West, we have a great deal of privileges that are systematically denied to much of the world. To name but a few, we are granted relatively free travel, open(ish) communication of ideas, and increased financial security. These are privileges to be weaponised in our international struggle. Since our media sources, defending the interests of the capitalist class, are resolutely focused on the problems of affluent countries over those of the imperial periphery, many leftists' first



to, for example, the ongoing unrest in West Africa may have been through the speech of Kwesi Pratt Jnr at the conference. Where voices are silenced or ignored, internationally-focused events help to break down the walls enforced by capital and imperialism.



Building a movement, however, takes more than theoretical discussions. The memorial march the following day demonstrated the power of immediate, material solidarity and trust.

We arrived at the march early in the morning, and settled into place in the pro-Palestine bloc. It didn't take long before the police turned violent. Without provocation, and with only the warning of an amassing ocean of riot gear, police officers forced their way into the pro-Palestine bloc, separating attendees on two sides and pushing groups of people out of their way. In a less organised, less maintained crowd, it could have instantly gone south. But our comrades stood their ground, linked arms, and defended themselves steadfastly from the police force. When it became clear that we were intent on peacefully marching to the memorial, the police relented, and, keeping their riot gear on, followed us the rest of the way.

However, once the majority of the procession had filed out of the cemetery, the police sprung another attempt on us. In an instant, they organised themselves around a crowd of us, kettling us. Once again, organised marchers swiftly linked arms and formed 2-3 lines of bodies, surrounded by a circle of police. Three comrades from our delegation were brought into the fold, and immediately integrated into the crowd by the comrades around us.

This remained consistent as we walked back to the metro, with occasional calls from the front or back, swiftly relayed through the crowd, adjusting the pace. A German comrade nearby translated anything necessary, but for the most part the connection formed by the group allowed for seamless adaptation. Despite state thugs taking any opportunity they could to disrupt our progression, there was not a moment where this spirit of unity faltered. From start to finish, everyone was aware, engaged, and proactive, making sure to fill any gaps that formed and always watching out for their comrades.

Our trip reminded us that it is one thing to, in a safe, warm room, declare solidarity within a movement. It is quite another to practice it in the face of violent state repression. At every chance, we must link arms with one another, and put up a united, organised front. Across borders, across organisations, across divisions. There is only one struggle - the struggle of all oppressed peoples against capitalism and imperialism.



# **Borders of Paradise**

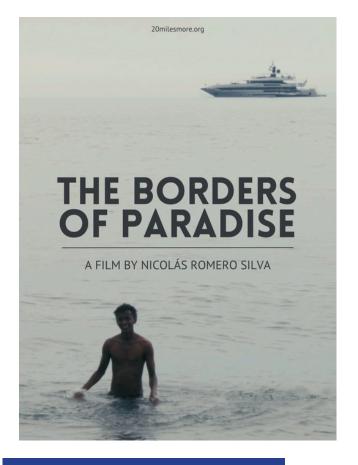
The EU borders are some of the most deadly borders. Thousands of migrants have given their lives trying to flee from violence, war and climate crisis to Europe. This is not a coincidence, but both the devastating results of Imperialism and the result of the racist and nationalist governments in Europe. Nicolás Romero Silva documented some of the stories of migrants at the Italian-French border (Ventimiglia) with his camera and the documentary "Borders of Paradise" tells their story. We had the possibility to have an interview with the filmmaker at one of his screenings.

### What gave you the idea to make this movie?

I was approached by the producer Zara Gounden and Frazer Byers to make a documentary. We received some funding and the original idea was to study the water in Ventimiglia because a lot of people on the move drink the water from the river, which is contaminated. I had little idea what the film would turn into when I first arrived, but I arrived there to learn and see. And the project expanded throughout the process to encompass everything from the process of being rescued off the coast of Libya, to getting settled in a European country and all of the turmoil in between.

