

An interview used in "Attacking the Heart of Apartheid: The ANC's MK Special Operations Unit" (Penguin, 2025), Yunus Carrim

The full interview has not been approved by Mangaliso Matyobeni. The excerpts here are mostly related to what has been used in the book and is in the public domain through other sources.

MK Special Operations Unit Project

Interviews

Mangaliso Matyobeni

28 May 2020 and 22 July 2020

**Nelson Mandela Bay
(telephonically)**

Let's start with your personal details, when you were born, where, a bit about your family?...

My real name is Mangaliso Matyobeni. My combat name was Zwele Sithole. It was never used, I was just known as Major.

I was born in Njoli Street in Kwazakhele in Port Elizabeth. Njoli Street is one of the longest streets in Port Elizabeth and it is where most of the political activities, including the uprisings, took place. A lot of people died there. It was something like a terminus, joining four streets, like a square.

My father never went to school. My mother ended her schooling at primary level. My father worked in the mines, then ended up in Port Elizabeth where he met my mother.

I come from a family of 8 boys. Two of them died while still babies. I'm the first born.

I schooled in the same area because I'm not from a rich family, I didn't have money for taxi or buses. I went up to JC (Junior Certificate). Unfortunately, there was no matric at that school. I had to go to another one.

The type of education I got and the things which were happening at that time – they never satisfied me. I grew up with a lot of questions. There were things I couldn't get, and I never even understood.

My mother was a domestic worker. At one stage I went to work with her – and this is where I started to ask a lot of questions. I saw the way the Whites were living – a very big difference from the way we were living in the location. I went there to clean and help them so that they can give me some money.

I was very good at biology. I met the children of my mother's employers who were also doing biology. One day I was playing with a flower in their garden. So the two girls approached me, and I opened up the flower and I started telling them about its parts.

They were very interested, but their father was a Boer and he didn't like that, he never wanted me to be close to their kids. And he pulled his kids away, and I was upset because at that time we were almost in the same age group.

How old were you at the time?

I think I was about 16.

I went back to the house but I didn't want to.

I noticed a lot of other things when I went to town and other White places. I was stopped at times. And I didn't like the behaviour of the Whites towards me. We had our own separate places, our own buses and our own bus stops. These things didn't add up.

When I was doing my standard six in 1970, we had an external examination and you got a certificate. I got low marks – but I believe that those were not my marks.

My best friend, Sicelo, was also very clever, very good in maths, more than me. He used to help me but he also failed. So we were not happy and wanted to see our papers. The teachers were very angry with us and wanted now to know why. We decided to go to Bantu Education. That is what we were told – that if you want to know about yourself, go to Bantu Education.

This also irritated me – because I discovered that there is this special Bantu Education. I was in KK Ncwana Lower Primary School and I also spent a year in Ntlaka Business School in a small town outside Port Elizabeth, called Bedford. It was a Bantu Community School.

So now I ask myself, why are we dealing with a 'Bantu' Education Department? It means whatever we get, it's about race and not about the people of South Africa.

We were never entertained in those Bantu Education offices. Only Whites were working there. They never showed us our papers. There is no accountability, no transparency, but they say you failed and you know that you didn't fail...

But anyway we continued at school. There was an Indian family who used to donate food, biscuits and so on to the school. The principal used to call me to meet the Indians. And I asked the principal why have they got their own school? Some Indian school children came and I asked them how was their school? The Indians were all staying in Malabar. This separation reflected racism as we were not staying according to one big pool in PE (Port Elizabeth).

My intention was to become a doctor. It was most irritating that I did the science subjects and, all of a sudden, in my JC year – that's standard nine – my subjects, in the middle of the year, were changed. They took out chemistry and physics and put in history, but I remained with maths and biology. I was told that if you do medicine, you must have science.

So I went to the principal and I explained that I want to be a doctor but these are the subjects which they gave me. The answer was that no, if I want to be a doctor, I will have to do these science subjects at a later stage. But I didn't want to do them at a later stage because I wanted to grow up with them and it be a continuous thing.

So I was not happy, but I did my education anyway, it was 1975. Mr Qunta – he was a PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) guy, an Africanist – we would sometimes get some political awareness from him though he was not teaching us. He used to like me because I used to like gardening. In front of his office there was a garden and I was chosen to clean it because I used to play with the plants and snails and so on.

I used to sing when I would talk about a bee. Locusts – I knew everything about them. I would draw these insects and illustrate their parts.

I used to be able to talk with this teacher and question him – for example, why we are staying in Kwazakhele when there were suburbs like Summerstrand, Walmer and so on where the Whites only lived. That set-up was not making sense to me, but the teacher would tell me about apartheid, that it's the set-up of the Boers, they made this happen.

I had an uncle who was an ANC activist, but he never mentioned that to me. But he would talk about these things also. When I came from that teacher, I would talk with my uncle, and he would explain further. I was dealing with one ANC and one PAC person.

My uncle used to listen to *Radio Freedom*, though he was hiding it, I sometimes used to catch him. Then I would come to listen and he wouldn't chase me away. At that time FRELIMO was also fighting. My uncle told me 'You must never get caught listening to these radio broadcasts.'

1975, Mozambique and Angola were liberated. Then we saw soldiers in the location though they were not that much. But you look at these things and no one talks about it, no soldier is Black.

So everything started to boil up. I was clever at school and liked by the students. I had many friends. Then there was '76 – and the rise of African schools against Afrikaans and Bantu Education began. In the Eastern Cape, Afrikaans was not that dominant. Eastern Cape was basically a British Colony, not like the Transvaal.

But when it started in Soweto my friends and I already had problems with Bantu Education, though it was not about Afrikaans as such, but problems overall, including subject changes. We discussed with guys what is happening now.

Then there was the Soweto uprising. They were calling it a riot. It was not a riot but an uprising. I was doing English at school and would look in the dictionary what terms like 'riots' meant. In those days we were not speaking English like these kids of today. We only spoke Xhosa in the location.

I did history and learnt about the French Revolution. How there was a commune and all that. This knowledge shapes you without you knowing and it builds up inside you. You have unanswered questions and this knowledge comes near to answering your questions. And I was very good in history.

Although my father was not educated, he was a very good storyteller. In Xhosa history they call it *Esembali*, it comes from *Amabali*. They are stories. There is no difference between *Esembali* and *Amabali*.

