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MK Special Operations Unit Project

Interviews

Ernest Lakoto Pule (T-man, Themba, Vusi)

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Tshwane

Let's start with a bit about your family background?

I'm from a family of nine children. I was born in 1955 in Newclare in Johannesburg, but when I was five, we were moved to Soweto. I hadn't been to any other place until I left the country.

I've only learned recently that some in my family were involved in the ANC before, but they didn't influence me.

My father was just an ordinary worker. He worked at Metalbox, which was producing tins, cans. It's now Nampak. My mother was a domestic worker. I have two sisters. And when I was about what six or seven years old, our father separated with our mother. They didn't fight. We don't know what happened. He just left, you know.

Where was he working?

I can't remember. He passed on.

And your mother?

She too.

None of your siblings was politically aware?

Well, my one brother – he was in the Black Consciousness Movement. I'm the seventh born, he's the sixth born.

How did you become politically aware?

I was at Naledi High School. About three months before June 16 there was political activity at our school. By the way, the June 1976 upheavals started in my school. One of our students was detained by the Special Branch. They came to our school and demanded he go with them and then the word spread around because it was lunch time. And then we said what, who are these Special Branch, no ways, it's not going to happen, not at our school!...

And then we went to the principal's office to demand that he not allow the police in. The principle said no, just wait you guys, don't do that. He tried to stop us, and we went back, and we overturned the Security Branch car, and we banged it, a small Beetle. And then they brought reinforcements.

As we were gathering, more students were coming back from lunch, and they joined us. We started throwing stones at the police and there was tear gas and all that. We started fighting. And from then on, the schools were disrupted. There was no longer normal schooling and that led to June 16th. On 16 June we got word that smaller children were being harassed by the police in Phefeni.

Actually, it was our school that mobilised to say to different to schools that we must all come together; we must go to Phefeni and support Hector Pieterse. And we mobilised and sang. That's how June 16th came about. But then I hear stories that Morris Isaacson led the protests. That's not correct; it was Naledi High as a result of earlier battles with the police; we were already very motivated.

And after June 16th there was no longer normal schooling. We go to school, the police come, then we take them on.

But before this happened, by the way, there was a gentleman called Ken. He was a taxi driver. He used to mobilise us politically. He would say that you know in Mozambique Frelimo is *moering* (attacking) the Portuguese there. The Portuguese are running away. He used to have a break just as us, and during our lunch time he was always around. Then he used to talk politics and he had this beard like Samora Machel. So, we used to call him FRELIMO.

Because of his politicisation of us, after June 16th, we said Ken we want to go now; we're sick and tired of this. We want to join the ANC. He said are you serious? I said, yes. He knew MK people. So, he told his connections, hey man, there are people that want to go outside. Just the following day they came. They met us, my friend, Patrick Diphoko and I. Diphoko was killed in Botswana by some of these sell-outs.

Is Ken alive?

Ken, oh shame, he passed on.



Ernest Pule at school, Supplied

You left when? How exactly? And after that?

In September 1976. We were taken to Swaziland, then to Maputo, and Tanzania. I was there for about three weeks and fortunate enough to have been selected, a few of us, to be taken to Moscow for training in November 1976. We did a commander's course for ten months.

We were staying in a flat in Moscow not far from Red Square. So, each time we had to do practicals, they used to take us by bus to wherever. Like you used to go to the North at what was St. Petersburg.

What did you do as part of your Commander's Course?

All fields, including underground and MCW (Military Combat Work) – that was our specialisation. Also, rural warfare, artillery and almost everything.

And political education?

Yes. The Russians did that and fortunately on our side we had General Andrew Masondo. He was our commander in the group. He knew ANC politics, he was from Robben Island.

So, what was Moscow like for you? And how did you manage with the weather?

We went in November/December. Extremely cold. But they kept us inside. It was very warm there and we started going out in January/February. But Moscow was just fantastic – the treatment we received there was super, and we were exposed to things we were never to before; for instance, during the weekends we were taken to the theatre to see ballet, opera and so on. So, it was eye-opening.

Did you interact with the local citizens or were you always with a Russian guide and distant from the local citizens?

No, once the classes are finished at about five, we have our supper and we are free to go and mingle with the people.

What did you feel about the socialist system in Russia?

I felt it was fantastic in the sense that you wouldn't see people like here at home, in the streets begging for food, for money. There was no such thing like that. There was plenty food. I mean we ate five meals a day there. We used to eat a lot (laughter).

Did you tell the family you were leaving the country?

The first born, I told. He was supportive.

Did you have any contact with your family when you were out of the country?

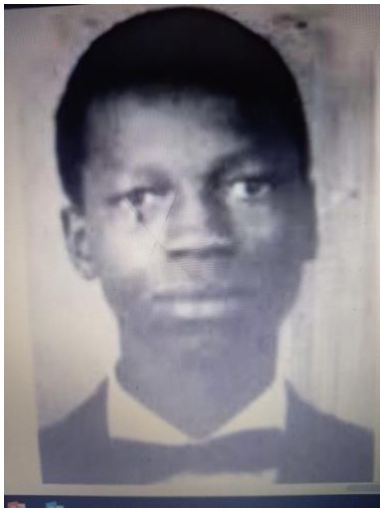
Zero contact.

Why are you called T-man?

My MK name in Swaziland was Themba and coincidentally my name at home is Teaser, my soccer name. So, you can say Teaser or T-man. I played a lot.

Professional?

No, not professional.



**Ernest Pule before he joined MK,
Supplied**

So, you end up in Tanzania, then in Moscow for ten months, then what happens?

I came back the following year, 1977, to Angola and a few of us that were in Moscow were also chosen to do other work – this included Comrade Biza and me. Cde Biza died in an ambush in Francistown.

Which camp were you in, in Angola? Tell me a bit about what you do in the camp and what happens after you leave the camp?

We were in Funda. Comrade Biza coincidentally is my former classmate at Naledi High School, and he

also went with me to Moscow. Comrade Biza is really Bob Mosimane. Another former classmate, Sipho Motswana, was also in Funda, but he didn't train with us, but, I think, in GDR. And he was a Political Commissar at the camp. Another former schoolmate, Lawrence Masango, was the Chief of Staff there.

So, I really think it was fine with us. I mean these were guys that you are used to and we acclimatised very fast. Biza and I were responsible jointly for military and combat work underground.

