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Thursday, May 31, 1956

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Founder and Editor:

F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

HARMONY AND TRUST between the races will be the theme of discussions at a week-end convention to be held a fortnight hence in a camp on the shore of Lake Nyasa under the auspices of the Capricorn Africa Society. If the high hopes of the organizers come to fruition, they will do another service to the cause of partnership between Europeans, Africans, Arabs, and Asians, but if their purpose should be frustrated, corresponding harm would be done, for there can be no doubt that their activities have aroused great expectations among educated Africans, especially in Southern Rhodesia, and among sympathetic men of the other races throughout Central and East Africa. This convention at Salima can therefore not be regarded as just another meeting of enthusiasts for better understanding between the races. It will certainly be that, but also something much more significant, since within the past year the society has come to be considered by many Africans as not merely one test, but as the test, of the sincerity of non-official Europeans who profess liberal intentions. While most local politicians have sought refuge in carefully guarded generalities, it has boldly declared its determination to work for a society which shall be free from all forms of racial discrimination and which sees "human race patriotism" as the logical, ethical, and Christian answer to racialism.

Citizenship committees composed of members of the society of all the races have been studying the major problems of true inter-racial partnership, and the convention will well consider a draft "Inter-racial Pact" which embraces the findings of about fifty such committees in five territories embodied in a form which has been approved by constitutional lawyers and other experts

in Great Britain. Every citizenship committee in Africa has considered the resultant drafts, each suggestion for amendment has been circulated to all of them for acceptance or rejection, and since the document which about one hundred and fifty delegates from the committees will have before them at the convention will thus be their joint production, it is likely to be adopted without more than minor change as the basic policy of the most active inter-territorial organization of East and Central Africa. Without speculating about the contents, it is quite safe to say that it will postulate a common patriotism based on a common citizenship, equality of opportunity, the maintenance of the highest standards of civilization, and that no rank should be earned and used responsibly, not rank as the automatic right of every adult.

Capricorn speakers have advocated a qualitative franchise on a common electoral roll, with multiple votes for those who can earn them, as quite independently, Mr. W. F. Couss, a commissioner appointed by the Government of Kenya recently recommended as the basis for an African franchise in that Colony—the Government of which promptly jeopardized the policy it purported to accept by so distorting the commissioner's proposals as to bring an ostensible qualitative franchise almost to the level of universal franchise). The argument that a qualitative franchise is a denial of democracy, as some ardent Socialists aver, seems to us of no importance, for the underlying assumption is that the system which operates (not so satisfactorily after all) in the highly developed and homogeneous United Kingdom is *ipso facto* the best prescription for the totally different circumstances of Africa. That naive and dangerous idea makes no appeal to many

far better judges who are democrats in the true meaning of the term. They would prefer at this stage a broad-based inter-racial electorate which is neither a democracy in the current sense of the word nor an oligarchy, for in none of the countries concerned could it be wise to introduce universal suffrage now.

The Capricorn Africa Society is not a political party and will not fight elections on its own account, but it is bound to bring its influence to bear on such occasions, as will be seen almost at once in

Influence at Elections.

Kenya. Candidates prepared to pledge themselves to the implications of the Capricorn Contract may be given powerful support, but some present members of the Legislature who decide not to give undertakings of that kind may find themselves fighting not only right-wing opponents representing the Federal Independence Party, but also middle-of-the-road Independents enjoying the active backing of the local adherents of the society. We shall be surprised if every candidate, of whatever race, is not asked to define his attitude to its proposals, and if those who are equivocal or antipathetic are not made to feel the opposition of electors who are convinced of the danger of continued drift along the present course. Those European aspirants for the Legislature who will resent the intervention of these new forces may derive some vicarious comfort from the thought that the African extremists who offer themselves as candidates in the African election next March will likewise find themselves opposed by moderate members of their own race, men who will profess their faith in inter-racial partnership and have the courage to expose the sterility of African racism and ideas of African domination.

Many of the ablest Africans in Southern Rhodesia have already committed themselves publicly to such a stand, and in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia some of

Working for Trust Between the Races.

the best members of the society are Africans who were previously active workers for the National Congress, from which they have resigned because they now see that there is no hope for the future which can be fair (in both senses of the word) only if inter-racial harmony and inter-racial trust are made to prevail in all situations. That is the objective of the Capricorn Africa

Society, whose forthcoming statement of policy must consequently demand the scrutiny and judgment of all who are seriously concerned for the advancement of the territories between the Limpopo and the Nile. Whatever may have been thought of the society in its earlier stages, and *East Africa and Rhodesia* was perhaps its sharpest critic—the need now is to assess its objectives and promise without *armis pensée*. The full text of the statement will be published by this newspaper as soon as it becomes available, so that every reader may have the opportunity of reaching his own conclusion.

Statements Worth Noting

Whilst the Africans are rapidly accepting a money economy and utilizing their soil to produce new wealth, there are few signs of any appreciation by the leaders in this generation of their responsibility to posterity for the soil. Educational processes are slow, and most of our motives emphasize the need for continuity in staff and policy which is our constant aim. — The annual report for 1955 of the Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Department.

"South Nyanza District Council is to be constituted on its wisdom in employing non-Africans on contract in posts which cannot yet be satisfactorily filled by Africans." We all hope that properly qualified Africans of good character and high integrity will gradually come forward to fill these posts, which will be policy followed by the Government. — Sir Evelyn Baring, Governor of Kenya.

"Our competitors are going ahead faster than we are in most markets and in most products, and for the first year running the United Kingdom share of world trade in manufactures has declined. Yet a big external surplus is vital to the maintenance of our position in the world. A surplus of £300m. to £350m. annually would not be too much." — Mr. Harold Macmillan, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"In the eight years following the war the Colonial Service required three times as many forestry officers as in the eight years before the war, five times as many administrative officers, doctors, and agricultural officers, seven times as many veterinarians, 12 times as many surveyors, and 26 times as many education officers." — Mr. Bernard Braine, M.P.

"East Africa is very different from South Africa in inter-racial relations, and Kenya is making a real attempt at solving this problem." — *Church of Scotland Overseas Bulletin*, reporting on the tour of East Africa by the Rt. Rev. Professor G. D. Henderson, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

"If people have wants, they also have duties. Their duties are to increase productivity and output to enable the revenue required to satisfy their wants to be produced." — Mr. W. Pridmore, Finance Minister, addressing the Legislative Council of Uganda.

"Although in a democracy the opposition has a duty to oppose, the less party politics are brought into Colonial affairs the better for all concerned." — Sir Roger Constant, M.P., speaking in Ghana, England.

"The rural health service and education given to Africans in Kenya is much higher than in any other Colony I know." — Professor Dorey, visiting consultant on tropical diseases during a visit to Kenya.

Notes By The Way

First Duty

THE FIRST DUTY of an elected member of a Legislative Council, says a statement of principles issued in Kenya by the Federal Independence Party, is to his constituents. That misrepresentation ought not to pass unchallenged. The first duty is unquestionably to a man's conscience. The second to the country as a whole, and the individual constituency can rank only third. About that order of precedence there should be no lack of understanding nor equivocation. Indeed, a man who did not put his conscience first and his country second would be a very poor representative of other citizens. E. natural Burke made an historic statement on this subject when speaking to his constituents in Bristol in 1774. He then said:

Member and His Constituents

"IT OUGHT TO BE THE HAPPINESS and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him, their opinions high respect, their business unfeigned attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions to theirs, and above all, in all cases to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought never to sacrifice to any man or any set of men. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable."

Representative, Not Delegate

"YOUR REPRESENTATIVE OWES YOU not the industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion. Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain as an agent and advocate against other agents and advocates; Parliament is a deliberate assembly of one nation with one interest — that of the whole — where not local purposes, nor local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You chose a member, indeed; but when you have chosen him he is not Member of Bristol but he is a Member of Parliament. If the local constituents should have an interest, or should form an hasty opinion evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far as any other from any endeavour to give it effect."

Cheerful Constructive News

MR. JOHN HARE, the able Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, who believes in saying what he thinks, suggested in a speech last week that bad news is given undue prominence in British newspapers because it is frequently more exciting than good news, and he threw out the idea that this paper should deliberately devote at least one page per issue to cheerful and constructive news. He would, of course, not equate the two adjectives; what is cheerful is not necessarily constructive, and people who would be prejudiced by some constructive endeavour might not regard it at all cheerful. It would be absurd to deny that some newspapers devote a number, but with enormous circulations, are interested chiefly in sensational and trivial matters, but the great majority have better sense and better standards, and they publish a great deal of "good news".

Applying the Test

AFTER READING MR. HARE'S SPEECH I analysed last week's issue of this paper, which emerges pretty well from the Minister's test. Four columns given to an address by Sir Edward Twining were headed "Tanganika's Needs is High Standards". Then followed nearly three columns about I.C.M.: Government's plan for a central pool of officials for territories hearing self-government, the men likely to be concerned will have considered that cheerful news, and it is certainly a constructive attempt to meet a real problem. The next three columns were not cheerful, for they recorded some sharp comments by Sir Barclay Nihill and Mr. Arthur Gaiskell, but both were constructive. Two columns about the East Africa Tourist Travel Association revealed that the tourist trade of the territories is now worth more than £6m. annually; another page dealt with the Imperial Institute; and there was a page report of the anniversary meeting in London of the Universities Mission to Central Africa. In the company meeting report columns there was good, constructive news from the Power Securities Corporation and the Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Company; and scattered throughout the issue were many other "good" news items.

Criticizing Constructively

THERE WAS LITTLE OF A DEPRESSING CHARACTER. The official report on the riot in Mengo Prison, Buganda, was certainly not creditable to the African authorities in that kingdom, and some people will not have heard with pleasure that the two most influential leaders of the Nyasaland African Congress had been charged with the sedition charges; but, because it indicated that the authorities are at long last taking action, other readers may have classified that news as cheerful and constructive. On the evidence of the issue published on the day on which Mr. Hare spoke, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA acquitted itself well. If it had had to group items under some such name as "Not Such Good News", they would have made a very poor showing from the standpoint of space against the good, constructive items. It is to be hoped that that will be a normal result of dealing with the news as it flows in, selecting for publication what it seems most desirable to record for the sake of East and Central Africa. There must frequently be critical comment in the leading circles of courts, but their aim is to criticize constructively, never merely destructively, and I can recall no single departure from that deliberate policy.

Usual Qualifications

WHAT ARE THE USUAL QUALIFICATIONS of a Colonial Governor? The question is prompted by a recent "advertising" reading in Colonial Circles, recently retired, seeks wholeheartedly paid employment, usual qualifications plus international experience, prepared to serve anywhere abroad. I have, I suppose, known more Colonial Governors than most people outside the higher ranks of the Colonial Service, but after many contacts with such men over more than 30 years, I find it impossible to list the usual qualifications. An optimist might suggest that judgment should certainly be an essential requisite for the office, that I have known Governors sadly lacking in that quality. Character, perhaps. But East Africa has had Governors without that attribute. It probably be suggested that some of them, at some early stage, an impressive individual have nevertheless reached the rank

Can A. S. M. Be A Help?

DIRENOMINITY. A. S. M. (Acumen?) Power of do- In the past three decades there have been Governments in East and Central Africa who could have been practical, efficient, disinterested and able to pick the right men for key appointments. Everyone knows cases of conspicuous failure in this respect, but at any rate cannot list the usual qualifications. If any reader can, it would be interested to see his contributions. Even the brief note must, however, include mention of the brief visits of good Government to the Empire as a whole and to the territories fortunate enough to benefit from their initiative and influence. When they have moved on to other posts, a Government has not immediately found out what it had perhaps come to regard as a good man. Governor was in fact extremely unusual.

Confidence

MR. R. L. FRANK'S COMMENT about increased production in the Mufurra mine and the reclamation of the old Chambishi property which is reported on another page of this issue, is fresh evidence of the confidence of the leaders of the Northern Rhodesian mining industry that world consumption of copper will continue to expand and that the Copperbelt mines can

hold their own in competition with others elsewhere. This high electric power becomes available from the Copperbelt means that the mines will have serious fuel problems to meet that they should be dealing thus early with proposals for the expansion of output which will cost many millions of pounds to improve the power situation in the political and economic future of the industry and of a population which draws much of its prosperity and stability from copper mining.

