

International Bulletin of the Revolutionary Youth



During the International Meeting of Young Revolutionaries, August 2023 - Picture taken for the "Free Azat" campaign, asking for freedom of Azat Miftakhov, Russian activist.

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Beyond borders : Unity of the revolutionary youth

In August 2023, at the initiative of the french section of the Fourth International, we, young revolutionaries from 9 countries, organised an international conference. We shared our experiences, showed the diversity of our struggles and exchanged points of view.

How to protect the environment ? Can we stop these wars that aren't ours ? How to end the double oppression of women ? What should we do against the rise of authoritarianism ?

Problematics are numerous and take multiple forms across the world, still all of them take root in the same evil : **the capitalist regime of exploitation**.

To put an end to this system that forces people into barbarity and drives humanity towards extinction, we need to fight the ones that nurture it : **our governments**.

This is a tribune for all the young people that share our goal, it's the continuity of our discussions, so it opens on the same words that concluded the conference :

Long live youth internationalism ! Hail to the socialist revolution !



Some introductory words...

by Ghazal Aziz

In the last week of August 2023, the youth of the French section of the Fourth International organized a three day international youth conference in Paris. In this meeting, young revolutionaries from all over France and other parts of the world participated, which included Palestine, Afghanistan, Portugal, Russia, Ukraine, United Kingdom, South Africa and USA, Mexico. Our aim was to create a constructive organizational framework where we could learn from each-other, share our thoughts and exchange ideas. Coming from different countries, we were able to

know the real firsthand experiences of what's going on in each part of the world. From the retirement protests in France to Russia-Ukraine war, to Palestine in apartheid and women in Afghanistan, the racism in South Africa and Mexico, and the environmental issues that we're facing globally. We discussed everything. Each one of us was able to talk about the problems we faced in our countries, how capitalism is the root cause to all our collective struggles, and what should be done. The unity among the working class is needed now more than ever, and for that reason we came up with the idea of

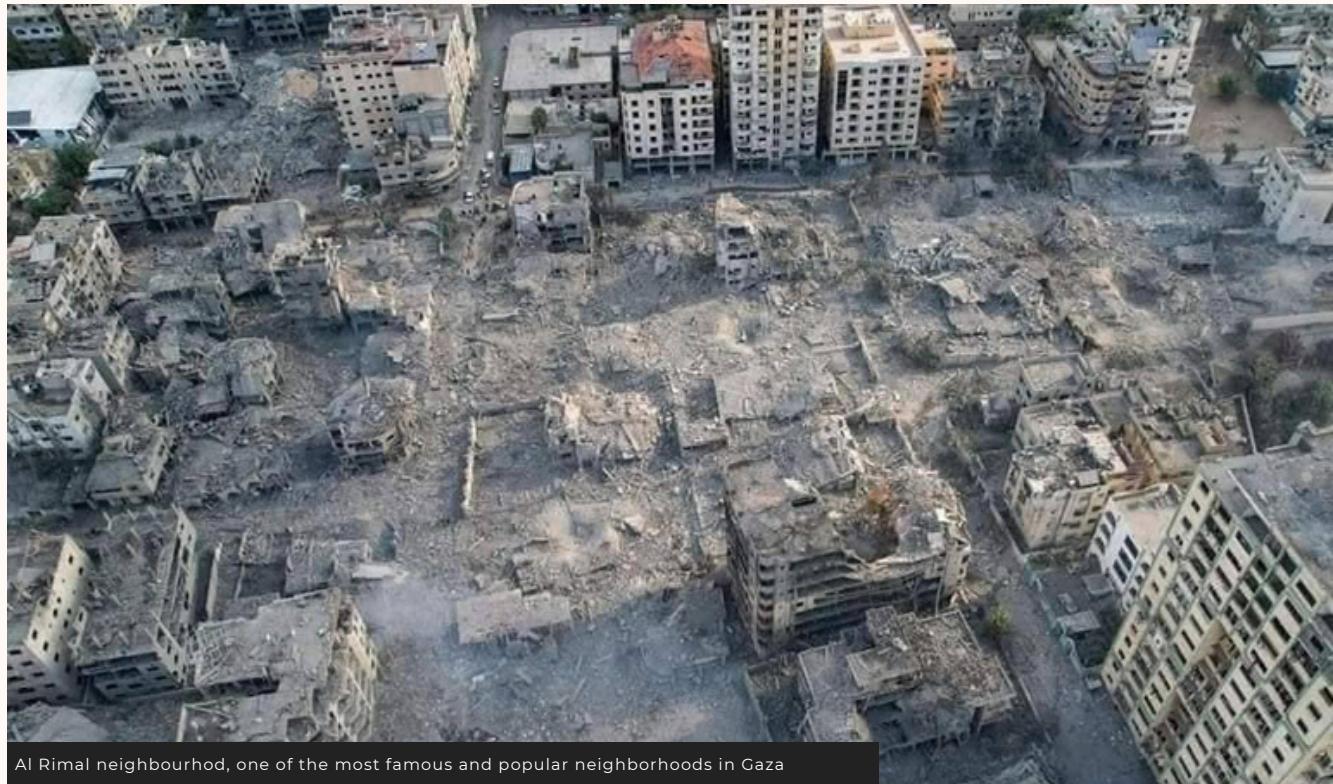
creating an International Committee of the Revolutionary youth. A place for the working class, for all revolutionaries, a place for fighters and for those who want to bring change. It is a committee founded by young revolutionaries who will not accept barbarism in any form anymore and who stands together in the face of capitalism. During our conversations, it appeared very clearly that even if class struggle often takes national forms, it is evidently an international struggle.



This International Bulletin is the committee's first act. It covers subjects that we dealt with in the youth conference and gives a clear insight of our in-depth discussion.

PALESTINE

We all have been horrified by the many civilian victims who have lost their lives since October 7, on both sides. We have received a contribution from a comrade in Palestine. We feel it is important to publish his account and discuss it with the young people around us. - French Publication Organising Committee



70 years of massacre of the Palestinian people

Imagine you're sitting at home, enjoying a nice meal with your family, then someone comes to knock on your door, helpless and needing a place to stay. You provide them with shelter and food and then the next morning you wake up to your family shot dead in your living room and a gun drawn to your head with that same person telling you that this is now their house. How would you feel? Would you try to settle things peacefully? Calmly? This has been the reality for Palestinians for over 70 years.

The Gaza Strip is made up of 2.3 million people living on 141 sq miles of land that is being controlled completely by the Israeli government. Their electricity, water, and food are controlled by the Israelis and they are constantly being deprived of their basic human rights. Essentially, the Gaza strip is currently a modern day concentration camp. During this war, Israel has completely cut off all food, water, and electricity for all of Gaza, this does not only mean that they are sitting in the dark and cold, it means no medical care for the injured (mostly children), no emergency surgeries, no live journalism to show the world what is going on. They do this on purpose because they don't want the world to see what they are doing to the Palestinian people.