Funda was a specialised camp through which comrades that were going inside the country had to pass through, to be brushed up and prepared for action. They had to brush up on explosives, shooting, underground work, politics, and then they can go. And then sometimes people will be brought from inside the country straight to our camp and we will be told they're there strictly for six weeks or two months or three months, and then they had to go underground again back into the country as if they'd always been there. So, basically our camp was a specialisation camp, preparing guys for the front.

I was there from 1977 until 1979, and I was then selected to go for further training in Russia. This time to Simferopol in the south, where our specialisation was reconnaissance, although we also did other subjects.

After 5 months I came back to Angola. But our base had been closed because of malaria infection. Malaria was worse in that area, so they got another base - Kashito. I continued the work there I was doing before. And I helped with Obadi, Barney Molokoane and them when they were being prepared for Sasol. We took them for survival courses in the bushes and all that.

What was your position in the camp?

I was an instructor and Rashid was Chief Instructor. When Rashid left, I became Chief Instructor.

When did you meet Rashid?

Late '77. In 1981 Rashid was already in the front as part of Special Ops. Rashid recommended to JS (Slovo) that they must take me over after Obadi was killed.

You went to Maputo?

Yes. December 1981, I joined Special Ops. I was debriefed and told I must be based in Swaziland to prepare the bases for guys that will be coming in and then passing into the country. I've got to reconnoitre the border areas, make contacts inside the country for weapons to be taken in and take comrades into the country. I didn't stay long in Maputo.

Who briefed you?

Comrade Rashid.

You would ensure that arms got into the country?

Yes. Weapons from Maputo were brought by Rashid and them, I would keep them safe. And then we would arrange comrades from inside the country to come and take them.

Sometimes we organised Swazis to take these weapons inside the country to make DLB (Dead Letter Boxes) sites. We trained them on how to do this, for instance, we showed them places there where it would be good to put a DLB and how to use markers like road signs to make a map of the DLB, how deep they should dig, and what type of signs they should leave. And part of my job was to recruit people inside the country to prepare them so that when you had guys coming from Maputo to go inside the country, we link them with these guys from inside who take them through safely.

Why would these Swazis be prepared to make these sacrifices?

You talk to them, you convince them about the cause.

Can you remember how many Swazis you recruited?

About ten.

Who did you work with in Swaziland to prepare Special Ops comrades to go into the country?

I was alone, initially, and then later Tommy Masinga (Lester Dumakude) joined me.

He's late. He was integrated into the SANDF (South African National Defence Force). He was involved in a car accident and died.

Did you work with George Nene at all?

For a short time, because I'd gone to Swaziland to take over from him.

Did you actually go inside the country yourself?

From time to time, yes.

Overall, you got away for quite a long time? That's not often the case? Of course, there may be the element of luck, but you must have been quite skilled...

From the Botswana side, it was much easier to get in than from Swaziland. Especially for me, I mean it's my language there – Tswana. From Botswana we also went in and attacked a military base next to Zeerust, in Bophuthatswana, that was terrorising the local population.

That was part of Special Ops?

Yes, '88, '89 thereabouts. We went to the TRC for that one.

How did you recruit people from inside the country?

We had people that we had known before. For example, there was one student who knew me because of my brother. So now I wanted to recruit a certain former friend of mine, he used to be my soccer mate. He was playing professional soccer. Do you remember a guy called Thulani Nsibande? Very popular. Fantastic player. I didn't want to recruit him as such, but because of his influence it was going to be easy for him to recruit other people, you know what I'm saying?

I sent these two girls who were in the country to go and meet this guy. You know him, they said yes, we know he's a taxi driver blah, blah. Please go and meet him, tell him that I'm asking if he can give me R200 as if, you know, I'm a beggar. Once he can give the money then I know that it means I could maybe recruit him, you understand because he knew I'm in MK. Next time I'll ask him then to come over outside the country so I can talk to him.

So, did he come?

He didn't, because he gave these girls the money and one then pocketed the money and said that this guy was busy all the time with his taxis. Then I thought he's not the right person, you understand? You keep trying different ways to recruit people. You can get one person in, win him over and then he gets you five others.

As I understand it, you had to recruit people who were quite advanced or had the potential to be in Special Ops. So, this recruitment you are referring to was to take arms into the country to be used by Special Ops operatives – but you were not recruiting people to carry out specific operations for Special Ops?

Yes, that's true. But my younger brother was clear, he wanted to carry out the operations himself, not just help with distributing material. But then he got caught before we could take it anywhere.

So, your role was to assist operatives from Special Ops who came from Maputo into Swaziland to cross over into South Africa. Did you know what their targets were?

I understood from an underground perspective that if I know a lot and I'm in the front, and if I'm captured then I might expose all this to the police. So, the less I knew the better for me.

When you were in the Funda camp in Angola, you assisted with the training of the first group that carried out the Sasol operations in 1980. Did you have any idea they were going to hit Sasol?

No.

But after the Sasol operation occurred, did you realise that the people you had trained had actually carried out the Sasol operation?

Exactly, yes.

How did you get to know?

Actually, after hitting that operation and me staying in the camp, they came back to our base again in Kashito after they were in Maputo. And then they were talking. Now because they had confidence in us as people who are responsible, they used to talk about these things, hey, dah, dah, dah...

Maybe they were thrilled that the operations were so successful and perhaps it's just human to talk about it, but do you think they should have been so free about that? Shouldn't they have kept it to themselves? Just now you spoke about the need-to-know basis?

No, definitely that's a principle in MCW structures, but then you know people...

Also, like Biza, before he died, I knew what he was going to do when he was up there. Biza was not with Special Ops, but we knew each other from school, and we trained together in Moscow. So, there was that mutual trust and even though there was that need-to-know principle, we used to share information, so that's how I came to know that before he died, he was going to pick up Chris Hani. A sell-out in Botswana who was with Biza and was working with the Boers told them that Comrade Chris is coming. So, the Boers told him he must stick to Biza and go with him to the Zimbabwean border. But Chris was not there. Somehow, he got a bad feeling about this, and he withdrew to Bulawayo. The Boers didn't realise that Comrade Chris was not in the car, and they fired a huge number of

bullets and Biza was killed – but that *impimpi* (informer) survived and he's still around.

What else could you say about your role in Special Ops? You helped in Swaziland and then later Botswana?

Correct, yes. Especially as the Eastern Front Commander.

And Rashid was the overall Commander?

He's like number two to JS, Second in Command, like a Chief of Staff.

Were you Second in Command to Rashid effectively?

JS was the Commander. Rashid was Second in Command, and I'm the Front Commander, the third in Command.

Were you the only such Front Commander or were there others in Special Ops?