I took history as stories. I would even read not just for exams but other topics for my own interests. I discovered a lot of interesting things. I was doing also social studies and learnt about the gold and other minerals and farms in the country, and all of this was owned by the Whites.

So when I was doing my JC (Junior Certificate), I already knew what was the difference between myself and the Whites. Bantu Education also put this fire in me, gave me light.

We started to organise students. And now that we were so many, we started doing something. I influenced students to listen to *Radio Freedom*.

My buddy Sicelo, ended up on Robben Island. He later died.

The other person I worked closely with was Mkhululi Gina. So the three of us used to meet after school. We would gang up, and listen to *Radio Freedom*, and would meet other people.

In the chaos of the 1976 uprising, we got to know about the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the Black People's Convention and SASM, the South African Students Movement. They were also fighting for equal education.

The shooting started in Soweto and it angered us a lot. There was a guy who helped us from Fort Hare, Summerdale. And there was another guy, Ligwa Mdlankomo who later died in Maseru. He was a bit older than me at the high school. His MK name was Zakes.

He told me that we must organise and form SASM in Port Elizabeth. I never knew that the Boers will definitely be fighting with us because SASM was legal.

At that time I was not at the high school or college. We attended some meetings and there was another guy who was not schooling at that time who was also in SASM who later died in the country. I trained him in MK. His combat name was Phumba. He was a big guy.

But I realised that SASM is not the right platform for us because it was dominated by people who were not students. So in one of the meetings I challenged them on that. Ligwa and some of the other guys were working. That didn't solve our problems because we had academic problems at school. I said we have to abide by the constitution. We must have a president, vice-president and other officials.

We then had elections and I became the President of SASM. And Comrade Gina who was my friend, became the vice-president.

Students are dying in Soweto and other places. So we decided to boycott schools and we started marches. Port Elizabeth was on fire in a short space of time.

We had to mobilise the students. We had formed some action committees in various schools. Schools were burned as a symbol of oppression because they were forcing Afrikaans on us and Bantu Education was making us slaves.

I led the students in the march on the Bantu Education Office in town and to give them our petition. It was around August 1977. We encountered the Boers and some of the students were arrested.

I was arrested as I was leading the march – and I couldn't run away after leading people when the police came. And there was a Boer in Bantu Education, Goosen, he confronted me and I told him that we want Bantu Education to be scrapped.

Sicelo was also arrested. He was always next to me. They also arrested others. They tried to disperse the crowd by shooting tear gas. There was chaos. Then we went to Algoa Police Station.

Some of us were interrogated. The Boers didn't know about SASM in PE. I didn't know the law. I didn't know my rights. We were just arrested. Around four o'clock they took us to court. But I knew that it was just a bogus court, not a real court; it was very fast. The boys were sentenced to seven lashes and the three girls were given suspended sentences, and we were released.

But we didn't stop our activities. We addressed students and more of them joined us. The structure was so big that you could feel that this is the struggle now.

Then I got detained for a second time. It was around the time Steve Biko got arrested. Comrade Gina and another guy who was not in the executive of SASM were also detained.

The police might have picked up that there is a SASM branch in Port Elizabeth and as I was the president, they were beating me up. They wanted to know whether I was linked with the ANC or PAC. I was writing some articles on my opinions of poor people and royalty.

But after I was arrested the first time, all my political literature, I took to my cousin's place. But then they arrested my cousin. My cousin was a very soft somebody who knows nothing about politics. They found the books and all my writings, and I didn't know this until I saw one of my articles on the table when I was being interrogated. But I wasn't writing about overthrowing the government, it was about dissatisfaction with Bantu Education and the way we were living.

I was in Algoa police station with Peter Jones (BCM leader) but we never met. We used to talk through the cell window.

Sometimes when the police took me from the cells for interrogation I came across these higher detainees. I also saw Steve Biko (a BCM founder and iconic leader) as the door opened, he was naked and handcuffed and they poured water on him. I knew it was him because Gina saw him when he was coming back from detention and he told me he saw somebody like Steve Biko. And then after that I got taken out and I confirmed what I was already been told.

I would like to meet Peter Jones one day and remind him – we used to call him Mxolisi because when we talk with him, he's in his cell and we are in our cells. We will call him through the window and then we'll talk our nonsense, but not political things. I never saw him, we used to hear the voice. Maybe he forgot about us, but me, I still remember.

After 14 days they released us.

Steve Biko died on 12 September. Fortunately we had contact with guys from SASM in Joburg and organised buses for us to go to the funeral in King Williamstown. At the funeral there were other student leaders there. There was also Zweli Sizani. He was an organiser of SASM in Transvaal. He died later in Soweto.

After the Steve Biko funeral we took the decision that some of our people are going to leave the country, and I was going to go.

But after that funeral I got detained again. Still the Boers wanted to find out what is happening in SASM. These people don't play there, they beat you. And there was one time where they wanted to throw me from the Sanlam security police building. I think it was around past four when they were saying that they are going to do that but there were cars parked below so they couldn't throw me. But that is something I never forget.

In the Sanlam headquarters there was a frayed copy of the Freedom Charter and a PAC document. The Boers wanted to check where I belong. And they asked me: do I know these two documents? I said no, I don't know, as I didn't. They said I must read them. So I read both of them. And they asked: which one do I choose?

They beat me up – so I was forced to choose ANC because I thought I read there that South Africa belongs to all those who live in it, Black and White. But the PAC one was radical, and I was scared to mention that. But I came from a Black Consciousness background, and I believed in them. I didn't believe in the ANC, to tell you the honest truth.

Then they said 'we told you that you've got links with the ANC'. I said no, you are giving me something to read. And they beat me up. Now they started to call me a terrorist. The Boers knew that at the Biko funeral, there were guys who left already the country from my group. There were PAC people there who were recruiting.

Some people don't want to be associated with their BCM past anymore. They are now comfortable with the ANC. You never hear Terror Lekota talking about Black Consciousness. When I confronted him after 1990 about crossing the floor he was not happy. But I am very proud of my Black Consciousness Movement past.

Before I was released eighteen organisations were banned and the police told me, 'listen, your organisation is banned so what are you going to do now? Are you going to form another one?' I said I don't know about that, it's a people's thing, it's not me alone who decides.

When they released me there was chaos, there was no leadership for students. Students used to come to me and ask 'what now?' But luckily everything was not banned, the Students' Revolutionary Council was still there.