PALESTINE

If you're watching the Western media, you will see that the Palestinians are acting in a "barbaric" fashion, beheading babies and raping women. All of which are completely false allegations, that the Israeli people themselves have debunked. The same resistance that Palestine is fighting for, the Ukrainian people were fighting, yet, the Palestinians aren't receiving the same support that they did. Instead, our children are being murdered. You may hear in the news for the people of Gaza to "run away", where shall they go? They do not have shelters like the Israelis do, nor do they have homes to hide away in. Over 500,000 people lost their homes in a span of 11 days. There have been over 3500 martyrs killed- more than 1200 of those being children and still counting. Unfortunately, some of the paramedics helping the injured have also been shot by rockets while driving the ambulances. Journalists there to spread the news, being violently killed, so none of this is seen. Many are confusing this war as a religious one, when in fact it is simply a war for basic human rights and resistance to occupation. The IDF advised the 1.1 million residents of Northern Gaza to leave and travel to Southern Gaza using a specific "safe" route. As the Palestinians were traveling on this route; some walking, some in cars, the route was bombed, killing hundreds who were escaping for safety. Over 200 civilians were killed while attempting to relocate. On October 16th, 2023 as Egypt was sending in aid for the Palestinians in Gaza through the Rafah Crossing they were forced to stop as the border was being bombed by the IDF. This prevented any aid such as; food, water, and basic medical supplies from entering the Gaza strip. Per the World Health Organization, as of 7:40 PM GMT, Gaza has less than 6 hours of water, electricity, and fuel left. By the time you are reading this, they will be completely out and thousands more will suffer and inevitably lose their lives. As of October 17th at 8:10 PM GMT Israeli airstrikes have struck the Al Ahli hospital in the center of Gaza, leaving over 500 martyrs and counting. This is ethnic cleansing before our eyes, a modern day genocide. Everyone needs to WAKE UP.



M.S

This contribution was finished on October 17th. The number of casualties corresponds to this date. As the figures go up every day, the numbers have increased since.

Our appeal : We must build international solidarity between youth and workers !

DECLARATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES – 28 AUGUST 2023

We are 68 young people from 9 countries. We have attended the International Conference of Young Revolutionaries organised by the French section of the Fourth International. We come from Ukraine, Russia, Afghanistan, Palestine, the United States, Mexico, Azania/South Africa, Portugal, England and France. For four days, we have discussed the problems faced by young people in our countries and around the world. We have exchanged ideas to better understand these problems and fight them more effectively.

This is what we state: the problems we are facing are the consequences of the capitalist system and its decomposition.

In Eastern Europe, the war that has been raging for over a year and a half is hitting hard at the Ukrainian population, a part of whom are forced into exile, and at Russian youth, driven to their deaths in a war that is not theirs. In Niger, French imperialism, defended by Macron, is preparing to retaliate against the population, which is legitimately demanding that French troops and multinationals leave the country.

We, young revolutionaries and internationalists, maintain that the enemy is in our own country, our own imperialist governments. They are the ones who fuel wars to defend the interests of their own bourgeoisie, at the expense of the working class and young people. **No Putin, no Biden, no Macron, no NATO! Withdraw Russian troops from Ukraine, withdraw NATO troops from Europe, withdraw French troops from Africa! Not one penny, not one weapon for the war in Ukraine!** The brutality of the capitalist system takes many forms. In Afghanistan, US

imperialism did not hesitate to resort to the fundamentalist and reactionary Taliban government in order to preserve its interests in the region. With the blessing of the US government, the Taliban are depriving Afghan women of every one of their most fundamental rights by placing them under the guardianship of the male members of their families. Throughout the world, in addition to capitalist exploitation, working women suffer particular forms of oppression and violence, sexism and patriarchy, which are rooted in this system of exploitation and strengthen it. Women are the first victims of the violence unleashed by the reactionary forces of capitalism.

We have heard young people from Palestine who brought testimonies on the fate suffered by the Palestinian people since 1947, and their legitimate aspirations to land, nationhood and the return of refugees. We share their conviction that there can be no democratic solution as long as apartheid and discrimination persist. We are opposed to any imperialist intervention on Palestinian national territory.

Because profit is the sole driving force behind capitalist production, our environment is under direct threat. The environmental disaster that especially threatens our generation is made possible by the survival of this system. More than ever, it is time to overthrow it, and replace it with a system that puts the needs of the majority before the profits of the minority: socialism.

As they target youth, future workers, capitalists seek to impose on them a future of precariousness. Through downgrading, uberisation, our generation is being handed up to unlimited exploitation. We do not want that future, we want genuine

diplomas, we want genuine jobs with living salaries.

To divide us, the capitalists do not hesitate to stir up racism or any other form of discrimination. The system which benefits only a minority of profiteers feeds on divisions in the majority of producers. To win, revolutionaries must reject these divisions and work for unity, which means fighting all forms of discrimination.

To defend themselves, capitalist states do not hesitate, when they can, to restrict democratic freedoms. In this global context of rising authoritarianism, we see the fight for democratic freedoms as fully part of our struggle to abolish capitalism once and for all. We want freedom for activists in Russia who are fighting against war and exploitation, like Azat Miftakhov. Freedom for all imprisoned working class activists throughout the world.

Against the barbarity into which the capitalist system is plunging us throughout the world, young people and workers have the same interests: to put an end to this system of war and misery. To achieve this, we need to fight for socialism. From Paris to Johannesburg, from Liverpool to Haifa, from Washington to Moscow and Mexicali, youth must fight hand in hand with workers. Only socialist revolution, i.e. the socialisation of the means of production by the working class, can put an end to capitalism, which is the rootcause of our problems.

There is only one youth, and it is international. **Wherever we are, let us organise to defend our rights, to put an end to capitalists' wars, and to bring about socialist revolution!**

PALESTINE

Echoes of Palestine: Resilience Amidst Conflict

by M.S



In the heart of the Middle East, amidst a complex and enduring conflict, lies a place where occupation has shaped the lives of millions for decades. Imagine a land where daily routines are punctuated by checkpoints, walls that divide communities, and a struggle for basic rights. This is the story of Palestine, a place where occupation has become a defining feature of existence.

In the tapestry of Middle Eastern history, the story of Palestine weaves a complex narrative, rich with both tragedy and resilience. Its origins are deeply rooted in the annals of time, where the tapestry begins to unravel. As we navigate through its intricate threads, we find ourselves confronting pivotal moments that have profoundly shaped the region. From the cataclysmic events of the 1948 Nakba to the seismic shifts of the 1967 Six-Day War, and from the indomitable spirit of Palestinian revolution to the fervor of the First Intifada, each chapter in this saga bears testament to the enduring human spirit. Yet, amidst these historic struggles, one cannot ignore the inextricable impact of the settlements

“In 1948, the Israeli occupation unleashed a series of brutal attacks on most Palestinian cities, forcing the inhabitants to flee or face violence and death.”

that were illegally built in the West Bank by Israelis, changing the very landscape and demographic makeup of this contested land. Today, the tapestry of Palestine stands as a living testament to a people's unwavering determination, enduring through generations of strife and uncertainty, all while its future remains uncertain. In this exploration, we shall delve into the origin of Palestine, tracing its historical roots. We will revisit the tumultuous events of the 1948 Nakba, which marked a turning point in the Palestinian experience. We will dissect the transformative Six-Day War of 1967, which had repercussions that reverberate to this day. The journey will also lead us through the resilient spirit of the Palestinian people, their struggles for self-determination, and

their fervent cries for justice, exemplified by the First Intifada. Furthermore, we shall examine the controversial issue of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, which has been a constant source of tension and conflict in the region. Finally, we will take a contemporary look at the state of Palestine today, as it continues to navigate the challenges and complexities of a long-standing conflict, seeking a path towards a more stable and peaceful future amidst the enduring echoes of its tumultuous past.