EVERY NEWS-GOVERNER (I'm assuming usually a high Commissioner) in the Diamond has to get the issue to press by the agreed date. There are of course arrangements for checking and re-checking what has been written and passed for printing but mistakes still slip through. Last week, for instance, there was a page report in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA about the 98th anniversary meeting in London of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. But, by slip, the headline described it as the 'C.M.S.' anniversary meeting. This must have disappointed members of the work of the U.M.C.A. but, perhaps, perhaps of more widespread interest, was probably less annoyed than the journal immediately concerned was to become aware of the misrepresentation only when it was seen in print. I apologise on their behalf.

How Group on Race Relations in Kenya and N. Rhodesia

Fancy Franchises, the Common Roll, and Anti-Racialist Discourse

THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN still in the process of being written 'Race and Power', a new How Group publication which examines the movement towards self-government in five critical areas of the Colonial Empire: Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, the Gold Coast, Malaya, and British Guiana.

John Ivanus Robinson, writer of the Kenya chapter, was educated at Marlborough and Oriel College, Oxford, and was for a time on the editorial staff of the Economist, with special responsibility in Colonial affairs, and Mr. James Tomlin, who has written about Northern Rhodesia, is a solicitor who was educated at Charterhouse and Merton College, Oxford, and has travelled in Southern and West Africa. Their research study expresses the personal view of each author, all the drafts were discussed and amended by other members of the group, whose chairman writes in his introduction.

The Running Against

It is probably running against the tide in the colonies, and to think otherwise shows an odd sort of optimism, when it seems to suggest that the liberal view of automatic progress, now largely discredited in Europe, can validly be applied to the development of colonial territories. So much moral and material improvement is expected by the optimists as a result of one political or the colonies that they disregard the possibility of failure or of change through violence.

The racialist view of protest, which is the chief alternative to the march towards self-government, arises solidly against Britain. This is illustrated by demonstrations in the Government in Africa, where there had been a movement of protest, demonstration and a march to hand.

In the past, the minds of coloured peoples changed faster than in the past. The minds of many African leaders were well-fixed on the 20th century, but many coloured people do not have the resources, wealth, and political

status which the century has brought in Western Europe and the colonies, and actually leads to disillusion and the loss of the spirit of growth.

It is the descent of the Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. Such violence, though always dangerous in the case of the remoteness of the system, is rather an indication of the colonial interests now coming to the surface. The colonial momentum towards self-government. The loss of the integrity will be the source her Colonial policy and for any such outbreak of violence.

Fancy Franchises

To hint at the likelihood of violent change in the colonies, to be pessimistic about the eventual outcome of the aged Colonial policy, to be afraid of the geographic, rather, the importance of the programme should be viewed to minimize the risk of revolution and to maximize the prospects of peaceful change.

If due weight must be given to a Colony to various needs, and if a political balance has to be kept between the various communities, then fancy franchises or dual representation may be necessary. Fancy franchises often lead to a common roll with economic and educational qualifications. The abandonment of communal representation will be slow in Colonies with European settlers.

Universal suffrage, the counting of heads, leads inevitably to the domination of the European. He is nowhere in sufficient numbers to stand on that basis against a mass of indigenous voters. Where European influence enters, the representation of groups communally is likely to persist for some time. But the common roll should be introduced in such territories as Kenya and extended, if only slowly, in the Rhodesias. The use of the common roll as an expression of racial partnership is inestimable.

The extension of political rights does not of itself lead to a lessening of strife between the various communities. It may substitute one form of tyranny for another. It is likely to lead to a demand for partition of a Federal constitution, to race-biased politics in which one group uses an election to oppress its former oppressor.

One of the middle class, a balancing factor between the two extremes, and its habit of behaving responsibly in an emergency, is a very important middle class and it has been, and is, being educated in the colonies, which by virtue of its poverty can offer the few opportunities of the middle class

small and unstable membership. The African community in the urban areas is maintaining trade unions for their own ends. These unions give a fair indication of the general attitude of the Bantu Group towards the apartheid of the young members. Now all that is left to be done is to bring the second half of most East Africans in Rhodesia, but their contribution to complex and pressing problems is much more valuable than that of the little élite of United Kingdom public school boys, two or three times their age who lose the opportunities of a setting their own laws and extremisms.

It is surely an exaggeration to describe Kenya as the most frightful spectacle in Africa today and the British Plan as the most daring and ambitious experiment in Government in Africa anywhere in the world. There is no such thing as a free lunch.

Success or Contract

Stall-rotation is not necessarily a wise policy. This is the fact that it has been possible to reach a standstill agreement under which the parties have agreed to drop all the really hot inter-racial topics from public debate during the Constitutional experiments. This agreement may seem to be crowding out the hot common sense, but to do so is to seal (why are many things more) a Hobbesian contract of fear. It is as though the negotiators have confined to the contract from the day to day the week because they are terrified of the consequences of trying to live apart if they succeed in coming together long enough that they may get something out of one another. It is something like a compromise of all violence. But this is hardly a programme with which to inspire.

Then comes the outright assertion that without its 40,000 Europeans Kenya would be at the least do not resort to a state of savagery; one answer to those who suggest that the solution to Kenya's problem is to buy out the white farmers in the White Highlands and hand the area to and hungry Africans is that the land would not last the Africans six months. The Europeans are vital to Kenya, and it would be betraying its own heritage if we forget it.

Almost every politically-minded African who comes to this country and talks from public platforms and in private gatherings either forgets it or does his best to forget it, in a sense of forgetfulness, and when the essential contribution of the European community to Kenya's prosperity is mentioned by a questioner or commentator from the floor, he is more often than not made to feel himself an apediluvian reaction, a champion of inexcusable privilege, an obstructer of African advancement.

Two strange blunders are made in references to the United Country Party in Kenya. It is said to be supported by most of the European elected members of the Legislature, whereas it has minority support only. Even stranger is to find Mr. E.A. Viner mentioned as one of the party's two outstanding leaders for he had a no time had any connection with the U.C.P. It is considered by the group to have "the keenest and most subtle brain in Kenya politics today," a brain full of ideas for easing racial tensions.

The most interesting study of the position in Northern Rhodesia reaches the conclusion that "so long as the ground is in the hands of the white, the Africans will be the masters of the federated territories and the perpetual white control is the pipe dream of the cheap election cry."

Position in Northern Rhodesia

The disputes of the near future will range around the timing of this advancement. It is desirable that this progress should be made peacefully. The conditions for this are threefold: that there be moderate African leaders, that some European leaders will be trusted by Africans, and that the Europeans are some of the Africans a place in the political sun. No minute

African leaders do exist in Northern Rhodesia. If Europeans do not consider it fair to give the Africans their own will be playing into the hands of African nationalists, particularly the Congress.

Of the 100 European and African members of the Legislature we read:

In the Legislative Council, members of the elected European there are two white Government Officers, two white members of the Legislative Council, and two white members of the Legislative Council. In the Legislative Council, members of the elected European there are two white Government Officers, two white members of the Legislative Council, and two white members of the Legislative Council.

Of the 100 African members of the elected European there are two white Government Officers, two white members of the Legislative Council, and two white members of the Legislative Council. In the Legislative Council, members of the elected European there are two white Government Officers, two white members of the Legislative Council, and two white members of the Legislative Council.

Of the four African members of the elected European there are two white Government Officers, two white members of the Legislative Council, and two white members of the Legislative Council. In the Legislative Council, members of the elected European there are two white Government Officers, two white members of the Legislative Council, and two white members of the Legislative Council.

It is not difficult for an African to be a member in Rhodesia. They tend to be far more and so get very little. All the while they are looking ahead to the day when Africans will have a parliamentary majority that acts as a brake on the political conceptions which the Europeans are willing to give in Northern Rhodesia.

Commit for Hope

The ideal solution to the problem of political representation would be the founding of a second political party believing in partnership in solving the problem of the common good. Lord Malpas, Secretary of the U.C.P. in Northern Rhodesia, says that such a party would like to see Government officials and such responsible parties. But the number of responsible parties is so small that mass political parties have not yet been formed.

In Northern Rhodesia the Committee for Hope. Progress has brought wealth and increased numbers to the European settlers. They have a low threshold of self-government, but the minority want to see the federated territories change to a unitary State. Having gained so much the Europeans are now to some extent on the defensive. The economic environment also brings opportunities for Africa, which some Europeans do not wish to deny them.

The influence of the U.C.P. in Rhodesia has been brought out by the Federation, and in this regard the relations there become acceptance of the U.C.P. in Rhodesia. The resolution phoned through the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council by Sir John Mork, whereby it was agreed that every law in the U.C.P. of the territory has a right to pass according to character, qualification, and ability with a minimum of colour creed or race.

The Africans are still represented nominally in the legislature. If the Europeans want to see cooperation, and this is their chosen salvation, they must lead in events and throw open politics to be attended by all, where Africans and Asians and Europeans can vote for freely chosen candidates freely competing one with another. Only in this way can political parties grow up which will pay attention to the needs of all races.

The book, which must interest anyone who is concerned about race relations in East and Central Africa, is published at 5s. from 30 Pall Mall, London, S.W.1. It is a broad-minded document which is evidently the result of wider reading and much discussion.

Sudan and U.N.C.

THE SUDAN GOVERNMENT'S APPLICATION for membership of the United Nations is to be the first item on the agenda of the General Assembly's meeting in November. The new republic is also to send a member of the International Labour Office. The application will be considered at the International Labour Conference in its next session in 1957.

African Nationalism Can Be Led But Not Driven

All forms of extreme Franchise and Regionalism Scorned

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM among the peoples of Africa and Rhodesia has become a fact of international dimensions and principle. It is not to be confused with her Colonialism, or with her Protectorates. Requirements of a policy are that it should not bring Britain into collision with moderate nationalist leaders, and that it should be based on the use of local initiative as was recently the case in East Africa, Central Africa, and elsewhere. In Uganda the situation has saved only from becoming possibly another Kenya by the willingness of the local authorities to go on together with local moderate leadership and with constitutional experts to devise new procedures after an act of force majeure had been committed by the military in the Kabaka.

Experience in the past decade has shown that nationalism can prove itself a power of force for the liberation of peoples and for the release of their enthusiasm for the development of their own societies. It is necessary to devise a policy which will favour driving nationalist movements to look for help towards Communism whether in their struggle for independence or in building up their own economic development on military defence.

There are dangers during or after the process of achieving self-government of overruling self-determination to the point of fragmentation where it becomes retrogressive, with splinter or minority groups tending to break away and the dominant groups in the new State resorting to undemocratic practices to enforce their rule and seeking to restrict the rights of minorities and opposition parties. This tendency can be seen in certain Arab States and South American republics and the same danger is to be feared in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Conditions must rather be prepared which will leave the new State open to healthy influences from outside, including its "parents" or erstwhile guardians, and with good neighbourly relations with the whole region.

Dangers of Inexperience

Another danger that has to be faced is that of corruption and maladministration due to lack of experience and the still immature growth of indigenous standards of civic duty and sense of national responsibility over a long family, tribal, or local ties.

One of the requirements of British policy should therefore be to attempt to provide for the period leading up to and immediately following the achievement of independence. Foundations should be laid for economic and social development, with the necessary technical aid which will bring healthy influences to bear from outside and also allow for some degree of growth not totally subordinate to or dependent on local pressures in a situation where the party political system is still young and inexperienced or lacking self-imposed restraints.

This implies the abandonment of communalism as basic principle of political policy since the Morley-Minto relationship and the communal award in India is incompatible with a policy of genuinely seeking harmonious growth of self-government to and independence.

Substituted for this must be local policies and conceptions which embrace the economic, social,

and political interests which permit of all races and religions being in common in the development and security of their own country and region. It should be the declared general aim of policy to establish however gradually all forms of franchise and political power based upon relations of equality between Nationalists and their British friends. Mr. Arthur Guinness told the Nile in flood, its waters can be harnessed for the well-being of mankind, or left to run very destructively. A policy of active sympathy with nationalism is required rather than a policy of active opposition and obstruction which generates fear and eventually hysteria and violence.

Appropriate means must be devised for assisting nationalism to control itself and to remove its own limitations which may be likened in function to a dam rather than to an obstacle to development. A strategy imposed obstacles produce fear, resentment, and excesses of zeal generates power as well as controlling flood waters for the protection and benefit of the people.

