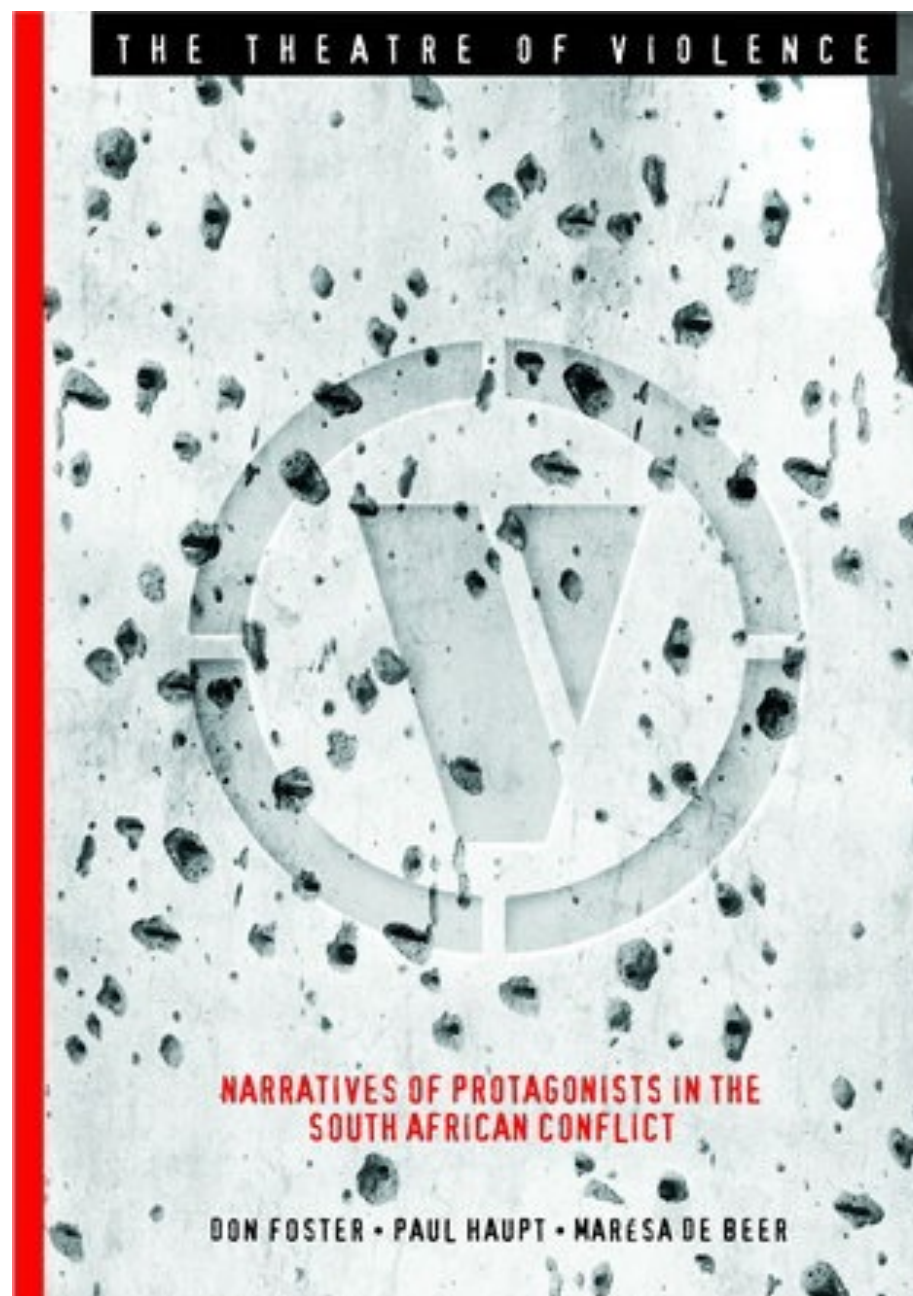


L I F E
I N
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I R E N E L O E B E L L

L'histoire de Jerry – extrait de « Theatre of Violence »

Jerry Zwane, le fondateur et le directeur de la troupe de danse du township TAXIDO qui est au centre du documentaire LIFE IN PROGRESS, a un passé typique de sa génération. Jerry a fréquenté l'école secondaire au début des années 1990, tandis que des confrontations violentes régnaient à Katlehong et dans d'autres townships, qui se sont rapidement transformé en une sorte de guerre civile. Il a abandonné l'école et a rejoint un groupe paramilitaire. Les quatre années suivantes il fit la guerre.



