



Rete dei Comunisti International Bulletin Autumn 2020

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An analytical point for strategic discussion

Mauro Casadio, Rete dei Comunisti

We meet with Mauro Casadio - of the Rete dei Comunisti - and we ask him some questions which we deem helpful to make an analysis about the strategic discussion concerning the new political phase and the novelties deriving from the persistence of the pandemic crisis and from the accentuation of the factors of global competition.

QUESTION: The approaching autumn will be a complicated and complex time span. A new and unprecedented condition in Italy and beyond. The persistence of the Covid pandemic crisis, the material effects of the crisis that will begin to manifest itself beyond the interventions / buffer by the states and the marked resumption of the factors of global competition between the world powers are characterizing this period. At the same time, however, the distortions, irrationality and limits of the capitalist development model emerge with more clarity. How much can the Socialist perspective

- i.e. the need to break these social relations - benefit, albeit in tendency, from an historical and political conjuncture of this type?

ANSWER: We have been talking for some time about the systemic crisis of the Capitalist Mode of Production and what is emerging is precisely the character of this crisis. The defeat at the end of the twentieth century did not remain without consequences even for capital, certainly they benefited from the quantitative possibilities for growth that opened following the collapse of the USSR and the opening of the Chinese market worldwide, but the tendency of capitalism to grow today it is confronted again with those limits that were thought to be the responsibility of the communists and which instead are deeply structural of the present mode of production. The hatred of our class enemy has raged over the last thirty years not only on the exploitation, here and now, of the workforce but also against the social gains that the workers' movement has torn up with international struggles in the 1900s. It is certainly no coincidence that the crisis starts from the destruction of the welfare state, healthcare but also schools, transport, in short, where capital has made unbelievable profits is at the source of a crisis of the system but also of civilization. If this is the reality, it is not difficult to foresee that the need for change, for the revolution, will be increasingly urgent, although not necessarily starting with the imperialist countries as globalization has built productive and financial ties that are difficult to sever.

QUESTION: The Communist Network in analyzing the dynamics of the inter / imperialist clash has recently used the word 'stalemate' to highlight the current dynamics in terms of comparative indices (financial, economic and military) between the various imperialist poles. A stalemate which - as clearly clarified in the conference ['The Stalemate of Imperialisms'] that we organised in the last autumn to which we refer for further information - does not mean that the contradictions do not continue to grow and put pressure on the general situation by continuing to incubate and accumulate social matter. On the basis of this international situation and the accelerations that the global pandemic is causing, how do you think the dialectical link between the 'stalemate' and the objective politicization of the entire arc of contradictions that powerfully feed into this context can be interpreted?

ANSWER: As historically has happened, capital has the historical merit of developing the productive forces to the maximum of its possibilities by breaking ties and snares

and also the borders of national states. This accelerated process in the last thirty years has allowed the development not only of the imperialist countries but also of many other state subjects, starting with China. In essence, that interdependence, hoped for and favored by the crooked Gorbachev at the end of the 1980s, has come true, but is now showing its poisoned fruits for the "winners". This has happened above all on the financial level, which has linked creditors and debtors, the world stock exchanges and financial funds, producing an interconnection from which no country can call itself out, as demonstrated by the 2007 crisis. It clearly also happened for the production system, interconnected at a world level, and it also happened for the military sector, where the development of productive forces and networks has made the armament, including nuclear weapons, available to countries that previously could not take this step. The ensemble of these ties is the rope on which imperialism is hanging itself for the affirmation of a binding condition for all. This is the stalemate, that is, the impossibility of breaking the overall balance of the balance of power that exists today worldwide. This balance produces the acceleration of the phenomenal forms of global competition, resulting in instability but not solutions. Another effect is the politicization of the clash between imperialisms and between classes, since positive possibilities of generalized growth are nowhere to be seen in this clash, even class sectors that are now powerless and saw a worsening of their rights and living conditions are also involved.