Transitioning from the promise of a national home for Jewish people in Palestine to the Nakba, one of the most tumultuous periods in Palestinian history, we witness the profound transformation of the land and its people.

The Nakba: Ethnic Cleansing and Displacement of the Palestinian Population.

In 1948, the Israeli occupation unleashed a series of brutal attacks on most Palestinian cities, forcing the

inhabitants to flee or face violence and death. This occupation, backed by support from numerous European countries, including France, to a staggering 129 massacres throughout Palestine, with the exact death toll remaining unknown. This catastrophic event resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, as their homes and lands were seized and annexed. A vast majority sought refuge in nearby Arab countries or anywhere they could find shelter. Yet, a resilient fraction of Palestinians chose to remain in their homeland, while others established refugee camps in the remaining 22% of non-occupied Palestine, then under Jordanian or Egyptian control. These camps were initially intended to be temporary, but as time went on, their inhabitants were forced to adapt to the harsh realities of life as refugees. Conversations with those who lived through this period reveal the immense challenges they faced.

The 1967 War: Expanding the Israeli Occupation

In 1967, the Israeli military seized the remaining portions of Palestine, marking the culmination of a six-day war that pitted Israel against six Arab countries: Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. The Arab nations, weakened at the time, faced a formidable Israeli occupation that was bolstered by extensive international support. Following this conflict, all of Palestine fell under Israeli rule. From 1967 to the present day, the Israeli occupation has persisted, characterized by the continued seizure of land, the perpetration of numerous massacres, and the loss of countless lives. Within the lands captured in 1967, the Israeli occupation initiated the construction of approximately 140 settlements. Several significant events have unfolded between 1967 and the present, with one of the most notable being the First Intifada in 1987. This grassroots uprising ignited on December 9th, 1987, when an IDF truck ran over six Palestinian workers in Jabalia Refugee

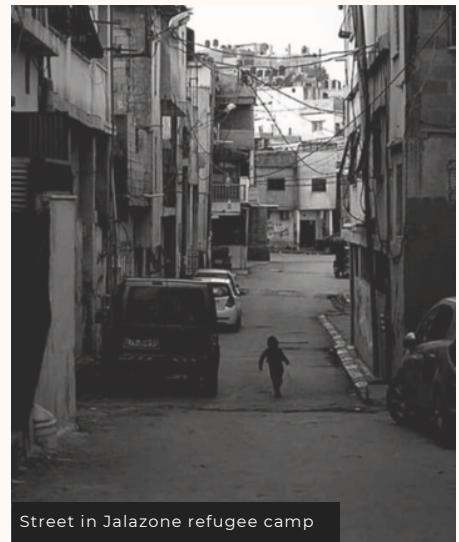
Camp. In response, Palestinians across the region initiated a series of protests and strikes. Armed only with stones, they faced heavily armed Israeli soldiers, raising their flag in defiance. While this uneven struggle saw over 2,000 Palestinians lose their lives, it demonstrated their unwavering determination and willingness to resist against overwhelming odds.

Currently, Palestine finds itself divided into four distinct regions by the Israeli army: the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem, and the territories occupied since 1948, now known as Israel. Within these territories, the Palestinian population stands at approximately 6 million individuals. Among them, 2.5 million are enduring life as refugees, either in camps or elsewhere within Palestine, while a staggering 6.4 million Palestinians reside in various corners of the world as refugees.

Inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza face stringent requirements for visiting Jerusalem or the Occupied Territories. Remarkably, despite having 260 kilometers of Mediterranean coastline and access to the Red Sea, over 3 million Palestinians are unjustly barred from enjoying their natural surroundings without securing prior permission, a near-impossible feat often involving elusive permits.

The Palestinian people endure the harsh realities of daily existence under the unwavering presence of the Israeli military. Families who sought refuge in camps 75 years ago continue to reside there, acutely aware that these are not their ancestral lands. Their hopes are bound to the day they can return to the villages and cities from which they were forcibly expelled. Tragically, lives are lost in peaceful protests on the streets, and families are stripped of their homes without explanation, a relentless cycle that shows no signs of abating. The sole path to halting this perpetual suffering is the cessation of occupation and the right of return for all Palestinian refugees. Each day represents an unwavering struggle for the liberation

of Palestine, a battle where men, women, and children stand unflinchingly, unafraid of the specter of death. They commit their lives as a solemn sacrifice, fully aware that their determination might one day yield the cherished freedom of their homeland.



Street in Jalazone refugee camp

EXTRACTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING

Discussion on war between a young Ukrainian and a young Russian

A. (Ukraine): "I would like to talk to you about the main issue in my country: the war. Things appear this way: the Ukrainian people are waging a defensive war against the Russian people. Many volunteer citizens believe in this version.

However, there are also many citizens who see the other side of this war and who benefits from this confrontation between the two peoples: speculators, arms merchants, oil magnates, and private arms manufacturers. Many Ukrainians know that many of their deputies make grand speeches about patriotism, but at the same time vote for anti-social laws.

These citizens know how, year after year, thousands of jobs, doctors, and teachers have been eliminated. They know how factories that whole towns depend on have been closed. This has happened under every President Ukraine had, and with the latest one, nothing has changed.

Seeing this, many Ukrainian citizens understand that fighting for the liberation of Ukrainian capital from Russian capital also requires freeing Ukrainian capital from the grip of American capital. Since 2014, from morning till night, we've been hearing the narrative 'Russia hates us and wants to invade us.' This is the narrative of nationalist groups, right-wing parties, but for most of the population, it's all nonsense, and people don't believe in it. Putin did nothing better than confirm this narrative that has been held for years. At the beginning of the Russian invasion in Ukraine, there was a real surge of patriotism. Anyone who said that it would have been better to make peace was accused of being for Ukraine's defeat. If you see Ukrainians on social media saying they are for

Ukraine's victory, it's because many people are afraid to say that they are for peace. It's not true that the majority is ready to die today. Both our peoples are already tired of this senseless war. They see that what's promised to them is death, far from grand speeches about a bright future. The working class manufactures the weapons for this war. It's the working class that dies in the trenches in this war. So, only the working class, once it's aware of being a class, can end this war. It's when this class becomes aware that the enemy is the one sitting in the palaces that it will be able to stop this war. And that's why the fundamental task is to build a revolutionary vanguard party capable of aiding this movement. Now, there is no such proletarian party in Ukraine, but organizations have already started working on building such a party."