# What themes do you pick up in the documentar y?

The documentary is mostly about the psychological decay that can happen to people on the move in Europe. The film tries to be self-sufficient in that it explains the process by which people arrive in Europe, why they flee through the Mediterranean, and the legal structures like the Dublin regulation and the closed borders within Schengen. It is about Ventimiglia in particular because this is a crossing point for people on the move, but also for people waiting there.



### Why is the documentary called Borders of Paradise?

The title was inspired by Ismail's interview in the film where he says Europe isn't paradise. The title is ironic, obviously, because when they arrive, life is difficult for these people. Even when they do get their asylum granted, like Ismail, it remains difficult.

# What would you like people to take from the documentary?

The film is itself a starting point and asking: why is Libya like this? Why is Sudan like this? Why did these people flee? There's so much that the film leaves out in terms of geopolitics, but you see how these individuals lived through those experiences. I'm hoping that hearing such a well told story from the mouths of these guys will raise the question of what geopolitically led these countries into instability, and about exploitation, western capital and connecting migration to neocolonialism.

## What does the EU do when refugees apply for asylum?

It depends on each kind of area but in

Ventimiglia most of these guys are made to wait. They are put into reception centers which are for profit most of the time. Later they told me stories of how it's almost like jail for them. The reception centers are in a remote area and there's nothing for them to do, no schooling or anything. The reception centers are often inadequate.

And on the other hand, these bureaucratic procedures of asylum. These guys are often forced to wait out in the open, waiting for social housing or for their asylum request to

be processed.

The EU also violently represses and pushes back a lot of migrants.

## Why are the European borders so deadly?

The Mediterranean Sea is very deadly. In our case, when we were filming with Doctors Without Borders, we stumbled upon this boat that had been floating for something like six days. And so the drinking water had run out for several days. A little while longer and probably a lot of people would have died. About an hour before we arrived, three people had jumped in the water because they saw a plastic bottle floating in the sea and they thought it might have some water to drink. So they jumped in and weren't able to get back in the boat. When we arrived we spent hours searching the ocean for the people that had disappeared. It's miraculous that we found two of them, but actually one person was never found.

At the border between Italy and France many people die in the mountain, but also the police kill migrants at the border. While we were there an Egyptian man was shot by the French police and the beating of migrants by the French police is quite common as well. People also die by trying to cross on the train or on the highways.

#### What are the reasons for refugees to flee their countries?

The stories in the film are quite tragic. In the film, you have two kids whose families were victims of kidnapping. So for their safety they fled. In the case of Abdo, which is the main story in the film, you have the conflict in the region of Darfur, in Sudan, between two different ethnic groups. The Janjaweed and the Masalit. One is pastoralist, like herders. And the other is farmers. Because of General Hemedti becoming a warlord in Sudan the herders have become the Rapid Support Forces, so basically a paramilitary in Sudan.

But the conflict between the two ethnic groups is not just because of this, but also it's called the first conflict driven by climate change. As the arable land shrinks because there is more desert, the herders and the farmers have to compete for the ressources. And this is what you see in Abduls story, where he and his brother are farming and then the herders come with their camels to their land. And that's where the argument begins, which results in his brother being killed.

The road itself is also very dangerous. There's plenty of stories of enslavement, of having to work in gold mines. But broadly speaking there's such a variety of reasons. What I think the guys in the film emphasize is that no one really wants to leave their family unless they didn't have much of a choice and faced imminent danger. A lot of Sudanese guys in the film are also fleeing the civil War, or the repressive police state. It's basically the legacy of colonialism and neocolonialism.



# Locked Up (Content Note: suicide, psychosis)

Who can you trust when you can't even trust your own ideas, senses, and don't know what's real anymore? This is what happened to me when I went through a psychotic episode and learned that the State and psychiatric institutions are definitely not the answer to this question.

