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Editorial

Welcome to issue 3 of "Tokologo," produced by members of the Tokologo African Anarchist Collective, based in Gauteng, South Africa. Our members come from Johannesburg, Khutsong, Sebokeng, and Soweto; we are committed to the fight for the full freedom of the working class and poor, in South Africa and abroad. We do not want privatisation (capitalist ownership), we do not want nationalisation (state ownership), we want self-management and socialisation (community/ worker ownership), of land and all other productive resources.

Before continuing, let us note our grief at the passing of our comrade Lawrence Zitha, for whom we have an obituary in this issue. Go well, comrade! You will be missed.

At the time of publication, our country has just come through elections to the state. We do not think that elections are a way forward for the working class and poor: we need something better. We need to organise and mobilise, outside and against the state, outside and against the capitalists.

The big problems facing our masses continue. Crime is one. It is clear that the police are completely unable to solve the problem. This is shown by the articles on the tragedy in Khutsong, where, frustrated by crime, community members killed gangsters. The state responded to this action - and to demands for a clean-up of the area - through a massive occupation of the township. Police violence and harassment was common; one of our members was severely affected. Eventually the community demanded that the police leave. But while gangterism continues, community members accused of the killings in late 2013 are on trial.

Other articles show that it makes no sense to expect the government to combat crime: the police seem available to kill workers and protestors (as seen at Marikana in 2012), yet corruption runs rampant in the state. Whistle-blowers on corruption, as two articles on this issue show, are threatened and pressured by powerful politicians.

Yet these same politicians want votes - and COSATU's leaders seem determined to keep pouring into election campaigns, at a time when that money could be far better spent on organising and struggle.

But where can we find an alternative?

First, it is crucial to build an anarchist political organisation, with a clear agenda: mobilising and educating the working class, building counter-power, and fighting the class enemy.

Second, we can learn from the past. We do not come from nowhere. We come from a powerful and heroic international tradition, of anarchism/ syndicalism. This also has deep roots in our African continent.

So, this issue includes articles on the early history of anarchism and syndicalism in South Africa, looking at the International Socialist League and the Industrial Workers of Africa in the 1910s, and the syndicalist influenced Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) in the 1920s. These come from our workshops.

It is important to look at this history, so we know where we are coming from. But it is also important to look back, and learn from past successes - and past mistakes. As the ICU shows, without a clear strategy, effective workers control, and clean finances, no mass organisation can carry out the project of radical social change, the anarchist project.

Certainly things cannot go on as they do today: as T.W. Thibedi, one of our forefathers in the movement, wisely said many years ago: "Why should all workers be pressed down by the rich when they do all the work of the Country?"



Orbituary of Ousi Lawrence Zitha

By NOBUHLE DUBE (TAAC)



Comrade Lawrence was born on 7 July 1969 in Kliptown before moving to Ceza in KwaZulu-Natal. He attended Ceza Primary and Nghunghunyone Secondary, matriculating in 1986 with exemption (excellent at that time).

He was employed by Nampak Polyfoil as a factory worker until 2006. He was an activist, and became involved with anarchism in 2011.

He passed away on 13 June 2013, suffering from chronic kidney failure. He is survived by his mother Johanna Zitha, two brothers (Jaby and Bongane Zitha) and his sister (Gladness Zitha), not forgetting his nieces and nephews.

May he rest in peace.

The Khutsong Tragedy

EV DUITER GEBRING

By LUCKY SUMIONE (TAAC, ZACF)

Residents in Khutsong location were neglected by the police many times, and that is why they ended up

taking the law into their own hands in late 2013.

It all started when gang members killed some people, and cut off their body parts. Some then killed each other too. When the gang members attended the funeral of their fellow members, the police escorted them to the graveyard. But the gang members managed to rob

people of their belongings on the way to the graveyard -- in front of the police. The South African Police Services (SAPS) is failing us.

Soon after the incidents, many police were deployed to raid the location. But they arrested

many innocent people for nothing, yet the gangsters remained free.

In South Africa the police are among the ones doing crime. As we have seen in the past, our senior police officials have been facing corruption charges, including two former National Commissioners, Jackie Selebi and Bheki Cele. And look what happened at Marikana, but the current police Commissioner Riah Phiyega is defending the acts

of the police in the massacre.

The police shoot people, so it is clear that the police are against us. They are not here to defend us in our new so-called democracy.



Khutsong: Pre-emptive "crimestopping" leads to police brutality

By BONGANI MAPONYANE (TAAC, ZACF)

Khutsong has not been at peace, facing a high police deployment, supposedly to combat crime. The government was adamant about cleaning up the streets in Khutsong. This followed certain brutal crimes.

