

Those who will not qualify for the vote will in the main belong to the following categories:—

- (1) Those who have not been able to establish the necessary statutory qualifications. (Note that the non-European applicant will enjoy special exemptions until such time as it is judged that his opportunity of acquiring the necessary educational and wealth qualifications is comparable to that of the European.)
- (2) Those immigrants (of all races) who have not spent the necessary statutory period in the territory.
- (3) Those who are under age.
- (4) Those who refuse to take the citizenship oath of allegiance.
- (5) Those who have lost their vote through betrayal of the oath of allegiance.
- (6) Those who are criminals, lunatics, etc.

QUESTION E7.

Does not the Society in preparing its Citizenship Bills interfere with the prerogatives of constitutional government?

ANSWER:

No. Civilised men of all races are entitled to share in the responsibilities and privileges of their country's government. The Society is resolved to achieve this ideal in each territory of Capricorn Africa by arousing an irresistible weight of multi-racial public opinion within Africa and by invoking favourable public opinion throughout the Western world.

The Society maintains that its Citizenship Bills will be legislated into law when the Governments of each territory in turn realise that for them to enact such legislation is the overwhelming desire of the people whom they serve. The Society is, therefore, attempting to carry out reforms, but it intends to do so wholly constitutionally and without interfering with the prerogatives of constitutional government.

NOTE: Regarding the Society's proposals for the carrying out of its plans see Question L1.

QUESTION E8.

Various territorial governments are considering the appointment of either a Special Committee or a Royal Commission to investigate the whole question of the franchise in their territories. Would not the setting up of such bodies provide more appropriate machinery for such investigation than could be provided by the Society?

ANSWER:

No. It is possible that a Select Committee or a Royal Commission appointed for this purpose might come to a very similar conclusion to the Capricorn Citizenship Committees. There is, however, an immensely significant difference in the way that such conclusions will be arrived at. A Select Committee or a Royal Commission would presumably be predominantly European in composition or at least its members would be appointed by an official European authority, whereas the Capricorn Citizenship Committees are largely non-European and are appointed by the Society's multi-racial Executive. It is necessary, therefore, to face the fact that the recommendations of the former however similar they might be to those of the Capricorn Society would tend to be regarded by the African and Asian as a device to maintain the European in power. The recommendations of the Society, however, would tend to be accepted by them as a proper and justifiable method of protecting civilisation standards and of determining a question of such fundamental importance to their future as that of the franchise.

It is impossible to over-rate the psychological importance of this factor. The Society has suggested to all the Governments concerned and to the Colonial Office that they should make no pronouncements on the qualifications for the franchise until after the Society has held its Capricorn Convention. After wide publication of the Citizenship Document, recommendations by Governments or by the Colonial Office on the franchise which conform to those in the Document will no longer be subject to suspicion. Rather, members of all races will welcome the evidence that the official (i.e., European) view is so similar to the Capricorn (i.e., non-racial) view.

Then there is the question of the Society's ability in a technical sense to produce competent recommendations for the franchise. We are confident that the extensiveness of the evidence and the number of witnesses available to the Society from within Africa and the wide range from which they will come, will be comparable to that of any official body. Moreover, the Society has access to the best expert overseas consultants who will help in drawing up the Society's Citizenship Document and subsequently the Citizenship Pilot Bills.

QUESTION E9.

The Federal Government of Central Africa has pledged itself to examine all aspects of citizenship. Should not the Society wait until the Federal Government has arrived at its conclusions?

ANSWER:

No. It is not clear from any statements yet made by the Federal Government what will be the scope of its enquiry into the question of citizenship in the Central African Federation. If the purpose of this enquiry is limited to clearing up the various technical anomalies which exist at present, the Society need have no fear of its outcome. If, however, its purpose is to make pronouncements on the franchise and on the citizenship oath of allegiance, etc., then all the factors outlined in answer to Question E8 apply with full force to this Question.

QUESTION E10.

The Rhodesian political system enables all individuals regardless of colour to attain the vote on the same qualification. Therefore, cannot it be justly said that Southern Rhodesia has already adopted the Capricorn system of common citizenship based on a high franchised common roll?

ANSWER:

No. Certainly Southern Rhodesia is the only territory in Capricorn Africa in which the common roll is practised, but the qualification for the vote is such as to include nearly all Europeans and exclude nearly all Africans.

At first sight the existing qualifications for the vote might appear to be fair but they are no longer fair when they are related to the fact that the African is subject both to the colour bar in industry and differentiation in salaries in the few professions open to him. For example, how can the African hope to earn an income equivalent to that of the average European when he is unable to qualify through trade apprenticeship for a skilled level of earning capacity? Or take another example. There are a few African schoolmasters with qualifications exactly comparable to those of a European schoolmaster in the lower grades of that profession. The African gets less than half of the latter's pay but in spite of this, he is not able to qualify for the vote on a basis of one-half of the property qualification required by the European.

The Society maintains that any Government which denies the individual the right of equal opportunity denies the basic principle of democracy. The shortcoming of the Rhodesian system is that

however much it may superficially present a liberal appearance, it is in practice discriminatory and unjust to Africans who form the majority of the country's peoples. The Rhodesian system identifies colour and civilisation—that is, everyone who is white is civilised, everyone who is black is uncivilised. Who can say with any real sincerity that the attainment by an African of the vote by means of the Rhodesian common roll, results in that African really attaining the privileges, rights or responsibilities of a common citizenship?

QUESTION E11.

Does the Society regard the Asian as being entitled to the same rights of citizenship as the European and African?

ANSWER:

Yes. If the loyalty of many Asians in Africa to-day still attaches mainly to India, it is because there has not yet been established in Africa a citizenship in which the Asian has been invited to play a really full part.