So we said, okay let's form these structures widely. They wanted to elect me as the president. I said it's not going to work properly. I was not running away from detention. All the detentions – they'll find me. I used to believe that I'm right. Why must I hide? I mustn't run, I can argue myself, and I've got facts. The only thing I can accept is to be an organising secretary because I will be able to organise. So I became the organising secretary of SRC.

When you talk about the SRC do you mean one SRC for the whole of Port Elizabeth or each school should have an SRC?

Yes, one for PE. At that time in Eastern Cape it was not easy like in Joburg to form structures.

We wrote pamphlets and called for a boycott of schools and bottle stores because people were getting drunk.

When it started I was detained again. I met Sicelo and Ligwa Mdlankomo the same night in detention.

At that time Sipho Hashe (activist abducted and murdered, together with two others, by the Security Police used to help us with our political education. He told me that you are going to die, you must leave the country. I knew Sipho through his daughter, who was my friend at school. I used to go visit her. I

was liked. In fact, he had tried to cross-question me about how seriously were we involved and do I know where it's going to?

Sipho was killed as part of the Pebco Three.

They extended my detention from Section 22 to Section 6 because they had discovered I am linked with people who were shooting. I was no longer a student and I was detained for MK activities, but they didn't have proof.

Because I was already ganged up with people like Sipiwo Mthimkulu – who was also killed by the Boers. And he was supposed to leave the country with us but he refused to go.

The Boers interrogated me very seriously but there was nothing I could offer. I didn't know the details of what they were asking. I stayed there almost three months. They took Ligwa at that time. I was arrested with people like Sipho Pityana. I think it was his first detention and my third. So I used to guide him on how to answer the questions as we were in one cell. About 43 were detained. Ten of them became state witnesses. But one guy who was a state witness in that case, he's a big guy in the ANC in Cape Town.

I want to show you the other side of the struggle, how it's not fair. What is happening in the ANC today? A guy whom you know was a sell-out and people died because of that, you will see that he's a leader today. No one asks him about him selling out!

In my fight with the Boers they took me to the sea, they put me in a sack and then they threw me in the sea. So I nearly died there. I don't know what made them to take me out. They took me to Kinkelbos, a small police station out of Port Elizabeth. They beat me up there. No one will know you are there. You will die. But I survived that one.

All the time I used to go to jail, I used to know that anything can happen. They killed Steve Biko, so who am I? But I told myself that I will never tell them anything.

Earlier in June some of my friends who I grew up with, they were shot right in front of me. Three of them. They were drinking together and then a soldier came, we ran and we jumped fences. From where I was hiding I was looking, and I was telling them to move out of there, they were trying to cross, and the police van was coming from the other side. I saw the police shooting them at point blank range. I mean the rifles were not even three hundred metres away.

All the time I passed that street I would see the blood. We took days to wash their blood. And today no one talks about those guys. No one even knows them in our history. And they also shot a guy whose brother was a socialite.

I'm less than twenty metres away when this army guy stepped out and shot him from the back with a lot of bullets. And I saw this thing happening.

They killed us like birds. All these things were in my system all the time, I look at these people like (Gideon) Nieuwoudt – he was a racist and cruel. He died recently. But he killed Siphiwo Mthimkulu. And he spit on my face during interrogation because I couldn't tell him what he wanted.

So when they said they were going to release me, I said listen here, this is the last time you'll arrest me! You'll never arrest me again, you'll arrest my dead body. And they wanted to reverse the detention. I said no, I don't care what you do now. Because at that time my body was numb. They couldn't beat me anymore.

I said I will make sure I will have my own gun and then I'm going to shoot you. I tell them I actually saw dead bodies of those killed by the police. I didn't see it just on the TV or hear about it. These were people talking – and suddenly they were killed.

I had a girlfriend Nomkhosi Mini during that time. After they released me they arrested her. Her father was Vuyisile Mini (ANC, trade union and MK leader, one of the first to be executed for his MK activities). They thought that whatever I was doing, I used to tell her, but we were not talking about MK. We would just talk about student politics because I was warned I must not talk to anyone about that.

So I left the country. I think they released me around December 1977. At that time, I was already in the ANC underground. So I recruited some other guys and I gave them the route how to leave the country through Sipho Hashe and others. One of them was Gibson Njenje (who later became the head of domestic intelligence in the State Security Agency).

Also Valdez (Xolile Sam) – he was killed in an operation inside the country. His body was exhumed about four years ago. He was my buddy. We were in the same unit.

Before I left the country I was not staying at home. The police were looking for me. They couldn't get me. There was no SASM in PE now.

After my release from prison, some parents, some intellectuals, wanted their kids back to school. So we discussed whether that should happen. What is going to happen about their future. That was a big stress for us. So that's where I worked with Siphwo.

Anyway we formed PESCO, Port Elizabeth Students Congress. And we made Siphwo Pityana the president. But it never survived long because something fishy happened there, the Boers tricked Siphwo and he announced that students must go back to school without our demands met. That was his decision, not the of the committee. But they detained Siphwo.

So some other guys and I met. We wanted to reverse the decision that students must go back as they were confused.

Two days later they arrested several comrades. I was not staying at home and they couldn't find me. Thereafter things were very bad.

A lot of guys got arrested. Some of them were not in SASM and were not in politics but they got arrested by accident when others were. Then they ended up on Robben Island and became big ANC leaders after they got released.

You must remember I made a promise that the police will never arrest me again. So it was forced on me now that I must leave the country. But before I left, Sobukwe died and I attended that funeral as well in Graaff Reinet. We organised some smallish buses. And immediately after the funeral I left the country.

So where did you go?

Swaziland. I left with my girlfriend Nomkhosi, Thobile and his girlfriend, Nonceba Malgas, whose combat name was Constance, and Mxolisi whose combat name was Mamba, the snake. Nomkhosi's combat name was Mary Thabethe.

From Swaziland we went to Mozambique and then we flew to Zambia and then Angola.

So which camp were you in in Angola?

I was in a transit camp, they call it Quibaxe. Then I went to Nova Katengue.

What training did you get?

I did my basic training in Nova Katengue. There was general training and then from there I specialised in artillery. After I completed my basic training, I went for further training to the GDR (German Democratic Republic).

How long were you there for?

I was there almost six months.

What happens after you get back to Angola?