It began with feeling my bed shaking. I am deaf and therefore cannot hear when I do not have my cochlear implants on. I first ignored it but as it kept going, I noticed there was some light at my apartment's door, and some flashing blue lights out of my closed windows. I immediately understood what was going on, the firefighters had arrived. I did not know who had sent them and had a few guesses ranging from reasonable to wild: my worried friends, a sociology teacher who heard of my situation, the government, or even Emmanuel Macron himself. Anyways, the firefighters were pounding on my door, almost breaking it, and all my deliring mind could think about was that they were going to break it with an ax. It was dark, I was bare naked, could not hear, and under the influence of prescribed anxiolytic medication, so I tried to calm them down and stop pounding but we could not communicate. I backed away from the door and it opened, I was face to face with a seemingly angry firefighter. Behind him were my landlords (who gave him the key), other firefighters and even policemen. From that moment on, I was submerged in an immense feeling of shame, but before I could even think about that, I saw the firefighter shouting at me and making gestures. I tried to tell him that I couldn't hear him and needed to find my cochlear implants but he wouldn't budge nor let me go find them.

To him I was nothing but a threat (for others and for myself) that needed immediate care, and to me he was nothing but an angry, dumb man who wouldn't listen to me. After some time, he let me find my glasses and cochlear implants. I could finally hear, that is when

are stripped of their responsibilities, rights, and control of their own body. We are not even informed of our treatment nor get explanations regarding the reasons for our treatment or what is happening to us. The patient is considered as not being in a state to understand; anyway, they are forcefully hospitalized and treated, there is no point in taking the time to explain. We are treated like a herd of animals unable to understand what is happening to us, and we are completely alienated and dehumanized. We are all sedated so that we are easier to manage for the staff, even though it completely shuts down our ability to think. Even though the medication affects your perception of time and memory, I do vividly remember what happened, how we were viewed, how we were punished if we did not behave as the staff wanted, and rewarded when we did. I remember that schizophrenic man who had a liver bulge because of overmedication, I remember my friend being stripped naked and forced to wear the paper hospital gown after she attempted suicide in front of me, I remember the sound of another friend in the middle of a psychotic episode at 5AM banging at the door of the isolation room she was locked in as punishment.

I remember it all and promised myself to never forget.

There is nothing as peculiar as the solidarity between patients: people whose sense of trust is entirely broken and even violated. We have our rituals: drinking chamomile together at night, shakily lighting each others' cigarettes, waiting for the sun to rise, watching dumb shows on the TV, playing ping-pong in the garden or domino inside, struggling because of our medication though. There is this implicit and vulnerable trust between us that can hardly be explained, perhaps it is because we have nobody to trust, not even ourselves. Perhaps it is also because we are completely dominated by the medical staff and thus need to stick together.

Even after I left the hospital, I was still locked up, locked up inside my own head with a treatment that turned me into a shell of the person I used to be. I started developing parkinsonian symptoms. I was shaking, isolating myself socially, I could not rest and had to go for walks for hours, incapable of staying still for more than ten minutes, I was unable to speak or even form coherent thoughts, or thoughts at all. It is a very painful feeling to witness your capacity to think vanish and feel like you are essentially dead inside. I had become a spectator



of my own life, completely alienated, every month going to the hospital to get injected and feeling shame. The injection procedure itself matters, as it is a form of control, ensuring that the patient is unable to skip the treatment because they aren't trusted. It is ironic how the institutions force us to trust them with our life when this relationship is not reciprocal. Even outside the hospital, the psychiatric institution still has control over our life and it is 10 minute appointments with overbooked psychiatrists that determine our future based on our

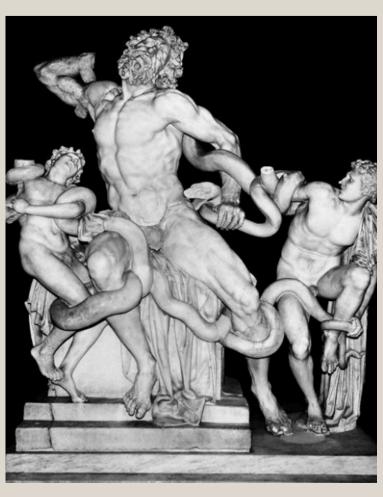
good behavior. We are in a sort of panopticon: never free even outside the hospital, constantly watching, questioning and not even trusting ourselves.

