

NEWSLETTER OF THE TOKOLOGO AFRICAN ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE

# TOKOLOGO



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## THE BOSS NEEDS YOU, YOU DON'T NEED HIM!



## LABOUR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT CREATES



### Inside:

- ▶ EDITORIAL: Election Circus: Zuma not the problem, the whole system is rotten
- ▶ Working Class Livelihoods: Struggle against Each Other, or Revolt against the System?
- ▶ West Rand Municipal Workers Fight Wage Cuts
- ▶ Traitor to the Working Class Majority: Cyril Ramaphosa
- ▶ The 1976 Struggle and the Emancipation of the Future: Developing Self-determined and Self-motivated Youth despite Looming Fate
- ▶ Our History of Struggle: the 1980s "Workerist-Populist" Debate Revisited
- ▶ Bernard Sigamoney, Durban Indian Revolutionary Syndicalist
- ▶ Build a Strong People: Latin American Lessons in Leadership

# EDITORIAL: Election Circus: Zuma not the problem, the whole system is rotten

2014's national and provincial election circus saw the ANC retain its big majority. Two opposition parties – DA and EFF – grew; the rest fell sharply. Over 13 million never voted, more than the total who voted for the ANC and far more that voted EFF (1 million) or DA (4 million). Four out of ten youth (18-29 year olds) did not even register.<sup>1</sup>

As usual, promises were made – and broken. The ANC has spent 2014 covering up the Nkandla scandal and the Marikana massacre. It is a party of the black political elite, which is busy looting the state and ruining state companies, like ESKOM, the Post Office and SABC. This elite is allied to the white capitalist elite, which is busy ruining the country through price-fixing, factory closures, tax evasions and retrenchments. Also, ANC meddling in COSATU is causing havoc in these big working class regiments.

But any other party would do likewise. You cannot dismantle the system of oppression using its own tools: the state and the corporations. These are built on the blood of the working class; they cannot be used by us. They enrich and empower the ruling class, while keeping the people down with lies, bullets and every effort to corrupt and control unions and social movements.

The EFF seemed to bring light, despite being set up by corrupt former ANC leaders; it spoke to the hopes of the suffering. But in office, the EFF leadership immediately broke its “Sankara Oath”: to use state services only. Let us say it again: the system corrupts.

Like all Members of Parliament (MPs), EFF leaders earn one million rand yearly, free housing, free air tickets, etc. In just THREE DAYS, an MP earns over R12 500 – mineworkers fought for 90 bitter days, without pay, to earn this PER MONTH. Per month, MPs earn more than most miners get yearly. No wonder EFF leaders can keep their kids in private schools.

To remain relevant, EFF leaders have staged shows in parliament for media attention. These do not solve anything – and the top-down EFF structure, with its “command team” and personality cult around the leader, is far from the workers’ control and self-management we want.

Pay back the money? Yes, we agree. ALL of the politicians must “pay back the money” – no exceptions. Zuma must go? Yes, we agree – but we also say they must ALL GO.

The whole system – of parliament, of voting, of capitalism – is rotten. The state and elections are a graveyard of struggles, a dead-end for us – and a get-rich-quick scheme for the politicians. Working class power lives in our organisations – unions and grassroots social movements, organised democratically – and on the streets, in our communities, in our own meetings. Here is where we can build a new country, block by block, mine by mine.



**DON'T VOTE! ORGANISE!**

**REPLACE PARLIAMENT WITH SOMETHING BETTER!**

1. [http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/PolBrief61\\_Aug14.pdf](http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/PolBrief61_Aug14.pdf)

# Working Class Livelihoods: Struggle against Each Other, or Revolt against the System?

By BONGANI MAPONYANE (TAAC, ZACF)

Rising inflation means increases in food and petrol prices. Inflation is a global problem, driven partly by conglomerates maximising their profits at the expense of ordinary people. The state plays its role, continually raising prices for services.

The pressure of capitalism has impacted on our lives. It has caused clashes within the working classes, resulting in discrimination and prejudice. Ruling class elites – the political and economic elite – benefit from these struggles between people who compete for scraps from their tables.

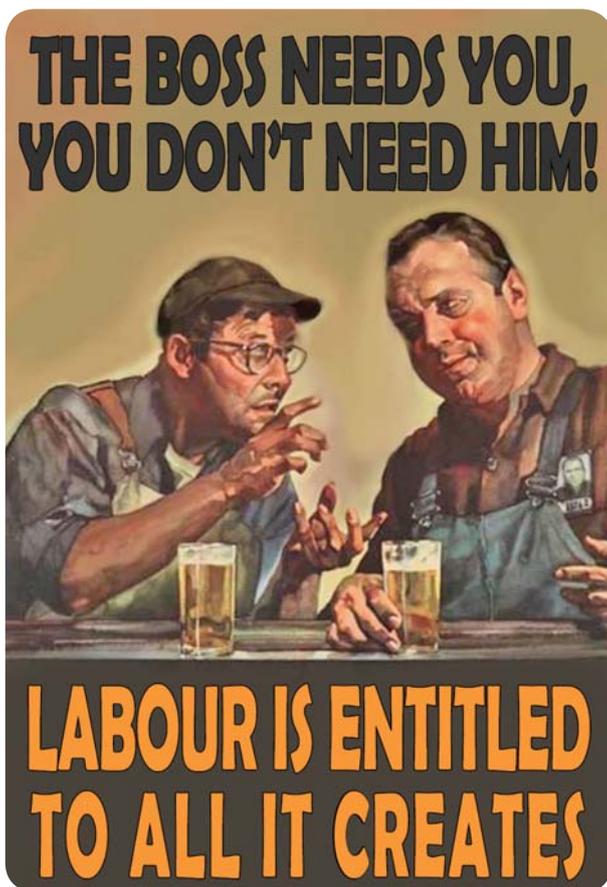
Khutsong, known as a community active in struggle, is marked by many hardships. Many are linked to inadequate public and taxi transportation systems.

Rising water and electricity tariffs were imposed on the community without any consultation. As a result, the taxi industry has hiked prices. Many people began using other means of transport, like hopping into friends' or other people's cars.

The local taxi association has tried to prevent commuters from doing so. Taxi drivers are stopping car owners found carrying passengers picked up along the road. Drivers say that they are unable to keep up with instalments, vehicle services and monthly debt. According to a driver who asked to remain anonymous, if commuters start using private

cars "[t]his will cause big financial problems for us. So we are not fighting. We just want things back to normal."

But this leads to much misunderstanding and conflict; it has been going on for months. And community members are, not surprisingly, unhappy about this situation.