I came to Angola and went to Pango, then to Funda. When I was in GDR the Boers bombarded Nova Katengue. Some of the comrades were then taken to Pango and some scattered around. At Pango we were going to be chosen for operations inside the country. Most of the people there were trained people. It was immediately after 1979. They were closing Funda at that time also.

From Funda we moved to Caxito, which is a preparatory camp. It was not a camp like the other camps. It's where I met Rashid. There the focus was on being a specialist and on sabotage.

In Nova Katengue I was introduced to artillery. I had a background in maths and so artillery I understood. I was a mortar Commander. You graduate when you do those things because that is long range ammunition. My maths helped me to do the calculations. They decided that I can be good at this, and I liked it. Napoleon Bonaparte was an artillery strategist, he was fighting with long guns. When I was given the choice to do artillery, I said okay.

In 1980 I'm in Caxito, and Special Ops starts a small unit. I met Barney Molokoane. He was coming from the front areas. He had that fight with the Boers and he was shot. I met him while the wound was still fresh. We didn't know each other. If you are going to be a fighter, you need a person who has already fought. He was same age as me, so that motivates you. And I started discussing with him. How did you survive and get out of that? Socially we clicked, I was lucky and he then told me everything. Barney was an instructor in another camp, Fazenda.

So Barney inspired you because he actually took part in fighting, got shot, but wanted to continue fighting? Because he was so brave and determined?

Yes. But now I wanted to know which unit I'll be in. They want to take me to Lesotho to be part of a structure to carry out operations in the Eastern Cape.

Was that under Chris Hani's command?

Yes, but we were about eight in the camp they wanted to choose from – and they took four. After I came from training in the GDR, I never parted with Valdez. I was at school with Valdez. I gave him the direction to leave the country.

So we were going to go and operate together in the Eastern Cape, we had dreams, we were going to fight, but that didn't happen...

Then Barney came in 1980 and he found us in Caxito.

I think they took too few from the specialised camp for the first Sasol bombing. I just facilitated their operation by training and choosing the equipment needed but I was not asked to go in with them.

I was the first person Barney saw when he came back from Luanda. He was told that he must select comrades for a Special Ops unit, that will be carrying out a Sasol operation. He said 'I want you to be part of it.' I said I want Valdez to be part of it. It was very exciting and then they carried out our own separate training.

Rashid at that time was not in the Specials Ops yet. Obadi was commanding it. Caxito was a preparatory camp, not a training camp. People there were specialists and already trained, but were there to get more specialised training on specific tools they were going to use inside the country on an operation.

When Rashid was recruited to Special Ops, Pule (MK name: T-man) was an instructor, like Rashid, when I went to Caxito. So for Special Ops to recruit T-man was great. He became an asset to the unit because he was a specialist in sabotage, not artillery.

After Barney left, Rashid left. Then we waited. Other people working with Obadi we used to call auxiliary workers. They would transport people when they were called to go to the front so they can go into the country.

We used to call that process *umChina* (the term comes from a gambling game played in the townships) – where you are called to go into the country to go and fight. You never know when and who they're going to call. So it was like chance.

Most MK guys who wanted to go and fight will talk about it. A guy who won't talk about *umChina* is a person who never wanted to go and fight. When they come and take you from the camp, they take you to the front areas or to another camp for final training before you go into the country.

You get taken to Johnny who will do all the passport and other documents. He was a good forger. He was closer to Special Ops, though he worked with other units.

Then a very big group of guys, maybe about thirty, left the camp before the 1980 Sasol bombing. I didn't go with that group. And then towards the end of 1980 Barney came and said, 'listen Major, we are planning another operation. We are not going to bomb this time, the Boers are already alerted, they put defences in place. But we are going to have an artillery unit.' So I was taken to the Soviet Union to specialise with the highest gun we had – the Grad-P.

Joey Mashigo, Moss – I don't know his surname – and I were chosen. Joey died. Moss I think, ended up on Robben Island – he was arrested in KZN and Solly was killed by the Swazis around 1985. After the Nkomati Accord, he didn't want to go back to Angola, after we were arrested in Swaziland.

I went to specialise. My mission was to train the unit. Vincent Sekete went with me to the Soviet Union and we specialised in Grad-P. We came back in '81. Vincent died with Barney and Victor Khayiyana when the Boers attacked them.

I was selected to be in charge of training Special Ops guys like Valdez as he didn't know artillery. Valdez's real name is Xolile Sam. He also became an artillery guy and then we trained a Special Ops guy who later became an *Askari*. I don't know what's happening, but he still survives. It's a very sad story about him also. The truth which I am not certain about is the damage he did. He was an *Askari* the time we were operating. He did some operations with Special Ops...

...

Later I was assisted by a Russian comrade in training the comrades on artillery. Special Ops comrades used to form a small camp within the camp and then we would train. Barney was our Commander there.

I was once in the Eastern front in Angola fighting against the Unita bandits. There was a threat to MK camps in Eastern Angola in the Malange area and then the Commander Joe Modise took all the units to that area, including the artillery units with the Grad-Ps and mortars.

I was the last person to be taken because I was training a unit. Other Special Ops guys who were supposed to fight inside the country were dumped in a war with these bandits now...

...

The whole thing was not well organised. A lot of mistakes were taking place there. We sometimes used artillery wrongly. It was not even a military way of conducting an operation. There was chaos – that's why in the end there was a mutiny in the ANC camps. It was the result of the disorganisation and maladministration and having the wrong Commander.

But that doesn't mean I denounce the ANC. Even if I write about its mistakes, I am still a member of the ANC, I will die a member of the ANC – but at the same time when the ANC did wrong I will say it to the ANC. I think I have to say that.

Barney was not there. He came there and he took us. He didn't even know that we are there officially. And I told him what was happening before the mutiny started. I had no interest in fighting against the ANC Commanders. That's not me. What I want is to go and fight the Boers, that's all. So Barney came at the right time.

...

Tebogo and I were in the ANC jail. Seketi and Valdez were also there. There was also another guy who after 1994 was a bodyguard of Mandela, a tall guy from the Eastern Cape. He was one of my subordinates. When Barney came he could see that we are at the wrong place. He rescued us and we followed him to Caxito. And then we prepared the operation where Barney died.

We went back to Mozambique but it was the wrong time of Nkomati. T-man was in Swaziland – so we had to go there.

Rashid was also facilitating that because he used to support us in terms of monies and other things. Rashid looked for a house for us, a big group, in Swaziland. We didn't want to go to the rear, to Angola.

