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EDITORIAL: No Justice, No Peace: A Year of Struggle

Welcome to the first double issue of *Tokologo*, combining issues 5 and 6. This marks our third year of publishing by the Tokologo African Anarchist Collective and its study circles.

2015 has been a turbulent year. On the one side, the horrors of attacks on immigrants and foreigners continue. In April, attacks broke out, mainly in KwaZulu-Natal, spurred directly by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's inflammatory statements. One of the big failures of the 1994 transition was that much of the old Bantustan/ homeland apparatus remained in place, with the continuing power of chiefs and kings. Again, in October, this time spurred by rumours and the taxi associations, there were riots in the Eastern Cape.

We disagree with the idea that the attacks are simply a matter of hate and fear ("phobia"). Working class and poor people get drawn into these attacks because they are desperate for jobs, money and housing, and because they are told, day in and day out, that the "foreigners" are taking these from them. This is clear from the articles in this issue. Of course, riots allow looting and venting of frustration, an illusion of power. The idea that the attacks are just criminal activities is too simple. They clearly target certain groups. And the idea that the attacks are some "Afrophobia" coming from a bad attitude is also mistaken. Asians like Bangladeshis are also attacked.

It is the ruling class that misleads poor people into these attacks: it's divide-and-rule and must be stopped.

On the other side, great displays of the power and potential of the working class. In Grahamstown, the Unemployed Peoples Movement tried to stop the violence. Meanwhile, many neighbourhood-based struggles continue, including this year in many Coloured townships. The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (NUMSA) is now expelled from the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU), and is looking at building an alternative that will help link these up. But how and for what? NUMSA is divided, sometimes speaking of a movement for socialism, sometimes a new union federation of "rebel" unions — and moderate non-COSATU unions, like the Federation of Unions of SA (FEDUSA). And sometimes NUMSA hints of forming a new workers party.

The NUMSA-initiated United Front is growing. It has at least 300 affiliates. It has approached the university and technikon student movements to propose a national student summit. But it is not simply a NUMSA front, it has its own dynamics, and has not adopted NUMSA's Marxism-Leninism. And privately, militants in the UF complain of NUMSA not providing the support people hoped.

Meanwhile the clock is ticking. Hard choices need to be made.

As will be clear from articles, we are completely opposed to the idea of forming a new workers party, whether on a radical or a moderate ticket. Elections and state power cannot free the working class. Only direct struggle, self-managed bottom-up movements, and direct worker-community control of the means of production and force, and self-administration, can change society — rather than lead to a new elite taking power. This is the lesson of South Africa since 1994, and of Ghana in 1957, when it became the first independent state in West Africa, as our articles show: *don't vote, organise counter-power from below!*

We are for the UF, we are for NUMSA, but we call for a programme of working class autonomy and anarchist-communism. Because there is no way Africa can recover from its bleeding state, and be a place of dignity and equality and development for its working class, poor and peasant masses, without a radical break with the post-colonial state, the political and economic ruling class, and imperialism.

And let us be clear: fighting for working class/peasant power does not mean ignoring issues like women's oppression, imperialism or racism. As we explain in the article on women's oppression: you can only unite the masses to change society by fighting all forms of oppression and division; but you can only end all forms of oppression and

division by building working class/peasant counter-power and counter-culture to make a real revolution that changes society completely.

In October, COSATU, then NUMSA, held mass political strikes against "corruption." This is a worthwhile demand, but corruption is built into the system. The system needs to go. The problem is not a few corrupt politicians and capitalists. It is a system built on the theft of the means of life, land, time, raw materials and equipment from the working class, of daily theft by exploitation, of endless attacks on the people by the blue-garbed army of the rich (police), and of attacks through unemployment, bad services and misery. Even if every politician and capitalist was "honest," these basic crimes remain. So to end corruption, *end the corrupt capitalist/ state system!*

The student movement also showed massive power. Earlier this year, the movement was quite a small one, centred on issues of racism and transformation at a few elite universities: UCT, Rhodes, Stellenbosch, the University of the Witwatersrand. The demands were a mixed bag, as were the movements, and the focus was on (the very important) issues of affirmative action, symbols and language. Left currents pushed for inclusion of workers' issues like outsourcing – the reality is the vast majority

of our people will never, in the current system, go near a university except as a cleaner or a driver. But government budget cuts to universities, which cause rising fees, provoked an explosion bringing in tens of thousands.

New layers came in, blacks and whites joined together, there were massive confrontations and showdowns with police. For much of 2014 and 2015, media coverage has focused on the elite universities, on groups like the Black Students Movement at Rhodes and Rhodes Must Fall at UCT. These campuses and groups are very important. But what became clear in 2015 was the historically dominant student formation, the left-wing SA Students Congress (SASCO), remains central. And that black working class students, poorer campuses, and campus workers, were setting the pace.

A small victory: a fees freeze nationally. On some campuses: workers will be insourced. But the crisis is not over. To win free education requires confronting the state. To fund it: R70 billion at least, because the rising fees are driven by neo-liberal budget cuts. In the early 1990s, R8 of R10 spent at "Rhodes" University came from the state, and today it is R5. Meanwhile numbers have doubled. The lost R3 is made up with spending cuts, rising fees and low wages. The problem is not, as some student movements think, a few bad VCs running

the varsities and techs, but is part of neo-liberal crisis-ridden capitalism, based on pay-more-get-less, promote-the-rich and loot-the-public. So the fight is a fight against the state and the capitalist class.

But it is more than fees. Driving the pressure for getting into university is mass youth unemployment, driving the fear of rising fees is the growing difficulty accessing university. SA's problems will not be solved with bursaries, but with mass job creation for useful work, a massive overhaul of the failed schools system in the townships, a massive increase in access to techs, and more universities, more techs, training people to reconstruct the country on the lines of socialism-from-below, giving everyone what they need, as human beings – not wages based on the job you do or don't do. For now: we fight for *free education for the working class and poor and for a Workers' and People's Scientific University, not a "world-class university" or an "African university."*

This means fighting for a new society: anarchist-communism, which rips up the apartheid legacy, the state and capital, and puts power in the hands of the working class and poor. We stand in a long tradition, and our heroes come from all places: see the article on cde Bill Andrews, previous issues having looked at comrades like Bernard Sigamoney and T.W. Thibedi. This is what we stand for: please see our documents in several languages, African as well as English, and if you agree, JOIN WITH US. CONTACT US. ATTEND OUR POLITICAL SCHOOLS. READ OUR MATERIALS.



Anarchism and the Continuing Struggle for Women's Freedom

by BONGANI MAPONYANE (TAAC, ZACF)

As anarchist-communists, we oppose sexism whenever and wherever it exists, although we also realise that class position differentiates the experience of sexism. We salute all the woman freedom fighters, and the older generation of women, many our mothers, who bear the scars of the gruesome battles in which they stood firm, fighting the oppression imposed on the African native by colonial conquest.

There were hard times in the apartheid era, where black women were abused, raped and oppressed: the state did nothing to stop this, but aided it, as the state was part of the system of oppression. History shows that dispossession and systematic dehumanization for the purposes of exploitation and domination were undertaken through the uncontrolled and coercive mayhem of the South African state.

CAPITALISM'S GUILT

It is now 20 years into the era of parliamentary democracy, but the oppression of women continues to haunt society. We live in capitalism, and capitalism has a major impact on the current situation. The oppression of women lets the bosses have a flexible work force, it makes it easy to hire

and fire women at will. Women don't really have job security, and they are often fired when they fall pregnant. The bosses justify lower wages and job security for women, saying that men are the breadwinners.

This is one major reason that women are concentrated in low-wage and insecure jobs as domestic workers, seasonal farm workers, contract workers and in factories – all areas where the wealth of the economy is being produced, where they are exploited severely.

Working class and poor women are oppressed, not just as members of the working class, but as women. They face problems that men do not. However, their special oppression as

women is in many ways due to their class position in the class system of capitalism and the state.

CLASS EFFECTS

We realise through capitalism a wealthy woman can afford many things, and has full access to things like cars, credit cards and a "maid". And we know that many of the struggles to end women's oppression are dominated by middle-class and upper-class women. But since upper class women have an investment in capitalism and the state, they cannot fight against the deep causes of women's oppression in the system. They are part of the system.

HOME-GROWN OPPRESSION

Building a strong working class movement requires tackling the stumbling blocks working class and poor women face in society to date. When we men exercise a degree of power over women, it is unethical, immoral and insensitive – yet this home-grown oppression is manifested so widely in people's lives that it's seen as normal.

But who benefits from this behaviour? It is the ruling class. All these hierarchies support one other, and collectively serve the same purposes: keeping the working class exploited, divided and





controlled, to the benefit of the big business-state alliance.

The long history of women's oppression have continues to haunt modern day society. While women are expected to work as hard, even harder than men, they earn less, and have less security, as well as many household tasks. Yet in our movements we do not have enough women in leadership, some even asking if women are competent for these positions. And because women working class and poor face so many burdens, it makes a

difficult situations, like limiting their participation within their unions and movements, and this in return makes them vulnerable and silenced from voicing our some of their specific grievances.

RIP UP THE TREE OF PAIN

Thus we as anarchist-collectivist oppose sexism wherever it exists. But only a powerful, united working class movement can rip up the tree of women's oppression, growing in the soil of capitalism. But such a movement can only be built by fighting against attitudes and systems that oppress women.

