THE 10-POINT PROGRAMME

1. The Franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils

2. Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.

3. Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.


5. Freedom of movement and occupation.

6. Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.

7. Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.

8. Revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above.

9. Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.

10. Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

EXPLANATORY REMARKS ON THE PROGRAMME

Point II. This means the end of all political tutelage, of all communal or indirect representation, and the granting to all Non-Europeans of the same, universal, equal, direct and secret ballot as at present enjoyed by Europeans exclusively.

II. This means the extension of all the educational rights at present enjoyed by European children, to all Non-European children, with the same access to higher education on equal terms.

III. This is the elementary habeas corpus right. The present state of helplessness of the Non-European before the police is an outrage of the principles of democracy. No man should be molested by the police, nor should be house be entered without a writ from the Magistrate. The same right to inviolability and privacy at present enjoyed by the Europeans should apply to all Non-Europeans. All rule by regulations should be abolished.

IV. This point hardly needs explanation. It is the abolition of the Riotous Assemblies Act, directed specifically against the Non-European. It embodies the right to combine, to form and enter Trade Unions on the same basis as the Europeans.

V. This means the abolition of all Pass Laws and restriction of movement and travel within the Union, the right to live, to look for work, wherever one pleases. It means the same right to take up a profession or trade as enjoyed by the Europeans.

VI. This means the abolition of all discriminatory Colour Bar Laws.

VII. The relations of servitude at present existing on the land must go, together with the land acts, together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population, living on the land and working the land, is the first task of a democratic State and Parliament.

(Continued on back cover.)
VIII. This means the abolition of feudal relations in the whole system of justice -- police, magistrates and law-courts and prisons -- whereby the punishment for the same crime is not the same, but is based upon the skin colour of the offender. There must be complete equality of all citizens before the law, and the abolition of all punishment incompatible with human dignity.

IX. This means the abolition of the Poll Tax, or any other tax applicable specifically to the Non-European, or discriminating between Europeans and Non-Europeans. There should be one, single, progressive tax, and all indirect taxation that falls so heavily upon the poorer classes should be abolished.

X. This means specifically the revision of the Industrial Conciliator and Wage Acts, the elimination of all restrictions and distinctions between a European and a Non-European worker, equal pay for equal work, equal access to Apprenticeship and skilled labour. This means the liquidation of indentured labour and forcible recruitment, the full application of Factory Legislation to the mines and on the land. It means the abolition of the Masters and Servants Act and the establishment of complete equality between the seller and buyer of labour. It also means the abolition of payment in kind, and the fixing of a minimum wage for all labourers without distinction of race or colour.

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Delivered by Dr. G.H. Gool (Chairman National Anti-C.A.D.; Vice-President N.E.U.M.) at the Conference of the All-African Convention, Queenstown - 16th December, 1953.

It was a great honour to receive an invitation from the Executive of the All-African Convention to lead a discussion on the Ten-Point Programme, which is the very basis of the National Movement.

I shall divide my introduction into four sections. The first will deal with the nature of the society formed by the ruling-classes of South Africa after Union in 1910 and the ideas they propagated amongst the members of this society, with particular emphasis on the Master-Race theory which constituted the very corner-stone of their creed. Then we can profitable discuss the effect of this creed on the Non-European groups, especially on those layers that were in the official leadership, and the extent to which it has stultified them.

Thirdly, the rejection of this false creed by the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.); the rejection of inferiority and the next logical step, the demand for full equality on the basis of the 10-Point Programme. And lastly I shall deal with the 10-Point Programme in action since 1944.

The Ideas of Society are the Ideas of the Dominant Group.

It is a known fact that the ideas prevailing in any given society are the ideas of the dominant group. The control of this group of all-channels, for the dissemination of their ideas, is a necessary and indispensable prerequisite for their very existence. The particular ideas that must flow through the social system must be of such a nature that their impact on the minds of the members of society must produce results that must ensure the position of the dominant group and its continued rule.