This has all been to the benefit of a few capitalists who own the taxis and employ the drivers. The drivers are also workers, but are being pushed into conflict with other working class people.

Due to the increases in costs, people are also increasingly buying food in the township (Khutsong) rather than in the "town" (Carltonville). But here other conflicts of interest within the community emerge.

Khutsong is a relatively diverse community which includes Pakistanis, Ethiopians and Indians. Many of these people run small trading businesses, usually "spaza" shops (small informal shops). These compete with shops run by black South African locals, many of which have closed down. This creates grounds for more conflict and misunderstanding.

For the average person trying to look after themselves and their family – on a low wage if they are lucky enough to even be employed – all these rising costs have a very negative impact. Nor can those who have retired make ends meet, due to the little they have and receive at retirement.

People cannot live like this – people cannot sustain themselves due to these situations. The ruling class in the state and capitalism are living well. So where is the equality in all of this?

These economic and political crises that have a negative impact on the majority of society are called many things by the bosses: the "meltdown", the "credit crunch", the "recession" – all complicated terms that people don't understand.

We, the masses, need to educate ourselves politically to emancipate ourselves from mental entrapments – including conflicts that divide us that benefit the bosses and politicians. Not forgetting our “lumpenproletariat” brothers and sisters suffering on the streets who we must bring into the struggle for a better world.

The massive Anti North-West Campaign (the Khutsong struggle around provincial demarcation) a

few years ago showed the true nature of the community – a community of solidarity, resistance and rebellion.

We need this heroic character to shine again in our fight against the bosses in the state and in business. All of their wealth, whether through exploitation at work or through taxation and tariffs, is generated by the working class, both employed and unemployed.

With hierarchical systems in place that loot the working class and poor,

but which exempts big corporations from tax, and politicians from accountability, there can never be justice – and therefore no peace.

Much of our lives is still dictated by the legacy of apartheid, but perpetuated by greedy state officials and big business owners.

Will the community rise against this challenge, or rest like the name it carries?\*

\* “Khutsong” means “place of peace” in Setswana

## West Rand Municipal Workers Fight Wage Cuts

By MZEE (TAAC)

Workers in the Public Safety department of the West Rand District Municipality, Gauteng, are experiencing extremely stressful times. This is mainly due to management’s actions. There have been many cases of resignations and stress-related illnesses – and some workers have been affected badly enough to commit suicide.

Management has continually turned a blind eye to the problems. It is a major employer, as the municipality is a large one, covering mining areas like Carletonville, Khutsong, Krudersdorp, Randfontein and Westdriefontein and rural areas like Magaliesberg and Muldersdrift.

The problems started in June 2013 when employees’ salaries were unilaterally cut. The South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) and the Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union (IMATU) demanded explanations. The municipality claimed workers were being paid incorrect amounts for working on Sundays and public holidays. In terms of labour law, workers must be paid at time-

and-a-half for working Sundays and double-time for working public holidays. Management agreed, but claimed that the formula it used to calculate the extra pay was incorrect – and so, was overpaying.



SAMWU organised municipal workers on strike

The “error” was news to unions, which noted payment practices had not changed for almost 20 years. Further, municipal bosses had never previously mentioned any such “error” – not even during the tense merger processes in which workers from different local municipalities were merged into the District Municipality.

Organised labour felt it unfair to unilaterally cut salaries: the error

was on the part of management, but workers paid the price. The unions arranged a protected strike and a settlement with management was eventually reached through mediation. This included putting a new shift system in place by 1 April 2014, consultations between management and unions over implementation and ironing out how workers were going to be paid. Shift workers, who work a 12 hour shift, wanted the details consulted and in writing.

Since the settlement, municipal management has completely ignored the consultative process and unilaterally implemented a new shift system. This has meant cuts in employees’ pay.

SAMWU and IMATU have tried on many occasions to talk to management regarding these issues. However, no solutions have been found as management continues to insist that they are right in what they have done.

Again, we have a stand-off. The working class won’t back down on its rightful demands, but the political elite refuses to compromise. As in the Post Office and on the mines, agreements are ignored by the powerful.

# Traitor to the Working Class Majority: Cyril Ramaphosa



By SIYABULELA HULU-HULU (TAAC, ZACF)

It is said we live in a democratic country; but, believe me it is for the chosen few. Current Deputy President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa, was once widely considered a hero of the working class. Today he is a hypocrite and traitor to us, the majority.

From 1994, when his career as a trade unionist ended and his career

as a capitalist and state politician began, he has enriched himself at the expense of workers – he is a billionaire by the toil of our mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters.

Ramaphosa played a major role in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and in the negotiations leading to

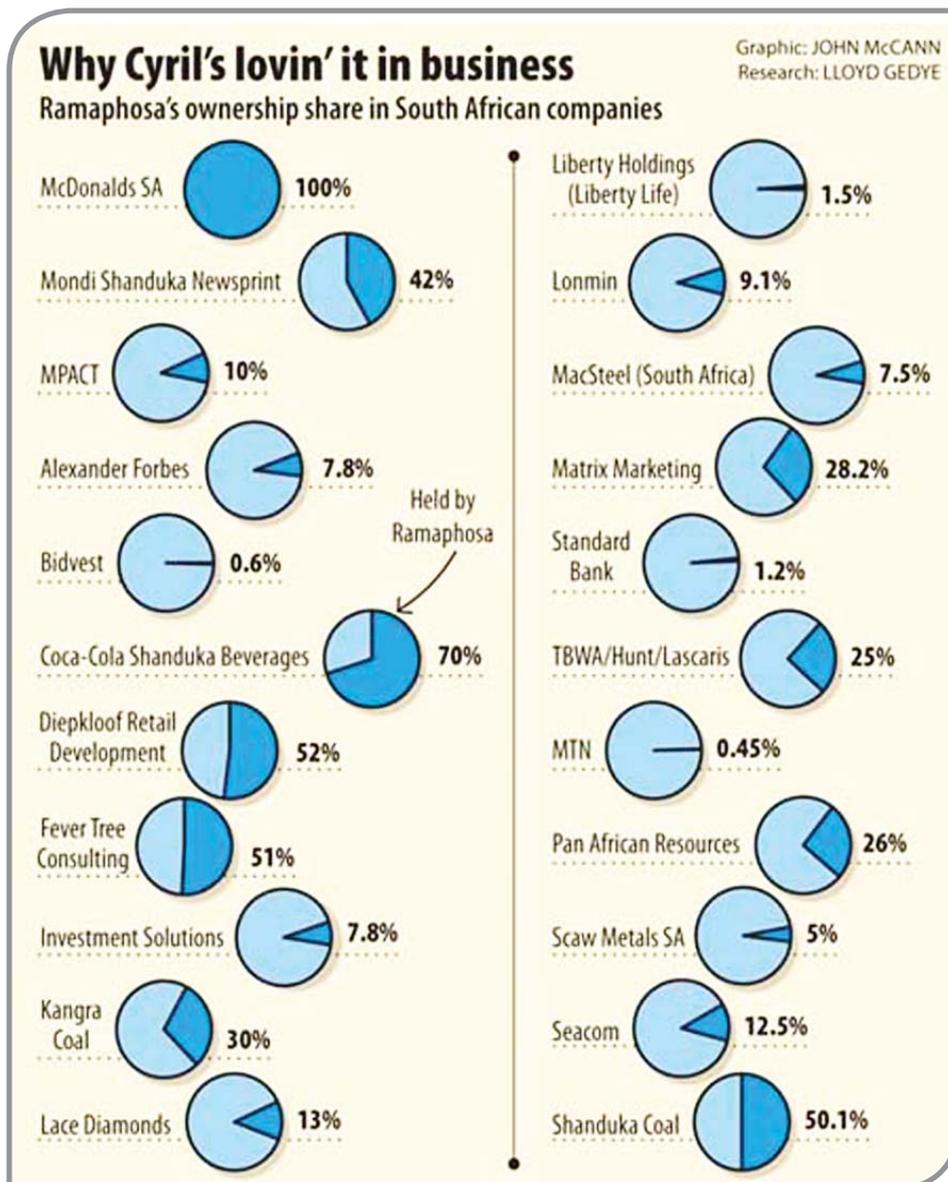
the 1994 breakthrough. He became African National Congress (ANC) secretary-general in 1991 and ANC deputy president in 2012 – the ally of President Jacob Zuma.