The Society urges all those in sympathy with its aims to avoid generalising about the menace of Indian nationalism in Africa. It is the policy laid down in the Society's Constitution that any Asian who accepts and is prepared to abide by the Capricorn Citizenship Loyalty Code should be as warmly welcomed as a candidate for the vote as a European or African.

His Highness the Aga Khan has called on all Asians to become loyal citizens of the territories in which they live and many Asians, not necessarily members of the Ismaili Community, endorse his views.

The citizenship's loyalty code and its oath of allegiance will provide the criterion by which all citizens in Capricorn Africa will be judged. After a territory has enacted the Citizenship Bill, it will be possible to say that the African who supports African racialism, the Indian whose loyalty remains attached to the East, and the Englishman who remains loyal to the exclusively English way of life are all unworthy citizens. Those who live by the citizenship oath of allegiance, regardless of their colour, will provide the basis of Africa's future greatness.

QUESTION E12.

Would not a common roll system even on a high franchise basis in Kenya result in a larger Asian than European or African representation in the Legislature?

ANSWER:

No. Kenya first and foremost is an agricultural country but the Asian is not (at least in Africa) an agriculturist. The Asian vote in Kenya is, therefore, mainly confined to the towns. Undoubtedly their vote would be an important factor in certain constituencies in the Nairobi and Mombasa areas, but much less so in the up-country constituencies and townships. In Great Britain and America the great importance of agriculture is acknowledged in the smaller number of voters per constituency in the rural as compared with the urban constituencies. On this basis we could perhaps estimate that in the event of Kenya being divided into say, 25 constituencies which were delineated in a way fairly to reflect the importance of the agricultural districts, there might be 10 to 12 mainly urban constituencies of which the Asian vote might be predominant in five or six.

After the passage into law of the Capricorn Citizenship Bill, however, the domination in voting power of a constituency by Asians will not necessarily mean that this constituency would be won by them if the candidate concerned appealed to the electorate on a racial basis, for these reasons:—

- (a) The Muslim and Hindu have great differences of outlook and undoubtedly a proportion of both would be more responsive to the Capricorn oath of allegiance, which forswears all forms of racialism, than they would be to an Asian violating this principle. (If an Asian candidate was overt in this respect, he would, of course, be invalidated as a candidate.)
- (b) The Goan and the Arab would in large measure vote against any Asian trying to establish a racial front.
- (c) The African and European would also oppose any Asian trying to swing an election on a racial basis.

The Society, therefore, is not fearful of Asian domination, and in fact is confident that the majority of Asians would give up their racialist ideas when they have a real opportunity of transferring their loyalties from India to Kenya.

QUESTION E13.

Would not the Society's high franchise electoral system bear unfairly on the African?

ANSWER:

No. The Society in accepting the principle of the high franchise has always stressed the importance of placing the ladder of opportunity and advancement firmly on the ground within reach of the most backward members of each race; and the importance of seeing that there should be no obstacle on this ladder in the way of the individual's attainment of the full rights for voting citizenship. See also Question E6, item 1, paragraph 2).

QUESTION E14.

What is the Society's attitude to the multiple vote?

ANSWER:

The Society views with approval the principle of the multiple vote. It believes that members of all races who deserve well of their country and who have positions of more than average responsibility should be candidates for additional votes. The decision to incorporate the multiple vote into the Capricorn electoral system would make possible the broadening of the base of the vote quantitatively without diluting its overall standard in the qualitative sense.

Section F

DOCTRINE

Social Relations and Colour Bar

QUESTION F1.

Does the Society approve of the opening of all hotels and "public places" to all races?

ANSWER:

In order to answer this question it will be best to divide public places into the following categories:—

- (a) Hotels and restaurants.
- (b) Cinemas.
- (c) Post Offices, shops, etc.
- (d) Swimming Pools.

(a) *Hotels and Restaurants.*

The Society believes that these should be open to all races. It believes that the "colour bar" in all hotels should be replaced by a "behaviour and manners bar." The European in the past has made extremely heavy weather of this issue and it is, therefore, of great encouragement to note that in Kenya, where a year ago most Europeans were uncompromising in their approach to this problem, they have recently consented to the opening of all hotels in Nairobi and elsewhere to all races. Even the most vicious white racialists have to admit that the standard of behaviour of the Africans and Asians now using these hotels has been at least as high as that of the European.

(b) *Cinemas.*

These should certainly be opened to all races but the cost should be graduated setting a reasonable margin between the cheap and more expensive seats.

(c) *Post Offices and Shops.*

For administrative and linguistic convenience, it is probable that different counters should be continued. Obviously it is of advantage for Africans to have access to a counter where the official or shop assistant concerned can speak to him in his own language which not all employees of the post offices and shops can be expected to do. As education improves, the need for separate counters will disappear.

(d) *Swimming Pools.*

We talk about a "behaviour and manners bar" in the hotels which will be fairly easy for the hotel management to administer. In the case of swimming pools, it is a question of a "hygiene and health bar" and obviously this would be quite impossible to administer. Therefore, until the African has the necessary purchasing

power to adopt the same habits of personal hygiene as prevail among most Europeans, such as a bath in his house for daily bathing, we believe that there should be separate swimming pools for both races. It is noted, however, that whereas the European has the advantage of many Municipal swimming pools, the African has practically none and this should be remedied.

QUESTION F2.

Does the Society approve of inter-racial education?

ANSWER:

Yes. Full implementation of this principle will not be possible until the standards of education which the Society seeks to establish and maintain are reached by all sections of the community, and until the teachers of all races have attained comparable qualifications in their profession.

