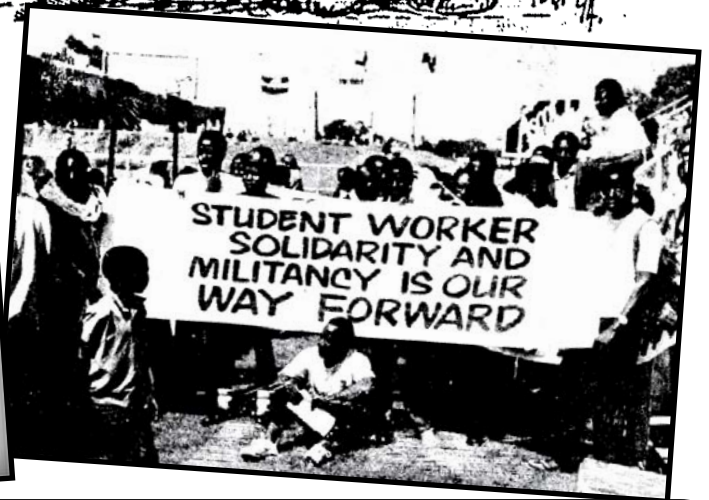
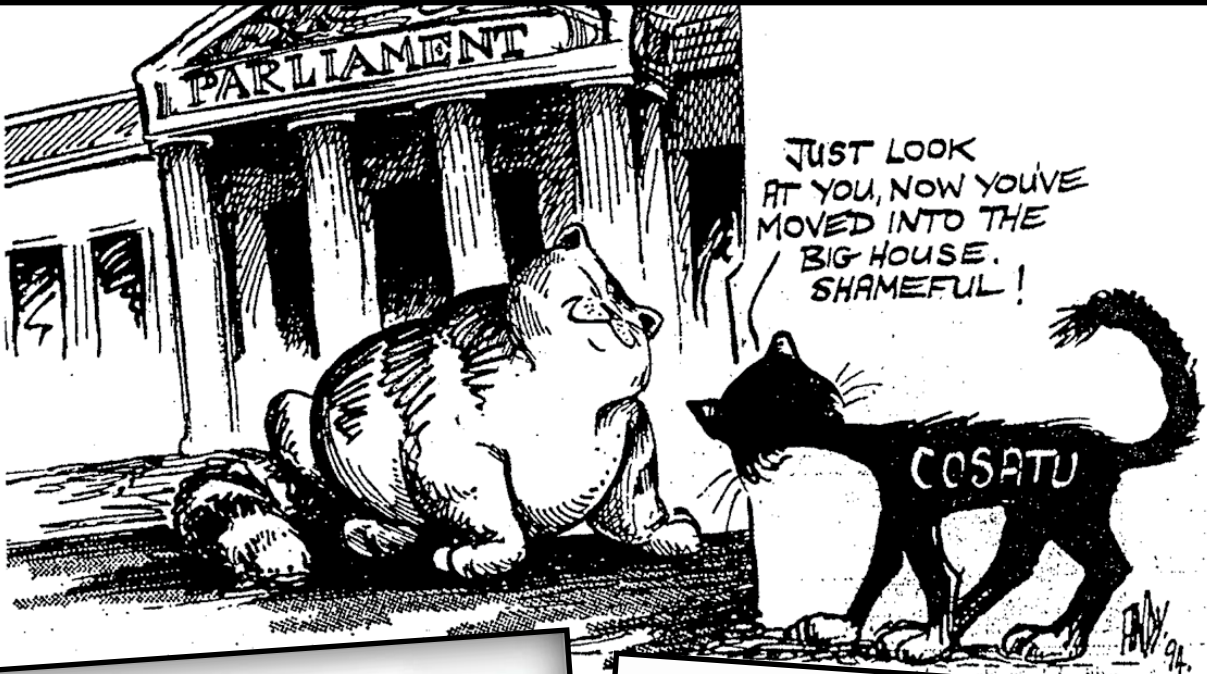


TOKOLOGO



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Editorial

Welcome to the second issue of *Tokologo*, produced by the Tokologo African Anarchist Collective.

