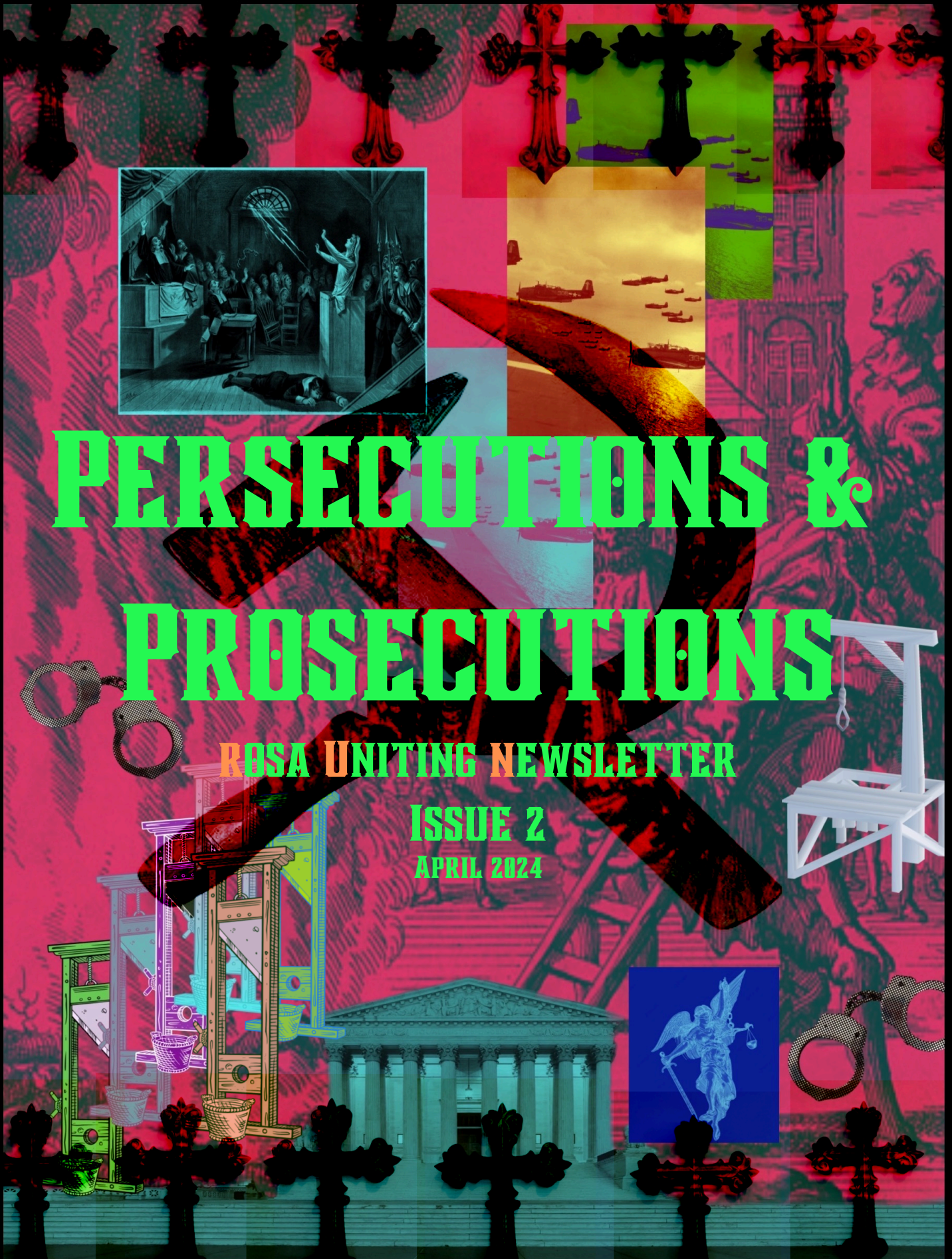




PERSECUTIONS & PROSECUTIONS

ROSA UNITING NEWSLETTER

ISSUE 2
APRIL 2024



In this issue

ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΡΓΙΑ, ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΠΕΡΓΙΑ

4

Are students part of the working class?

6

We (should not have to) Demand Bread

8

Ideas of transformative justice: on the persecution of perpetrators of sexual violence

10

Are you a witch?

13

Your university supports genocide

14

House rules and hypocrisy

16

Neo-classical political economy: the theory that will not die

18

Handcuffing the Mind: The Case of Algirdas Paleckis

20

ZAPIs - Perpetuating persecution through legal gray areas

22

Balding

24

Quiz answers

25

Comic strip

26

Upcoming events

28

Cover by Jasmine Pelaez



Dear reader,

We introduce you to the second 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 to employ artistic expression in our pages, as we deem it closely tied to our struggle. Numerous topics will be touched upon, as capitalism has appropriated all aspects of our life. These discussions range from immigration and patriarchal violence, to the Palestinian struggle and student oppression.

In this edition, we explore the theme of Prosecutions and Persecutions. We first look at Worker's Day: at the historical persecution of the militant working class and declining class consciousness, and this day's relation to King's Day. Next, we delve into whether students should be considered working class. Within this inquiry, we cast a critical eye upon UvA, a university that shamelessly supports genocide and enforces oppressive and regressive policies, while its students struggle for basic needs. Between these student-centered pieces, we challenge the essence of persecution by exploring transformative justice in cases of sexual violence, and then dive back centuries before to the Salem Witch trials, in which prosecution naturalized hatred of marginalized groups, and vice versa. We shift to a more theoretical critique, dissecting the contradictions embedded within neo-classical political economic thought. Next, we examine the case of free speech surrounding Paleckis, a Lithuanian socialist. Through fiction, destruction and guilt are explored. We end with an examination of migration, in an informative piece on hidden detainment centers and in a comic strip set within a Libyan migration camp. Throughout this zine, we delve into the depths of punishment and exclusion born from the hollow promises of liberty and freedom. Let us shed light together onto the oppressive structures that uphold this, and fight to dismantle these structures.

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

ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΡΓΙΑ, ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΠΕΡΓΙΑ

Martinos



The title roughly translates, from Greek to, "It's not a holiday, it's a strike". This slogan refers to May 1st, the International Workers' Day, and I believe it conveys the importance of this day in a rather impactful manner. It is also a reminder to all of us that under capitalism, any workers' rights should not be taken for granted. Concessions made by the capitalists in their attempts to appease the working class, are immediately taken away once a crisis, a necessary evil caused by the inherent contradictions of capitalism and its boom-and-bust cycles, erupts. I'm 22 years old, and we are currently going through the third once in a lifetime economic crisis of my own short lifetime.

Workers' rights have been degrading for as long as I can remember, with increasingly harsh austerity measures, and the relentless selling-out of any public good the capitalists have not been able to get their hands on so far. In a world where neoliberalism is increasingly choking all aspects of our lives, and everything becomes nothing but a for-profit product, cultivating a class consciousness is more important than ever. Let us follow the example of the countless brave workers of the past! Let us realize that no reform will save this system, rotten to its core and by design. We do not simply ask for a sufferable life; we demand an alternative! Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!





In most people's consciousness, May 1st is probably little more than a day off. For others there might be the awareness that it's something to do with workers or labor, while the well-informed might remember the Haymarket Affair or, more accurately, the Haymarket Massacre, as the inciting incident. In fact, we can go further back to Australia in 1856, where workers demanded the eight-hour day. Since the inception of capitalism, or any other exploitative mode of production that has preceded it, class struggle has been a prominent part of society. Therefore, any attempt to trace the exact origin of the expression of working-class grievances is both impossible and of little importance. What I want to point out instead is that the element of class consciousness, the most crucial aspect of the International Workers' Day, ~~has been disappearing~~ *is getting erased*.