Police Rapid Response Teams were put in place, monitoring the usage of alcohol and drugs, and the illegal trade in goods, to try to combat and eradicate crime. The Technical Response Team was also a big part of the crime bust.

From 3 to 31 December 2013, all the taverns in Khutsong were raided by police looking for

drugs, s public also c and ven bu co o a

alded by police looking for drugs, wanted persons or public disturbances. They also dealt heavy-handedly and immorally with vendors: small township businesses on street corners where most of the teenagers hang around during the weekends. Older people say that these kids are thugs and nyaope smokers, and conclude that those who stand on the corners are the culprits causing disorder in society.

These raids were accompanied by multiple arrests, increasing with the approach of the festive season. The gang fights that were happening in the township declined substantially.

But the big issue was the police's brutal handling of crimes. For example, they beat up everyone who had any illegal substances on them. Some people, including random visitors to the township, faced police brutality for nothing.

The problem became the police force, and how they went about combating crime. On 18 December 2013, community members set alight burning tyres on the streets, demanding an end to police brutality. The streets of Khutsong are still upset with the legal system and people are of the view that the police force is failing them.

Khutsong Community fights Gangsters

By MZEE (TAAC)

Members of the community of Khutsong chanted struggle songs, and demonstrated outside the Oberholzer

Magistrate's Court on the 14 January 2014. They were in support of fellow community members arrested following infamous incident an mob justice of that occurred in Khutsong in 2013. This mob justice led to the death of five people believed to be gangsters, and of one traditional healer to the gangsters. The gangsters terrorised had the community.



Khutsong anti-crime protests late 2013

The community members were arrested in 2013, but the court hearing was remanded to 14 January 2014 for the

happy with how the police have been handling matters so far.

bail applications, which were granted. Jack Magagabe, Willy Jongilanga, Andrew Langa, Happy Leyakane

and Metsela Kgosane are being charged on twelve counts, including public violence, destruction of public property, murder and arson. The accused are being represented by a probono (free) advocate.

More than 85 flying squad police cars were deployed in Khutsong in late 2013 on a "peace-keeping" mission. Many cases of police brutality were reported by the community. The township of Khutsong is not



Cosatu used to pump millions of rands to support the ANC's election campaigns

By MZEE (TAAC)

At the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (Cosatu) media briefing on Thursday 21 November 2013, its president Sdumo Dlamini told a journalist that the federation is "yet to decide" whether or not to contribute financially toward the ANC's 2014 election campaign. The briefing followed a Cosatu central executive committee (CEC) meeting.

But according to the Cosatu treasurer's report, Cosatu budgeted R8 million for the 2014 ANC election campaign!

There seems to be disagreement between Cosatu affiliates over why the federation uses its members' subscription fees to bankroll the ANC's election campaign, while on the other hand pleading poverty when it comes to organising its own special national congress – as has been demanded by a majority of affiliates. Dlamini has used the issue of a lack of funds to put the special congress off. Dlamini also suspended Cosatu generalsecretary Zwelinzima Vavi in 2013.

The National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA) led the call for a special congress to discuss Cosatu policies and elect a new CEC. NUMSA has also publicly stated that it will withhold its R2 million contribution to the ANC's campaign. Its treasurer Mphumzi Maqungo.said that "During previous elections, we would go to a company employing our members and get 8000 workers to vote for the ANC. We thought the ANC would have realised by now that our contribution is key."

NUMSA feels the ANC has abandoned workers. It has been at loggerheads with the ruling party for implementing the neo-liberal National Development Plan (NDP), for e-tolling the roads and for planning a so-called youth wage subsidy.



CORRUPTION BY THE ELITE

What are your rights?

By NOBUHLE DUBE (TAAC)

Although the Constitution protects the rights of whistleblowers, and we have laws that are meant to promote their rights (such as the Protected Disclosures Act), in reality there is not much protection for whistle-blowers and such people face huge challenges.

For example, people who "blow the whistle" on their employers often lose their jobs (even though the law says you cannot be fired for whistle-blowing). Sometimes the corrupt person will say the whistle-blower has broken the law and hire a lawyer to threaten them, or take them to court. Sometimes whistleblowers have even been hurt or killed!



South Africa's whistleblowers are being targeted, intimidated and silenced.

We must stand with them!



Westonaria wastes R1.5 million on legal fees

By MZEE (TAAC)

Westonaria municipality wasted R1.5 million on legal fees (October 2007 to August 2012) trying to fire a VIP protection officer who spoke out against tender irregularities.