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'NO REWARDS'**THE STORY OF A FORMER MEMBER OF A SELF-DEFENCE UNIT****GROWING UP IN THE 'DARKER STREETS'**

Jerry was born in Tembisa in 1972 and has been living in Katlehong for 28 years. He is the third eldest of six children. The household consisted of 18 people, mostly paternal relatives. His family was very poor and he grew up in the 'darker streets of Katlehong', where there was a lot of fighting among the children and the youngsters.

His father was a preacher in the Zionist Church.⁵ He was a harsh disciplinarian and Jerry feared him.

Even if you make an honest mistake, he will beat you to hell. He would beat you really to hell, so he was that person that you would never mess with. You would never, never mess with my father. Like if he wants you to clean the home, if you didn't do that, then you know that you would be *sjambokked*. I remember even one day when I started smoking – I think around 1986, '87 – he heard that I was smoking, and wow, he beat me as never before... So he was the strictest person. He did not want us maybe to go [out] after 6pm. You should be at home before six and then if you arrive later, then you would be beaten up.

According to Jerry he was 'not feared' until the age of seven, when he became aggressive. He attributes his behaviour to their poverty and his strict father.

When I was with other boys, I have to ensure that I am strong... When I am thinking about kids now, I am thinking that in my home... maybe a situation like growing [up] with your parents who are poor and then... my father was very strict and I think that might be a cause of me being strict to the outside... that was the reason why I was so aggressive maybe in the outside world.

He describes his aggressive, competitive nature:

I was very aggressive in a way that even if we play soccer, my team cannot be beaten. It can't be beaten; even if you can score a clear goal, I will say, 'No, that is not a goal' and I won't give you money until I am satisfied that okay, now I have been robbing you for quite some time and then I give to you... So I was being feared. I was feared in a way that even someone if he has done something at his home or place, or maybe he has stolen a radio or something, then that person, if they ask him at his home, he will point to me. He will say, 'Jerry asked me to steal that thing,' even if I didn't do that. So that was how I was bad in some way. I engaged myself in many things, in many activities.

GETTING AN EDUCATION

Although everyone at home was unemployed and the family was struggling, his parents wanted their kids to be educated. His father was illiterate and wanted a different life for his children. His mother worked hard to keep them at school. 'She used to work sometimes, maybe in the shops, earning R20 or R25 so that we can go to school.' Against this background, Jerry started school in 1979.

Jerry recalls the violence starting in the schools in 1984. The students protested against the policy that learners over 18 should not be allowed in schools.

There was this violence by students...mostly by students, whereby they were fighting for the age limit in our schools. It was in [the] 1980s, so that's where I started to be involved, even if I was not involved physically, but emotionally, because seeing people toyi-toying around the street, burning cars, burning people and things like that... You know, you get involved mentally. So that's where I noticed things.

Around this time his initial enjoyment of school started waning. He used the protest climate to manipulate the situation.

When I want like maybe school to come...out, then I would throw some stones into the classes of the lower grades, like the Sub As. So I know when I throw some stones into the windows or even on top of the roof, they will run out and all of us around the school will come out and then go to our places, you know. That's how we were noticed.

In 1987 when Jerry started secondary school, he started 'smoking and doing all those bad things...walking with negative...people who wanted to steal and doing all those things. I was in bad company'. This was partly a rebellion against his strict upbringing. 'The behaviour of my father pushed me to do negative things outside.'

During his standard eight year, the violence mutated into taxi violence and learners became vulnerable.

Then in 1990, I think it was on 6 March 1990, when there was taxi violence around our area... It was taxi violence, between the hostel dwellers and the community members... There was an organisation meant for the hostel dwellers and then there was this taxi organisation for the community... There was these fights between them, so they even came to schools beating young people up. I can recall one time when I saw one taxi driver, he beat a kid from pre-school with an iron bar. She died – that child died because of that. So it was a very bad experience, very bad experience and then it was not easy for us now to go back to taxis, because there was that violence. And by that time, we were supposed to protect ourselves now as community members from the people who are from the hostel.