The capitalist class, embracing the motto *if you can't beat them join them*, has been engaged in a conscious effort to co-opt May 1st. The Day is presented as the culmination of the efforts of the brave workers who sacrificed their wages, their livelihoods, or even their lives, for better working conditions. *You've earned your day off*, the capitalists desperately cry out to the working class, *you don't need to fight anymore*. Even worse, the sacrifices of the working class are also getting erased, with the concessions of the capitalists being presented as an outcome of their benevolence and capitalism "raising the standard of living for the whole of society". Workers are taught to appreciate the little they have, thank the capitalists for the breadcrumbs, and remain idle while the capitalists continue to exploit them. The workers have a right, and it is their duty, to take May 1st, *their day*, back.

As Rosa Luxemburg wrote, "As long as the struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie and the ruling class continues, as long as all demands are not met, May Day will be the yearly expression of these demands". A hundred and thirty years later, this remains as important as ever. The working class needs to realize its potential, and fight for the complete dismantling of capitalism. Not only for better working conditions, but for a better life for everyone. While we commemorate the sacrifices of our predecessors on International Workers' Day, our struggle is daily and never-ending.



CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS ON CAMPUS

ARE STUDENTS PART OF THE WORKING CLASS?

BY TAMARA BRATCHIK AND OSKAR ZACH

The question “Are students part of the working class” was prompted at the ROSA x IJV event on nationalism and racism on 29.02.2024. It was the last question of the discussion and since there was too little time to go in depth we want to pick it up here again and elaborate.

The event itself sparked interesting discussions on why nationalism and racism are tools of the ruling class to divide the proletariat and weaken the class struggle. We learnt that nationalism creates the image of the nation as the uniting factor and not class and that this is supposed to persuade the proletariat to fight the bourgeois wars and endure their crisis. Nationalism and racism must be persecuted as the enemies to the interest of the working class and consequently of students. But the question is valid to ask: is it as simple as to say that we students are part of the working class?

To begin to look for an answer, we must turn to history. The student body as an entity has drastically changed over the last century. From as early as the 1930s, the global student movement has pivoted in alignment with the struggles of the working class. Since the 1970s, the student entity has been at the forefront of not only academic struggles, but also societal ones, having been involved in most major political movements. The student struggle has become a regular occurrence.

However, it is important to acknowledge the critique that suggests that students are in a class of their own: petty-bourgeois and academic. The Bolsheviks were outspoken in their treatment of academia as a realm that obscured the primacy of the working class in the struggle for liberation. At the time, in fact, students came predominantly from bourgeois backgrounds, and functioned as their own separate social group - the intelligentsia - set apart from the working class. The role of the intelligentsia was to act as the effective vanguard, an ally to the revolution as a class alongside the proletariat, not within it.

But times change. In their 1971 pamphlet *Students Into Class Struggle*, the Communist Party of Britain advocated for student inclusion as a subsection of the working class. No longer are students a reactionary force used by the bourgeois in times of social crisis. No longer does the student body function in isolation from the proletariat.



Students will necessarily be wage slaves of capitalism. Education has become a vehicle for the worker to essentially fund their own exploitation, to become a wage paid worker in the end. The idea that receiving an education is a gift granted by capitalism to avoid exploitation is dangerous and misleading. To divide students and workers into distinct groups is to ignore that students are workers in the making. Capitalism does not provide academic training as a luxury, it does so because the system necessitates skilled labour for maximum profit extraction. The institution of education is not a grant out of class struggle. It is the ticket into it.

In addition to this, we see that, in practice, many students work alongside their studies to afford living, which then already places them within the labour force. Although the full time activity is the determining factor for one's class position, many students are already exploited on minimum wages for around 12-15 hours a week. This overexploitation continues during internships and apprenticeships, which many students are obliged to do. For most, this means working three months for a company with no compensation. A good deal (free labour) for the companies: an "experience" for the students!

However, not all students are themselves from the working class, because their class position is still dependent on other factors. If students receive their living from their parents, their class position is dependent on the class position of their parents - whether that be bourgeois, petty bourgeoisie or proletariat. If students receive loans from the state, they are living off the fruits of their future labour and are therefore quasi-part of the working class. If students earn their living by working, they are already fully part of the working class. If students own the means of production, they are bourgeois.

Nevertheless, the majority of students will become workers and their class position is also dependent on this future class position. This does not mean that all students are inherently part of the proletariat by virtue of their being students and we should not ignore the fact that the most exploited and lowest parts of the working class are still denied access to academia. But we see a trend where a majority of students do become the proletariat - exploited regardless of their diploma. We see that the student struggle and the workers struggle are taking on the same face - it does not make sense to separate them.

Thus, it is no wonder that many students fight the same struggles as the working class, although they might technically not be workers yet. Students fight alongside the workers against the housing crisis, because many students live on the couch of their friends or cannot pay the expensive rent. Students fight alongside workers for affordable food and the rising costs of living, visible in the Anti-Kantine movement at universities. Students fight alongside workers for the liberation of Palestine, because our fellow students in Palestine have lost their houses and their university, likewise to the Palestinian workers that have lost their houses and workplace. Students fight against the University Board, likewise to workers fighting against their CEO's. This is why, we must not abstract ourselves from the working class, but unite and realise that we have the same goal and interest:

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

WE (SHOULD NOT HAVE TO) DEMAND BREAD

By Logan Hathaway-Williams and Kirsty McHenry.

Who deserves food? Who earns the right to it? At the University of Amsterdam (UvA), it is only those who can afford it.


On the week of the 4th to the 9th of March, ROSA (with other students from the AntiKantine organisation) distributed free meals in front of the UvA canteens as an act of protest. We emphasised the contradiction between people's basic need for food and the luxury status food holds in our university canteens. Only 10% of UvA students use the canteen. The UvA's Executive Board (CvB) is well aware, but they've made it explicit: they have no intention of changing things. In their own words: "it is not in the university's interest to provide students with food, just as we don't provide them with housing".

That the UvA does not feel responsible to provide affordable food is hardly surprising. The university has come to be run in accordance with the same neoliberal ideology that entered mainstream European politics in the 1980s.

Neoliberalism brings with it privatisation of life and commodification of necessities and services. Within this framework, even the most basic needs are allocated based on who can afford them; those who can't are left to fend for themselves.

The university itself promotes this same capitalist logic towards its students. The UvA functions as a microcosm of the neoliberal system. This is most obvious in the case of the canteen, which, following the pattern of the privatisation of public services that has become customary, was itself privatised. The university canteen's goal is not to provide food, but instead to profit off of its students. Anywhere there is money to be made from students, the opportunity is taken. This attitude is also reflected in high tuition fees, little student housing, and a lack of free or affordable university resources and extracurriculars. Besides this, decreases in public funding to universities have necessitated the cost-cutting which has been used to justify the outsourcing of student services to external companies. This does not absolve the university of responsibility, but indicates the broader implications of the fight for an affordable canteen. The struggle is not isolated to the UvA nor is it limited to the provision of food. Instead, our protest against the canteen prices must be understood as a larger fight against capitalism and its incapacity to fulfil the most basic needs.





Why is it deemed normal and even acceptable for people to go hungry, even when food is plenty? When an individual cannot afford food, they are expected to degrade themselves - to seek pity from those who maintain the system that denied them to begin with. As one of the world's leading produce exporters, it's clear that the availability of food in the Netherlands is not the issue. Instead, the problem stems from how food is distributed. The food that arrives on our plates has come by way of large companies - typically chain stores - who act as middlemen. The farmers and other labourers who initially grew the ingredients are often placed in competition with one another and paid little for what they produce while simultaneously being pushed to endure harsh working conditions. Every step in this sequence is privatised, however, the only ones who reap the benefits of this are the capitalists.