Regionalism Better Than Nationalism

The argument of this paper is that the most logical alternatives to extreme nationalism, which tends to overrun the bounds of reason and reality in the modern world, are regionalism based upon understanding by the people of their own desires and the actual resources and needs of all the people of their whole region, and internationalism whereby international law and procedures for assistance are resorted to as being above considerations of race, religion, or political affiliations or otherwise.

It will note or surmise to extreme nationalism as we administered by a former Administrator "Power under circumstances in which a young country achieves its adulthood. This is evident from the history and constitutional growth of the Commonwealth and is true today in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and the Sudan, as well as from the situation in other countries where the problem of national development is not complicated by the presence of an exceptionally privileged white settler community anxious to preserve or extend its political supremacy over others, and a dominating role will thus be performed by Britain.

The need for a change of policy with a free communal representation before all forms of representation is even more evident as a result of the situation that has arisen in South, Central, and East Africa, where dominant white settler groups are continuously trying to bring the centre of gravity of political power within their own borders and more under their own control, and to diminish the influence of the British connexion and the possibilities of interference by the Parliament of the U.K.

Lord Malvern's Definition

In Central Africa, where despite African protests Federation was imposed with promises to Britain and Africans of a policy of partnership, Lord Malvern has now defined partnership in the Federal Parliament (March 13, 1956). "Partnership," he said, "concedes that in the distant future the Africans may earn the right to become equal partners, which means they would have a half share in the partnership, never more than that."

Such a conception of the State would in fact be an oligarchy rather than a democracy as the West conceives it and would rely inevitably upon force rather than consent, since Africans are offered no prospect either of achieving self-government themselves or through their full membership of a truly democratic political system and economy.

The tendency of constitutional development in East and Central Africa has hitherto been directed towards increasing the already overloaded representation of the white communities at the expense of British own power to protect the weak and to mediate between the races. British power exercised through local officials in Legislative Councils has often proved ineffective in protecting or promoting the interests of those not adequately represented themselves, and has not been able to resist the slow process of entrenchment by the local settler communities.

It is a necessary requirement of British policy therefore to limit the possible influence of the white settler communities in

Policy for Africa: The first article in the Africa Bureau of the Daily Star says: "We have omitted only the passages which refer to South African affairs, for the Union is a country where we have no voice."

The Franchise in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

(Guidance is given to Citizens White and Black Racialists)

PARTY POLITICS are warming up in the Federation. As the motions of contest are between parties dominated by the Europeans, but the franchise the franchise has been under discussion in all three territories.

The Federal Government is known to have been examining for some time the question of Federal citizenship and qualifications for the Federal franchise. In Nyasaland there has been a recent series of electoral reforms; in Northern Rhodesia the African National Congress has called for a revision of the qualifications for the common roll; and in Southern Rhodesia the Royal Commission has been appointed on the franchise.

At present there is no uniform Federal franchise and it is the task of this paper to examine the existing franchise to figure what variations should be made to give expression of partnership in politics in the Federation.

Population Statistics.

At mid 1955 the total population of the Federation was estimated to be a little over 4.5 million, made up as follows:

	Europeans	Africans	Others
Southern Rhodesia	164,000	1,220,000	12,600
Northern Rhodesia	62,000	1,060,000	6,300
Nyasaland	5,000	2,530,000	9,200

The Federal Executive consists of 35 members, with a cabinet of seven. Representatives are as follows:

(a) Twelve six district members, of whom 14 must be elected in Southern Rhodesia, eight in Northern and four in Nyasaland;

(b) Six African members, of whom two must be elected in Southern Rhodesia, two in Northern Rhodesia, and two in Nyasaland;

(c) Three European members charged with responsibilities for African interests, of whom one must be elected in Southern Rhodesia, one must be nominated by the Governors of Northern Rhodesia, and one must be nominated by the Governor of Nyasaland.

Existing Franchise in the Territories

In Southern Rhodesia the franchise is based on July 31, 1953) gives irrespective of race to any person who:

- (1) Is a British subject, and
- (2) Is a Southern Rhodesian citizen (i.e. was born in or has resided in the State for at least three years);
- (3) Has an adequate knowledge of the English language;
- (4) Can fill in an application form (with the unaided); and
- (5) Has an income of at least £240 per annum (taking into account the value of any food, clothing, or housing provided in kind or occupies property worth at least £500, or is an owner of a registered mining location, or is the wife of any person qualified as above (provided the marriage is of a kind which does not amount to polygamy).

There are 30 representatives (all Europeans, in the Legislature which is unicameral. In January, 1954 the common roll consisted of Europeans, 48,869; Asians 594; Coloureds, 570; and Africans, 44.

In Northern Rhodesia the franchise is (and was on July 31, 1953) given irrespective of race to any person who:

- (1) Is a British subject,
- (2) Has resided in Northern Rhodesia for two years,
- (3) Can fill up an application form for the vote unaided,
- (4) Has an income of at least £200 per annum, taking into account the value of any food, clothing, or housing provided in kind (if anything is provided in kind, it must be valued

This statement was drafted by the Central African Sub-Group of the East and Central Africa Group of the Conservative Commonwealth Council.

(or) worth less than £50 per annum), or occupies property worth at least £500, or is the owner of a registered mining location, or is the spouse of a person qualified as above (provided the marriage is of a kind which does not permit of polygamy).

Since 1948 African have been dominated by the Government to serve of the Legislature, the composition of which is as follows: Officials, 10; Officials (elected from a common roll); 4; African representatives, 6.

At the last publication of the common roll (June, 1955) there were 44,500 European electors, 1,500 Asians, and 1,000 Africans. All but a few handful of the Africans are of the same race, and on the roll are ineligible for the common roll.

All the official and non-official members and two of the African representatives are Europeans; the remaining four African representatives are appointed by the Governor, who abides by the election made by the African Representative Council.

Since 1946 there has been a series of African Councils from rural and urban district councils to provincial councils and to the Representative Council. No person can be a member of a superior council unless he is also a member of an inferior council. The Representative Council thus has the function of an electoral college.

Position in Nyasaland

In Nyasaland there have been constitutional changes since the Federal elections. In 1953 each community elected its representatives. Today there is a common roll for European.

They elect their representatives from their provincial councils. The Legislature was until recently composed of Officials, 10; Non-official Europeans, 6; Africans, 10.

Since the last elections based on the new roll there are six non-official members elected from the common roll and five Africans.

The qualifications for the electors' roll are:

- (1) British subject or at least 21 years of age;
 - (2) Two years' continuous residence;
 - (3) Property of at least £200 per annum;
 - (4) Properly qualified in one of the following: English, Afrikaans, Zulu, and Nyanja, and Standard English.
- The numbers of the new roll are: Europeans, 1,866; Asians, 247.

The Common Roll

There are considerable differences in the representative system in each Federal territory, as would be expected where there are different nationalities, differing ratios of population between races, different economic levels, and varied White policy, particularly in relation to local government. In spite of all these variations the principle of the common roll does exist.

There is no doubt, however, that in the Federation, and in the reform of the franchise were to result in Africans getting a vote, but being unable, by virtue of the number and kind of constituencies, to return members of their liking, that the idea of a common roll would be greatly supported by them. In such circumstances there might appear as a European trick. Conversely, Europeans, naturally wishing to safeguard the future of themselves and their children, would not wish to see an extension of the common roll which would turn them into a minority in need of protection.

Moderates of all races must therefore steer a difficult course. They have to justify the common roll and variations which will probably have to be very considerable. The common roll, even as it stands

today is under attack in the Federation, by the deprivation of money which is an average great number of Africans could not maintain the ambit of the economic qualifications of the common roll.

Some Europeans who deny the principle of partnership between the races would not wish to see the possibility of partnership extended indirectly through the common roll to the "back door" of the qualifications. Congression to such Europeans would mean raising the qualifications now. Subject To make them more stringent would play into the hands of the African extremists. A rational, effective and progressive solution must be found that will give a much fairer in the Federation, by including the qualifications for the roll so that a wider but not necessarily wealthy, Africans be admitted.

The whole question is bound to rest the rate of political advancement acceptable to the present predominantly European electorate, to the Africans and ultimately to the U.K. Government, under the Federal constitution. This relating to electoral law are to be reserved by the Governor for the satisfaction of His Majesty's pleasure. Alterations in the territorial franchise must, to a greater or lesser extent, be approved by His Majesty's Government.

Many factors have to be considered before dealing with proposals to amend the franchise.

Franchise Rates

Natural Population.—The Europeans will not admit alterations on the basis of the common roll which will swamp them. Many Europeans in the Federation have young families, and it is reckoned that for every 100 emigrants, one becomes an elector after fulfilling the residential qualifications. Furthermore, for every 10 increase in the European population, according to Mr. S. O. Owusu, some 200000 Eight is by immigration and two by natural increase.

Thus even if the European population in Southern Rhodesia were trebled in 10 years, there would be but 200000 more in that territory, while the number of Africans would rise from about 600000 to 800000.

Universal suffrage would mean the European majority require protection. Even parity could be achieved only by having stiff qualifications for the common roll.

The ratios in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are considerably more favourable to the Europeans.

British Nationality.—In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland the electorate does not admit British protected persons who comprise all the Africans and a few Asians in those Protectorates. Although Africans can become naturalized by the payment of £5 and taking the oath of allegiance, it is evident that they are reluctant to do so, what they argue — not illogically, giving their votes to the dominant race — the protection of the Crown for themselves and their lands.

The Act of Federation provided that Protectorates were to be merged in the remainder of the Constitution, but the Protectorate status of the two northern territories was specifically recognized, and the Protectorate Governments (which are the ultimate authority of the U.K. Government) were to be responsible for the welfare of land and for promoting the local and territorial political advancement of their peoples for so long as such peoples desire.

Constitutional Safeguard

Safeguards are not lightly thrown away, and it is unlikely that a change in the status of Africans in the Protectorates will be accepted unless some political protection is given to them as a revised Federal common roll. Such a change in status would be regarded as a Westminster as well as a Salisbury. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties, a definition of Federal citizenship which could embrace the Protectorates would be most desirable, with a supplementary bond which would be the basis of Federal franchise. Federal citizenship can, in view of the ready acceptance of British citizenship. There are no tests for the latter apart from birth or residence and good character.

If, however, defining Federal citizenship tests of being a citizen in conjunction with the Rhodesia test were adopted, the anomalous position might arise in Southern Rhodesia, where all Africans are British subjects, the vast of whom would not qualify for Federal citizenship. On the other hand, if Federal citizenship were coterminous with British or British-protected citizenship, such a franchise based on Federal citizenship would be tantamount to universal suffrage.

Economic Qualifications.—Initially all economic Africans satisfy the present economic qualifications, though one must exclude the 500000 of the present of Asians and Coloureds in the future. It is possible that about 4000 could have been on the common roll in Southern Rhodesia for the Federal election, and this number most grow as the Federation prospers.

In Northern Rhodesia, with African industrial advancement and the continued prosperity in the copper industry, perhaps as many as 10000 to 12000 Africans would meet the economic qualifications (Many Africans in mining townships occupy houses worth £250).

If Nyasaland there are probably only a few hundred Africans who would pass such tests.

But the economic qualifications are not raised the Europeans were first enfranchised, electorally, in Northern Rhodesia.

Alternative Qualifications

Professional.—The desire to build up an African middle class which would begin to consider political problems responsibly can be realized by creating alternative qualifications for the common roll based on special positions in society, such as school teachers, members of native authorities, clerical men, and members of the police and N.C.O. in the process. It is assumed that some of these would fall within the economic qualifications. A working knowledge of English seems a necessary qualification, as much of Government work is conducted in English.

Political Parties.—The common roll is a device to reconcile racial differences. If multi-racial political parties could arise out of the electorate, the European fear of mass African voting might be mitigated.

But at present the political parties in the Federation except the Federal Party are exclusively European. The Africans have their national congresses, but setting to the immigration laws the leaders of the congresses are prohibited persons in the three Federated territories and so cannot attend political conferences. At the last assembly of the African members of the Federal Party, Mr. Harry Numbumba stated for the Northern Rhodesian African that the common roll should be open to all Africans earning at least £50 a year and able to read and write in English or their mother tongue. On such qualifications most urban Africans would get the vote.