And some preparations were not yet properly done. Tommy Masinga (real name: Lester Dumakude) was working with T-man. So they organised a house.

But because of the rush, serious mistakes happened. There were too many ANC people in Swaziland after Nkomati. The Nkomati Accord was a thoroughly planned strategy of the regime. It was like chess. When you move a piece of chess you must know what to expect. Your opponent might not do what you expect, but you know more or less if you push this piece, that's what's likely to happen. The Boers did with the ANC. When Nkomati was signed, they knew that the ANC would start to push people into Swaziland – and they started to monitor Swaziland.

And they picked up our houses – and some of them were bombed. But because we were Special Ops, my unit started shooting in Swaziland. It was after they abducted our comrades. We said we were going to shoot the Swazis. But unfortunately the time the enemy struck at our house, using the Swazis, was different. We thought they will raid our house about five or six but they raided our house around nine. In my unit I was the only guy who was not drinking. So everything which was happening I would know. Even Barney will come to me and ask 'what happened?' I will give an account because the comrades were drinking. Sorry to say, some of them were even smoking dagga.

You must remember you are not a drunkard, you are not smoking dagga and you are with people, but I loved my guys. When we do the job, we do the job. But the day they raided our house, it was because one of our members shot at an inn or tavern. He was arrested and I'm sure he was scared to be taken to South Africa so he exposed our base and then the Boers came.

And he even exposed the plan we had. So the Swazis came to raid the house. It's me who peeped and saw these people. And we were heavily armed when they came into that house, so there was no way that we were not going to shoot the Swazis. They were in camouflage not as ordinary police. We planned on the basis that the police will come.

But now when I saw the camouflage, which meant soldiers, I told the guys we are surrounded here – but Solly started to shoot. He was a little bit *Tsotsi*-like, no one could command him, only Barney and me. He was also a dagga smoker. Anyway, now we had to fire and there was exchange of fire.

We ran out of the back of the house to the nearest bush – which we didn't know, and we found ourselves in a swamp. Not just a swamp where you can go in half of your leg up to your knee. And we discovered that there were also Boers with the Swazis and I think they were going to shell us.

We were six and when I saw that, I said guys there is mortar here, how do we manoeuvre, what do we do now? Solly had the advantage that he was the first person to shoot, and then he manoeuvred. We all followed after he was shooting. We were shooting whilst we were moving. And we took different directions, but luckily for him he didn't go to the swamp – that's why he was out of that circle.

But at the end of the day we were all arrested there.

They put us straight in prison – maximum prison. It wasn't going to be easy.

Our case went on until Tambo negotiated that we must be released. Then a certain international organisation and the Boers wanted us to be taken to Egypt. I think it was '84.

Barney was also there. They arrested him at a different place. When they arrested Barney, the car was full of guns and ammunition.

It's just unfortunate that they couldn't make Barney an overall Commander of Special Ops because at a certain time we wanted him to take over that unit. Sorry to say that, but some in that unit were not good. We questioned why these people were not fighting because they had the heat-seeking missile – but they never used it. And they went inside the country as if they'd forgotten that that's why they went in...

...

So what happens after you get released from jail in Swaziland?

We were sent to Tanzania, Barney, Faku (Velaphi Msane), Sikete, Valdez and I, as well as others. So Barney took us back again to prepare for the 1985 Sasol. So we went back to Mozambique and we stayed there underground.

Now what worries me, Sikete, Valdez and I are sitting in Mozambique. Barney and Victor are doing the reconnaissance and the preparations.

The mistake about Barney and them being killed happened there – because the guy who was reconnoitring that route was Victor (Khayiyana). So when we went inside the country there was no rain.

We carried out the operation with a part which was not there. I had a bazooka which didn't have an optical sight, but I had shells. The operation was not successful the way we wanted, but we managed to shoot and we hit the target, but you know the artillery deals with mills – and a mill is a fraction. Even one mill might mean a hundred metres difference. I'm just giving you a clue. I am not absolutely sure about that. But because you work with angles, if your calculations are not accurate, let's say you miss three mills, that means you can hit about three hundred metres away from the target. A mill is a fine fraction, less than a farthing of those days.

So if you don't have the right equipment to take the distances, to take the angles, you're going to definitely miss some targets. We carried it out because the part missing couldn't stop us. In artillery, in military, there will always be an

alternative. If you don't have this, you can use this, though it won't be accurate as when you have the part that was missing.

We were using projectiles. A projectile is bigger than a shell. The shell of a mortar is very small. We were using something like a missile. We fired six missiles. You choose the centre of the target you want to hit so that if you miss that centre, you still are close to the target and it will be destroyed anyway.

When we did our calculations we aimed at the centre of the target and we knew that it's where the reactors were and we wanted to destroy the oil refinery. We thought that when we hit those targets there will be flames and the refinery will collapse and they will have to close it down.

You can set the missiles in groups of three. The missiles can fragment. You can use a delay mechanism so that when it goes to the ground, it breaks and blasts the target. We chose that delay approach. I think two shells were meant to fragment.

But unfortunately we couldn't achieve the target the way we planned it. We destroyed around those reactors, not the reactors themselves. That's why the damage was not as decisive as we planned. After a few months they repaired those damages.

It was like having a computer but no mouse or keyboard. And you try to use your own initiative but the computer can't be as effective as if you had the mouse or keyboard.

Why was that crucial part missing? Why didn't you check before you came into the country that everything you needed was there?

Well, it was Faku, Victor and Barney who made the preparations and did the reconnaissance. And Valdez, Sikete and I were not utilised, we were just like passengers. We were angry about this. We fought with Barney. Valdez used to drink and I was doing nothing. I was an instructor and I specialised in the gun and I would pick up what parts were missing if I was involved. One of the major causes of the deaths of MK soldiers was our logistics in terms of arms and other equipment. The Ordnance guys will take guns and they put it wherever they want.

Something very painful for me was that Barney didn't have a rifle. He didn't have an LMG, a light machine gun. There is a light machine gun of the Soviet Union which was very good... Although it was new, it was an old type of machine gun which had stoppages and was jamming. Same with Solomon

Mahlangu – they were operating with Scorpions that had stoppages. The TKM is a heavy machine gun which they were supposed to give people like us.

Barney and them didn't even ask us to see the ammunition and the guns and check that everything's in order.

If Barney could have a TKM he would cause more damage than what he caused, nevertheless we never get a chance of looking at the guns.