Implementation should and is indeed already taking place at university level of education. In the primary and secondary schools considerations such as different home backgrounds, hygiene, religion, different habits and discipline and the different age at which each race reaches physical maturity, make inter-racial education impractical at present, but when common citizenship is established it will become easier to overcome these difficulties.

After the passage of the Capricorn Citizenship Bill into law it will be expected that all teachers should be fully knowledgeable in and wholeheartedly accept the Capricorn Citizenship's loyalty code.

QUESTION F3.

What is the Society's attitude to racial intermarriage and miscegenation?

ANSWER:

It is the Society's creed that there can be no objection in principle to marriages between members of different races. Marriage involves primarily a union of two individuals before God—a contract which goes beyond the jurisdiction of the State. For the European to impose social sanction against marriage with the African on the grounds of racial superiority is, in the view of the Society, a denial of this creed and amounts to the rejection of all Christian teaching.

Miscegenation in the sense of a union outside the laws of marriage between members of different races offends against the

moral code of all races. In Africa and elsewhere this type of miscegenation has occurred to a limited degree in the past, is occurring at present and will occur in the future.

The Society maintains that the application of its political philosophy will not necessarily increase either racial intermarriage or miscegenation of the promiscuous type. The latter tends chiefly to occur when there is an influx of predominantly male population into another country—for example in the early days of European settlement in Africa; and the former tends to occur when it is to the social advantage of one race to marry into another race. Neither of these conditions will apply in Capricorn Africa after the passage into law of the Capricorn citizenship bill. Firstly, there is now-a-days no preponderance of males in any one race, and secondly, to marry into another race will not increase the social status of an individual when common citizenship has been truly established.

QUESTION F4.

What is the Society's attitude to the Southern Rhodesia liquor laws?

ANSWER:

The repeal of the liquor laws in Southern Rhodesia is long overdue in the Society's view. Nowhere else in Capricorn Africa is the African totally prohibited from drinking European liquor.

The present restrictions are largely responsible for the manufacture of skokiaan and other concoctions which, besides leading to the worst form of drunkenness in the urban areas and mining locations, are having a most damaging effect on the health of the Africans.

Liquor restrictions in America during prohibition days were responsible for lawlessness and crime but, while the restrictions in America applied to all, in Southern Rhodesia there is the added bitterness of colour discrimination, combined with the physical presence of an almost unlimited supply of European liquor, inevitably finding its way on to an illicit market. This results in the African being exploited by the European, Coloured and Indian racketeers, who can charge prices for this liquor much in excess of what the European has to pay.

In the Society's opinion the worst aspect of the restrictions is that their wholesale abuse lowers the Africans' respect for the law and yet they make a criminal of him if he is caught by the police.

The restrictions, which were originally intended to protect the African, have now become an incitement to law breaking and an infringement of human rights.

Section G

DOCTRINE

Labour Relations and Trade Unionism

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Section G

DOCTRINE

Labour Relations and Trade Unionism

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QUESTION G1.

What does the Society consider are the actors which should govern European and non-European rates of pay?

ANSWER:

The Society is at present studying this question. In the meantime it tentatively submits the following six factors as the main determining considerations on which the answer must be based. (Further elaboration on these factors will be provided in the first addendum to this Handbook to be issued shortly by the Society.)

1. The European should not be obliged to lower his standard of living in competition with the African. (See factor 6 below.)

2. There must be established in all categories of skilled and unskilled labour a standard European rate of work output with corresponding rates of pay (related to the current cost of living index) calculated to maintain a "reasonable" European standard of living. This should be regarded as the "standard" work output and the "standard" rate of pay.

3. The African in each category of unskilled labour should be paid at the rate calculated to reflect the African's average output of labour in that category. The minimum rate of pay would be determined by the ratio of the average African's work output to the "standard" output with the necessary adjustments to allow for the cost of supervision and any other cost chargeable against African labour and not discounted in the "standard" wage rate. The African average work output will be constantly under review so that as it increases, so would the African minimum wage increase in proportion.

4. The rate of pay for the African in semi-skilled and skilled work will be determined on the same basis as in paragraph 3 but in particular cases could alternatively be determined by direct contract between the individual African and his employer so as to allow appropriate adjustments of pay for individual workers at intermediary stages between the lowest and the "standard" rate of work output.

5. In determining the ratio of African work output to the "standard" output in skilled or semi-skilled jobs for the purpose of arriving at the rate of pay, it will be necessary to allow not only for the cost of supervision but also for any shortfall in quality and in certain cases for additional depreciation or maintenance costs on plant and machinery.

6. The difference between the "standard" wage rate on any job (based on the maintenance of a reasonable European standard of living) and the actual rate at present being received by the European

should provide an ample margin of advantage for the African employee when it comes to a decision by the employer whether to select a European or African for a particular job.

QUESTION G2.

What, in the Society's view, are the main factors which could increase the unskilled African's output of work?

ANSWER:

It is not possible to point to any one factor and say that in it lies the solution to the problem. The solution must be based on consideration of many factors—more effective training for jobs, more effective supervision of labour, additional rewards for length of service, control and treatment of endemic diseases, more emphasis on incentive pay, better housing and security of tenure, particularly for the family unit, training of African housewives in domestic science, better feeding, better transport arrangements to places of work.

First and foremost the Society would emphasise the importance of training and instruction for even the most unskilled jobs because so many of the unskilled African labourers come direct from the Reserves, and thereby undergo a sudden and tremendous change in environment. Instruction is imperative for the African at this stage of his adjustment from the protection and sanctions of tribal, rural and communal life and values, to the highly complex urban and individualistic life with its different values and standards.