In South African society, according to its most dynamic apostle, the late General Smuts, its life-span must be another 300 years, a pronouncement made before the van Riebeeck Tercentenary Celebration in 1952. It was a conviction of his youth and a conviction that he constantly believed in, and acted upon, even in his old age, and one that was buried with him. Whether history would dispute his prophetistic claim is another question. What is of interest is the intransigent nature of his claim and the fact that his whole life was purposefully devoted to that end.

But as humble students of South African history we know that the real builders of the present South African nation were Rhodes, Sir George Grey and later Milner and his colleagues. To Milner, the representative of the new social order at the turn of the century, both the Trek-Boer Republics of Transvaal and the C.F.S., as well as the tribal economy of the Africans, were anachronisms and therefore South African society presented itself to him as one of chaos. Among the Milner Papers there is a letter written to Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, 25th March, 1899, at the beginning of the British-Boer War. It contains the following statement:

"The ultimate aim is a self-governing community, supported by well-treated and justly governed black labour from Cape Town to Zambesi ......."

The creation of a white bloc was implicit in this statement. The Selbourne Memorandum (1905) officially rounded off this formulation when it stressed the White United Front as against the "menace of the blacks."

In the same letter we read:

"A considerable amount of freedom should be left to the several 'states' with regard to native policy". (our italics)
In the first place, what were the particular "states" that Milner referred to? They were the Trek-Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the O.F.S.

Secondly, what particular "freedom" was to be left to these "states in regard to "native policy"? Every member, White and Black, is aware of the policy pursued in these so-called "states" - the policy of No Equality in State or Church. The Volkraad of these "states" was adamant on this point.

The very fact that in 1894 the British Colony of Natal had deprived the Indian settlers of the right of Parliamentary Representation and had passed special laws dealing with the African people in Natal, demonstrates this policy. These laws deprived the Africans of representation in the Natal Legislative Council and made them fall outside common law. Even in the so-called Liberal Cape Colony, millions of Africans living on a land-tenure basis, and not owning land, were deprived of representation in the Cape Parliament. (1884)

"The considerable amount of freedom of the various states" that Milner referred to in his letter, meant that, once the Boers were beaten and rehabilitated by means of loans and paying the victim reparations, which was an unprecedented post-war settlement, the old master-servant relationship of the Trek-Boer Republics would be carried over into Union, and this is precisely what occurred. The Trek-Boer doctrine of No Equality in State and Church was continued into the present society of South Africa. The British policy of Boer-rehabilitation, a genuine case of rehabilitation, was not acted upon by humanitarian or altruistic motives, but determined solely by ECONOMIC NECESSITY. Clause 2 of the Treaty of Vereeniging reads:

"The question of the Franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of SELF GOVERNMENT...... for WHITES ONLY! The Trek-Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the O.F.S. in 1906 and 1907 respectively were given the right to continue with their old Slave-policies and were declared independent political entities.

We have referred to the loss of citizen-rights of the Africans in Natal and of the Indians in 1884 and 1894 respectively. The few remaining rights of the Africans, Indians and Coloureds in the Cape Colony, and direct representation, were matters that engaged much of the discussion of the National Convention prior to 1910. All parties agreed unanimously that a member of the future Union Parliament should be

"A person of European descent who has acquired Union nationality whether by (1) birth or (2) domicile as a British subject and (3) by naturalisation." The erroneous idea fostered in many quarters that only the present Nationalist government was introducing a Fascist police-state through the law-courts, is a fallacy. The Nationalist Party is merely doing what the various British Parties had done so well over a period of 100 years. And that is why we have from the very beginning of the movement maintained the consistent line of "a plague on both your houses!" The only conclusions are that the dominant groups in the Cape Colony and Natal (British controlled areas) and in the Transvaal and the O.F.S. (Boer controlled areas) were agreed on the exclusion of all Non-Europeans, African, Coloured and Indian, from the State Councils.

Herrenvolk Creed: White Supremacy.

To maintain their dominant position, a creed based on the superiority of the white races was indispensable. On the basis of this creed, the exclusion from both State and Church of the Non-European peoples, was justified in their eyes and in the eyes of their God. It is not surprising to find that Prime Minister, pressman, priest and even physician, who have been fed and nourished on this creed, propagate it continually.