I couldn't manage on my own in Swaziland, and that's when they sent Tommy Masinga to come and partner with me. And then we recruited other guys again. There was also Teddy Sikakana from Natal.

Where's he now?

He's here in Joburg. He's married to a British woman. So, we recruited that guy, he was on our side.

What did he do?

He did the same type of job like we did. He was married to a Swazi woman, so he was semi-legal. He would go to the borders, we receive guys, we keep them safe. Also, there was Trevor Vilakazi.

But he focused only on Special Ops like you did?

Yes, exactly.

You didn't facilitate other units of MK outside Special Ops?

No, only Special Ops, nothing else. And then we got another comrade called Mandla, also he was from Natal originally, but he had been in Swaziland from a young age. As a result, he was like a citizen in Swaziland. He only got exposed

when Barney and them were arrested, then he was also arrested. They beat him up and then he confessed and then I met him in Mbabane, and he said, hey T-man, don't go to Manzini they are looking for you (laughter).

What were some of the other things you did beyond what you've said already?

This was my main task – infiltration of weapons, infiltration of comrades, exfiltration of comrades, recruitment of people from inside the country to take weapons across, recruitment of people to take comrades across safely in various parts of the country and creation of DLBs from the materiel that was in cars. The comrades also had to make safe caches, places where to hide our weapons inside the country.

We did, for instance, one of the best DLBs in a car in Botswana and then we gave the car to a sell-out, a double agent. It was a woman, Mrs N (*name withheld*) who stayed in Ramotswa. We used to work with her unaware that she was a double agent. She got my brother arrested. This was the first born, Abraham Pule, the one who, when I left the country, I told him that you must tell the mother and then I'm gone.

He had volunteered to take weapons inside. When I was in Botswana, I called him over and he came. I gave him various options – recruitment, infiltration of comrades, exfiltration, taking in weapons and so on. And he said he can take weapons inside. I said are you sure? He says yes. Okay fine, I said go, when we are ready you can come over. Then he left. Then he called me and said I'm ready. We gave him weapons and then he left safely to go and make a DLB. Now the second time he came here, he went to this woman's place.

He phoned us from there. And we were not aware. I mean, we thought because she was some distant relative of his wife and he knew her, and he had a place to sleep there, she was okay. So, we came there and took the car from him to go and load the stuff. But this lady then phoned her bosses in Zeerust and told them that they've taken the car, the guy is here, and he'll be going back tomorrow. Gave all that to the security police.

Was Ms M a South African citizen?

No, Botswana.

But she was working with the Security Police on this side?

Recruited by the Security Branch, yes.

So, then your brother comes into a trap?

Correct, yes. And when he went through Lobatsi, this lady, M, went through Ramotswa. And they made a special roadblock for Abraham. When he came, they put the dog inside the car. It went in one side and went out the other side. Then they took it back again – it went in through the one side and went out the other side.

And then the other ordinary policeman who didn't know who my brother was said, no, it's not him, let him go. So, the controller said, no, we'll rather go with him, we cannot just let him go. And then they dismantled the roadblock and went with him to Zeerust, and when they got there, they put him in a cell, and then they searched the car thoroughly. Took everything out - the door panels, the seats and then, phew, they discovered the grenades, pistols and small limpet mines! Then they beat him up – also because they almost let him go.

So, it must have been a very good job if the dogs couldn't sniff the explosives?

Yes.

What car was it?

A Ford Capri, a two-door. It was my brother's car. We just did the DLB.

Did you use any stolen cars that you got out of the country and then made the dead letter boxes in them?

No, stolen cars were mainly for big bombs.

So, what happens to Abraham after he gets arrested?

We were not aware at that time that it was because of M. We thought it's just a coincidence. Then he was beaten up and then the last born, Enos – we used to call him Lassie – was also arrested.

Why?

Because Lassie also came to Botswana and then I raised the very same options of how he could help that I did with Abraham. He said he wants to also operate. We trained him how to.

So, three of you in the family helped Special Ops with arms caches?

Well, four – my sister, Sadi Mkhwanazi, as well. And then Lassie left and then waited for weapons. So now when my brother Abraham, came for the second time, I was convinced it's safe, I didn't know about this lady...Then Abraham got convicted for ten years. That was 1985-86.

They beat up Lassie too. But he refused to say anything, he said, no, rather kill me. If you want to convict me for something, you can go to hell. That one was very stubborn. Hey, they *moered* him.

Didn't he face trial?

No, he got away. They let him go but his left eye was damaged.

What does he do now?

He's late now, unfortunately; he had a stroke.

And where's Abraham now?

He's ailing, he's got cancer, but he's still surviving.

Did you ever go into the country to recruit comrades?

Not when I was based in Swaziland, but when I was in Botswana.

What was your role in the Gordon Webster-Robert McBride Unit? And in the preparations for the Magoo's Bar bombing in Durban?

Yes, Webster had gone outside the country before and then he trained in the camps. And then we infiltrated him inside the country. He went to Durban. When he got there, he approached his friend, Robert, and recruited him and as bosom friends, they agreed on whatever they wanted to do. They formed a unit and they operated. I must tell you this was one of the best units that we had after Barney Molokoane.

Why do you say that?

Firstly, these guys did not wait for us to infiltrate weapons for them. They'd come personally and collect material with their own DLBs.

Well, Robert's father was a panel beater...

Apparently, yes. So, they knew how to manipulate a vehicle. And then Robert will come you know with some woman comrade as if she's a girlfriend, as if they are tourists. They give us their vehicle to load. And we load and load it. I mean, I'm not talking small (laughter). Huge DLB. I ask, hey man, but are you sure, man, this thing is going through? He said no, it will be safe, they are not going to discover this thing. You know Robert the way he was, he was brave, né.

Sometimes we would load the vehicle and but then he will still say that, comrade, this is not enough. Remember the distance that I'm going to travel from here; I'm going to travel very far. When I get there I'm going to be finished with this load, and you want me to come again next week? And then we'll ask him, what do you want us to do? He says okay, you know what, I've got a plan; I will go through the border gate just before it closes. Drive there - and then you guys must get over the fence, you must have crossed over the border already and waiting for me on the other side with some more material.

So, how would you transport the material across the fence?

We just put the limpet mines and other stuff in knapsacks.

Then he would go through the border gate, he's searched whatever and then he goes to where we load it. A quick DLB in the car. And then he'll drive safely all the way to Durban.