Better housing and security of tenure would diminish the migratory tendencies among unskilled workers and the training of African wives in domestic science and hygiene would increase the stability of his home life. Workers should be medically examined much more frequently and given more effective treatment for such chronic diseases as malaria, bilharzia, hookworm and venereal. Greater attention should be paid to supplementing workers with special vitamised foods during the work day. The Society is of the opinion that as a general rule, apart from meals given during working hours, higher wages rather than weekly rations should be given. African workers are inclined to misuse rations because they are rations, and often they are not palatable, though they may be nutritious. Moreover, family budgeting has a psychological effect of giving pride and confidence to the breadwinner and increases the chances of happiness in the family unit.

The Society holds that perhaps the most potent factor in explaining the African's present low output of labour is his rootlessness. The African does not feel that he belongs in the system for which he is working. He regards work as a temporary imposition rather than

part of the very fabric of his life. The Society believes that its Citizenship Bill would create a new class of African leadership which would fully grasp the implications of citizenship and which would be proud to belong to it. By stages the meaning of citizenship will gradually permeate down from the African leaders to the African masses, and a new attitude to advancement would be established. This trend would soon become intensified when an African could see for himself the concrete rewards earned by other Africans who, through hard work and enterprise, had achieved a European standard of pay and living.

QUESTION G3.

Is not the European entitled, through trades union organisations, to protect a wage rate which enables him to live at a European as opposed to an African standard of living?

ANSWER:

Yes, he is entitled to do so as long as it does not become an exclusive protection for "Europeans only." The Society regards the maintenance and protection of European standards as of first importance and will do everything in its power to bring all workers to those standards as the ultimate goal.

The adjustment for the African from rural peasantry to the wage-earning industrialised life is a drastic one. During this phase there can be no defined African standard of living. The African is more and more buying European type of food, clothes and other requirements of daily life and, therefore, the so-called African standard of living is constantly altering because of the process of his adjustment towards a higher standard. Nobody can say how long it will take before the average African attains true parity in this regard with the average European but everything possible must be done to increase his work output and thereby his earning and purchasing power and thus hasten the process.

The establishment of a higher standard of living for all sections of the community must always be an objective of the State but its attainment in the Society's view can only be prejudiced by the existence of exclusively European trades unions determined to protect the European in his job by blocking the advancement of the non-European. The functions of the European members of trades unionism in Africa should not be merely to protect the European but to protect the standards of living and workmanship associated with the European.

QUESTION G4.

Does the Society agree that a non-European who has identical qualifications in a trade or profession and who is doing exactly the same work as the European in both the qualitative and quantitative sense, should be entitled to the same rate of pay as the European?

ANSWER:

Yes. The Society holds that this reform should be carried out on the basis put forward in factor 2 of Question G1, that is, the non-European should be paid to the full amount of the "standard" pay in the profession or trade concerned.

The Society believes in an "ability bar" in industry, where skill and proficiency are the criteria, and the standards of work and production are the basis on which salary and wages are paid.

QUESTION G5.

Does the Society believe that there should be separate black and white trade unions?

ANSWER:

No. Separate trade unionism is contrary to the whole spirit of the new "Africanism" (see Question D4) which the Society seeks to establish. The Society regards racial trade unionism as one of the causes of racial strife. It will not be possible to build a national outlook if workers are divided racially.

When the new Citizenship comes into being, the whole position will be altered by the fact that "standards" will be laid down which will have full application irrespective of a worker's race. This will enable trade unions to be established on a non-racial basis. Their function will be to protect the workers and the trades' interests, and not the interests of workers of a particular race.

The Society, however, would welcome the establishment of African Trades Unions based on different industries (but not on a national and therefore political basis) as a temporary expediency before the new citizenship comes into being. This would enable Africans to become trained in the principles of Trades Unionism.

QUESTION G6.

Does the Society hold that trade apprenticeships should be open to all individuals of all races?

ANSWER:

Yes. Trade apprenticeship is the stepping-stone to skill and craftsmanship, and from both the moral and the economic points of view apprenticeship facilities should be made available to suitable candidates from all races.

Only through apprenticeship can the undermining of high standards of workmanship by unskilled workers be prevented.

QUESTION G7.

Does the Society envisage ultimately that an African could be in authority over Europeans?

ANSWER:

Yes. After the passing of the Citizenship Bill, merit and not colour will be the criterion. For this reason an African sufficiently competent to hold a position of authority would, if necessary, be given this authority. This is in line with practice in the United States where in many spheres, including the Army, Negroes are in positions of responsibility directly over white Americans.

Section H

DOCTRINE
Land Tenure

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QUESTION H1.

What view does the Society take on the Land Question? Does the Society, for instance, believe in the permanent sanctity of the White Highlands in Kenya and of the European areas in Central Africa?

ANSWER:

No. The Society maintains that land cannot be held in perpetuity on grounds of racial rights. It believes that ultimately all land in a Capricorn territory should become an area of equal purchase opportunity for all citizens of that territory.

QUESTION H2.

Does the Society favour immediate land reforms abolishing segregation?

ANSWER:

No. The Society believes that no important changes can be made until the new Capricorn political faith and patriotism, together with common economic and other interests, have become strong enough to supersede purely racial ties and allegiances. Until this has been achieved the Society regards it as unreasonable that any individual should forego his existing rights of land tenure.

QUESTION H3.

What land reforms does the Society envisage and how does it envisage these reforms being carried out?

ANSWER:

The Society is convinced that it will remain impossible to effect extensive land reforms which carry the confidence of all races until the main objectives of the Society have been achieved. After the passage into law in any territory of the Capricorn Citizenship Bill, the reconstituted legislature would be in a position to set up a Land Utilisation Board with the appropriate machinery and authority to control all land transfers and alienations and to lay down conditions governing mortgages and other transactions relating to the ownership and leasehold of land. The Board would exercise its powers to ensure proper land usage and good husbandry and to prevent unhealthy speculation in land.