QUESTION: In recent years, the Rete dei Comunisti (RDC) has worked systematically and with various modes of intervention in the various fronts of the class struggle. On a strategic level, the RdC has kept alive the red thread of a theoretical elaboration of high quality to substantiate the validity of a requalified organized communist subjectivity adequate to the tasks of the 21st century. On the side of the political, social and trade union struggle, the RDC militants have made a contribution to the development of independent and class-rooted syndicalism and on the level of political representation of the interests of the popular sectors they contribute to the construction of a political / social experience in clear discontinuity with the old world of the "left" increasingly subordinate to capitalist compatibilities. In light, however, of the structural changes in progress and of an - objective - acceleration of the political and social contradictions what new strategic (and operational) positioning should the Rete dei Comunisti take in order to better fulfill the function of a modern Communist Organization in a country like ours?

ANSWER: As a political formation we have always kept our feet on the ground, a characteristic that has made us acquire forces and organization over time, we have not had vain antagonistic ambitions and we have always measured the possibilities with the characters, positive or negative, of conflict and relationships of strength between the classes in our country at different historical moments. We know well that we are in an imperialist pole, the EU, which has a strong possibility of orientation and hegemony even among our class but, despite the billions that central banks are pouring out worldwide, we see that the historical contradictions of capitalist development are coming out of the Marxist books and are manifesting themselves in reality. The setback that Cuba and China have given the West over the coronavirus affair is the materialization of a ghost that the ruling classes and reformists would have preferred not to see. So the need for radical change reappears, and it could only be so, but this must bring into play a new variant which is a new political subjectivity, adequate to the current historical context, which must break with the degenerate history of the left and it must retrain the objective of how to proceed towards socialism. The RdC is certainly not a candidate to lead such a process, knowing our limits well, but it certainly wants to move decisively in this direction by working on the strategic objective of the accumulation of social, political and theoretical forces to help give life to a subjectivity that it will have to be able to collect the contradictions that the current social order is increasingly manifesting.

QUESTION: On the 20th and 21st of September, Italian citizens were called to vote on a referendum on a constitutional amendment previously approved almost unanimously by the political forces: the cut in the number of parliamentarians in the Chamber of Deputies aimed at further reducing political representation in Parliament. As the polls had amply indicated, the 'yes' won with a large margin - almost 70%. How to explain this figure, in light of the overwhelming victory in the 2016 referendum against the "Renzi-Boschi" constitutional reform, which went in the same direction?

ANSWER: The referendum carried out has a double reading, the first is the one that saw the question voted in four institutional steps and with the change of government in August 2019, which led to the exit of the League and the entry of the PD - tough with the same Prime Minister. Even the PD, which first opposed the idea of making this part of the new coalition agreement, agreed to first vote the cut in the Parliament

and then give an official indication to vote YES in the Referendum. Therefore, the almost unanimous indication of the parties was to vote YES to the cut of the parliamentarians.

In addition to the opposition of the left and also ours with the indication to vote NO, it must also be said that the Italian establishment has put in place all the information tools (La Repubblica, Il Corriere della Sera of FIAT / FCA, televisions and other newspapers) to vote NO, as the presence of the M5S in the government is an independent variable for them, even if it is now being normalized. This pronouncement of the "powerful" actually worsened the situation as in Italy the sectors of economic power have always had a poor capacity of electoral orientation. So we can say that the victory of the YES also has a second "anti-institutional" reading; for example, in all the large metropolitan areas the NO won in wealthy city centres and the YES in the suburbs in social crisis. In summary, it was a complex and contradictory vote, made in a context of COVID emergency, the meaning of which may be clearer in the next elections.

For the Renzi-Boschi Referendum the condition was completely different, that is, in a climate of normality, a clearly anti-system vote was expressed, a vote that had been prepared by the affirmations of the M5S first and followed by the vote in the League subsequently.

QUESTION: On 20th and 21st September there were elections also in some regions (Liguria, Tuscany, Veneto, Marche, Campania, Puglia) and in some municipalities. What are the most significant data coming from the polls, which together with the referendum outcome pave the way for the current Conte government - supported by the centre-left and by the M5S - projected to exercise its mandate until 2023?

ANSWER: This vote also has a contradictory character, as the force that led to the cut of the parliamentarians and won the Referendum, the M5S, was heavily penalized everywhere and the force that held was essentially the PD, except in the Marche region, which is not very relevant. While the League that aimed at the breakthrough had a political setback that will force it to review the behavior of the secretary Salvini and perhaps even to a change of line.

Much of the electoral choices that are made in this period are affected by the health emergency in which the regions and governors have played a role and therefore part of the causes are linked to the perceived need for stability by the "masses". For this reason, all the most important governors have been more than confirmed in their role.