No Illusions: 2016 Elections no Solution for the Masses



by WARREN MCGREGOR (ZACF, TAAC)

Many in the working class hope the 2016 local government elections will prove a turning point. The ruling African National Congress (ANC) won the 2014 elections easily, but its grip is weakening. The ANC-allied Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) has split, the radical metal union NUMSA expelled. The ANC could even lose control of at least one of giant "metro" municipality in 2016, possibly greater Johannesburg or Nelson Mandela Bay – probably to the moderate Democratic Alliance (DA), not the ANC breakaway, Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).

THE VOTE WON'T FREE YOU

We anarchists and anarchist sympathisers in the TAAC (and ZACF) have stated consistently our opposition to elections to state power. State institutions of political power are the graveyard of the struggles of the working class and poor. Elected representatives, no matter what party, are quickly co-opted into these wealthy halls of ruling class power, no matter their origins. There they wheel-and-deal with others in the ruling class, including full-time (and unelected) senior state managers, like the directors and generals,

and the capitalists who spend time and money lobbying, bribing and striking business deals with the politicians.

All state policies are in the interests of furthering exploitation and profit-making. The only exception is where mass power forces politicians and bosses to make changes – out of fear. The massive student struggles of 2015 forced a fee freeze in all universities, as well as an end to outsourcing (privatisation) in some – *achieving more in 2 weeks than EFF actions in parliament did in 2 years.* Struggle is how you win

change, not dropping paper into a box every few years.

THE PARTIES ARE RUN BY ELITES

The ANC rules, again, over a "better life" for the ruling class, the capitalists and state managers, with massive economic problems, unemployment and poverty for the rest of us. Its much-praised welfare system papers over the cracks, but does not come close to ending poverty and suffering with its tiny grants, and lack of assistance to the unemployed millions. Corruption by both politicians and capitalists, disastrous management by party "cadres" in SABC, ESKOM and other state enterprises, and neo-liberal policies are the sign of the dark times. New Finance Minister Nhlanhla Nene has repeatedly

promoted austerity in his budgets and speeches. The ANC has meanwhile centralised executive power in the Presidency and Treasury, making parliament even more useless than normal.

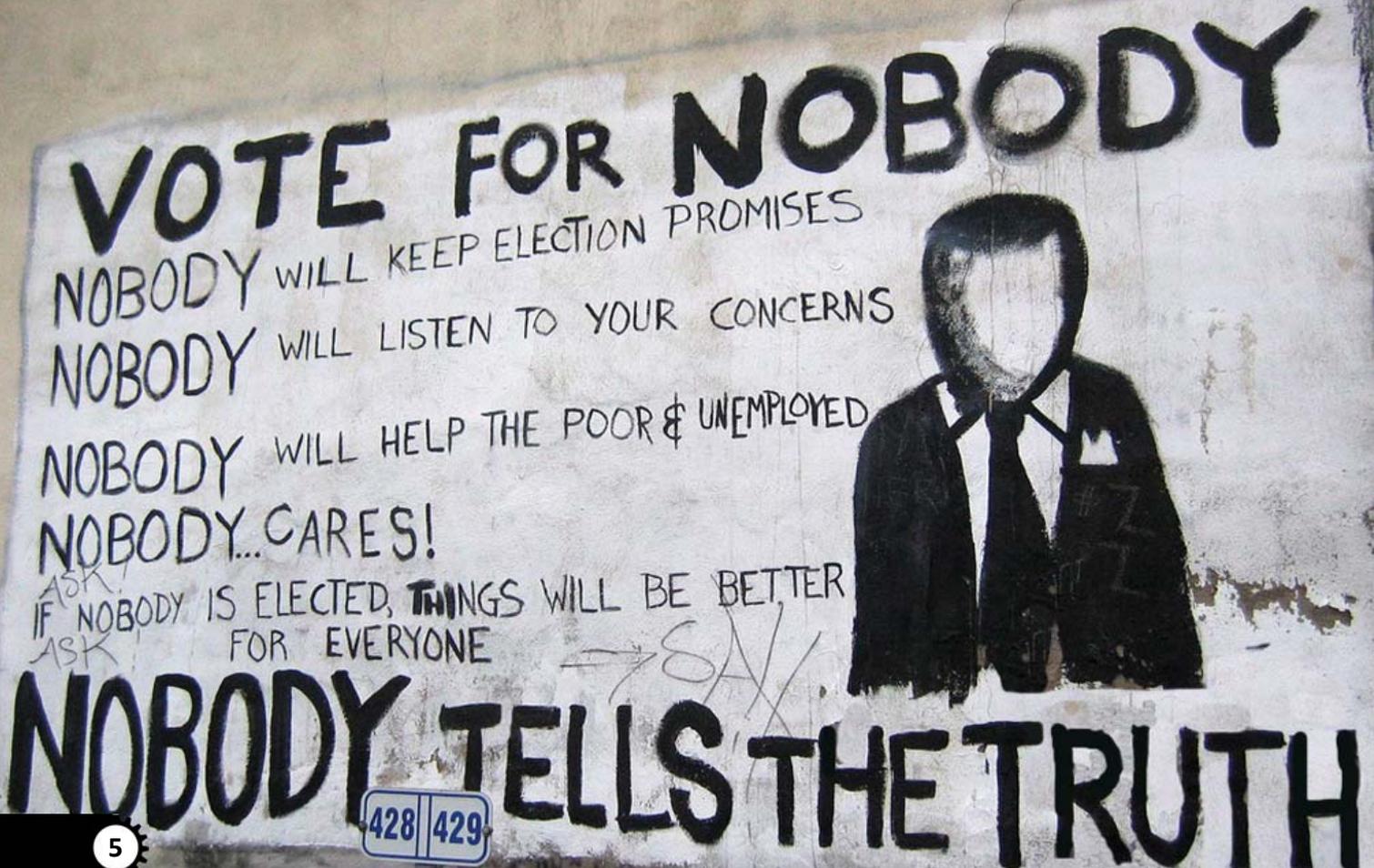
But the problem is not just the ANC, let alone ANC leader President Jacob Zuma – as rival parties like to pretend. The state, by its very nature, ensures the exploitation and domination of the working class and poor, and it corrupts and co-opts all who sit at its head.

THE EFF IS NO DIFFERENT

The EFF has proved no exception. EFF leaders signed a public pledge (the "Sankara Oath") stating they and their families would use state facilities like schools and hospitals, consult the masses and build an honest state.

Within hours of taking office, EFF MPs broke this promise, and also added that they would be making full use of generous parliamentary salaries and perks, like free flights. As for honesty, Malema's expensive lawyers have spent the last few years helping him dodge jail time for corruption, racketeering and tax fraud, arising from extensive involvement in corrupt privatisation contracts.

And consultation? The EFF is top-down in character, held together by the expelled leadership of the ANC Youth League, notably Malema and Floyd Shivambu. 3 EFF MPs were expelled in 2015 after providing evidence Malema used EFF funds for personal expenses. The 2014 EFF national conference post-elections was also used to purge critics, and other heavy-handed interventions into branches and



regions also helped centre power in the Malema group.

The EFF sees the gap in the voting market as African youth stuck in impoverished townships, as well as struggling workers battling vicious bosses. Like the ANC itself, the EFF knows the value of staying in the public eye, of grand promises, of a rhetoric continually referencing “revolutionary” slogans, yet devoid of any revolutionary action, of politics built around the uncritical support for charismatic leaders, and of using party funds to build a network of patronage to centralise power.

THE POLITICS OF PUBLICITY STUNTS

The obsession of historically white-owned media with Malema, as “black bogeyman,” provides free publicity. To access state office and benefits, it needs their votes; this is the aim of events like the “pay-back-the-money” shouting campaign in parliament. (Even so, EFF still secured only 6% of the vote in 2014 – more youth stayed away from voting than voted EFF).

Fundamentally, EFF is built on spectacular publicity stunts arranged from above, empty promises (like the 2015 land occupation campaign that was quietly cancelled), multi-million dollar rallies with free t-shirts, and so-called “socialist” catch-phrases to win poor black people’s votes e.g. “nationalisation,” “economic emancipation,” “land reform.” Its ideology is shifting, but has strong flavours of exclusivist Africanist (anti-minority) nationalism and Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, to



brand it as radical and take the space the ANC seems to have vacated.

REAL CHANGE COMES FROM US

This type of politics is no basis for revolutionary transformation. It keeps the system where the masses are spectators, not players, where freedom is seen as something brought from on high, by great leaders, where change comes through parties and elections – not from the people, themselves. And its nationalism, hiding class divisions, including between the (wealthy) ANC and EFF leaderships and their (poor) mass voting base, further confuses the issues.

The 2016 elections will simply repeat the politics of spectacles, of the circus of politics, based on the 3 main parties. Nothing will be achieved, hopes will be dashed, and at most some faces in the ruling class will change.

THE STATE IS YOUR ENEMY

We in the TAAC again declare that the state is in no way the avenue for working class struggle. It is a

site of ruling class power – and no matter the colour of your beret, whether black (ANC), blue (DA) or red (EFF), you and your party cannot change this essential characteristic of state power – it *will* change your party.