E. (Russia): "If you want to understand why this war is taking place, you need to go back to the history of the workers' movement in Russia. **Putin regime, as a subjective factor, has risen on the weakening of the workers' movement.** It's the repression against trade union worker activists, the destruction of labor laws, and the limitation of the right to strike by law. There are also objective factors: the wave of deindustrialization in Russia over the last twenty years. Thousands of factories have been closed and liquidated, leading to a real atomization of the working class. I firmly believe that this is the result of the mission set by the ruling class. An atomized and divided workers' movement can't unite in one point to strike. If the workers' movement is weakened, the war can take place. Russia is a clear illustration of this truth. That's why this example is im-

portant and helps to understand the necessity of the unity of the working-class struggle, that the example of Russia can help you.

We need to fight French imperialism just as we fight Russian imperialism. The war has shown the reality of the communist movement worldwide. The weakness of the communist movement has led leaders to support one of the imperialist gangs. That's why it's necessary to strengthen ourselves so that our class can break the capitalist system, so that they can't impose war, inequality, and misery on us.

In Russia, there is also very aggressive propaganda to join private armies because powerful oligarchic structures have their private armies. In our country, most of the left-wing organizations do not have the courage to say: 'Russian troops must withdraw from Ukraine.' Opportunists say that Russian troops should not be withdrawn because it will cause destabilization. Today, in Russia, the resistance of Russian youth does not have a conscious character, no adherence to any particular ideology, but young people instinctively feel that by sending them to war, they are being sent to die for the interests of the rich.

AFGHANISTAN

Girls in Afghanistan are still banned from education

by Ghazal Aziz



Afghan girls in school before they were banned by the Taliban government

As many children are now preparing to go back to school, girls in Afghanistan are reminded of the day when they buried their dreams and hopes, two years ago in the month of September, 2021. They hold on to their old torn books, keep them close to their hearts because it reminds them of the good, beautiful days they once had. A recent United Nations report says that about **2.5 million Afghan girls, 80% of their age group, are currently excluded from education.** The Taliban's rule since 2021 has denied 1.2 million access to secondary schools and universities, with older women added to the ban in late 2022. Afghanistan is currently the only country in the whole world that has put a ban on women's education. For now, the Taliban only allows girls to go to school until grade sixth or their puberty. After that, the only option remains Madrassas for them, which is basically a place for Islamic studies only. Women are barred from public spaces, hospitals, shopping malls and everywhere else

unless they are accompanied by either their brother or father. They can't step outside alone.

In addition, they are required to follow a dress code of wearing a Burqa at all times, if not, they risk imprisonment of their male family members. Taliban couldn't care less about women's rights, their ambitions, skills, or education. Women mean nothing to them as long as the humanitarian aid is flowing in their pockets.

According to the United Nations there are about 2 million widows in Afghanistan. For most of these women the only source of income was running independent businesses like working in a beauty salon for example, but because of Taliban's ban on work for women, they are now jobless sitting at home.

For some of these women, due to extreme starvation, selling their kidneys and daughters remain the only way for survival. More than half of the country's 38 million population suffers from acute hunger with nearly 9 million

Afghans at risk of famine.

Over the span of 40 years of political conflict in Afghanistan, women 's rights and education have oscillated back and forth.

Since the reign of King Amanullah Khan, to the present regime of Taliban, women have seen all kinds of days. Brightest to darkest. From not allowing Afghan women to wear skirts to not allowing them to leave the home alone, we have been used as nobodies, only as as pieces of chess by whoever was in power.

It is not fair, especially not in today's era and time that anyone has to fight so hard for such a basic right as education. But it's been 2 years that Afghan women are fighting for this very basic right among other things and the whole world is silent. Nobody is taking any action towards it because apparently this issue doesn't seem so big but what they don't realize is that it's the future, the hopes, dreams, whole life of an entire 19.51 million women that we're talking about. We need to be their voice and fight for them, organize protest in every country and force governments to take immediate action to protect Afghan women.. No more funds for the Taliban! We have already lost so much, more years must not be wasted of these women. Just like women in other part of the world, women in Afghanistan must also have the right to learn, live, and dream.

FRANCE

The fight for student rights meets the working class fight to get rid of the government

by Jeremie, student and member of the Fourth International



Students from the FJR sticking posters at Université de Nanterre

In France, students face harsh attacks from the government against our rights to study. Since the beginning of the school year, members of the FJR (Fédération des Jeunes Révolutionnaires, Youth Revolutionary Federation) from which many are also militants of the Fourth International distributed leaflets on their campus to discuss with the other students about the issues they were facing. Many topics were evoked : misattribution on scholarships, whom funds doesn't add up with the constant price inflation, administratives hardship with tens of thousands of students without even a roof over their heads... All is related to the policy led by Macron's government. This government, who gave 600 billion to the capitalists during the COVID pandemic, has just voted a bill planning the spending of 413 billion in war budget. And not a single penny for universities, highschools, youth homing plans or public services ! And that is without even talking about the regimentation of young people with the

SNU (which stands in French for Universal National Service) which is said to be soon mandatory. In short: money for the gunmakers and the wealthy, misery to the workers and the youths.

In reaction, militants from the FJR started to organize and campaign in numerous places. In Amiens, Lille or in my university in Nanterre, public meetings were held on the topic of student housing and resulted in the constitution of defense committee for housing. Those comities listed their demands, gathered signatures in order to take their petitions to those in charge. In Nanterre for example, we organised pickets for students to come and sign our appeal : in front of the university restaurant, in the buildings, or at the train station. We printed some posters and stuck them all around the campus,

taking along other students who were interested in our campaign.

When we realised that the university restaurant fees were higher than last year, one of us immediately drew a white paper sheet and wrote : « We, students of Nanterre refuses the increase of the University restaurant fees », drew three columns right under. Armed with our improvised petition, we walked among the students and got a few dozens of signatures. In our discussions with them, a common feeling emerges : how is it possible, in a country as wealthy as France, that students are reduced to hunger and poor housing ? And all of them agree : those billions shouldn't go to the war budget but to our common basic needs !

This is a prime example of the bellicist policies of the capitalists reducing people to hunger and misery, in France and around the world. This is why on the 30th of

September, those committees sent a delegation to a national meeting to kick Macron out. This meeting gathered delegates from youth and workers committees, coming from different professional sectors and from all around the country, in Paris. The delegates shared their fighting experience on different demands. Many of them insisted on the links between all those claims : they all have a common origin : the capitalist-serving policies of Macron.

The meeting resulted in the adoption of a petition calling for the requisition of war billions to the need of the population. The students struggles met those of the working class in a single move. We are continuing our campaign on student housing and good study conditions, hand in hand with the working class. We are convinced that the fights of the youths and those of the working class are linked, all over the world,

That is also the reason why we prepared for a successful International Day in defense of the Afghan women on the 7th of October. In Lille, Paris, Nanterre and many other towns, the youths of the Fourth International were present and brought other youths to demand the asylum rights for Afghan woman along the other participants of those gatherings, organised in France and around the globe.



EXTRACTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING

A materialist point on view on racism

by Paul, member of the Fourth International



Forms of rejection or distinction are common practice in many societies, based on ignorance and fear. But assigning people to a race is a different process: it takes place in the context of nascent capitalism, through plundering and slave trade. The idea of race neither precedes nor justifies slavery: it was not because the European bourgeoisie was racist that they enslaved Africans, but because the European bourgeoisie enslaved Africans that it became racist.

The conquest of the Americas motivated the exploitation of its immense resources: in order to do this, there was a need for a considerable workforce that could be corrupted at will. From the 16th century onwards, the transatlantic slave trade developed: millions of people were enslaved

and sent to the Americas in appalling conditions, where they were exploited to death on the plantations of European settlers.

It was set up for economic reasons of profit and it is a major step in the history of the capitalist: at a time when the productive forces of global capitalism are developing, the slave's labor power becomes essential to capitalists in order to generate surplus value.

Similarly, the abolition of slavery was not a question of morality: the slave-trade system generated too much cost for capitalists: the risk of revolts, coercive measures to prevent escapes and impose work... The end of the slave-trade came at the same time as the development of industrial capitalism.

Race was instituted in the 19th century, when neoplantations were established and colonisation ventures expanded in Africa and Asia. At the beginning of the 20th

century, the plantation economy took a back seat to industry and the rapidly expanding urban economy.

But the distinction of race persisted and played new divisive roles within society, always to guarantee profit: in industry and services, distinctions of color enabled bosses to overexploit all those designated as non-white: they did not have the same rights at work (if they had any), not the same wages, not the same living conditions. It wasn't until the 1950s, when the fight for independence in colonized countries began to take shape, that race was dismantled by science as a fiction without any scientific basis.

But this does not mean that racism and its crimes have come to an end: they are still widely practised in our societies today, in various forms, and still play a particular role in maintaining the capitalist social order.

The black labor movement in the United States and the Democratic Party

The power and wealth of the United States were built entirely by massive slavery over 400 years. Black people formed the heart of the country's economy but were excluded from the nation.

The American Civil War (1861-1865) pitted the industrial North against the slaveholding South. The North did not fight for Black liberation, but for their economic interests. They had voted to maintain slavery but were unable to defeat the South. So they enlisted 200,000 Blacks, promising them the end of slavery, 40 acres of land and a mule. After the war, in a period of "radical reconstruction", political freedoms for Blacks were imposed (the right to vote, abortion...), but Northern capitalists refused one thing: land ownership.

Northern capitalists, through the Republican Party, allied themselves with Southern slaveholders to murder the black militias, then reintroduced the worst laws of discrimination and segregation (Jim Crow laws from 1877 until 1964).

Today, the black American population remains the poorest in the country, and still suffers discrimination, police killings and confrontation with supremacists. Slavery still persists in the prison industry, where the majority are Black and Latino Americans, paid 15 cents an hour for the industry. For these historical reasons, racism in the United States is first and foremost a black issue: black people have been at the heart of the country's development, but have been systematically excluded from the nation, through the greatest violence (slavery, segregation).

That's why there's a black national question in the United States:

there's a long tradition of organizing the American black movement, based on a black liberation movement: peace, social and economic justice for the whole population.

The labor and trade union movement remains subordinate to the Democratic Party, a former slaveholding party whose left wing remains subservient to capitalism and institutions. While the Democratic Party has brought down a few police officers, they maintain the entire institutional racist system. The black movement has suffered many betrayals. It is necessary to build a Labor Party, in connection with a black workers' party that puts forward the demands of the black movement. The two must be on an equal footing; the black party is not an auxiliary.

The central question today remains the self-organization and self-determination of the Black American people

as already developed by Trotsky: the Fourth International fully supports the self-determination of the Black people in the United States. For example, the Ujima People's Progress Party, a black party in Baltimore, has links with the American section of the Fourth International. This question will be one of the major points of discussion at the world conference for the reconstitution of the Fourth International in November.

AZANIA

Organising youth in Azania

by the Azanian Youth Revolutionary Collective



Azania is a country that belongs to the black majority who are the offspring of the genuine working class of Azania, that has been affected the most by the post CODESA dispensation after a long fight against Apartheid government of a racist National Party.

The question of youth unemployment is sprinkled with exclusion at educational level and economical level, while faced with being landless and forced to survive with their parents living under inhuman conditions which are also very negative at the psychological level in such an unequal society in the world.

However as the revolutionaries facing these challenges together with our fellow black youth we are obligated to device revolutionary interventions where possible in our fight against these betrayal that has chained us in po-

verty, landlessness and extremely poor conditions.

As we have briefly stated the challenges facing the black majority in Azania it is important that we be part of the struggles of the black youth students, workers, graduates, activists and many of those who agree to the challenges facing our country after 29 years of so-called Freedom under the governing of African National Congress (ANC) leading it's tripartite alliance of South African Communist Party (SACP) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

The issue of youth unemployment, education and landlessness facing the black youth in Azania needs to agree on an Azanian Youth Front that will be revolutionary in it's nature as it will not be seeking to reform the status quo but a complete change. As the black youth majority has long time agreed

on the nationalisation of the means of production in Azania which shall be one of the demands put forward as measures that can deal with unemployment in Azania where there is more than 70 if not 80% of youth unemployment.

It should be our revolutionary duty to organise the youth in Azania on the question of a free decolonised education which must be from primary to tertiary level, where the current syllabus should be free of an Eurocentric epistemology but rather be able to respond to the dynamics and the needs of Azanian working class.

The struggle for returning the land of the black majority should be paramount to the task of organising the youth in Azania, through expropriation of the land without compensation thus addressing historical inequalities



that came through the dispossession of the native land which was illegally expropriated in 1913 by the white settler minority. It should be part of the organising strategy for the youth of Azania to demand reparations for the atrocities of colonialism and Apartheid where there call for cancelation of the Apartheid debt to be cancelled and reimbursement of the already paid debt as Apartheid was declared a crime against humanity.

In this as Azanian youth we should be able to bring these minimum demands as our proposal towards a revolutionary united front that will be able to organise and device ways and means to advance these demands through various platforms available in the spheres of the struggle against capitalism which was ushered by a sell-out settlement called CODESA at Kempton Park in 1990.

UNITED STATES

Racism, neocolonial capitalism and oppression in the USA

by Fernando

In the USA, the neocolonial capitalist system imposed by the capitalist elites manifest with racism, classism, patriarchy, and environmental destruction. The attack against oppressed groups, especially BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Color) working class is a day-to-day reality.