Protection for the African by having communal representation prolongs the cleavage and if Africans have a near share of the common roll they ought to give up some of the benefits of the communal representatives. African politicians demand parity and ask for the election from a communal voters' roll of an equal number of Africans and Europeans. The basis is indirect elections and not through elected colleges based on territorial African councils.

Universal Suffrage.—The future of the Federation is too precious to give the operation of the principle of universal suffrage in the immediate future.

Possible Extension

Extending the Common Roll.—It is desirable, if it is to be done in the near future, any extension based on Federal citizenship would not seem to be practical. The economic qualifications could be tightened up and let more Africans could be on the roll. British protected persons must surely be admitted, subject to other qualifications. Educational and social qualifications could be admitted as a means to be fair, but these factors could be introduced into a points system of qualifications.

Communal Electorates.—The question is being canvassed in the Protectorates of those qualified to be voters in the Protectorates, where the vote is given to a European, but the vote is given to the African. It is just another way to divide down the number of Africans on the roll, and it is highly discredited the idea of the common roll even if the eyes of British Africans.

If it is desired to please the European and African members of the common roll, it will be better to draw the constituency boundaries on the basis of the people's names, and to divide the electorate into constituencies, and the electors would be drawn from the constituencies.

Communal Representation.—It is all probably best to be drawn by the electors, if it is a matter of the roll, the proposal for African electors to be drawn would be desirable in the provincial and territorial elections, if Africans that they should vote directly their electorate, and not by proxy.

If all Africans are given a free choice for their communal representatives, then it is possible that the wrong sort of Africans will be elected and that such representatives will claim to speak for all Africans in the territory. And would not to emphasize racial differences, it could be better

Colonel Stirling on Capricorn Society

Interview in R.B.C. Home Service

COLONEL DAVID STIRLING, President of the Capricorn African Society, was interviewed about it in the R.B.C. Home Service last week, shortly before he left London to return to Africa.

His solution for racial problems, he said, was a common citizenship open to all races and based on a political faith to which people of all races could give their loyalty. Every African would be entitled to all the privileges and opportunities of citizenship, except that of the vote, which the society regarded as a responsibility, as one of the chief freedoms which had to be earned.

The speaker continued (in part):

There will be an education level set reasonably low, say the equivalent of the European age-group of 1950, with a yearly cost of £240 a year. But although we need a definite qualification on the vote, we insist that all the facilities to enable every man of any colour to reach those qualifications must be made available as soon as possible. We are very strong supporters of more education for the African, including more secondary schools. But the extension of greatly increased facilities for secondary education depends on the stability of the economy, and therefore before we get a common citizenship we must have that basis of stability.

Opposition from National Congresses

Well-educated and politically conscious Africans want independence as soon as possible, but in some territories, particularly in Southern Rhodesia, the society has very wide African support. Either the African will be encouraged to assert himself as an individual or he will assert himself as a race, and we believe that everything turns on opening up opportunities for the African as an individual. The concept of common citizenship can be acceptable to the African because he would not be asserting himself as an individual, and threatens to do so, as a race only because of the frustrations. The National Congresses in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Zanyika African National Congress are at the same bitterly opposed to the society, but it is important to note that our very best recruits come from those who have been African nationalists in the past.

"Numbers are in the case of the African the inter-never suggests. How many are looking forward to a return to Kenya, Uganda and Malaya? The political fever will have passed, and African priority party."

COLONEL STIRLING said: "I do not believe in the normal pattern of the world, which is every type of racialism, every protest, and European as a prototype, are prepared to protect standards, but we are not prepared to protect a race. It is our view that our political will establish the political faith that will be a strong force, the forces which will place each of the races and it will be a force the Africans small and inevitable have serious preponderance in the electoral system, the true test, and stability of a European in Africa will be a fact."

"If you have a society of... and will a civilized marriage in the common order...?"

"I think that most of us in the society believe when the natural dignity of race is allowed to assert itself, and all the artificialities that surround the race are removed, there will be in the future a small events a slight... in the future... inter-..."

You mean that the people will stick to their own people?"

COLONEL STIRLING said: "I think they will stick to their own people in the sense of a community against community. I believe that there will be a great degree of integration in this social sense. If finally it trends toward intermarriage the society would never oppose it. It might be the solution. But we want to please this rather tricky problem to natural law, and regard it as a great conceit to interfere with that."

COLONEL STIRLING said: "Anyhow you don't expect it is going to happen, but you expect a greater friendliness between the races to be the main end."

Young Africans in London

Aggressive and Opinionated

THE AFRICANS WHO FLOCK to the meetings at Hyde Park are aggressive, opinionated, persistent, and sometimes wise and tolerant, just like the Europeans standing next to them. The Rev. Donald Soper has written in *Tribune*, and he should know, for he has taken a Sunday afternoon meeting there for many years. His article, headed "We Must Get to Know the Africans" includes these passages:

Their meetings do not seem to work in the same gears as ours. It is exasperating to speaker and crowd alike when, instead of Greek meeting Greek, English and African and Asian chronically fail to come to grips with one another, and words mount up like a growing wall of separations. More and more of them are becoming vocally and politically alert, and there is so little rapport between them and us.

"One of the ablest Russians I met in Moscow, a research scientist, once argued with me that the political and economic life of the continent of Africa were political and economic life of the Communist might ultimately triumph in that continent. I had African confidants in Hyde Park shouting that with unflinching vigour every week. There are witnesses to the truth of his statement that Communism can neither be overthrown by war nor by argument."

But the speaker, advocate the Labour Party programme, and he will find that the only parts of it that secure a purchase on the black hearer's mind will be those parts which are bespoken with evolution, "bonanzas of opposition to capitalism and colonialism."

Personal Relations in the Empire

Co-Equal Partnerships Essential

MR. E. H. C. LEATHER, Conservative M.P. for North Somerset, said in Bath on Friday:

"I want to see a Commonwealth Bank established with lending powers of at least £100m a year, at least half of which could be easily financed out of the budget surplus of this country alone, and to which other members of the Commonwealth would, I believe, be prepared to contribute."

"It is a shocking fact that the great majority of coloured leaders throughout the Commonwealth, in Africa and British are so ignorant that at some stage of their lives they came to Britain and were snubbed by some well-to-do individual who is probably never been heard of before or since. It is a disgrace, a case of disgrace, even, well-known and British... throughout the Commonwealth... and with... come back to that one... and deplorable omission."

"The... of the colour problem... of the British Commonwealth... The... of the Queen's subjects... have no... skin... the colour of our... in Britain... it moves from pale... to the darkest black; and... we make... work on a basis of completely co-equal partnership with them, or it will not work at all."



What's the Store Manager trying to sell himself on?

"He's looking for some flooring ideas for the new Store to put up to his Chairman. Really, a useful thing that will stand up to tropical conditions and give plenty of hard wear."

Sounds like Semastic Tiles.

"They'll have to resist white ants and termites . . . and mould and fungus."

Semastic Tiles do that.

"And probably the only cleaning they'll get will be by unskilled labour."

Semastic Tiles need no special cleaning techniques—nothing the most unskilled labour can't do. They're completely impervious, you see. That means they're hygienic, as well as easy to clean.

"How about heat and noise—very important in a public building?"

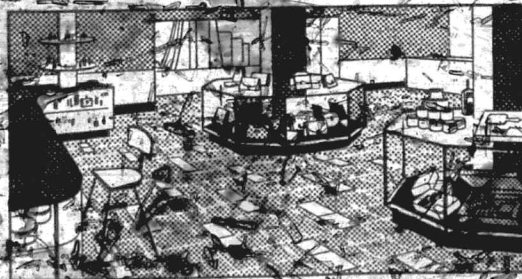
The resilience of Semastic Tiles—which is non-slip by the way—makes them quiet and easy to walk on. And they're certainly cool!

"Supposing—one must be prepared for the worst—structural sub-floor cracking occurs. How bad is the effect on Semastic Tiles?"

Again, about as little as you could hope for—Semastic Tiles are light in weight and conform to the surface of the sub-floor.

Lightness and reduction in thickness would be a help in flooring multi-storey buildings.

And, incidentally, in every respect Semastic Tiles—developed by Semtex especially for use in tropical countries—are the best you can have.



SEMASTIC

DECORATIVE TILES

VINYL TILES

DOMESTIC TILES

PERSONALIA

DR. C. DAVID DRURY has returned to Kenya by sea.

SIR JOHN GRICEY, Minister of Justice in Uganda, will shortly leave.

SIR DONALD ANDERSON has been re-elected chairman of the Shipping Federation.

MR. B. W. ANDERSON has joined the board of the Sunrise Mining and Finance Co. Ltd.

MR. LESLIE GAMAGE has been re-elected president of the Institute of Exporters for the 14th consecutive year.

SIR ROY WELLSKY has been appointed Acting Prime Minister of the Federation during the absence abroad of LORD MALVERN.

MR. NOEL HOLMAN has succeeded PAUL SAMPOOR WAKA as Southern Africa representative of the Anglo-African Co. Ltd.

MR. R. DE S. STAPLETON, Chief Secretary in Tanganyika, has arrived in this country on short leave. He will return at the end of June.

MR. GORDON W. H. RICHMOND has been elected to the board of the Legal and General Assurance Society, Ltd., which has offices in the Rhodesias.

MR. R. TATTON-BROWN is acting as Commissioner for Community Development in Kenya during the absence on leave of MR. TITASEWATH.

SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor of Kenya, and LADY MARY BARING flew back to Nairobi at the end of last week after their short visit to England.

MR. E. W. BERCHERVAISE, Nyasaland's Director of Electrical Services, and MRS. BYRCHERVAISE have left in the steamer for a long leave in this country.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, interim leader of the Dominion Party of Southern Rhodesia, who has farmed in the country for 35 years, is due in London towards the end of June.

SIR ELDRED HITCHCOCK, a non-official member of the Legislative Council of Tanganyika Territory, left the Middlesex Hospital, London, a few days ago after an operation.

SIR SAVILLE GARNER, Deputy Under-Secretary of State for the Commonwealth Relations Office, has been appointed High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada.

SIR THOMAS WHITE, who recently visited Rhodesia, sailed from London last week with LADY WHITE on relinquishing the office of High Commissioner for Australia.

SAYED Ibrahīm EL MURTI, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Supplies of the Sudanese Republic, is due in London tomorrow for a week's visit at the invitation of H.M. Government.

CAPTAIN S. MORRIS, Salvation Army, was promoted BRIGADIER A. J. EDWINSON, also of the Salvation Army, as a member of the Southern Province Education Authority in Northern Rhodesia.

MESSRS. A. S. EVANS and A. D. S. I. MACKENZIE have been appointed additional members of Kilwa Municipal Council, and MR. W. G. B. LANGMUIR, an additional member of the Broken Hill Council.

MR. COLIN BEACK, press officer at Rhodesia House, London, until last year, when he returned to Salisbury, has been recorded as press officer of the office of the Federal Prime Minister and to the Cabinet Office.

Mrs. GEORGE COLE, who has been elected a vice-chairman of Lunn's Ltd. in succession to Sir HERBERT DAVIS, became a director of the United Africa Co. Ltd. in 1957 and joint managing director in 1952.

SIR GREGORY COLVILLE, Governor of Nyasaland, is to address the Governors and Royal Empire Societies in Salisbury on Tuesday, June 7, on a tour in Nyasaland. His departure will be taken by LORD

Mr. A. N. MAIN, Uganda's Minister of Commerce and Regional Communications, and Mr. D. S. FENYON, chairman of the Uganda Electricity Board, are to visit hydro-electric installations in Scotland between July 9 and 15.

LORD MALVERN, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, accompanied by his private secretary, MR. W. S. NICHOLAS, is on his way to London in the WINCHESTER CASTLE to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

ARCHDEACON and MRS. G. CALCRAFT have resigned after 22 years' service with the Church Missionary Society in the Upper Nile diocese in Uganda, are now in Leicestershire, where the archdeacon is vicar of Countesthorpe with Foston.

L. F. MARSH, chairman of Kettle's Roy and Lyons Ltd., is to represent Nairobi Chamber of Commerce on the executive council of the Joint East and Central African Board, Mr. H. F. BARIAN having resigned after many years' service.