We have naturalised this neoliberal system beyond recognition and have removed it from its simplest tenant: labour. Neoliberalism is rooted in the capitalist understanding of value. The creation of our value has been veiled and distracted from, but one must only look at who is granted the privilege of food, housing, and other basic rights to understand who is deserving and who is not. Through this system, people are objectified and reduced to machines. Those whose labour leads to profit have value; if they bring value, they deserve having their basic necessities met; they are allowed to sustain themselves so as to further their acquisition of value for capitalists. Everyone else is discardable.

Within this system of human objectification, it is accepted that people can and should profit off of the basic human needs of others. Neoliberalism is constructed around the assumption that anywhere there is a need, there is an opportunity for profit. When one small group of capitalists have control of the resources (as is the case at the UvA canteen) these needs can be manipulated to their utmost capacity. This is well known to anyone ever stuck on the UvA campus in need of something to eat with no other options available.

The canteen protests in March made evident that supplying students with cheaper on-site meals is, in fact, possible. Nonetheless, the recent meeting between UvA students and the CvB has shown that they have little interest in taking any meaningful steps to provide their students with such meals. They thus have shown that students' basic needs are not on the agenda.

We will not settle for small wins, lacklustre concessions or promises of increased subsidisation. Instead, we call out the system which seeks to take advantage of us and reject it. As students and university workers, we must remember the position of power we hold. We are the ones who are essential to the functioning of our educational institutions. And we have the ability to change them.

Ideas of transformative justice: on the persecution of perpetrators of sexual violence

by Emma

This article acts as an introduction into the concept of transformative justice, more time and space are necessary to produce an in-depth discussion on the topic. I hope you can take this idea and use this article as a starting point to learn more about the topic.

In recent years in many countries, incidents of gender-based violence and harassment have become everyday news, starting with the #MeToo movement as the most prominent example. Women have more space (though still not enough) to be able to talk about the violence they have experienced and take action. We uncovered the mat, and the dust hasn't stopped coming out. 1 out of 3 women in Europe have suffered from physical violence^[1]. The numbers make it clear that we cannot reduce the cause of this violence to a few mentally disturbed men. Most of the times the assaults are committed by partners, friends, or relatives.

As a famous chant echoing in the streets during feminist demonstrations in Italy states: “lo stupratore non è un malato ma il figlio sano del patriarcato” [“the rapist is not sick, he is the sane son of the patriarchy”]. These few words that vibrate from the anger of thousands of women are as simple as they are accurate to describe what I mean with the contextualization of sexual assault. In the patriarchal society we live in, we are socialized as men or women according to our biological sex. Since we are kids, we are taught how to conform to the gender constructs attached to that biological sex. Men are taught that to conform to the hegemonic notion of masculinity they need to be strong, dominant, and never fragile or emotional. We could go on for pages and pages to describe what the social construct of masculinity entails, but I am sure we could all think of multiple examples of this. What is associated with masculinity and femininity is not only a matter of physical differences; with strength and weakness I refer also to how a socialized man is taught to be less open to his emotions, less eager to show them. On the other hand, socialized women are able to get more in touch with their emotional side (showing their vulnerabilities, crying, etc.) because it complies with their female “weakness”. Moreover, this socialization profoundly affects the relationships between men and women. Socialized men learn that in sexual performativity they must play the role of dominators who must conquer the sexual object of their interest. Their pleasure is the ultimate goal of sexual intercourse, while women's pleasure is often seen as an accessory: it's not always necessary. Through this, I hope it is clear that I do not mean to say that all men are disinterested in female pleasure, but that the socialization we experience with respect to our assigned gender entails a number of consequences for how we experience sexuality. Moving away from it is possible only through a commitment to continuous gender deconstruction. Take a second to reflect on your own experiences: I believe that in their relationships with men, most socialized women have experienced instances where their pleasure was secondary to male pleasure, where the end of the sex was determined by male ejaculation and incidents where the women did not value their own pleasure that highly themselves.

[1] Data from https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-factsheet_it.pdf (2012)



This is the context where sexual abuse is born, where men are taught that to affirm their masculinity, they need to be strong, dominant, that their sexual pleasure is the main purpose of a sexual act. But sexual harassment represents the pinnacle of a pyramid, at the base of which we find countless other behaviours that legitimize their violence. If we do not start from that base to eradicate the substrate that leads to violence, we will never eliminate the violence itself either. I invite those reading to think about their friends and acquaintances and ask themselves if they have ever noticed attitudes or phrases—also framed as jokes—that reflect a similar view to the one described above; about sexuality, about the male-female relationship and about women as objects of sexual interest. This is what bell hooks refers to as rape culture: the culture that condones and normalizes physical and emotional terrorism against women. Rape culture is pervasive in our society. It encompasses not only individuals committing acts of violence, but also the whole social environment that surrounds them, which produces indifference and normalization of this violence. By this I do not mean to say that individuals are not responsible for their actions, but that the social context in which we live lays the roots for the birth of misogyny and gender violence.

Considering this, what we can act on is how to stop this violence before it happens, through changing the socio-cultural context that makes this violence possible and then how to act when it occurs in a community (by community I mean any group of friends, political groups, and communities that share collective intentions, such as support groups, etc.). I don't think there are recipes or ready-made solutions for this, and I think those who propose easy solutions are often unwilling to change the roots of the problem. I would like to focus particularly on the second point, but I think it is intrinsically related to the first. There are different models of dealing with cases of assaults, such as the idea of "let's lock them all in cages and throw away the key," which is characteristic also of a certain punitive feminism, defined by Françoise Vergès as "that ideology which, basing itself on notions of dangerousness and security, advocates for the courts to judge more severely and with longer prison sentences, or for an increase in surveillance and control measures." In my opinion, this model of punitive justice is fallacious in that, first of all, it does not aim to prevent cases of harassment from occurring (because, as mentioned, it is not a problem created by a few individual monsters) and secondly, because it does not see the possibility of transformation and change for those who have caused harm.

One idea that I think could be an interesting starting point for dealing with cases of harassment and abuse in community settings is that of transformative justice. I do not have the time, nor do I think the skills to deal with it in detail, but I would like to mention it because I think it could offer insight into the concept that you can then explore further if you wish. The latter, unlike other conceptions such as restorative justice, does not rely on the state as the resolver of the harm caused, but starts from the idea that when abuse happens, it is possible to engage in a collective response by taking responsibility, according to the material possibilities of the group. It starts with genuinely listening to the wishes of those who have suffered the violence and an honest taking of responsibility and accountability from those who have committed it. I use the term accountability as it emphasizes not only simple responsibility of the harm caused, but also an understanding of the effects that a given behaviour has had on others and the ability to be part of the change necessary for the behaviour not to be repeated.

How to apply this concept to real-life situations of sexual abuse is clearly complex. Firstly, it requires the willingness of the person that has suffered from the abuse to desire the start of this process. Secondly, on the part of the community, to acknowledge even collective responsibility for the harm caused and to collectively take action to ensure that it does not happen again. Finally, a willingness on the part of the perpetrator to embark on a transformative individual journey aimed at ensuring that they do not commit abuse again.

There are a number of authors who have explored this topic, with some drawing from real situations of abuse from which they try to build pathways to transformative justice. At the end of the article, I provide a list of a few titles for anyone who may have found an interesting point in my words and would like to explore the topic further.