Why I'm saying these guys were very good, they didn't stockpile the weapons, they would use these weapons in no time. They used to really move, that's why Durban was called the bomb city - because of this unit. They were active almost every day, they were on the ground almost every day. They were very decisive. And this was despite the fact that Webster was shot later while they were hiding somewhere preparing again to go and do some other operations - they were intercepted by the police.

And then that's why he got caught and then he was hospitalised and then they rescued him from there. And these things happened after Robert had specifically asked us – comrades, please ask other guys as well to keep the Boers active otherwise they are going to focus on us here and ultimately, they will nail us. And in fact, that's exactly what happened. Because our other MK guys were not active, so the police deployed all their forces to Durban to focus there. And that's when they got Webster.

Didn't you try to activate other Special Ops units elsewhere? Or other MK units?

We had units all over here, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Soweto and others. But they were not as active as McBride, Webster and them.

What about the Natal Urban Machinery?

They were active but had a very minimal role. We heard that guys had died... The oil refinery guys, Special Ops, were there for ages, they were based there. And there were two guys, the one guy couldn't drive that that we recruited in Swaziland, he had been in Swaziland for a long time, like a Swazi, he got a driver, they drove all the way to go and meet the guys in Natal, and give them materiel and money. They were having a DLB in the car. They were with us in Special Ops.

And this Swazi guy also was saying to me the other time that, hey man, you know those guys died, but I think they must've left some weapons there where they were. So, I said but do you still remember the place? So, he said, yes, I think I can remember the place. It's just unfortunate. So those guys were also very daring guys, the oil refinery guys. You know, they went to the beach during reconnaissance, they went as tourists, they went to this big ship to go and see how they could bomb it.

They were being told by the captains on the ship that this place here is very sensitive; we don't want any matches here. So, our comrades were like winking to each other, this is what we want, this is our stuff, this is a good target. They wanted to take limpet mines and sink the ship. So, they were very daring type of guys.

This was the unit where four comrades were killed?

Correct, yes. In '84-85.

14 May 1984? Who was in that unit?

It was Jeff. Jeff's real name I can't remember. And then there was Alf, a coloured guy from from PE (Port Elizabeth).

Was that Clifford Brown?

Yes, that Alf is Clifford Brown.

What exactly went wrong there? How did they die? Do you know?

They made some reconnaissance. They couldn't hit the ships at that time, so they said the best thing for us is to hit the Mobil oil refinery in Wentworth with a bazooka.

But then as they fired the security was alarmed and then police were phoned and they came and fired and fired. It was during the withdrawal that our guys confronted the police.

Did they hit their target at the refinery?

They did, yes.

So, what happened? Was there an explosion?

No, the oil just spilled. Remember that oil is very thick; it's not easy to burn. Another thing is that the bazooka is not flammable like the Grad-P which Barney and them wanted to use in the second attack on Sasol. Sasol would not be there by now if that happened.

Barney and them used the Grad-P at Voortrekkerhoogte?

They moved with that at Voortrekkerhoogte, yes. The same weapon, that one when it explodes there is big fire. You don't need anything else.

Was there a review of the Wentworth operation, also, to find out how the four comrades got killed?

Rashid and them would have done that.

How long were those comrades inside the country?

For almost eight to ten months.

And did they carry out any other operation?

No.

They did solely this one?

Yes, they wanted to make a big impact. They were there because we used to send weapons from time to time as well as planning this big operation. We sent finance for survival. This Swazi guy, he used to do that with ease from Swaziland.

And there were some arms caches buried by Clifford and them that nobody knows where they are?

Exactly.

So, when you heard they were killed?

It was heartbreaking really. It was a loss; a great loss, also because we thought that besides that refinery, they were going to sink a ship at the harbour there. They'd done reconnaissance already, saw loopholes they were going to use, and limpet mines you can hide very easily. You get a strap and you put it on and and you go and just mount it on a ship and then pull the safety pin and then it's done, the job is done. So, we were excited that they'd be doing these big jobs but, unfortunately, they were attacked and all of them died there.

To come back to the Webster-McBride unit, is there anything else you want to say beyond what you've already said?

That unit and Barney's unit were almost similar. Very daring, very brave and very decisive guys. All the time they wanted to be active.

Wasn't the Dolphin Unit also very successful? They did about 35 bombings, I think, and never got caught.

That's the one that did the Krugersdorp magistrate's operation.

Ya. You didn't have anything to do with preparations for their operations?

No, they were commanded directly by Comrade Rashid.

So, to come back to the Webster-McBride unit, were you aware that McBride was going to try to rescue Webster from the Edendale Hospital? Did he raise it with the Command?

No, we didn't know. It was an internal initiative. He discussed it with his father, that he couldn't let his friend go to prison. From hospital to prison? No, we must make a plan, he decided. Then they did some reconnaissance and found some gaps there to rescue Webster.

How did you hear about the rescue?

Just over the radio.

Did you have any idea who might have done it?

I knew immediately that it must be McBride (laughter). I was excited (laughter). But worried too about how he was going to be safe up until he gets here - because Natal and Botswana are miles apart. So, they did this daring wonderful operation, but then it was going to be spoilt by them getting caught.

Did you meet Webster when he came across?

Yes, I did. We arranged that he must go and see a doctor immediately so that he can be stabilised.

Did Webster go to Moscow to recuperate?

I don't know where he was taken.

How did McBride later get caught?

At the time he got caught, I was arrested myself in Botswana. I'm not sure about the details. In Botswana they knew me well and from time to time they would arrest me and deport me to Zambia. Then I would come back and get deported again.

When McBride gets arrested, Webster, I understand, decided that now he's going to go and rescue McBride...

I don't know.

It seems they had a pact that if either one of them got arrested, the other will try to rescue him. You know about this?

No.

In respect of the Magoo's Bar bombing, it emerged at the TRC hearings that when you assisted with the car bomb you didn't know what their target was going to be. That correct?

Yes, remember, our role was to infiltrate weapons and to not necessarily instruct the guys as to when you get inside the country, what you must do. Rashid would give the instructions. We would then ensure that the weapons are there for them to do their job. Like the Magoo's bombing, I wasn't really involved in the planning. And you can't falter them really because I mean if they knew that these SADF guys come there and that's where they entertain, it's obvious that's a target.

You were involved in an attack on Braklaagte on 31 July 1990? What was that operation about?

The people of Braklaagte did not want to be incorporated into the Boputhatswana Bantustan, and then now this guy, (Lucas) Mangope (head of the Boputhatswana government) was saying to hell with you, you are a part and parcel of Boputhatswana, and they were saying we are part and parcel of South Africa. And then there was that clash all the time and Mangope decided I must establish a police base there to monitor these people all the time.