MR. J. H. WHITE and MR. P. G. LLOYD have been appointed joint managing directors of Keep Brothers, Ltd., and MR. NORMAN SMETS has joined the board. The governing and life directors are MR. J. F. C. SEEP and MR. E. H. CHICHELY respectively.

MR. P. G. RIDLEY, assistant general manager in East Africa of the Standard Bank of South Africa, and his daughter are on their way to England by sea. MR. B. S. EASWOOD is acting as chief representative of the bank in East Africa.

COMMANDER A. B. GOORD has been re-elected chairman of Nakuru County Council, of which Mrs. D. M. F. PICKFORD is vice-chairman. Mr. W. W. PEREIRA, clerk since the county council was created in 1955, recently resigned. The present clerk is MR. J. L. TAPLEE.

MR. B. CANNING-COOKE, of Northern Rhodesia, and MR. M. HYDE-CLARKE, secretary of the Overseas Employers' Federation, have been nominated as advisers to SIR RICHARD SLEDDEN, the British employers' delegate, at the International Labour Office Conference in Geneva from June 6 to 27.

MR. M. M. RODRIGUES, Director of Agriculture in Kenya, is to become a member for Agriculture and Natural Resources in Tanganyika in October after a period of leave. He served in Sierra Leone from 1936 to 1943, when he became Deputy Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State. Five years later he went to Kenya as Deputy Director of Agriculture.

AIR CHIEF MARSHAL SIR JOHN BOYLE, Chief of the Air Staff, will open an exhibition of the paintings and pastel drawings of the Royal Air Force in Kenya and the Middle East and of combined operations in Kenya in the Art Gallery of the Imperial Institute on Friday, June 8. They are the work of Miss P. A. DREW. The exhibition will be open to the public until the end of the month.

MR. A. J. T. GOULDING, who has been connected with Allen, Wicks & Shepherd, Ltd., for 28 years, has resigned the chairmanship owing to the pressure of other duties, and he has been succeeded by MR. R. C. HAY-COGHEAN. MR. R. H. BROWNE has also joined the board, the other members of which are MESSRS. R. J. BLACKADDER, A. F. JENKIN, A. J. RENNIE, A. M. BOSCHOLT, and E. B. SOMERWELL. There are four alternate directors, MESSRS. E. A. EHLINGER, H. G. HENRY, F. C. MACINTOSH and M. A. RIBEIRO.

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Strong Tide of African Nationalism Immigrant Races Digging Their Own Graves

UNLESS AFRICANS CAN SEE that multi-racialism leads to their betterment, they will refuse to co-operate, said a long leading article in Monday's *Times*. Headed "Dange Slugs" it contained the following passage: "A few Africans of other tribes sided or abetted Mau Mau in their support of Mau Mau. Others would have been conspicuous had it not been for the fact that they were disapproved of Mau Mau aims. The motives for their abstention were rather diverse and distinct of Mau Mau's atavistic and hysterical frenzy."

The tide of extreme African nationalism runs even stronger now than it did five years ago. In Kenya it has been seen working its way into the trade union movement for want on any other channel. Intense political activity is reported from the Nyanza Provinces, where the educated, politically conscious, and overcrowded Luo tribe feel the impact of political agitation from neighbouring Uganda. In Uganda itself the African National Congress is pressing for immediate consideration of direct elections on common rolls throughout the Protectorate and went so far recently as to issue a statement demanding immediate self-government.

In Tanganyika a brand of pure African nationalism aiming at the total destruction of European or Asian influence, has begun to make headway, precipitated because of the impetus given to the idea by the responsible representatives of the United Nations Visiting Mission last year. In Zanzibar political spirit remains volatile and capable of sudden explosion.

Breakdown of Orderly Government

The abdication of British administration in the Sudan is a breakdown of orderly government in the Equatorial region. Uganda's northern border. Farmer in the Sudan. Nasser's propaganda machine is at work sowing the Arab and African seeds of the East African littoral against British government. Only this week the British on the Kenya Legislative Council called for a revision of the treaty by which British leases some of the Sultan of Zanzibar's coastal territory.

More serious of all, the sense of instability in the northern corner of Africa has unleashed forces among the Somalis whose effects are incalculable. Somalia's no-order United Nations trusteeship, is due for self-government in 1960. Egyptian intrigues is at work here under the Italian administration. Britain, by handing over the Horn of Ethiopia, has eroded the confidence of many of the Somali border peoples in British administration. Historic irony could hardly be grimmer if it was Ernest Bevin who originally pressed for a United Somalia bringing together the Somalis from British, Italian, French, and Ethiopian territory. The visionary project was defeated in the United Nations by Russian opposition. Today it has a first-class chance of being revived as part of an anti-British movement spreading disaffection in northern Kenya, and perhaps helping to set the whole of East Africa on fire.

"If East Africa is to escape relapse into political chaos and tribal subsistence, it must be left to other powers than Britain would quickly gain control of the continent. Great Britain's minimum interest is a stable and secure Government which are both stable and friendly."

The African peoples in this area are still too immature to undertake the management of their own affairs. As the Royal Commission Report on East Africa makes clear, the immigrant races must remain, and multiracial government, not exclusive African nationalism, must be the outcome. The British Government fully alive to this necessity, has directed policy towards it as far as successfully possible.

The maintenance of the objective will become increasingly difficult. It is not only that the immigrants' races themselves are beginning to approach their own interests, and only too prone to pursue courses which amount to digging their own graves. African nationalism, as it becomes more and more nationalistic, adds to the difficulty. Africans can see that multi-racialism leads to their betterment. If they go to their expiration, they will cooperate.

Nairobi's Memorial Hospital has plans for eventual extension to 250 beds. Mr. G. M. K. is the chairman of the hospital's annual general meeting.

Dominion Party's First Conference Opposition to Racial Partnership

THE DOMINION PARTY, formed only a week ago under the leadership of Mr. Winston Bond, of Nyasaland, has held its first congress in Lusaka over the weekend. European delegates from both the Rhodesias attended, but Nyasaland was not represented. The party is composed of opposition groups (with the exception of the Commonwealth Party) to the Federal Party.

The dominating theme of the congress was the Federal Government's racial policy. Speakers attacked as an entirely illusory pretence, any question of integrating white and black in Central Africa. The party's own policy may be judged by the following two clauses, one an amendment to the party's statement of principles. The first read:

"The party recognized the existence of the two main population groups, and considered that the way to harmony lies in giving each group the opportunity to develop its political capabilities in its own sphere."

This was criticized as a complete statement of apartheid, and Mr. R. K. Wilson, one of the younger delegates, spoke of it as simply another version of "the segregation policy which has been completely and absolutely thrown out by the Commonwealth Party" and for segregation, and if we do not stand for something different we stand for nothing at all."

Later a newly drafted clause was issued in the following terms:

"The political field control and leadership must for all time remain in the hands of responsible persons, which will be achieved by the party's franchise proposals. The party recognizes the existence of different population groups and considers it vital to foster a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation, while making it full possible for each group to develop its own talents."

Mr. Winston Bond said that the new Commonwealth Party members' opposition to apartheid made it impossible for them to stand for anything as anything as the Duke of Montrose, who for his part in Rhodesia, and who was associated with the now defunct segregationist Federal Party, was explicit that the whites should be forced to send his children to a public school.

The congress approved proposals for two voter rolls - to be called the common roll and the African roll. The former would enfranchise Europeans and Africans who could fulfil requirements which would be civilized and the African roll would enfranchise Africans who would elect only the present six African members.

Bold Experiment in Race Relations

Dr. Walter Adams on the New University

DR. WALTER ADAMS, principal of the new University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, contributed to *The Mirror* on Tuesday a most interesting article on what he called a bold experiment in race relations.

Emphasizing that the Federation was committed to a policy of inter-racial partnership, he wrote that "this grouping, rather than the hopelessness of a completely unco-operative and pragmatic, and that it is aimed to much of African nation, which is also not politically doctrinaire, radical, utopian, or even impractical."

The fluidity of this situation gives the Federation its great opportunity and great responsibility. This moment of some-what timid liberalism may be brief, and economic depression with its consequent social and racial tensions, would destroy it. If it survives, even if it does not, it will see some hundreds or thousands of its graduates, African and European, entering the same life and professions as the Federation with the knowledge and understanding of each other that could not be gained at any other time in this segregated society.

"It will require the most sensitive sympathy amounting almost to genetic tests to these Africans to understand the fears, insecurities, and hopes of the African emerging into a new and uncharted world, and for the whites to understand the complex standards, insecurities, and hopes of the Europeans committed to live in Africa. We suspect, however, that most of our poets, and that of synthesis of understanding between them, and if there is hope there is hope for the Federation and for Africa."

African Feminist Movement Predicted Increasing Range of Women's Interests

AFRICAN WOMEN ARE BEGINNING, in the modern and increasingly Westernized society, to claim and fulfill many of the roles and functions previously held by men. They think of themselves as individuals, and not only in terms of their relations to families and kinship groups in which men play the leading part, said Dr. J. S. Simons when he recently spoke in the Third Programme of the B.B.C. He added:

Many of the customary rules affecting women are not suitable for or desired by women who are breaking away from tribalism, whether they have left the rural areas or not. Such women are discovering through education, Christianity, and hard experience as breadwinners that they suffer disabilities as women under their own tribal laws.

Women have a trump card to play which they are bound to use with increasing effect — their growing influence in the national organizations. Here their services are valued by their menfolk, and the more important they become in the movement the more they will press their claims to the removal of the disabilities they suffer. We must therefore expect the growth of a feminist movement within the framework of African nationalism. The pressure for feminine emancipation is bound to stimulate and accelerate the pressure for political emancipation. But this very fact, aided by the women's political activities become a strong weapon against the conservatism of African men, and leads them to increased political and legal difficulties with the Administration.

Witchcraft and Social Medicine

Dr. Sidney L. Kirk said:

"Witchcraft thinking is social thinking; the man examines his relationships with other people and diagnosis and treatment are largely in social terms. In a social context such an attitude to ill-health comes very close to but Western concept of social medicine."

In one area we found a great deal of ill-health among the women; the prevalence of anxiety states and neurotic syndromes associated with poor nutrition and fatigue was striking.

Because of the absence of so many men from their homes, the women, who are the main providers of food for their children, have to make important decisions without the guidance or help of their menfolk. In 65% of the homes visited, women were the only adults in the home for many months of the year; they were the key persons in the dieting and management of its day-to-day affairs.

The responsibility of women in a new situation of tribalism, and the change in the social status which grants them corresponding personal authority, which is particularly true of the unmarried women whose children are still minors. Older women, whether widowed or not, are in a somewhat different position. Many live with a married son and the relationship of mother to son gives to the woman much higher status than that of a young wife to her husband. The older women are in a position to make decisions and their will often be respected by the men of the family, but their opinions are not expected to make decisions and when they do, their husbands usually insist they must, it is a great pity that their husbands will later countenance or change their plans.

Marriage often starts with the husband and wife knowing very little of each other, either then or the number of years married. Few features of family practices impress us so much more as the relative unawareness of the relationship between a married couple, the lack of adjustment between them.

The young bride often lives with her in-laws, and her newly-wedded husband returns to town to work, leaving her husband's mother to give the assumed control of the household. This relationship between wife and mother-in-law might make life very difficult, though the mother-in-law often plays a valuable part in sorting out the frequent disagreements which arise between the young wife and her husband, and often because of her husband's infidelity. In these days, the wife comes aware of her husband's infidelity. In these days of divorce, the wife and her son's wife and the husband's wife should be aware of all that could be done.

It is only in old age that a woman finds life a little easier and tension decreases to some extent. She is now seldom frustrated and receives the respect of the young, especially her sons, their wives, and her grandchildren. Her relationships with her own husband have also become more stable, and her affection and friendship more abundant between elderly

Africans as Bank Customers

TO ENCOURAGE AFRICANS to use banking facilities is to be made by the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank, the manager of which, Mr. W. H. Scott, has explained that the high cost of borrowing overseas has made it urgently necessary to persuade the people of Uganda to invest their money in a bank and thus provide finance for development. The bank, which has a head office in Kampala and branches in Jinja, Mbale, and Gulu, will shortly establish itself in Fort Portal and Soroti, and later in the year in Arua. It will also provide "bank-on-wheels" services, a seven-ton fire-engine chassis being in process of conversion for the purpose in England.