Adrienne Maree Brown (2020), *We Will Not Cancel Us. And Other Dreams of Transformative Justice*, AK Press, Chico-Edimburgo

Jokin Azpiazu Carballo (2017), *Masculinidades y feminismo*, Virus Editorial, Barcellona

bell hooks (2003) *The Will to Change: Men, masculinity, and love*

Palomba Giusi (2023), *La trama alternativa. Sogni e pratiche di giustizia trasformativa contro la violenza di genere*, minimum fax, Roma

Beyond Men and Masculinity, available on the site The Future is Humane



are YOU A



WITCH?

PICTURE CT5r a-jps 001 HD
7386 14-1 N N-1 NNZ102/100

A quiz brought to you by the Salem witch-hunting committee

Rebeka & Sophie

1. Are you a man?
2. Do you have one or more female friends?
3. Have you ever had any disagreements or arguments (and are not a man)?
4. Are you over 40?
5. Do you go to church?
6. Have you seen a ghost or spirit?
7. Are you childless?
8. Are you a healer?
9. Have you ever been blamed for someone's misfortunes?
10. Have you been called "stubborn", "strange", "eccentric" or "antisocial"?
11. Do you have a mole, birthmark, scar, or third nipple?
12. Have you had sex out of wedlock (and, again, are not a man)?
13. Has butter or milk spoilt in your fridge?
14. Do you dress differently from everyone (not have puritanical fits)?
15. Do you talk to yourself?
16. Do you have a cat?
17. Do you have any mental illnesses or health issues?
18. Are you left-handed?
19. Do you have dyslexia or a stutter?
20. Finally, can you support yourself financially?

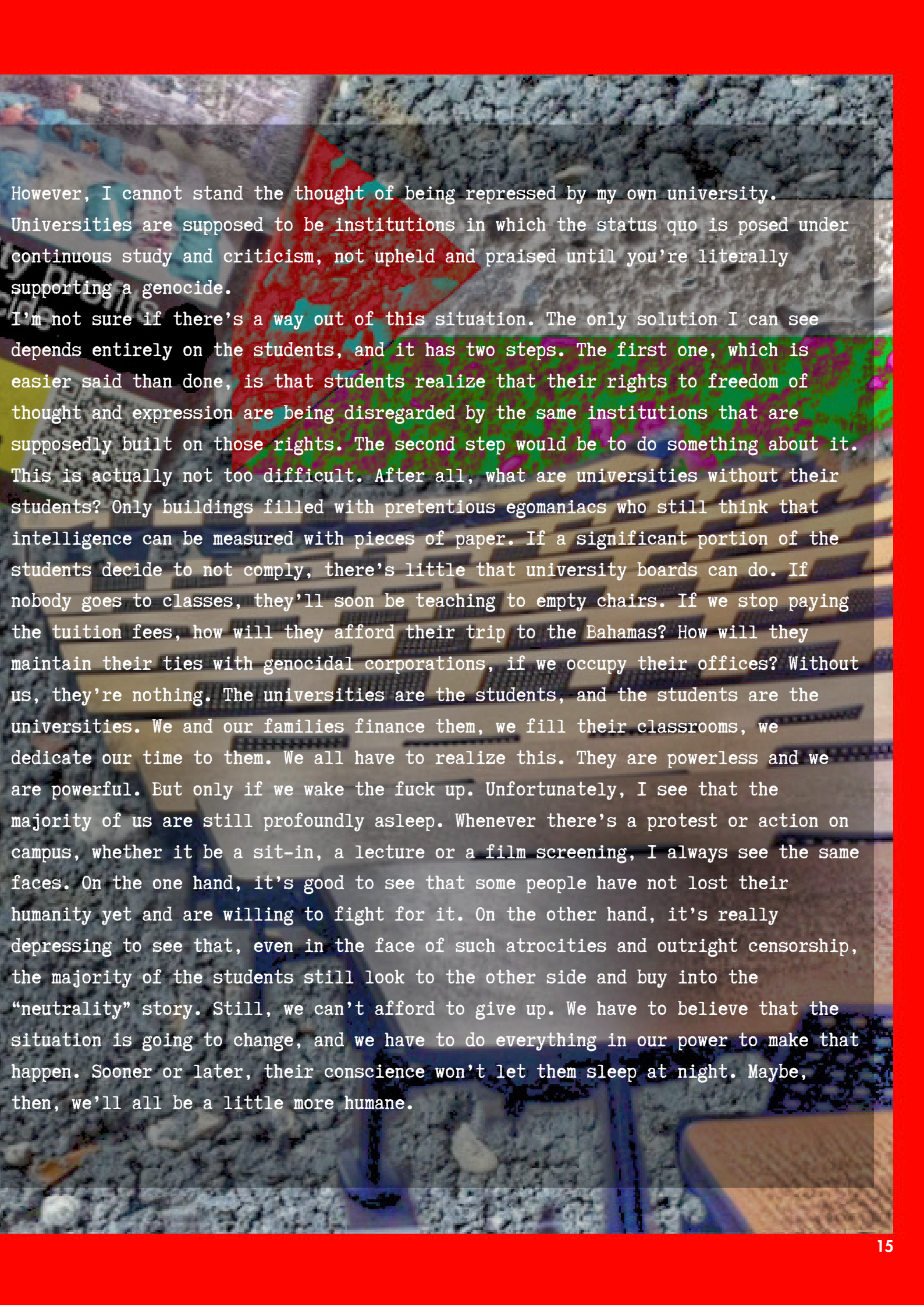
Answers on page 25

Your university supports genocide

Adriano

When it comes to defending “the only democracy in the Middle East”, the neoliberal establishment -of which our universities are a critical part- won't stop in front of anything. It won't stop in the face of genocide. It won't stop after more than ten thousand children have been murdered. It won't stop after entire cities have been reduced to rubble. It won't stop after the bullets, the bulldozers, the prisons, the tanks, the bombs. It just won't fucking stop. And in the name of what? Democracy? Freedom? Is this what they look like? If this is it, sign me up for dictatorship. Not even the universities, the same universities that pretend to be at the forefront of social change, have done a thing to stop all of this. On the contrary, they keep actively supporting the genocidal entity. They do this in three ways. Firstly, they maintain academic ties with universities in Israel, which develop weapons and killing machines used in the genocide of the Palestinian people. Secondly, they form partnerships with multinationals, like HP, Carrefour and Amazon, that finance and support the terrorist state of Israel in its imperialist aims. Lastly, and most worryingly of all, they repress and censor pro-Palestine and anti-imperialist narratives and activists. Across the world, many students and staff members have decided to speak up against genocide, organizing teach-ins, protests, lectures and actions in solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle. These activities have been labeled as “dangerous” and “unsafe”, and have thus been routinely repressed by the university boards. Methods of repression have ranged from threatening lecturers and students with sanctions, to calling the cops to beat up and arrest students on campus, as happened in October at La Sapienza University in Rome. Obviously, it's not only universities that do this. All kinds of institutions, from the police to football championships, have censored and repressed manifestations of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. The difference, though, is that I can expect to be repressed by the police, that's what it was created for, after all.





However, I cannot stand the thought of being repressed by my own university. Universities are supposed to be institutions in which the status quo is posed under continuous study and criticism, not upheld and praised until you're literally supporting a genocide.