By voting you give your right to create social change to a party, a bunch of people you don’t know, to do as they wish. Real working class power lives in our organisations – trade unions and grassroots social movements, organised democratically – and in our spaces – the streets, the neighbourhoods, the shop-floor, the meetings. Here we must do the hard work of building a working class counterculture for revolutionary transformation, and through daily struggle, build counter-power against the ruling class and their institutions, the state and corporations, to create the change we want.

We continue the call:

**DON'T VOTE!
ORGANISE
COUNTER-
POWER!**

Attacks on Foreigners: Only the Ruling Class Benefits

by SIYABULELA HULU-HULU (TAAC, ZACF)

Attacks on African and Asian foreigners flared up in South Africa twice in 2015, first in April, mainly in KwaZulu, then in October in Grahamstown, the Eastern Cape. Many attacks were on small (spaza) shops run by foreigners. Maybe 500 were displaced in October.

The looting and smashing of property in spaza shops, and the immensity of these criminal activities country wide, has had an incredible and negative impact on our democracy, on our lives, on our livelihoods, and reflects badly on the nation's morality.

Foreign nationals have been living in South Africa for many decades, going back to migrant workers on the mines in the 1880s. Over the last 20 years, some came to South Africa for trading purposes, others for job opportunities, and the process was regulated by the government.

The police handle the large-scale immigration very brutally. As in the past, the police have never proved lawful or law-abiding. They are the coercive arm of the state. When they deal with black foreigners, they use violence or demand bribes.

Some immigrants, of course, are here "illegally", but that is not a matter for individuals to act on. And we must remember these are people, like us, with the same problems. The scarcity of jobs in South Africa doesn't permit people to loot or vandalise private property.

I'm wondering: Where does this hatred come from? During the

apartheid regime, no-one called anyone a "foreigner" if they were from African countries. People from other countries, like James Motlatsi in the black miners' union, were part of the struggle.

These are our fellows and brothers: we should acknowledge their pain in these times of turmoil.



April 16, 2015: around 4,000 people march through Durban against xenophobia

The claims that foreigners are criminals must be challenged. The conspiracy theory that these people are here just to smuggle drugs causes a conflicts and suspicions, and is used by people who act violently against foreign nationals. It was the

claim that foreigners were involved in murders and mutilations that led directly to the riots in Grahamstown.

The seeds of hate grow in the soil of suffering. Many of our youth have given up hope, seeing how "black economic empowerment" has become captured by the corrupt and elite "tenderpreneur" process that has grown across society. They end up working as contract labour, for a certain time, or working as cheap labour for low-wage. This in return makes the youth angry and destructive. And rather than see where the problems come from – the unfair society we live in – many get drawn into looting and vandalism.

We need to have to a mass mobilisation programme that will foster change and contribute to well-being. Thus we as anarchists believe in mutual-aid (*umonthu umontho nga bunto*). We must not believe the propaganda of the state, and understand how system is designed.

We must challenge the negativity and despair in the individuals' ways of thinking that the unfair capitalist society is creating. As a human-being you should be proud of your achievements, look forward to your future and join the working class struggle for freedom, which is a struggle that crosses all borders. The fruit of toil and struggle is your reward. Do not redden your hands with the blood of innocents.

Fight the system.

Peace among the masses, struggle against the ruling classes.

Dear Mama: Poetry against the Anti-Foreigner Attacks in Grahamstown, 2015

by LEROY MAISIRI (ZACF)

Starting on Wednesday 21 October 2015, around 300 shops, mostly small businesses owned by people from countries like Bangladesh, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Somalia, were targeted, many burned and looted. Mobs, provoked by rumours of murders and mutilations by "foreigners" and spurred on by malicious forces including local taxi drivers, attacked the "foreigners." Heroic efforts by the local Unemployed Peoples Movement (UPM) and other township residents to halt the carnage were not enough. The UPM says, "We are all the victims of colonialism and capitalism. We all need to stand together for justice. If unemployed young men chase a man from Pakistan out of Grahamstown they will still be unemployed and poor the next day. The students have shown us what unity can do." Working class, see this divide-and-rule for what it is!

Dear Mama...

36 whatsapp messages, 16 missed calls later and mama still wants to know how I am. I try and tell her:

I am okay, I am alive, I am indoors, I won't go outside again. I am okay, I am alive, I am indoors, I won't go outside again.

42 whatsapp messages later, 23 missed calls and mama still wants to know how I am.

In the midst of loudness have you ever experienced days without sound, in the midst of feet stomping, drum beating, spear handling, have you ever felt the weight of silence.

As the mobs approached, with the snitch of hatred, intention to kill, to end a life based on difference, I have to imagine that type of fear is paralyzing.

I am okay, I am alive, I am indoors, I won't go outside again. I am okay, I am alive, I am indoors, I won't go outside again.

To fall in love, marry have children, watch them grow in a foreign land long enough to watch them,

get to watch you being beaten to death. To have your 8-year old first born son get pinned down as the crowds do whatsoever they please with his mother.

I am okay, I am alive, I am indoors, I won't go outside again. I am okay, I am alive, I am indoors, I won't go outside again.

I have always thought there is nothing more industrious than a "foreigner". The ability to begin again against all odds in another land.

To never look back at what was, with no understanding of what will be, but to be brave enough to assert themselves in new communities.

The story of a foreigner brings back remnants of Abraham's story, Moses story, Josephs story. Even Jesus as an infant had to flee into Egypt and become a foreigner. You would think by now the story of the foreigner is one to uplift and uphold.

62 whatsapp messages, 30 missed calls, mama desperately needs to know how I am, the quivering fear in her voice, her insistence for me to distance myself, to abandon heroism. To "just stay put", "It is well, but stay put".

Mama wants to know how I am

I am okay, I am alive, I am indoors, I won't go outside again. I am okay, I am alive, I am indoors, I won't go outside again.

Mama wants to know how I feel.

Dear Mama for the first time today, I woke up a *makwerekwere* [the despised "foreigner"]



Yini i-Anarcho-Syndicalism?

I-Syndicalism uhlelo oluzama ukwehluka kunezihlelo ezejwayelekile zokuphatha nemibuso, ngamanye amazwi i-capitalism nohhulumeni. Ekuqadeni uhlelo lwe-capitalism ubukhomanisi badala into esabeka kakhulu ngokubeka amandla omnotho ezandlani zikehhulumeni kuphela. I-Syndicalism ishiya emuva zonke izinhlelo zokuphatha esezidale ukucindezelwa noku xhashazwa komuntu ngomunye umuntu futhi. I-syndicalism ibuye izame ukwakha inhlango eyakhiwe phezu kwezidingo zabantu hhayi izifiso zeziphathimandla futhi eyakhiwe phezu kokubambisana kwabantu abazibusayo, abalinganayo okubhekele ekutheni izidingo zika wonke wonke zifezeke, hhayi zabasezikhundleni.

I-Syndicalism iyonandlela i-Anarchism ezembula ngayo kulabo abasezimbonini. I-Anarchism yona isifundisa ukusebenzisana emhlabeni ongenahhulumeni. I-Anarchism igquguzela indlela yokuhlela umphakathi eyakhiwe phezu kokubambisana ukuze kufezeke izidingo zenhlalakahle zomuntu ngamunye, hhayi ukuphoqeelwa nguhhulumeni okuyinto eyenzeka ngisho kulawo mazwe athi anentando yeningi. Ukuhlanganyela ngokuzi khethela isisekelo sokuqhuba umkhiqizo kanye nezinkonzo zomphakathi, hhayi ukuphoqeelwa iziphathi mandla ezisebenza ephalamende,

emaphoyiseni, abasemagunyeni, imithetho, intela emikhosini yezempi nobudlelwane obungaqondakali kanye namazwe angaphandle. Konke lokhu akunamhlaba emiphakathini olawulwa ubuntu nobuhlakani. Kwi-Anarchy umuntu, angaphila njengezifiso zakhe inqobo-nje uma lezozifiso zingalulazi amalungelo abanye abantu.



Anarchist militiaman of the CNT-FAI international forces waiting to march, Bakunin Barracks, Barcelona, August 28, 1936

Ama-Anarchist akholelwa ukuthi amandla omkhiqizo kumele aqathwe umphakathi, futhi ngokuqeda ubunini-mphahla imvelo kanye nolwazi lwezobuchwepheshe kuyosetshenziselwa inhlalakahle kawonke-wonke. Ukuze kugwenywe ukuthathwa kwalezizinto ngabanye

ekususweni ko-bbasi kumele ukuthi izimboni ziphathwe ilabo abathintekayo kulezondawo, ngamanye amazwe labo bantu abangabasebenzi.

I-syndicalism iyonandlela labo-basebenzi abayophatha ngayo amandla okukhiqiza mgokubambisana. Ngaphezukwalokhu, i-Syndicalism indlela abasebenzi okumele bahlanganyele ngayo emhlabeni osabuswa ngosozimboni ukuze baketulwe ozozimboni bese kungena uhlelo olungabandlululi ngokwezinga lomnotho.

I-syndicate-ke yona uhlobo lwenyunyana ehlukile kulezo ezejwayelekile ngokuthi ayilweli ukuguqula izimo ezifana namahhlo kanye nesimo sokusebenza nje kuphela, kodwa ibuye ihlongoze ukuketulwa kohlelo lwengcindezelo (I-capitalism) besekumiswa ukuphatha kwabasebenzi. Lokhu akusho ukuthi loluhlobo lwenyunyana aluzishayin-diva izidingo zabasebenzi zansuku-zonke kodwa amalungu ayo ayabona ukuthi ngaphandle kokupheliswa kombuso wosozimboni angeze afezekiswa amalungelo nokukhuseleka kwabasebenzi emisebenzini.