This stabilizing effect of COVID also affects the national government, which moved decisively at the beginning of the emergency, very differently from how other European countries did and this is being seen today, and will have over 200 billion euros available, and this is a very compelling argument for the electorate at least while it lasts. So the conditions of the government are solid but also this "solidity" lies within an extremely unstable European and international context that could change the situation and consequently also the electoral orientations.



**LE
AMERICHE
FRA
SOCIALISMO E
BARBARIE**

The Americas between Socialism and Barbarism

Rete dei Comunisti

As Rete dei Comunisti we've organized this series of debates aiming to analyze adequately the next elections that will be held in what once known as the New World (from the United States to Venezuela, from Bolivia to Chile) this fall inside a context of

transformation in the whole Continent relating ourselves to the historical phase we're living in.

For decades, the Capitalist Mode of Production has been in a systemic crisis from which it hasn't been able to get out. As the push for the expansion of global markets created by the implosion of the Soviet Bloc and the opening of China in the 90s expires, the difficulties to valorize capital become harsher, which creates a series of contradictions whose effects are more destructive than ever, from financial instability to the tendency of war to be widespread rather than confrontational, from the environmental crisis to the health one. This inability to generate enough profit to calm the instincts of capital manifests itself in the West as a lowering of the standards of living of the greater part of the population, which receives a slice of a cake that gets smaller as time goes by. This has progressively eroded the hegemonic ability of the ruling classes, exacerbating society's internal fractures that appear cyclically in various ways depending on the specific situations.

In this moment, in no other Western country those contradictions are unfolding in such a patent way than in the United States. After competing for the title for worse-COVID-19-managing country with a few dozen other nations and experiencing the worst GDP contractions of its history (-32.9% in the second quarter of 2020), the United States are getting closer to the 11/3 elections in a civil war atmosphere. The situation has never calmed down since the start of the protests which erupted after the usual brutal police murder. The raging Black community soon found itself intertwined with other minorities who were already hardly hit by the coronavirus pandemic (more than proportionally compared to their demographics), but also with whole parts of white working class impoverished by deindustrialization and the crisis. Strikes and important events in key sectors such as logistics and the gig economy showed the cracks throughout a social peace which lasted for decades, while authorities' response has been extremely violent, as Trump reached the point of deploying federal forces in the most problematic cities even against the opinions of the local administration. The social rift between the various souls of the country has shown itself in all its violence, getting to direct confrontations between protestors and far-right armed militias, these ones naturally supported in fact by the police.

This social disgregation that acts on multiple levels (both vertically between the establishment and the ruled, and horizontally throughout the working class, but also in part throughout the bourgeoisie) is, as we were saying before, the product of the inability of capitalism to get through its systemic crisis, but it has peculiar conditions regarding the United States due to its recent past and its leading role in the global governance. Indeed, the country watches its global hegemony gradually shrink and with it the ability to pour out abroad the contradictions that develop inside it. After the collapse of the bipolar world, the United States have maintained global leadership in the primary strategical sectors (military, finance, natural resources, technological innovation), but right now the American primacy, still an objective fact, is definitely eroding itself in all of those areas minus for the military.

This dynamic has significant consequences, not only in the aggressiveness that the American foreign policy is putting in place, but also in the redefinition of the international value chains. In the 90s, the United States had found in China a reserve of disciplined and low-wage labor that was fundamental for the cycle of growth set up during those years. But in the last years, China is identified much more as an enemy rather than a competitor, and the American ruling class has begun considering having so much of its own production delocalized in enemy territory as strategically unsustainable. That's also way the topic of re-localization, one of Trump's leitmotifs during his first campaign trail, has strongly appeared in the American discourse in the last years.

It's important to stress that according to the US strategic perspective, when we're talking about bring back production to America, we don't just consider the American territory, but the whole American continent.

The intention to widen its own supply chain towards south was. in the 90s, the focal point of NAFTA (replaced by USMCA this year), a free trade agreement with Canada and, above all, Mexico, that had the goal to expand itself towards all the countries of the continent through the FTAA/ALCA (Free Trade Area of Americas) project. The last one was later abandoned, as well as thanks to the opposition in all those countries that would later organize themselves in the ALBA, also because transnational capital had found a much more favorable environment in China.