Why do we publish this? We publish it because our country is crying out for an alternative. And that alternative is anarchism, which stands for a free and democratic society, run from the grassroots, in communities and workplaces, and based on equality and freedom. In such a society, wealth like land and factories would be collectively owned; production would be directed to meeting basic needs and ensuring environmental sustainability. In such a society, everyone would have a say in all matters that affect them; poverty and deprivation would be abolished; hatred and competition would be replaced by cooperation and mutual aid by all peoples.

Corruption, exploitation, police brutality, poverty, and unemployment wreak havoc on township communities, on families, on youth. Desperation provides grounds for hatred, by race, by nationality, by sex. The dreams of freedom of the 1980s and 1990s have evaporated. Politicians make promises that they do not keep. Workers are killed when they demand higher wages. While Marikana comrades bury their dead, the super-rich spend millions on weddings and parties ...

The black working class, in particular, finds itself held by the chains of capitalists and politicians, and weighed down by the national oppression of the apartheid past. But all working class and poor people, of whatever race, find themselves in chains.

The solution is to fight for something better, a new society. This means organising our working class movements to fight for a new society, And it means freeing our minds of confusion, by educating ourselves with the truth about what is wrong, and the truth about how to make things right.

Tokologo aims to contribute to this project. If you agree with what we say, or want to know more, or want a workshop, **why not contact us. Our email address is tokologo.aac@gmail.com or phone us on 072 399 0912.**

Stop Evictions, Stop the State, Defend the Working Class and Poor

By PITSO MOMPE

Forced evictions are a violation of human rights that requires urgent global attention. In 2008 between 30 and 50 million people in 70 countries worldwide lived under constant threat of being forcibly evicted (according to the International Alliance of Inhabitants).

Those that are most affected are working class people and peasants living in poverty. It's always the poor who are evicted.

All over the world, states remove people from their homes, and destroy their livelihoods, without offering alternative accommodation or compensation, without respecting safeguards for the victims as set out in international standards; and without observing the due process of the law that supposedly binds the state.

In many cases, the authorities do not bother to consult the affected people in a meaningful or democratic way. Tens of thousands have been made homeless after being forcibly evicted from their homes, without any consultation or warning.

Many residents are given little or no time to relocate – or even pack their belongings, which are then usually destroyed or confiscated during evictions.

So why should we trust the state if it is responsible for these forced evictions? We must trust in our own struggles and resistance. We must wage anarchist class struggle create a new and better world, building counter-power and counter-culture.

Pre-Paid Electricity Meters or Power to the People?

By PITSO MOMPE

In 2000 the South African government announced its policy was to provide “free basic services.” The free basic electricity policy was released in 2003 and claimed that it would ensure that a “basic supply” of electricity is made available free of charge to poor households.

In practice, the amount provided in the “basic supply” is very limited, and soon runs out. The policy further states that poor households generally have a lower demand for electricity, and so their needs can be adequately met by restricting the current drawn from their supply to about 20 Amperes. So, the free electricity also cannot support most appliances.

Further, the same policy states that indigent homes applying for free basic electricity have to be fitted with pre-paid meters first.

The irony is that people have to buy a voucher to activate the free basic allowance. How can electricity be “free” if you have to buy it?

The imposition of a pre paid meter system continues inequality in access to energy. Poor people are often unable

to afford the vouchers and as a result, their homes are left unlit. In addition, the unit cost of electricity is higher for those using a pre paid meter in working class areas. When the free power runs out, households buy more power. The higher rates then pay back the state and ESKOM for the “free” power.

Free electricity is better than no electricity, and the state would not have even considered it without the mass protests around electricity from the late 1990s.

But there are serious problems in the policy. However this will not be addressed by the ruling class as it does not increase profit and control.

And let us remember that ESKOM is nationalized: it is stat-owned. Evidently nationalisation does not benefit the working class, as certain politicians say. It is not an alternative to privatisation. These are both anti-working class, and obstacles to genuine freedom. We must fight for collectivisation, including placing ESKOM under democratic working class control, including self-management

Wake Up the Power of the Working Class and Poor

By LUCIEN VAN DER WALT

Our country is in a mess. Hunger, poverty, exploitation and injustice stalk the land.

The working class and poor face, at every step, the high walls of injustice, the chains of unemployment, and the bullets and batons of the police.

Conflicts shake the country, and hopes that shone in 1994 are fading, rusting under the waters of greed, oppression, and inequality; those hopes seem like a dream that fades when you awake to a grim reality.

