endeavour he aligned himself with Mali Hoza of Site C.

The SADF and the police continued harassing the people of Nyanga Bush and Portland Cement. Ngxobongwana launched night attacks against the three satellite camps but these were continuously foiled by the fire-power of the comrades.

This resulted in a sort of a cycle. During the day you had the SADF/police guys sealing off the whole area and searching for arms – in other words, disarming the people; at night we were attacked.

But the comrades' fire-power continued embarrassing them. We heard that some of the vigilantes were beginning to defy their masters, as the SADF/police were failing to disarm the comrades.

To avert a disastrous situation they decided to attack during the day – with an SADF/police helicopter hovering above to identify those armed comrades frustrating their course. The rest of the story you know – the three satellite camps were razed.

Crossroads became a stronghold of the Joint Management structures and Ngxobongwana recruited former vigilantes to be kitskonstabels (instant constables). Later he was appointed mayor of Crossroads.

As a gesture of congratulation for his ser-

vices, Crossroads was paid a visit by then State President PW Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. During this visit, a Crossroads resident was arrested for possession of a limpet mine. Ngxobongwana ordered his house demolished.

## Where does Jeffrey Nongwe feature in this?

Each and every time a faction fight broke out, Ngxobongwana fled to Ciskei, and the actual fight was conducted by Jeffrey Nongwe, Sam Ndima and Prince Gobingca (presently serving a jail term in Transkei for attempting to overthrow the military government of General Bantu Holomisa).

Because Nongwe commanded huge vigilante forces during the faction fighting, he became more ambitious and started accusing Ngxobongwana of embezzling funds. He accused him of selling land reserved for Crossroads residents to the banks.

Nongwe claimed that he had a huge following and that he was not involved in Ngxobongwana's corruption. He also accused him of not fulfilling his promise to build houses for those people who moved from Section Four to Boystown.

He ordered his followers not to occupy the

white houses constructed by Ngxobongwana. However, a certain section from Boystown defied him and occupied them. Nongwe then issued an order that these houses should be demolished. He said that he was going to build people proper houses where pensioners would pay rent of 75 cents and those employed five rand.

## Did he really promise them that?

The people demolished and burned most of the houses. By then Nongwe was chairperson of both the ANC and the Western Cape Squatters' Association (Wecusa). Ngxobongwana had fled the area.

Nongwe continued attacking the white houses, saying that they were occupied by non-Crossroads residents. He also swore to the residents that, should he fail to fulfil his promise of building them houses, they must necklace him.

What was the reaction of the political organisations to these developments? Surely Nongwe's activities were contradicting democratic principles?

The organisations were still reading and assessing the political developments, since

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## Not my fault, says Nongwe

By SOBANTU XAYIYA

SQUATTER leader Jeffrey Nongwe denies that he is responsible for any wrongdoing and places the blame for violence at Crossroads on people who hold influential positions within the local and regional structures of political organisations. Nongwe says they "have no interest in resolving this conflict".

Interviewed at his Crossroads home, Nongwe called on all the community organisations affected by the violence to get together to "devise the correct strategy" for ending violence in the area.

"The only thing that can help us is to stop labelling each other and get into the serious business of finding the correct solutions to this problem," he said. "For those forces we have all been fighting against are now laughing at us, and they are exploiting these divisions."

Nongwe said he wanted the African National Congress national office to act as peace broker, but expressed frustration that four faxes requesting their intervention in the Crossroads conflict had gone unanswered.

Asked whether, in the light of all the allegations made against him, he still regarded himself as an ANC member, Nongwe said: "I never resigned from the ANC. After all, I'm still the chairperson of the Crossroads branch. It is the people labelling us who paint a distorted picture of our branch."



JEFFREY NONGWE: We must stop labelling each other.

Asked about the difficulty of getting voter education programmes off the ground in the Crossroads area, given the high level of violence, Nongwe said he was concerned, and that was why he had sent four faxes to the ANC national office.

"The atmosphere at the moment is heavily loaded with suspicions. The people of the nearby Nyanga township are afraid to come here, and the people of Crossroads are afraid to go there.

"However, I'm planning to convene a meeting of all the squatters to present some peace initiative proposals. Thereafter we will approach the ANC to convene a meeting of all the local organisations, together with the squatters, to deliberate on this issue. It is only after we've got rid of these suspicions that voter education programmes can be effectively implemented."

Pressed on whether he had any other problems with getting voter education programmes off the ground in the area, Nongwe said: "Not at all, they can come any time and start initiating their programmes."