In the years between, his business empire has grown massively. His interests now include a big stake in the Lonmin platinum mines; he is implicated in the 2012 Marikana Massacre of striking miners near Rustenburg. As a result, he had to testify at the Farlam Commission in Centurion, Tshwane, which recently ended.

This makes me wonder what kind of democracy and equality he was fighting for. He was a hero of the anti-apartheid struggle, but is now a villain of the parliamentary democratic period. He is covered with an indelible and negative stigma amongst the majority of South Africans.

But one may not be surprised: even his leader and ally, Jacob Zuma, runs the state with filthy hands, part of the large group of corrupt state officials and capitalists that loots our country.

In conclusion, all these so-called leaders are wolves in sheep's clothing. And all that glitters, dear readers, is not gold! Parliament, rather than being a solution, is a place where the wolves come out to feast. This system of hierarchical rule always changes those people who join it. It is up to us, the working class majority – employed and unemployed – to change the system. Anarchism shows us the way.



## The 1976 Struggle and the Emancipation of the Future: Developing Self-determined and Self-motivated Youth despite Looming Fate

By BONGANI MAPONYANE (TAAC, ZACF)

The massacre of South African school children in 1976 continues to be remembered and to influence us today. It showed the brutality of the apartheid state and it left scars still felt by people today.

In the period 1970-75 the number of black schoolchildren in the state system increased by 160%. However, the Bantu Education system and economic crisis meant already low apartheid expenditure could not meet the increasing need.

This was also the time of Steve Bantu Biko, a key intellectual influence through the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The rising black trade union movement provided another source of inspiration after the defeats of the 1960s.

Black education faced a crisis: low funding plus a rising consciousness of black struggle amongst school students. These students felt the system unfair and highly oppressive. They demanded the right to a proper education, adequately equipped and staffed.

These changes, they said, would foster positive developments in

their lives and those of their families. It must be remembered that this was the period when South Africa's unemployment crisis – still with us – began.

In short, the changes they wanted were mental, social and not just about physical resources; the black working class was rejecting the system that kept it in bondage.



*Hector Pieterse (1964 - June 16, 1976). Killed at age 12 when the police opened fire on protesting students. 16 June stands as a symbol of resistance to the brutality of the apartheid government.*

On 16 June 1976, students in Soweto, Johannesburg, decided to march to the Orlando Stadium to hold a mass rally. The march was initially peaceful and disciplined and sought to show disgust with the current repressive political, economic and educational systems.

Little did they know the violence they would face that day – the violence of the state through a section of its armed forces. The students, refusing to obey a police order to disperse, were fired upon indiscriminately: Hector Pieterse, a small boy shot down, became the symbol of hundreds killed that day and in operations that followed. Prominent student leaders were tracked, structures were repressed; a general strike was called and the

revolt lasted countrywide for many months.

We continue to pay homage to those brave young people whose courage paved the way for this and for future

generations. It was their sacrifice that helped create the momentum that would result in important political changes in South Africa some 18 years later.

Have the youth of the current period of parliamentary democracy kept the radicalism and spirit of sacrifice of the 1976 generation? Or has 1994 served to phase this out, with media and market indoctrination (some of the main tools of ruling class propaganda)? Capitalist tendencies, such as mass consumerism, have engulfed black working class communities and are widespread through the use of modern technology.

Also, our youth are being ravaged by drug abuse, crime, gangs, HIV

and AIDS which claims thousands of lives daily, in a context of massive unemployment. School dropout rates are high and rising, as is teen pregnancy; the prospects for finding work after school are dismal. Apartheid is gone, but its legacy remains in the townships.

Thus the challenges faced by youth today are different to that experienced in 1976. This does not mean everything has changed. We need to look to history to learn about and not to repeat mistakes made. The 1976 revolt lacked a clear direction – this is one reason it failed, despite its heroism.

But we also look to history to provide us with inspiration. We need to revisit the spirit of the youth of 1976

and copy their courage – to overcome these issues facing our young people today. We need to be the change that we want to see.

Not all our youth are blindfolded by ruling class propaganda. There are those that are trying to take control of their destinies. They are struggling to survive, but if we use the correct tools of struggle – ideas and action – we can create the change we want to see.

This means not falling for the lies of the system – consumerism, elections, dog-eat-dog – but fighting for a free society; one without bosses, without poverty, without oppression, based on human dignity and self-management.

*Writer's comment: Thanks to comrades Mzee and Lucien for encouraging me to write an article at once touching, but also comparing the past and present.*

## Our History of Struggle: the 1980s “Workerist-Populist” Debate Revisited

Compiled by WARREN MCGREGOR (TAAC, ZACF)

Workshop contributors: Lucky, Pitso, Bongani, Siyabulela, Nonzukiso, Nonzwakazi, Mzwandile



**EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION:** Today the terms “populism” and “workerism” are widely thrown about in South African political circles. Often, these terms and others (“syndicalism,” “ultra-left,” “counter-revolutionary,” “anti-majoritarian” ...) have no meaning: they are just labels used to silence critics. SA Communist Party (SACP) leaders do this often. But in the 1980s, “populism” and “workerism” referred to two rival positions battling for the soul of the militant unions.