Since his school was near the hostel complex, it was too dangerous to go to school, as they feared they could be killed at any time. Consequently, Jerry and his siblings quit school.

TAXI VIOLENCE AND CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

The violence ostensibly started as taxi violence and grew into political violence when President De Klerk announced the release of all political prisoners on 2 February 1990.

The opposition parties [predominantly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party members] were against the activities led by these political prisoners, because most of these political prisoners were ANC members... So the opposition parties were against their activities such as boycotting, rent boycotting, not going to work, not buying in a white-owned shops⁶... Then the people from hostel they started going to work by force, whereas the other people they were boycotting and not going to work. They were having some marches against those who are going to work... I remember even in the train some people from the community used to tell the people in the train, beating them with stones and all those things...and asking them why are they attending work.

Vehicles from white-owned shops ('the meat cars, the milk cars, the maize meal cars') entering the township were burned. People defying the consumer boycott were forced to eat or drink the products they had bought at 'forbidden' shops.

Like if we were boycotting, we say people should not go to the town and buy. If you come back and...carry like a Checkers⁷ [bag] or something like that and if there a soap in there, or washing powder or Jik [a brand name for household bleach] or whatever, then it will be poured on you or sometimes you will drink it and be beaten up. So those were the most things that we were doing during those days.

The violence soon escalated.

That caused the hostel dwellers to attack...members of the community, maybe late at night and then there was a blood fight. During that time...I saw an interview...with...the opposition party leader...[in which] he mentioned it publicly that people like his own party people should not be doomed...they should go to work. If someone fights them, they should fight back. So that thing...caused a major problem. He was a youth leader, that person. I think those are things that contributed a lot in this violence.

RECRUITMENT INTO THE SDUs

For Jerry, this time was 'a very bad experience'. When they were attacked by the hostel dwellers, they had to run away to other neighbourhoods like Tembisa. According to him, the hostel dwellers did not discriminate in terms of their targets, attacking even children and elderly people. This led to the formation of the ANC-affiliated SDUs. Jerry, who was 17 at the time, attended local meetings and was recruited by a friend.

We decided that we should do something about [the attacks] and that is when we decided to form the SDU – Self-Defence Units. I attended meetings and I

was not that much interested in those things... However, my friend he showed me how important it is to protect ourselves... So we were called in a meeting and then we would discuss how we can protect ourselves. My friend...said, 'You must be there. Let us fight. Let us fight for our community.' We started now to get money from some elderly people in our community in order to buy weapons and all that self-defence things.

They started mobilising other youth and Jerry was elected as a platoon commander. In addition to fighting for his community, his involvement was fuelled by his wish to vote and see the ANC in power.

I wanted to see ANC winning the elections, actually. To see the ANC being in power, you know. So those were the things that were motivating me and other people... We noticed that since the release of the Nelson Mandela, other parties did not want... actually they noticed that the ANC were ruled because the majority of the people are the followers of it. So they wanted now to fight against us and then diminish the numbers of people who maybe would be voting. So, for us, we wanted the ANC to succeed and ANC to win. We wanted to vote for the first time.

Jerry feels their fight was justified in terms of the opposition the ANC faced at the CODESA negotiations. Not only was the NP against them ('I won't mention De Klerk, but I will mention P.W. Botha'), but Mangosuthu Buthelezi⁸ was 'a perpetrator' who did not want released political prisoners to be in power. In addition 'the white ruling party...were also working together with the IFP to move the ANC'. For Jerry, an ANC victory was not negotiable, therefore these opponents had to be confronted.

Jerry's platoon consisted of about 36 people from zone 5 in Katlehong, ranging in age from 13 to 36. He believes the leaders exploited the youth to some extent.

They will use these words that they are still using now...that the young people are the future of this world. The young people are brave, so those words...are what they encouraged young people with, because by using those words then you would be encouraged, 'Yes, I am brave, I will be the future leader, then let me fight.' So they [the leaders] were not fighting...but they were perpetrating. They wanted us to fight to do that. Maybe they were busy with information... So they were not involved... They would tell us that, 'Yes, you are doing good.'

CONDUCTING ATTACKS

'The activities of the platoon was mostly to conduct attack.'