Barney was organising funds for the operation. I don't know what Faku was doing. But these people were not artilleryists. We taught them artillery.

So you needed a specialist to check that your equipment was in order?

Yes, a specialist. They didn't know, that's what happened. They fetched the guns from Ordnance. You make a requisition to the Ordnance stores – but you have to check that you have got what you ordered.

Was Cassius Make head of Ordnance at the time?

Yes. But he was killed later.

There was a very big meeting where we raised the question that a lot of guys died because of wrong ammunition. There were no proper plans, no proper sketches of ammunition. For example, in my unit, we were going from Swaziland inside the country with our ammunition, instead of getting a sketch for a DLB (dead letter box) where we were supposed to collect the ammunition that was put there before we went in.

But there were poor DLBs, they were easy for the enemy to detect. There's a lot of people who died by going to a DLB.

So how did Barney and them get killed?

We were six – three in each car. We were driving a big Chevrolet American bakkie, not these small things of today. They were driving something smaller, I think it was a Nissan.

The Commander's car always drives in front and we were following – Valdez, Msane and myself. Msane was driving. It was early morning when we were going back after the operation. When we were at the point where we must move closer to the borders of South Africa, they missed the point and Faku couldn't remember it.

You must remember Valdez, Sikete and me – we were not part and parcel of the reconnaissance. We knew nothing. When we crossed the border we crossed it at night.

Anyway, on our return, we saw Barney's car moving, taking another direction. So I said to Faku, these people are getting lost. So we stopped them. It was towards four or five in the morning. I was talking with Barney as he was sitting, he was not the driver. I'm telling Barney this is wrong, but they didn't listen to us, they continued.

Faku's commanding us now, he says 'No, we can't follow them, they're getting lost. Let's wait for them, maybe after some time they will turn.' And that's how we got lost from them. But honestly I don't know how far they went in. It was becoming lighter, maybe about six, and if we didn't cross borders around six o'clock or seven o'clock, it would be too late.

We then met two other cars coming from the opposite direction and we didn't know whether it was the Boers and we started to get ready. We were in such a way that we would let them shoot first and then we'll know. Faku was driving in such a way that even if they did shoot we can be able to retaliate. But they didn't shoot – and we drove on.

After some time Faku said 'No, it's better we cross. Then we found a place where we cut the fence and drove through. It rained after we were inside the country so the whole terrain had changed. So we crossed the fence and we waited from that side until it was round about past eight.

In Swaziland we met a truck. It was with workers. But what we knew, the Boers could disguise and dress like they were peasants or workers. But it passed us. There was nothing. We didn't shoot.

But later we heard noise and we didn't know what was happening. We heard guns and you can just imagine what happened to the three of us at that time. These guys are not coming back and the noise was from the direction where they went. We were confused now. We didn't know what to do.

We later heard that they were dead. And then Faku went back to that area to get the final details of what happened and he told us he met some people who witnessed the attack.

We had the gun with us, the Grad-P – now we also had to dodge the Swazis. So we went to another place which we didn't know but which Faku knew,

where we left the car. Then we organised another escape car to take us deeper into Swaziland.

We then went to Mozambique and we met Joe Slovo and later Chris and OR (Tambo) to give reports on how Barney and them died. We knew those noises which we heard were about Barney and the unit fighting.

It worries me because a lot of people died, not because they were supposed to die. They died because of bad mistakes, not the normal mistakes. I know that when you fight, people sometimes die, but Barney and them were not supposed to die. Our two cars were not supposed to be separated. But serious mistakes happened which led to that.

So the way we were conducting our armed struggle was not making sense, but unfortunately at that time you sacrifice. You can't correct things in the situation.

You take for instance in that operation – I was a Bazooka man. The last day I get my Bazooka I discover that there are no optical sights. Inside the country when we check the equipment, when we check the gun, there's something they call a knob, it's what holds the sides. So those are the mistakes which are not supposed to happen because before you go, you prepare, you know what type of aiming machine you have. Before you leave you make sure that those things are there.

But we were in the situation and the things were not there or you discovered on the last day, it's so difficult to then say no, I can't go because there is no sight for this gun – because the gun can shoot without sights. But now if there are no sights, how accurate are you going to be? Those are the mistakes I'm talking about.

You don't want to go back, you want to go and fight – and if you go back then it can be misinterpreted that maybe you were scared. And you may never get another chance of fighting the Boers. Those are the fears which MK guys did have. That if you refuse a mission and then when you go back you are blacklisted, there's a lot of rumours saying the wrong things about you.

Our way of conducting struggle cost us a lot of unnecessary deaths of our people. It's so sad because today those people who died because of the mistakes of the revolution are not even recognised, let alone those who are surviving...

We were very upset about Barney and them having died. Barney was very important to us.

One thing about Barney, he was not one of those people who are always hungry for positions. If you stay with Barney, you won't feel that you are with a Commander. He was down to earth. You didn't have to bring tea for him or whatever. He was reasonable, Barney.

A big talker, he would talk about operations, he didn't want opportunists, cowards and sell-outs. He will motivate you to be a fighter. He was very brave. If you are a coward, he will motivate you out of that. If you are an opportunist, he will crush that opportunism in your mind. He was very gifted. Barney was everything.

Obadi died in Matola. But now this is my personal opinion, I might be wrong, but this is what we felt, I'm not going to be mentioning people who are not here, but Barney was supposed to be the Commander of the Special Operations. But that didn't happen, which we didn't understand. Even Barney didn't understand.

Why wasn't Barney offered the post? What's your take on this?

I will answer you because I was with Barney. Barney was not power-hungry. But I don't know when and where Barney said he doesn't want to be a Commander. I don't know who decided that, but they took a guy called (George) Douglas (real name: Chris Nungu), whom I trained with in the GDR. He was one of the Section Commanders, not my Commander. And Douglas was the Group Leader to GDR, to Europe.

Barney went inside the country for some arrangements of an operation under Obadi when the Matola attack took place. A few weeks after Obadi died, Barney and we other guys of Special Ops hear that Douglas is the Commander of the Special Operations. Now the major question for me is how come a guy from the rear is made a Commander of Special Ops? There was Barney, there was Rashid. Barney was a field operator, a Commander. He goes in and out of the country. And now you take a guy from Europe work to Command operatives.