These debates, thirty years on, remain very relevant: let us revisit them, and learn. Today's radical National Union of Metalworkers of SA (NUMSA) was part of the “workerist” camp, while its key rival, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was identified with “populism.” The early battles over the direction of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) still echo today, although there is no longer a clear “workerist” camp.

## WHAT WAS “POPULISM”?

The 1980s “populists” were basically supporters of a brand of African National Congress (ANC) politics.

They aimed at a “popular front” of all oppressed classes and strata in the black population – including black capitalists and homeland leaders – plus white anti-apartheid democrats. Their programme was basically “nationalist,” which meant the whole “nation” was to unite across class lines and express its will through a nation-state. The anti-apartheid movement represented (they argued) a multi-class, non-racial “new nation” in the making,

This nation and the class alliance it represented, “populists” said, had to be led by a political party, the ANC. Through the ANC the “new nation”

would take state power, rule South Africa and uproot apartheid and its legacy.

## “POPULISM” AND UNIONS

So, in the 1980s “populism” basically meant uniting as many forces opposed to apartheid as possible (and in particular, oppressed black people as a whole) under ANC leadership.

And since the “national” or “popular” and “democratic” alliance had to include ALL classes, it could NOT take a revolutionary anti-capitalist position, since this would keep out capitalists. Anti-capitalists in the “populist” camp – notably the SACP – argued that the aims of this “national democratic” struggle were

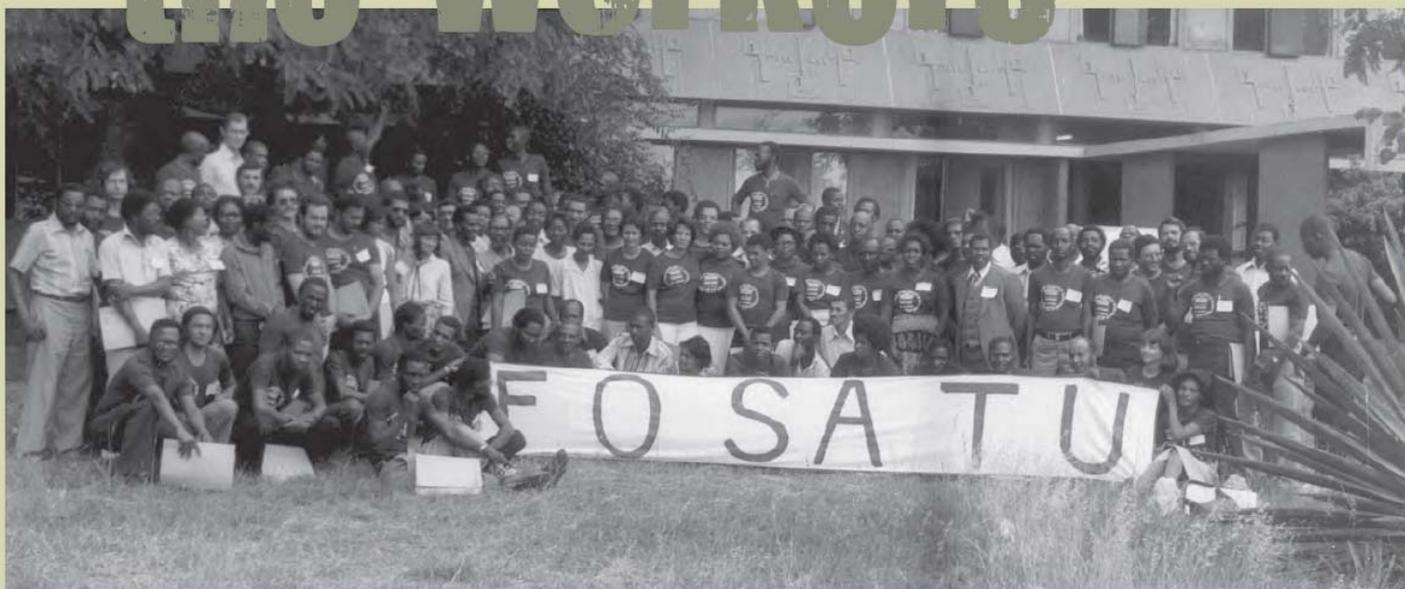
basically to overthrow apartheid, not capitalism. “Socialism” would only come after the ANC-led “national democratic” struggle was underway. To make “socialism” an immediate demand would split the nation.

For “populists” in the trade union movement (especially in NUM and around key figures like Cyril Ramaphosa and Jay Naidoo) this meant giving the ANC the reigns of struggle and making unions part of the ANC’s camp. This meant unions would support the ANC taking state power as a political party.

## PROBLEMS WITH “POPULISM”

Simply, “populism” supported what we now have: an ANC-led Tripartite

# THE FIGHT FOR the workers



*FOSATU was launched on 14 and 15 April 1979 at Hammanskraap. Workers’ democracy and control were the core tenets upon which FOSATU was founded.*

Alliance, in which COSATU is a junior partner. COSATU's role is to aid the ANC's "national democratic revolution" (NDR) by providing money, leaders and votes.

One problem is that alliances like this are used to control unions: since NDR is a multi-class, capitalist project, COSATU ends up supporting a capitalist, statist ANC in the name of "revolution." Through the alliance, the working class is married to the ruling class of capitalists and politicians which oppresses and exploits it. So, the Alliance benefits the elite much more than the working class.