We need to analyze the renewed sharpening of class conflict in the last few years in Latin America in the context of a revival of this imperialist project, as well as the desire to freely guarantee itself the primary resources the continent is rich in.

In the last few years, the global economic difficulties, in conjunction with the renewed strategic interest by the US for what it's considered as its "Backyard" (not that it ever went missing, let us be clear) have created situations of prominent instability in various Latin American countries.

Those situations are none other than bricks of a continental class conflict in which the US-controlled oligarchy collides with popular sectors who have seen their standards of living drastically increase in countries where a historical progressive cycle, now under attack, was set up at the end of the last century: the coup d'état in Bolivia; the repeating and increasingly more violent attempt to destabilize Venezuela; the large popular demonstrations in Ecuador and, above all, Chile, the country which has been, most of all, a field of social experimentation for the infamous Chicago School since the Pinochet years; the return to armed struggle by some FARC factions in Colombia, following the incessant and unpunished massacre of cadres and trade union activists by the hands of drug traffickers and fascists; the golpe blanco in Brazil, Bolsonaro's electoral success and the ongoing mass slaughter caused by coronavirus. Only within this continental clash we can frame the next electoral process: the elections in Bolivia and Venezuela and the constitutional referendum in Chile.

Today, this clash propels us to assert that that the choice is between "Socialism and Barbarism", borrowing from the historical communist slogan "Socialism or Barbarism", where socialism is concretely present in Latin America and barbarism is also concretely present in the United States. In short, the southern continent has become the weak link of modern-day imperialism, and not only the north American one.

The situation is indeed significantly different compared to the one in the 90s, when the US could impose NAFTA without any kind of hurdle. First thing first, on a global level, we don't find ourselves at the beginning of a phase of expansion anymore. But we're absorbed in an economic and social crisis, whose consequences are felt deeply in the heart of the empire, as we were saying.

As a matter of fact, the United States are not the only actors on stage: let's just think about the support the Russian Federation has given Venezuela during all these years, or the Chinese-funded Nicaragua Canal project, that is going to compete against Panama's. To all of this, we need to underline the determination of the peoples of Latin America, who have shown a fierce resistance and an ability to counterattack in the past years. At last, we need to stress how the ongoing pandemic is bringing out the necessity of an alternative to the current system, by pointing out the failures of capitalism. By this point of view, examples of pandemic management by two countries under embargo and sanctions like Cuba and Venezuela are a snub towards the barbarity that progresses.

In conclusion, within this general context we propose the planning of a series of debates in territories where there's interest and the conditions to create it.



The support of the Rete dei Comunisti to the list Potere al Popolo Campania

Rete dei Comunisti

Only a few hours remain now until voting ends in the elections to the regional parliament of Campania, Southern Italy.

The campaign has been marked by the corruption and clientelism of the bloc of interests centred around the incumbent regional president Vincenzo De Luca, who is expected to be re-elected, and in particular by the use and misuse of EU funding.

It has also been marked by the steady decline of the 5 Star Movement, a political force which had previously been successful, especially in the South, in capitalising on the discontent of the working classes who over the last few decades have seen their prospects shrink significantly.

Finally, the campaign saw the attempt of the Right and of Salvini in particular to put down roots in a region that had previously been hostile to the Right coalition lead by

the League. Fortunately, they did not succeed in this and their demagoguery and culture of hate seems to have had little resonance in the South.

This was an election campaign in which we began to see the harmful effects of the pandemic on a society already suffering from long-term structural crisis, with indices on employment and people claiming state support rising drastically and new forms of poverty emerging in the more marginalised sections of society.

Within this context, Potere al Popolo has decided to present an electoral list with Giuliano Granato as its candidate for president of the region.

The programme proposed by Potere al Popolo represents a vision for the construction of a genuine expression of working-class power. It seeks to go beyond the theoretical and rhetorical confusions of the mainstream Left and provide real representation for working-class interests. This is a project that, as elsewhere in Italy, will continue beyond the elections, regardless of the result, looking to engage people in their places of work, within local communities, in all aspects of working-class life.

The Rete dei Comunisti in Campania gives its full support to the Potere al Popolo list, with some members standing as candidates and all members working hard to engage support in the public for the candidacy of Giuliano Granato for president of the region.