An extract/
An extract from a letter from the Prime Minister's office reads:
"You will realise, I think, that it is self-contradictory to claim as an inherent right of the Bantu, who differ in many ways from the Europeans, that they should be regarded as not different, especially when it is borne in mind that these differences are permanent and not man-made." (Cape Times, 30.1.52)

And again, a speech he delivered at Stellenbosch was merely a repetition of the above in more voluminous tones.

The recent sessions of both English and Dutch ayndms emphasised the superiority of the White races, by reference to the Bible, — indeed a case of the devil quoting scriptures! Words fail to give expression to such diabolical hypocrisy. We are familiar, also, with the daily outpourings of the herrenvolk press with its stress on White Supremacy, Baas-Kap, the Western Way of Life, preserving White Civilization, ad nauseam. We hear them even from a physician, a member of the most noble calling of the art of healing. A chief medical inspector of schools, Dr. J.C. Coetzee, in presenting a memorandum in 1850 to the Commission of Enquiry on School Feeding for the Africans, writes:
"The mental make-up of the Native did not allow him to use up unnecessary energy, and at nights he went to bed early and after adequate sleep was quite fit again and therefore school-feeding for Natives was not necessary." (Natal Mercury 12.2.52.)
I make no comments.

You will see now the extent to which the ideas of the dominant group have penetrated through every layer of White Society, from Prime Minister, to pressman, physician, pedagogue. It has penetrated like a cancer through the whole body politic of White society. If it had stopped with them we would have been happy, but it has also penetrated through the whole body politic of the Non-European people. Before coming to this I want to bring out two major points in my thesis: that consistently both British and Boer rulers acted on the necessity to strip the Non-Whites of every vestige of political rights, and this is precisely because the lower your political position is, the greater is the degree of exploitation you undergo. The partnership that Boer and British entered into after Union (1910) merely strengthened the position of the whites as against the Blacks. The vestige of political rights held by the Non-Europeans in the Cape was an anomaly which both felt must be removed so as to have a uniform Union policy. A joint session of bothin 1936 agreed to remove the African male vote from the colour roll. And now the Coloured and Indians in the Cape Province have hanging over their heads the sword of Damocles, the Separation of Voters Act. The consistent attacks that both ruling races have made over a hundred years against the political status of the Non-European people have meaning only when we realise that the lower the oppressed are forced, from the point of view of citizenship rights, the more they are exploited. Take as a single striking example the 350,000 landless African workers drawn from the Union, the Protectorates, the Rhodesias and Portuguese East Africa and now working on the Rand Gold Mines. In all these countries they had no rights as citizens; but the super-profits per year on the mines amount to hundreds of millions of pounds. This is a point I cannot sufficiently emphasise. Later I shall give you a few examples in support of this.

The Acceptance of Inferiority

Our second point of discussion is that there is an overflow of the ideas of the Herrenvolk among the Non-Europeans. You will remember that in 1941 the African National Congress left the All-African Convention and from that time the road it has taken has been the road of the Wilderness; it accepted inferior representation and dummy councils, the N.R.C. and Advisory Boards. It became the happy hunting-ground for the avowed quislings of the ex-N.R.C., for black agents of the liberals, the old white leader-goats (the Moltenoes and Ballingers) and for the neo-liberals, the young white leader-goats.
leader-goats, the Sam Kahn, Bunting clique. And very likely it will open its doors to the new teacher quisling class created under the Bantu Education Act. The African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress are organisations of the people, not quisling organisations, but they have opened their doors to quislings who accept political inferiority. Let me repeat, the S.A.I.C and the A.N.C. are organisations of the people, but they have opened their doors to the quislings. All of them are united in their opposition to the Non-European Unity Movement. This is not accidental; the ideas of the Herrenvolk have penetrated into this section of the Non-Europeans.

In this connection consider the standpoint of the Natal Indian Congress. I quote from the Memorandum on Civic Status, 25th Sept. 1944:

"Finally we would record our continued agreement with and our adherence to the views laid down by the late Mr. Gokhale (and Ghandi) in 1912, in the following terms:

'There is no doubt that the European element must continue to predominate in this land - that it must be made to feel that its position and its special civilisation were absolutely secure; the government of the country must be in accordance with Western traditions and modes of thought.'"