Subject to the control of this proposed Land Board the Society envisages land in the European areas of Central Africa and in the White Highlands of Kenya becoming ultimately available to all races on the basis of the "willing buyer, willing seller;" and in the case of land released from communal holdings in the Native Reserves, from African Trust Lands and other Native Land Units becoming Native purchase or leasehold areas in the first place (i.e., open to purchase or leasehold by individual Natives) and thereafter being opened to transfer and tenure to persons of any race.

The redesignation of "European Areas" as "Open Areas" could be relatively easily implemented, but the redesignation of the various Native Lands as "Open Areas" could only be carried out by slow stages as more Africans were settled in Native purchase and leasehold areas or were absorbed into the existing "Open Areas," thus reducing the number of Africans requiring the protection provided them in the exclusively Native Lands.

QUESTION H4.

Has the Society faced the fact that their policy implies the abrogation of treaties, the withdrawal of solemn pledges and assurances given to various communities in British East and Central Africa?

ANSWER:

Yes. The Society holds that land is an asset belonging to a Country's Citizenship and that the best possible use must be made of it in the interests of this Citizenship as a whole.

The Society believes that only when all communities are united in a Common Citizenship will they realise how vital it is in their own interests to treat their Country as one economic entity, and only then will they readily give their assent to the revision of those existing land laws and treaties which were designed to protect racial and tribal rights.

Section I

DOCTRINE
Immigration

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QUESTION I 1.

Does not the Society agree that large scale European immigration is an immediate necessity to help redress the balance of population between the Coloured peoples on the Continent and the Europeans?

ANSWER:

No. Recently a Minister of the Southern Rhodesia Government urged in a public statement the largest possible European immigration as a means of securing the European position by redressing the adverse balance in numbers between black and white. The Society regards such a statement as an open declaration of racial warfare.

It is obvious that the advancement of all the races in Capricorn Africa, and in particular of the Africans, depends on the full development of the natural resources of the area. From no other source can the revenues be obtained that will provide for Africans' health, agriculture and educational services, on the large scale that is required.

This economic development will clearly call for immigration, bringing with it all the facilities of modern technology, until the number of skilled and fully-trained Africans and the Europeans combined is sufficient to meet all the requirements. But in proportion as Africans are assured that racial discrimination no longer exists and that their own training to fill technical and managerial posts is being pushed forward as rapidly as their qualifications permit, their fears of immigration may be expected to diminish, since it will be seen to contribute to the welfare and progress of all.

The scale and control of immigration will then be recognised as matters to be determined from time to time by the government in the interests of the country as a whole, and in accordance with the wishes of its inhabitants expressed through a multi-racial electorate.

QUESTION I 2.

What is the Capricorn Society's attitude to Asian immigration?

ANSWER:

Asian immigration is at present rigidly controlled in all the territories of British Capricorn Africa. The control of immigration is, as in all countries, a matter for the government to decide in the light of the estimated effects, beneficent or otherwise, on the existing population. It is not the task of the Capricorn Africa Society to pronounce in advance on the best ways of regulating immigration in the future, but only to do what it can to ensure that the government which decides these matters will be a government responsible to a multi-racial electorate, in which members of all races can make their voice heard.

Section J

DOCTRINE
Economic Development

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QUESTION J1.

Does the Society believe that racial stability is a prerequisite for economic development?

ANSWER:

Yes. The Society is convinced that economic expansion on the scale necessary to improve living standards and to sustain on a sufficient scale the health, housing and educational services increasingly needed by Africa's population will not take place without racial stability. Without this stability the flow of capital into Capricorn Africa will inevitably diminish in spite of the area's undoubted natural resources. The Society holds that stability cannot be imposed by the forces of law and order unless the mass of the population support the Government (or at least the political system) which is responsible for the application of these forces.

The Society regards the creation of common citizenship and "Africanism" as the curtain raiser on a stage otherwise well set to attract large scale capital investment. To develop a sub-continent needs the common effort of most people in it, all pulling on the same rope and in the same direction. Racial harmony cannot of itself create prosperity. Only a judicious combination of capital, material and labour can do that. But racial harmony is indispensable to the success of the material effort.

Section K

**RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIETY TO
OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN AFRICA
AND OVERSEAS**

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QUESTION K1.

Is not the Society too subject to influence from Overseas?

ANSWER:

In the words of its manifesto the Society believes that a policy for Africa must come from within Africa. But it is also true that the Society attaches great importance to responsible overseas public opinion. We recognise that the Society, indigenous although it is to the African Continent, must put its case before and must satisfy those external authorities, such as the Colonial Office in London, and the United Nations Organisation who have legitimate trusteeship responsibilities in Africa. (Representatives of the Society have already had many unofficial talks with the highest officials at UNO in New York, and at the Colonial Office in London and can affirm that both are sympathetic if non-committal in their attitude to the work of the Society.)

There is much justifiable resentment in Africa, particularly among Europeans at ill-informed criticisms of Government in British Africa and the part that European settlers play in this Government. Much overseas criticism is, however, both well-informed and well-intentioned and this should be welcomed rather than resented.

QUESTION K2.

What is the Society's relationship in Southern Rhodesia to the Interracial Association, the United Races Club and the Federation of African Welfare Societies?

ANSWER:

All these bodies have different purposes to fulfil and for this reason each requires its own organisation. Where these purposes overlap, the organisations work in co-operation with each other and a Joint Steering Committee is at present being set up by them to ensure effective co-operation.

QUESTION K3.

Has the Society any connection with any of the political parties in East and Central Africa?