I'm not sure if there's a way out of this situation. The only solution I can see depends entirely on the students, and it has two steps. The first one, which is easier said than done, is that students realize that their rights to freedom of thought and expression are being disregarded by the same institutions that are supposedly built on those rights. The second step would be to do something about it. This is actually not too difficult. After all, what are universities without their students? Only buildings filled with pretentious egomaniacs who still think that intelligence can be measured with pieces of paper. If a significant portion of the students decide to not comply, there's little that university boards can do. If nobody goes to classes, they'll soon be teaching to empty chairs. If we stop paying the tuition fees, how will they afford their trip to the Bahamas? How will they maintain their ties with genocidal corporations, if we occupy their offices? Without us, they're nothing. The universities are the students, and the students are the universities. We and our families finance them, we fill their classrooms, we dedicate our time to them. We all have to realize this. They are powerless and we are powerful. But only if we wake the fuck up. Unfortunately, I see that the majority of us are still profoundly asleep. Whenever there's a protest or action on campus, whether it be a sit-in, a lecture or a film screening, I always see the same faces. On the one hand, it's good to see that some people have not lost their humanity yet and are willing to fight for it. On the other hand, it's really depressing to see that, even in the face of such atrocities and outright censorship, the majority of the students still look to the other side and buy into the "neutrality" story. Still, we can't afford to give up. We have to believe that the situation is going to change, and we have to do everything in our power to make that happen. Sooner or later, their conscience won't let them sleep at night. Maybe, then, we'll all be a little more humane.

HOUSE RULES AND HYPOCRISY: HOW THE UVA SUPPRESSES STUDENT ACTIVISM

“The UvA strives to be an inclusive university, a place **where everyone may develop to their full potential** and feel welcome, safe, respected, supported and valued (...) We want to become a university that **fight discrimination in all forms** and anchors social justice in institutional equity, inclusion, and diversity-related policy”.

- Uva Mission and Vision Statement

“Not permitted are **expressions of a cultural, political and/or religious nature** (...) and the **organization of activities** and/or the distribution of written or oral information **with the above purpose**, such as putting up posters, handing out flyers, submitting magazines or placing stands.”

- UvA House Rules

If you are a student reading these two excerpts for the first time, you might be somewhat surprised. After all, it seems they are rather contradictory. On the one hand, an assurance that our university wants students to develop beyond mere scientific attainment, combined with a bold call to struggle for social justice. On the other, a formulation that effectively bans any public action on UvA campuses that might actually aim to fight for that same social justice. This apparent contradiction, however, is completely intentional on our university's part.

What is necessary to understand when looking at UvA policies is that this university is not, as one might mistakenly think, an open space for free debate and dissemination of knowledge. Instead, the way it functions is more akin to a corporation, regardless of its public status. Therefore, the primary concern of our university's administration is neither broadening the scope of public and scientific debate nor is it guiding the students to “develop to their full potential”. To put it bluntly, its overriding goals are making money and building connections with influential actors (the latter, of course, helps with the former).

Still, as most major corporations do nowadays, UvA cannot openly speak of their real aims. After all, who would want to study at a place that does not care about them beyond their tuition? So, they engage in all kinds of pseudo-inclusive activity that doesn't really have any positive impact on the world but sounds nice in advertisements. There are examples of this everywhere; we have UvA talking at length about the climate crisis, while at the same time taking money from Shell, one of the worst global polluters. We hear them talking about making all students feel welcome, while at the same time cooperating with regimes that bomb their families. We have them “commit” to the “emancipation” of the LGBTQ+ community while working with Israel, a state that threatens to out queer people in Palestine if they don't become informants of its secret police. In short, nearly everything they say is completely hypocritical.

But what does this hypocrisy have to do with the House Rules? Well, they exist to ensure that nobody can visibly call them out on it. They are the rotten reality of UvA student life, hidden behind the elegant façade of their “statements” and “commitments”. And they aren’t some relic of the past, a dead rule inherited from a bygone era. They were, and are, enforced whenever the administration believes itself threatened, in one way or another. Last year, when students were protesting against, among other things, the partnership with Shell, the Board called the cops on them, for the crime of trying to stay in one of the buildings during the night. This year they went even further, completely closing off the main hall of the ABC building (Roeterseiland campus) for half a day, with students still inside, because of a planned pro-Palestine demonstration.

Of course, these rules aren’t enforced consistently, nobody for instance was punished for opposing the Russian invasion of Ukraine. But, every time an action threatens the Board’s bottom line, it suddenly finds itself targeted by all measures at the administration’s disposal. Their arbitrariness is seen best in changing interpretations of the rules. Last year, the Board said that all protesting is allowed as long as it’s not overnight. This year, it was allowed if they were informed beforehand. The most recent interpretation (only revealed during the meeting with the student council which nobody goes to) saying that only protests regarding university politics are permitted (the Board, of course, being the ones determining where university politics end and all other politics being).

Finally, someone might ask us why we even want to protest all these things. Surely, there are “official” ways of promoting change at our university, such as the student council. The answer to this is simple; it does not work. Whenever the Board meets with the students, at best, we get noncommittal promises to “look into” potential changes. At worst, our representatives are targets of veiled insults. One member was called “privileged in thinking that somebody should cook for them” by a member of the board, for daring to suggest that the prices at the canteen should be set at an affordable level. We are not partners to them, we are at best, customers, and at worst, subjects.

All of this shows that the time for measured and conciliatory action has passed. The Board had years to show goodwill towards the students and they squandered it, showing that the only way for us to achieve anything is through direct action. Now, it is our responsibility, as students and workers, to fight them with all that we have. We must be loud; we must be disruptive. We must show all those who are willing to see and listen, especially those who study or consider studying at the UvA, how dissident voices are suppressed. We must break their attempts at silencing us. We must fight until we force them to listen to us, and we must fight Until. We. Win.



When I was deciding what kind of program to pursue as a master's in political science one thing was very clear to me. Please let me talk about the economy. Time and time again my lecturers and advisors would ask me to please keep my focus on “politically relevant” topics and to stop writing essay after essay about wages, markets, and crises. This kind of political science that reduces politics to elections, states and democracy was so incredibly boring to me that learning about the “political economy” master program here at the UvA felt like the only way I could rekindle my toxic relationship with the social sciences. Political Economy, the discipline of Ricardo, Smith and most importantly, Marx and Engels, that explains what happens in politics as the outcome of trends and developments in the economy (and vice versa) is so obviously correct to me that I basically immediately decided to enroll in the program. Of course, I knew it wasn't going to be a Marxist course, but I was not prepared for just how much it was exactly the opposite. This essay is a quick overview of the kinds of theories and worldviews that I was taught in my two semesters studying PE at the UvA and why I think they're wrong.

What I was most shocked by is that despite expecting to learn how trends in the economy influence politics, how on a very basic level, for example, people's material interests as workers, students, business owners etc. may influence the kinds of societies they exist in, the main thrust of main-stream PE seems to be obsessed with the question of why society exists at all.

The dominant ideological underpinnings of main-stream PE are two ideas: methodological individualism and utility maximization. This view of economics is called “neo-classical economics” and is the theoretical expression of hyper-capitalist, pro-market, and anti-regulation policies. Methodological individualism means that PE is committed to the idea that all social processes have to originate in the individual. But not in the individuals as they actually exist; people with ideas, preferences, relationships and social ties, but in the individual as an abstract, sovereign agent that freely determines what kind of social bonds they engage in. These individuals then make choices based on maximizing their own utility, i.e. people choose what they think they gain most from, no matter how you may define that. Given these assumptions, it is pretty obvious that explaining why states, societies, families, corporations or any kind of collectivity exists at all is pretty difficult. Why the hell should the perfectly sovereign individual give up their freedom and subordinate themselves to a state or form a constitution? This is why a lot of ink is



spilled in PE to justify why forming states or societies is actually beneficial to the individual, with some disagreeing as to the extent or power of that state. Nobel prizes are handed out like candy for someone to discover that actually living in a society is a good thing and that roads are, generally, kind of useful.