I'm telling you Barney was not happy, not because he wanted the position, he was somebody who is logical and doesn't take shit – but now we are going to be commanded by a person who doesn't know what is happening inside the country. That was our problem, and we were talking because we thought that Barney would be the Commander. At that time Special Ops was not divided. It was after that compromise that we had differences.

But then Douglas dies. I'm sorry to say because of mistakes. He was not an operative. There was no need for him and the comrade with him to die. When Mnisi got arrested by the Boers and broke, under the instructions of the Boers, he called Douglas to the Swaziland border. So if Douglas was a real Commander, he could have picked up that this guy was under pressure wherever he was. Because he said he phoned the girlfriend of one of those auxiliaries, and said that Douglas must organise a unit to go inside the country.

All the principles of MCW (military combat work) were broken in that instruction. So the auxiliary (George Ndlovu) with George (Douglas) never analysed the context of the instruction. They drove to the place. That's when they got killed. But for me, if Douglas was an operative, he could have seen something fishy and not gone there.

Anyway, Barney was asked to focus on the artillery unit. Of course he did some other operations without the artillery. But I feel he was not given a fair chance even by JS (Joe Slovo) himself.

There were certain things which were not in place within Special Ops at that time, as a result we were two groups and then we became three. There was also a fourth but it never operated.

Others were sold out while they were still starting – the unit which was going to come from Lesotho – there were four guys, divers, who died.

There were guys who were working on a heat-seeking missile. We used to call it a strela, which finds the planes. But those people never operated. At one stage we did discuss these things as Barney's unit, not the whole unit. We needed to grow in operations. The operations needed to cover each other.

Unfortunately, Barney died before he was going to suggest to JS that we need to train our own unit members to use the strela so that when we go inside the country, we cover ourselves fully.

Barney didn't reject being the Commander of Special Ops, but he could be a Commander who wanted to be inside to carry out operations. That's why he was our Commander. We went with him. But it's above my knowledge what made Joe Slovo or Tambo to not approve Barney to be the Commander of the entire Special Ops.

Barney and Rashid were two different people in terms of delivery. Barney was inside. So you can just deduce from that when I say in terms of delivery.

Barney was like us – and could take turns for everything. There was also another Commander, Victor Khayiyana who carried out operations. He was elderly and he died with Barney. And there was Faku who is Velaphi Msane. Those were the elders of our unit.

You come and take a guy from the rear and make him a Commander of these guys – you can sense for yourself now. You take me from Eastern Cape and make me in charge of somebody in another province – that can't be. Never mind I went to school for a diploma and all that. Those are the mistakes which were carried out during our time of war with the Boers. They cost lives.

That is another big thing. When they said I must say something about Barney after he died, I refused. I didn't want to go and tell lies.

And then I said T-man must go and talk. But these people when we were in the funeral place, they wanted to force me to talk there, but it was better not to than to tell a lot of people lies and cut out the great things Barney did and how he saved people.

Because there are certain things I know about Barney. I know what he used to think. I discussed with Barney before I even joined him. He inspired me to be what I was. So now if I'm going to talk about Barney and talk shit, I mean I can't do that.

...

Gebuza (real name: Siphwe Nyanda), when he's in public, reduces Special Ops. Not that he opposes it – because he knows he can't. He reduces it almost to nothing, as if it was just an ordinary unit within MK. In fact, Special Ops was not a unit. Special Ops was supposed to be a machinery. A machinery is something bigger than a unit.

To come to Molokoane, Sekete and Khayiyana, do you know what happened in that actual skirmish between them and the security forces?

I don't think there's anyone that can tell you completely – because out of those six comrades Msane and I are the only ones still alive and we don't know everything. I was with Msane – he was the driver of the bakkie I was in.

In that unit we were in, I was the bazooka man. So that means when Barney engaged with the enemy there was no bazooka guy, which means their firepower was lower.

...

We felt that we must revive our unit within Special Ops – and Faku was made responsible. Then we decided to recruit. We were only 3 survivors from the original unit – Faku, Valdez and me. Automatically Faku was going to be the Commander. I was like a Deputy Commander – but, you know, no authority there.

Was the 1985 attack on Sasol the only operation you carried out inside the country?

Yes.

What happens to you after that?

I went to Lusaka. There was a fight over Special Ops. Joe (Modise) never liked us, he didn't want Special Ops. Special Ops was disliked because they used to say that we used to think that we are elite, we are commanded by Joe Slovo. When Barney died there was a struggle between Joe Modise and Joe Slovo... But Joe Slovo was a leader and wouldn't show his differences with Joe Modise, but we could see it...

Modise used to not like us because he said we were untouchable – we were protected by Joe Slovo. We were not reporting to Modise or to Jacob Zuma. Barney wouldn't allow that.

If there were certain things which needed asking, Barney would organise a meeting with Slovo and say, 'Joe talk to them'. Barney was so open to Slovo – and Slovo was a leader. He wouldn't penalise us if we say something to him. Slovo, if he comes with an operation, will say 'here is the operation – can you manage to do it? How you do the operation is up to you, but it must be carried out.' He will just put up some timelines.

All the information which you need he will give to you. Unlike other Commanders who will say you must do it this way and that way.

There were tensions. There was a situation when we were in Tanzania where Faku beat a comrade... He did a crash training course and then he became a member. This guy had an attitude towards us. Faku can have a high temper. I was the only one who could control him a bit.

Chris (Hani) wanted me to be the Commander of another unit on the Eastern side, not Special Ops. And then I had to link up with comrade Gina's son who was in Cape Town for almost two years. This guy was doing the underground

work there. Chris wanted me to join that comrade and expand that unit. So we made our arrangements. I chose four guys who were going to join me. We did our training.

I went to Angola to do the refresher course on mines and sabotage. But about two weeks before I could go, the guy was spotted by the police and he was killed. I think there were informers working with Chris who gave him away. Chris didn't know. I was the first person who knew that the guy died. My wife was working in the communication section of the Secretary General's office in Lusaka.

I had access to a phone so when I have to speak to my parents, my wife will call somebody at home and then when I came over I will connect and talk. So that's what I was told – that this guy died. The mother of this guy who died was Siphso Hashe's sister. His mother was also involved in the arrangements for me to leave the country. When I talk with my parents, I always ask about her. That's how I heard he was killed. When I told Chris he didn't want to believe me. He was with James Ngculu. They were shocked. They went to verify it and Chris called me later to confirm it.

...

When did you come back?

'92. I didn't repatriate. My wife bought a ticket for me...