It has been exactly a year since then and I am still locked up and un-free. Only a few days ago, I landed in the psychiatric emergencies again after almost attempting suicide. I still struggle to speak, every appointment I ask my psychiatrist to stop the treatment and every appointment she says another time. For some reason I still obey and take my treatment. I don't know why, it would be easy to stop it as no one is checking this time. Perhaps a part of me still trusts my psychiatrist, or wants to trust her. Perhaps

I just don't want to accept that psychiatry is a sham and that the state violated my trust forever.

# Over Frutseltjes, een Gekwelde PRIESTER EN MASSAPRODUCTIE





Laocoön op de vensterbank van een Laocoön in het Vaticaan student

Op mijn vensterbank staan frutseltjes. Niet omdat ik dat leuk vind, maar omdat die frutseltjes daar vanzelf terechtkomen. Voor veel objecten bestaat geen logische plek en dan blijkt een vrij, horizontaal vlak een magnetische werking te hebben op snuisterijen en objecten zonder vaste verblijfplaats.

Het meeste van wat er staat is zomaar aan komen waaien en heeft zich daar genesteld zonder dat ik er erg in had. Een handvol gekleurde scherven van Marokkaanse vloertegels in een gebulldozerd surfdorp er moest plaats gemaakt worden voor witte luxueuze hotels -, een lege wijnfles met een etiket te mooi om weg te gooien, sd-kaarten vol met foto's, haast onleesbare notities op post-its waarvan de plakrand niet meer plakt, een dode slang uit de Ardennen geconserveerd in een fles Carrefour-gin en een waxinelicht-standaard in de vorm van... Ja, in de vorm van wat, eigenlijk?

Op die vensterbank onder het raam dat uitkijkt op tuintjes met witte plastic stoelen, kapotte wasmachines en een reiger die zijn ronde paradeert staat slechts één object bewust aangeschaft om als ornament te dienen. Het betreft een miniatuur van een klassiek standbeeld in de hellenistische stijl. Niet van marmer, maar van gips, plastic of iets daartussenin. Op een blauwe maandag gekocht op AliExpress. Het is een replica van de priester Laocoön. Zijn gefolterde gezicht half gedraaid. De spieren in zijn torso aangespannen. Hij verkeert duidelijk in doodsangst of heeft enorme pijn. Of allebei.

Wat het precies is dat hem zo kwelt kunnen we ontdekken in origineel, het Romeinse exemplaar uit de eerste eeuw dat nu in het Vaticaan staat. Daar wordt Laocoön omringd door slangen die het op hem gemunt hebben. Een straf van Poseidon; Laocoön zou de Trojanen het geheim van het houten paard verklapt hebben.

De AliExpress variant is gestript van zijn belagers: op mijn vensterbank lijdt hij zonder boze slangen. Wellicht omdat die de productiekosten teveel omhoog zouden brengen. Het kwaad is in mijn exemplaar metafysisch.

Zo wordt Laocoön in de Chinese fabriek geteisterd door de erbarmelijke arbeidsomstandigheden om hem heen. Gepijnigd door de ironie van de ijverige Chinese arbeider die hier geforceerd bijdraagt aan de westerse canon van de klassieke kunst. Tijdens de bootreis van Shanghai naar Rotterdam is hij in agonie vanwege al die pakketjes vol prullaria, symptomen van post-kapitalistisch overconsumptie in zijn scheepscontainer. Bij de douane passeert hij moeiteloos, terwijl er mensen worden gecontroleerd of tegengehouden. Ook dat spookt door zijn versteende hoofd. Maar nog het meest wordt Laocoön gekweld door het feit dat de slangen te duur waren om hem te kwellen.