The national question, our deep divisions of race and nationality, remains unsolved: politicians, black and white, make the situation worse in order to get votes.

We see the African National Congress (ANC), a party that embodied for so many working class people, so many hopes, breaking those people and tarnishing those hopes. We see ANC politicians buying votes, stealing money, running a broken school system, and grinding down the working and poor people.

We see breakaway factions from the ANC making the same false promises, but their record speaks for itself: in office, they were exactly the same. We see the big opposition parties, like the Democratic Alliance (DA): more promises, more lies, and all with a terrible record in office.

While millions are unemployed, those with jobs work endless hours, sweating, bleeding, faces lined with exhaustion. Big capitalist corporations like Lonmin squeeze the blood out of the working class; big government companies like Eskom drive down wages, and force up prices.

Who killed the workers at Marikana? The police? And who sent the police?

The ANC government and its close friends, the army and police generals, and the big capitalist corporations.

Little breakaway ANC's claim to be different, and even give themselves new names, but they aim only at getting back into the circle of the rich and powerful, riding the suffering of the masses back to high paid office, tenders and mansions in the wealthiest suburbs.

It cannot go on like this.

It is time to wake up the power of the working class and poor so we can break the chains, break the illusions, break the cycle of misery.

This means going back to basics, and building the power of the working class and poor, through mass organisations, political education, and a real understanding: the shining light of anarchism and syndicalism.

To quote from the Industrial Workers of Africa, the revolutionary syndicalist union our predecessors founded in 1917 in Johannesburg, and the first African black trade union in the country:

While you were asleep, the mills of the rich man were grinding your sweat, for nothing.

Wake up! Open your ears. The sun has arisen and the day is breaking.

The Struggle at Kwa-Masisa Hostel in Sebokeng

By SIYABULELA HULU

In September 2002, residents of Kwa-Masisa Hostel in Sebokeng faced evictions by the so-called new and private owners. They resisted and won. But since then, the hostel has been abandoned to its fate. Today the struggle for secure tenure, decent conditions and control continues.

The hostel was previously owned by the state steel company ISCOR: this is now known as Mittal Steel after its wholesale privatisation. In the late 1980s. The hostel residents were mostly former workers; they have refused to move. Now, several years on, it still remains unclear who really owns the hostel.

In September 2002, over 6000 residents were forcibly evicted by armed police and Wozani Security (commonly known as the "Red Ants"). People's belongings were dumped into the streets. Residents were given no alternative shelter on one of the coldest days of the year.

A private company, Vilva Investment Trading Twenty Company Pty Ltd initiated the eviction in which several residents were shot and injured. This company was,





according to the residents, partially owned by the three local African National Congress (ANC) councillors.

However, the residents successfully managed to resist the eviction. They used direct action, and they won. Residents moved back in.

But since the resistance, the Kwa-Masisa hostel has effectively been left to rot. Mittal Steel, Vilva and the local ANC government all say that they are no longer responsible for the hostel.

As a result, the hostel dwellers have been living under horrendous conditions for many years now. Facilities have crumbled, pipes leak, dirt mounts up ... Is the aim to force people out slowly?

A "people's inspection" took place on 3 September 2008, and was aimed at highlighting and exposing the horrendous living conditions of the Kwa-Masisa dwellers.

Five years later, there has been no improvement.

Recently, there have been plans by the council to "renovate" the hostel. But these plans start with a round of evictions to temporary accommodation. It is feared that the hostel will be upgraded, but no one will be allowed back without paying rents. The residents cannot pay: this means more evictions will be permanent.

It is unacceptable for any human being to be living under such conditions: the ANC-run municipality promises "a better life for all," but the residents are still waiting.

And the residents are determined to fight against any "renovations" that will harm them: it is the ordinary people who must control the situation.

Activists Demand End to Misappropriation of Funds and Wasteful Expenditure: Khutsong's Corrupt Municipality

By MZEE

Once we stop thinking as individuals and start thinking as a working class group, change will become possible.

Our country's conditions have gotten worse and worse in many ways. There is corruption, inequality and limited freedom for the masses.

Someone has to stand up and say "Enough is enough! We need better education, more jobs and people-driven development plans."

We are calling for change now! Only people-driven and democratically-decided solutions based on solidarity and human well-being offer genuine ways out of the crisis.

