



FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

OFFICIAL REPORT

## SENATE

*Session 1960-61*

Comprising Period

30th—31st March, 1st—2nd, 5th,  
25th—26th, 29th—30th April  
and 2nd—4th May, 1960

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## THE SENATE

### PRESIDENT

Senator Dr the Honourable Nnamdi Azikiwe

### DEPUTY PRESIDENT

Senator the Honourable Adeniji Adele II, the Oba of Lagos

#### *Representing the Northern Region :*

Senator the Hon. H. O. Abaagu.  
Senator the Hon. Malachias Bawa.  
Senator the Hon. Nuhu Bamalli.  
Senator the Hon. Alhaji Abubakar Bale, Madawakin Bidda.  
Senator the Hon. Muhammadu Sanni, Makaman Sokoto.  
Senator the Hon. Abubakar Garba.  
Senator the Hon. Sanni O. B. Okin.  
Senator the Hon. Hassan Rafin Dadi.  
Senator the Hon. Hassan Yola, Turakin Adamawa.  
Senator the Hon. Abdul Salami Yusufu.  
Senator the Hon. Zanna Medalla Sheriff.  
Senator the Hon. Alhaji, Sanni Ungogo.

#### *Representing Lagos :*

Senator the Hon S. A. Agoro, Chief Ojon, (*elected by the White Cap Chiefs and War Chiefs*).  
Senator the Hon. Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku.  
Senator the Hon. Chief T. A. Doherty.

#### *Representing the Eastern Region :*

Senator Dr the Hon. E. A. Esin.  
Senator the Hon. Chief P. I. Acholonu, M.B.E.  
Senator the Hon. M. B. Chukwubuike.  
Senator the Hon. Chief Ezeogo Ugwuocha, Uka of Edda.  
Senator the Hon. P. C. Ndu.  
Senator the Hon. J. K. Nzerem.  
Senator the Hon. Chief Z. C. Obi.  
Senator Dr the Hon. A. A. Nwafor Orizu.  
Senator the Hon. Chief Phillip E. Nakoku.  
Senator the Hon. H. N. Udoh.  
Senator the Hon. A. E. Ukattah.  
Senator the Hon. Chief R. A. Umoh.

#### *Representing the Western Region :*

Senator the Hon. Dahlton O. Asemota.  
Senator the Hon. M. G. Ejaife.  
Senator the Hon. Wuraola Esan (Mrs).  
Senator the Hon. Chief J. S. Olayeye.  
Senator the Hon. Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu.  
Senator Dr the Hon. J. O. Omitowoju.  
Senator the Hon. Chief S. O. Esangbedo.  
Senator the Hon. Chief T. A. Odutola, O.B.E.  
Senator the Hon. S. Eyitayo.  
Senator the Hon. P. A. Ogundipe.  
Senator the Hon. E. A. Lagunju.  
Senator the Hon. O. Somolu.

*Nomited Senators:*

Senator the Hon. Shettima Kashim, C.B.E., Waziri of Bornu.  
Senator Dr the Hon. M. A. Majekodunmi  
Senator Dr the Hon. Professor Eni Njoku.  
Senator the Hon. L. C. Daldry.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

His Excellency the Governor-General—Sir James Wilson Robertson, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.B.E.  
Prime Minister—Alhaji the Hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, K.B.E.  
Minister of Finance—Chief the Hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh, C.M.G.  
Minister of Lagos Affairs—Alhaji the Hon Muhammadu Ribadu, M.B.E.  
Minister of Transport and Aviation—Hon. R. A. Njoku.  
Minister of Works and Surveys—Alhaji the Hon Muhammadu Inuwa Wada.  
Minister of Commerce and Industry—Zanna the Hon. Bukar Dipcharima.  
Minister of Labour—Hon. J. M. Johnson.  
Minister of Education—Hon. Aja Nwachuku.  
Minister of Mines and Power—Hon. Maitama Sule.  
Minister of Economic Development—Hon. Shehu Shagari.  
Minister of Communications—Hon. Olu Akinfosile.  
Minister of Internal Affairs—Hon. Usman Sarki, Sardaunan Bidida.  
Minister of Information—Hon. T. O. S. Benson.  
Minister of Health—Hon. Waziri Ibrahim.  
Minister of Pensions—Hon. Musa Yaradua.  
Minister of State—Hon. M. T. Mbu.  
Minister of State—Hon. M. A. O. Olarewaju.  
Minister of State—Senator Dr the Hon. E. A. Esin.  
Minister of State—Senator Dr the Hon. M. A. Majekodunmi.



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION OF  
NIGERIA

Wednesday, 30th March, 1960

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

## PRAYERS

Mr President in the Chair

## OATHS

Oath of Allegiance was administered to the following new Member :—

Mr Olajide Somolu

## PAPERS

Papers (Adjournment)—Papers distributed to Members of the Senate and deemed to have been laid on the Table, pursuant to Standing Order 11 (3) :

(1) Highways (Capital) Amount—Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st March, 1955.

(2) The Custodian of Enemy Property, Nigeria : Statement of Position and Report 31st March, 1959.

(3) The Custodian of Enemy Property, Nigeria : Statements of Account 31st March, 1958.

(4) University College Ibadan : Schedule of Grants and Capital Expenditure as at 30th June, 1957.

(5) Draft Estimates of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria 1960-61 (Recurrent).

(6) Draft Estimates of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria 1960-61 (Capital).

## MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : Sir, I rise to make the following Business Statement. The Senate will meet tomorrow, March 31st (Thursday) at 9.45 a.m. After prayers Senators will move in procession, led by the President, to the House of Representatives to listen to the Speech from the Throne by His Excellency the Governor-General. Thereafter Senators will return to the Senate where a Motion that an humble address be presented to the Governor-General for his speech will be moved and seconded. The Senate will then adjourn until Friday the 1st of April when there will be a debate on the address. The debate will

continue until Saturday the 2nd of April and if it is not completed it will continue on Monday. After that the Senate will adjourn until a date to be announced later.

## ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and question proposed, That the House do now adjourn :* (Minister of State—Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin).

**Senator Muhammadu Sani Makaman Sokoto** : Mr President, Sir, I have just arisen on a question of explanation. I have heard from the hon. Minister of State that we shall move to the House of Representatives tomorrow at 10 a.m. to hear the speech from the Throne and after hearing the speech from the Throne we are expected to come back to the House and a Motion to thank His Excellency for his speech will be moved and seconded and the House will adjourn until the next day when the debate will start. I just want to ask two questions. One, is it customary that the Senators should go to the House of Representatives to hear the Speech from the Throne, or is it a Nigerian practice? Two, is it customary that the speech from the Throne should be debated simultaneously whilst the House of Representatives are debating this speech, or should it commence at the beginning of the actual business of the Senate?

I hope the hon. Minister will be able to answer my questions, Mr President.

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : Mr President, Sir, the Senate has not yet established a tradition in Nigeria so it is not possible to say what is customary and what is not customary, but Government certainly has given due consideration to the request by hon. Senator Odutola during the last Session that Members of the House of Representatives should join the Senate and this question has been very closely examined and it has been decided that it is not practicable under the present circumstances that Members of the House of Representatives should join the Senators in this House.

With regard to the second question, Sir, there is no practice whereby Members of the Senate should or should not discuss or debate the Motion of thanks to His Excellency concurrently with the Members of the House of Representatives. There is constitutionally nothing to prevent us from debating this Motion.



**Senator Muhammadu Sani :** I notice that it has been decided that we should join Members of the House of Representatives but no explanation has been given; is it due to lack of accommodation?