The hostel dwellers were in [the hostels] and they were attacking, so we wanted to demolish the hostels, so that there would be no one in the hostels who would be attacking the community. That was the main aim. We wanted to break it down... One time...we chucked gas bottles through the hostel and

then we put them in...the hostel and we opened them up and we put petrol to the outside and then light and then it will like a bomb, explode.

Although the plan was not entirely successful ('we saw members from the hostel carrying those bottles out'), they did manage to burn down a part of the hostel. 'Then they started to move from that side. So in two days' time there were no people on that side, so we used now to get in to that hostel...and attack other sections.'

The attacks were brutal and up to 25 people could die in an attack. Jerry recalls one such attack:

I also remember when they attacked us in a mob. They came in a mob and that was when we opened fire. That is why I say until today I don't know how many people I killed. They were attacking. As they were approaching us, we deployed our platoon and as they were nearby, we started to shoot at them. We shoot and shoot at them and they were caught.

The attacks mostly involved shooting, but sometimes people were stabbed. When they caught someone from the IFP, 'that person...will be burned by tyre'

He will be stabbed, stoned and then burned... Just in that area, I think we had about eight or nine people who were stoned, stabbed and burned. You know he will be stoned, stabbed, shot and burned... So it was very, very terrible, because sometimes I think we killed some other people just because they were speaking Zulu and assuming that they were IFP. As long as we don't know that person from our area, then that person must be an IFP member.

In addition to attacking the hostels and Inkatha members, the SDUs protected neighbourhood buildings, shops and their family homes from being burned down. This enabled their parents and families to continue living in their homes.

NO FATALITIES

Although Jerry was hurt, his platoon suffered no fatalities during the height of the conflict.

Fortunately...not even a single member was killed during those times, because I think we were brave enough to sense things. Like I will go and check first if this is the right way to do things or this is the right time to do things. We were doing our attacks during daylight so that you can see anything. So we were lucky enough not to be killed. So we will get some injuries... Like myself...I was trapped: I was barricading the street and it was late, about 6pm, then there was this car... There were police inside and I still can't assure you who they were, because...they were like police and they asked me to move one stone so that they can pass. So I was pointing at them like... I was asking them to come out and remove that thing, but no, they were like pleading and begging, please can you do that. I was thinking that there was something wrong. While I was approaching them, they came out with guns... And that's when they started to

beat me with these guns and I still have some marks. They beat me with guns and then they took me with the rope to the hostel. Not far from the hostel, that's where they started kicking me and beating me up, so I played a trick. Sometimes when the one who was trying to beat me up, I would go down and then he would hit the next person, so it was just like that. It was fun and at the same time I was scared, but...maybe in five or ten minutes then I was not scared and I was free and I was like feeling like I am fooling with them around now... I would point at something like, 'Look at those people' and when they were looking at those people, then I would run away... I escaped like that and they decided to follow me, but there were some fences and even today I don't know how I jumped those fences...but I escaped like that.

Although they escaped death during the political conflict, two of his platoon members did die in a shebeen gunfight.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

The hostel dwellers were assisted by the police.

In most cases when there were fights...the IFP will be assisted by the police and the police force, I can say. They were assisted by them and that's where I considered that it was these people who were working together to fight against [us].

The Defence Force was also involved.

They will come and then get in to the hostel dwellers...and then assisting them in shooting us and then they will not run away. We will only run away because we see the Defence Force... Because we were nearby the hostel, we will see these Caspirs going to hostel and...maybe in ten minutes when they are in the hostel, then there will be that fights and then you will hear even from the sound of the gun that this is R1s. Most of the IFP members, they were using R1s – or the R1s were used by police.

THE COMPLICATED QUESTION OF ARMS

According to Jerry, the SDUs only used AK47s or Uzis. They collected money from community members to buy arms.

So as a community we contributed something, because we need to go house to house asking for money to buy the weapons and the community would give us... Like the elder members of the community will give us that money and then we get some people who have the connections to go and buy some.

They also obtained AK47s and shotguns from the hostels, from ANC people who infiltrated the hostels, from people who were double agents and from others who used it as a moneymaking opportunity.

You see how these things [are] complicated. Some of the arms we got them from the hostel... Sometimes not the hostel nearby, but the other hostel in Thokoza... There were also those who were underground, who were living in the hostel and they can't move from the hostel because they are ANC. There were those as well who can change from anything... There were those who were [carrying] two cards – like carrying an ANC card and an IFP card... [Then there were] those who are living in the hostel, they are making business. It was their business to sell arms, so if you come and buy them, I wonder why they were not aware that these arms will also attack them.