I-syndicate ibuye yehluke ezinyunyaneni ezejwayelekile ngendlela yokuhlela. Inyunyana eyejwayelekile inendlela yokuphatha efana nekahhulumeni ekutheni inenhloko-hhovisi eliqhelile kubantu kanti futhi ineziphathi-

mandla ezinamalungelo namandla angaphezu kwalawo awabasebenzi okuyibona abazi khethayo futhi izona iziphathi-mandla okumele ukuba zibhekelele amalungelo abasebenzi.

I-syndicate ngakolunye uhlangothi kekelwe ekubunjweni kwabasebenzi kuleyo naleyo-mboni endaweni yokusebenzela. Abasebenzi embonini ngayinye, edepho kumbe epulazini bayoba yizikhungo ezizimele, ezizilawulayo futhi ezithatha zonke izinqumo eziphathelene nomsebenzi. Lezizikhungo ziyobuye zibumbane ukwakha i-syndicate ekuyiyona eyohlela ukusebenza kwezimboni-kazi njenge-zimayini. I-syndicate ayibi isishayimthetho esikhungwini ngasinye futhi ayikwazi ukuguqula izinqumo ezithathwe esikhungwini. Ayinazo iziphathi mandla ezihlezi ziphethe zingashintshwa okuyiyona-nto ekhuphula izinga lazo zenhlalakahle libe ngaphezu kwelabasebenzi futhi azinawo amandla okulawula izimpilo zabantu

I-syndicate isebenza ngokubunjwa kusukela phansi kuya phezulu hhayi kusekela kwabaphezulu kuya kwabaphansi futhi njengoba ingaphethwe intando yeziphathi-mandla iyona ekwazi ukuba ngummeli weqiniso owedlula zonke ezinye izindlela zokubumba izinhlangano. Ukungphathwa kwayo ngosozikhundla abasemahhovisi aqhelile kubasebenzi kanye nokungasekeli kwayo amagunya engcosana yabantu, lokhu kwenza

loluhlobo lwenhlangano isikhali esibalulekile ekulweleni amalungelo ngendlela okuyiyona-yona.

Ekuchithweni kohlelo lo-bbasi lokubusa i-syndicate iyothatha inkinga yokuhlela ukusebenza ngokomnotho kwabasebenzi. Ngesibonelo nje, kololiwe i-syndicate iyohola abasebenzi ekuthathweni kwemizila, iziteshi, impahla kaloliwe kanye nokusetshenziswa kwao ukuze kufezwe inguquko, hhayi ukuze kufezwe izinifuno zabaphathi.

Emuvakomvukela-mbuso i-syndicate iyobumba isisekelo okuyokwakhiwa kuso imiphakathi ekhululekile. Ama-Anarchist kawenzi- zinqumo ngokuthi lemiphakathi ekhululekile iyoziphatha kanjani ngoba bekholelwa ukuthi imigomo nemithetho ivimbela ukukhula nokuguquka kwemiphakathi okungabangela ukuthi lemiphakathi inqundeke. Nakuba kunjalo, ama-anarchist ayakubona ukuthi emuva kokuchithwa kwemibuso yo-bbasi kuyodingeka olunye uhlelo lokuphatha oluzobhekana noshintsho kusukela koludala kuya enkululekweni.

Ukuhlela izimboni, ezokuthutha kanye nezolimo ngaphansi kwama-syndicate emuva kwenkululeko kuyofana njengaphambilini ngaphandle kokuthi enkululekweni abasebenzi angeke besalwela ukuvukela umbuso kodwa bazolwela ukwakha isisekelo sezwe elilawulwa inkululeko namalungelo kawonke-wonke.

Isikhungo ngasinye, kumbe imboni, noma uloliwe uyophathwa ngabasebenzi baleyo-mboni. Akuyobabikho zimenenja noma iziphathi-mandla futhi ngumsebenzi ngamunye ehlangene nabanye abasebenzi ngokulinganayo abayobonelela ukuqhutshwa kwemboni abasebenza kuyona.

Akumele ukuthi kucabangeke ukuthi ama-syndicalists athatha ukukuphatha izimboni njengento elula. Umuntu ongaphansi kwe-syndicate uyazi ngokusebenza embonini leyo ukuthi buchulebuni obudingekayo, uyazi futhi nokuthi iziphathi-mandla zehlukene nomsebeni wangempela azazi lutho ngokuphathwa ngendlela kwemboni ngayinye.

Uma bonke abantu abasebenza kuloliwe benolwazi lokuthi uloliwe usebenza kanjani futhi bazi nezinkinga okuhlangabezeka nazo nsuku-zonke, kusho ukuthi ibona abangaphatha uloliwe ngendlela engcono kuneziphathi-mandla. Ithuba-ke kodwa lokufunda lokhu alinikezwa abantu abasebenza kololiwe. (Kunalokhu izinkampani zikhetha ukuhlanekezela lokhu ngokuthi bafundise iziphathi-mandla ezindaweni zemfundo ezephakeme kodwa izifundiswa aziwazi umsebenzi). Abasebenzi lapha kusho wonke umuntu obamba iqhaza ekukhiqizweni noma ekuletheni izinkonzo zabantu emphakathini kuhlanguaniswe nochwepheshe nomabhalane



kodwa hhayi izimenenja kanye nabanye abasemagunyeni. Ngakho-ke kubalulekile ukuthi labobantu balethwe enhlanganweni yabasebenzi. Lezizihlangano ziyobumbana ukuze zakhe inhlangano enkulukazi eyophatha izinhlelo kuzwelonke futhi ihlele ukusebenzisana phakathi kwezimboni.

Izihlangano zezimboni kumbe ama-syndicate ayohlangana abumbe ihlangano kazwelonke eyobonelela ukuthi izingxenye zokukhiqiza umnotho zihlelekile futhi ziyasebenzisana.

Izifiso ezindlala njengokukhanda imali nokuqhuba intando yomuntu oyedwa akuseyuphinda kuphathe isimo sezomnotho. Kunalokho ugqozi lomsebenzi luyovela ekusebenzeleni izidingo zika wonke-wonke ngaphandle kobandlululo. Kulesosimo akuyibabikho lutho olungavimbela ukuthuthuka kwezemvelo nakwezobuchwepheshe okungasetshenziswela ukuphakama kwezwe lonkana. Abantu bayozinqumela-bona izinga lempilo abalifisayo bese besebenza ngokubambisana ekufezeni lezozifiso.

Masikugweme ukucabanga okuthi abasebenzi bayothokoziswa indlela abaphila ngayo njengamanje. Ithuba lokuba bakhe ikusasa elingcono kanye nokuthi abantu badalelwe umsebenzi kuyobangela

abasebenzi ukuba basebenze futhi baphathe kangcono umnotho kunendlela o-bbasi abawuphethe ngayo. Izindlela zokuphatha ezivuna ingcindezelo ziyopheliswa. Esikhundleni sazo kuyobekwa izindlela zokuphatha lapho abasebenzi uqobo bengabaphathi. Lapho abasebenzi bengenakuzenzela lokhu mathupha bayokhetha izithungwa ezikhethwe kubasebenzi futhi ziphathe ngokwentando yabasebenzi. Lezizithunywa aziyukuba iziphathi-mandla futhi angeke zizithathele kuzo izinqumo kehpa bayohlele ukusebenzisana kwabasebenzi futhi aziyikutholanzuzo ngokwenza leyomsebenzi.

Lezizithunywa aziyikuziphakamisa ngaphezu kwabanye abasebenzi kumbe ngamandla, noma ngamagunya noma ngesikhundla. Indlela yabaqashi yokubaphoqelela abantu ukuba babasebenzeleyihholo, ngakho-ke ihholo liyopheliswa. Ngalandlela wonke umuntu uyothola lezozinto ezenza impilo ibenhle ngoba zonkelezizinto

aziyikukhokhelwa. Akuyibakho namunye umsebenzi oyovuzwa ngaphezu komunye ngenxa yenqubo ethi uhlobo lomsebenzi lungolwezinga eliphezulu. Futhi akuyibakho-baphathi abaphila ngokunethezeka ngesikhathi abasebenzi bethola imvuthuluka. Abantu abayikuvuzwa ngokwezinga lomnotho ngoba ukuxabiseka komsebenzi awunasilinganiso kodwa bayovuzwa ngokwezidingo zabo okuyiyona kuphela indlela yokwakha umphakathi onobuntu neqiniso.



UKUNGALINGANI AKUYONA IMVELO. SONKE SIZALWE SILINGANA. NJENGABANTU SIWUTHO OLULINGANAYO. SINEZIPHIWO, IZIDINGO NOKULANGAZELELA OKUNGEFANI KODWA SISENGABANTU. UKUNGALINGANI AMANGA ABAWASEBEZISAYO UKUCHAZA UKUCEBA KWABO NOBUMPOFU BETHU

Umbhali akaziwa

To Cure Africa's Heart-Rending Misery, we Need Working Class/Peasant Counter-Power, Anarchism

CONTRIBUTORS: BONGANI, DIKELEDI, KHAYALETHU, LUCKY, MZEE,
NKULULEKO, NONZWAKAZI, NONZUKISO, SIYA, WARREN

"Africa today lies prostrate, bleeding, and embattled on all fronts, a victim of capitalist and, to a great extent, state socialist ambitions. The heart-rending misery of its peoples, the conditions of abject poverty, squalor and disease in which they live, exist side by side with the wanton luxury, rapacity, and corruption of its leaders."