**Several hon. Senators :** Yes.

**The President :** It is obvious that it is due to lack of accommodation. Even the House of Representatives, as you know, is at present being held in the National Hall. The meeting of the Lower House takes place in a borrowed House and it is when the two Houses have buildings of their own that your question will be relevant.

**Senator Chief T. A. Odutola :** I thought I heard the Minister of State saying that the Senate in Nigeria has not established a tradition. I probably have misquoted him but I thought I heard him saying that. It looks as if there are two reasons why we should be merged with that House. One, because the Senate has no tradition and the other because of lack of accommodation. I would like to know which of the two is the reason why we are being merged with the House of Representatives and how soon would the Senate in Nigeria be able to establish a tradition.

**Minister of State (Senator Dr the hon. Majekodunmi) :** Mr President, Sir, the hon. Senator has probably misunderstood me as regards the lack of accommodation. This was only in respect of the question which sought to know whether it is customary for Senators to join the House of Representatives. That is where the question of tradition comes in; but the main reason which prevents this House from being joined by Members of the House of Representatives is because of accommodation and the comfort of Senators themselves and as the President has informed hon. Senators even the House of Representatives is not really designed to hold both Houses together but certainly it will hold both Houses much more comfortably than this Senate.

**Senator Abdul Salami Yusufu :** Mr President, Sir, I want to be clear of the position of the Senators with regard to the fact that they had been selected and appointed to represent certain areas, and I wonder whether it is officially or legally correct that they should

tour their areas and if so, can I have a further explanation for this?

**Minister of State (Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin) :** I am afraid every member of the Senate should tour their areas. We have to do so, otherwise, we cannot convey Government's decision and compare what is happening in our constituencies with what is happening all over the country if you do not tour. Government has made provision for that, so, we have to tour.

**Senator Dr Omitowoju :** On this question of a House for the Senate, I would like to know whether there is any provision for a building in future in which the Senate can sit.

**Minister of State (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) :** Plans are in hand for building a Parliament Building, as many Senators well know, on the Victoria Island, and when that is completed, we hope it will befit the dignity of the Senate. We will all have to move there.

**Senator Dr A. A. Nwafor Orizu :** Mr President, Sir, I would like the hon. Minister to clarify this point very clearly to my mind. The question of bringing tradition in respect of the Senate joining the House of Representatives with the problem of accommodation was being discussed, I want this question to be clarified because tradition in the political sense goes with precedent and this thing has happened before and is happening again and it may happen in future. Soon it will become a tradition. I want to know whether the Minister is going to state clearly that it is not traditional for Senators in Nigeria to join the House of Representatives the way it is being done now, and that the only reason why it is done now is just the question of accommodation and stop there. We want him to make that very clear.

The second point is that nothing has been done to prevent joint sitting. I am not quite sure that this is correct. If we think of the actual function of the Senate I do not see how we shall be debating something that the lower house is debating. Supposing we make a decision on what the Senate should do. What then is the function of the Senate? I want this point to be clarified.

**Minister of State (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) :** I think I had made myself clear as regards the question of tradition.



Unfortunately the speaker who referred to whether it is customary for members of the Senate to join the House of Representatives probably has in mind that this was going to be perpetuated and I had used the word tradition here in the context because it is almost always interchangeable with customs. We talk in this country of customs and tradition, we have not yet established a tradition whereby Members of the Senate always join the House of Representatives. It has been made clear in this House on a previous occasion that this Government has the utmost respect for tradition and for the elders in this country and Members of the Senate are regarded as elders of this country, and there is no action whatsoever which the Government has so far taken to prove that it is not paying this respect to members of the Senate. But the main thing which we have to impress in our minds is that Members of the Senate would like to listen to the Speech from the Throne. It is not possible for this House to accommodate all the 320 Members of the House of Representatives. It has therefore been decided that the Senators should join the Members of the House of Representatives.

**The President :** I think that has cleared the point.

**Senator Professor Eni Njoku :** Mr President, Sir, obviously this question of accommodation is a real one and one cannot but sympathise with the Government for not finding it possible to get both Houses comfortably into this one; but I wonder whether one can suggest to the Government especially in view of the fact that everything we do creates a tradition—we have gone to the House once, we will go a second time and we may probably go a third time and after two or three times of going there the tradition would have been created that we do go there—and I wonder whether it would be entirely fantastic to suggest that for the purpose of the joint meetings the Government might consider declaring the other House the Senate House for that purpose so that it will be the Senate House at which the Members of the House of Representatives join us and after the meeting we can undesignate it the Senate House. It will at least make it clear in form that the Senate is given the dignity which it deserves.

I cannot myself see immediately any real difficulty in doing this. There may well be difficulties which I have not thought of at the moment, but I think, Sir, the point might be worth investigating; and it is also true, Sir, that the actual meeting is generally very short and any inconvenience which might be suffered will be only a temporary one. In other places I understand that during the Speech from the Throne because there is no accommodation for them to sit Members have to stand, and tradition requires that if you cannot sit, then you can at least stand to hear it. It lasts only a relatively short time—an hour at the utmost. I think that it might be possible in this way not to create that tradition which we will later on find difficult to undo if such an arrangement could be made or given some consideration.

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale :** I support the last speaker and I want to add that we should not let it be a tradition in Nigeria for Members of the Senate to be going to the Lower House. Tradition is built on custom, and whatever is common custom becomes tradition; and so if the Members of the Senate start going to the Lower House, the tradition will thus be created. The most important thing we want to know now is whether the Government is going to build a bigger House for Senators in future so that the Members of the Lower House could come there or are we going to be drafted to the Lower House every-time there is going to be a Speech from the Throne? We would be grateful if the Minister of State will tell us when next we meet the Government's decision in this matter.

**Senator Zana M. Sheriff :** Mr President, Sir, I feel we are losing our respect and dignity. I am not challenging the Motion that has already been proposed, but would it not be possible for the Speech from the Throne to be given to us here in our Chamber, then at a later time in the House of Representatives, or, does that mean that we are asking too much from His Excellency? It is only a suggestion that the speech should be delivered here.

**Senator Chief A. Fagbenro Beyioku :** Mr President, Sir, I am happy to speak again on this matter. In the United Kingdom Parliament, at times we find that when the House of Lords is in Session it cannot contain all the Members of both Houses and so some



[SENATOR CHIEF BEYIOKU]

of them stand on the Floor of the House to hear the Speech from the Throne. This is only an inconvenience for a brief period of probably less than an hour.

Our Senate is the local House of Lords and I am sure, this House can accommodate 360 people. Let us have the Members of the House of Representatives here for the short period rather than we the elders of the country, the Lords of the land, marching to meet the commoners. This is absurd because it is the usual practice for the House of Lords to summon the House of Commons to hear the Speech from the Throne. I am sure that by our going to the House of Representatives tomorrow, as we did during the last Session, we shall be laying a bad precedent.

The question is what assurance have we that the apartment to be allocated to us in the new Parliament will be so large as to accommodate 370 people. I feel that, from every sense of judgement, what would happen is that the larger apartment would be allocated to the House of Representatives and the smaller one to us because we are smaller in number. And this very irregularity against which we are now complaining here will continue.

So I feel we still have 24 hours to play with. I am sure the President of the Senate, the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the House of Representatives can still think about this thing. We would rather like to see the Members of the House of Representatives come here;

some of them can sit on the floor. We can accommodate them; there are two rows of chairs there and we can also clear the back and extend the space to accommodate them. It is probably for less than an hour to hear the Governor-General deliver the Speech from the Throne. When the Speech is over they will go back to their building and then we will stay here to discuss or move the Vote of Thanks. After everything has been properly moved and seconded all the other things necessary would be done in the separate Houses. That is my view.