And again, from the same memorandum:

"In order to implement the accepted principle that Indians are an integral part of South African Society, certain conditions must be fulfilled. These conditions are:

1. The fear of the Europeans must be allayed. In other words, means of representation must be devised by which Europeans' political supremacy will not be jeopardised.
2. The form the franchise must take must be consonant with adequate citizenship of Indians."

And again:

"Our proposal is ....... Adult franchise on the common roll with European for Indian men and women having:

a. Educational qualifications approximating standard vi. This can be ascertained by the ability of the applicant to fill in a form.

b. An economic standard to be determined by an annual income of not less than £150 per annum.

"It will be observed that whereas the Indians did enjoy the franchise on the Common Roll the qualifications were at much lower than what is now being suggested. We are of the opinion that the safeguards suggested here are a reasonable concession to European fears. The suggestion, if anything, is all too generous."

The Battle Of The Franchise.

The battle for the franchise is for us a Life and Death Struggle. That is why, in the 10-Point Programme, the demand for the franchise is at the top of all the demands.

I have brought you two charts to show you the significance of this battle for the franchise. They speak more strongly than words.

| Total Rural Land Area in South Africa | 140,935,000 morgen |
| Rural White Owners | 700,000 own |
| African Rural Pop. | 6,500,000 occupy |

You see now why we stress the importance for this franchise.
Let me give you another example from the medical point of view:

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Life Span (Life Expectancy)</th>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>62 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>under 30 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28</td>
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</tbody>
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It is literally a life and death struggle, the struggle for the franchise on the basis of the 10-Point Programme.

We can now understand what is involved in collaboration. If you collaborate it means you are going to work the inferior institutions and the position of the people is going to deteriorate. Collaboration means widening this gap between the citizen and the non-citizen, between the life-expectancy of those who have the franchise and those who are deprived of it. Non-collaboration on the other hand means that we are going to narrow this gap. It is a question of the first law of nature, self-preservation.

The corner-stone of the Unity structure is, then, the Battle for the Franchise.

We Begin to Build

In the latter part of 1943 the All-African Convention issued a very important manifesto, "A Call To Unity", addressed to all Non-Europeans: Africans, Coloureds and Indians in the Union and the Protectorates. It invited to Bloemfontein the two minority groups, Coloured and Indian, as guests of the All-African Convention Conference and asked them to participate in a Unity Conference.

The Manifesto reads:

"The African people have followed with great interest the swift and magnificent campaign against the latest government assault on your political rights. The Anti-CAD Movement, in our opinion, has become a formidable organisation, representative of the Coloured people. We recognise, however, that to isolate the struggles of the various organisations of the Non-European sections and keep them in separate compartments is to waste and dissipate our efforts. My executive has come to the conclusion that the time has arrived for all the Non-European races in South Africa to seek to establish cooperation in their struggle for full democratic rights."

At the Conference of the S.A.I.C (South African Indian Congress) June, 1943, the following notice of motion was given on the question of unity:

"That this Conference, of the S.A.I.C. resolves that the time has arrived for this conference and its affiliated bodies as representing the Indian community of South Africa, to cooperate on such specific questions as the Executive of the S.A.I.C., or its affiliated bodies may deem fit and proper with representative Non-European organisations with the object of safeguarding and promoting political, economical and educational interests of the Non-European peoples of South Africa."

I shall not discuss the ambiguous nature of this resolution. But it was precisely against this unity merely on "specific questions" that the N.E.U.M. set its face.