Mobilization of 24/25 September and beyond

Rete nazionale Noi Restiamo e Opposizione Studentesca d'Alternativa

Noi Restiamo is a national organization of students and young workers

OSA (Alternative Student Opposition) is a national organization of middle school students

After six months of closure, the public school reopened in the most dramatic possible conditions: no serious and structural investment, no guarantee of quality and safe teaching for students, workers and families, uncertainty reigns while the risk to health is serious and concrete.

Faced with this situation we felt it necessary to put in place a rapid, strong and participatory response. With this conviction, we have promoted the successful

convergence of the country's main conflicting trade unions (USB, Cub, Unicobas), which launched the two-day strike, mobilisation and agitation on 24 and 25 September for the ransom of the public school system, against a government opposed to the interests of students and workers.

The two days saw the streets take to the streets in the main cities of Italy (especially in the centre and in the north, because in the south schools reopened in some cases on 28 September), with the support of trade unions, students and movements, among which the No Tav Movement stands out.

The characteristics of the mobilisation can be summarised in three points:

- Opposition to the Minister of Education Azzolina, whose resignation is demanded, and to the Conte government.
- An open break with the political and trade union forces of the left, recognised as the main subjects embodying the class project of the European Union.
- Enthusiasm in countertendency to the widespread feeling of discouragement present in the country's antagonistic youth and movement realities.

Starting from this first mobilization of the school world, a national assembly has been promoted for next October 10th in Rome to organize the next steps of the protest.

Some moments of the mobilizations:

<https://www.facebook.com/144416539531276/posts/668682513771340/>

<https://www.instagram.com/tv/CFmjbONhGTn/?igshid=1s7pnehniOxp8>

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CFmCHHxB2YN/?igshid=ssrbt0wxhgx3>



Rete dei comunisti in support of two days of strikes and mobilizations of 24-25 September

Rete dei Comunisti

The two-day school strike has been organized in a context of two important elections: the administrative elections in some important region of Italy that return a government reinforcement and the constitutional referendum, that turns into the restriction of the constitutional spaces of democratic political representation. Surely the relatively low striking numbers have been induced by the fact that a lot of school workers (overall teachers, that represent an important part of the typically impoverished middle class), are still endorsing the Partito Democratico (PD) or at the Movimento 5 stelle (M5S), the two governing parties. From one hand, infact, the PD is still able to have a theoretical-cultural arsenal about school, despite it is the avant-garde of the devastating modernization of school, that from Berlinguer school reform to the “buona scuola” one, is responsible of the “death of the school system”.

On the other hand the M5S’ “caste” rhetoric has been able to deeply penetrate the ideology of lots of different social subjects, included school workers.

However, both parties will deal very soon with Recovery Fund (RF) and ESM’s issues. These financial tools are made to strength European political and economic integration in a situation of global health crisis. RF and ESM will give the possibility to break the spending restraints, and access to an economic stimulus plan unseen in the last decades. Despite these investments will benefit the capital accumulation and will not be used for social rights, at the end of the day the working class will have to pay the cost of it.

How this issue deal with school? We will try to explain it in a few points representing the core of our analysis, and of our political and theoretical proposals for a long time.

1) The Italian school model nowadays is the results of 30-year trial to force the Italian education system adapt to the European integration process. It stems from the production of surplus-value crisis, the break of the link between schooling and collective social progress, the implementation of a for-profit model in enormous part of public sector (such as school and health), the stated goal of aligning the education sector to the industrial chain. It originates also from the pervasive digitalization, the competences-based teaching that is the methodological translation of the need to create and grow “trained gorillas” that are necessary in this phase of the capitalistic way of production.

We must rethink this model and go beyond it, in a perspective of total transformation of society. School alone does not produce any change without a global social transformation. Nevertheless there is no overcoming without considering school as the ideological apparatus in which we build the cultural egemony, where we can grow the hegemonic fight and use knowledge to free and emancipate the subalterns.