These ways out must include resisting self-enriching politicians, and arrogant bosses.

These politicians use their positions, and any information entrusted to them, to enrich themselves and to benefit improperly and personally.

To indicate some fraudulent activity in Khutsong: it will be remembered there was substantial damage during the massive 2006-2007 struggles to prevent the Khutsong (and Merafong) being transferred from Gauteng province.

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SECTION: The Story of the Makhnovists and the Anarchist Revolution in the Ukraine, 1918-1921

NOTES FROM A TAAC WORKSHOP

The mass “Makhnovist” (anarchist) movement emerged in 1917 in Ukraine, a colonial country in East Europe that was until then divided between the Russian and Austrian (or Austro-Hungarian) Empires. The Makhnovists made an anarchist revolution. The anarchists were a central force in the 1917-1921 Ukrainian War of Independence,

Russian Revolution, Ukrainian Revolution

In 1917, the Russian empire underwent revolution. Many forces struggled. Some wanted to restore the Russian imperial government (and the Russian royal family), overthrown in March. Others wanted to create a new, better society.

Ukraine was a split between the Russian and Austrian empires. It was the richest colony of the Russian Empire, exporting wheat and producing agricultural equipment. Now, in 1917, everything was set to change.

What was the Russian Revolution?

Before the Revolution, most land was held by a small landowning class; government and private industries exploited workers; the empire had many oppressed nationalities who wanted independence. (Russia itself was only *half* the Russian empire).

The Revolution overthrew the Emperor (*Tsar*); the army split; peasants started to take over land; oppressed nationalities demanded independence; and workers began taking over cities and industries. Many forces in Ukraine fought for independence, but they did not agree on the content and form of that independence.

Who was Nestor Makhno?

In Ukraine, anarchists were the main revolutionary force. They fought for decolonisation through anarchist revolution, meaning the independent Ukraine should be reconstructed on anarchist lines: self-management and participatory democracy, equality not hierarchy and domination, collectively-owned property, and the abolition of the class system, capitalism and the state.

They were called “Makhnovists,” after the leading Ukrainian anarchist militant, Nestor Makhno. He came from a poor peasant family, had been a factory worker, and former political prisoner.

Who were the enemies of the Makhnovists and why?

The Makhnovists wanted to push the Russian Revolution to anarchism. With this agenda, Makhnovist anarchists faced many enemies.



- ▶ *Monarchists* (so-called “White armies”) , who wanted to bring back the Russian Empire, the Russian emperor (*Tsar*) and the unequal society these created;
- ▶ *Marxists* (so-called “Communists”) like Lenin and Trotsky, who were creating one-party dictatorship in central Russia,;
- ▶ *Ukrainian nationalists*, who wanted to create an independent, capitalist, Ukrainian *state*, with Ukrainian (not Russian) landlords, capitalists and political elites;
- ▶ German / Austrian *imperialists*, who wanted to take over the whole Ukraine, making it a colony again.

Why were they enemies?

Actually, the *monarchists*, *Marxists*, *nationalists* and *imperialists* stood for something similar:

1) a tiny elite would control the land, factories and state, and rule the peasants and workers; and, along with this

2) no independence for the Russian colonies.

For example, the Marxists built a revolutionary one-party dictatorship, nationalized industry and land, and repressed all their enemies. In reality, this meant a tiny unelected Marxist elite crushing trade unions, social movements, and anarchists – and controlling all wealth. From 1918, the Marxist state reconquering the numerous breakaway Russian colonies

This meant the Marxists were against the Makhnovists, who were a threat to their dictatorship, by their example, ideas, and independence.

What did the Makhnovists want instead?

The anarchist Makhnovist movement wanted to destroy *class rule*, which means the rule of a wealthy and powerful elite, over the peasants/ family farmers and working class majority.

Every ruling elite, regardless of being German/ Austrian, Russian, or even Ukrainian, always dominated and exploited the popular classes. Fighting class rule was part of the general anarchist struggle to end all oppression and hierarchy (including colonialism and racism).

The anarchists wanted society to be run democratically by ordinary people, no matter their race or culture, using the wealth for human needs – not elite profits and power. Where no person oppressed or exploited another. Where all nationalities were freed from imperialism.

This meant they politically opposed the Marxists as well as the nationalists and monarchists

In the turmoil of the War of Independence, from 1917-1921, they pushed for their radical agenda in the face of intense Marxist and nationalist and monarchist opposition.