Although the violence continued until shortly before the 1994 elections, it flared up in cycles.

In 1990 it started and then it stopped and then around September it started again and stopped in 1990. And then also in 1991 it also started... It didn't last long sometimes. It will start for maybe three months and then it stopped and then it started again. But in 1993 to 1994, before the elections, there was still fighting... We feared that we will go to those voting stations and those polling stations and then get killed or whatever or attacked.

During the quieter times, Jerry and his comrades turned to robbery.

[When] there were no fights and there was no ways that you could get money, so we decided to steal... You can say gang, but not gang in that manner. So we started to rob and I robbed people and some of them I know them, you know. So that's where things went wrong, because most of us were drinking alcohol and all those things, so we will do some of the things unnoticed.

BACK TO SCHOOL

In 1994, the violence ceased and Jerry decided to go back to school.

I started to say hey, these are senseless killing, because...it was mostly black-on-black who were fighting each other. So I looked at it and I say, 'Hey, this is useless, you know.' So I tried to combine with other guys who wanted to go back to school to create a positive attitude now. And then held at least peace talks and things like that.

Jerry re-entered Standard 8. Despite not having attended school for five years, he managed to do very well.

When I went there in 1995, I obtained position one in June and December, and in Standard 9, I attained position one in June and December. That was amazing for me, you know, and then in Standard 10 in June, I obtained position three and then in December, it was school leaving and I passed my matric. I was so determined. I have that determination and was committed.

He then started to mobilise other young people to return to school. Sometimes the end justified the means.

I even did some wrong things in order for others to go to school... I will forge my report and give it to other persons so that they can go to school. I am happy that one of the persons, now he is in Technikon and he is so successful and he was helped by that report of mine. He was successful, he is very, very successful and I am happy about that guy.

Apart from his youngest sister, who was in Standard 8 at the time of writing, he is the only one in his family who has completed Standard 10.

I am the only person who finished matric at home. So they now perceive me as a role model even although there are the others, so they started depending on me in many things, because they saw I have this positive attitude of learning and I try to know everything. I engaged myself in everything that I can, so for that they started to perceive me as a positive person and a good person who can help them.

THE TRC, FORGIVENESS AND RECONCILIATION

Jerry never told his story to the TRC. In his view, the TRC was not interested in their area.

We hear of the TRC here around Cape Town and in other areas, but in Katlehong particularly I didn't hear of it and I was worried again. What are we going to do now, because you want maybe to go and partake in the TRC just to see what is happening, so it was not really interested in our area.

Even if he were approached at the time, he is not sure he would have participated in the process.

I was also afraid to go to the TRC. I didn't see it as the right channel to go and speak about what happened... I had no information of what are the police [going to] think about it. I did not know anything [about] politics, but what I know is that you would be telling a story. At the end of the day maybe...you could also be jailed for that things. Or maybe if you confess in front of many people, some other people will attack you afterwards. So those were the things that made us afraid or made me afraid.

After having received counselling, Jerry realised he had to change and that he had wronged many people. He then went to ask forgiveness from the people in his community.

NO REWARDS

Looking back on his life thus far, Jerry feels he fought for a particular cause and their goals were achieved. Most of the hostel dwellers were driven out and the remaining ones stayed in the hostel and did not 'come nearby the communities' or the shops. In addition, the ANC won the elections and came to power. However,

Jerry feels he has spent half his life ‘mostly in negative things’ and that he did not receive any reward for it.

I have done all that because of my organisation...but now there were no rewards... I have done that and there were no rewards. Yes, I fight for my community and in a way I don't want those rewards, but...the people who wanted us to do that at that time, they were supposed to show concern, not only to ask us to go to the military or to the police forces, but by doing other things. They were many other things that they can do, but they didn't show... that concern of how can we help these people who were involved in the violence.

Not only were there no rewards at the time, but he feels the government is not supporting people like himself who are ‘involved in rebuilding or restoring hope to people’ in their communities.