2) Emergency management and school year planning revel the absence of a centralized guide of the school sector and the fail of school autonomy, that has shaped schools on distort model of competitiveness, a market’s feature. It is not only a matter of blaming Ms. Azzolina, Minister for education, but it is a matter of verify (school by school, if

possible, today and in the next months), how an extraordinary health situation is underlying all the limits of this system and of its social organization. In this organization stands schools, too. Privatization and a private-public governance for the integrate school-business system are not able to plan and take care of collective interests. The structural investments on school buildings and workforce, a doctor in every school and other revindications that trade unions and students call for with the September 24th - 25th strike can be possible only in a State model that is not the Profit State. This is what we are talking for long time (today in a new form that doesn't change the meaning, though)

The reflection on the educational model must be included in a reflection on the social and state model and it has to do with the economic, social, cultural and education policies planning.

3) The subject. The covid-19 crisis has questioned not only this economic and social model but it has started to scratch also its two ideological pillars: competition and individualism. Those have obviously a correlation and have been introjected by and forced into young generations.

The absence of perspectives, the forced distance from normal life's school areas (classes, gyms, hallways etc) continues to produce a larger visual angle about school and society. Among masks, staggered accesses, social distances, restrictions and forced discipline students begin to think about the sense and the adequacy of that place, its function, the perspective that must open. In this condition perspective are for the few, future is unknown, and fear is a constant. This model was not working before, but now even the narrative of it does not work anymore. This condition links instant revindications with some more complex objectives: the fight for spaces and for a different learning, the struggle against internship during high schools (the so called "alternanza scuola lavoro", meaning schooling and working during school times), and so on... all these issues leads to the problem of work. It helps to transcend from the particular condition to get to social transformation goals.

For these reasons it is important to give voice to the struggles: the reorganization of the student movement, the political perspective of its link with the workers movement, the opening of a new season of struggles by precarious/flexible and poor

workers. This is a result, not a ritual, that needs to be built and constructed for the organization of a new phase , where every school sector will be able to improve an important political progress.

There will be time to focus and share this kind of reasoning directly with teachers, school workers, students, parents and families.

The the two-day strike organized by Osa, Usb, Unicobas, Cub, Cobas Sardegna and other youth political organizations is an important moment of struggle to build a leading role and an initial test for all the persons that wants to “create a different world”.



LIBERTÉ Pour GEORGES ABDALLAH

COMMUNISTE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE ARABE, MILITANT DE LA CAUSE PALESTINIENNE
PLUS VIEUX PRISONNIER POLITIQUE EN FRANCE (36 ANS!) ET LIBÉRABLE DEPUIS 1999



MANIFESTATION 24 OCTOBRE 2020 LANNEMEZAN

Cars de Paris :

**Départ : le 23/10 à 21h30
Place de la République**

Retour : le 25/10 au matin



Contact : campagne.unitaire.gabdallah@gmail.com

Long live Georges Abdallah! Let's all go to Lannemezan!

Rete dei Comunisti joins the **Campagne unitaire pour la libération de Georges Abdallah** (<https://liberonsgeorges.samizdat.net>) and participates in the month of international action alongside the political and social realities that demand the immediate and unconditional release of Georges Abdallah, Arab fighter and resistance fighter, Lebanese communist. A mobilization that will see us participate in the demonstration of 24 October 2020 under the walls of the prison of Lannemezan, where Georges is still held prisoner, after 36 years of detention.

In these years when European neo-colonialism in the Middle East is endowed with a new explosive charge, we consider it essential to support and mobilize for a comrade who has now become a symbol of the fight against imperialism.

Last Bulletin - July 2020

<http://lnx.retedeicomunisti.net/2020/07/15/newsletter-july-2020/>

Tangentopolis and now the Covid-19. The curses of a distorted development

The crisis of the North American empire

Appeal for the Nobel Peace Prize to Cuban doctors: press conference


Notes on the sidelines of the national event of 10 June under the MIUR

USB: Arcelormittal away from Taranto, nationalization and factory safety

The characteristics of the trade union challenge. Ten years after the founding of the USB

No to annexation of occupied Palestinian territories

LE AMERICHE FRA SOCIALISMO E BARBARIE



Campagna della Rete dei Comunisti per inquadrare i decisivi appuntamenti elettorali che questo autunno attraverseranno le Americhe (dagli USA al Venezuela, dalla Bolivia al Cile) all'interno della drammatica crisi del capitale globalizzato e soprattutto dell'imperialismo statunitense.

25/10 Siena 28/10 Bologna 28/10 Milano 29/10 Senigallia
30/10 Torino 30/10 Napoli 1/11 Grosseto 2/11 Pisa 7/11 Roma

Contacts

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