ANSWER:

No. Individuals can at their discretion become members of both the Capricorn Africa Society and any political party which they feel sufficiently shares the objects of the Society, but there is no

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official connection between the Society and any party in Africa. The Society must insist on remaining entirely non-party political. Implementation of its principles will be carried out by territorial based Capricorn Associations. (See Answer to Question A5.)

QUESTION K4.

What is the attitude towards the Society of the political parties in Britain?

ANSWER:

Like the Colonial Office, political parties in Britain maintain an attitude of "benevolent neutrality" towards the Society. There is no official connection between any party and the Society, although individuals can be members of both, and warm statements of support for the Society's policy have been made by both individual Conservative and Labour Members of Parliament.

QUESTION K5.

What is the Society's relationship with the various missionary societies and the various churches?

ANSWER:

The Society has no official relationship with any mission or church, but it greatly respects the work and influence of most of these bodies. Many high dignitaries of the Churches of all denominations are active members of the Society.

QUESTION K6.

Has the Society any connection with any industrial or commercial organisation, or is it connected in any way with any vested interest?

ANSWER:

No. The Society is an autonomous and independent body controlling its own affairs. Its balance sheet is always open for inspection.

Section L

**IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CAPRICORN
CITIZENSHIP BILLS**

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QUESTION L1.

How does the Society hope to give legislative effect to the Citizenship Document?

ANSWER:

The Society's Citizenship Document would be uniformly applicable throughout the territories of Kenya, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but the steps to be taken to bring it into law would vary according to the prevailing constitutional circumstances of each territory.

The Society will go into abeyance after the dedication of the Document at the Mbeya Convention, and its place will be taken by the territorially-operated Capricorn Associations. These Associations will undertake the task of translating the Document into "pilot" Citizenship Bills (see Question A6) for submission to the governments of the individual territories, and the task of campaigning for the Bill's enactment.

The campaign will obviously be more protracted in some territories than in others but the Capricorn proposals have only to be fully implemented in one territory to make much easier the Capricorn Movement's task in the remaining territories.

Southern Rhodesia. The Capricorn pilot Bill will be presented to the last annual National Congress of the governing political party (The United Rhodesia Party) for its consideration before the next general election. Its acceptance by Congress will depend on the success of the Capricorn campaign which will have preceded its presentation. If the Congress adopts the pilot Bill and consents to go to the country at the subsequent General Election with the draft Bill as the main feature of its campaign, the Capricorn Association will undertake to put the whole weight of its organisation at this party's disposal.

If no existing party is willing to adopt the draft Citizenship Bill in all its essentials, then the Association will be obliged as a last resort to form a political party which would have the principles of the Citizenship Document and the enactment of the Citizenship Bill as its main platform. This Capricorn political party would take over the whole of the Association's apparatus for the purpose of fighting its political campaign.

Colonial Office Territories. In Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Nyasaland, territories which are governed by "official" Colonial Office nominees and "unofficial members," the Capricorn Citizenship "pilot" Bill will be presented to the Legislative Councils for acceptance.

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On acceptance, the Legislative Councils will pass the "pilot" Bill to Her Majesty's Government with a recommendation that it be made law. As the Bill will not be presented until it has the backing of the majority of the population, the Colonial Office would, we hope, hasten to put in hand the necessary legislation.

All Territories. The Capricorn Citizenship Bill would in all territories provide the basis of the franchise system and self-government but Her Majesty's Government would retain in all of them (apart from Southern Rhodesia) sufficient transitional powers to protect the interests of minorities until the catalyst of common citizenship had succeeded in merging present discordancies—that is, until the new political faith and patriotism, together with common economic and other interests, had become strong enough to supersede purely racial ties and allegiances.

The Society suggests that, wherever practicable, the "sufficient transitional powers" should in the first place be provided by the retention of an Official Majority in the territorial legislature but with the election of the Unofficial members being subject to the conditions put forward in the Citizenship Bill. As each territory advances towards political maturity and racialism diminishes, so could the Unofficial membership on the legislature be increased until finally it is judged that the proper conditions exist for the transfer of authority from the Official to the Unofficial side of the House and self-government is thereby established. Subsequent to this, the Society suggests that an Official Minority could be retained for a further limited period to help in maintaining continuity in administration in the difficult period while authority is being transferred and also to check for this further period any possible resurgence of racialism.

CONCLUSION AND APPENDICES

[bb]

CONCLUSION

The full purpose of the Capricorn Movement and the functions of the Society and Associations in the fulfilment of this purpose can perhaps be best illustrated by an analogy.

The function of the Society could be compared with a group of architects, quantity surveyors, landscape-garden consultants and all the various experts required to design Africa's ideal mansion. This ideal plan, in terms of our analogy, is the Citizenship Document which will be endorsed at the Mbeya Convention. It is then that the Capricorn Associations take over the ideal plan and translate it into one suitable for the special conditions of each territory; this will be the Citizenship Bill.

In the meanwhile, throughout East and Central Africa, there are organisations and individuals dissatisfied with the shortcomings of the dilapidated house in which they at present live (i.e., the existing constitutions of the various territories). Suggestions are being constantly tabled for patching it up, such as, reform of the pass laws and the laws of land tenure, and a review of the electoral system. Certainly repair work can be carried out and the Society must help but it must do so in such a way as not to prejudice the attaining of its real objective, which is to move from the old house, of exclusively European design, to the new mansion of Capricorn design.

It is this last point which needs special emphasis. The Society should not encourage Government or political parties, pre-occupied as they are with patching up the old house, to take too many ideas from the new Capricorn house which is still in the design stage. If this happened people would claim, particularly the Europeans, that there was no need to undergo the inconvenience of moving house at all. These people could point out that the old place had been renovated and given a smart new facade and this would enable them to ignore the foundations which are unsound beyond repair. However drastic the renovations, the old house could never provide for the true self-expression of all races.