I am submitting very respectfully and very humbly that the President of the Senate, the Prime Minister of the land and the Speaker of the House of Representatives should meet to-day to consider this matter and we want the President to make the Prime Minister understand that we Members of the Senate feel that they from the other House should come here to hear the Speech from the Throne because that is the Parliamentary tradition and it should be observed in Nigeria.

**The President :** Hon. Senators have made their stand clear in this issue and I am sure that the hon. Minister of State in charge would carry these views to the Government for due consideration.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved :* That this House do now adjourn.

*Adjourned accordingly at twenty-six minutes past ten o'clock.*



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION OF  
NIGERIA

Thursday 31st March, 1960  
The Senate met at 10.00 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr President in the Chair)

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): Mr President, Sir, I rise to move that the Senate do now attend His Excellency in the House of Representatives.

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. E. Esin): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed:*

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved:* That the Senate do now attend His Excellency in the House of Representatives.

*The Senate went, and His Excellency delivered his Speech to both Federal Legislative Houses from the Throne.*

*After which the Senate returned, and Mr President resumed the Chair.*

OATHS

Oath of Allegiance was administered to the following new Members:—

The Minister of Information Hon. T. O. S. Benson

The Minister of Communications, Hon. Olu Akinfosile

The Minister of Economic Development, Hon. Shehu Shagari

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS

**Senator Nuhu Bamali:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to move, That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General as followeth:—"Your Excellency, We the members of the Senate here assembled beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Speech which Your Excellency has delivered to both Federal Legislative Houses"

Mr President, Speeches from the Throne are a common feature of our Parliament but the one delivered to-day has a special significance in that it is the last one before our Independence. His Excellency has also put it that way. I would, therefore, seize this opportunity to

thank the Governor-General for his tremendous achievements since he came to this country a little over five years ago.

When this Gentleman assumed responsibilities as our Governor-General, he found our country almost falling to pieces by political and tribal differences, but by his administrative ability, his prudence, wisdom and his strong love for peace and unity he has been able not only to weld the country together but also to lead it to Independence in a record time. Few Colonial Governors, if any, have been able to achieve this peaceful unity and during his tenure of office Nigeria has progressed tremendously in all fields of governmental activities and otherwise, and the most important is the granting of Independence to us by the United Kingdom Government this year. No Colonial Governor can be truly happier than the one in whose tenure of office a colonial country achieves Independence.

Sir, I beg to move.

**Senator Chief A. Fagbenro Beyioku:** Mr President, Sir, I beg to second the Motion. In seconding the Motion, I beg to associate myself with the general feeling of happiness that the Speech we heard to-day from the Throne will be the Speech, the last Speech to be delivered by an Imperial Representative to our House. As the Governor-General himself has said, the next Speech from the Throne will be delivered to Representatives of an Independent Nigeria and possibly by one of them. The Speech has great significance but nevertheless it has left out certain things which, perhaps, we would have liked the Governor-General to touch upon.

I am particularly happy to hear from the Governor-General that the Suru-Lere Housing Schemes have proved successful and consequently that his Government will be allocating another £1 million for the provision of quarters for lower rated workers of this country. I would only implore the Government to see that the allocation is done with every speed and the work is put on hand as urgently as possible.

I like that part of the Governor-General's Speech wherein he touched on industrial relations in this country. As we all know, industrial relations in this country have deteriorated a lot not because the workers were not willing to co-operate with the employers but because we believe in the Colonial atmos-



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phere where it was the question of the master and the servant. I am sure that with Independence knocking at our door the old situation will give way to a new look and we will know that we are all Nigerians working together and teaming up together to build up our own Nigeria. And consequently, in an Independent Nigeria industrial relations are bound to be sound and full of goodwill.

The Governor-General had hinted that with the money coming from the Shell Company the Government proposes to increase the number of technicians. It is helpful turning out 200 technicians every year but we are all well aware of the fact that there are hundreds of our boys either from technical schools or basic institutions who are still looking about for jobs to-day. It takes them about three to six years after leaving school before they secure a job even though they may be fully and well qualified. So, Sir, in this ambition of the Government to turn out at least 200 trained technicians every year, I do hope that the Government will equally see to it that as soon as these boys come out from their training institutions there are opportunities for them to walk straight into life and not to remain at home to become rotten and useless.

Mr President, Sir, in the Speech we heard this morning I feel there is still this question of the Judiciary on which our Government must be able to give us a pronounced statement. Not that we have any grudge against the present form of our judiciary but, I feel, in seconding this Motion of thanks to the Governor-General we are at liberty to refer to those things which he referred to as the policy of his Government and, at the same time, which could serve as pointers to those things which perhaps might have escaped his attention at the time he was preparing the speech. We have praise for the present judicial system in this country but there is always room for improvement. Those of us who have travelled out of the country, and who have had the opportunity of visiting courts overseas have been highly impressed by the Jury system in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America. In an independent Nigeria we should be thinking of introducing a refined Jury system in this country so that the purpose of the law will be

fulfilled and, we shall have expert legal brains on the bench to direct the jury so that their decisions may be backed by law. I feel that this is something we must have to incorporate in our laws.

I am happy that the Government now realise the importance of having to reconsider the foreign policy of an independent Nigeria. Although in our Motion asking for independence, we were unanimous that we would like to remain within the British Commonwealth, and I do not think we are saying we do not want to remain within the British Commonwealth, yet at the same time, with present happenings in the world I think we should be enemies to none even though we are members of the British Commonwealth. I hope the Government in finalising the foreign policy of this country will take notice of this and make sure that our foreign policy is so shaped that we will be friends to all and enemies only to nations who will like to be our enemies, perhaps South Africa if they continue with their present policy of discrimination against the black race.

**Senator Dr Omitowoju :** On a point of Order, Sir. I do not know whether the hon. Senator is seconding the Motion of Thanks or he has started debating the speech of the Governor.

**The President :** That is not a point of Order. In any case, whilst seconding the Motion he is perfectly at liberty to debate it.

**Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku :** Thank you, Mr President. The other point mentioned by the Governor-General as a policy of his Government is the question of outside aid, our borrowing propensity. We know very well that we must have to borrow money to develop this country, but I am sure the Governor-General and his Cabinet will be so careful as to ensure that this country is not enslaved and, in accepting any assistance or technical aid, that there are no strings attached. If there is any string attached, we must have to look for capital within Nigeria, raise the capital in Nigeria and work within that capital so as to avoid any nation either within or outside the Commonwealth coming to bluff us simply because they want to assist us.

Sir, I think we must support, and this country must support to the fullest Pan-Africanism because it is the only medium



through which we can project the African personality. In shaping our policy we must make sure that first we are ourselves Africans and anything which will bring us together with our fellow Africans we must not ignore. Nigeria is determined to rule and to help other African states become independent. When we become independent all other African states will look to us for leadership. We have a great duty to perform and if we continue to isolate ourselves by not associating ourselves with our fellow Africans, I am sure we might be losing our position as leader and other states who are small states will be parading themselves as the saviours of Africa or as the saviours of Nigeria; whilst we who are the real saviours of Africa will sit down in a little corner bemoaning our destiny. So, I think our Government will have to associate itself very forcibly with this Pan-Africanism which is now moving around Africa.