Sam Mbah and I.E. Igariwey, 1997,
African Anarchism: The History of a Movement,
Sharp Press: Tucson, Arizona.

Our vast continent, Africa, is the poorest in the world, host to dozens of wars and conflicts, and marked by instability and inequality. The root causes of the instability lie in political corruption and the profiteering system run by local and international elites.

The local ruling classes are interested in making profits and getting wealthy, by any means necessary. The elites are not promoting the development of the working class and peasants (small farmers), but only worsening our conditions. If the choice is between building a road in a poor area or pocketing the money, they will pocket the money.

GREEDY ELITES, WEAK ECONOMIES

Political and economic domination by small African elites, allied to

ruling classes from other regions, is part of the instability, corruption and exploitation. Ordinary people in Africa face a severe lack of necessary goods and service delivery. Often the allocation of goods and services is through corrupt political relationships, not on the basis of need but on the basis of personal and political ties. Corrupt capitalists, corrupt politicians, are part of a world where the gap between the haves and have-nots is very wide.

These weak economies, reliant on poor infrastructure and low-value raw materials, are marked by low wages, mass unemployment and tensions across society, and plunder by elites. Either the state elite controls the means of production and the working class has no say but must just do as it is told, or there is privatisation and private ownership, where the business elite is in control.



And meanwhile, African economies are generally at the bottom of the ladder in the world, a situation caused both by imperialism and by the indigenous elites.

In this world, you face the danger of eat-or-be-eaten. At the bottom the food chain we're under the rule of the minority who make up the oligarchy, a world of rule by the few, where we are locked up and locked out. In this world, we are taught to hate each other, based on language, looks and origins. But our enemy is not each other, it is the classes that rule us from above.

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS BUILDING

In order to have a way forward, Africa requires a long-term programme

of class-consciousness building, relevant education and increasing social/ class struggle.

There must be collective unity and solidarity amongst the suffering ordinary people in Africa, the workers, unemployed, the peasants, and the poor. No matter the race or colour or culture or origin, we must unite in the class struggle, so we can achieve a radical breakthrough, not just in one country but in all countries.

This includes removing inequality through the abolition of post-colonial capitalism and the state and the ruling classes, and starting to ease the agony of extreme want. Real, people-centred development is possible only if we break away from both state and capitalism – two major forces of oppression – and

create a self-managed, bottom-up society and economy planned from below to meet needs, not greed.

The fundamentally capitalist state system in Africa has created unsuitable socio-political and economic structures. It needs to go. Anarchism is the way forward.

THE FUTURE

The future lies in the direction of freedom, equality and community participation – not hatred. Crisis-ridden capitalism, the state system, selfish individualism and competitiveness are problems to end.

We need peace amongst the masses, and struggle against the ruling classes!

“Seek Ye First the Political Kingdom”? Learning from Kwame Nkrumah’s Failures in Ghana

CONTRIBUTORS: LUCKY, MTHAMBEKI, NKULULEKO,
NONZUKISO, PITSO, SIXOKA, WARREN



Ghana, West Africa, was a British colony called “Gold Coast” until 1957. It became the first independent country in “black” Africa after reforms and struggles in the 1940s and 1950s. The new president, the brilliant Kwame Nkrumah, and his Convention People’s Party (CPP), had fought for independence. Now they aimed at major changes in the society, even speaking of

socialism. And Nkrumah proposed a united African government for the continent: Pan-Africanism.

But by the mid-1960s, hopes were fading. There were good reforms in education and services and self-respect for Africans that helped remove colonialism’s damages. But the CPP has become a dictatorship, with a personality cult around

Nkrumah. Unions and struggles were suppressed. The economy was in trouble. A new elite hijacked independence and resources. When the military seized power in 1966, people celebrated in the streets. Today Ghana is one of the poorest African countries.

What went wrong and what can we, anarchists in Africa, learn from this

experience? Nkrumah's is *the* key model for African nationalists, and the test case showing the strengths and limits of African nationalism as a project – a project based on building multi-class parties, to capture the state, with the enemy seen primarily in terms of imperialism, and colonialism, with the solution seen as an independent state.

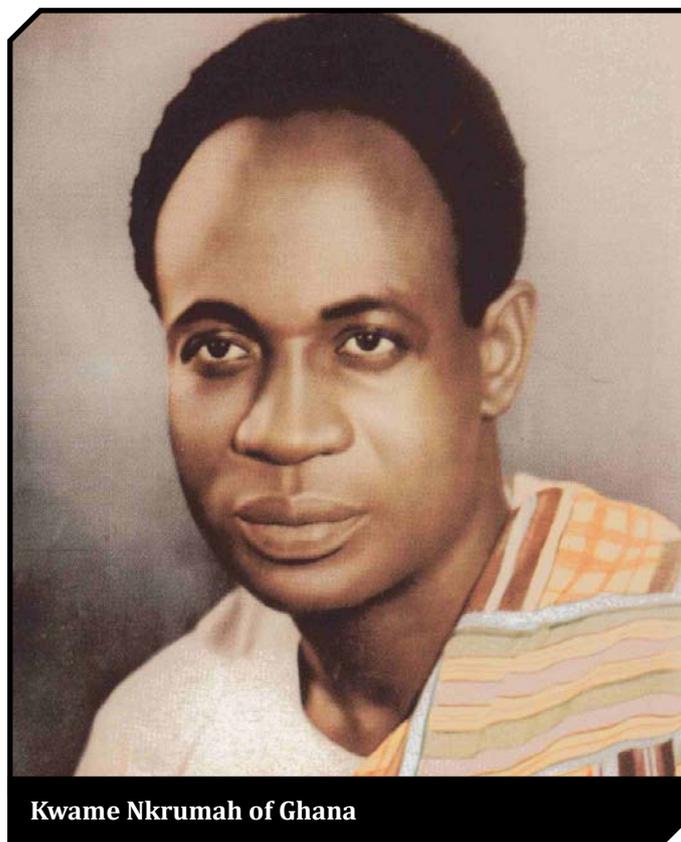
So, the lessons of Ghana are essential and remain widely applicable to countries like South Africa, where African nationalism has been and remains a very powerful current. We can learn, most of all, that revolutions and struggles are easily hijacked by elites for their own purposes. These purposes *always* go against the interests of the masses. Using the state is the sure way to create a new elite. Nkrumah's slogan, "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all things shall be added unto you," is not useful. We say instead: All power to the working and poor people.

BRITISH COLONIAL GHANA

The "Gold Coast" colony included African societies like the Asante kingdom (empire), which had class divisions, a ruling elite, and a history of slavery and slave trading. The colony was ruled by British officials, African kings and chiefs, and the small African educated and business elite linked to mission and state schools. But Britain was in charge. Society was top-down. There was no pretence of "democracy."

Although the British provided railways and hospitals, there was much poverty and racism. The

economy was based on selling raw materials (metals and cash crops) to Britain. This meant it depended on British prices, and these were often low and there was always pressure by the British state to produce more.



Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana

DECOLONISATION

After World War Two (1939-1945) there was massive unrest by the unemployed in the in Sekondi-Takoradi ("Tadi") port zone and Accra, by farmers and black ex-soldiers. There were riots in 1948 after 3 people were shot at a march in Accra. The Trade Union Congress (TUC) formed 1945, called a general strike in 1950.

Britain started political reforms in the 1940s, allowing unions (1941) and then allowing more elected representatives in the Legislative Council (1946) but these were elections by chiefs.

The elite-led United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) (1947) wanted electoral reforms, moving the chiefs aside, so the businessmen who led UGCC would have more say. Like the ANC and other South African parties, UGCC was formed and dominated by the frustrated African elite. It kept its distance from the unrest, and from Nkrumah's calls to use mass action ("positive action") to win more radical changes. Nkrumah had 4 university degrees earned in the USA, where he lived from 1935-1945, and returned to his homeland in 1947 after 2 years in Britain.

This led to the formation of Nkrumah's breakaway CPP (1949), aiming to ride the mass struggles to full state independence. In 1951 there were the first parliamentary elections (the country was still ruled by Britain), which the CPP won, making Nkrumah Prime Minister. After more elections, the CPP led Ghana into independence.

CONSOLIDATION OF NEW ELITE

But the new CPP government developed into a one-party state. The state became a hothouse for a new elite. The old elite, the chiefs, were either marginalised or pulled into the CPP. A law in 1958 allowed detention without trial. By 1962 the state controlled the main newspapers, and could censor news.

Access to state power was key to the growth of the new African elite: frustrated under colonialism, it used state salaries, contracts and corrupt deals to enrich itself. Reports of wrongdoing were widespread.

The more that state wealth helped the elite, the more the elite clung feverishly to office, suppressing rivals and protests, and pushing for more state ownership of resources.

1964 saw the CPP become the only legal party, centred on a personality cult and network around Nkrumah, now President-for-Life. CPP party branches and related organisations like youth groups enforced control across the country. The CPP ensured its people were in key positions in various government agencies.