Rhodes Scholarships in Reverse

THE ANGUS GILMAN, chairman of the Over-Sea League, spoke at an Empire Day luncheon at the Mansion House that as constitutional ties with the Commonwealth and Empire loosened it was increasingly important to strengthen the human and personal ties, especially with students visiting Great Britain, since they would return home to become the leaders of new nations. There was need for Rhodes scholarships in reverse, by which British students might have opportunities of going overseas to learn.



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Good News Not Adequately Reported Too Little Attention to the Colonies

THOSE WHO CRITICISE British Colonial policy try to make out that we get as much out of them as we can without bothering much as to what we give in return, said Mr. John Hare, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, when speaking last week in Suffolk. He continued:

What nonsense such a suggestion is. I like to regard the British Empire as a partnership consisting of members of a large family of different ages and rates of growth, with the United Kingdom as the father and the Colonial territories in varying stages of boyhood, adolescence, and manhood.

Our papers and the news on the wireless give the impression that we live in a world of despair and crisis. I think that it would be a splendid ideal which would offer us all up if newspapers could set aside at least one page in each issue about cheerful and constructive things.

During the six months I have been at the Colonial Office, and what a wonderful privilege it is to work with Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, whom I believe to be a great Colonial Secretary. I have been able to see for myself the vast amount of quiet, successful, constructive work which has been going on the whole time, which seldom reaches the headlines, or, if it does, reaches them without sufficient force to make a vivid impression.

News from Colonies Should Be Studied

People are apt to take the Empire for granted. There is so much that we can usefully do as individuals to study Colonial problems and keep ourselves in touch with what is going on. It may be impossible to visit these territories ourselves, but from the Commonwealth

there comes a constant stream of students, visitors, and others to whom we should always extend a genuine welcome.

These people may not always agree with what we think. Indeed, there is no set answer to Colonial problems. They can be solved only by wisdom, tact, patience, sympathy, and a whole lot of other virtues. We must show our best selves in the Colonies that we are genuinely interested in them and their problems, and here each one of us can play a part.

Comment made in notes by The War

Heavy Casualties among Gang Leaders Real Chance To Eliminate Terrorists

THIRTEEN OF THE 19 MAJOR MAU MAU LEADERS, 33 known minor leaders, and two of seven witch-doctors who have been actively aiding the terrorists, have been shot or captured in the past four months, the latest success occurring at the week-end, when Field Marshal Ndingu Gribeni was surprised and captured. Mau Mau oath-taking ceremonies, however, are still known to be taking place.

Maraya Macheru, a witch-doctor who had given great help and encouragement to Mau Mau, and who had claimed to be immortal, was one of five terrorists killed in their hiding-place near Lake Elmenteta last week by a police patrol. At one time he was a close adviser of Dedan Kimathi, the chief gang leader.

The Provincial Commissioner of the Rift Valley Province, Mr. R. E. Wainwright, has issued a circular letter to farmers in which he says:

The emergency has been going well recently, and as a result, gangs have not been seen in some areas of the Lower Rift for some time. Farmers in these areas are naturally under the impression that the menace has subsided and are inclined to relax precautions in connection with their crops.

In the opinion of the Provincial Emergency Committee, reported from April to August, when there are virtually no food crops available in the fields in which gangsters have a progressively difficult time of obtaining food, this has been clearly shown by the Mau Mau casualty figures in the province during the past. Progressively during this period, where protective measures are efficient, terrorists have to search in ever wider areas for food, and hence give more opportunities to our security forces to deal with them.

Protective Measures Still Needed

If we keep our protective measures fully developed during this period we have a real chance of eliminating the remainder of the gangs. If we are unsuccessful, we may have some of these gangs with us for a very long time, and shall therefore have to keep up our efforts to eliminate them also over a long period.

I therefore ask all farmers to continue to maintain all protective measures, especially the guarding of food and stock, and the reporting promptly of losses, to a maximum pitch of efficiency during the period from now until August. Similarly, I am asking all security forces to maintain the maximum offensive effort during the same period.

New regulations in regard to call-up in Kenya have been issued. Completion of 168 days of full-time emergency duty in any branch of the security forces will now exempt men from call-up for compulsory military training, though they will be enrolled in the Kenya Regiment for territorial service to complete a total of four years and 168 days.

Men who have completed the full course of training required in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, or Rhodesia are now entirely exempt.

A Mau Mau gang leader who had operated in Masai territory under the name of "Marshal" Kahaniki was killed last week in an ambush near Lake Naivasha. At one time his followers had numbered about 50, lately they had dwindled to half a dozen.

The Governor of Tanganyika has appointed two African, two European, and two Asian members of the Legislature, and one African, one European, and one Asian who are not members of that body, to examine the Government's proposals in regard to the qualifications of voters and candidates for the elections which are to be introduced experimentally in some areas. It is intended that there should be three candidates, one of each race, in each constituency, and that equal racial representation in the Legislature should continue.



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Mr. Wilfrid Pudley Resigns Uganda's New Finance Minister

MR. WILFRID PUDLEY, Minister of Finance in Uganda, is retiring from the Colonial Service in order to take up employment in an executive capacity with Metal Industries, Ltd., of which Sir Charles Westlake is chairman. Mr. Pudley was due in London about the end of June.

Mr. Christopher Melmoth, a Deputy Financial Secretary in Uganda since last September is to become Financial Secretary and Minister of Finance. From February, 1946, until last year, he was an Assistant Colonial Secretary in Hong Kong, where for four years he carried out the duties of Deputy Financial Secretary. He was on the staff of the Ministry of Supply from 1940 until he went to Malta in 1942 as chief financial officer for the co-ordination of supplies.

Chilanga Cement

THE PLANNED EXPANSION of the Lusaka plant of Chilanga Cement, Ltd. has been completed, and the second kiln was officially opened last Friday by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Arthur Benson. Production of cement, which totalled 62,000 tons in the first full year, 1955, had reached 60,000 tons last year, and the new kiln brings the capacity to 200,000 tons annually. The company is supplying cement for the preliminary construction work of the Kapya hydro-electric scheme. The Chilanga factory was built in 1951 by the Government of Northern Rhodesia and the Colonial Development Corporation in partnership.

District Assistant for Kenya Declines at Long, Long Last

A SUGGESTION made on a number of occasions over a period of years by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—and, so far as was aware, nowhere else—had now been accepted by the Government of Kenya.

Mr. Edward Windley, Minister for African Affairs, told the Legislature last Friday that the new post of district assistant was being created and that 132 men would be appointed to such posts to undertake routine duties in order that district officers might concentrate on their essential administrative work.

By the end of this year, he said, the Colony would be in the serious position of lacking 40 permanent district officers, and every endeavour was being made by the Colonial Office to attract recruits from overseas universities.

Land consolidation, Mr. Windley added, was one of the most important advances made in the African areas of the Kenya country, and it was intended to extend it to other parts of the Colony, particularly the Nyanza Province, where there was urgent need for an agricultural revolution and accelerated development.

The special commissioner appointed last year to deal with the absorption and resettlement of the Kikuyu, Meru, and Embu was faced with the need to provide for about 11,000 landless Kikuyu families who had returned from other areas to the Kikuyu Reserve. A number of permanent settlement schemes had been planned and, if they proved successful, they would absorb a large proportion of these families.

Zanzibar and Kenya Protectorate

THE TWO ARAB MEMBERS of the Legislative Council of Kenya, Messrs. Sharif Abdulla Salim and Mafud Mwakawa, issued a joint statement a few days ago asking for immediate revision of the 1945 agreement by which the Protectorate of Zanzibar under which the former Kenya is administered by H.M. Government as a Protectorate. They said that the treaty was signed "when the strong could dictate his will to the weak", that liberal-minded people in Kenya were deeply concerned about it, and that there was doubt whether its validity could be upheld if it were now challenged. Referring to speculation about the possible establishment of a naval base at Mombasa, the statement concluded: "It would make us think twice of its attendant consequences and implications before welcoming the move, for a naval base could never be established at Mombasa without the concurrence of Kenya's own opinion."

Highland Adventure

TWENTY-SIX OF THE 71 SCHOOLBOYS of all races who attended the course at Loloikitok sponsored by the Outward Bound Trusts, whose purpose might be described as character training through adventure, made the ascent to Gilman's Point on Kibo, the main peak of Kilimanjaro. One of the instructors, Mr. D. McCaman, a school teacher from Machakos, carried his supplies to the point and played three Scottish airs at an altitude of 19,000 feet. Snow conditions prevented the party from reaching the summit, Kaiser Wilhelm Spitze, a few hundred feet higher. The boys were given training in mountain rescue work, rock climbing, and to work under the guidance of the warden, Mr. E. C. Stroud.

Toro Deadlock

THE DEADLOCK between the Government of Uganda and the Toro Native Government in regard to the new constitutional provisions drafted for Toro may be resolved as a result of advice given to the Rukungu Council by Mr. Dingle Foot, C.E. The Rukungu Council agreed to accept the Government's proposals, subject to clarification on some points, and has elected 110 representatives to wait upon the Government. One of them is Mr. Akilid Nyabongo, who is known in the Uganda as a brother of the Mukanda.

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Almost all the children for miles around are being educated at Peraniho, which is also an establishment for training teachers and industrial apprentices. A Benedictine convent provides for the girls' schools, and runs the modern hospital and leper settlement of 150 patients.

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AGENTS: GENERAL MANAGERS: THE EAST AFRICAN COMPANY, LTD., NAIROBI



News Items in Brief

The Kenya Indian Congress will hold its annual session in Nakuru in August. Mr. N. S. Mangat is proposed for its presidency by the standing committee.

At a Commonwealth Exhibition in Darford last week the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland's prominent stands and flags of the Federation were shown on three occasions.

Senior Chief Mijang and Cherokevi, a very progressive farmer, who is vice-president of the Nandi African District Council at Kapchorwa, is to name a "Nandi" during Nakuru Festival Week.

Ninety cars competed in last week's Coronation Safari, a 266-mile course through Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika Territory. The 1954 Kenya entries were 15 in Uganda and nine from Tanganyika. Forty-five of the cars were of Continental make, 43 of British and two of American manufacture.

Territories north of the Sahara may be in danger of considerable locust invasions from the north according to the Anti-Locust Research Centre in London which recommends particular vigilance against possible invading swarms in June in the Sudan and Ethiopia, and in the Middle East generally.

H.M.S. Kenya, which recently lighted on the West Indies and West Indies Station, visited Crista da Cruz while receiving on passage from Beira to the Mediterranean, the Cape St. Vincent to East ports in Madagascar, and call at Mombasa on her way north. The cruiser is commanded by Captain N. S. Woodhouse, R.N.

The new currency notes for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be in denominations of 100, 25, 10, and five. Though due for delivery about the end of the year, they will not be put into immediate circulation, since there are large reserves of the existing notes. The new currency is being printed in England.

The seventh reunion dinner of the Political and Civil Service Branches of G.H.O. Middle East and High East Africa Command will be held at the Café Royal, Regent Street, London, W.1, on July 30 at 8.45 p.m. for 7.30 p.m. Major General Sir Ralph Hogg will give the chair. Further information may be obtained from Brigadier F. R. W. Jameson, Standwell House, Oxford, Surrey.

Of Commercial Concern

The four Governments of the Federation now receive 1953 reduction in freight on goods shipped by the Crown Agents. This is the outcome of an agreement negotiated between the shipping lines and the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Business houses in the Federation may now tender for some classes of goods which have usually been obtained from the Crown Agents.

Prices for first-class tobacco during the first 20 weeks of the Rhodesia auctions averaged 31.497 per lb. for 39,935,000 lb. having realized £5,306,284. At the comparable period of last year's sales 39,986,325 lb. had been sold for just over £7m., an average of 42.12d.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. has declared an interim dividend of 4% on the £12,932,240 of ordinary stock for the year ending September 30 next. The 1954-55 interim of 4% and the final distribution at a like rate were paid on £10,776,874.

Bureau of Co., Ltd., Kenya, reports a net profit before taxation of £82,000 for the year to March 31, completed with £146,500 in the previous year. A final dividend of 40% making 15% for the year (the same), is declared.