Mr President, Sir, there will still be opportunity for Members to debate the speech of the Governor but I would like to speak on the Navy before I get to the end of my speech. The Governor-General mentioned the Navy. I am afraid the Navy must be looked into because there is a lot of discrimination going on in our Navy. If we want to be an independent country, I will not subscribe to the view that our forces must be manned exclusively by expatriates. In an independent Nigeria we must work hard so that our forces, the Navy in particular and the Army will be manned by well tested Nigerians. In our Navy to-day there is a lot of discontent because there is discrimination. Where Nigerians are available and are competent to do the work, it appears they are being denied the opportunity and I feel this is something our Government must look into so that we do not make a bad start of our independence.

I think it is a credit to this Senate that we are privileged to discuss and to debate the last colonial speech from the Throne by a Colonial Governor and, by the Grace of God we do hope that within the next few months this very Senate will be chanced by God to debate an independent speech, from an independent Nigerian to an independent Nigerian Parliament.

Mr President, I beg to second the Motion. (Applause).

*Question proposed.*

**Senator A. E. Lagunju :** Mr President Sir, I remember yesterday we had a long discussion on the question of our going from this House to the House of Representatives to listen to the Speech from the Throne. Naturally, we thought the President or the Minister of State responsible for the Senate will tell us something, or that they have helped us in a way.....

**The President :** Order, order. The issue before the House is that an address of thanks be presented to the Governor-General for his Speech. Is Senator Lagunju speaking on that?

**Senator Lagunju :** I will speak when the House is ready to adjourn.

*Debate Adjourned.*

**The President :** Debate to be resume when?

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : Tomorrow.

#### ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and question proposed, That the House do now adjourn :* (Minister of State—Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin).

**Senator E. A. Olagunju :** Mr President, Sir, I am glad I can now raise my question. Yesterday we were here for a long time and we discussed whether it was proper for the Senate to move from this place to the other House to listen to the Speech from the Throne. Naturally this morning we thought we would hear something from either the President or the Minister of State on this question. We should be very grateful to be informed because we are now laying a precedent. We have gone there twice and after all tradition originates from custom and if we keep on practicing this eventually it will be difficult for us to say **no**. So it has become a regular practice now and I think we should get something definite either from the President or from the Prime Minister to the effect that we are merely doing this for convenience and that once we have room it will no longer continue.

**The President :** Before we wind up the hon. Minister of State will be able to reply.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** Sir, I think one of the Standing Orders says that sittings on Fridays and Saturdays will commence at 9 a.m. because I have just heard the sitting tomorrow will commence at 10 a.m. Are we waving that particular Standing Order?



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION  
OF NIGERIA

Friday, 1st April, 1960

The Senate met at 9 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr President in the Chair)

ORDER OF THE DAY

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS): Adjourned Debate on Question (31st March).

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency, the Governor-General, as followeth :

"Your Excellency,

We the Members of the Senate here assembled beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Speech which Your Excellency has addressed to both Federal Legislative Houses". (Senator Nuhu Bamalli).

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, in supporting the Motion of Thanks for the Governor-General's Speech from the Throne, I would like to say that on the whole the Speech appears to be well received by the Nigerian public, yet certain aspects of it, in my humble opinion, leave much to be desired. For instance, it is not categorically stated that after Independence the policy of non-alignment in foreign affairs which enlightened Nigerian public opinion has been advocating will be pursued; nor is any reference made to the role which Nigeria is to play in the great task of liberating other African countries from colonial rule. On the other hand, the Government's bold economic plans enunciated in the Speech are very commendable. If they are pursued very vigorously, as I hope they will, improved standards of living for the common man will have been assured.

As is very ably propounded in the Speech, the provision of adequate means of telecommunication, road and rail services is an indispensable feature of any sound development programme. But one is left to conjecture how this programme is to affect the rural areas about which the Speech appears to be studiously silent. While Lagos as the Federal capital and the Regional capitals and other urban areas must receive attention commensurate with their importance, one cannot help saying that

the rural areas upon which the economy of the country really depends are very often neglected in the distribution of social and other amenities.

The Government has to be sincerely congratulated on its bold effort to improve the Trunk A roads and to start the River Niger project during the current financial year. It is nevertheless disappointing to note that up to date the Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin road still remains uncompleted and there is no definite assurance that it will be ready for use before the forthcoming Independence celebration.

The very satisfactory arrangement which the Government is making to cater for the health and well-being of the people of Lagos is very highly appreciated. It is, however, not clear what special effort it is making to control the ever increasing scourge of tuberculosis. Judging by the phenomenal increase in the incidence of this deadly disease, one wonders why the Government has not thought it necessary to embark on a mass immunization programme with a view to minimizing, if not completely wiping out the disease.

The idea of establishing inter-regional secondary schools financed completely from Federal funds is a measure which all lovers of Nigerian unity will receive with the greatest satisfaction. The Nigerian Union of Teachers in collaboration with another voluntary organisation whose avowed aim is to foster Nigerian unity has for long pleaded in vain for this. Now that the Government has seen its way clear to make a practical approach to the idea of one Nigeria, I can say that Nigerians in general and the teaching profession of this country in particular will give the Government every co-operation in its noble effort to knit the diverse peoples of this great country into one homogeneous whole.

On the question of Federal scholarship awards, it is gratifying to note the increase of from 180 to 540 for each of the next two years. All of us look forward to the time, and that at no distant date, when the entire Federal Public Service will be manned by well qualified and efficient Nigerians. The increase in the Scholarship Awards is, therefore, a step in the right direction.

The Federal Government deserves the humble gratitude of the workers of Lagos for the success of the Suru-Lere Housing Scheme



which has made it possible, for the first time in the industrial history of Lagos, for workers of low income groups to enjoy the comfort of a good house in clean and healthy surroundings.

It is to be hoped that the Government will leave no stone unturned to make many more workers similarly accommodated.

Finally, I would like to assure the Government that Members of the Senate and, for that matter, all civic minded Nigerians will co-operate and morally support the Government in all its progressive measures to place the economy of this country on a sound financial footing. We can continue to talk about what the Government should do to improve the financial resources of this country, but I see that the work of doing this has been left in very able hands and all we can say is to assure the Government of our whole-hearted support.

I beg to support the Motion.

**Senator A. E. Lagunju :** Mr President, Sir, a lot has been said yesterday about the significance of the speech from the Throne. It appears the speech is rather comprehensive but, to me it contains some contradictory statements. It is stated that the aim of the Government is to develop the resources of the country for the benefit of all and, yet, the Federal Government will introduce a Bill to provide for the direct borrowing by the Northern and Eastern Regional Governments of a sum of about three million pounds. The Governor also said in his speech that the Federal Government will try as much as possible to promote inter-governmental arrangements, consultations and co-operation, yet, the new Ministry of Economic Development seems to concentrate much of its effort on a particular Region. I am not trying to be sectional in outlook but there are times when we must point these things out. There is now a United Nations Special Fund provision for the Niger Dam, for exploration of oil in the Eastern Region and the renewal of the International Tin Agreement. All these are concentrated in only two regions. I have mentioned before the question of borrowing where only the Northern and Eastern Regions were mentioned. One Region has been left out. I wonder why that has been so.

I now come to the question of Education and the question of scholarship awards. While we all maintain that selection for scholarship must be based on merit we also realise that the Federal Territory of Lagos has enjoyed for years a special privilege. Lagos has got well equipped secondary schools like Kings College, Queens College, Methodist Boys' High School, Baptist Academy and a host of others all well staffed because they are situated in the Federal Capital. With the facilities provided in these schools, when it comes to the question of selection, obviously, most of those to be selected for the 540 scholarships will be from the Federal capital. I think the Scholarships Board should take cognizance of the fact that probably most of the other Regions have not got this special advantage and, while selecting a few on merit, there must be some special cases for the other Regions.