Ernest Pule in the SANDF

Then we got this thing that the police are harassing the local population. Then the guys said now, let's go and do something. Let's just wipe them off. At that time also there was some kind of a lull in our activities. Then we sent Tate Sibanyoni and Take Five (Aron Mkhwanazi) to do reconnaissance. After that, we planned. We then went in and established ourselves, and then two of our guys hijacked a car. We needed a bakkie as we were six in all, but they couldn't find one, so they got a Corolla.

We were close to Zeerust. As we approached the camp, we saw these car lights coming in our direction and we decided we wouldn't hit the camp then, we would pass the cars and then come back towards the camp – but only to find this car and the one following belonged to the camp. They were patrolling for the camp, and they made a u-turn to come and see who are these people in our car.

Just then we decided we have to *moer* these people. They suddenly stopped, we were ready, just safety pin down (of the grenades), and we started hammering the guys at close range. We *moered* them. After that you could not go back to

hit the camp – they would be expecting us. So, I then said we have to leave without attacking the camp.

So, the casualties? How many were there?

A few. They were patrolling. They were the people who were harassing the people

How did you cross over the border to Botswana?

Easy. We went by car to the border. Then, we abandoned it near Mangope's place. And we jumped over the fence. We actually passed by Mangope's house, and the guys said we haven't used the bazookas so let's hit Mangope's house. I said don't be stupid, we don't know the police arrangements here; next time...

I was told that after the first Sasol operation on their way back to Swaziland every time they passed by a police station Victor Khayiyana would say, "hey, let's use these remaining grenades and hit them" and the other comrades kept saying to him no, no!

Yes (laughter)

So, you were Commander of the unit that went in for Braklaagte?

Yes. Lester Dumakude, I worked with him. Dumakude and his group went into Mafikeng at the same to hit a power station there, but they couldn't do the operation because the security situation was not conducive.

So as a Commander he did come into the country?

Yes.

He was here too for the Ellis Park operation?

Yes.

Did his coming in have to do with the increasing concern within MK, Special Ops and the ANC more generally that the leaders should be increasingly active inside the country and even be based inside?

It was like that, but Comrade Lester was based outside.

Dumakude took over from Rashid as Commander of Special Ops?

Later, yes, he took over when Rashid was moved to logistics.

What do you think of the Ellis Park operation?

Lester was urging us to do something. He was working with some guys he had inside the country from his hometown. I have some reservations about some of the things that happened there. They say they had bazookas. For the whole week they were moving around to hit a police hippo, but they couldn't find a target to send a message! How! This doesn't make sense.

They said originally, they intended to hit the stadium itself, and security was everywhere, so they put the car bomb further away, some distance. When they came back JM lambasted them for this operation.

Apart from the Webster-McBride unit in Durban, what were some of the other successes in Special Ops? And what would you say were some of the weaknesses of Special Ops?

Koeberg was very good. The car bomb in Witbank police station was also good – Mkhululi (Makwale Nyalunga) will tell you more about it.

Weaknesses, I must say were primarily as a result of us not being aware that we were being infiltrated. We had too much trust in comrades. We didn't always screen people enough – do they know what we are really trying to do, are they with us, is this person committed?

What happened to Ms M who sold out your brother?

She died of natural causes, but the ANC did realise that she's a double agent, and they called her to Lusaka as if they wanted to give her some other big job. When she got there, they said we are aware you're working for the Boers. Tell us. And then she confessed that.

How did the ANC get to know that she was working for the Boers?

We had security guys as well, our intelligence was also operating in the countries we were based in, and they found out. We also had white comrades in the apartheid security agencies that gave us information.

Besides the case of this woman, were there other examples of infiltration into Special Ops?

Yes. We had this McKenzie. We had another one called Stanley from Mamelodi. We would interact with them freely, unaware that this is an agent. We'll move

around with these guys in Gaborone, but not take him to our bases. That, we didn't compromise. We didn't take anyone even if you are MK. As long as you're not Special Ops, we could not take you to our safe houses.

And then at a later stage when the Boers were trying to get where we are in order to attack us, they gave him a car, a Ford Mustang or Mazda. They would meet him in Pretoria and say go and give these guys money. And then he came with this new car. He said, hey guys, I got this brand new car for you, I saw last time you were struggling with transport. Here is a car.

What did you think? You thought he stole the car?

We thought it's genuine, he told us that he has got papers, everything is fine. We can register it. And then what did we do? We went to our safe house. There was a garage door, but it was not operational, we had to move it aside. If you close it, you must put drums so that nobody must bother to open it. At about midnight no one was around when we put that car there, we left it there, safe place (laughter). We were still thinking, how are we going to use this new car? Then we went about our business.

Then one time we said let's go and check at our safe place. I lifted Lester (Dumakude) up and then he peeped over the wall. There was no car. What! No car! Then he lifted me to see - I couldn't believe it. And then we stood staring at each other (laughter). What now? I mean, these criminals had stolen the car just like that, they must be sophisticated...

It took us months to then make one plus one to see that, aha, that car had a tracker! The Boers had put a tracker there so that they must locate where we have a safe house and then attack us. They were monitoring that house.

There was no activity in that house. Then they realised, these bastards, maybe they're suspicious about the car, let's go and get the car, and they took it away.

So, between the time you got the car and the car disappeared, how long it was?

About two months.

So, you confronted him?

Well, at first, we thought it was local thieves.

But when you made the connection, as you said, one plus one, didn't you confront him?

He was no longer in the picture. I think he had realised that we had become suspicious.

I thought Special Ops was supposed to be an elite unit and you would be more cautious and less vulnerable to infiltration?

We did get some infiltrators here and there. The guys from Pretoria were recommended by Victor Mnisi. Some of these people were double agents. We sent a lot of weapons through some of these people, but nothing happened, they were wasted.

So, what were other weaknesses in Special Ops?

The other weakness would be that we would infiltrate guys with strict instructions, like when you get home you have been briefed in Lusaka that you have to do certain things. When you get there within two weeks we want to see action. We are making all these efforts taking you inside the country safely and when we get you there you must do your job and then only can you communicate with us in terms of either further materiel or more money, so that you can survive. But then you find guys, they go there and then I don't know whether they get entertained at home or what, but they relax and stay here for ages without doing anything serious.

What would you do? Send other comrades in to push them to carry out operations?

Yes. That's all you could do.