From police brutality against black people, to mass shootings against Latinx and people of color in general, to caging immigrants including children and separating families, the capitalist elites constantly exercise violence on BIPOC to keep profiting both economically and politically. The military-industrial complex is one of the most profitable for private gun

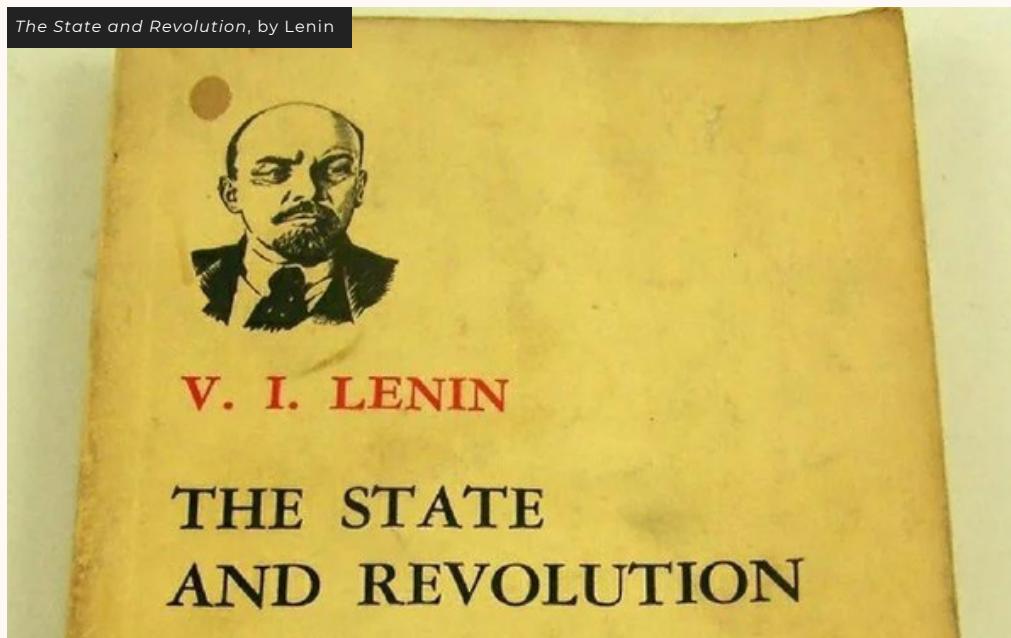
and military companies. Several of the prisons and immigrant detention prisons in the US are privatized. Moreover, the weapons, equipment and "training" that the police receive are bought from private companies with tax-payers money. Added to that, the generalized violence against BIPOC is a direct result of the propaganda that right-wing politicians, both from the Republican and Democratic party, impose daily in the media, in the education system and in society. Moreover, Barack Obama, another president of the Democrats has been the one that has deported most immigrants in US history.

This situation is complemented by the repression of working-class movements. A clear example is the repression by Joe Biden's supposedly "democratic" government against the railroad workers strike, by blocking their right to strike and exercising massive firings. Another example is the pressure by California Democrat governor Gavin Newsom to end the UC student workers strike ASAP, leading into a shitty collective contract for workers. The situation in the US gets worse by the day. It is necessary to work towards socialism urgently, by forming an independent workers party.

EXTRACTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING

State and Fascism

by Florian and Pierrot, members of the Fourth International

The State and Revolution, by Lenin

When people aren't activists, they often have a vision of the State as a defender of public interest. To us, the State takes its roots in the class-based division of society. As soon as a class begins to take control over another, the State takes form as a tool to maintain this domination. It is the means for the dominant class to organize and enforce its dictatorship over the other classes and their opposite interests.

"The State is nothing but a machine for a class to oppress another, whether in a democratic republic or in monarchy" - Lenin citing Engels in *State and revolution*.

In other terms, the characteristic of the bourgeois State is the goal of maintaining private property, specifically of the means of production such as factories and companies.

Despite its aspect as a tool of class domination, the bourgeois State conducts activities that benefits the working class (public services, education, social grants, building and maintenance of infrastructures, labor rights...). This is explained by the struggle of the working class that conquered those rights and the fact that at the time, the interests of the bourgeoisie aligned. Because these activities allowed, directly or not, the reinforcement of the exploitation of the working class.

Education isn't planned as a way for the working youth to emancipate, but to mold and qualify it just enough to be exploited by capitalists. The making of labor rights prevents an over-exploitation of workers (or potential soldiers), as it was

the case of the first social laws in the England. A worker on his last legs being less productive than a sufficiently rested one, and the capitalist not being able to extort as much plus-value from them (the same reasoning applies to functioning hospitals). In parallel, the working class built its own organizations from the ground up like social welfare (pensions, social security...).

« One who cannot defend the old conquests will never obtain new ones » Trotsky, Letter to the workers of USSR, 1939

As workers activists, we consider that the conquests of the past, or what is left of them, need to be defended at all costs. because the quality of social amenities declined following the non-stop aggressions of the bourgeoisie against them. As the bourgeois class attacks and seeks to destroy workers institutions, as imperialism reinforces itself, the State reduces itself to its coercion purpose. To us, militants of the Fourth International, our goal is to upthrow capitalism not to reform it.

Our demands often insist upon the creation of a worker's State, instead of the bourgeois one, as a mean to enforce the interests of the people. Marx, in the communist manifesto defines the workers State as "the prole-

tariat organized as the dominant class", tasked to "centralize all the means of production between its hands". This is the practical application of the "dictatorship of the Proletariat".

This wouldn't in any way mean tyranny, but that the working class would rule over the bourgeoisie. The majority ruling over the minority (the exact opposite of the current forces in a bourgeois State). When the proletariat enforces its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, it is a much more advanced form of democracy than any bourgeois social democracy, the proletariat has "its own" State defending its interests. Not spending too much time, as it would deserve its own presentation, the power of the working class can be confiscated by a bureaucracy (USSR, China, Cuba...). As it can be replaced by a bourgeois State, failing to achieve the goal of communism.

Abolishing the private property of the means of production, the revolutionary proletariat deletes the source of class conflict and, eventually, classes themselves. This brings us to the first phase of communism, where some bourgeois norms still subsist (racism, sexism, particular oppressions...). When these norms disappear completely, the State will naturally cease to exist.

What is a fascist regime and how does it spawn?

The fall of capitalism speeds up, accentuating class inequalities and drags workers further into bar-

fism. The contradictions between the different layers of the bourgeoisie become ever so clear. So, class struggle organizes as a revolutionary movement and the bourgeoisie faces an ultimatum, it is unable to maintain its domination by the usual means of the parliamentary democracy. It is forced to declare a civil war against the proletariat. This is the fascist method.

It is the biggest threat to humanity and a warning to all workers: the necessity to take their affairs into their own hands. The historic role of fascism is the physical destruction of the workers' organizations : it needs to annihilate any pocket of resistance, every place where the fire of class struggle could start again. Chauvinism, racist ideology, and the designation of minorities as scapegoats are tools weaponized by fascists regimes but they are not what defines them. Bonapartism makes use of the as well, taking the form of a bureaucratic and policiary dictatorship. But a Bonapartist state is forced to tolerate democracy and its institutions, as the president relies on them to rule with "emergency laws" growing always further from the

Parliament.