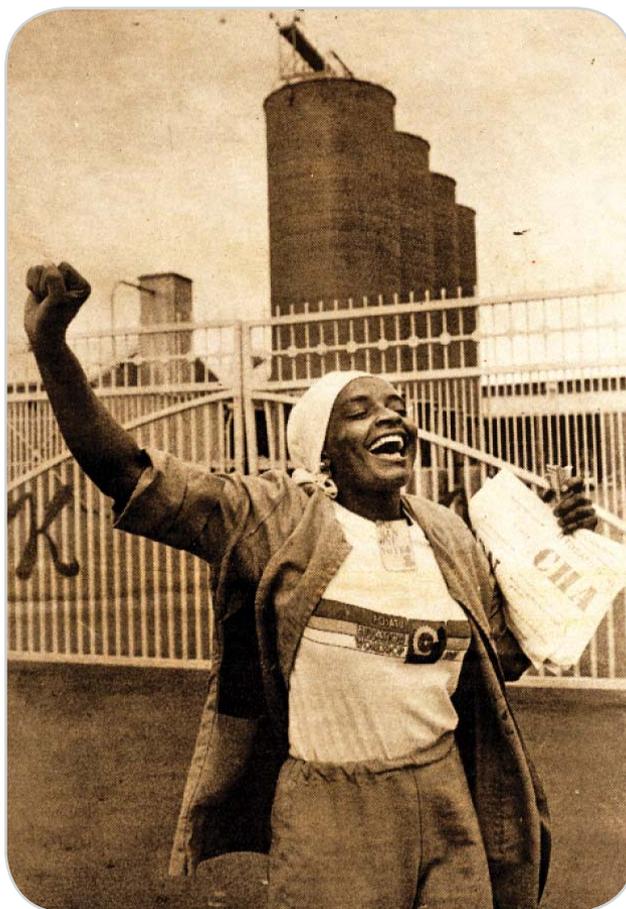
Nationalist politicians claim to represent the whole society, but society is divided by classes. The ruling class (the political and economic elite) are at war with the working class. Cyril Ramaphosa, billionaire, ANC deputy president and co-owner of Lonmin, the site of the 2012 Marikana Massacre, is evidence that the black elite have nothing in common with the working class, black or white. It is difficult to see how, in such conditions, the legacy of apartheid can be uprooted without some sort of radical bottom-up "socialism" (anarchism) being created.

Second, many COSATU leaders get rewarded for being in the Alliance and are co-opted into the ruling class – meaning they are turned against the workers. Ramaphosa, a former NUM leader, is a good example – but he is only part of a larger process that corrupts and weakens unions. This process leads to certain COSATU leaders doing the dirty work of the ANC and the ruling class that runs it.

"Populism" is basically in favour of the state – the problem is that all states serve the ruling class. To think the state can be used for the masses is an illusion.

"Populism" also serves the politicians. It aims to attract as many people as possible so that it can get its political party into state power, most times via elections. To this purpose, populists regularly hijack working class struggles and swallow the movements of the masses on their road to power. "Populism" uses militant rhetoric, but, ultimately, is an elitist project.

Coupled with the tendency of



"populism" to corrupt unions, populism has a strongly anti-democratic tendency: working class movements get corrupted, misled and used. This is surely clear after more than 20 years of the Tripartite Alliance in SA.

### WHAT WAS "WORKERISM"?

"Workerism" in the 1980s meant a left-wing current centred on a bloc of trade unions, mainly in and coming from the Federation of South

African Trade Unions (FOSATU). Formed in 1979, FOSATU was the key union federation before COSATU and included the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), which would later make up the core of NUMSA.

"Workerists" like FOSATU's Moses Mayekiso and Joe Foster were critical of alliances with black elites and tended to anti-capitalist positions. "Workerism" opposed "populism," predicting – correctly – that the ANC would turn on the working class once in state power. It stressed that nationalists always attacked the working class after Independence, pointing to Robert Mugabe's repression of unions in the early 1980s in Zimbabwe.

The ANC's "populist" style was also criticised by "workerists" for undermining democratic mass organising. While FOSATU built mass structures, factory by factory, based on meetings and mandated shopstewards, "populists" relied on unaccountable leaders who announced campaigns and expected the masses to follow. This made the "workerists" wary of working with movements influenced by "populists."

### THE "WORKERIST" ALTERNATIVE

"Workerists" were not entirely united on giving an alternative to "populism," but generally wanted some sort of "socialism" after apartheid fell. "Workerism" stressed ordinary people must have a real say: they criticised the top-down, dictatorial Marxist regimes of Russia and China.

"Workerists" insisted that unions not be allied to nationalists like the ANC, or Marxists like the SACP.

“Workerism” depended on workers acting through the unions and saw no reason for a political party to direct the struggles of workers and their communities. It emphasised the importance of independent BUT political unions: these should have their OWN political direction, not decided by outside parties.

Democratic, worker-controlled unions should also provide leadership to other working class sectors, like township movements. “Workerists” sought to intervene in neighbourhoods through union “locals” in townships and by promoting democratic models of community organising. They could be said to have favoured a working class “united front” – against the ANC’s “popular front.” The new nation, they argued, would be non-racial and *working class-controlled*.

### PROBLEMS WITH “WORKERISM”

There were some similarities between

“workerism” and syndicalism (anarchist trade unionism), but a core weakness of “workerism” was the lack of a clear enough approach of change – or outline of a future society – as compared to the ANC’s concrete “NDR” project.

“Populists” seem to have been better organised, winning ground against “workerists.” While “workerists” had a big impact in areas like Alexandra, “populists” captured the political space in many townships.

Some “workerists” even came to take pro-ANC positions. The drift

continued in the 1990s and Mayekiso (for example) became a close ally of the neo-liberal ANC President Thabo Mbeki.

### END OF THE DEBATE: COSATU

COSATU’s founding congress in 1985 was heavily shaped by FOSATU. Its political resolutions were quite “workerist”: worker-controlled unions and unions to play a political role independent of ALL parties. But arguments between “workerists” and “populists” were not over – just postponed.

By 1987, “populism” was in the ascendance. By 1990, COSATU was openly allied to the ANC. Only in 2014 has a major COSATU union, NUMSA, finally made moves to pull out of the Tripartite Alliance.



*National Union of Textile Workers, a FOSATU affiliate, at the NUTW’s AGM, November 1983. The guest speaker was FOSATU president, Chris Dlamini.*



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# Bernard Sigamoney, Durban Indian Revolutionary Syndicalist

By LUCIEN VAN DER WALT

A global movement, the anarchist and syndicalist tradition has influenced people from all walks of life. A notable figure was Bernard L.E. Sigamoney, born in 1888. The grandson of indentured Indian labourers, who arrived in South Africa in the 1870s, he became a school teacher with a working class outlook.

A hundred years ago saw the First World War (1914-1918) sear the globe: almost 40 million died. South Africa, as part of the British Empire, sent troops and workers to battles in Africa and Europe.