Late '92, my wife sent me money to buy a ticket. I bought it but made all the other arrangements through the ANC...

But I got arrested in the airport in Johannesburg...

I was wearing a Bermuda under my long pants, a T-shirt under the shirt and a jacket. So when I got a chance, I slipped out... Fortunately, they never handcuffed me. I ran into the toilet – but it was for ladies. I locked myself in a cubicle, took off all my top clothes and left. These Boers start screaming now – but they couldn't recognise me because they were not looking for a guy who's wearing a Bermuda and a T-shirt.

In PE my wife already organised lawyers. There, Special Branch was already waiting for me. The same guys who had detained me before I left were still there – Roelof, Hattingh, Niewoudt and others. But luckily the lawyers intervened. So, the Boers couldn't arrest me.

I didn't sleep at home. I stayed with the neighbour... I never slept at home for a week. My wife's place was in East London so I went to stay in an Indian township there.

I was working at a supermarket owned by an Indian guy. You must remember I was struggling at that time. My parents couldn't support me and my wife is a South African Indian. My wife's side had issues. You must think of an Indian and an African together in those days... There were some dynamics there.

The Indian family gave me a job to manage a supermarket in a rural place – there were a lot of old Black people there so I could work better there. For me it was a hiding place. No one knew where I was until I integrated into the army in 1994.

Before I integrated, I went to work as a media distribution officer for the ANC Elections Committee in East London. But when the elections were won, I was forgotten. I was without a job... So, I went into the army...

To turn to broader issues about Special Ops. What did you understand its specific role to be?

Special Ops, as we were told by Joe Slovo and Barney, were supposed to be carrying out economic targets which would hit the enemy beyond repair. We were supposed to carry out operations which were coordinated with the speeches of OR (Tambo). We were required to carry out big operations which would have a huge impact that no other unit can touch. We were supposed to carry out decisive operations.

Of the Special Ops operations that were carried out, which one or two do you think stand out as the best and why?

It's Koeberg and Voortrekkerhoogte, even if it never achieved the damage we wanted. But the Boers never expected we would hit Voortrekkerhoogte and that our guys could move out without being killed.

Why Koeberg?

Koeberg was at the centre of the Boers' projects; it was nuclear. They never thought that we could attack it. Earlier Siphwe Nyanda and the G5 were hitting police stations and they took the Boers by surprise, but that was not as big as Sasol, Voortrekkerhoogte and Koeberg.

And Voortrekkerhoogte?

We made some mistakes. With Voortrekkerhoogte, I said we were prepared, I was taken to the Soviet Union, but I don't know what was the hurry for them to go and carry out that operation because there were two people in that operation who had knowledge of the Grad-P. But I was supposed to be in that operation as I had been specially trained for it.

...

What I heard from Barney when we asked, is that Johannes Mnisi was not doing the artillery.

When the shell moves, it's like a supersonic plane. The noise is not like an AK. When the first shot was fired some guy with them who was not part of the unit ran away with the vehicle. That's why they even left the gun there...

If I train you on a Grad-P, I then take you to shoot to let you feel how it is to do that and hear the noise of the gun. And how the gun is going to jerk. Then you'll be able to handle it. I know some people who throw the gun away because they don't know how to handle it.

I was not happy for us to be staying; it's boring to stay underground and people are doing things for you. At the end of the day you know that these people might not know certain things. When you are in the scene these things don't happen.

Before we were given the Grad-P, it was given to one of the other units. But they said it's too big to take into the country. They were scared but Barney proved to them that that was nonsense.

...

There were a lot of comrades who were sent inside the country but didn't bring back the change from the expenses or because they were dressed maybe smarter. But if you're a Commander sitting in Maputo, you won't understand why when I go inside the country I buy something fashionable. That shouldn't even concern you, your concern should be: was the operation done? If you think the guys are lying, then you must go inside the country to do it yourself and see the situation, why the person didn't do what you wanted. Barney raised these issues. He was very transparent, he was not with secrets.

Everybody will tell you that if Major is going to the front and if Barney is gone too, they were expecting a big operation in a few months.

...

In 1985 you're an activist. When Winnie Mandela was saying that we are going to liberate our country through matchboxes that was an insult. Do you know what was the message behind that? I argued with the Commissars and with Chris and said we cannot be laughing at this, as a military wing, when our people say that they are going to liberate themselves with a necklace. It tells you that they don't have the faith in MK, MK is not there.

That heat-seeking missile – if the guys had hit the C30, it was going to shake the Boers. They were going to see our strength.

We also had divers in Special Ops, Clifford Brown and them. They were going to attack oil ships in the Durban harbour by putting limpets underneath. The enemy never thought that we could do that. They were going to be shocked and the struggle was going to grow. Just imagine these three types of operations.

Do you know why the Special Ops people died? Because the Special Ops guys carry out an operation and they go back to Angola, then wait for another operation. That was not according to underground fighting. If you are an underground fighter, you go inside the country, create a base and you fight – but not immediately after an operation. That's what caused Barney to be killed.

You don't go out of the country immediately after an operation. The enemy understands your tactics, that you hit and go back after the operation so they go and put roadblocks or monitor you and confront you.

They know you go via Swaziland and then you go to Mozambique. An *impimpi* (informer) would tell them your route.

Okay. Can you say a bit more about the 1980 Sasol operation?

It was fantastic. You must remember the SADF was invading all the neighbouring countries. They were using a lot of oil for their fuel. For us to destroy the oil refineries was also to hit their strength because the army works with oil.

If you look at where the ANC and country are now and knew how things would turn out, would you still have done what you did with the possibility that you could end up in jail or even get killed?

Yes, I would.

Why?

Because although I'm disappointed about my people now at this stage, when I left the country – I think that is what Solomon Mahlangu also thought of – I knew that our people will never sell us out. I knew that people would not be so passive and would revolt against what is not delivered to them. And when we came inside the country our people helped us. The crucial success of the operations led by Barney was because of him, and because he used his own people inside, maybe a friend or an uncle, not people who were trained in Angola. The same thing with Mnisi and Vicks – they were using people from Mamelodi.

We knew our people supported us and will defend the struggle. I was once lucky to be lectured by people who talked about the armed insurrection. That's why I become so touched when it comes to the operations which are not being executed – our people were ready.

The point is that we had faith in our people. I used to say that our people are so brave, they are confronting the Boers. We needed to do more as MK. But the people – they were there, they were in action.