Since they are in power, they're now looking at their own matters now. They are focusing on themselves now, forgetting about other people who put them there in power. I am talking mostly about those who are in locally, because the government is trying to allocate to those who are in local. But those who are in local, they are not that much effective. So looking back at what I have done, I think I have done a lot. I have done a lot for my community. So now I think it is high time whereby the government realises that our work (because I don't want to say my work, because I am working with other people, so I say our work)... so they have to support our work.

According to Jerry, most of the young people who fought in the ‘resistance’ movements left school and some of them ‘never enjoyed their childhood, because they carried guns at the early age’.

During the integration the government didn't focus on any other good deeds that they can do, but they only focused on taking young people to be police officers, to be all soldiers because they were involved in violence... They were supposed to have like the moral regeneration workshops, seeing peer counsellors, because we were involved in violence and we were traumatised, so also to heal someone that is traumatised – that was also a critical alternative. So looking into the future, I think...the government should support the initiatives that...are taken by the community members... We as young people or the people in this community, we don't want to look at the people in positions to do things for us, but we need to do things and then they have to support those things.

Jerry has a particular view on perpetrators and victims. According to him, the leaders were the perpetrators. ‘A perpetrator is the person who is driving everything...the person...pushing me to fight, so he will gain. Not the person who is doing it, unless it is defined in other way.’ He also feels that the leaders used them in the conflict; they were ‘remote controlled’ and eventually they were the victims. ‘At the end of the day you are going to account for yourself and then that person will be nowhere.’

OPENING DOORS BY TALKING

In 1998, Jerry attended an Outward Bound course in Cape Town. It involved climbing mountains, canoeing, abseiling and general problem-solving, both as teams and on their own. The course taught him how to face challenges and make choices and he feels it changed his life. He planned to find a job on his return to better his family's financial position.

I planned all this things and then I actually did it. I actually wanted to go back to school again to do shadow education [private tutoring and exam preparation classes] and I felt like I wanted to study psychology or public relations, because I know that I was good in relating to people. So I went back... When I came back there, then I applied for a job in [the] National Peace Accord and that is where I work... They were training me in office skills and after that, I started to go to the hiking. We would be hiking in the mountains and healing other people now. It was our attempt to heal other people, mostly those who were involved in violence in Katlehong.

Jerry does not experience any animosity in his community. People were scared of him before the violence started, and some still are. In addition, people have noticed that he is a changed person and they now view him as a role model. He says he is unable to fight now; he 'can only talk'.

I can only talk, because I know that there are some bad consequences of violence; so if you like fighting, then you end up nowhere, but if you want to talk we will see that you are growing now.

He realises that the voice is stronger than the bullet:

I have noticed that I can be proud of being a fighter, but I will get nowhere... Now that I use my mouth as a tool to be successful and then I will be. I have noticed that I can open each and every door not by force or by violence, but by talking only. So I think also I am a grown-up now. I think that I have matured, so I see life in a different way, that if I can approach it by mind and not by fighting, then I think I will be successful.

A DECADE AFTER THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

Jerry was involved with the Peace Accord and their counselling programmes until 2001. He has subsequently used that experience in community projects, particularly helping township youths 'doing some activities that will keep [them] out of negative aspects of life'. His projects include people who were not directly involved in the fighting, 'because if your parent was killed during violence, then there is something that is happening to a child; so we have to help these children now to cope with the situation'.

In addition to these projects, he is also involved in an AIDS project and in 'art and cultural things'. He tries to use poetry, music, drumming and dancing to capture 'things that happened in the past and convey them to people'.

Jerry still lives with his parents, both pensioners, and the household still consists of 18 people. He has four children, two of them living with him and their mother. He supports the other two, both from different mothers.

FORMER ENEMIES FORGING PEACE

Ten years after the violence that tore through the community of Katlehong, two former enemies have joined hands in peace. They work alongside each other to encourage youth in Katlehong to realise their dreams. Having met each other as former enemies six years ago, they share the story of their journey across the political divide.

Vision: We met each other through our work. After the violence, actually, we wanted to reconcile and we wanted to bring about peace in our area. We went to work for the National Peace Accord.

Question: Where did you actually meet for the first time?

Jerry: It was in the mountain. We went to the mountains near Durban for a healing symposium. That is where we met. It was difficult for us to relate, because we are from different parties and living here in Katlehong, it's not easy to see your former enemies. So it was our time for a healing and we had to assist each other to jump the river, to cross the river. It was an experience. It was very difficult.