But isn't this incredibly backwards? Obviously, societies and states exist. People have always existed in some collectively organized form and, if we decide not to go extinct, will continue to do so. What kind of science starts with an incredibly abstracted and incorrect assumption about human nature and then tries to "explain" why society exists? It's as if chemistry started by assuming how atoms functioned and then, only later, came around to thinking about why solids dissolve in acid. If your scientific approach makes something that obviously exists, basically impossible then it just isn't true. A good example of this is the so-called "Washington consensus" which is basically the neo-liberal creed for how a society develops. The only problem with it is that it doesn't work. With very few exceptions, applying the Washington consensus has had either no effect or simply further impoverished the country in question. This is an established and accepted fact. Why does this not lead to the underlying economic logic being questioned? How can a theory that has been applied to different cases and has never really worked not be accepted as simply not true? Literally, what else has to happen to prove it to be incorrect?

The answer is obviously that there is nothing that can happen, there is no way to disprove hyper-capitalist economics because it's a theory that exists not as the product of academic rigor but class interest. Political economy of this character functions to justify existing social relations, it is a science of the powerful, if it is science at all.

When Marx and Engels formulated their critique of political economy they also started from an abstract notion, value, to only then move on to explaining the surface elements of capitalism, the wage relationship, the market, money etc. The difference is that they were able to demonstrate that you could understand capitalism BETTER by employing these abstract concepts because they start by looking at the way commodities are actually produced: in both senses of the word, by lots of people and for lots of people. Neo-classical economics and the political economy built on top of that actively obscures capitalism and the class relationship underlying it. It denies the fact that we aren't simply individuals but that we are individuals in class society and that our choices and preferences are structured along these class lines. It is not able to predict or explain what's going on in the real world, the world not of abstract utility maximising individuals but of real people, workers and capitalists, exploiters and exploited.



HANDCUFFING THE MIND: THE CASE OF ALGIRDAS PALECKIS

ALGIRDAS PALECKIS, A CONTROVERSIAL SOCIALIST LEADER IN LITHUANIAN POLITICS IS NOW AT THE CENTER OF A LEGAL BATTLE THAT RAISES CONCERNS ABOUT FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE POSSIBILITY OF PERSECUTION. PALECKIS SERVED BOTH AS A DIPLOMAT AND A MEMBER OF THE LITHUANIAN PARLIAMENT. HIS LIFE CHANGED DRASTICALLY FOLLOWING HIS ARREST IN 2018 ON CHARGES OF ESPIONAGE FOR RUSSIA, LEADING TO A SIX-YEAR PRISON SENTENCE IN 2021.

INCARCERATED AT KAUNAS REMAND PRISON, PALECKIS HAS TURNED TO ORGANIZING TENNIS TOURNAMENTS AND TEACHING ENGLISH CLASSES TO FELLOW INMATES, AN UNEXPECTED TWIST IN THE LIFE OF A FORMER ASSEMBLYMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE. HIS IMPRISONMENT STEMS FROM ACCUSATIONS THAT HE COLLECTED SENSITIVE INFORMATION ABOUT THE JANUARY 1991 EVENTS, WHEN 14 CIVILIANS WERE KILLED AS THE BALTIC NATION SOUGHT INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. SPECIFICALLY, PALECKIS IS ACCUSED OF GATHERING DETAILS ON INVESTIGATORS, AND JUDGES RELATED TO THE EVENTS OF 1991.

HOWEVER, PALECKIS HAS NOT DENIED COLLECTING INFORMATION BUT CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN INVESTIGATING AS A JOURNALIST TO WRITE A BOOK ABOUT THE EVENTS. IT IS ALSO NOT THE FIRST TIME PALECKIS HAS FACED PROSECUTION RELATED TO THE EVENTS OF 1991. IN 2012, HE WAS FOUND GUILTY OF DENIAL OF SOVIET AGGRESSION WHEN HE CLAIMED TO HAVE FOUND SEVERAL WITNESSES INDICATING THAT THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT WAS AT LEAST PARTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BLOODSHED, ALLEGING THAT LITHUANIAN SNIPERS WERE INSTRUCTED TO SHOOT CIVILIANS TO GENERATE NATIONALIST SYMPATHY.

PALECKIS' LEGAL TROUBLES CONTINUE WHILE INCARCERATED AS WELL. IN NOVEMBER 2023, A NEW TRIAL AGAINST PALECKIS BEGAN FOR MAKING CALLS FROM PRISON TO AN ONLINE NEWS SHOW. PALECKIS IS ACCUSED OF BELITTLING THE USSR'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR GENOCIDE AND PEOPLE'S DEATHS IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND DISPARAGING THE ARMED RESISTANCE AGAINST SOVIET OCCUPATION. ADDITIONALLY, PALECKIS IS ACCUSED OF SLANDERING A HIGH-RANKING CONSERVATIVE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT BY CALLING HIM A FASCIST.

PALECKIS, GRANDSON OF THE SOVIET-INSTALLED PRESIDENT JUSTAS PALECKIS, WAS ONCE A POLITICAL STAR IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE LARGEST PARTY IN LITHUANIA. HOWEVER, HIS HARD STANCES AGAINST NATO AND CAPITALISM HAVE LED TO HIS EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY. PALECKIS, IN TURN, FOUNDED THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT, A MINOR POLITICAL PARTY IN LITHUANIA THAT SAW LIMITED ELECTORAL SUCCESS.

PALECKIS REMAINS A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE IN LITHUANIA AND HIS VERSION OF EVENTS OF 1991 IS DIFFICULT TO VERIFY. HOWEVER, THE LEGAL ACTIONS AGAINST PALECKIS IN LITHUANIA FOR HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS POSE A SIGNIFICANT THREAT TO THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH. FURTHERMORE, HIS RECENT IMPRISONMENT FOR THE SPYING ALLEGATIONS HAS RAISED EYEBROWS. THE MAIN WITNESS IN THE CASE AGAINST PALECKIS, WHO CONFESSED TO SPYING FOR RUSSIA TOGETHER WITH PALECKIS A MONTH PRIOR, WAS ARRESTED FOR POSSESSION OF CHILD PORNOGRAPHY, LATER ADMITTING TO SPYING, THEN RETRACTING HIS STATEMENT AND THEN CONFESSING AGAIN. FOR HIS CONFESSION, THE WITNESS WAS RELEASED FROM ANY PUNISHMENT COMING FROM HIS ALLEGED SPYING.

PALECKIS CLAIMS THAT THE SINGLE WITNESS AGAINST HIM HAS BEEN CO-OPTED BY THE STATE SECURITY DEPARTMENT OF LITHUANIA TO NEUTRALIZE PALECKIS AS A POLITICAL FIGURE. PALECKIS HAS CONTINUED TO PROFESS HIS INNOCENCE. HE CLAIMS THAT THE LITHUANIAN AUTHORITIES ARE PERSECUTING HIM FOR HIS IDEAS. PALECKIS REMAINS DEFIANT BEHIND BARS, WRITING, "YOU CANNOT KILL AN IDEA" IN HIS BOOK "HANDCUFFS FOR THE MIND."



ZAPIS

BY CECI

For many, traveling, going back home, or moving to a new country is a mere adventure: passport control is a routine check and a small inconvenience. For others, it is a moment of tensiity, and a risk.