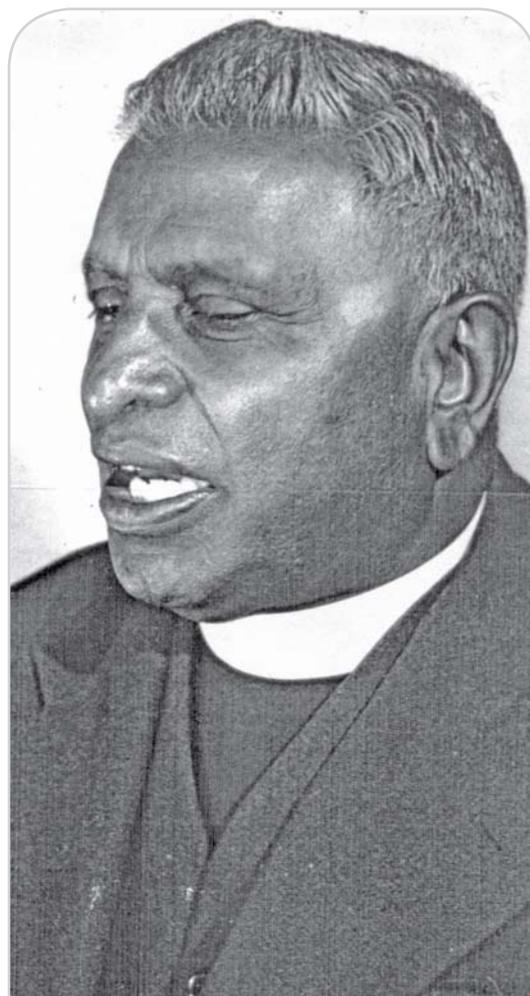
The country was hard hit by the war's economic disruptions. As food supplies ran short, Sigamoney began addressing protests in Durban. He met the local section of the International Socialist League (ISL) – an influential revolutionary syndicalist group that opposed the war as a conflict between European imperialists and capitalists, in which the working class did the dying.

The ISL championed the rights of workers of colour and wanted workers' control of production through unions. In March 1917, it formed a syndicalist Indian Workers' Industrial Union (IWIU) in Durban, with members on the docks, in garment work and laundries, painting, hotels and catering and tobacco.

Sigamoney was one of the Durban Indians who joined the ISL; he was the new union's first secretary. A very well-known figure, he chaired a major left congress in October 1917 and addressed the 1918 ISL conference. Sigamoney, the ISL and the IWIU supported IWIU waiters on strike in 1919, the 1920 strike by the independent Tobacco Workers' Union and the Indian furniture workers' strike in 1921. Sigamoney was investigated by police for instigating the 1918 strikes by black African dockworkers, but was cleared.

In the 1920s, Sigamoney returned to his family's church, becoming a radical Anglican minister. He associated with the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), a massive movement that was partly influenced by syndicalism. In his later years, he was active in anti-apartheid activities, especially around sports. He worked with figures like Albert Luthuli and led the 1962 campaign against apartheid South Africa's participation in the Olympics as chair of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC).

Sigamoney died in 1963, a life well spent.



*Sigamoney campaigning against apartheid South Africa's participation in the Olympics, ca. 1962*

## Build a Strong People: Latin American Lessons in Leadership

By JONATHAN PAYN (ZACF)

As working class activists, we should share experiences with – and learn from – working class struggles in other places. The ruling class organises worldwide to exploit and dominate our class. So we need to organise resistance to defend our interests everywhere. And we can only benefit from arming ourselves with lessons from different working class movements.

An important example of working class resistance from which we, in South Africa, can draw inspiration is the Brazilian *Resistência Popular* (Popular Resistance). This organises with unions, student and neighbourhood movements, and it promotes mobilisation and organisation based on grassroots democracy, direct struggle, and solidarity across the broad working class. It exists in various cities, and stresses the importance of people organising themselves, from the bottom up, outside of the parliamentary system, and against the economic and political elites.

The movement draws inspiration from another Latin American movement, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in Mexico, better known as the “Zapatistas.” The Zapatistas organised an important rebellion against neo-liberalism on 1 January, 1994, in the Chiapas prov-

ince. Although they were contained by the state’s army, they secured control over a range of areas.

In these areas, ordinary villagers have governed themselves outside of the state for the last twenty years; the Zapatistas act as servants of these villages, not as a ruling army. Self-governance in these areas includes new ways of dealing with crime and anti-social behaviour education; communities develop their education curricula, and run their own schools and health clinics.

The Zapatistas are named after Emiliano Zapata, a Mexican revolutionary from the 1910s. Zapata was partly influenced by anarchism, and insisted that “A strong people doesn’t need a strong leader”.

*Resistência Popular* has a similar slogan: “Build a strong people”. What this means is that organising should stress building movements and militants that do not rely on a few great leaders. The role of leadership here is to showing other people that they ALSO have the potential to lead, or-

ganise and take action. To “build a strong people” means to build a people where everyone can, at one time or another, play an active and leading part.

This is very different to the style of leadership we have often seen in South Africa, Zimbabwe and elsewhere, where people look to leaders to save them, and leaders look to people to serve them. As we have seen, this top-down division between leaders and led, based on hero worship and a lack of accountability, undermines democracy and initiative; it is a recipe for the rise of self-enriching politicians and repressive dictators.

For *Resistência Popular*, leaders are not an authority outside or above the people but are part of the people such that, as the great anarchist Mikhail Bakunin said:

*“Each is an authoritative leader and in turn is led by others. Accordingly there is no fixed and constant authority, but continual exchange of mutual, temporary and, above all, voluntary authority and subordination ... Hierarchical order and promotion do not exist, so that the executive of yesterday can become the subordinate of tomorrow. No one rises above the others and, if he does rise, it is only to fall back again a moment later, like the waves of the sea forever returning to a salutary level of equality”.*

“Build a strong people”: this is an idea whose time has come.



# iTOKOLOGO AFRICAN ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE (iTAAC)

## A. Yintoni iTAAC?

iTokologo African Anarchist Collective yindibaniso ye zimvo ezidityaniswe phantsi kwe anarchist kunye nabantu abavumelana, abaxhasa umhlanhlandlela nezimvo ze anarchism. Abanje nga abahlali kunye nabasebenzi. Ifuna ukukdibanisa rhoqo ukufundisa kunye nokusebenzela ukusaphaza imfundiso phakathi kwabasebenzi abahlala eMzansi Afrika. Injongo yezizimvo ku kuthatha inxaxheba ekwakheni indlela e za nenguquko kunye nombutho o xhasa inguquko e za ku ba namandla o kulwa nokwahlula ukuphathwa gadalala. Okukungenzeka ngoku phakanyiswa kwenkuleleko yabantu abasezingeni labasebenzi kunye nokuziphendulela.