Op mijn vensterbank staat Laocoön als een stille waarschuwing. De Trojanen luisterden niet naar hem en Poseidon strafte hem genadeloos. Mijn Laocoön belichaamt de last van weten, van zien wat anderen niet willen zien. De bootreis, de douane, de vensterbank, het zijn nieuwe hoofdstukken in zijn martelaarschap.

Laocoön fluistert ons nog steeds het gevaar in, maar zijn mond is van steen dus we horen hem niet. Zo blijft hij een priester zonder kudde op een vensterbank vol frutseltjes. Zijn pijn nu onderdeel van het decor.

#### COMMUNITY RUBRIC COMMUNITY RUBRIC

Throughout the last weeks, we walked around campus asking students what they think NATO is and whether they trust NATO or not. In this section we would like to examine some of the answers.

Firstly, many students had the impression that NATO was established during the Cold War as a counter project to the Eastern Bloc and the Warsaw Pact (Eastern military alliance founded in 1955). Although it is right that NATO played an important role during the Cold War, it was established not as a counter project, but founded earlier than any Eastern alliance, namely in 1949. During the Cold War, NATO served as a deterrence but mostly as an integrating and binding tool for the Western bloc. After the Cold War, the first NATO operations took place in Bosnia,

later in Afghanistan, Iraq and many more countries, where they committed war crimes and secured the interests of the U.S. and Europe. Thus, NATO was not only established in the Cold War for deterrence and protection, but it was necessary to build the Western bloc and for the world-wide imperialist expansion of the U.S.

Secondly, the narrative that NATO was a peacekeeping and defensive organization for "our" protection



came up frequently. This is the typical argument used by the military and by war mongers. It cannot be in the interest of peace to strengthen the war machine NATO, when history has proven that more weapons and "defense equipment" makes war only more destructive. The narrative of protection is a nationalist argument disregarding class struggle. It is trying to unite people on the basis of a nation, instead of class. Trying to homogenise the rich and the poor of a nation against a hypothetical external enemy. While at the same time, the bourgeoisie wages war against us workers every day.

OMMUNITY RUBRIC COMMUNITY RUBRIC

#### **COMMUNITY RUBRIC COMMUNITY RUBRIC**

If we are united as one nation, and not class, exploitation is subsumed under nationalism— under this logic, how can we strive for better working conditions if the nation suffers— if the national economy suffers? Nationalism and NATO thus stifles class struggles and denies the divide between the bourgeoisie of the nation who exploit and the proletariat of the nation who must struggle against this exploitation.

On the other hand, it seems like there is quite little trust towards NATO in the general student body, which we find to be reasonable. However, there seems to be two kinds of Anti-NATO sentiments which we would like to unite. On the one hand, NATO is not trusted because they are waging wars and militarily intervening. And on the other hand, there is a sentiment that NATO is not "helping" enough in Ukraine and Georgia for example, and can't be trusted because of this.

Nevertheless, NATO is a warmonger and continues the colonial legacy of the West, while it is also only defending its own interests, the interest of the US and European Bourgeoisie. If extensive military intervention in Georgia and Ukraine do not align with those interests, they will not supply weapons. Even when these weapons are supplied, they are not helping the Ukrainian people, the Polish people, the Georgian people or any other people. Because it is the people that are forced to fight with

these weapons, who have to pay for the weapons and die from these who only weapons, to be exploited by U.S. capital. Thus, both sides of Anti-Nato sentiments make sense if understood properly, as NATO is not to be trusted.

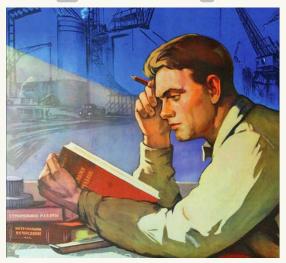
We should unite to end the wars, militarization and NATO!