Members of the Society are more than ever convinced that it is essential to build afresh on new foundations when they take into account the present position in the Belgian Congo and in the Portuguese territories of Africa. Here, by virtue of the "evolue" or "assimilado" systems, an African capable of sustaining responsibilities and who has acquired the necessary qualifications, is granted certain rights of citizenship. But even these concessions will no longer suffice. Certainly these systems have given more leeway and as a result the climate of race relations hitherto has been better than

in the British territories. But they have not provided for the political aspirations of the African. Their problems, like ours, can only be solved finally by the creating of a new ideology—a new African patriotism as a basis of common citizenship capable of satisfying the emotional aspirations of all races in Africa.

The foundations, and the new political structure they will sustain, must be designed by a consortium of all races. There is no such consortium in existence in Africa except the Capricorn Africa Movement. The new Capricorn mansion will bear the hand of every race in its design and in its construction.

If the Society succeeds in its purpose, the orderly development of the Continent and the happiness of its inhabitants are assured. If it fails through inability to carry out its programme the whole idea of common citizenship will have failed in the eyes of many of Africa's coloured peoples who will look with renewed bitterness for other outlets for their aspirations.

APPENDIX I.

Schedule of the Society's Administrative and Executive Organisation.

Title	Function	Method of Election or Appointment	Appointment of Chairman	Source of Directive	Members—Description of and Numbers	Meetings and Where Held	Quorum	Other Branches of the Society's Organisation
Board of Patrons	No executive functions	By invitation from the General Council	—	—	Consists of eminent supporters of the Society from all races and countries and founder members of the Society. It should be regarded as a courtesy award to members of the Society who have rendered outstanding services to it. Numbers at discretion of General Council up to a limit of 25	—	—	<i>Urban Area Controllers:</i> Appointed by and responsible to the Executive Officers. Their duties can be summarised as follows: (a) Responsible for organising house to house canvass in their areas. (b) When Capricorn meetings are held in their areas, they will be responsible for organising voluntary transportation to the meeting, for stewarding the meeting and for spreading advance news of the meetings. (c) They will be responsible for sending frequent progress reports to the Executive Officers.
General Council	Provides the Society's overall executive	Eight members elected from and by the Central Africa Executive, four each from Kenya and Tanganyika; three from the London Advisory Council	The Chairman of the London Advisory Council will act as Chairman when the Council meets in London; and the President when it meets in Africa	Creates the directive for the Society	Multi-racial—appointed from the Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Executives and the London Advisory Council. Limited to 20	Quarterly—usually either at Nairobi, Salisbury or Dar-es-Salaam	10 members	
London Advisory Council	To advise in the formulating of policy; to obtain for Society the support of H.M. Government and non-official interests; and to help in the raising of funds for the Society in Britain	By invitation of the Chairman in consultation with other members of his Council	The Council appoints its own Chairman	An independent body, but its members must be full-hearted supporters of the Society	Industrialists, business men with interests in Africa; ex-Colonial administrators and eminent men in all walks of life. Limited to 20	At discretion of Chairman in London	—	
Treasurer's Committee	Controls finances of the Society (not responsible for the raising of money).	Selected by the Society's independent Treasurer in collaboration with the London Advisory Council and the President's Standing Committee	The Chairman of this Committee is the Society's independent Treasurer	The General Council	Accountants or business men. A total of four plus Chairman (one each from the Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Executives and the London Advisory Council)	At discretion of Chairman	—	
President's Standing Committee and Executive Officer (1)	To supervise the implementation of the policy laid down by the General Council; to co-ordinate the work of the Citizenship Committees and Consultancy Committees; to plan future policy for submission to the General Council.	Appointed by the President from the Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Executives. Members will include the Chairmen of these Committees.	The President	The General Council	Consists of the members of the Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Standing Executives	Every two months and at President's discretion. Alternately in Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam and Salisbury	4	<i>Urban Unit Controllers:</i> Appointed and directly responsible to the Urban Area Controllers. Each of them will have a group of canvassers under them.
The Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Executive Committees (2)	To plan policy for submission to the General Council and to carry out, through the appointment of the Standing Committees and Executive Officers, the policy decided on.	Elected from and by Regional and Territorial Executive Committees	These Committees appoint their own Chairman in consultation with the President	The General Council via the President's Standing Committees	Drawn from members of the territorial and regional branches of the Society. Limited to 25	Quarterly—or more often if circumstances warrant. Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam and Salisbury	5	<i>Rural Area Controllers:</i> Appointed by and responsible to the Executive Officers. Their duties will be the same as the Urban Area Controllers.
The Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Standing Committees and Executive Officers (1)	To carry out and administer the Society's campaign in the field; and to administer on behalf of the President's Office the Citizenship Committees	Appointed by the Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Executive Committees. The same representatives as are appointed to the General Council	The Chairmen of the Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Executive Committees would also be Chairmen of the Standing Committees.	The General Council via the President's Standing Committees	Limited to seven members plus two Executive Officers	Every two months—and at Chairman's discretion. Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam and Salisbury	5	<i>Roving Agents:</i> Appointed by and responsible to the Executive Officers. Whereas the Urban Area, Urban Unit and Rural Area Controllers will be voluntary workers, the roving agents will be paid. Their function will be to reach into areas of African population (particularly in the Reserves) which are too inaccessible to be included in the areas assigned to Rural Area Commanders.
Territorial and Regional Executive Committees	To suggest policy and ideas for submission to the Executive Committees	By General Meeting of members in territory or region concerned	These committees appoint their own Chairman in consultation with the President	Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Executive Committees	All members of Society are eligible for election to the appropriate regional or territorial committee. Limited to 25	Quarterly and at Chairman's discretion; held in territorial or regional capital	6	
The London Consultancy Committee	To assist the President's Office in the building up of the Citizenship Document by arranging access to expert advice in various specialist fields	By invitation of the Committee's Chairman	By invitation of the President on behalf of General Council	Independent but in constant liaison with President's Office	At discretion of the Chairman	At discretion of Chairman	—	
The American Committee	To assist the Society in America	By invitation from the President's Standing Committee	By invitation of the President on behalf of the General Council	Independent but in constant liaison with President's Office	At Committee's discretion	At discretion of Chairman	—	<i>Note (1).</i> There are seven paid Executive Officers; one attached to the President's office and two each to the Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Executive Committees.
The Kenya, Tanganyika and Central Africa Consultancy Committees	To assist the President's Office in preparing the Citizenship Document by providing specialist advice in all fields	By invitation from the President's Standing Committee	The Committee operates on corresponding basis, therefore no Chairman required	Independent but in constant liaison with President's Office	Made up of eminent people in all walks of life whose advice might be valuable. They need not necessarily be members of the Society	The work of this Committee will be mostly carried out by individual correspondence with the President's Office	—	<i>Note (2).</i> In East Africa there is no Inter-territorial Executive Committee as in Central Africa.
The Citizenship Committees	To prepare the Citizenship Document	Appointed by Executive Officers from those who have volunteered and by invitation	By the Executive Officers on behalf of the President's Standing Committee	The Document must conform to the Society's doctrine. Contact and liaison between Committees through the President's Office	The Society wherever possible aims at a Committee of about eight or nine consisting of three Europeans, three Africans, up to three Asians, Arabs, Euroafricans, Goans or Coloureds	Every three weeks. There will be a total of about 40 Citizenship Committees and they will meet whenever locally convenient	—	