Now to come to the overall role of Special Ops. What did you see as its specific role?

My understanding of Special Op's role was that we should ensure that MK activities are taking place more inside the country, that the regime does not relax as though there we are not there. There is no so-called un-doing of the ANC in the form of MK. In Special Ops, we would get instructions directly from the President, no other person. Comrade Joe Modise and them didn't know what we were doing; they would hear only after the fact. So, basically MK Special Ops was formed for the purpose of making the people aware that MK is there, that's why we were doing big operations, not small ones.

Did you have any specific targets that were different from other units of MK?

Yes definitely. Who else has done car bombs except Special Ops?

Were car bombs used only by Special Ops?

Yes. That's what you had for big operations, you can't use small things, AKs and grenades. For instance, we had the unit of General Marumo, Lux we used to call him. Their job was to bring down the C130 transport plane from Pretoria to Namibia. They were given the times and that certain days the plane leaves with soldiers to Namibia, and this is the route. Just monitor that and then the following week you must move. But we had difficulty in bringing the missile, this trailer, inside the country. That caused the delay. So, the guys who were staying inside the country for a long time still waiting for the weapon to be brought, said can't you give us something else to do to keep us active? And we said fine.

That's why this woman selling out was devastating to us because General Marumo recruited his own person from inside the country and, sent him through to us to say give that person what we want to utilise. We met him and then we introduced this guy to the sell-out in Botswana still unaware of her role. So, we told him this lady, Mrs N, will meet you in Johannesburg, and give him the car at a particular hotel. And in about two weeks' time we had this best hiding place in the car, we camouflaged everything, it was loaded with material for a car bomb. This was to keep our guys in the country active, not relaxed, because they'd been waiting too long for the missile to come and we did not get the right vehicle to bring it inside the country. The missile was there but then we didn't have the vehicle to hide it because it needed a pickup, a trailer...

So how long were those comrades in the country?

About two months, three months.

This woman went inside the country, informed us as usual from Zeerust, I'm going to meet these guys again. And then the police followed them all the way to Johannesburg. Get to Johannesburg, she was at the hotel. Each time our guys go, we always kept in touch with them all the time for safety.

Over the telephone?

Yes. We organised a landline in Gaborone. When they get there, immediately they phone us that they've arrived.

They do that from a public call box?

And then they give us a phone number. Sometimes it's a public number, sometimes local people who are working in businesses who can take our calls and from where our comrades can make calls safely.

The chap came to the hotel to collect the car. Then when I phoned her, she said he had taken the car. Now I'm estimating, looking at the timings. The comrade left to Diepkloof, he offloaded the car as quick as he could because we showed him how to open that thing quickly and how to close it. And he offloaded in the garage. The police were waiting in the vicinity.

And then he went out, nearby the police stopped him. Hey, who are you? Whose car is this? Driver's licence, passport? He said no, look man, this is my friend's car. They said where do you stay? He says he stays here. Let's go and see your place. He didn't take them where the weapons were, he took them elsewhere. They said *voetsak*, you are wasting our time.

So then that comrade, Peter Ngwenya, they beat him up for four days and nights, butchered him. And he got sentenced to ten or fifteen years in jail.

When he came to Botswana he was with a girlfriend. When we realised that Peter has been arrested because he hadn't come back, we contacted M and told her to get out of the hotel. Just disappear; Peter has been arrested. We were trying to save her whereas, she was the one who lead him to be arrested. And she kept saying she couldn't leave, and later we found out that this woman is a sell-out.

Is Cde Ngwenya alive?

Yes, he's around. I met him once at Defence HQ, I could not talk to him because I became emotional, when I remembered the sacrifices he had made that time, that four days and nights without breaking. I became emotional and I was wearing a uniform, so I was scared people are going to wonder why this guy is crying, you know. So, I just greeted him and then disappeared.

Peter had been recruited by our units based inside. Lux was the Commander of the anti-aircraft guys.

Where were the other comrades in the anti-aircraft unit when Peter was arrested?

They were in Mamelodi. We realised that Peter had been arrested. And then immediately we thought the guys in Mamelodi are going to be in trouble. Then we phoned Mrs N who came with Peter to Pretoria. We asked Bongzi, who was Peter's girlfriend, who came along with him as part of his 'legend', please don't go to school tomorrow - she was a teacher. And Mrs N had met her too with

Peter. Bongi, just go to Mamelodi, and tell those guys that Peter has been arrested. She gets to the guys. Guys I've got a message from Botswana - Peter has been arrested.

You know what they said? They said Peter won't sell us out. And then the poor woman drove all the way back to Johannesburg. And then we phoned her. Bongi did you take the message? Yes. But then the guys said Peter will not sell them out. We felt like collapsing, you know. All that effort! We said, geez, these guys, they can't be serious, man! That means now that these guys have been there for three months or so and they're relaxed now. They are comfortable. They think they just somewhere in Angola or in Zambia.

Peter, poor Peter! Being interrogated by the police. Who are the owners of these weapons? Show us. Because they can see it's car bomb material. Who are the people? Then when they check his passport, they see that he only went to Gaborone once, he can't have been alone. Who are the people?

Hey, they beat him up. The he said to the police, *voetsak* I'm not talking. They beat him up. In the meantime, Peter was giving the other guys space to get away, that they would realise that he didn't come back and had been arrested.

And then after four days, Peter said there is some place somewhere here, I can't remember where. You know what they did? They deployed a kombi selling ice creams, with *Askaris* inside to look around. The police were deployed not far from there ready to storm. And then these guys, they realised there is this other Peter, there is Titi, there is so and so, only Lux was not there, the Commander was not there. Very disciplined, he was staying somewhere else. Then they say, okay, it's only three men, these people going in and out. Then they deployed forces. And then the cars came from front and rear. They jumped the walls and that. And the guys were arrested.

Now Lux came that afternoon to come and check on his soldiers, so he was walking there. You know when people talk about crime, it's as if it's something impossible, but it's not difficult to fight crime. You know, the police must have contact with the people. It happened in Botswana. We saw it. I mean we were arrested, because the local population realised I was not from there and called the police. So even here, the people are observant. They used to see Lux coming to see the guys and going away. So, that's why after these guys were arrested when Lux was approaching from a distance, they said, hey man, sorry, you are the one who normally comes here and then Lux wanted to say no, it's not me (laughter). And when they said your friends have been arrested, it's only then that he realised and he thanked them.

So Lux got away?

Yes

What happened to him? Did he come back to Botswana?

No, he remained inside. He stayed.