When walking through the Roissy-Charles de Gaulle airport (or CDG), after passing security, near the boarding gates, you are bathed in a place full of overpriced aliments, duty-free paradise, and gigantic advertisement screens. You can sit down, rest, and wait till the boarding starts. You can sit down and rest if your documents aren't suspicious, if your passport has the biometric sign, and it's a bonus if it is one of the Schengen area's permitted travelers. After boarding, once sat, the view out the window is one full of planes in their unstoppable traffic. Yet what is overlooked is right between the airstrips, an establishment surrounded by high fences, a gray building with two floors, and passengers deprived of the liberty they see the planes run off with. This house is a ZAPI, "zone d'attente pour personnes en instance" ("Waiting Zones for People in Proceedings"), it is where recently arrived foreigners who are denied entry are placed. There, the conditions are similar, if not identical, to prison.

Before being put in ZAPIs, passengers go through thorough questioning by the PAF (Border Police), in order to determine whether they constitute a "migration risk" or "suspicious entry". If someone announces they plan on seeking asylum in french territory, they are also placed in ZAPIs. In the ZAPI, the atmosphere becomes one of surveillance, anxious feelings, blended with loud noises from the nearby aircraft lanes. Disregard for basic sanitation, non-existence of privacy, no provision of menstrual products are important aspects of the detainee's experience.

There are three ZAPIs in france. The biggest one finds itself in the Roissy-Charles De Gaulle airport, it is the only one with a capacity for sleeping, it is where 90% of all placements on french territory happen. The second zone is an intermediate waiting area in the Orly airport that only functions during the day and can host up to 25 people. The last ZAPI is in Marseille, where reports from the General Controller of Places of Deprivation of Liberty, (an independent actor insuring that prisons, psychiatric hospitals and other detaining places respect basic requirements) show that accommodation is not assured, the rules of procedure are only translated into the six UN languages, and the absence of consistent juridical help leads to a lack of knowledge of primordial rights (such as access to a doctor, interpret, to ask for asylum at any time, to communicate with a lawyer or anyone else and receive their visits, and to ask to leave french territory to go to another one where they are permitted entry). ZAPIs are a specific form of "zone d'attente" (waiting zone), but any place can be a zone d'attente in airports or on borders. This is also dangerous, as border police can categorize any space as a waiting zone and put people in to wait.

The catch of these zones is their legal confusion, one that makes us question the relationship between legality and legitimization, violence and law. As Chowra Makaremi explains, the notion of "jurisdictional fiction" can be applied to this case, as a law practice that supposes acting as if something is true when it has been proven false, which here translates into knowing that the airport's international zone is not french territory, yet french authorities invest reglementary practices in these zones, assigning the border police to control foreigners denied entrance. Placing this control in a zone with no clear jurisdictional status is used to the benefit of french administration; it allows for them to enshrine it in a zone where nothing is defined. These practices of detention become the reality the government decides to impose, creating a habit out of them. Importantly, this type of detention is not controlled by french criminal law but is in the hands of the border police.

Unfulfilled living conditions are not known to the public, as these processes of rejection are hidden; it would contrarily stain the state's tolerant image. There is blood on the hands of european border control and police, but it is blood they wash off so carefully, in secret spaces, in the prohibited zones of airports; the ones they do not allow anyone to see. It is where they themselves break their own rules, where they treat people as less than civilians, strip them of their liberties and willfully bury their rights. How can the french state and its justice system be legitimized if it perpetuates the persecution and exclusion of groups determined by their ethnicity, religion and race?

The basis of european justification for border control, the myth of incapacity, transforms the detention, arrest and forced exclusion of foreigners into a "needed" administrative management for european states, which finds itself at crossroads with xenophobic and racist rhetoric. Detention zones can then express governmental administrative violence, through a rationalization and dehumanization of detention practices (categorizing and sorting people), with these spaces representing the french state's lines of national and political exclusion. Migrants have been degraded in European media and political discourse for decades. Their constant dehumanization pleases far-right sentiments and falls into useful argumentation for hypocritical criticism of overpopulation and the housing crisis. Border control and all procedural schemes only continue to enforce existing oppression. ZAPs, and all other migration detention centers in europe kill and traumatize, it is a place full of anxiety and human degradation. Their abolishment is imperative.

For more information on legal processes and organizations which focus on providing assistance to detained people I highly recommend looking into the Anafé or Gisti websites. Additionally, this article: « Zones of No-Right » in Democracy, Emotions and the Law, by Chowra Makaremi.

Balding

By Logan Hathaway-Williams

I caught four fish in the pond today. My fingers were left in opposite directions from their thrashing, but four fish would be enough to feed the children for days. Enough time to twist my fingers back into their natural state. Enough time to forget to flinch at the sight of a scale.

I climb out of the pond and begin the long walk home; the weight of the fish on my shoulder lightens the pain of my mangled fingers. I can see the path whittled down by my 5, 10, 20 year old self. The forest floor has remembered my footprints and kept them sacred in its soil. But the men from far away have wrestled away the same trees I had seen grow from seedlings to giant nooks of shade. The men stepped into our forest and left it with a spill of treeless meadows in their wake. No flies swarm where they once stood and the forest encircles their absence in silent waiting. The footprints that circle around the trees now seem as if someone had walked here in a drunken stumble, weaving in and out of invisible barriers.

My footprints weave aimlessly in front of me and I can see too far ahead. The once thick forest is now balding, stray hairs of trees clinging to the soil they will soon lose. I feel the unease rising in the forest around me, the plants and trees splayed out ahead rest limply; they know what will soon come. The fish know too. They wriggle and jump; tails and mouths slip out of the bag on my shoulder. I try to push the fish down, but they are strong and my fingers shrink back at the sight of them.

I can't keep walking along this bare, stripped path: the fish will soon be lost in the dirt. I turn towards the knotted vines beside me and press into them. The vines are thick, but once through, the forest is just as it was when I was first learning how to fish; this side has seen no tree-robbing men. I continue with no footprints to guide me; the smell of smoking fruit drags me home instead.

As I get further from the bald forest, the plants grow taller and they flick the bugs from my face. They trace my eyebrows with the spines of their leaves and wrestle the spiders nestling in the hairs. The plants cling to me and murmur to me that I should sink down in this very spot in the jungle and give my body up for these plants. Give my hands, tongue, hips- all to them. Let myself turn into a beautiful hydrangea and allow my thin green arms to furrow out of my sleeve.

Petals tighten against my stomach and roots curl towards me. Leaves are blurring my vision now; in front of me, the old tree convulses as all of her leaves desert her - the young green leaves slip from the tight hold upon their mother- they are glad to flutter down and rot on the forest floor as close to me as they can be.