Appendix II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE
SOCIETY'S CONSTITUTION.

(a) **The Preamble:** The founders affirm in this preamble the beliefs that guided them in the creation of the Society.

The founders hold that all men, despite their varying talents, are born equal in dignity before God and have a common duty to one another, and that the differences between men, whether of creed or colour, are honourable differences.

The founders believe in a common destiny for the inhabitants of Capricorn Africa which will lead to an association of territories wherein men of all races may live side by side in harmony, sufficiency and freedom.

The founders believe that to strive toward such a goal will provide a sense of shared purpose and dedication transcending racial differences and that its attainment will bring untold benefits to Africa and its people and to mankind.

Bound by these convictions the Founders of the Society submit that:

- (i) Africa south of the Sahara is comparable in natural resources with other continents of the world. The extent of its mineral, agricultural and industrial potentialities is only now being established by research and development.
- (ii) The peoples of Europe living in Africa have two responsibilities and these are complementary to one another. They have an obligation to mankind to develop that continent jointly with the Africans and other inhabitants, so that it shall contribute from its great resources to the wealth of the world. They have an equal obligation to give to the African both incentive and opportunity to achieve higher standards of life, and so make possible a living partnership between the races.
- (iii) The African peoples as yet lack the technical skill, the industrial maturity and indeed the numbers to secure by themselves the timely development of the continent. The twofold responsibility of the European cannot be discharged by reserving all Africa's sparsely populated areas for gradual development at a pace determined by the African's birth rate. It can be discharged, and Africa's

development quickened, by a combination of modern technology, capital and immigration with the latent capacity of the African and other races.

- (iv) Capricorn Africa is divided into many separate territories with separate administrations. The divisions are for most part arbitrary and are seldom based on considerations of geography, economics or race. They deny the urge, increasingly felt among all races, to become part of a greater communion, racially and economically. In a larger economic unit, problems which are obstinate of solution within individual territories can be more readily resolved.
- (v) Sustained social and economic progress for any race demands sound administration and political stability, which at the outset will call for European leadership and guidance in federal and territorial government. This leadership can be claimed only by right of administrative ability and experience, not of colour. It will not endure, nor deserve to endure, unless it encourages an increasing participation by the other races.
- (vi) The future stability of Capricorn Africa depends essentially upon a policy of human relations which is flexible enough to meet the special requirements of each territory; and broad and liberal enough to face with confidence the scrutiny of enlightened opinion throughout the world.
- (vii) The policy must promote the spiritual, economic, cultural and political progress of the African and other races. All those of all races who have attained the necessary social and educational standard must be accorded the responsibility of franchise. At the same time, those Africans who are unable or unwilling to accommodate themselves to the new economy and way of life must be protected and helped to develop at a pace consistent with their abilities.

The Constitution of the Capricorn Africa Society which follows, has been designed by the Founders as a vehicle for all those who wish actively to support the principles laid down in this Preamble.

(b) The Aims and Objects Clauses :

- (i) To make known the ideals set out in the preamble and to work towards their fulfilment.
- (ii) To encourage the development, jointly by all races, of Capricorn Africa.

- (iii) To make effective the moral, cultural and spiritual standards of civilisation and to help all members of all races to attain these standards.

Footnote: This means for those of European descent, for most educated Africans and for many Asians, the moral, cultural and spiritual standards of the Christian Western tradition but this term is used in no exclusive sense. We believe that as civilisation takes root on African soil, these standards will become enriched by the contribution which will be made by other great religions and cultural traditions, as well as by the indigenous traditions of African life and ways of thinking.

- (iv) To define and establish a conception of human relations that will bestow the full rights and privileges of voting citizenship on all those who have achieved the qualities necessary to sustain the responsibilities implicit in this status.