We all commend the effort of the Government to build more hospitals but the question of progressive abolition of medical fees for children is rather depressing. I think we must realise that our children are enviable assets and the earlier we give them free medical treatment the better.

One happy aspect of the Speech from the Throne is this question of Legislation to check bribery and corruption and we all hope that our Police Force will rise to the occasion, the Police being a very important arm of the Government.

Another interesting thing, if it will be implemented in time, is the question of a Bill to deal with Cinemas. We all know the way Africans are portrayed in most of our films. When a film is entitled "Jungle Fight" you know what you will see. When you hear "Typical life in Africa" you know what to expect and, if Government can legislate on this in time it will mean a lot.

These are the few comments I have got to make.

**Senator M. Muhammadu Sani, Makaman Sokoto :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion before this hon. House. The Motion is worth moving and is worth debating. The primary object of the Motion is to ask hon. Senators to agree that an humble address of thanks be made to His Excellency for the speech he delivered. His Excellency deserves our



[SENATOR CHIEF UGWUOCHA]

those so related to participate in its working, for their control is then an expression of their experience.

The secret of avoiding dislocation in industries of this kind is to make the necessary institution of agreement lie at their foundation instead of creating them spontaneously as each temporary difference arises. For then the agreement is cloaked in the authority derived from the continuous knowledge; and that knowledge in its turn is a function of the total experience available to us. We can then evaluate the factors of solution before the differences are precipitated. We can examine them before the request becomes a demand, and the demand a threat. In our present arrangements, what is emphasised is always the line of partition instead of the territory of agreement, and granted those arrangements, it is inevitable that it should be so. I do not say that this method will prevent strikes, I only urge that it will minimise their number as no other method can do.

Mr President, I beg to support the Motion of thanks for the Speech from the Throne.

**Senator P. A. Ogundipe :** Mr President, Sir, in supporting the Motion of an address of thanks to the Governor-General for the Speech from the Throne, I have the following humble remarks to make especially on the references in the Speech that the new Government will embark on the policy of strict economy in its pursuit of an economic development that befits the present political aspirations of the country. It is greatly cheering to note that the Governor-General's Speech takes note of the fact that there may be two ways of pursuing economic development, namely, economic development may be pursued in an uneconomical and extravagant way and secondly, it may be pursued in a strictly economical and thrifty way. I think that it was for this reason that the Governor-General has emphasised the necessity of spending in such a way wherewith the Government will ensure maximum of economy in spending so that the Government's revenue shall not exceed the estimated expenditure.

But I beg to say that it is not sufficient to make a lip confession of economy in pursuit of an economic development. It must be actually

put in practice. In the first place, it is just not sufficient that our national balance sheet should show an excess of revenue over expenditure, however meagre such credit balance may be. But what we really want is that every penny of revenue collected should be judiciously spent so that there should not occur in any sector of our economy what the economists term 'Unproductive Labour'. It should be an 'unproductive labour' and therefore highly uneconomical if the Government should start a project which it abandoned after it had cost it, say, £10,000, simply because of lack of planning or bad planning or wrong calculation. I have seen at Local Government levels where public buildings or bridges have been given to inefficient and incompetent contractors with the result that a few months after the work has been completed, the buildings or the bridges collapse and the Local Authority has to face the responsibility of providing fresh funds for starting the work all over again. This is an example of unproductive labour which may be a result of lack of planning or bad planning or insufficient foresight, into which even the Federal Government may fall and therefore previous warning may be necessary.

To be more specific, the example set before us by the last Federal Government makes strong warning necessary in spite of glowing promises of strict economy in the development programme which we have heard from the Speech from the Throne. According to the Report of the Director of Federal Audit on the accounts of the Federation of Nigeria for the year ended 31st March, 1959, the total losses in cash and in stores computed in terms of cash was £118,468; made up as follows: 1856-57 in cash £4,910, in stores £4,742. 1957-58 in cash £32,997, in stores £11,484; 1958-59 in cash £8,299, in stores £56,036; making a total of £118,468, both in cash and in stores. In paragraph 9 of the Audit Report a Board of Enquiry which investigated the losses of 47,844 bags of cement valued at about £34,000 allocated for the work of the Ministry of Works and Surveys stated that the losses were directly attributable to bad management, lack of supervision and bad system of accounting. This type of expenditure may be present in most of our departments in this country. May I ask, Mr President, whether the personnel which made up the former Federal Government



have changed drastically? I say, "No". I, therefore, emphasize that a strong note of warning must be rung into the ears of our present Government so that in our pursuit of forward-looking progressive planning of economic expansion, those who control the funds of the country should spend with the economy of personal private money and not with the dissipation of public money that has got to be spent without caution as to the morality of the expenditure.

Now on the side of income. We Legislators on our part have a message to carry to our homes, to our countrymen who are the sources of the £46½ million which the Government wishes to spend in the ensuing year. From the Speech from the Throne, we have heard that thousands of pounds of what would have increased our national income are yearly stolen through tax evasion and through smuggling of goods across the Nigerian borders. One is, however, happy to hear that the Government has promised to take a drastic measure to break down these practices which are a cankerworm to the fabric of our economy. I pray that the Government may be able to fulfil this promise with steadfastness and resolution.

I now proceed to the second part of my view of the Speech from the Throne. Firstly, the Governor-General's speech has recognised the importance of improving all means of transport and communications—and that speedily—in order to meet the need of our growing country. This is a very good gesture. But in our actual experience, this policy cannot be fulfilled unless the Government is prepared to take over many more of the roads which are at present assigned to the Regions. To my mind, the Regions have many more roads to construct than they can efficiently undertake. It is important to remember that unlike some other amenities or other capital developments, the economic value of roads, road transport cannot be Regionalised. The present so-called Trunk 'A' roads are less than 30 per cent of the roads which carry goods and trades of the people of one Region to those of the others. If our Trunk 'A' roads or Federal roads are not merely meant to transport our Legislators from the North, East and West to Lagos for legislative meetings, I strongly

advocate that the Federal Government should take over from the various Regions many hundreds of roads either already constructed or yet to be constructed.

When I say that our transport system is one of the economic development programmes that cannot be regionalised I mean that poor transport system, for example in the North, may drastically affect the trade and prosperity of the people in the West or East even when the transport systems of the two latter Regions may be quite satisfactory. That is, the people of the East and West, though their own roads may be good, I think may get to a point where they cannot transport their goods across to the North and *vice versa*. It is for this reason and for the reasons of my experience of so many bad roads or lack of roads in certain parts of the Regions where good roads are necessary to tap some of the country's resources, that I strongly advocate that the Federal Government should take over more of the present Regional roads or give subsidies to the Regional Governments for the construction of new roads or the maintenance of the old and poorly constructed ones.