Tumisani Mnguni, a former cadre of the MK armed group, was employed by Westonaria municipality in March 2007 as a VIP protector. In October, he was appointed as head of the VIP protection public safety unit by Mr Seitischo, the then-Westonaria municipal manager.

But Mnguni was fired after challenging the municipality's decision to award tenders worth millions of Rands to outside companies without following proper procedures. In July 2009, Mnguni had reported the matter to the Premier of Gauteng, the MEC for Local Government and Housing, and the Office of the Public Protector.

The R1.5 million was spent on hiring outside lawyers to pursue its case against Mnguni.

These payments were made between December 2010 and April 2011 to a Pretoria-based law firm, called De Swart-Vogel-Myambo Attorneys. R308 856 was paid in December 2010 for 24 months, covering salary and traveling costs for this law firm.

The expensive legal battle took place while the municipality struggled to provide township residents with basic services such as refuse removal, water, sanitation and electricity due to lack of funding.





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Why is it important to build an anarchist political organisation

Anarchism is a socialist ideology aiming to bring about a radical change, involving getting rid of the state and capitalism. We aim to change the current economic system that is backed up by state officials, and based on maximizing the profits of the elite few.

We the majority, are currently victims of our fate and mere pawns in ruling class economic and political games, but it does not have to stay like that. We want a world based on freedom, liberation, anti-authoritarianism and anti-statism: a world free of all forms of domination, capitalism and the state.

Sharing this ideal is one of the most important requirements for joining the anarchist movement. We want to build a non-hierarchical stateless society that will rise through a revolution, from the ground up. What we need is a free society, not a declaration of freedom but freedom from the reality of a class-divided society.

Poverty is one form of oppression by those that are "superior": what makes that person "special" is owning the means of production, coercion or administration

We will implement anarchist ideas through democratic organisations of working class counter-power (such as trade unions and social movements) which will plan, organise and coordinate their activities from the grassroots level.

In this process the idea will be to take control of decision making, to begin running our own lives. These are fundamental aspects of anarchism that can be incorporated in the way we think, organise and rebel against our economic and political chains.

Moreover we need to build our own culture – a counterculture challenging the ideas of capitalism and the state – through media controlled by community and worker organisations. We need our

By BONGANI MAPONYANE (TAAC)

own newspapers, TV channels, and radio stations to spread our own ideas.

The requirements to join an anarchist organisation would be to have theoretical unity (everyone sharing the same understanding of the meaning of anarchism), tactical unity (a common plan), collective responsibility and lastly an understanding of federalism. By pulling in the same direction we would row the boat along a steady course, rather than being hustled by the current.

We would be able to work together in complete trust, willingness, transparency and in ethical conditions.

Altogether, this will develop into an international scheme, and will be a building block of our triumph in this revolution. Capitalism is based on two elements of state control. The main problems are physical control and ideological control, hence I mentioned that we need our own media and counter culture. These fundamental aims have logical reasons, and show the importance of the need for proper understanding when coming to the ideological perspectives of anarchism.

> Thus anarchists want to build the working class organizations and consciousness from the ground level up, with the ideas of Michael Bakunin. This will include organised committees to demolish the inferiority complex our people face, with a ground-level understanding of the true situation, and a true solution, through information, communication and participation in planning, discussing and acting.

> > We must all be leaders, and conduct and coordinate ourselves in an anarchist way.

> > > Within this struggle there are no leaders who will steal our victory. There is only us.

OUR HISTORY OF STRUGGLE The Heroic Story of the Industrial and

Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (ICU): learning the lessons

Compiled by WARREN MCGREGOR (TAAC, ZACF)

The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (ICU) was formed in Cape Town in 1919. In 1920 it merged with the revolutionary syndicalist union, the Industrial Workers of Africa, and other unions. It grew rapidly in South Africa among Coloured and black African workers and tenant farmers. It also spread, in the 1920s and 1930s, into neighbouring countries. The ICU was not a revolutionary syndicalist union, but it *was* influenced by syndicalism.

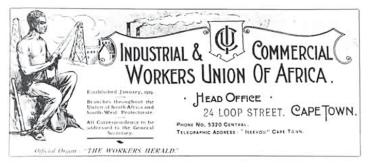
What were the aims of the ICU?

The aims of the ICU were sometimes a little confused. It was influenced by many ideas. But according to the 1925 Constitution of the ICU, and many speeches and statements, the ultimate aim of the ICU was: to abolish the class system through worker and direct action, and to equally redistribute economic and political power, in conjunction with organised workers throughout the world.

The unions would run the factories and farms. In the South African context, this also meant land occupations by and for black and Coloured workers, ending the power of big white farmers. The ICU aimed to end national oppression in South Africa, championing workers of colour.