He survived for how long?

He went from Pretoria back to Soweto. He recruited other people again. He continued to operate until 1990.

Did he carry out any operations?

He tried to set up units inside the country, but then 1990 came.

On Special Ops as a whole, do you want to say anything more about its strengths and weaknesses?

Our strength was basically our unity; we were very united, both at command and junior levels. The foot soldiers on the ground of Special Ops had lots of respect for and trust in us. Why? Because we led from the front. We're not the type of Commanders who'll say, yes, you see that building, you must go to the left and then, you'll see the road, and you get your transport there. All that type of nonsense. We didn't do that. Rashid will tell that next week, I'll be bringing so many guys. They'll be going in different directions. Transvaal, Natal and so on. Just that. We're fine.

And then we start preparing for them. We get the guys from inside the country Hey, look man, we are going to have guys going in. Sometimes, we go across to meet people inside the country, and you debrief them and then let them go. We tried to avoid them coming in and out of the country all the time because they might get exposed.

Then we'd arrange where we going to meet them. And then they go and do their reconnaissance. And that type of arrangement with our contacts inside the country also saved lives. With this double agent woman, Mrs N, we used to tell her to tell our guys on the other side that we are coming, and give her false information and then when she tells them this, the Boers will be deployed in the areas where we are supposed to be staying. And then they get tired waiting for somebody to come there because we don't appear anywhere, and they leave.

Whereas between us and the contacts, our guys inside the country, we had this arrangement that once they get information that we are coming, they must know

that forty-eight hours is for checking the roads only. And then after forty-eight hours then we can come anytime there.

And then when the Boers realise the information they got is wrong, then we come in and the guys go safely. That saved us a lot, many times. You know one time this woman literally wanted me to sleep with her in order that she must get an opportunity to inform the Boers when we were coming. I said how is the situation? How are the Boers that side? Any information? She said don't go, the river is flooded. And tomorrow morning, she said, I'm going to check for you and then I'll tell you. In the meantime, the guys were already deployed in the bushes there. I said okay, we won't go. She said no man, just stay here. She was in her nighties. I said okay, I'm coming back now, just get yourself ready. And then I disappeared. I took our guys and went to the river. And then we jumped into the water and we go and we cross.

By that time, you already suspected her of being a spy?

We did not. Just that she wanted to delay us and the guys were here. We got suspicious but were still not sure but anyway we left.

Did you play any role in the Voortrekkerhoogte, South African Air Force and Koeberg operations?

No. Some of these operations were directed from Maputo only.

So, looking at Special Ops overall, there is some criticism that it was elitist and not integrated enough into MK as a whole, even if it had to be cautious because of security leaks within MK. Also, that because it was linked directly to Slovo and Tambo it got more resources than other units and some comrades within MK resented this. There are claims too that comrade Joe Modise and some immediately below him did not agree that Special Ops should not directly answer to him? Did you hear those criticisms? If so, your response?

I did get that. Gebuza is one of them who said that. As I said, ourselves and our juniors, we were very close. Now on the basis of that, we had this feeling that our comrades, when they go inside, they must get the necessary resources. Weapons. Information. Finance. They must be up to scratch. Everything. And then in terms of safety, we must do our job on the ground. And they were comfortable with that. They were happy with us. As I'm telling you, we were leading from the front. We moved in front, they came from behind. And before they went inside the country, two days before, we go across with them, we'll give them their AKs, grenades. They must check them themselves.

And if we give them their money, they must count it and then they sign for it. This is money for civilian clothes you want to get at home. This is money for transport. This one is for emergency transport, it's in case you have to dash - then you must use that money. This money is for food. All that broken down and the total – and they see that. And then they count it and then they sign. And we take this invoice and account for it to Rashid and he will account for it with the finance people there. Now there was that closeness between us and our soldiers. Those that were based in Maputo, some had gone inside the country, did our operations and they come back to Maputo.

When they come back from inside the country it was not our business to say, hey man, you can't tell me you have spent R2000 in two weeks. It's not our business really, when he was in the country that he used what for what. He signed for his money. He goes there and when he comes back you don't care how much he came back with. Now, when they're in Maputo they discuss this with other soldiers, Gebuza's soldiers in particular. And then they will say but that's not fair, when we go inside the country, they give us little and when we come back, they want the change. And then our guys say what change? You sign for your money, you go inside the country, you are alone there, the money is your business now.

So, when our guys come back, they may have money to spend in Maputo - and Gebuza's guys begin to complain that they have no money when they come back and why does Gebuza not give them enough when they go into the country? Our guys said, well, maybe they are chowing your money. They are not giving you your money. They are drinking it. Our Commanders are giving us our monies. And the same thing was happening in Lusaka. Rashid used to struggle to get resources from these finance people. They would refuse, and Comrade Chris Hani would fight for us.

He'd say, hey, you see what they're doing with the money, they are inside the country doing things. So, give them the money. What's your problem? These other people, you give them money, but you don't see what they're doing. And sometimes they give you reports, but then some of these are just manipulated. But not with Special Ops. So, give them the money! And then they would shyly say, okay, we'll give Rashid actually. After a big struggle....

Our guys told me these things about the Gebuza guys. I said to hell with them. They said you must be careful, these guys they don't like you. So, we knew that there are these guys who were not supportive of what we were doing.

Among the comrades in Special Ops who stands out for you?

Barney, obviously. Robert McBride, with his Commander Webster. Lux, General Marumo, whom I talked about just now. He is now serving in the army.

Why does Barney stand out for you?

Barney was involved all the time. Before he joined Special Ops he was deployed, I can't remember by which Commander, in the '70's. And they had some incident in the Western Transvaal at the time. Someone sold them out. He went to the toilet; the next thing the Boers had surrounded them. And then they shot their Commander immediately because they thought if you hit the Commander then you neutralise the others. Whereas it's not like that in guerrilla warfare, Barney and them fought back. Barney was shot somewhere. He had a flesh wound.

He just used some piece of cloth to stop the blood from flowing. And they managed to withdraw. They got treatment and I think that this setback only made Barney more motivated, more committed to fight. And when Rashid and them, recruited him into Special Ops, they made him an Operational Commander, because of his past experience, and he led with distinction from then on. He was there at Sasol and Voortrekkerhoogte.

Do you know how Barney and them were killed? What happened?