The other thing on which I wish to speak before I take my seat is secondary education in the Regions. I know that this, like the roads, is a purely Regional function. But I speak about it because as in the case of road transport which I have mentioned, it is a case on which I strongly feel the Federal Government should give grants to the Regional Governments either to improve the standards of the Secondary and Technical Schools already built or give grants to build additional ones. One cannot see the wisdom of the Federal Government establishing inter-Regional Secondary Schools and Technical Institutes when many of those already founded in the Regions partly by Voluntary Agencies or by communal efforts are waning or dying away owing to lack of financial support. After all, whoever gives us our education, either the state, voluntary agency or Local Authority, it is often the end that justifies the means. It is to be noted that if the policy of the Government is that of forward-looking progressive planning, economic expansion which does not allow any wastage of manpower or of material resources in any direction, then it should realise that all the contributions of



[SENATOR OGUNDIPE]

private and voluntary agencies or local communities to found Secondary or Technical Schools are part of the National Income. And it is a wiser direction of energy for the Government to save such schools from floundering than dissipating their energy on new ones. With these few observations on the Speech from the Throne which I wish the Government to consider seriously, I beg to support the motion.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** Mr President, Sir, I would like to say one or two words on the debate. First of all I want to thank and to give some words of praise to the Governor-General. I think this gentleman has done a lot in this country especially at this time that the country has approached and arrived at its desired goal. He, therefore, deserves some words of thanks. I want to switch over to the Economic Programme that was embodied in the Governor-General's Speech, and I want to make my suggestion.

If we want to save our money we should try to avoid filling the redundant posts in our Civil Service. In certain offices you have something like the Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Principal Secretary, Senior Assistant Secretary and Assistant Secretary; all these posts for the expatriate civil servants, I wonder why. I do not think we should go about filling vacancies with people who are very costly to recruit or employ. I think the work can still be done by filling the gap with a Nigerian, and in this direction I am suggesting that the Government should do all in its power to Nigerianise the majority of these posts. And we should stop paying inducement allowance to this set of expatriate officers, although I think we should do all we can for the expatriate officers whose services cannot be easily obtained locally. Officers like Medical Specialists, Engineers and Technicians, these are the people we should be begging to come. It is not the people who are doing the work which our boys can do. All these people in London write applications to the Colonial Office that they want to be employed. They want to come to Nigeria because they know the cost of living is lower. I see no reason why when they write applications begging us to employ them we should need to induce them and be paying them inducement allowance in addition to their salary.

The other point is the question of taxation. I think the Government has taken note of this, that we are not making private revenue as we should do. Every taxable adult should be assessed, and in this wise I am suggesting that all working unmarried ladies should be assessed. I will suggest further that there is no reason for excusing them from payment of tax. They go to the same schools as their male counterparts; they have the same qualification, they go to the same offices, they are paid the same salary and they have less to do with money than their counterparts, the men. I see no reason why they should not pay tax and I strongly suggest that the Government should look into the situation of our unmarried ladies.

The other question I would like to discuss is the question of the post of Governor-General Nigeria is going into Independence and that is to say we are going to be ruling ourselves. I think it is high time we began to think on how to Nigerianise the post of Governor-General. By my saying this I am not in any way disputing the effort made by the expatriate Governor-General who has led Nigeria up to the political status that we have now achieved, but you do or you learn to do by practising. If we are not given the opportunity to practise how can we know how to do it? You practise swimming by swimming yourself. Now I am suggesting that the next Governor-General, if possible, should be a Nigerian, if it is not possible the Deputy Governor-General should be a Nigerian, and I am trying to advise that if anybody appointed to the post of Governor-General or Deputy Governor-General is a politician he should be relieved of active politics at least during the period of his office as Governor-General or Deputy Governor-General. (*Hear, hear*). Why I say this is that if the Governor-General is a party politician he will lose the confidence of the people and will be a distrusted Governor-General because after all, if he is toeing a party line, he is not, therefore, for every political opinion in the country. For that reason, I think it should be more democratic if such a person resigns from active politics.

The other point I also want to make is the question of the Police uniform. I do not think that the present police uniform befits the dignity of an independent Nigerian Police



Force. About two years ago, on the floor of this House, I suggested that the police uniform should be changed to the model and pattern of that of Ghana Police Force. It will look very dignified, it will be a respect to the police and it will attract many people who will like to join the police force. I think that is one of the important points the Government should look into to see that the Nigeria Police, especially at this stage, should have a befitting uniform.

I will now end my speech with some congratulatory words to the Government. This Government, I think, deserves some words of praise. They have been able to put forward a very bold programme. This goes to give credit to the party forming the Government.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator M. B. C. Chukwubike :** Mr President, Sir, in supporting the Motion of Thanks to the Governor-General on his Speech from the Throne, I wish to make the following observations.

Increase of Federal scholarships from 180 to 540. I very much associate myself with this increase. It is a thoughtful increase. I call it *thoughtful* because when one takes into consideration the heavy responsibility ahead of this country after Independence, one will not doubt that the Government's decision on this issue is a very wise one. While I have no intention of criticising the Scholarships Committee or whichever body is in charge of this matter, I feel very strongly that the distribution of scholarships should be fair and just. I say this with every amount of certainty that many towns in the Eastern Region have never had Federal scholarships.

The Electricity Corporation. It is also a piece of joy to know that arrangements have been made to extend certain power stations with a view to supplying light to more distant places. It is really a good sign that the Federal Government is to give these amenities to each town in the Federation. However, I stress that the powerful power station at Oji River, which is 22 miles to Awgu Divisional Headquarters and about 12 miles to Awka Division, be considered along with the one suggested in the Governor-General's Speech.

Telephone Service. I do not think that the confinement of telephone services to the Divisional Headquarters has really served the purpose. Some divisions are about 30 miles across with so many big towns between. It will be worthwhile if Government considers giving such towns telephone services.

Mineral Oil. The discovery of mineral oil in Nigeria has helped greatly to increase the wealth of the country and in absorbing a few of the school leavers. In this connection, there was some years ago a report of the Geological Survey that there was mineral oil along Mmaku Ugwueme Hill, in Awgu Division, that is, in Onitsha Province. If a thorough search of oil is made and some oil is found, it should offer employment to the jobless school leavers who constitute the majority of night marauders who jeopardise both the life and the property of honest citizens.

Lastly, Sir, the Governor-General spoke well yesterday when he said that he was very proud to hold the office of Governor-General during these last historic years and to have played some part in the process which has led to the present happy situation. I make bold to say that unlike some other past imperialist Governor-Generals, he has held the high office to an acceptable standard. Undoubtedly, his name has a place in the history of this country.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

**Senator Dahilton Asemota :** Mr President, while supporting the Motion I associate myself wholeheartedly that the Governor-General should be congratulated for the able speech that he delivered yesterday. I should also like to add that not only the Governor-General should be congratulated but the Ministers as well for the very important part they have played in discharging their various numerous duties that have brought this country to the very enviable position it is now in.

However, there is one thing on which I feel very strongly and that is the choosing of Ministers. There is nothing so far that enables people to know how Ministers are selected and I was particularly reminded of this this morning by a publication in Federal Gazette No. 15 of the 24th March, 1960, at pages 351 to 369. There are some constituencies that return one person and that person is a member of the Government and he is made a Minister. In another constituency where there are three



[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

seats, two of them happen to be members of the Government and are made Ministers. Now, take Benin City, my home town, you will find three seats, all three members of the Government Party and yet none of them is considered for any post or place. I think you will agree with my impression that there must be some peculiar way of selecting Ministers. Of the three men who were returned in the last General Election—

**The President :** Is what you are saying relevant to the Motion ?

**Senator Asemota :** Unless you say otherwise, Sir, I feel it is because I—

**The President :** I rule it irrelevant.

**Senator Asemota :** I am sorry, Sir, but I do not know how you want me to put it.

**The President :** Selection of Ministers is the prerogative of the Prime Minister and the Speech from the Throne embodies the policy of the Government.