Vision: It was very difficult, for me it was very, very difficult to be with my former enemy and helping each other. It was sort of... I don't know... A lifetime experience.

They were very guarded during their initial meeting.

Vision: For me it was very difficult. For the first two or three days... Oh, it was very difficult to be with these guys.

Jerry: It was difficult even to relate, because you were worried that hey, I will say this word and maybe it is not the right word to say to that person, your former enemy. So it was difficult in that way. You have to check your words; that if I talk that way, how will it be to that second person.

Vision: Sometimes you think he may be a member of that family, a family you attacked.

They share the quandaries and challenges they experienced as they confronted their mutual suspicions. After the first three days, the discomfort was slowly replaced by the possibility of seeing past the enemy, seeing another human being.

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» *Jerry:* You must believe that before going there you were thinking that how is it going to be like. But let me go there, because I want to see this experience. For the first time meeting with my former enemies on the open seas. You don't know where this person will push you down to the river or down to the sea, so it was. You were afraid, but at the same time you want to experience that things, you know.

Vision: It was through sharing that time with someone that I developed a trust. We became friends. More than a friend. Maybe it is like I developed a friendship with Jerry more than the guys I came with. After camp, we started visiting each other.

They began to identify their similarities, the things they shared, their common interests, their humanity.

Jerry: And our girlfriends started to know each other. 'Hey, when is Jerry visiting?' 'When is Vision visiting?' Hey, it is quite interesting – really, really quite interesting, because I take it to be a very effective way of healing people...of reconciling [rather] than going one on one with the counsellor. So this was a group counselling... As he said, we are afraid of each other but at a later stage we used to cook together and sometimes maybe at night-time and it is his turn to cook for other people and we would cook for other people and we share a bed, we share everything. Then even if we go to the hiking, the healing process took place when we have to climb those mountains and pass those rivers. That's when we as a group had to rely on each other.

Today Jerry and Vision struggle to imagine that once they feared each other.

Jerry: Now we are family. So now it is our turn to make things work, so that is why we are busy with this community development. We want to develop many things that could not be developed through all those things. We want to develop also tourism and promote the experience of hiking that we had. So you know, if we come with something and get fun out of that, I think and believe that we will be successful. So other people see us really as good leaders, positive leaders doing something.

They both have a message for the many South Africans who struggle to cross the divide of conflict, past or present.

Jerry: Let bygones be bygones. Forget about the past and start thinking about the future, think of yourself and of other people.

Vision: You have first start to respect yourself before you can be respected in the community. So my message is to be positive about life and forget about everything that would damage progress. I am saying let us rebuild our communities. We destroyed it, so let us rebuild it.

Jerry: It is a question of working together. That is why we are calling ourselves together as one, because we believe that together we can restore hope and dignity.

Notes

- 1 Between September 1984 and December 1993, 18 997 people died. Only 600 of these were white (Giliomee, 2003).
- 2 For reasons of confidentiality, only first names are used.
- 3 In South Africa, the first real wave of labour migration occurred following the discovery of gold and diamonds. Males from all over the country travelled to the Witwatersrand to work on the mines. They were housed in hostels, spartan military-style barracks with communal kitchens and bathrooms, usually situated on the outskirts of the urban areas. Since migrant workers were often prepared to work for less than their urban counterparts, it contributed to an urban/rural tension, which still exists. The nature of the work contracts and the structure of the hostels contributed to the lack of a sense of ownership or permanence.
- 4 R5 assault rifles are improved developments of the Soviet AK47 rifle.
- 5 The Zionist Church was founded in 1903 by a Dutch Reformed missionary who had become committed to faith healing. Distinguished by their white robes, Zionists have a commitment to faith healing and the Pentecostalist gift of speaking in tongues. Zionism draws from traditional African culture and is a distinctly South African form of Protestant Christianity. Its largest following is among the Zulu and Swazi people.
- 6 The UDF led a series of acts of defiance, such as rent boycotts, labour strikes and school stay-aways. White-owned businesses were boycotted to sensitise white citizens to the suffering of black people. The underlying message was that businesses couldn't operate against a backdrop of societal chaos and instability.
- 7 Checkers is a major supermarket chain.
- 8 Buthelezi was (and at the time of writing, still remains) the leader of the IFP and as such was their chief negotiator at CODESA.