International Trade (East Africa), Ltd., continues to expand, and its results for the past year were encouraging, said Sir Victor Tait, chairman of International Trade (East Africa), Ltd., at its annual meeting in London last week.

An agreement to prevent local evasion and double taxation has just been concluded between the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and that of the Union of South Africa.

Messrs. John Laing & Sons, Ltd., have started work on the 1,085 ft. bund across the Shire River at Temboya, the bund costing £49,925, is the first phase of the 17 1/2 m. Shire Valley project.

British Overseas Airways Corporation's 11 was announced on Tuesday, exceeds a loss of about £1 million in the financial year which started on April 1.

A new 11,250-ton cargo liner, Anglo-Flinders built for Clan Line Steamers, Ltd., was launched on the Clyde last week by Countess de Hellice.

Phishing at the port of Mombasa could end in about three months if the expectations of Nairobi are realized.

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Africa Bureau's Policy

(Continued from page 173)

Britain should now take the lead in a more positive direction of the U.N., aimed at a complete change of emphasis in the role of the U.N., with regard to the developed countries and the application of a general approach where necessary in order to prevent offensive Communist tactics. The U.N. has now an overwhelming majority of small, erstwhile dependent countries, for whose leadership it will be increasing competition between Baskerville and Bandung. This will be amenable to a positive lead in the long world problems of poverty, malnutrition, and underdevelopment, whether economically or politically.

Britain needs a new self-consciousness about her role as midwife of liberty in human history. She should welcome the searching of responsible world opinion on her own constitutional arrangements and on the various ways in which the stresses and strains experienced in the newly emerging democracies are being met and overcome.

In the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council Britain comes in for some just challenges. Some of her crucial legal responsibilities in the fields of human rights should be reviewed for a new role to implement the rights of human rights which would give some protection to those who are harassed or discriminated against by sovereign States. In the rights reserved to the inhabitants of Trust Territories, the active assistance of U.N. should also be sought by Britain. This would help to increase the responsibility of the U.N. and reduce criticism here.

A more immediate arrangement should be made with the U.N. in the working out of a Point 4 programme, and more use should be made by Britain herself in her dependent territories of these advantages, and also of such international agencies as Unesco, the World Bank, and other specialized agencies of the U.N. Her own contributions to these agencies should be increased.

It should be a cardinal principle of Britain's policy to enhance the role and prestige of the International Court of Justice, both in its judicial and advisory capacities and in its function of arbitration, which should be more fully developed.

An honourable way out of one of our own present dilemmas would be to submit to its necessary session of arbitration on the question of the land area of Somaliland, even if this

involved the admission of error on our part in the past. The long standing scandal of the South West African Mandate could be settled by Britain taking a bold initiative with the other Principal Powers, namely the territory to South America and France, with a view to the compulsory jurisdiction or arbitration of the International Court of Justice. Britain has resort to sanctions provided for by U.N. procedure.

South Africa and the Protectorates

The urgency of consideration of the future development of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, the three too long neglected British Commission Territories in Southern Africa, is emphasized by the publicity expressed intention of Sir Sturges Baker, early stage of his visit to England for the Prime Minister's Conference in June to take, with the British Government, the possibility of a form of joint administration of the Protectorates.

Rather than reiterate a purely negative reply, a bold proposal should be put forward which would enable Britain to exert the maximum influence of South Africa to change her policy towards the Protectorates, the United Nations, and the Commonwealth, and that Britain should use the maximum diplomatic pressure on this policy.

Britain's role in the world would be severely damaged by a complete desert of South African nationalism on the question of the Trust Commission Territories. Britain should also encourage those in South Africa who oppose the extreme nationalism of their Government, and place a political emphasis in the hands of those who would prefer a more co-operative relationship with the international community and the Commonwealth, if she would speed up the formation of Legislative Councils in these territories and devise means of assistance for them.

Development Authorities

Regional development authorities could also be established in the Protectorates to co-ordinate the functions of various Government departments with various technical and financial agencies mentioned in Asia, and possibly the specialized agencies of the U.N. such as the Children's Emergency Fund, the World Health Organization, Unesco and I.A.S.I.

The practical interest of countries like the United States, for which South Africa has been a barrier, should be actively sought in setting up there a policy consciously conceived to relieve a situation which has long been threatening to become very damaging to the Western world and beyond.

The attention of Africa to Mr. George Allen, Assistant Secretary of State in Washington on April 21, 1956, is a reliable indication that American support could be forthcoming for a bold and realistic programme of progress in Africa, and that America is looking for leadership to Britain, whose record in Asia is an earnest of its sincerity in Africa.

African and Medical Treatment

Some Bantu medicines have therapeutic virtues others like alcohol and water among us, are effective for reasons that have nothing to do with their intrinsic potencies. The tribal doctor who ascribes strengthening virtues to concoctions made from the backbone of a python attributes not merely from the analogy of the strength of the python, but also from the observed reactions upon patients, said Mr. F. J. Krige in a recent talk in the B.C. Third Programme.

But ritualized Bantu increasingly resort to Western doctors in cases in which they attribute their illness to technological causes, he continued. Disorders considered to be due to the magic of (mainly among rural Bantu) ritual forces are, however, generally taken to the witchdoctor, because their causes are thought to be imperceptible to Western techniques.

This is the area of psycho-physical disease of functional rather than organic problems, which are increasing under the stresses and strains of culture change. Despite rational scepticism of the methods of the witchdoctor, his psychiatry appears to be more appropriate and successful than the Western medical services available to the Bantu. Many Bantu, accepting a sort of superstition of Christian and traditional cosmologies, resort to faith healers, the price of spiritual Zonit.

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"In Uganda there is absolutely no prospect of Commerce. A little cochineal might be obtained but the export trade will mainly be in ivory which is diminishing in quantity every year in consequence of the destruction of the elephants."

Mr. Labouchere, M.P., in the House of Commons, July 27th, 1896, during a debate on the Uganda Railway Bill.

Time, of course, has proved Mr. Labouchere hopelessly wrong. Uganda has become the largest producer of coffee in the Commonwealth and the second largest producer of Cotton. In 1953 she exported £11,538,000 worth of raw coffee and £16,592,000 worth of raw cotton, as well as £3,518,000 worth of other items. Cochineal, incidentally, does not figure anywhere in the list of Uganda's exports and ivory hardly at all. For its part, the National Bank of India Ltd. is proud of its contribution towards refuting Mr. Labouchere's prognostications. Opening the first Banking Office in Uganda at Entebbe on November 1st, 1906, the Bank witnessed the birth and establishment of the Protectorate's cotton and coffee industries. All along, the Bank's services have been at the disposal of the pioneers whose foresight, endurance and skill have built Uganda's export trade from nothing to its present level.

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**Power Securities Corporation
Consolidated Profit of £310,996**

POWER SECURITIES CORPORATION, LTD., reports that in the calendar year 1955 the company and its subsidiaries earned a consolidated net profit of £310,996 compared with £270,534 in the previous year, after providing £106,637 for U.K. taxation; £273,986 was a respect of the subsidiary companies, leaving for the holding company with £150,245. A dividend of 10% on the ordinary shares and of 1% on the participating preference shares required £92,600, leaving to be carried forward £138,283.

Issued capital is £2,000,000 in ordinary shares of £1 each and £200,000 in 4% cumulative participating preference shares of the same denomination. Reserve reserves total £1,271,989, capital reserves £200,000, and current liabilities £6,196,402 of which rather more than half is due to creditors and £1,453,373 is respect of bank loans. Current assets appear in the balance sheet at £8,430,124, property and plant at £1,212,493, investments at £3,441,111, and other investments at £67,302.

The directors are Sir Andrew MacTaggart (chairman) and managing director, Mr. H. G. Bailour (deputy chairman) and assistant managing directors, Sir Kenneth Hague, Sir Robert Kenrick, Sir Brian Stevenson, and Mrs. E. R. Wilkinson. Sir Felix Pale has been director until his death earlier in the year.

At the 33rd annual general meeting on June 13 a special resolution will be proposed to increase the authorized capital to £2.4m. by the creation of 400,000 additional unclassified shares of 1s each.

Extracts from the statement of Sir Andrew MacTaggart appeared in our company meeting report columns last week.

Grindlays Bank Ltd., a subsidiary of the National Bank of India, Ltd., has declared a final dividend of 24% making for 1955 (the same) after tax and transfers to miscellaneous accounts, £1,300,000. Advances total £8,597,170 to £11,289,992, including accounts etc. held £17,123,419 to £16,395,152. The bank has branches in Rhodesia.

**Tozer Kemley & Millbourn
Extended Interest in Central Africa**

TOZER KEMLEY & MILLBOURN (RODINES), LTD., a company with two subsidiaries in Rhodesia, two in the Union of South Africa, and others in London, the Cape, and Australia, reports that the group trading profit for the calendar year 1955, totalled £706,271, compared with £638,435 in the previous year. Overseas income is £94,550 (£45,000) and U.K. taxation £267,836 (£242,668). The ordinary shares receive 20% and a bonus of 5%. The carry-forward is £284,151 (£254,212).

The issued capital is £200,000 in ordinary shares of £1 and 200,000 in 5% cumulative preference shares of the same denomination. Reserve reserves total £1,645,876, capital reserves £123,300, and current liabilities £2,241,650. Current assets appear in the balance sheet at £1,099,899, and fixed assets at £2,173,102.

The directors are Mr. Joseph R. Millbourn (chairman and joint managing director), Mr. Cecil R. Millbourn (joint managing director), Mr. Ronald Kemley, and Sir Eric Millbourn.

The chairman's statement reports "a considerable improvement in our trade with South and Central Africa; our volume in these territories shows a healthy increase, and there was a marked decrease in doubtful debts."

Recently the company entered into an agreement with Bowmaker, Ltd., the industrial bankers, for a joint venture in instalment financing in Central Africa.

Forestral Land, Timber and Railways

THE FORESTAL LAND, TIMBER AND RAILWAYS CO., LTD., announces a consolidated profit for the year to December 31, 1955, excluding earnings in Argentina of £623,182 (against £58,644), after providing £643,141 for taxation (£636,366 and deducting the proportion of preferential dividends outside shareholders. The parent company's profit for the year amounted to £94,072 (£961,956), from which a dividend of £22,289 had to be deducted. The preference dividend of 6% less tax amounted to £63,672, an interim dividend of 3% on the ordinary shares took £96,600, and a final ordinary dividend of 6% requiring £193,200, is recommended. The total ordinary distribution of 9% is payable on a capital of £5,600,000 and compares with 12% for the preceding year on a capital of £4,636,046.

Fertilizer Factory

LORD MALVERN, of the Livingstone Chamber of Commerce that sustains interests, including Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., are interested in establishing a fertilizer factory. The Federation of the Government had appointed an adviser to study the project, and that this report was now being considered. The Prime Minister added, "I would rather avoid a big combine establishing the factory, if possible, and would prefer someone not concerned with explosives to do this work."

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Developing Rhodesia's Steel Industry Private Enterprises Interested in 18m. Plans

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT has been issued by the office of the High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland:

"The Southern Rhodesian Government has held discussions with the Lancashire Steel Corporation Ltd., the Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd., the Colonial Development Corporation, and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd. on the future development of the Rhodesia iron and steel industry.

"The Government's policy of encouraging private enterprises to assist in the development of the Colony's steel industry is proceeding satisfactorily, and a programme of development is presently under investigation where production will be increased, as rail transport permits, to some 200,000 tons of finished steel per annum. This will involve considerable expansion of the works at Redcliffe and a wide-awake plan at Bulawayo, and is estimated to cost in the order of 18m.

Comprehensive Proposals

"The proposals envisage the taking over by private enterprise of the steel works at Redcliffe together with the iron and limestone deposits in the Que Que and Kwe areas. In all approximately 200m. tons of high-grade ore along the rail are involved.

"Provided a sound Rhodesian-registered company can be formed under the management of an established British steel manufacturer, the Southern Rhodesian Government is prepared to invest its present assets in the new company in the shape of low-ranking low-interest stock, thereby ensuring that new funds available are utilized in expanding the steel industry, which is so vital to the industrial development of the Federation.

"The magnitude of the proposals is such that not only are further investigations now necessary, particularly in regard to detailed capital and running costs of the development programme and the verification of assets involved, but it is also necessary to invite other financial interests to participate and to give them full opportunity of studying the proposals.