As anarchists we know the state cannot be used by the mass of the people. It is a top-down institution that always puts power in the hands of a small elite. As the old British elite and African chiefs moved out of the new state, the CPP-centred new elite moved in. The nature of the state meant that the new elite, just like the old, looked on the people as a source of labour, money, and taxes – and a threat to be controlled, with guns if needed.

MOVING TO STATE-CAPITALISM

Nkrumah correctly saw Ghana would remain an economic “colony” of Britain (or the USA) if its economy did not change. He started efforts to industrialise the economy (building factories and infrastructure) so it could move beyond raw materials and create jobs. At first this meant encouraging foreign (mainly British and US) investment, but this left colonial-era relations in place, and did not work.

The difference with the past was that the new Ghanaian political elite benefited more. But the

effects on industry were small. So Nkrumah’s CPP started to push state-led industrialisation. This included efforts like setting up a massive hydro-electrical scheme at Volta dam, state-run industries, and trade protection, called “import-substitution-industrialisation.”

But although Nkrumah called the system “socialism” (and was partly inspired by the Marxist system in Russia), the reality was the new state industries were, as elsewhere, just state capitalism. They were based on



Ghana’s 1961 strike

wage labour and on producing goods and services for sale. And, again, the new state elite milked the new projects for its benefit.

The growing role of the state was not socialism, it was just the expanding grab of the new elite to access wealth and build capitalist industries. The top-down approach in state industries was the same as the top-down system in the state and the CPP.

WORLD ECONOMIC CHAINS

Also, independent national capitalist development in a world

dominated by international capitalism was unlikely. To fund the new system, the CPP-led state relied on money from exports, especially cocoa. Cocoa prices boomed in the 1950s and early 1960s. The money went to the state through “marketing boards.” This meant farmers sold to state boards at low prices, which then sold the goods overseas at much higher prices, making big profits.

But the price of goods like cocoa started to fall in the early 1960s, and the state lost money. It then borrowed heavily, going into massive debt.

ATTACKING THE PEOPLE

The new system did not put power in the hands of ordinary people. The CPP-centred new elite in the state controlled it, decided priorities and targets. The role of the working class and peasantry was to provide labour, funds and raw materials. The radical language and even the genuine socialist views of some CPP leaders (like Nkrumah who was himself generally free of

corruption, unlike his followers), did not change this.

The new elite exploited the people, and the new state relied on the repression and control of the working class.

The 1958 Industrial Relations Act centralised unions into a single CPP-run body, with the only negotiating and legal rights. Urban workers were increasingly called a selfish elite (“labour aristocracy”), sabotaging the nation with wage demands. Almost no legal strikes were arranged by the CPP-run TUC. In many sectors all strikes were banned.

FOR A NEW AFRICA: SPECIAL SECTION

In 1961, a huge strike spread from Sekondi-Takoradi, including the railways, against rising taxes and a “forced savings” scheme. It drew in the unemployed and the small traders in the markets: the “common folk” against the CPP elite. After the strike, Nkrumah arrested leaders and politicians involved.

END OF AN ILLUSION

Many people had great hopes in Ghana and Nkrumah. The victory over Britain was inspiring and the “black star” of Ghana seemed to show the light to a new, prosperous Africa, free of the legacy of colonialism, racism and strife.

But using the state and a political party led straight to the opposite: a new elite captured decolonisation, for its own benefits.

Working class and poor Ghanaians continued to suffer while the new local elite and its foreign partners (initially Britain and the USA, later the Marxist USSR and its colonies) became wealthier. Mass support was built through a personality cult, with Nkrumah treated as Superman.

In 1966, the military led a coup against Nkrumah. He was out of the country. There is no doubt that the American CIA helped the military plot.

But this does not explain why people danced in the street with happiness when Nkrumah was overthrown.

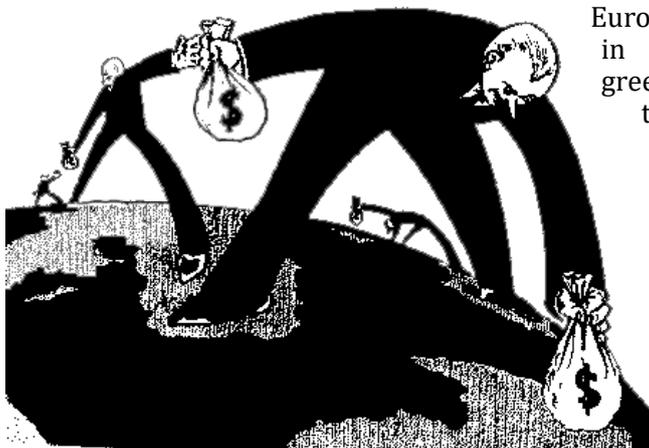
They included Sekondi-Takoradi workers, who had been staunch CPP supporters in the 1950s. The masses had no more illusions and did nothing to stop the coup. Nkrumah left office in disgrace.

Everything had become managed by the party and the state, not the people. And that was where the problems started. Imperialism and the CIA played a role in undermining independent Ghana, but the local elite, which hijacked the decolonisation struggle, is just as guilty of destroying it.

And Nkrumah’s nationalist vision, even in its Marxist phase, despite its heroic intentions helped pave the way, with its statism, authoritarianism and multi-class capitalist project.

How Imperialism and Postcolonial Elites have Plundered Africa: And the Class Struggle, Anarchist-Communist Solution

by LUCIEN VAN DER WALT



Roughly 50 years ago we saw the dismantling of most of the European colonial empires in Africa. High hopes greeted the “new nations” that emerged – and certainly, a move from colonial rule, with its racism and external control and extractive economies, was progressive.

DISAPPOINTMENTS OF INDEPENDENCE

However, many of the hopes were soon dashed. Politically, most independent African states moved in the direction of dictatorships and one-party systems, normally headed by the nationalist party that took office at independence – and, over time, the military became a major player too. Many of these states were highly corrupt, even predatory, and the gap between the rising local (indigenous) ruling class, and the masses, grew ever vaster.

These gaps did not start in the colonial period, as many African societies were already very divided, but they continued and grew over time. The new ruling elites largely emerged from educated middle class groups, along with traditional aristocracies; from independence on, the masses never ran the "new nations."

These were followed by neo-liberal restructuring from the 1980s. Poverty and inequality is widespread, joblessness exists on a massive scale, with more people in absolutely poverty and in warzones here than in any other region worldwide. Postcolonial plans to industrialise the economies by building up local manufacturing through closed, protected economies largely failed. Today, the entire GDP of sub-Saharan Africa, including its economic powerhouse, South Africa, is less than half of that of a single European country, Germany.

REJECTING RACIST EXPLANATIONS

Leaving aside South Africa, with its peculiar history, how can this economic situation be explained? We can immediately dispense with views that Africans are more corrupt or less capable.

Besides being based on racist ideas, the fact is that massive economic failures, inequality, repression and low levels of industrial development can be found everywhere – including in parts of Europe, notably its eastern and southern regions.

THE ROLE OF COLONIALISM

A more common explanation, widespread on the left, lays the blame almost completely at the feet of colonialism.

This argument correctly points out that the insertion of much of Africa into the capitalist world economy as a producer of raw materials (from farming or mining) put it at a disadvantage. A country where the core of the economy rests on exporting goods like cocoa or mielies is very vulnerable. If sales or prices fall, serious problems arise. Since these same 'agro-mineral' economies have to import expensive but essential manufactured goods, they are doubly vulnerable.

Many postcolonial industrialization plans were funded by revenue from raw material exports – taxes and where state ownership was extensive, profits – but these dried up in the 1970s with a global capitalist crisis. To try rescue the situation, many states borrowed heavily, but got into ever-worse debt. Some countries, like Zambia, had a window of around 9 years from independence (1964) to global crisis (1973) to try and change decade-old patterns; their prospects were never great.

African economies, heavily oriented to the export of raw materials produced by cheap labour, entered major crises from the 1970s.

BUT MORE THAN COLONIALISM

The problem, though, with this explanation, is that it tells us very little about why countries that export very valuable raw materials – like Nigeria, with its large oil industry – are also in dire economic straits. Indeed, Nigeria consistently has both power and petrol shortages, despite being the world's 12th biggest oil producer. Related to this, not every country with a colonial history remains trapped as a raw material producer or economic loser.

Besides obvious examples like the USA, a former British colony, we could compare Ghana and South Korea, British and Japanese colonies respectively, independent within a few years of each other, with similar economic problems and population sizes and periods of colonial rule. Ghana has endured decades of economic crisis and has lost Western investments and business for years. South Korea has become, despite civil war in the 1950s, a major industrial power, with a larger economy than many Western countries.

A colonial history also does not explain, by itself, why – despite the problems – the ruling class in these countries remains incredibly wealthy: there is an issue here with how resources are controlled that is lost in explanations that look only at colonialism. A focus on external problems leads to a blindness on internal class dynamics.

ACCUMULATION-BY-CORRUPTION

It is when we look more closely at internal class structures that the answers emerge. In much of sub-Saharan Africa, the new ruling elites that took over from the colonial powers used the state for accumulating wealth. This took the form, in many cases, of direct



FOR A NEW AFRICA: SPECIAL SECTION

corruption, which in turn led to declining economies as infrastructures like power and roads started to collapse. Rather than serve imperial interests, this situation led to falling exports of raw materials and political instability.