The Anarchist Revolution in the Ukraine

A free “soviet” system

In much of the Ukraine, especially the south, the anarchist Makhnovists created a free, independent worker-peasant-soldier council (in Russian: “soviet”) system. The first elements of this were developed in 1917, when Makhno and his militants began to organize unions, factory and farm workers committees, and assemblies – moving to land reforms and strikes.

This was disrupted by a German imperialist occupation of the territory, permitted by the shameful First Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed by the Russian Marxists Lenin and Trotsky In February 1918

But in 1918, the anarchist Makhnovist movement exploded into life again as armed partisan groups and mass-based popular struggles and structures pushed forward. Now, the revolution took hold on a larger scale than ever.

Ordinary people ran things through neighborhood, workplace and soldiers councils. Council delegates were always accountable to regular mass meetings of neighbors and workers. They took orders from the people; they did not give orders and they were not a ruling elite. They were comrades and indeed servants, not masters. And workplaces and communities were under the direct control (the self-

management) of the ordinary people. Collectives were formed, land was redistributed and life was changed.

Councils were federated, and linked through congresses. Congresses expressed the demands of the working class and peasantry on a large scale, and developed democratic plans. Land, factories and other wealth were commonly owned wherever possible, run through the councils and used for quality services, good jobs, equality, and solidarity.

A working class/ peasant militia

The Makhnovists permitted Marxists and nationalists to participate (peacefully) in the Ukrainian free councils, and to promote their views, newspapers and delegates.

But at the same time, violent attacks against the councils, common property, racist violence and attacks by monarchists, Marxists and nationalists had to be met with force.

The anarchist Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of the Ukraine, controlled by the councils including the soldiers councils, acted to protect the independent revolutionary Ukraine.

Even its commanders were elected: Makhno himself was elected, and could be forced

to step down. And he did step down. It was a democratic “militia”: a people’s army, recruited from the people, not an army used by a ruling class against the people.

The real world

This was the anarchist society – the Makhnovists’ words made flesh. An anarchist revolution took place in a large territory. It showed a concrete alternative to monarchists, Marxists and nationalists.

The following chart shows how the anarchist zone (Ukraine) was different to the Marxist zone (Russia)

ANARCHIST UKRAINE	MARXIST RUSSIA
Free speech	All opposition banned
Free soviet system	Soviets subject to control of Bolshevik party
Different currents allowed in soviets	No free political activity or debate in soviets
Soviets are main locus of power	Soviets are controlled by unelected state officials
Soviets could be won over, democratically, by new political forces	No free elections or real debate
Land, factories are controlled by the people	Land, factories are controlled by the state
Self-managed workplace	State-run workplace
Democratic army	Top-down army

Ukraine’s Revolution as Anarchist, Popular Class National Self-Determination and Decolonisation

Through the council system, the working class and peasantry of Ukraine also achieved independence for this colony. The federation of free Ukrainian councils meant there was a new, *independent* and anarchist Ukrainian system.

The puppet state of the Germans, called the Hetmanate, was ejected from much of the territory. The efforts by the Russian Marxists to reconquer the territory and create a puppet Ukrainian “Soviet Republic” was resisted. The attempt by the rightwing monarchists to reinstall the Russian emperor in the territory was resisted. The attempt by the Ukrainian nationalists to create their own state, like the Central Rada and the “Directory”, were resisted.

Power and wealth was placed firmly in the hands of the working and poor masses, not a small elite – local or foreign. The new anarchist Ukraine was free of Russian, German and Austrian imperialism. It also rejected the shameful treaty of the Russian Marxists, which assumed a central Russian state had the right to dispose of Ukraine.

And it also fought to be free from capture by the emergent *Ukrainian* elite of state managers, landlords and capitalists.

The men and women of the anarchist Makhnovist forces – these included the army as well as the councils and the workplaces – included peasants, ethnic Ukrainian as well as others like Greeks and Cossacks, some urban workers, Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking; the persecuted Jewish minority was also included. Independent anarchist Ukraine was inclusive of all working and poor people; its enemies were the rich and powerful of every race and nation.

So, the anarchists had established the independence of Ukraine – *but through a revolutionary anarchist society*. They rejected the occupations by Germany, and Austria, and they rejected the right of any elite to recapture Ukraine, even if it was a *Ukrainian* elite.