"No agreement has yet been reached, nor is it possible to reach a final decision until these further inquiries are completed. The Lancashire Steel Corporation have stated that two of the company's officials are being sent out immediately to carry out these further investigations, and that on their return the corporation will make its final decision as to taking a leading part in the development of the steel industry in the Federation.

"The vast improvement in production and management at Bulawayo has been a major factor in bringing about these negotiations, and the Government wishes to place on record its appreciation of the most valuable services of the chairman and his board and of the general manager and staff at Redcliffe."

"The mission is to be visited next month by a trade mission representing the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which will urge the use of Rhodesian tobacco in the cigarette blends of the Japanese Government's Tobacco Monopoly. On its way to Tokyo the mission will meet representative tobacco merchants and manufacturers in Singapore, Malaya, and Hong Kong.

Dwa Plantations Report Substantially Higher Profit

DWA PLANTATIONS, LTD., report that in the calendar year 1955 there was a profit of £12,717, compared with £3,339 in the previous year.

Income tax takes £5,409 (£397), and profits tax £1,258 (£659), and a transfer of £5,900 is made to the general reserve. The 6% preference dividend requires £1,894, a participation dividend on those shares at 14% another £473, and a 7% distribution on the ordinary shares £1,195, leaving to be carried forward £12,425 against £13,773 brought in.

The issued capital is £54,900 in 5% cumulative participating preference shares of 10s. and £44,800 in ordinary shares of 2s. Fixed assets appear in the balance sheet at £245,770 and current assets at £20,735. Current liabilities total £14,010, and loans and accrued interest and deferred liabilities on purchases of land together amount to just over £30,000.

The output of sisal and tow was 1,660 tons, compared with 1,096 in 1954; the output for the first four months of 1956 was 504 tons compared with 517 tons in the corresponding period of last year, the shortfall being due to labour shortage. Whereas the rainfall at Dwa last year amounted to 14.56 inches only, there were 11 inches in January-April of this year.

At the end of March last the company had 6,856 acres under mature sisal and another 1,334 acres under immature sisal, planted between 1952 and 1955.

The directors are Mr. S. R. Hoops (chairman), Mr. W. H. Heley (managing director), Mr. R. A. Collet, and Mr. Eric Portlock.

Kilifi Plantations Report

KILIFI PLANTATIONS, LTD. made a loss of £3,182 in the calendar year 1955, primarily in consequence of a change of policy in connexion with the cutting of sisal, but a dividend of 7% is to be paid, reducing the carry-forward to £6,165.

The output of sisal totalled 840 tons, which realized £48,038, or a net average price of 56s. 10s. 4d. f.o.b. for all grades. The estimated output for 1956 is 900 tons, of which 214 tons of all grades of fine fibre have been sold forward at an average net price of £61 4s. 8d. f.o.b. At the close of the year there were 3,566 acres under sisal on the plantations, 280 acres having been replanted in 1955. This year it is proposed to plant 4,750 acres.

The issued capital is £75,000 in shares of 5s. Fixed assets appear in the balance sheet at £93,924, quoted investments at £44,759, and current assets at £25,788. Current liabilities amount to £18,306.

The directors are Mr. R. Abel Smith (chairman), Mr. J. F. Prudeaux, and Mr. L. J. D. Mackie. Mr. Abel Smith visited the property in December, and Mr. Mackie paid his first visit two months earlier. Having been chairman of the company for nearly 20 years, Mr. Abel Smith intends to retire from that office shortly.

The text of the chairman's statement appears on another page.

Emoluments of M.P.s.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILLORS IN NYASALAND, whose salaries have been increased from £150 to £600 annually, are also to have a duty allowance of £20 a month, £2 for each night spent away from home attending meetings of the council or its committees, and £3 daily for each day or part of a day spent in that way. There is a mileage allowance of 1s. for the use of cars while travelling to or from council.

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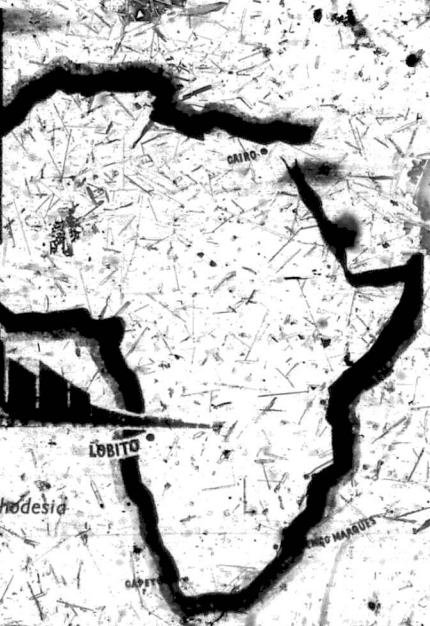
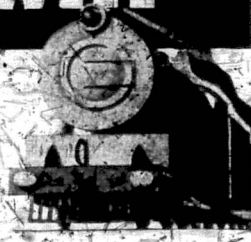
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MINING

Copperbelt Expansion Planned Mufulira and Chambishi Programmes

IF THE PRICE OF COPPER were to fall to £240 per long ton, the lowest price mentioned by any responsible authority, the mines in Northern Rhodesia would still make an annual profit of between £40m. and £50m. a year before tax, and the exports would be worth more than £100m., said Mr. R. L. Prain, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, when he addressed the National Affairs Association of Southern Rhodesia in Bulawayo last week.

Mr. Prain said, *inter alia*—

"The recession from the recent high level of copper prices is healthy and in the interests of the copper industry as a whole. The danger of a serious slump in the industry is far less with a reasonable copper price than it would be on a rising market, which I consider one of the most dangerous things that can face the copper industry.

Based on the lowest price of copper which any responsible authority has mentioned as being the figure which might represent the bottom of the copper market under today's conditions, namely £240 per long ton, and regrettable though a fall to this level would be, calculations at present costs, taking into account the estimated increased production, show that the Rhodesian copper industry, at a price of £240 per ton, might still be making an annual profit before tax of between £40m. and £50m. and that its exports would be worth over £100m.

£280 a Reasonable Price for Copper

"I am on record as saying that a reasonable price, namely one which will discourage competition by substitutes and give a fair return to mine owners, would be about £280 per ton on current costs and the value of the pound sterling.

"The copper industry's direct contribution to the economy of the Federation in 1955 had represented 25% of the net domestic output, 23% of the net national income, 63% of the exports, and 37% of the taxes. The indirect contributions had been estimated at £54m., or 44% of the net domestic output of the Federation. That £54m. represented the industry's indirect contribution to trade, Government pay rolls, industry, and the railways. The total direct and indirect contribution to the Federation's economy was estimated at £154m.

Mr. Prain concluded his address as follows:—

"On the Copperbelt there have for many years been four big producing mines. About two weeks ago a fifth but smaller mine was opened, called Chibuluma, and next year a sixth mine, Bancroft, will begin production which will make it one of the large mines.

"The group of companies of which I am chairman now has under consideration two further expansions of the productive capacity of the Federation, and must not press me too much for detail today, as much remains to be done in the way of planning and financing, but I can say that we have under consideration the opening of the Chambishi mine on a scale at least initially of something like that at Chibuluma.

One of the World's Greatest Mines

"This mine was one of the earlier ones to be discovered. Our interest in it dates back to 1927, when we started drilling, and four years later we put down the shaft to a depth of 385 feet. This was abandoned when the Mufulira ore-body was proved to be more important. The Chambishi property is situated about 16 miles to the north of Kitwe on the road to Chingola, and 20 miles to the west of Mufulira.

"The other expansion under consideration is at Mufulira itself. In our opinion this mine, one of the greatest underground mines in the world, is demonstrating that it should be capable of producing a greater annual tonnage of ore and copper than at present. Exploration by surface and under-

ground drilling to the west of the mine has been carried out recently with encouraging result. While the investigation has not yet gone far enough to enable additional reserves to be accurately calculated, there is justification for planning to proceed for an expansion of production of up to 50%.

"I should make it clear that the ultimate size of these new productions will be dependent on the successful completion of the Kariba dam and the assurance of adequate railway capacity. I must therefore be drawn into any further details until we have an assurance on these points and have completed arrangements for the financing of these properties, which, under today's conditions, is in itself a considerable operation. I mention these things, however, partly to demonstrate that the Rhodesian copper industry is still far from having achieved its maximum potential, and, secondly, to demonstrate that we have faith and confidence in the future of the copper market of this country.

The Chibuluma mine, which was officially opened by the Governor-General, Lord Llewellyn, on May 24, is expected to produce 16,000 long tons of copper annually. Mufulira's copper production for the year 1954-1955 was 83,193 long tons. In the nine months to March 31, 1956, production totalled 73,255 long tons.

Willoughby's Consolidated Co. Ltd.

Large Land Holdings in Rhodesia

WILLOUGHBY'S CONSOLIDATED CO., LTD., reports a net profit of £33,220 for the year ended September 30 last (compared with £59,104 in the previous year) after providing £44,981 for taxation and depreciating the fixed assets by a further £11,820. Profit on land and stand sales, rent from town buildings and stands, and revenue from farms and ranches in Southern Rhodesia, less expenses, amounted to £79,928 (£226,677), the profits for the year being reduced by about £20,000 in consequence of a change in the basis of valuation of cattle.

The issued capital is £726,814 in stock units of 10s. and there is £50,395 of 51% debenture stock outstanding. Fixed assets appear in the balance sheet at £458,688 (previous year £422,786 with a market value of £458,688) and current assets at £359,399, and current liabilities and provisions amount to £163,302.

The authorized capital has been increased from £750,000 to £1m. by the creation of 228,140 new shares at 2s. and 474,372 new shares at 10s. The 349,372 shares of 8s. issued at the end of the financial year were subdivided into shares of 2s. and, together with 128,140 of the new 2s. shares, were distributed to stockholders in the proportion of one share for each 8s. stock unit held. The new shares were then converted into stock and consolidated with the existing 8s. units, making the issued capital £762,814 in 10s. units.

The company's land holdings of 830,205 acres comprise 687,812 acres of ranching and agricultural areas, 79,399 acres of forest areas, and 63,054 acres of other farms. During the year 9,424 acres were sold for £82,200. The directors consider that the land holdings are worth considerably more than the figure at which they appear in the books.

At the end of the year the company owned 388 stands and residential allotments in Rhodesian townships, the gross rental of which produced £26,591. One stand in Bulawayo and five in Selukwe were sold. The cattle herd numbered 87,478.

The directors are Brigadier S. K. Thoburn (chairman), Viscount Hudson, Mr. J. N. Kiek, Lord Ritchavane, and Earl De La Warr (who rejoined the board during the year). The resident manager in Southern Rhodesia is Major-General J. D. Shapland, and Mr. W. V. Foote is the secretary in London.

Rhodesia Copper Refineries

RHODESIA COPPER REFINERIES, LTD. has declared a dividend on the redeemable cumulative preference stock in respect of the six months ending June 30, 1956, at the rate of 5% per annum less Federal income tax at 6s. 3d. in the £ and Northern Rhodesian territorial surcharge at 1s. 3d.

Rhodesia Corporation

RHODESIA CORPORATION, LTD. has declared a dividend on the redeemable cumulative preference shares in respect of the six months ending June 30, 1956, at the rate of 5% per annum less Federal income tax at 6s. 3d. in the £ and Northern Rhodesian territorial surcharge at 1s. 3d.

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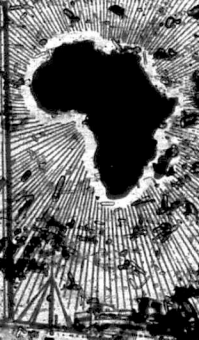
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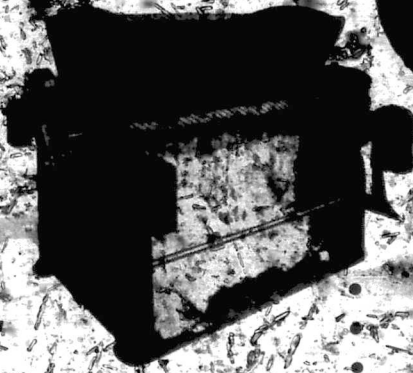
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