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 L_,xtrwb i _ ,J r,
 lnkathais Khoza is?
 caught in CMOSfe
 TO HIS enemies Themba
 Khoza is a Zulu warlord
 with the blood of fellow
 blacks on his hands. To his
 friends, he is a peacemaker
 who saved countless lives
 during South Africans worst
 urban violence in years.
 Determining the tmth about his
 role in the Johannesburg township
 war between the countryis biggest
 black organisations could shape
 the wider search for peace in
 South Africa.
 Khoza's name is expected to
 figure prominently this month in
 the first major investigation of the
 violence. a judicial inquiry into
 the killing of 36 people in
 Sebokeng township. it was one of
 a series of mass shootings in the
 six-week war.
 Residents say Khoza, ac-
 companied by four white men
 wearing hoods and long coats and
 carrying rifles, led an attack in
 Sebokeng in which 25 of the 36
 were killed.
 That charge echoes allegations
 that rightist white police and
 soldiers aided the Inkatha Free-
 dom Party against Nelson
 Mandela's African National Con-
 gress. the main organisation tight.
 ing white rule.
 Agarthaid
 if proven. the allegations could
 strain the fragile trust built up be-
 tween Mandela and reformist
 President FW de Klerk in
 preliminary talks on ending apart-
 heid.
 - Slim and smanly-dressed. the
 bearded, genial Khoza looks the
 epitome of an upwardly mobile
 black executive.
 He is single. lives with rela-
 tives in a small "matchbox"
 house in Soweto's Mapetla
 township and says most of his
 friends. men and women. are
 Xhosas. ' '
 He runs an employment
 agency but spends most of his'
 time promoting inkatha. a pm-
 business group long favoured by
 Pretoria. in the industrial heartland
 of Johannesburg.
 Khoza (31) said he wanwd to
 build better relations with the
 Own Correspondent
 ANC and claimed friendship with -
 some ANC officials. Without In-
 katha, Msndela's gtoup was "fly-
 ing without wings". he said.
 "I long for the day when I can
 march in the street with the leader

of the ANC Youth League.
demonstrating that he
bmther." he said. tiWe are both
lions in different cages."
He said lnkatha, "thirsty" for
black unity. and the ANC shared
the support of poor blacks suffer-
ing under apartheid.

"It's not my option to live in a
four-roomed house. i want a man-
sion but apartheid does not give
me the opportunity."

Biting

But Khom said the ANC had
caused the gun and spear battles
between migrant workers loyal to
lnkatha and residents loyal to the
ANC in August and September.
Almost 800 people were killed.

Khoza, regional chairman of
Inkatha's Youth Brigade. said he
had been an indispensable
pencemaker who had thwarted an
ANC plan to destroy the support
he had built up for lnkatha.

"This is a dirty job, the riskiest
job around but somebody has to
do it." said Khoza.

"Getting between people who
are shooting is the riskiest thing.
But how many more people must
be killed before you act?"

Khoza says he spent the
"war" visiting migrant worker
hostels in the townships to urge
their 125 000 dwellers not to at-
tack ANC-supporting residents in
neighbouring streets.

"I slaved away." he said. "I
had to run around like a mad
somebody, going from one place
to another.

"It's nonsense that I was a
patty to the fighting I'm proud.
I'm very glad, I'm feeling very
good that I saved our people's
go Lud-on

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KHOZA tn Sebokeng to bring peace
lives. whether members of the
ANC or Inkatha.

"If it were not for my moving
in and out. trying to mediate. I
think more people could have
been killed."

His critics say he journeyed
into the townships with the oppo-
site purpose. arming hostel- dwel-
lets with rifles and transporting
Inkatha war parties from hostel to
hostel.

Police found five rifles in his
car during one of the war's most_
hon'ii'tc incidents, the kiliing of 36
ANC supporters by Zulus and
soldiers in Sebokeng township on
September 4.

Khoza said he was in

Sebokeng to bring peace and suggested the rifles had been planted in his car to incriminate him.

"I heard the screaming of guns," Khoza said. describing an incident in which troops shot at ANC demonstrators. "You know that sound, as if a bird is running on your roof - ta-ta-ta." uPeople were killed and that saddened me. ANC people were not born ANC. I didn't want them to be killed."

Weapons

On January 31 Khoza and 16 others face trial on charges of illegally having weapons, housebreaking. theft and damage to property arising out of the Sebokeng incident.

Murder charges brought against Khoza have been withdrawn.

He said he did not rule out the possibility that white extremists wanted to stir up black faction fighting to wreck De Klerk's reforms. but none had ever worked with Inkatha.

"Not a single Inkaths member has ever confessed it to me." - Sapa-Reuter.