Unlike fascism, Bonapartism tolerates the existence of unions, class struggle parties and most importantly the revolutionary party.

Let's use the government of Melloni in Italy as an example: she isn't the ruler of a fascist State, she uses fascist rhetoric, but she is not outside of the EU mold. She uses it to pass anti-workers and anti-refugee laws: suppression of basic welfare, stopping basic income... But she doesn't need to step out of the democratic institutions for that.

The role of social democracy and the historic leadership of the proletariat

Now, we understand the goal of fascism for the bourgeois class, but how does it happen despite the resistance of the workers?

We need to analyze the situation considering the dialectic of three classes: the bourgeoisie, pushed to its limits, the petty-bourgeois, hesitating, and the proletariat revolting the break its chains.

Before they're forced to use the fascist method, the bourgeoisie uses its left crutch to maintain its domination. This left crutch being the historic direction



of the proletariat calling workers to rally behind their government and its institutions. It is the popular front, paralyzing the revolutionary class and allowing reactionary ideas to thrive in the petty bourgeois class.

By creating the illusion of a parliamentary solution to the workers' fight for social justice, by making it the only acceptable way to repel the fascist menace, police violence and authoritarianism the historical left betrays the working class.

If the revolutionary party appears unable to lead the proletariat away from this sacred union behind the bourgeoisie, the working class will tire itself in an unwinnable battle.

Then the petty bourgeoisie cannot trust the proletariat to create a new society, and in their eyes the workers become the source of their problems. The popular front throws the petty bourgeois class in the arms of the reaction, the historic direction of the left carries the responsibility of the fascist uprising.

Long before the revolutionary ideas win the majority, fascists militias form themselves, financed by the capitalists. It is a matter of life and death for the workers to organize and stop fascism before it's too late.

The organization of the proletariat against fascism.

If a class has any interest in defending democracy, it's the working class. But can we rely on the State to stop fascism?

Should we call for the dismantlement of far-right organizations?

When in France, the minister of the interior Darmanin dissolves "Civitas", a fundamentalist catholic group for antisemitic speech and actions can we rejoice?

Keeping in mind that the State is the tool to defend Bourgeois interests and without defending far-right reactionaries, acclaining a law that forbids political groups and free speech is giving ammo to the enemy.

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The popular front throws the petty bourgeois class in the arms of the reaction, the historic direction of the left carries the responsibility of the fascist uprising.

Long before the revolutionary ideas win the majority, fascists militias form themselves, financed by the capitalists. It is a matter of life and death for the workers to organize and stop fascism before it's too late. Keeping in mind that the State is the tool to defend Bourgeois interests and without defending far-right reactionaries, acclaining a law that forbids political groups and free speech is giving ammo to the enemy. The State can and will use this same law against the far left later. The response to fascism cannot come from the institutions: reinforcing the oppressive power of the State is a trap we can't afford to fall in. It's up to the workers to create militias everywhere they are threatened by reactionary groups.

So, what is the tactic to adopt to annihilate the fascist offensive?

Workers need to take matters into their own hands, organize collectively to put up a single front. When a fascist militia attacks a workers group it's the whole class that is under threat. Any initiative with the goal of defending democracy, far away from the illusion of the institutions is a response to the sacred union and popular front. In the struggle, the proletariat will build its own independent organs, self defense militias and will discern the most combative comrades. The form found to fight fascism will lead to the general struggle to end the capitalist system.

The working class will gain trust in its own forces, tearing away the petty bourgeoisie from fascist despair. To fight against fascism is to break away from the bourgeoisie, it's bringing down the enemy on the inside, it's joining the revolutionary party.

GREAT BRITAIN

The British Government and the Conspiracist Right: Partners in the Climate Crisis

by Will Phillips



Anti-fascist demonstration in Liverpool

Liverpool city council meetings normally don't attract a crowd, beside the occasionally lobby convened by the Merseyside Pensioners Association in protest to the implementation of austerity measures, which makes the last two meetings of the "Sustainable, Safe and Thriving neighbourhoods" committee strange as both meetings have been meet by large demonstrations in opposition to 15-minute cities in which banners claiming "climate change is a globalist hoax" and proclaiming resistance against globalist plots to lockdown the city have been displayed. The demonstrations where organised by a local far right organisation The Peoples Resistance of Liverpool, who along with several British far right organisations have begun to organise around opposing 15-minute cities, vaccinations, climate change and Covid-19

lockdowns (even though there hasn't been a lockdown for over two years in Britain).

These demonstrations have represented a new orientation on the British far right. Whereas traditionally groups like national action, patriotic alternative and generation identity would orientate themselves directly around anti migrant rhetoric or even racial identity recently newer far right organisations have seen success in using the often-reactionary language of conspiracy theories to disguise their political orientation that would otherwise disgust members of the public. Beneath the surface of these organisations conspiracist visage the rhetoric is the same as it's always been climate change is seen as a global hoax orchestrated by a global conspiracy (often with a sprinkling of antisemitism as these conspirators

often supposedly Jewish) intent on removing the rights of the global populace in order to herald the coming of communism. This framework is applicable to the grand conspiracy model in which anything that conspiracist disagrees with, be it steps to forward queer liberation, racial equality or even workers struggle, can be seen as an attempt by the global conspiracy to gain control of the global populace and usher in a communist government.

For a completely unfounded conspiracy theory this has shockingly received backing from the British conservative party whose MP's have expressed sympathy with groups destroying traffic lights in order to damage traffic cameras and the prime minister has recently suggested his government will take action to prevent the construction of 15-

minute cities.

What does this have to do with fascism and why am I specifically linking it to the British government's failure on climate change?

As Trotskyists we understand fascism to hold a specific definition, not just a term used to describe the reactionary political movements but as a movement of the petty bourgeoisie funded and backed by capital with one goal to destroy both the gains and the movements of the working class. Trotsky described the conditions for fascism as two-fold, firstly the forces of fascism grow in response to a "deep social crisis, throwing the petty-bourgeois masses off balance" and for these forces to grow their must be an absence of "a revolutionary party that would be regarded by the masses of the people as an acknowledged revolutionary leader".

The "deep social crisis" of our modern era is the destruction of the environment in which we live.

This climate crisis lays bare one of capitals largest contradictions in which infinite growth is required for continued economic growth at the expense of the environment in which resources are extracted.

It's no surprise then that the loudest figures in the British conspiracist movements are often small business owners whose politics are almost exclusively orientated around denying the reality of climate change and opposing the covid lockdowns. In Britain whilst in name we have a socialist party as our second largest party, under the current Labour party can't bring itself to oppose austerity measures like the child benefit cap which if removed could lift up to 250,000 children out of poverty. In a situation in which none of the electorally viable political parties can provide a hopeful and just image for the future in place of

promises of continued austerity and mineral exploitation it should come as no surprise that an ideology like fascism grows.