The ICU constitution stated that it wanted to reorganise society along socialist lines in accordance with the principle: "From each according to ability, to each according to need."

The ICU's short-term aim was to organise workers across industries, and in both urban and rural areas. ICU



activists believed their strength was in their numbers, and could be grown by uniting all workers into "One Big Union." Many members were not workers. They were tenant farmers: peasant families who rented land from white farmers, paying with labour or crops or money.

What were the strengths and achievements of the ICU?

A big achievement of the ICU was in its numbers – over 100 000 members at its height in South Africa alone– and the union also managed to mobilise across much of the larger southern African region. The ICU was the largest trade union to have taken root on the African continent until the 1940s.

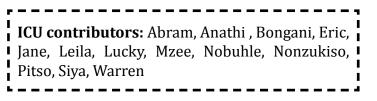
Another major achievement was that the membership, by the late 1920s, was mostly rural workers and tenant farmers, who are generally much harder to organise than urban workers.

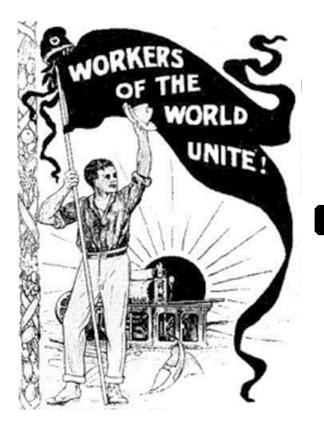
It also made international connections, with support from American and British unions.

What were the ICU's weaknesses?

The ICU had a basic class analysis and an idea of what it wanted (a free society, where blacks and Coloureds were treated with dignity, and where workers were not exploited) and what to use (trade unions) to get there. It lacked, however, a strategic analysis of *how* the ICU trade union was going to bring this about. This, combined with poor organisation and problems with finance and in-fighting, made the ICU quite ineffective despite its strength in terms of numbers.

Also, the ICU's politics were often confused. Sometimes the ICU used a class analysis, sometimes it was nationalist, sometimes it was radical, sometimes it was very moderate. It spoke of strikes, but did not organise many. It spoke of bottom-up structures, but many ICU leaders were corrupt and accountability was weak. By the early 1930s, the ICU had collapsed in South Africa.





What was the ISL and what were its aims?

The International Socialist League (ISL) was a revolutionary syndicalist political organisation founded in Johannesburg in 1915. Many founders were militants who had broken from the South African Labour Party (SALP) over its support for the British Imperial war effort in World War I. They were opposed to capitalist war and imperialism.

The ISL aimed to organise "One Big Union" of the entire South African working class

to fight for the overthrow of capitalism and the taking over of society by the working class, for the working class.

What did the ISL say about race?

Key to this project in the South African context was the breaking of the racial divisions within the working class. This required raising the specific demands of black

workers for equality with white workers, in order to practically unite all workers and to enable them to work together toward "their common emancipation from wage slavery."

The ISL consistently condemned racism, and insisted that "an internationalism which does not concede the fullest rights which the native working-class is capable of claiming will be a sham."

The International Socialist League: laying the foundations

Compiled by WARREN MCGREGOR (TAAC, ZACF)

What did the ISL actually do?

It disseminated this message through innumerable leaflets and public meetings. It even stood of candidates in state elections for propaganda, running on a platform of equal rights for white and black, and the abolition of capitalism and the state through the One Big Union. The ISL also had a weekly newspaper called The International. It was active in the main cities – except Cape Town.

ISL unions and organising

The ISL was also able to unionise workers of colour into syndicalist unions on the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) model. The first was the Indian Workers' Industrial Union (IWIU), launched in Durban in March 1917. In Johannesburg in July 1917 a study group for black African workers was set up. At the end of September the same year this became the Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA), the first black trade union in South Africa's history. Later it spread to Cape Town.

In 1919 the ISL's Kimberley branch established the Clothing Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) and the

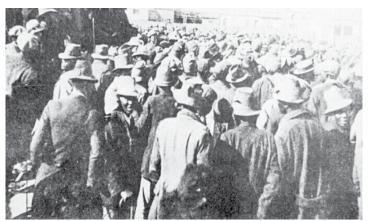
Horse Drivers' Union. The CWIU also spread to other cities. These unions had hundreds of members. Many joined the ISL.

Cautious alliances

Last, ISL and IWA members worked with (and in) other opposition groups, including the South African Native National Congress (now the African National Congress, or ANC), against racist laws. But it never trusted the ANC or set

up a formal alliance with it. It said the ANC leaders represented the interests of the black elite above all else.