Two previous
Two previous attempts had been made to unite the Non-European people, viz. the Non-European Conferences of 1927 - 1930 and the Non-European United Front of 1939. I shall not go into the reasons for the failure of these attempts. However, to avoid another abortive effort, before the Unity Conference at Bloemfontein, 1943, it was emphasised that certain immediate obstacles must be removed. First of all, that the three groups, African, Coloured and Indian, must come together to the Unity Conference with a genuine and sincere determination to effect Real Unity. If each group came with all its old prejudices, suspicions and doubts, and if each one would be watching to see if it was being used merely as a stepping stone by the others, then the plans for unity would break down, as all previous attempts had done. On the other hand, if there was a realisation and understanding that no effective unity could be built if any group attempted to dominate the other, to manoeuvre for position and publicity, to make political capital or even to attempt to force the pace, then and then only would we be able to face the grave tasks that lie ahead. Secondly, we must realise that the open enemy, the Herrenvolk of all parties, will do everything in their power, through their many channels, to discredit the movement; and more especially they will seek to sow distrust and hatred among the three sections of the oppressed. For this purpose they will use the various agencies that they have planted in our midst, viz. the C.A.C. and the N.R.C., and failing these, they will use the people's organisations to create an atmosphere of distrust amongst us. Knowing the source of such propaganda, we must stand firm in face of the powerful forces ranged against us.

Thus were we forewarned and forearmed and in this mood we assembled at Bloemfontein in December 1943. We were fully conscious of the step we were taking and the many obstacles that presented themselves, when we gave the real nation the 10-Point Programme. These ten points, with their explanatory notes, should be known to every delegate here, so I shall not repeat them now. Our emphasis is on the first point, the Franchise. It is not accidental that we place the demand for the franchise in the forefront. As I said, it is precisely because of the lack of the franchise that we are a landless, rootless people, deprived of the main source of our livelihood, cattle and sheep; it is because of the lack of the franchise that our children are denied sound education; it is because of the lack of the franchise that we have no freedom of speech and press, of meetings and assemblies, no freedom of movement and occupation; it is because of the lack of the franchise that our private lives are being continually violated by raids and expulsions from our homes.

The 'Ten Point Programme In Action

The 10-Point Programme was never considered as ten points to be put on paper and then shelved and left to gather dust and moths. It followed logically from the long history of defeats and setbacks and therefore led logically to a particular line of action. In the past the leadership had never conceived of the struggle as based on principles. How could they, when their minds were still under the influence of the liberals? In 1943-44 the major section of the oppressed, the Africans, came out with the Clarion Call and the New Road of Struggle. In 1943, a section of the oppressed, the Coloureds, for the first time in South Africa, successfully applied the boycott weapon against the Coloured Advisory Council (C.A.C.) and the Coloured Affairs Department (C.A.D.). Logically the two streams were moving in the same direction because of the indivisibility of oppression. It was necessary to meet and discuss methods of unity since both were faced with the same enemy. Out of this meeting was born a national organisation and the 10-Point Programme was presented to the nation. If unity meant anything it had to be built in action.
The first acid test of this new found unity organisation came in 1944 when the African people in the Cape were faced with the most vicious and racialistic propaganda of the Herrenvolk, who raised the cry that the coming of large numbers of Africans into the Cape meant the taking of the bread out of the mouths of the Coloured people. In Parliament, the Minister of Native Affairs, Major Piet van der Byl, spoke in this vein:

"The influx of Natives is rapidly creating a dangerous situation."

And again:

"The Natives are undermining the chances of the Coloured man of obtaining employment."

To this Strydom added:

"Coloured and Natives are mixing on a large scale. If nothing is done, the end of White civilisation in Africa is near."

Then the press enlarged on the "hordes of Blacks" coming in from the country and on the threatened "dumb of civilisation", etc. The C.A.C. men took the matter up in their yellow press and carried on in the manner of their masters. But the Anti-C.A.D. and the All-African Convention Committee (W.P.) successfully defeated these attempts to stir up the pogrom spirit amongst the Non-Europeans. The Maitland Civic Association (White) had issued a letter to all Coloured Civic and Ratepayers' Associations calling them to a meeting in the Maitland Town Hall to draw attention to the "menace of the black hordes" that were sweeping into the Peninsula. These organisations, however, had affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D. and the ideas of the New Road had influenced their leadership, so that, in spite of the fact that the Mayor of Cape Town, (Mr. Nymann) was in the chair, together with members of the City Council and the Native Affairs Department, the Coloured delegates refused to accept the standpoint of the so-called menace of the Africans flocking into the towns. It was the rulers themselves (they said) who were creating the conditions of landlessness that were driving the Africans into the towns; it was they who were running the bembela trains.