What Happened to the Makhnovists and the Revolution?

The Makhnovists were defeated by the continual armed attacks by monarchists, nationalists and Marxists. Eventually the Marxists won. They made Ukraine into a colony, called “Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,” part of a recreated Russian empire, the “Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” (USSR/ Soviet Union). There was nothing “socialist” about the system; it was state-capitalist colonialism.

Why were they defeated?

One obvious reason for the Makhnovist defeat was that they were outgunned: too many enemies, on too many fronts, for too long.

The attacks undermined the councils and workplace and military self-management. When the Makhnovists were pushed out of territory, the invading forces terrorized the local people and killed anarchists. When Makhnovists took the areas back, they had to start from scratch. The military effort was exhausting, consuming resources, men, women and materials.

Errors in alliances

But *why* were they outgunned all the time? *Why* are the enemies so powerful *in the first place*?

The Makhnovists had no choice but to make alliances with different forces at different times: sometimes with the Marxists and nationalists against the monarchists, sometimes with independent armed groups.

But they made too many alliances with the Russian Marxists – despite repeated betrayals by the Marxists and their refusal to provide weapons to the anarchists, alliances with the Marxists were prioritized.

It is worth thinking about whether other allies should have been considered more often. For example, the anarchist Makhnovists could have worked with the nationalists, who also wanted independence, while at the same time winning

over the rank-and-file of the nationalist forces of anarchism.

And they might have been able to negotiate a better deal than with the Marxists.

Why? Because the Makhnovists were much stronger compared to the nationalists, than the Marxists. If the alliance frayed later, the Makhnovists would have been better placed to sort matters out in their favour. It is true the nationalists often attacked the anarchists. But how was this different to the actions of the Marxists?

The disorganized Russian anarchists

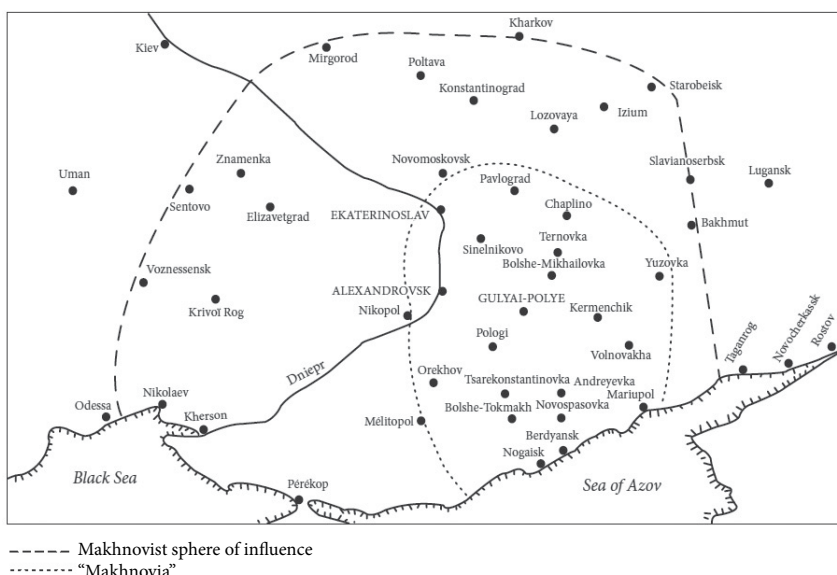
Another problem is that the anarchists in Russia itself were very disorganized and confused – although there were exceptions, like G.P. Maximoff’s anarcho-syndicists. If the Russian anarchists were better organized, they could have weakened the Lenin-Trotsky Marxist dictatorship – and potentially created a second anarchist zone in Russia itself. This would have tied up the Marxist forces, and provided a powerful ally and example.

Chronic disorganisation is one reason why the much smaller but much better organized Ukrainian anarchist movement made a revolution – and why the bigger Russian movement failed to do so. In exile, many of these disorganised anarchists refused to learn the basic lessons: these are that anarchism must go to the masses, be unified in word and deed, and operate on collective responsibility.

Makhno, his comrade Piotr Arshinov and others, in exile, drew these hard-won lessons in the important *Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists*.

Lessons

Badly organized, anarchism / syndicalism is crippled and weak – well organized, it can help change the world. This is what the Makhnovists show us. Let us remember their heroic example.