# BRIC ROSA RUBRIC ROSA RUBRIC ROSA Join the Marxist Reading Group !!!

# ROSA's three point program calls for

- 1.Building a revolutionary movement
- 2.Development of class consciousness
- 3.Preparation for class struggle



An integral part of our strategy for these points is education – radical, revolutionary, Marxist education – for everyone who is willing to learn. In light of this strategy, at the end of 2024, ROSA established our very own Marxist Reading Group!

The Marxist Reading Group (MRG) engages with theoretical work under the general umbrella of Marxism, delving into subfields such as dialectical and historical materialism, alienation, colonialism, education, and revolution!

In addition to fostering community between our members, like our other Cultural Clubs, the Marxist Reading Group functions to further our political and ideological education, through a shared analysis of Marxist literature and theory. As students in a liberal education system and institutions, we recognize the importance of maintaining our own radical education program, sharpening our critical analysis skills, in order to be able to counter the liberal education we receive under the existing hegemonic structures.

Finally, the Marxist Reading Group is now open for non-ROSA members to join! If you are a sympathizer to our cause and would like to further your understanding of Marxism, contact one of our members to join the Marxist Reading Group!

#### ROSA RUBRIC ROSA RUBRIC ROSA RUBR



Every third Sunday of the month, ROSA invites you to our community event "KARL - Kitchen, Art, and Radical Learning." Starting at 18h, we have a peoples' kitchen (voku) with delicious and affordable food. After dinner, the floor is open for the learning and

education session, where we read a text together or listen to a presentation on different student issues each time. Afterwards, we hold open discussion, hopefully sparking fruitful conversations throughout the evening. Simultaneously, we have an arts and crafts corner where we collectively develop our creativity by crafting, sewing, painting, beading, printing, and building.

#### Come and join our monthly KARL event!

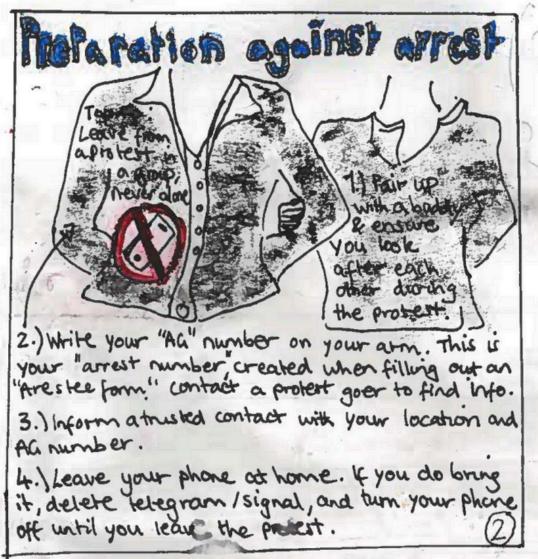
Every third Sunday of the month at MKZ. You can find more information on our instagram: @rosaradicalstudents











PREPARATION AGAINST POLICE WOLLINGS:

2) In case of tear GAS:

DON'T WEAR CONTACT LENSES

Direct your face towards the

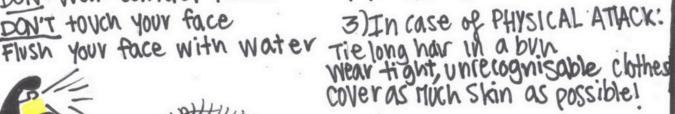
Wind and Cry to remove Particus

1) In case of PERPER SPRAY:

DON'T WEAR CONTACT lenses

DON'T touch your face

NO MILK! .