A head-on collision between the two sections of the Non-Europeans was prevented by this demonstration of Unity in action.

Campaign of Unity Against the Pass Laws, 1945.

In 1945 the Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.) through its Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee for the first time went into action on the basis of the 10-Point Programme. We rejected in toto the proposed Pass Laws in the Cape and upheld the right of every worker, no matter of what race, to sell his labour to the highest bidder on a free market and without restriction of movement. Practically all organisations attended the Conference of the local Unity Committee on the 30th Sept., 1945 and we felt that there could not possibly be any opposition to our stand, i.e. the complete rejection of the Pass Laws. But the members of the Advisory Boards, the officials of the A.N.C. (Cape), together with the old Liberals (Maltenc and Ballinger) and the new Liberals (Sam Kahn and Bunting) refused to co-operate in this united front. It could not have been otherwise, because the Advisory Board members and the A.N.C. officials were still under the influence of the liberals, old and new, and still accepted inferiority. This was clearly shown when they supported the Balsillie amendment to the Pass Laws in the Cape, which did not in any way fundamentally change the original Pass Law proposals. Not only that, but they employed hoodlums to wreck the meeting of the Unity Committee in Lange and used physical violence against members of the Committee. These same disgraceful tactics were subsequently employed against us in Johannesburg and Natal. It was brought home forcibly to the N.E.U.M. that there was still a tremendous amount of spade work to be done within the organisations of the people in order to counteract the poison of the Herrenvolk ideas of Inferiority.

The Boycott Campaigns /
The Boycott Campaigns of the All-African Convention (W.P.)

We were to meet with opposition from the same sources when the A.A.C. (W.P.) conducted the boycott campaigns against the elections held under the Native Representation Act. However, we are pleased to record that fewer and fewer African male voters are going to the polls. It is noteworthy that in the recent elections, May 1954, only 34% of the African electorate "voted". The ideals of Unity are slowly but surely gaining ground.


During this tour we saw racism raising its ugly head. Pamphlets signed by one, G.S. Bhengu, were widely distributed among the African people with a view to stirring up the pogrom spirit between African and Indian on a scale far bigger than the 1949 race riots in Durban and elsewhere. We were shocked to find that both the African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress failed to see the deadly danger ahead. How could they? How can racialists fight racism? They could not see it even when it was happening right under their noses. The N.E.U.M. immediately took the matter in hand and issued a statement warning the people of this menace of racism. Leaflets were distributed far and wide in English and Zulu, and we were able, even in the short time we were in Natal, to see the fruits of our work.

Boycott of the Festival of Hate : Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Celebrations, 1952.

The greatest triumph, so far, of the Non-European Unity Movement was when we conducted the boycott campaign of the Herenvolk Festival of Hate. We took up the challenge of the Herenvolk who proclaimed that they were going to "build a nation" and that this "nation" was going to live for another 300 years. On the next page is a picture of the grand float, "We build a Nation", passing the empty stand set aside for the Non-Europeans. It speaks for itself.

It is thus, step by step, in the day-to-day struggle, that we are demonstrating that Unity can be built only in action, through persistent and untiring work. More and more the idea of Unity are spreading amongst the people. But the need for resolve and active workers is ever increasing. Much work still lies ahead of us. For it is on us, the Oppressed, on whom the great task falls - the task of Building the Real South African Nation.

"We have got to build the Nation."
"We have got to build the Unity of the Nation."
"We have got to put the Quislings beyond the pale of the Nation."
"We have got to mobilise every capable man and woman into active local organisations."
"We have got to bring the organised workers, the trade unions, into the national organisations."
"We have got to co-ordinate the work of town and country."
"Let us not forget that battles are fought and will be fought, over this or that position, over this or that bill, but a war is fought over big issues. And the big issues for which we are fighting are contained in the Ten-Point Programme."

(from: A Declaration To The People of South Africa.)