The Ukrainian anarchist territory, showing core area of “Makhnovia”, and maximum sphere of influence 1918–1921.

SECTION: The Story of the Korean Anarchists and the Anarchist Revolution in Manchuria, 1929-1931

Who was Kim Joa-Jin, Korean Anarchist Revolutionary?

By ERIC EVERY

Kim Jao-jin was born in 1889 to a wealthy family. Like many of his generation, his life was shaped by the Japanese imperial government's colonisation of Korea. This began formally in 1910, but key aspects of Japanese control dated to 1895. The year 1919 saw a massive wave of struggle against colonialism: the March 1st Movement. This was part of a global series of uprisings.

Kim became involved in the Korean Independence Army (KIA). In 1920, he helped lead a famous defeat by the KIA of a Japanese army division at the battle of Ch'ing-Shan. At the same time, he became drawn to anarchism by his relative, Kim Jong-Jin. Anarchism / syndicalism was a very powerful force in the Korean national liberation and popular class struggles. Japanese anarchists worked closely with Korean anarchists: they knew the Japanese ruling class was also their enemy.



In 1925, Kim formed the anarchist group, the "New People's Society." Working closely with the Korean Anarchist Federation in Manchuria and the Korean Anarcho-Communist Federation, in 1929 he helped launch (with KIA support) a large anarchist revolutionary zone in Shinmin in Manchuria, in the Korean borderlands. A large Korean population lived here; Japanese imperial power was not as strong as in the Korean peninsula. The zone was run through the Korean People's Association in Manchuria, also called the "General League of Koreans."

From 1929-1931 we can speak of an anarchist revolution in this area. It was based on the peasantry and the military.

Kim was assassinated by a Korean Communist Party member while working in a cooperative. The Communists hated the anarchists. They wanted to form a one-party dictatorship, as existed in Russia.

The Story of the Korean Anarchist Revolution: Decolonisation through Anarchism

By LUCKY SUMIONE

The Korean anarchist movement wanted to build an independent self-governing anarchist society, a cooperative system of the masses of the Korean people. They wanted to take civilisation from the capitalist class, and return it to the popular classes. By doing so, the capitalist and colonial society that existed in Korea (as elsewhere in Africa and Asia and east Europe) would be replaced with a new society. This new society would be based on the principles of freedom

and equality, that guarantee the independent self-rule of the producing classes: the working class and the peasantry. The Korean movement had important strengths. These included the support of a large sector of the Korean Independence Army (KIA), centred on the anarchist Kim Jao-Jin. He was an anarchist military leader sometimes compared to Nestor Makhno of the anarchist revolution in the Ukraine (1918-1921).



Anarchists like Kim worked closely with the Korean Anarchist Federation in Manchuria and the Korean Anarcho-Communist Federation (KAF-M) to create a large anarchist revolutionary zone in Shinmin, Manchuria, in the Korean borderlands.

How did the Korean anarchist structures make decisions?

In Shinmin, a system of administration was organised as the Korean People's Association in Manchuria, also known as the General League of Koreans. Its aim was to create an independent self-governing cooperative system of the Korean people, who had assembled their "full power" to fight for the people by struggling against Japanese imperialism.

There were three key structures. First, there was the section of the KIA linked to Kim. Second, there were the specific anarchist political organisations, the Korean Anarchist Federation in Manchuria and the Korean Anarcho-Communist Federation. Third, there were the mass structures created in Shinmin. These were initiated by the Kim wing of the KIA along with the KAF-M, which formed the Korean People's Association.

The structure was federal, going from village meetings to district and area conferences. The Korean People's Association also had executive departments to deal with agriculture, education, propaganda, finance, military affairs, social health, youth and general affairs. Full-time staff in these departments received no more than the average wage.

What Were the Aims of the Korean Anarchists? Anarchism, Syndicalism and Decolonisation

By LEILA VEERAPAN-LEWIS

The Korean anarchists' views, as represented by the *Talwhan* ("Conquest") group, outlined a vision of anarchist society free of both (Japanese) imperialism and local (Korean) capitalism and landlordism. They wanted a free independent Korea that did not just replace a foreign elite with a local elite.