ISL contributors: Abram, Anathi, Bongani, Eric, Jonathan, Leila, Lekhetho, Lucky, Mzee, Pitso, Siya, Nonzukiso, Nobuhle, Warren



the Johannesburg 1918, joint IWA/ISL/TNC strike movement

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T.W. Thibedi and the Industrial Workers of Africa, April-July 1919

By LUCIEN VAN DER WALT

T.W. Thibedi, radical school-teacher, was a leading figure in the anarchist / syndicalist International Socialist League (ISL) and the revolutionary syndicalist Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA) union. He was involved in late 1910s struggles, like the March-April 1919 anti-pass law campaign on the Witwatersrand. The campaign had been driven by more radical members of the Transvaal ANC -- including members of the revolutionary ISL and IWA, like Fred

Cetiwe and Hamilton Kraai. But the campaign was called off by conservative leaders of the South African Native National Congress (now the African National Congress, ANC).

always Thibedi believed that workers needed their own structures. outside the ANC - like the IWA and ISL. In April 1919, he issued an IWA leaflet arguing that workers needed their own "council" (this is included below). When the antipass campaign was called off, Thibedi challenged the ANC leadership at a mass meeting in Vrededorp on 9 July 1919. Then he called a meeting for "all labourers" at St. Mary's Hall, Johannesburg, 26 July. Here he called for building the IWA into a mass movement against passes and for higher wages. He stated: "Congress don't utilise money properly, they use it for themselves, and we, the working men, get nothing" so "We must separate and call ourselves the Labourers and have our own leaders. The workers must separate from Congress."

| | INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF AFRIC |
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| | Country Workers that you should join and become members of your own Council. It is a |
| | members of your own C |
| | workers stop you from joining any other Councils, but you must know what you are in the Councils, but |
| | you must know what you are in the Councils, but poor). All workers are poor therefore the |
| | poor). All workers are poor therefore they should have their own Council. |
| | their own Council. |
| | Friend are you not a worker? |
| | |
| | Why should all workers be pressed down by the rich when they do all the work of the Count - 2 |
| | when they do all the work of the Country? |
| | Why should you be kicked and |
| | Why should you be kicked and spat at whilst working. |
| | How is it that you black |
| | from the Government as their child |
| | from the Government as their children, are arrested and sent to gaol? |
| | Workers and |
| | Workers come together and be united and join your own Native Council. Why are you after the set of the set |
| _ | own Native Council. Why are you afraid to become members of the Industrial Workers of Africa whilst you call yourself Workers? |
| | call yourself Workers? |

But this did not happen - and by the end of 1919, the conservatives were firmly in control of the ANC again. Above is part of Thibedi's April 1919 IWA leaflet.



Never be deceived that the rich will let you vote away their wealth.

- Lucy Parsons



~ PYRAMID OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM ~

iTOKOLOGO AFRICAN ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE (iTAAC)

A. Yintoni iTAAC?

iTokologo African Anarchist Collective vindibaniso 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 inguguko e za ku ba namandla o kulwa nokwahlula gadalala. ukuphathwa Okukungenzeka ngoku phakanyiswa kwenkuleleko yabantu abasezingeni labasebenzi kunye nokuziphendulela.

B. Izimisele ukwenzantoni iTAAC?

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

lokuba lilungu linikezwa Igunya umntu ngokwesivumelwano okanye isiqgibo sembumba. Ngokubhekiselele: 1)Kwimisebenzi vomntu ekuthatheni inxaxheba kumaphulo asekuhlaleni. Kwimbizo (workshop) umntu unakho ukuthetha namalungu eTAAC okanye anyulwe ngamalungu lawo eTAAC, ngomqweno wokuqhubekeka 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 nienge Anarchists kanti nakwabo bangaziboni njalo. Nangona kunjalo, ubulungu bunikwa abo bahambiselanayo nombono we TAAC. Amalungu ke athi azibophelele ekusasazeni imibono ye Anakhizim (Anarchisim) kubantu abahlelelekileyo nabo bangathathi'ntweni ekuhlaleni, (amalungu) ekhokelwa sisigqibo sembumba ye TAAC.

E. Ngubani othatha izigqibo kwiTAAC?

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

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

E. Ditumelano tsa TAAC di diriwa jang ke mang?

Di tumelano tsa TAAC di diriwa ke ba tsaya karolo ba TAAC kgwedi le kgwedi ga ba kopana. Ke di kopano tse mo ditiro di tlhopiwang 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 tlhopiwana 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 communitybased 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 \mathbf{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 communitybased 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.





Tokologo African Anarchist Collective

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