The person who can tell you more about him is Velaphi Msane. After Nkomati most of us had to withdraw from Maputo and even Swaziland. Other guys and me then went on to Lusaka and then rerouted to Botswana. But others were deported to Tanzania. That's where we lost contact with Barney and them. I don't know who it was that decided that Barney and them must go to Sasol again. But they didn't give them the proper ammunition – the arrangement was usually that the weapons must be brought to the comrades going in and they must come and inspect that everything is up to scratch. But they did not do all that we used to do before an operation. We were in Botswana, so we were not involved.

And the aiming circle in the Grad-P was not there - and it's very important. But the poor guys said, okay, let's go, we'll improvise. When they got there, the first rocket fell before the target. They loaded another one and it went to the side. They kept on arguing that it's this bloody thing, the aiming circle; some comrades said let's stop this whole bloody business and go back rather than waste these. We can come back. So, there is a dispute among them – *wara, wara, wara*. When they left there was this squabble among them.

They went back in two cars. Safe, nothing wrong - up until they came to the border areas. Going towards the fence the road will not go straight. They missed each other there. Barney's car took the wrong direction. Msane and them took

another direction. Msane told me later that when they were coming back from Sasol, they used to stop and flick their lights to indicate to Barney and them that they are going in the wrong direction and must come back. This kept happening until they get to the border. Msane and them felt these guys are getting lost too often, besides we got the guns and the shells. The best thing is for us to drive through the border, leave these things, and come back for these guys. We can't wait any longer. It's getting light now.

In the meantime, Barney and them were getting lost, they can't find their way, and then a Boere guy on the farms told the police there's a car that's moving up and down here near our farm. The police came. Barney and them just swept them aside. Then they brought the army. The whole night there was a battle up until 11 in the morning.

When Faku and them came back to the border area near South Africa they met with Swazi farmworkers and asked them, did you see a certain car anywhere here? They said no, but that side across the border there was a heavy, heavy battle. Faku said 'what! If you can go there, you can see the dead bodies of police and soldiers, you can't believe. And Faku said how many bodies? Five? No, no. Ten? *Inqwaba* – which means plenty. So, they killed plenty. These people said the people shooting at the police were also killed.

Faku and them went back to Mbabane. Contacted a local contact who had a passport. Hey, go through to Piet Retief, check what's happening. So, this Swazi woman went there, then she went to the hospital, she could see lots of cars coming in, they blocked off the area. The nurses were curious, why are we being blocked? A policeman whispered to the nurses that there were many dead and others injured. You must not see this, that's why you are not being allowed in. This Swazi woman spoke to a nurse and she then told Faku and them what had happened.

Who were the comrades killed?

Barney, Victor Khayiyana and Vincent Sekete - a comrade we used to call General. He was nicknamed the Small General – *Malinki* General – because of his precise calculations using the Grad-P. These calculations are usually done using a pen, but he never bothered with that, instead he would do the calculations solely through using his head and was amazingly always accurate to the amazement of his instructors and other comrades.

Why was the aiming circle missing from the Grad-P?

It was not us who prepared them to go in. I can't answer that. Maybe, it was sabotage? If it was us, we would have ensured that each and everything was in

place. You see, it's like a pistol - you have rear and front aiming sides you use to focus on the target - but in a Grad-P it's long range.

So, who did the preparation?

They got their own guys.

So, the usual Special Ops comrades were not involved at all?

We were in Botswana and our guys were arrested. The Trevor Vilakazis and the Teddy Sikakanas were arrested. They knew in Swaziland that the aiming circle is missing, but they decided to go ahead anyway and improvise.

The Grad-P was from the Soviet Union?

Yes.

Your respect for McBride, you've covered. Why Comrade Marumo?

Despite the setbacks that he suffered as a Commander, his juniors had been arrested, he didn't give up. He shifted from Pretoria to Johannesburg and recruited other people and he tried to operate.

He did Special Ops work?

Yes. And we had this Keith McKenzie, this police spy, we used to give him weapons to bury, now he used to go to the Boers, they would help him bury these, and they would sabotage the fuses to destroy the delay fuse. Even the grenades. We gave Lux the sketch that McKenzie gave to get the material, but Lux was vigilant as always. When he got to the place, he realised that we don't operate like this. There were tyre and footprints there. He said, hey guys, please just move away. And then he leads his new members away to a safe distance. Anyway, it's explosives policy. One man, one bomb. Any balls-up only one person may suffer.



Ernest Pule at the TRC,
Independent Media

And then he checked this thing, the fuse – bah! - it went! He checked the limpet fuse, again - bah - it went! And then the third one, he made a mistake and it blasted his fingers. But still he didn't run away. They got a doctor.

And also, we survived through information from our white comrades who were giving us information from inside the system. McKenzie was an apartheid agent. He liked money a lot – hey, what about my tyres, and what about this and what-what, then Rashid said tell him we'll give him R10 000 for all that so that he comes out. Our comrades there from inside had told us about McKenzie and this information went to OR (Tambo) himself.

We survived Swaziland, for instance, myself, I think twice or thrice; the Boers were aware that since Nkomati I was the only Commander surviving in Swaziland with three soldiers. And they were gunning for me. Our comrades then sent information that these people are coming for T-man there. They are aware that T-man has not been arrested. And then Rashid said, hey, withdraw, leave everything and come back.

What did you make of Rashid?

Rashid is someone who's a very alone type of person. He read a lot. You stop him from that, he listens to you and then he continues again, you know. He's not someone who used to engage people a lot. He's that type of a person. But in terms of the job, on the ground – ya, well – he was very strict, very strict. He used to discipline us. Hey guys, I don't want one, two, three. Please do certain things. You must do this by next week. I want to get firm confirmation from you. And then, we would hit the ground doing that.

Hélène says she worked a lot with you?

Yes. She did a lot of work. She's one of the people that got instructions directly from Rashid and then we had to ensure that she goes into the country and comes back safe. As to where she was going to, we did not necessarily have to know. But I did get to know of our plan that Hélène must go and base inside the country, in Johannesburg, as a student at Wits. But then it seems another machinery stole her, and she acted for them and then got caught.

You mean her connections with the Political Section? And Comrade Ebrahim?

Yes.

And with Klaas, what was your relationship?

Klaas was the same as with Hélène. He did a wonderful job, until he was arrested. He went through us and he was arrested because of this surveillance on Hélène.

On a matter you raised earlier, about your arrests in Botswana, would that be on the prompting of the South African Security Police?

The Botswana Chief of Special Branch was working with the Boers.

Like in Swaziland?

Yes, because they used to get our information and give them over to the Boers. That was for sure.

****There were other interviews with Ernest Pule that were not transcribed - but the main ones are covered here.***