**Senator Asemota :** Well, Sir, can I go on to "Scholarships" then ?

**The President :** Certainly.

**Senator Asemota :** It is a great pity that I am not allowed to continue with that part of my speech which I had wanted to make more elaborate.

The distribution of scholarships as you have already heard from many Members of the Senate is not altogether fair. It appears to me that my own part of the country has been given practically little or no attention in this matter of scholarships. I think you will agree with me that Federal scholarships should not be confined to particular Regions or class of people. I think it should be spread all over the country and I have every reason to believe that very few people from Benin City, or Benin Province for that matter, have been granted Federal scholarships. Here again, we have very strong reasons for dissatisfaction.

Also, turning to the selection of members for various Boards, right from the Directorship of the Central Bank of Nigeria to the temporary one of members selected for arranging the Self-Government Celebrations, if you look into it carefully, you will find that very few

people from Benin City or Benin Province have been included in any of these Boards. These are the things we feel are compensation for supporting the Government, but unfortunately, although we suffered a great deal to support the Government we get very little or no return for it. I think the time has come for the Government to look into the matter.

In the case of scholarships, I suggest that in future when scholarships are awarded, the names of the towns should be inserted against the names of the candidates selected so that everybody will see that the scholarships have been evenly distributed and then there will be little or no cause for people to feel that the Government is not fair in the allocation of scholarships. I would also suggest that this be extended to the selection of members for Boards but some people may consider it is not a good idea. I think it will be a good thing if membership of all the Boards is more or less representative of the people of the whole of Nigeria.

Now the next thing I would like to refer to is the telephone system. Well, I think it was stated here that major automatic telephone exchanges will be completed at eight important centres including the three regional capitals and Kano, and a micro-wave radio trunk system will increase the number of trunk lines between Lagos and Ibadan by one hundred and twenty. Well that is a marvellous achievement ; but may I ask if the Mid-West is included among these achievements ? These are the needs that really give us a bit of a headache when we get back home to our people.

Now I see also here in this Speech, that the runway at Lagos airport has been improved to accept large turbo-propeller aircraft such as the *Britannia*, and the types of heavier aircraft which are likely to succeed them before long. "In addition to aircraft which are now being used for the training of Nigerian air pilots, my Government will shortly be receiving a generous gift of two aircraft from the United Kingdom Government to increase the facilities for such training." Now, that is the point I want to talk about, the training of Nigerian air pilots. I think this training should not be confined to one Region ; it should be spread out to all parts of Nigeria so that many of our sons can be trained to fly these planes. I think it needs a bit of evening out. Now further on in the same paragraph His Excellency says that



Government has increased the number of Federal Scholarship awards from 180 to 540 for each of the next two years. Well that is a remarkable thing indeed and it is on that particular point that I have suggested that when the awards are made the regions of origin of the candidates should also be shown so that we can see that they are distributed fairly. With these few remarks, Sir, I support the Motion.

**Senator Malachias Bawa :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support this Motion. When Sir James arrived in Nigeria there was much suspicion that he was not the one who would lead Nigeria into its present state, but he deserves the praise of everyone. He has served in other colonies for many years before they had their independence and there was much bloodshed in some of them, but in Nigeria now he has the good co-operation of the leaders of Nigeria which has helped him to bring Nigeria to its present destiny without any bloodshed. The Council of Ministers also deserves praise for their services to Nigeria. Next I want to touch on the question of roads. From Jos, Panchin, Wase, Kanam, Akwanga, and also the road from Jos to Zaria, these roads all need urgent improvement. The Plateau is the headquarters of the tin mining, and I suggest that the mining company should have a Board, comprising the inhabitants of the Plateau, to know the actual profits, so that the interests of the profits should be used in developing the area.

With these few remarks, I beg to support the Motion.

**Senator H. Udoh :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion and in doing so I have only a few observations to make. In the Speech from the Throne there was no mention of what the Government is doing to fight this tax evasion. There was no definite statement made how to cure this disease which is slowly cutting down our revenue, and on this revenue hangs our hope for development. The Government should see to it that nobody evades taxation because from taxation we have the development on which we are dependent. Many men live to thank the rural areas for services where they are given. If everybody pays his tax there will be enough money available to give all these amenities to all areas especially those out of the way places

in the southern townships. Government should endeavour to see to it that everybody contributes and also to deal with those who do not declare their income and those who make tax appeals.

Another point I would like to make is on smuggling. These two items—tax evasion and smuggling are gradually crippling us financially. The people in townships and other places like Lagos, for instance, may not know the gravity of these two items. If one watches at the ports or at places like, say, Kano airport, one sees the quantity of goods which come into this country. These goods are weighed and if they come into the country in the usual way the Customs Department collect duty on these

Everybody is talking about development but I think this is impossible in a country without roads and means of transport both on land and water. The Government has made this impossible. I refer to some roads in my area and I am sure the President can bear me out. It is one of the places where means of transport are not known at all. No doubt, contracts are awarded to contractors for road making but I do not know what the Government feels about the work that has been done by these contractors. The work goes on at a snail's speed but what we want is speed. As we approach Independence which is as sure as daylight and with some parts of the country out of reach, I do not know what will happen. I stress that there are still many roads that must be completed. Therefore, I would like the Government to give a time limit when awarding contracts. Also there are some waterways which are altogether crude. Canoes cannot ply them and as a result the produce from those parts of the country which are out of reach, as some speakers have mentioned, are stacked up in the areas from where they are produced. The Governor-General has done a lot with his Ministers but the country is large and we want more to be done.

With these remarks, I support the Motion.

**Senator O. Somolu :** Mr President, Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General. I have a few observations to make particularly in relation to what I consider as a vital omission from the Governor-General's Speech from the Throne.



[SENATOR SOMOLU]

The portion of the Speech which deals with the increase of scholarships to be awarded is very remarkable—from 180 to 540. But with the development of secondary schools and the award of more and more scholarships, what do we intend to do with the human materials that are being turned out? Every year thousands of boys and girls pass out from secondary schools. Where do they go from there? Also the Speech from the Throne is wanting in that there is nothing said about the provision of more universities for this country. One of the components of the Government of the Federation has laid a new trail by trying to establish a university. Now we have one which has been running for ten years. What are we going to do? This omission, I think is very significant. The Governor-General and his Ministers should, by now, have been thinking of the establishment of more universities because it is by that that we can absorb the young generation and at the same time make provisions for what we constantly complain of. We talk of expatriates, money and the most important aspect of our administration. So far, there has been only one Permanent Secretary who is a native of this country. We want more of them. But how do we get them, except we get them trained? The only place where we can train them is in the universities.

Again, the Speech from the Throne is significant on the question of the third arm of our Military Force. We have got the Army; we have got the Navy. Is the Government thinking about an Air Force for this country? Can it be said that we have not got boys who are willing to train in this arm for the defence of this country? The answer is obviously 'No'! We should therefore give them every encouragement. Various countries along the West Coast of Africa are trying to become independent. They are establishing their own Armed Forces and Nigeria with its vast population and its large frontiers should not lag behind in this important aspect.

The Governor-General in his Speech from the Throne spoke of medical development. This is also commendable. We are going to build more hospitals with more beds. This is very good indeed, but buildings and beds do not take care of themselves. The Speech is

silent on those who are going to work in these hospitals. And in this respect, I refer particularly to arrangements being made for the training of Medical Specialists. We have less and less of them in the country. What are we doing? If we have buildings and beds and all we are going to put into them are the nurses and the doctors who, perhaps, due to no fault of theirs, have limited knowledge to cater for the needs of those who go there, our difficulties will just be beginning. This country is advancing by leaps and bounds. There are various medical problems which did not arise in the olden days but which have come up to-day. What are we going to do? We should try and make arrangements in order to get these Specialists trained. Our Specialists are not trained in a day, they are not trained in months, their work is such that it takes years to train them. Are we making a beginning now?