Their statement of intent included:

1. Do not allow the existence of oppression and the state;
2. Oppose power by elites, and the rule of privileged minorities over the majority;
3. No private property: instead, a common property system under a non-state system of control;
4. Instead of a civilisation run by an elite, society and civilisation must be well integrated with each other;

5. The individual will consume according to her or his own demand, and produce according to her or his own ability;
6. Free communism through autonomous (independent) producers' (working class and peasant) organisations;
7. There is no state, and no political elite, but instead independent self-governance;
8. Taking Korea back from the Japanese capitalist government;
9. Refusing to make a deal with the capitalist class of the native country of Korea, or to give independent Korea to the Korean elite;
10. To provoke a spontaneous upsurge of the masses as the motor of decolonisation and anti-capitalism.

CONCLUSION: What Can We Learn?

By TOKOLOGO AFRICAN ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE

The Korean anarchist revolution was a heroic struggle of the working and poor people. It fought for decolonisation through anarchism. Power and wealth were not to be simply transferred from a foreign (in this case, Japanese) ruling class to a local (in this case, Korean), ruling class. It was to be transferred to the popular classes, in an anarchist manner. The anarchists would work with the nationalists sometimes, but general pushed an independent class line, anarchism, as an alternative.

What happened to their struggle? Partly, they were weakened by difficult circumstances: a situation of war was taking place in the region, in which many big powers were involved: the Japanese empire, the Russian Marxist dictatorship which backed the Communists, the Chinese and Korean nationalists.

There were also divisions amongst the anarchists, which saw some anarchists making serious revisions in their theory: a group around Ha Ki Rak would later run an anarchist political party in Korean state elections! This section of the anarchists absorbed much of the nationalist approach, and this limited their ability to challenge the nationalists with force and with ideas – essential tasks to spreading the revolution into areas controlled by the nationalists. The revolution did not manage to spread into China and into the Korean peninsula, or into Russia.

Finally, Japan got embroiled in war with Russia and Japan, as part of the Second World War; this was followed by the Cold War between Russia and America. The American ruling class conquered the Japanese state, and then placed Korea under American control. A war broke out, and the country was eventually split into a Russian- and American-backed North and South, each run by dictators.

Continued from Page 5

The former Municipal Manager Mr E. M. Leseane, in his report to the “Strydom Loss Adjusters” for the “Khutsong Displaced Community Loss Adjusters and Assessment of Claims,” has shown that the municipal councilors displaced in the demarcation unrest have made exorbitant and fraudulent claims for damages to their property and household contents.

This is just one example. Community activists are calling for:

- ▶ All people involved in fraudulent and corrupt activities be charged;
- ▶ Action to be taken against municipal employees involved in awarding a tender for brick-making machinery without following proper procedures;
- ▶ Charges against two officials from the Department of Social Development involved in the disappearance of funds for a brick plant amounting to R1.4 million;

- ▶ The release of the Phandahawu forensic audit report that demonstrates a massive problem and corruption within the Merafong City Municipality.

There is a continuous waste of money in disciplinary cases against corrupt employees. This is consuming a lot of state funds: one case under review, F. Cariya vs Merafong Municipality, has cost R19 767.60 so far; the case of S, Gaeganelwe R126 616.38, and the case of the Municipal Manager, R616 791.19. And none of these cases have been won by municipality; hence they are under review.

Sooner rather than later, we can expect the government, in all spheres, to take measures to shift the burden of crisis onto the shoulders of the working class. Already workers and communities face even greater hardships.

For many working class and poor people, expectations have formed into impatience. Both workers and the community have signaled their dissatisfaction and frustration with the circumstances by resorting to strikes and protests.

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 ngomphakathi nendlela zokwazi ukudibanisa abantu nabasebenzi. Amalungu a dibana ngokuhambisa inqubo zeTAAC. Ukudibanisa nokuqhu bekesisa abahlali njengo mphakathi osezingeni lokusebenza, nge-workshop. Ekwakheni nasekusasazeni imfundiso ejongene nomsebenzi weTAAC kunye ne-anarchism (lemfundiso 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 nokuzinekela 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 (Anarchism) 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.

Ezizigqibo 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.

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

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 tlhaloganyo 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 tlhaloganyo 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 dumeletswa 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.



Shirts for Sale

Price: R60 | Sizes: S - XL | Colours: Red on Black



Tokologo African Anarchist Collective

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