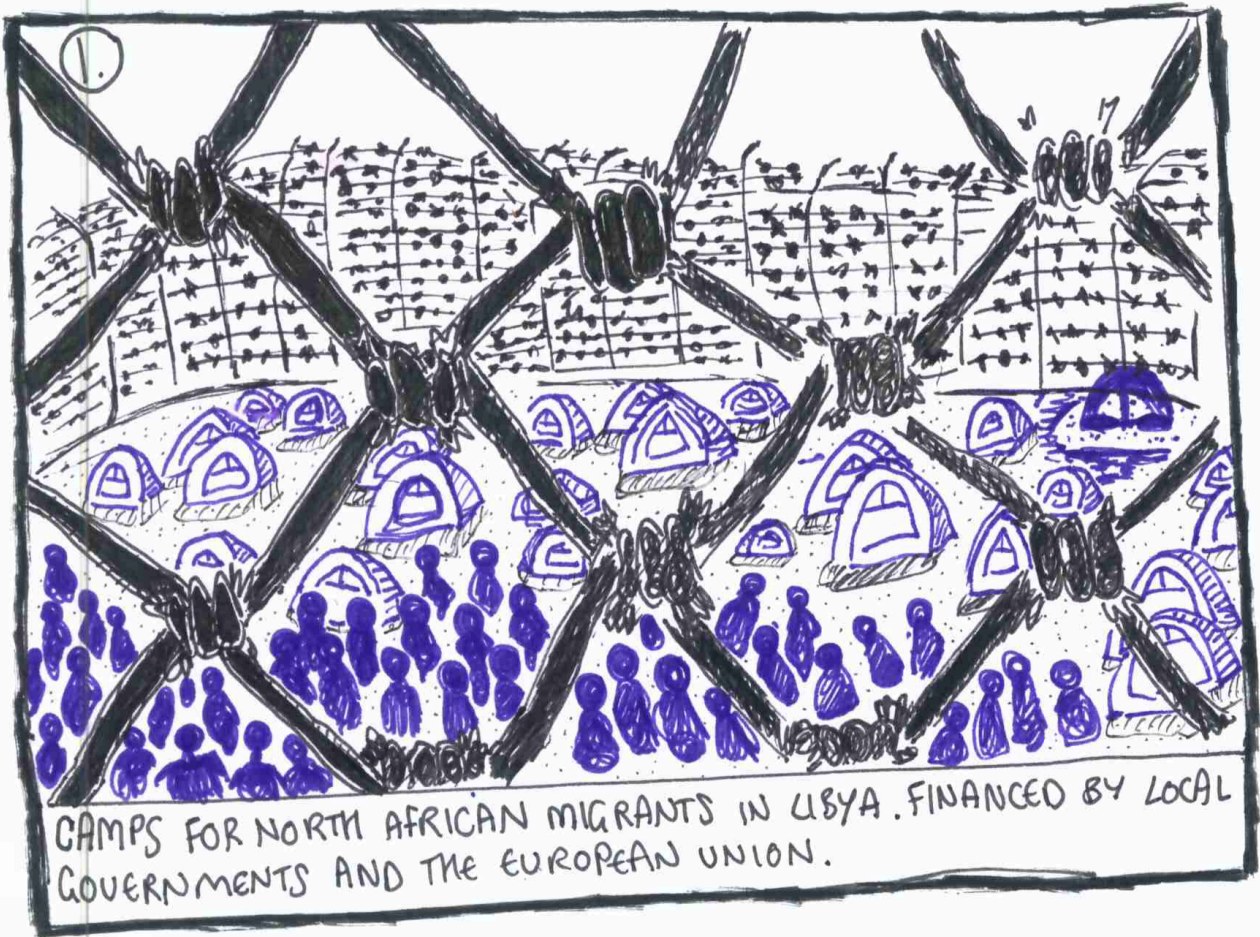
Thousands of leaves twirl onto me, thousands more plummet: stems pointed towards the sky so that no sharp edge scratches me. My hair becomes matted from the wind created by the falling leaves, and they rejoice, the leaves that get to tangle in my hair and rest closer than their sisters, who have already begun to rot on the ground. The earth swallows under my feet and the ground shudders. Fat roots no longer slowly creep towards me but are bounding now, hammering themselves onto the ground to pull themselves closer to me.

I shrivel down into myself as if the forest baring down upon me would forget me if I compound into a small enough self. I tie and untie my bag, finally letting the fish wriggle towards pools of mud. I wait for the roots to return as the fish now have.

But the forest pays no notice. The trees around me are bent, their faces craning towards me along with the vines. But only the space where a face might have been; only the spines of trees tilt forward, for they have sacrificed their leaves for this moment with me. They stand leafless and rootless: naked under the sun. The mass of fallen leaves rises up to my thighs now and trembles with every new leaf. I see the shadow of the roots underneath them coming closer and closer, but most of all I can hear the roots: the gasp of the ground as the roots clamber to the surface and smash against it. The forest floor has been carved hollow to get closer to me. The knot of leaves has risen to my stomach. And I float with them. And I am sorry. The leaves, the soil, the trees who will soon shrivel and starve without their roots. My knees go weak and I slip into the shroud of leaves. I give myself over to them all. I will rot for them as they have for me.

answers

1. **Yes:** Although women were the main victims of the Salem witch trials, some men were also persecuted. And if you get through this quiz with at least some answers being yes; guess what? Probably still a witch!
No: Oh, do I have horrible news. If you're not a man, you are way more likely to be a witch. We follow the belief that women or anyone who isn't a man are inherently sinful (source: we did a study or whatever).
2. **Yes:** If you have female friends, we are sad to inform you that you have a coven! You are a witch!
No: Sucks to be you I guess- but hey, at least you're not a witch!
3. **Yes:** You're likely a witch and if you're unmarried, you definitely are.
No: Your youth keeps you safe! We're hoping there isn't a spell that's keeping you so young...
4. **Yes:** Glad to see you're God-fearing!
No: HOW DARE YOU, WITCH!
5. **Yes:** That's the devil's way of communicating with you!
No: No one is trying to contact you, I guess. But at least you're not a witch.
6. **Yes:** Any disagreements you may have had, you'd be seen as argumentative and thus **MUST** have been taken by the devil. So, you're a witch!
No: Congratulations, your compliance and silence indicate that you're likely too non-confrontational to be a witch!
7. **Yes:** That means you're bitter and curse other children, of course!
No: Keep shielding your children from witches then.
8. **Yes:** I'm sure you'd think this would be a good thing... It's not; witch spotted.
No: You're NOT a healer?? You must work on the side of evil. Be gone, witch!
9. **Yes:** If you've been blamed that means you did it; you're hands down a witch.
No: Then you've got no enemies, and you're not a witch...for now.
10. **Yes:** Those are undeniably witchy characteristics, you **CANNOT** be one of these and not cast spells. Sorry.
No: Well, it seems you've escaped those labels. But who's to say what mischief you might be up to behind closed doors? Keep us guessing!
11. **Yes:** Those are marks from the devil! You're a witch, there's no other explanation.
No: Remarkably unblemished, aren't we? But witches are cunning enough to conceal even their most telling marks. You're not in the clear yet!
12. **Yes:** You are most definitely a witch. This is **NOT** a normal thing to do, obviously.
No: Good to see you're keeping those puritanical values alive!
13. **Yes:** That's not good, you must have cursed it.
No: Your fridge seems to be in good order, free from any dairy-related hexes! Keep that butter churnin' and milk chillin'!
14. **Yes:** SHAME!
No: Your fit may not be fire, but at least you're not on fire.
15. **Yes:** That's only something a witch would do, so don't even think of denying it.
No: Keep those conversations internalised or risk our suspicion!
16. **Yes:** That's your familiar, WITCH!
No: You live a feline-free life, but your familiar may just be disguised as some other pet.
17. **Yes:** Oh, dear God I hope it's not hysterical! Be gone with your possession, you witch!
No: Thankfully, it appears the Lord has blessed you with good health and spared you from any afflictions that might be associated with witchcraft.
18. **Yes:** That is decidedly sinister, you have the mark of the devil, you witch.
No: Congratulations on being right-handed! However, you're right-handedness could all be a clever ruse. We're watching you.
19. **Yes:** Then you can't quote the Bible, you devil worshipper.
No: Good, but you better know your Bible verses.
20. **Yes:** You don't need support? You must be doing that through magic.
No: You can't? You're a witch then. #Classism





Upcoming Events

Women's Fight Against Imperialism

CREA Café, 17:00 – 21:00

29/04

01/05

International Workers' Day

Come check out our stand!
Museumplein, from 14:00

RUN Issue 02 Launch Party

To celebrate this masterpiece you have in your hands
Vondelbunker, time TBD

18/05

May-June

Rosa Luxemburg Educational Event

More info to come

Keep an eye on our Instagram for updated info: @rosaradicalstudents

ROSA

Radical Organization of Students in Amsterdam