Since the rise of corrupt rulers is key here, the corruption must itself be explained. At independence, unlike many other regions, there was not much in the way of a local capitalist class. There were few local industrialists, as compared to say India, which meant little local pressure on the state to deliver.

This also meant there was little space for the elites that took power at independence to accumulate wealth – other than by using the state. With the state as the main site of accumulation, vicious ruling class factional battles erupted, leading to a cycle of repression, military coups, one-party states and instability. Often tribal, racial and religious divisions were fanned in these fights, leading to violence.

THE BALANCE OF CLASS FORCES

Working class movements were also not very strong (unions were

quite small) and the left often very weak. This made it difficult to start putting brakes on the corrupt elites. As dictatorships spread, unions and dissidents were repressed or co-opted. In the countryside, the system of rule by chiefs and kings, used by the colonial powers, was kept. The small farmers, many of them peasants, are always hard to organize – and rule through chiefs made this even worse.

So, while colonial history is part of the problem, it should not be used to excuse local ruling classes, who plundered their homelands and crushed the popular classes.

THE FREE MARKET MESS

The neo-liberal measures adopted in the 1980s had mixed results. Since they blamed all the problems on state intervention, ignoring the world economy, many of their plans were completely wrong – even in capitalist terms. Generally poverty, job losses and prices increased dramatically, although this would probably have happened anyway.

The result was massive revolts, which led to a wave of governments falling. But since these “second liberation” movements generally had very little in the way of a political

agenda, besides some democratic reforms, most ended up in the wilderness. Political rights were expanded but the corrupt state remains, as does the agro-mineral economic structure. Recent growth is driven mainly by more demand for raw materials by Asia, but the basic problems of poverty and instability remain.

THE NEED FOR A RADICAL BREAK

Only radical change – a new Africa, based on libertarian and socialist development – can end this vicious cycle. This includes a struggle against the African elites, as well as against imperialism. And this requires, in turn, a break with “third worldist” ideas that ignore class issues inside Africa, and nationalism, which calls for a unity of all Africans – which can only mean a pointless unity between local oppressors and their victims.

And without a progressive left and anarchist agenda, the frustrations and misery of the masses will simply be filled with empty ideas (“democracy”) or reactionary movements (like Boko Haram) and sentiments (like racism and hatred of immigrants).



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TAAC STATEMENT:

The Struggle of the Working Class Can't Be Ended Unless We Radically Change Society

Against Capitalism and the Bosses

The struggle of the working class in South Africa is a struggle against the slave bondage of capitalism and the state.

Capitalism and the state are based on the ruling class minority (capitalists, generals, top officials, professional politicians) exploiting and oppressing the working class majority (workers of all grades, our families, rank and file soldiers, the unemployed, and the rural poor). The two classes have totally different interests: we are locked in class struggle.

Apartheid Built Capitalism

Capitalism in South Africa was built through apartheid oppression: land dispossession, the compound system, migrant labour, the pass laws, and denial of basic worker and human rights to black workers.

The Struggle Continues

Apartheid was defeated by workers' struggle. But the legacy of apartheid lives on. It cannot be removed, unless we radically change society. The elections of 1994 did not remove the key cause of apartheid oppression, which is capitalist exploitation. The struggle must continue against both capitalism and racism: one enemy, one fight!

Only the Working Class can Free the Working class

Only revolution by the working class and poor can end the nightmare of racism and capitalism, creating freedom and equality for all. Only the workers and the poor can create a free society because only we have the organisational power, will, numbers and class interest in overthrowing this system.



Against Oppression and Discrimination

We oppose all oppression: racism, sexism, imperialism, environmental destruction, discrimination against gays and lesbians. We are for real equality for all. Only the revolution by the working class and poor can end all oppression; only the fight against oppression and for working class power can unite the workers. Oppression and discrimination are against the interests of workers. They divide and weaken our struggle.

Freedom Cannot Come from Government

Working class freedom cannot come through parliament or the seizure of state power. The state (judiciary, government bureaucracy, police force, parliament etc.) is a tool of capitalism, bosses and politicians. The use of the state can only lead to corruption, defeat or dictatorship over the workers' movement. The economic disaster and political tyranny of the Marxist-led Soviet Union shows this clearly.

Instead: Revolutionary Trade Unionism

Socialism must come from below, from mass action. The trade unions must take over the land and the factories and put them under direct workers control through a revolutionary general strike based on the occupation of workplaces. The workplaces should be run through workers' assemblies, committees and councils linked up across industries.

And Mobilise Working Class Communities

This must take place in alliance with organised community takeovers of municipal services and control, through neighbourhood assemblies, committees and councils, linked up across the towns and villages.

Together, the worker and community councils should plan, from the bottom-up, the economy, using the democratic workplaces to meet the needs of our communities, to improve our working conditions and incomes, and to create an environmentally sustainable society in which all people are treated equally.

Tomorrow is Built Today

The seeds of the workers' and neighbourhood assemblies, committees and councils are to be found in today's unions and social movements. By ensuring that these movements are organised democratically and rely on struggle, and by educating the members in the revolutionary theory of anarchist-communism, we build tomorrow today through building "counterpower" and revolutionary "counterculture".

Workers of the World - Unite!

To be successful, the revolution must be based on a working class / poor movement united across colour, sex, and national lines. Capitalism is international, and therefore the revolution must be spread internationally by the working class. We oppose all attempts to divide the masses by race, language, religion: black workers have nothing in common with the black members of the ruling class, white workers have nothing in common with the white members of the ruling class. But black, Coloured, Indian and white working class people have everything in common with each other.

International Unity, Anarchist-Communism

The revolutionary general strike will establish a non-racial international working-class democracy: anarchist communism. This will be based on federations of grassroots workplace and community councils, and defended by a workers' militia.

We want a society without bosses, rulers and oppressors of any description. We want a democratic economy under the direct control of the working class. We are anti-authoritarian: the only limit on individual freedom should be that it does not remove the freedom of others.

Aims of the Tokologo African Anarchist Collective (TAAC)

The Tokologo African Anarchist Collective does not stand in elections or aim to take state power. The TAAC is not a trade union. The TAAC is a political organisation for militants who aim to encourage the self-activity and political consciousness of the mass of the people - the workers and the poor - so that they can make the revolution for themselves. Our role is to promote the struggle, but in the end, only the working class can free the working class! Tomorrow is built today.

We support all struggles against oppression. We support the progressive student movement. We support existing trade unions, but fight for workers control of the unions, a revolutionary programme of anarchist communism, and the formation of "One Big Union" uniting all workers. We oppose elections and we oppose social movements being used as voting cattle by politicians.

A Fighting Tradition

We proudly stand in the mass tradition of anarchist-communism and syndicalism. Our movement has historically attracted millions worldwide, because it serves the needs of the workers and the poor, not the power-seekers and exploiters. Today it is growing across the globe.

If you agree - JOIN the TAAC.

TAAC STATEMENT:

Umzabalazo wenqanaba labantu ayina kususwa ngaphandle kokunyanzela endlela yenqcinga zenguquko kompakathi



Phikisa Uhlelo lwe-Capitalism Kanye Nabaqashi

Umzabalazowenqanabalabantuabaxhomekekekewimpilo yomsebenzi e-S.A. ngumzabalazo ophikisana nobugqili kuhlangene nohlelo lwe-capitalism ononqowankulu abacandelo lolawulo buyyebi kunye nombuso.

I-capitalism ononqowankulu abacandelo lolawulo buyyebi kunye nombuso uhlelo lwaleyongcosana ebusayo (amacapitalist abaphathi abasemazingeni aphezulu, osopolitiki abaqeqeshiwe) eqonde ukuxhaphaza iphinde icindezele iningi elingabasebenzi (abasebenzi bawowonke amazanga; imindeni yabo, amasotsha; abangaqashiwe kanye nemphakathi ehluphekayo yasemaphandleni). Lezinhlobo zombili zinenhloso ezehlukile zivaleleke emzabalazweni wangokwezinga.

Ubandlululo Lwakha Icapitalism

Uhlelo lwe-capitalism e-S.A. lwakhiwe ngenxa yokucindezelangokobandlululo-ukudliwakwemihlaba; uhlelo lwezinkompolo, ukushintsashintsha unsebenzi, ukumisa imithetho ethize kanye nokuncisha amalungelo alowomuntu ompisholo osemazingeni aphansi.

Umzabalazo Uyaqhubeka

Ubandlululo lwahlulwa umzabalazo wabasebenzi, kodwa lona lusekhona. Ayina kususwa ngaphandle kokunyanzela indlela yenqcinga zenququko kumphakathi. Ukuvota kwango 1994 akuzange kukugudluze ukucindezelwa ngokobandlululo okuyizinhloso zama-Capitalist. Umzabalazo kufanele uqhubeke ulwisane ne-capitalism ne-racism (ukucwasana ngokwebala): asibesinye isitha, asilwe ngokuhlanganyela!

Abasebenzi Abangakhulula Abanye Abasebenzi

Ukulwa kwabasebenzi okungaqeda ukucwasana kanye ne-capitalism, ukuze kwakheke inkululeko nokulingana kwabobonke abantu. Abasebenzi kanye nalabo abahluphekayo abangakha umphakathi okhululekile, ngoba ibona abanamandla ngokwenhlangano, uthando lokushintsha lesisimo sokubuswa.