As communists we understand that capitalist governments across the globe are unable to act against the climate crisis, because doing so would hinder short term profit, we can see examples of this in the oil industry where we know companies such as Shell which according to Oxford researchers "Despite internal awareness, the company systematically downplayed the problem to the public. Instead promoting more and more fossil fuel use despite the dangers.". The capitalist class when faced with the knowledge that unregulated exploitation of the worlds resources has placed humanity on the precipice of disaster decided to turn away from humanity and their own scientists to climate change denialists and lobbyists (in a way the purest distillation of the conspiracist movement) not because the scientific consensus was wrong but because following the consensus would mean less profit for the oil and gas industry.

ITALY

Some words from Italy

by Tiki

Anti-fascist class struggle, boxing and feminism, here is the report of a telephone

conversation that I had the chance to have this month, with an Italian friend and comrade. Marianna is a high school teacher and took the time to tell me about going back to school and her current activities as well as those planned for the future.

First of all, she explains that in Italy too, the militarization of society is underway: the high school system until now divided between "classical high school" (including ancient literature and languages), "scientific high school", "vocational high school" and the "economic and social" high school have just been turned upside down. The latter, which essentially trained in social sciences and particularly in administrative careers, has been transformed into a "high school made in Italy" which, although we do not yet know its precise program, will open at the next school year, are already shaping up to be "brainwashing high school". The objectives will be "to promote the national heritage, to deliver pro-homeland education, instilling traditional values, etc....".

But that's not all, two news items shook Italy this summer, strongly shaking public opinion,

the first was the revelation of a case of sexual harassment of minors in Campania, in a youth center. After the revelation of the facts, the state's response was to transform the center into a police sports training ground. A little later, another sordid event took place, the gang rape of a minor with the com-

plicity of a bartender in Palermo. The whole thing was filmed then broadcasted on telegram and signal loops all over Italy. The victim tried to file a complaint but received death threats from the family of one of his attackers and huge wave of online harassment too. The companion of Giorgia Meloni declared that "everybody has to assume the consequences of the alcohol consumption" and Ms. Meloni, although condemning the facts as a government official, declared during a press conference "I stand with my companion" (who happens to be a prominent TV journalist) and that is was "common sense, as my mother always told", before adding that in both cases "it was a problem of education".

The measures taken by the government modify the penal code and make minors able to go to prison from the age of 15 and make them responsible from the age of 12 in the eyes of the law.

The punishment is seen as double because Campania and Palermo are both located in the south, a historically poor region, looked down upon by industrialists from northern Italy, since the industrialization of the country and its unification in the 19th century.

The two cases caused a media shock and the response from women was throughout the country. Marches took place almost everywhere and Marianna receives applications for membership on a daily basis from women wanting to teach themselves in this self-managed boxing club in which she

tis active.

Marianna explains to me that the question of rolling back abortion laws is no longer even on the agenda, "because for the moment we just have to manage to stand up to daily aggression. The level of aggression among men has increased and all proposed laws on sex education have been rejected by the Meloni government" she adds. "The aggressors support each other but also know, finally, that they are facing a collective response."

Marianna continues by explaining to me that **historically, Italy has been a relatively centrist country in its politics with a strong Catholic and relatively social accent**, but that, following the revelations of scandal targeting the church, faced with the non-existence of an organized political left suffered for the first time from far-right politics in 80 years, and Meloni now refused to celebrate the liberation of Italy from fascist and Nazi forces in 1945.

The change, however, also has positive aspects, the association "non una di meno" which could be translated as "not all alone at home" comes from the demonstration slogan, "not a single one of us comes home all alone" which demonstrates solidarity and organizes massively everywhere. It has gained a lot of momentum and visibility in recent months.

Likewise, Marianna will celebrate next week the two years of the

creation of the forementionned club, a popular, mixed genders, anti-fascist and anti-racist boxing club. She tells me that at the moment, the aim in Italy is to bring together the different organizations, feminists, anti-racists, anti-fascists, etc..., and to turn them in a political fighting force. On the program of the festivites: self-managed training, vegan meals, local artists and farmers and conferences to think about alternatives to the Olympics, because Italy is supposed to host the Winter Olympics. They also organised on a national and international basis, being in contact with popular boxing clubs from Turin, Milan and Naples, as well as comrades from Germany, France and Spain. The goal is to create a "popular alternative to official sport", Marianna continues: "we don't want to award medals, we want everyone to be able to participate and get advice, to develop together". For her, there is finally hope: "There has been an awakening, an awareness, paradoxically, to discover that we are in the middle of a nightmare" but on the other hand "the chances have never been so strong in successfully transforming activism into a movement, for the first time I have confidence." The perspectives are common, we must connect sport, feminism, workers' movements and class struggle. Despite this, "it has never been so hard to be a woman in Italian society. Both because of male violence and of the institutions that aim to keep us in line." In any case, we wish a bright future to our comrades on the other side of the Alps, an excellent birthday to the Lupo Rosso club, and don't hesitate to follow them on their Instagram page [@boxe_popolare_lupo_rosso](https://www.instagram.com/boxe_popolare_lupo_rosso) And a big thank you again to Marianna for taking the time to give me an update! Long live the International!

A letter from the Federation of Young Revolutionaries to the young Palestinians who took part in last August's International Meeting

Dear Palestinian friends and comrades,

Since we met last summer at the International Meeting of Young Revolutionaries, we have been aware that a new situation has opened up in Palestine.

What you told us about your struggle resonates even more strongly now that the people of the Gaza strip are surviving under a deluge of bombs. You told us of your aspirations, like your elders before you, to have the right to a future free from oppression.

You told us how the young people of Gaza were growing up in an open-air prison, deprived of freedom, deprived of equality, deprived of basic rights.

Like young people all over the world, you are demanding the right to equality, justice, and democracy, and you are right to do so.

In 2021, in our founding manifesto, we wrote that "the situation in Palestine is a direct result of the capitalist system ».

We support peace and the right of all peoples to freedom, sovereignty, and independence.

We are fighting so that young people and workers throughout the world can live free and with equal rights.

That is why we stand by you, just as we stand by every young person on this earth who is fighting to live free, as citizens with equal rights, whatever their origin, culture, language or religion.

Living free means putting an end to the system of exploitation and oppression.

More than ever, the Federation of Young Revolutionaries demands an immediate end to the blockade of the Gaza strip, the lifting of the siege of the Gaza strip, and an end to the bombings and massacres.

Fraternally

Your comrades of the Federation of Young Revolutionaries (France)

This letter was addressed to our comrades from Palestine who came to the International meeting. In August, we were all reunited together. Since then, the situation in Palestine has worsened. It is more than ever necessary to build an international solidarity between youth and workers, and to keep the work we have started when we met this summer.

They have already answered our message : "Hello, thank you and the team very much for this kind and amazing message, the world needs more of you", "Thank you very much it means a lot", "Thank you for your message. We really appreciate. We will forward the message to the group." "Every move is blessing." "We really appreciate the support".



Contact us : jeunestci@gmail.com