## B. Izimisele ukwenzantoni iTAAC?

Amalungu a dibana xhoqo ngendibano yabantu kanye ngenyanga ukwenzela ukuxoxa – inxoxo mpikiswano mayelana nezimvo ze-anarchist. Amalungu a dibana ngokufunda ngomphakhathi nendlela zokwazi ukudibanisa abantu nabasebenzi. Amalungu a dibana ngokuhambisa inqubo zeTAAC. Ukudibanisa nokuqhu bekesisa abahlali njengo mphakhathi osezingeni lokusebenza, nge-workshop. Ekwakheni nasekusasazeni imfundiso ejongene nomsebenzi weTAAC kunye ne-anarchism (Iemfundiso iyafakelela ayichaswanga kwiTAAC qha-Tshirt.

## C. Siyenzela ntoni lento?

iTAAC ifuna ukukhulisa ulwazi nge-anarchism. Izimvo, amacebo, nendlela kwabaphila bedibaniswa kwabasebenzi namahlwemphu kwibahlali eMzansi Afrika.

iTAAC ifuna ukudibanisa i-activist kunye nomphakathi mayelana nezimvo, indlela, amacebo e-anarchist.

iTAAC ifuna ukwakha umtsalane ukuze abantu bayiseke iTAAC. iTAAC ifuna ukuvuselela amandla okukhwawulezela ixhiso kwizinga eliphezulu malunga nokuxhatyazwa kwemphakathi. Enye indlela efuna ukuqhubeka nokuthethisana ngemibutho enomdlandla.

## D. Ngubani onelungelo lokuzimanya neTAAC?

Amalungu kwiTAAC ayivulelwanga wonke ubani ngokwesilelo. Amalungu ngaBantu ekumele bafundise ngenjongo ze-anarchism. Abafuna

ukuzimanya nolombutho kumele bazingenjongo yeTAAC, nangendlela yokufundisa abanye abantu. iTAAC ifuna ukukhulisa ulwazi komnye, nomye umntu ngamnye malunga neTAAC. Ekwenzeni oku umntu ngamnye a phelele ngolwazi nezimvo zeTAAC. Indlela nokuzinekelela ekuzimanyeni neTAAC.

Igunya lokuba lilungu linikezwa umntu ngokwesivumelwano okanye isiqgibo sembumba. Ngokubhekiselele: 1) Kwimisebenzi yomntu ekuthatheni inxaxheba kumaphulo asekuhlaleni. Kwimbizo (workshop) umntu unakho ukuthetha namalungu eTAAC okanye anyulwe ngamalungu lawo eTAAC, ngomqweno wokuqhubeka nemfundo yobuAnarchist. 2) Aba bantu baye bamenywe ukuba babe yinxalenye yenqubo zemfundo esele zikho kakade (isikolo sezepolitiko se Anarchist, APS) emva koko3) umnqweno womntu wokubayinxalenye ye APS nasemva kothwaso-sidanga kwi APS kuvulelekile kwabo bazibona njenge Anarchists kanti nakwabo bangaziboni njalo. Nangona kunjalo, ubulungu bunikwa abo bahambiselanayo nombono we TAAC. Amalungu ke athi azibophelele ekusasazeni imibono ye Anakhizim (Anarchisim) kubantu abahlelelekileyo nabo bangathathi'ntweni ekuhlaleni, (amalungu) ekhokelwa sisigqibo sembumba ye TAAC.

## E. Ngubani othatha izigqibo kwiTAAC?

Zonke iTAAC izigqibo ekuvunyelenwe ngazo kwindibano yenyanga kumalungu. Kwezi ndibano kukhutshwa umyalelo mayelana nezigqibo ngokugatsa.

Ezigqibo nomyalelo wenzeka ngesivumelano sawo wonke umntu ekupheleni kwenyanga.

iTAAC ikhetha indlela encinane edityanelweyo ngomsebenzi okhethiweyo (umsekelo).

Iqumxhu labahlalutyi. Ezindibaniselo yigqitsa kwindibano yenyanga. Ezizigqibo zizaku khankanywa ngokwemisebenzi yazo. Ezindibaniselo maziphendulelwe kumalungu onke.

Ezigqibo, nemiselo kumele zibe phantsi komyalelo ekugqutyweni ngamalungu ngempela nyanga. Ezindibano kumele ziphinde zaziswe emva kwakhona amalungweni ayo ngenyanga. Ngokunikela kwimiyalelo kunye nezigqibo ezidityanelweyo.

# TOKOLOGO AFRICAN ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE (TAAC)

## A. TAAC ke eng?

Tokologo African Anarchist Collective ke mokgatlo o o ekemetseng wa di anarchist (go ipusa ga batho) le ba ema nokeng ba go ipusa ga batho ba e reng ba batla phetogo setjhabeng le ditirong. Ba tsa karolo ba dira jaaka barutisi TAAC e kopana gangwe le gape go ithuta le go atisa megopolo ya go ipusa ga batho mo bathong ba ba di kobo khutswane mo Afrika borwa. Megopolo e e batla go thusa go aga mo etlo wa phetogo ya puso le go aga mekgatlo e e matla ya phetogo ya puso go lwa le go tsenya kgatelelo le tiriso e e makgwakgwa ya batho.

## B. TAAC e batla go dira eng?

Ba tsaya karolo ba kopana gangwe kgwedi le kgwedi go bua go ganetsana le go ithuta ka megopolo ya go ipusa ga batho. Ba tsa karolo ba kopana go ithuta bokgoni ba go kopanya setjhaba le go kopanya babareki.

Ba tsa karolo ba kopana go atisa ditirelo tsa TAAC. Ketse:

1. Ke go kopanya le go tsaya karolo mo dithutong tsa setjhaba sa babareki.
2. Go dira le go tsamaisa tlhotlheletso ya dipolitiki e amanang le tiro ya TAAC le anarchism - go ipusa ga batho (tlhotlheletso e akaretsa, lekwalo dikgang la TAAC, dintlha, le di t-shirt).

## C. Ke eng re dira se?

TAAC e batla go gagamatsa tlhologanyo ya anarchism megopolo wa yona, ditsela tsa yona le ma ikemisetso a yona.

TAAC e batla go ikaga ka go gogela batho ba bantsi go tsa karolo mo go TAAC. TAAC e batla go natlafatsa mowa wa moetlo le tshepo mo ntweng le kopano kगतlanong le kgatelelo le tiriso e e makgwakgwa mo setjhabeng. Tsela engwe ya go dira se ke go batla go kopana le gape le mekgatlo e mengwe ya setjhaba e e matlhagatlhaga.

