

- J.F. just it's just funny - O.K. - maybe what I'd just like to ask you to summarise is, how do you envision the struggle evolving in the future - what kind of future do you see for this country, and do you see a role for whites in the future of South Africa?
- B.N. (8) Oh, yes - well, (I don't think any of the population groups can be excluded from the solution to South Africa's problems, including the whites, and whites are going to play a very important role in that solution because they are the more advanced, technically and otherwise, and they'd be required to actually help build a new South Africa, and they'll be playing a very important role, including the Afrikaners,) (so it would be ridiculous for anyone in his right senses to suggest that you can simply wish away any population group.)
- (After all, all of them have made contributions to the building of South Africa. The only problem that we're faced with is the racial divisions and the fact that the means of production are owned by, not by the whites as such.)
- The means of production are actually owned by (a very small group of monopolies.) Just to give you an example is seven - six companies - (six monopolies own 74% of the total share capital in the country today, so to suggest therefore ^{that} whites are all bourgeois and that they own the means of production, the land and so on, is a lot of rubbish,) you see.
- So, (in any solution, you have to actually destroy those monopolies and exploiters who are) co-responsible for - were (responsible for) the (oppression and exploitation) of all, and (now the whites,) on the other hand, (no doubt enjoy benefits) from - /by virtue of the fact that *it defend the present system, they defend the status quo, enjoy benefits (far superior to that of the blacks,) /and had. *they
- (So it is (this shift) that (has to take place on the part of the whites,) but in any future solution whites could not be excluded, in the same way as any other group being excluded, (but it's essential to add) but ^{that} the liberators, the (true liberators) of, including the whites, Indians and any other minority, (are going to be the Africans. They're going to play the key role in liberating us all.) → to p. 2
- J.F. As opposed to the Indians or anyone else.
- B.N. Even the Indians and including the whites are talking about liberating us from the yoke of oppression and exploitation. They're going to be the kingpins in that they're going to be the force by virtue of their numbers alone.
- J.F. Not by virtue of being workers but you're just talking about the majority?
- B.N. Ja, well, workers included. Workers are going to play a vital part in the....
- J.F. No, I'm just interested that you didn't say that the true liberators are the - going to be the workers - then you said Africans.
- B.N. The African people as such - well, you do not have a peasantry in - you have a worker-peasantry : Correction : You have a worker-peasant today who could be classified as a worker.

- B.N. (8) from p 1 → The worker, or rather (the dependants of the workers, together with the workers themselves, constitute the linchpin of the African people.) (Dando)
- J.F. Just let me ask you this...
- B.N. Now the challenge that the workers face in the setup as a class force, is to actually lead that struggle and...
- J.F. O.K. - do you feel, comparing now to '60/'61, that the difficult decision and the inevitability of going into armed struggle that you felt then, do you feel any more or less hopeful that the solution won't be a one of more, or do you feel that, looking at the situation now, that, as you felt in 1960, with the banning of the organisations, that ultimately it'll mean bloodshed, or do you feel in any way more hopeful about avoiding any blood...
- B.N. Well, we would like to avoid bloodshed. I don't think the liberation movement actually, if it had a choice at all, would opt for bloodshed or the armed struggle. It had no choice, so this is the problem that the movement is confronted with increasingly.
- You take even some of its affiliates or individuals in the UDF, are increasingly coming round. You take our patron, Bishop Tutu. He's also now seeing no hope for a peaceful solution to South Africa.
- In fact, the ruling class has no plans, no - in fact, it has no solutions at all, so what it's prepared to do is to resort to force in order to maintain the status quo.
- What it does, willy nilly, is to invite the opposite number to also resort, as a defensive measure, to resort to force as well, so in the - you see, there are no radical shifts on the part of the Nationalist Government towards solving problems except through maintenance of apartheid, maintenance of the status quo, through force, so it's prepared to continue with the suppression and so on.
- What I foresee is, unless there's a radical shift on the part of the ruling class, you are going to inevitably meet with a violent confrontation - you're going to end up with a violent confrontation between the forces that actually may want to maintain the status quo as apartheid, and those opposing it.
- J.F. It's a terrible question to ask, but do you ever think about whether you'll see freedom in your lifetime - is that something you think about or try to predict?
- B.N. Well, I'm convinced more than ever that we're on the right track, you see, that freedom will come in my lifetime, for sure.
- J.F. And have you been harassed or detained since coming out in...
- B.N. Yes, I was detained, that is within six months - in fact, I took part in the anti-election campaign last year, so then detained in August, then we were freed through court action, we had to seek refuge in the British Consulate because I was one of those, and from August to December - rather from September to December we sought refuge in the Consulate but....

- J.F. But since then you've been free - you haven't been...
- B.N. Free, yes. I'm convinced that it's going to be - it's tentative (Laugh) - that is, I can be picked up at any time.
- J.F. And how did...
- B.N. How did?
- J.F. How did your wife feel about all this - she...
- B.N. *from p. 3*
 (Well, she's somewhat got used to) ^(it) this ^(it's been like this) (because) ever since we met, she's been - (I was detained during the Emergency and subsequently spent twenty years in prison. I was locked up several times while we were courting and) that, (during the strikes and so on, so I was in and out of prison on several occasions, so she's reconciled herself to the inevitable, that) at any time (I could be picked up at any time.) ^{3 ends}
- My colleague, ^{Curnick} Hanek (083) Ndlovu was just picked up two weeks ago, so he's in prison, so it's very difficult to say, but one has to be prepared. I know that if I do go in now, I may not come out alive.
- It's very difficult to predict, you see, because they torture and so on, although I've not taken part in activities that I feel convinced would land me in jail, but still, even the most peaceful and non violent methods today are held to be treasonable.
- J.F. Do you have any children?
- B.N. I have a daughter overseas. She's thirty years of age now.
- J.F. Did she leave?
- B.N. Ja.
- J.F. And was ^{Curnick} your closest friend in prison, or could you say that you had lots of other people?
- B.N. Oh, a lot of other people. In fact, ^{Curnick} was in a different section. I was with Nelson Mandela - the (.....) (099) /and so on. /group. For some reason or the other they put us together, thinking that we were ringleaders or something of the sort, but otherwise the truth is all were leaders there, and you found ^{Curnick} Kernik Ndlovu and others who were as much leaders as Nelson Mandela and so on.
- J.F. O.K., I could go on and on but I won't...
- B.N. No, go ahead.

END OF INTERVIEW.