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i. calculated risk in pro-
laiming that his organi-
sation has secured the loyalty of
three of the four TBVC states. but
i Pretoria's trouhlesome offspring
smey mm a few upsets yet
Soaking in Thohoyand
return from Europe. Mr Mandela
, said he believed the military lead-
ers of Transkei. Ciskei and Venda
twere " re to throw in their
:lotwi theANC", andealled on
ANC supporters in those regions
to co-operate with the coup-in-
1 But while it is evident that
iMajor-Genenl Bantu l-lolomisa.
Brigadier Oupa quzn and. Briga-
dier Gabriel Bamashwana are to
greater a- lesser degrees fostering
j'eonlial relations with the ANC, it
ilsbynonnansoertaintheyplan
to he junior members of an ANC-
led negotiating team during con-
stitutional deliberations with the
Government.

Tm are considerable strate-
jic differenca amng them. and
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developments during the run-up to ,
"real" negotiations could even see
them parting company.

0! the three. General Holomisa
is the ANC's most reliable ally. It
was clear from the recent "TVC"
summit in Thohoyandou. and in
interviews with The Star. that he
is closest among the three to ac-
cepting that homeland adminis-
trations should be disbanded when
the advent of the "new South Afri-
ca" is imminent.

He has committed himself to
holding a referendum on reincor-
poration and has promised to bow
out of politics. leaving the field
clear for whichever political
movement can garner the most
sup art in Transkei. All current
evi ence suggests that movement
is the ANC.

General Holomisa has wel-
comed enthusiastically the ANC's
strategic decision to work with
certain homeland governments,
and patently takes the views of
Mr Mandela and his senior col-
leagues very seriously. Moreover,
it is he among homeland leaders
who most closely echoes the polit-
ical "lines" emanating from the
ANC.

He has backed the ANC's "Third
Force" claims - most memora-

bly in the course of a celebrated dust-up with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Pretoria earlier this year - and endorses the ANC view that while President de Klerk's integrity is not in question, that of other Cabinet Ministers certainly is.

Brigadier guzo is much more equivocal about the ANC, and has publicly questioned General Holomisa's stance. Both he and Brigadier Ramushwana were noticeably circumspect about the prospect of dissolving their administrations at the Thohoyandou tate-a-tete.

Brigadier guzo told The Star: "Transkei said straightforwardly (at the meeting) that the South African Government must just give an instruction that (the homelands) must pack up. climb out of the window and go away.

"I found it a very unworkable SW13!

approach. and Brigadier Ramushwana was also very cautious. He definitely does not want to imply he will abolish his civil service and everything else and then just run back to South Africa like a lost son."

Incrementally, Brigadier guzo and Brigadier Ramushwana are nailing their colours to the mast of devolution of power - even federalism - and this will cause friction with the ANC which remains wedded to a unitary solution.

This also marks another crucial distinction between the two and General Holomisa: both entertain political ambitions for themselves - and not necessarily under the black, green and gold flag of the ANC. Brigadier guzo has said he will choose his allies at the negotiating table on the basis of "who is speaking the most sense". and pointedly refuses to rule out the possibility that Mr de Klerk might be the chosen partner. This should provide food for thought among ANC strategists.

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There is a further risk inherent in the ANC's tactic of attempting to co-opt the young "TVC" military men. While General Holomisa appears to have succeeded in earning the respect of more militant anti-apartheid activists in Transkei. that relationship is far from consummated in Ciskei and Venda.

Mr Mandela and his National Executive Committee run the risk of being seen to consort with unelected men, who may yet decide

to act harshly against ANC mem-
bers if they judge them to be "get-
ting out of hand" in the coming
' months.

Militants who have long battled
against the homelands - as evil
institutions by definition - could
find it difficult to follow the tacti-
cal vagaries of "head office". The
risk may be worth taking - in-
deed. it is apparent that Mr Man-
dela has judged it to be so - but it
remains a risk nevertheless.

However. there is one matter on
which all these actors readily con-
cur: Bophuthatswana. the missing,
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"B" in the "TVC"; has wholly ls6-'
lated itself and this will place ti):
mendous strains on its incumbent
leader, Lucas Mangope. General
Holomisa told The Star he was
"not at all surprised" that Chief
Mangope had boycotted the Tho-
hoyandou meeting. and Brigadier
quzo said he was "sure the peo-
ple (of Bophuthatswana) are very
unhappy". The extent to which
Chief, Mangope is playing a crude
political game in contrast to his.
young counterparts was clearly il-
lustrated by his detention of sev-
eral ANC activists in the ham
land this week. , 3.31

When Mr Mandela confersmn'.
expected praise on the'young viii.
adiers and generals. there 2 "n6
question of its being extend. to
Bophuthatswana's old suero .
Ironically enough. though.-.t e
ANC's relationship with Chief
Mangope might be more safely
predictable than that with Briga-
dier quzo and Brigadier tRa-
mushwana. Hostility, after all, is.
not as uncertain a conditiqn as
flirtation. D