## D. Ke mang ooka tsayang karolo mo go TAAC?

Go tsa karolo ha go a dumellwa mongwe le mongwe yo o batlang. Ba tsa karolo ba tshwanetse go ba

barutisi ba megopolo ya anarchism. Ba batlang go tsaya karolo ba tshwanetse ba be barutilwe ka megopolo e, le go rutiwa go ruta ba bangwe ka megopolo e TAAC e batlang go natlafatsa tlhologanyo ya motho ka mongwe ka ga anarchism. Ka jalo motho ka mongwe o tshwanela ke go ela tlhoko megopolo ya TAAC le tsela, le maikemisetso a a batlegang go tsa karolo mo go TAAC.

Go tsaya karolo go dumeletswe motho ka monwe ke tumelano ya ba tsa karolo. E leng gore:

1. Motho ka mongwe yo o tsayang karolo mo dithutong tsa setjhaba. Mo dithutong tse motho a ka buisana le o mongwe wa ba TAAC ka keletso ya go tswelala pele ka go ithuta ka ga anarchist kapa a lemogwe ke o mong wa TAAC o o le teng.
2. Ka mo motho ka mongwe o tla memiwa go tsa karolo mo dithutong tse di leng teng anarchist political school (APS).
3. Motho ka mongwe o tla tsa karolo fa a setse a atlegile mo go APS. Go tsa karolo go dumeletswe motho o o atlegileng mo go APS o e leng anarchist le o e seng anarchist. Go tsaya karolo go dumeletwse ba banang le pono TAAC. Ba tsaya karolo ba ikemeseditse go tlatsa megopolo ya anarchism mo babereking le setjhaba sa dikobo dikhutswane jaaka e le tumelano ya maikemisetso a mokgatlo wa TAAC.

## E. Ditumelano tsa TAAC di diriwa jang ke mang?

Di tumelano tsa TAAC di diriwa ke ba tsaya karolo ba TAAC kgwedi le kgwedi ga ba kopana. Ke di kopano tse mo ditiro di tlhophiwang teng le go ithaopa gore o dirang eng. Di tumelano tsa botlhe ba mo kopanong. TAAC e ka thlopha mokgatlo o o ka dirang dilo tse ding jaaka sekao (editorial collective). Mokgatlo o o tlhophiwana le go simollwa mo kopanong. Mokgatlo o itlhopela tiro e o tlae dirang. Fela mokgatlo o o tshwanelwa ke go tshepagala mo bathong botlhe, ba ba mo kopanong. Mokgatlo o tshwanelwa ke go busa karabo gore ba dirileng jang mo kopanong e e latelang jaaka ba laetswe ka tumelano ya batho botlhe.

# TOKOLOGO AFRICAN ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE (TAAC)

## - STATEMENT OF INTENT -

Adopted at TAAC general meeting, 16 March 2013

### A. What is the TAAC?

The Tokologo African Anarchist Collective is a loose collective of anarchists and anarchist-sympathisers who are community and worker activists. Its members function primarily as educators.

It seeks to meet regularly to learn about and work towards spreading the ideas of anarchism within the working class residing in South Africa. These ideas are aimed at contributing to building:

- a revolutionary counter-culture, and
- revolutionary organisations of counter-power to fight and defeat domination and exploitation. This can be done by promoting direct working class organisational democracy and accountability

### B. What does the TAAC seek to do?

The members meet regularly at general meetings once a month to discuss, debate and learn about the ideas of anarchism. The members meet to learn community and worker organising skills.

The members meet to co-ordinate the activities of the TAAC. These are:

1. Organising and carrying out working class community-based workshops
2. Creating and distributing propaganda relevant to the work of the TAAC and anarchism (this propaganda includes, but is not limited to TAAC newsletters, statements and t-shirts).

### C. Why do we do this?

The TAAC seeks to develop an understanding of anarchism – its ideas, strategies and tactics – amongst those living and organising in working class and poor communities in South Africa. The TAAC seeks to do this through the activities mentioned in **B**.

The TAAC seeks to organise these activists and communities around the ideas, strategies and tactics of anarchism.

The TAAC seeks to build itself by attracting more people to join the TAAC.

The TAAC seeks to revive a spirit of counter-culture and optimism about struggle and organisation against domination and exploitation in these communities. Another way of doing this is by seeking to regularly meet with active community-based organisations.

### D. Who can join the TAAC?

Membership to the TAAC is not open to everyone on request.

Members must be educators of the ideas of anarchism. As such those who seek to join the TAAC must have been educated about these ideas beforehand, as well as being taught how to educate others about the ideas.

The TAAC seeks to develop an individual's understanding of anarchism. In so doing, the individual must become fully aware of the ideas of the TAAC and the processes and commitments required to join the TAAC.

Membership is granted to an individual by collective member decision. It will be based on:

1. An individual having participated in a community-based workshop. At the workshop, individuals either approach TAAC members with a desire to continue their anarchist education, or are identified by a TAAC member present;
2. These individuals are then invited to participate in the already existing process of education (the Anarchist Political School, APS); and then
3. the individual's own desire to join once they have graduated from the APS

Membership is open to APS graduates who identify as anarchists or to those who do not identify as anarchists. However, membership is granted to those who share the vision of the TAAC. Members then commit to spreading the ideas of anarchism in working class and poor communities as determined by collective TAAC decision.

### E. How are TAAC decisions made and by whom?

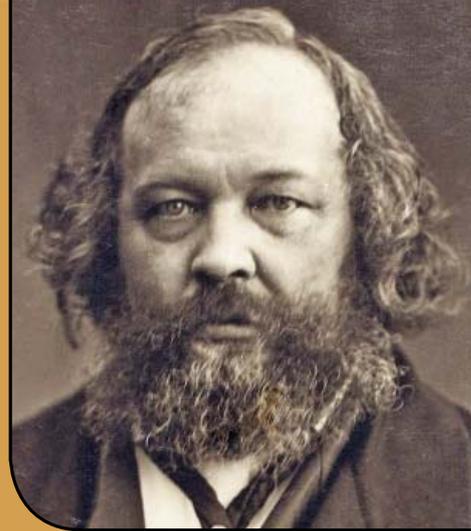
All TAAC decisions are agreed to at the monthly general meetings of the members. It is at these meetings that mandates are decided on and volunteered to.

These decisions and mandates are decided by general agreement at these monthly general meetings.

The TAAC may choose to form smaller collectives to carry out specific tasks, e.g. an Editorial Collective. These collectives are decided on and formed at their monthly general meetings. These collectives may decide on their own tasks. However, these collectives must be accountable to the general body of members. These decisions and tasks must fall within the mandate for these smaller collectives as decided by the members at the monthly general meeting. These collectives must report back to general monthly meeting, as determined by their mandate and collective decision.

“I am truly free only when all human beings, men and women, are equally free. The freedom of other men, far from negating or limiting my freedom, is, on the contrary, its necessary premise and confirmation”.

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