Ukuzwa Nokucindezelwa Kanye Nokucwasana

Siphikisa lonke uhlelo lokucindezelwa: ngokwebala, ngokobulili, ngokokusibusa, ngokucekela phansi imvelo nokucwasa labo abayizinkokone. Sihambisana nokulingana kwabobonke abantu; ukulwa kwabasebenzi okungaqeda ukucindezelwa. Impi elwisana nokucindezelwa kanye nomfutho wabasebenzi kuphela okungahlanganisa abasebenzi. Ukucindezelwa kanye nokucwasana akuhambisani nentando yabasebenzi. Kuhlukanisa kuphinde kwehlise izinga lomzabalazo.

Inkululeko Ngeke Iethwe Uhulumeni

Inkululeko yabasebenzi ngeke yaqhamuka ephalamende noma ekuthatheni izintambo zoMbuso. Umbuso (izinkantolo, abasemagunyeni kahulumeni; amaphoyisa; iphalamende njalonjalo) uyithuluzi le-capitalism lepolitiki kanye nabaqashi. Ukusetshenziswa koMbuso (State) kungagcina ukuxoveka, ukuhlulwa noma ukulawulwa emzabalazweni wabasebenzi. Ukwehla komnotho kanye kokubuswa ngesihluku ngokwepolitiki kuka Marxist ehola i-Soviet Union kukuveza obala loku.

Akube Nezinguquko Ezinyunyani Zohwebo

Uhlelo lwe-socialism kufanele luqhamuke laphaya emazingeni aphantsi ekulweni ngokuhlanganyela. Izinyunyana zohwebo kufanele kube izona eziphethe umhlaba kanye namafemu ziwafake ngaphansi kwabasebenzi alawulwe yibo uma sekunokhukhulela ngoqo wesiteleka esiyobe simaqondondana nokuba kuthathwe / kungenwe ezindaweni zokusebenzela. Indawo yomsebenzi kumele ihanjisiwe ngandibano zabasebenzi nekomiti ezidityaniswe jikelele kwisiko labasebenzi.

Qhuqhuzela Abasebenzi Mphakatini

Okumele kuthathe inxaxheba ngokwendibano yomphakathi uku thabatha wokulawula inkonzo zikamasipala ngendibano zokwa khelana kwe komiti ne council eziqulathwe jikelele kwidolophu kumakhaya a se maphandleni.

Ngokukubambanisana komphakathi, nabasebenzi-council, ku lukwe iqhinga kusuka phansi kuya phezulu, malunga nobutjebi ukusebenzisa indledla evulelekileyo yomsebenzi kwinoibano nezidingo zomphakathi, ukuphuculwa indawo yentlalo yabasebenzi nqumgeni mali. Ukulungisa intlalo yabantu apho wonke umntu uphathwe ngokulingana.

Ikusasa Lakhiwa Namhlanje

Imbewu yabasebenzi nendibano yokwakhelana komiti khanselam kumele ifumaneke kwimanyano zabasebenzi ne mibutho bahlali ukwenzela lemebutho idityaniswe ngokuvulelekileyo noku xhomekeka kunzabalazo nokufundisa ngendlela zenqunquko zamaAnarchist-komanisi, sakha ingomso namhlanje, inyathelo kuqala nesiko lokuphikisana ngamandla enqondo ngamandla emphisano nombuso.

Basebenzi Hlanganani Emhlabeni Wonke

Ukuze kuphumelele ukuvikelwa kwabaqashi kufanele kuncike ekuhlanganyeleni kwabasebenzi balolonke ibala, bonke ubulili nakulolonke izwe. I-capitalism igcwele umhlaba wonke ngakhoke kufanele thina basebenzi ukulwa kwethu sikwandise umhlaba wonke. Simelana nenzame zokuhlukamisa abantu ngobuhlanga ulwimi, enzenkolo, abasebenzi abananto yakwenza nabantu abatsund abalawulayo, abamhlophe abasebenzayo abananto yokwenza nabamhlophe abakulawulo. Abantu amakhalati, namandiya, nabamhlophe, abacendelo labantu abazhomekeke kwimpilo yokusebenza abananto banenyongonye.

Ukuhlangana Emhlabeni Silwele i-Socialism

Ukhukhulelangoqo wesiteleka uzoqeda ukucwasana ngokwebala kubasebenzi, ubuye ulethe nentando yeningi: Anarchist-komanisi. Lokhu kuzogxila kumfelandawonye walabo abasemazingeni aphantsi, ezindaweni zokusebenzela kanye nakumakhansela emphakathini, bese kuvikelwa umbutho wokuvikela wabasebenzi.

Sifuna umphakathi ongenabo obasi (bosses), abaluwuli kanye nabacindezeli noma ngabe kuthiwa abaluphi uhlobo. Sifuna umnotho okhululekile olawulwa abasebenzi. Asifuni ukulawulwa: okuyilona zinga kwinkululeko yethu ukuthi ungabomphuca omunye umuntu inkululeko yakhe.

Izinhlalo ze Tokologo African Anarchist Collective (TAAC)

I- Tokologo African Anarchist Collective (TAAC) ayincikile ekungeneleni ukhetho noma ezinhlosweni zokuthatha amandla ombuso. I-TAAC akuyona inyunyane yabezohwebo kodwa inhlango yezeopolitiki yalabo abalwayo ngenhloso yokugquzela ukuzenzela kanye nokuqonda isimo sezopolitiki soquqaba lomphakathi wabasebenzi kanye nabahlwempu ukuze bakwazi ukuzilwela bona.

Inhloso yethu ukugquzela umzabalazo, kodwa ekugcineni abasebenzi abayokhulula abanye abasebenzi: ukunyanya kwabasebenzi. Ikusasa lakhiwa namhlanje. Siyahambisana nomzabalazo wabafundi wenqubekela phambili. Siyaxhasa izinyunyana ezikhona zabasezimbonini kodwa silwela ukuba zilawulwe abasebenzi; uhlelo lwezinguquko kanye nokubumba inyunyana eyodwa enkulu. Simelana nokhetho kunye nembutho esetyensiswa njengenkomo khetho kgoso politiko.

Isiko Lokulwa

Siyaziqhanya ngokumela usiko loquqaba lokuba silwele i-socialism hayi ubugqili (Anarchist-komanisi). Inhlango yethu ngokomlando isizuze izigidi zabantu umhlaba wonke, ngoba ilwela izidingo zabasebenzi kanye nalabo abangahlwempu. Ayilweli labo abazifunela bona amandla kanye nokuxhaphaza abasebenzi. Namhlanje i-TAAC isisabalale umhlaba wonke.

Uma uvumelana nathi -Joyina i-TAAC!

Bill Andrews and South Africa's Revolutionary Syndicalists

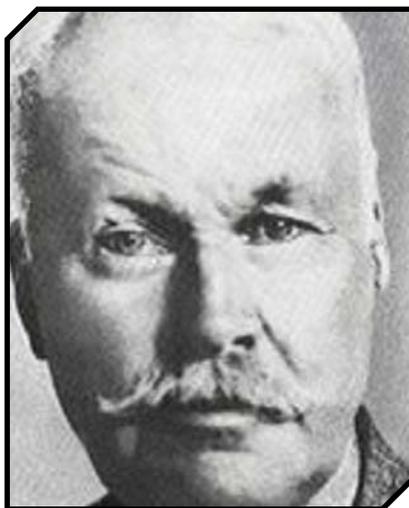
by LUCIEN VAN DER WALT

If W. H. "Bill" Andrews (1870-1950) is remembered today, it is usually as a founder and leader of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, today the SACP). In that role, he served as party chair, member of the executive of the Communist International, leading South African trade unionist, visitor to the Soviet Union, and defendant in the trial of communists that followed 1946 black miners' strike.

However, in his earlier years, Andrews was a leading figure in the revolutionary syndicalist International Socialist League (ISL). Born in Britain, Andrews was a skilled metal worker and came from the unions. After a brief stint in parliament for the SA Labour Party, Andrews joined other radicals in the newly-founded ISL in 1915.

In CPSA/ SACP writings, the ISL usually appears as a sort of CPSA-in-the-making, made of solid Marxists. The reality is that the ISL was – like many on the radical left worldwide – part of the broad anarchist tradition: in this case, it championed revolutionary syndicalism. It stressed uniting all workers, black

and white, in One Big Union to smash capitalism and the state, and national/ racial oppression, and put the workplaces under direct workers' control.



Andrews worked inside the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) (absorbed many years later into the National Union of Metalworkers of SA, NUMSA), helped run the ISL paper, *The International*, and was sent abroad by the ISL to attend a (failed) socialist peace conference in Stockholm in 1917. After his return, he was appointed paid ISL "industrial organiser" to promote revolutionary

syndicalism through workers and shop stewards' committees. His major aim then was to form a rebel Witwatersrand Shop Stewards' Council. Although he stressed the importance of winning white workers, then the majority in unions, he actively supported efforts to organise Indian and black African workers and their strikes.

In 1921, like many of his comrades he helped found the CPSA, where he played a leading role despite being expelled from 1931-1938. He passed away in Cape Town in 1950, a grand old man of the Left, and remains an SACP icon.



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