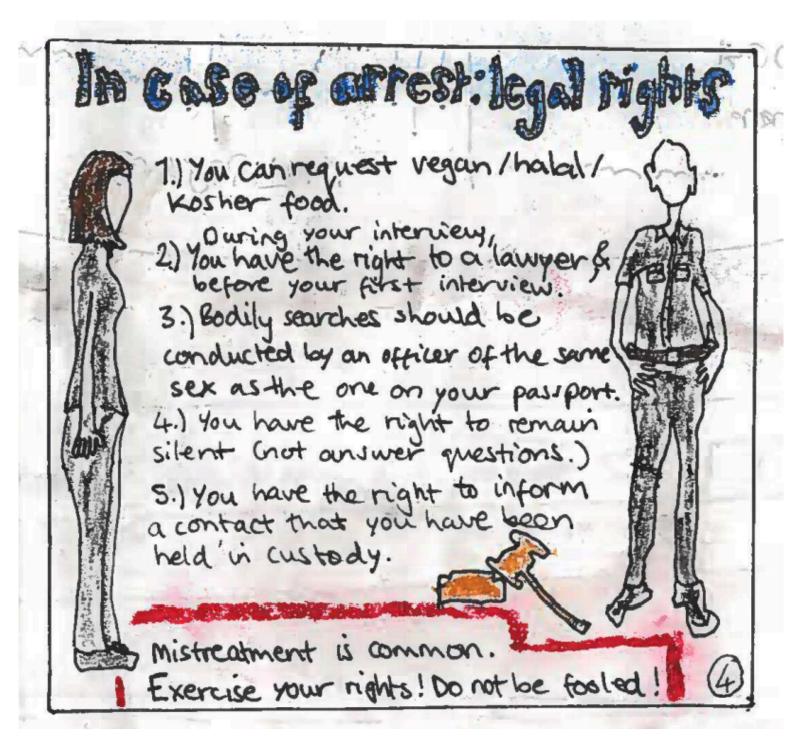


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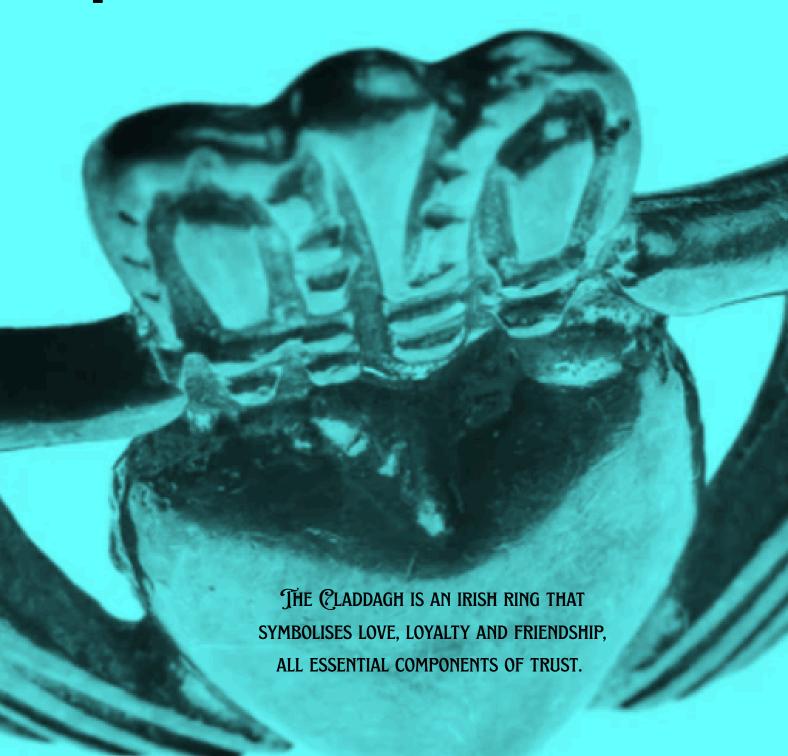


DON'T USE MILK!



#### **UPCOMING EVENTS:**

KARL - June 15th ROSA Intreeweek - First week of September



For more infor find vs on instagram: rosaradicalstvdents