The part of the Speech which deals with the expansion of the Police is also good. But the Speech does not say anything about improving the conditions of service and the pay of the Police in order to attract men and women of the right type. It is not just putting on uniform and exercising powers in the name of the Crown that matters but the human element, those who understand the right spirit for which Police Force is established and without review of their pay and their conditions of service, we shall continue to get the wrong type. This the Government should also look into.

This speech is also silent on a very vital matter and, that is the administration of justice particularly in our highest tribunal in this country. With the promulgation of fundamental human rights we know that this court is going to have more and more increasing work to do. What are we doing in this respect? We cannot have just a handful of people, three or four of them working themselves to death in order to administer justice. Something fundamental should be done in order to make provisions for the enlargement of this court.

There is also one important aspect of this speech which particularly concerns people living and coming to Lagos and that is the provision of a second bridge. Every morning, we find long queues and hours upon hours



wasted because there is only one avenue to Lagos. We are told that this only one bridge has been strengthened but what matters is that we want a second bridge, and the Government should do something about it before it is too late.

We heard from the Speech that bribery and corruption would be looked into. This is a commendable and bold effort on the part of the Government, because it is eating into the progress of this country. Every year we find thousands and thousands of pounds which could be used in developing this country go into private pockets and those who collect them feel that they are very wise. This step which the Government is going to take, I am sure, is going to put more power into the hands of the Police and Courts. This is a step in the right direction.

I want to congratulate the Government particularly on the part of the Speech which deals with inter-regional economic co-operation, because unless this co-operation is there, there is going to be overlapping and quite a lot of wastage of money and man-power. This is a far-sighted plan and it is my hope that this co-operation is not just going to be on the lips. I hope it is going to be a thorough co-operation which would be bound to the progress of this country and the welfare of the people.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Abdul Salami Yusifu:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion with great emphasis on the fact that the Speech from the Throne of His Excellency the Governor-General is most desirable. It is very interesting to hear about the future development and expansion of Nigeria's economic projects and also the social welfare of the people. However, I pray and hope that the Government's intentions are successfully carried out.

Furthermore, I was highly attentive while the Governor in his speech did mention electricity extension. On this, I thought he was going to mention the Government's intention to erect or expand electricity to my town, Okene, which is one of the urban areas in the Northern Region. I shall, therefore, not describe my attitude towards this gross negligence of the Federal Government. I

hope the government will take notice of my remarks over this demand and, give it immediate attention especially now that the people of the area have matured conception of improving their industrial projects.

Concluding, I appeal to the Federal Government not to concentrate her attention on developing the Federal territory only. I support the Motion with reluctance because of the government's failure to take notice of this vital demand of the people.

**Senator S. Eytayo:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion that an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne. We all agree that the Address is comprehensive, but I believe that it is not comprehensive enough in that it has left out many vital problems affecting the Federation of Nigeria as a whole.

The Governor-General in his Speech from the Throne said nothing about the impending London Conference which will take place in May of this year. I think that Conference is an important issue which should have been mentioned in the Address of the Governor-General from the Throne. I believe also that when the last Constitutional Conference was held in London, it was made abundantly clear that that would be the last to be held in London and, what remained to be done was for the House of Representatives and this hon. Senate to pass a unanimous resolution demanding independence for Nigeria by the first of October, 1960. That has been done and, I wonder why our leaders should go to London again; probably to help the United Kingdom Government to introduce legislation to that effect. I believe such an important meeting ought to have been heard from the Governor-General in his Speech from the Throne. I am also inclined to believe that going to London is a waste of public revenue which should have been used for better purposes.

In the second place, the Speech from the Throne is silent on the question of minorities. I believe this is a studied silence. Anyone who has studied something about comparative Federal Government will admit that the present set-up of the country is inadequate, and will always brew trouble, and I wonder why such an important issue has been left out of the Speech from the Throne.



[SENATOR EYITAYO]

In the third place, although the Speech from the Throne tells us something about the provision for speedy and efficient method of communication, it appears that all these improvements are intended for cities and towns that have been enjoying these privileges for years to the utter neglect of the rural areas. I think it is not yet late for the Government to consider these rural areas which have not benefited by these amenities.

In the fourth place, I would like to make an observation on the attitude of our Government towards the cold-blooded murder of our brothers in South Africa. I do not think that it is when Nigeria becomes a self-governing country that we should do something to register our protest against that barbarous shooting of our fellow Africans. Many steps have been suggested to our Government to be taken. I wonder why our Government has thought it fit not to adopt any of these methods. I am not saying that South African whites in this country should be expatriated because some of them are good and well-meaning, but at the same time there are other things we can do in order to register our protest to South Africa and I wonder why none of these things has been done.

Last but not the least, it is the question of unemployment that was not touched at all by the Governor-General in his Speech from the Throne. I think it is a serious omission and no Government worth its salt should leave this untouched. I believe that there is still time for our Government to make up for this omission of unemployment which is agitating the minds of everybody in the country.

I do not want to repeat what all others have said and with these few remarks I beg to support.

*Sitting suspended : 10.42 a.m.*

*Sitting resumed : 11.05 a.m.*

**Senator Zanna M. Sheriff :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion for the Vote of Thanks to His Excellency. Most of the things I am going to say have been touched by other hon. Senators. However, I am going to make a few comments in addition to what others have said. The Speech from the Throne was comprehensive, encouraging and deserves all credits. The general public are very anxious to know what an independent Nigeria has in store for them. His Excellency's

speech has cleared all doubts. It assured everybody that the future of an independent Nigeria will be very bright and hopeful. Arising from His Excellency's speech, I feel that a more vigorous move should be made towards industrialisation in this country. Nigeria has a growing population, especially a teaming number of students are leaving school every year. Those students will be employed in one way or another. Therefore, it is very important to embark upon a reasonable large scale industrialisation of the country so that we may not face unemployment problems from which so many newly formed States have suffered in the past. The development programmes mentioned in His Excellency's speech are acceptable in all aspects and are very practicable.

May I draw the attention of our Ministers to the fact that they should not merely sit back and give a lip service to the development projects. It is solely the responsibility of our Ministers to follow up each step vigorously and implement it. As I said earlier, His Excellency's speech is worthy of praise and, therefore, deserves all thanks.

With these few remarks, I beg to second the Motion.

**Senator M. G. Ejaife :** Mr President, Sir, I would like to associate myself with other hon. Senators who have spoken in support of the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency for the address so ably delivered to both Houses of the Legislature. I would like, first of all, to congratulate Sir James Robertson for giving an example of the good British statesmanship. I think he has done his duty as an English gentleman and for this he deserves the greatest congratulations. From the idea one can gather from his Speech, Nigeria is gradually forming a real democratic entity. I think His Excellency will be very happy to leave this country in the way he is going to do in view of the present move of Nigeria to become an independent sovereign state on the 1st of October, 1960.

I also thank the Government for the speech which no doubt came from them. But one cannot satisfy oneself without referring to one or two things in the Speech. I would like to thank the Governor-General for the note of unity which was struck in his speech.



Unity cannot be too vigorously pursued in this country and there are many ways of achieving this unity; some of them are by Telecommunications and Transport which the Government has promised strongly to look into.

Another is a cultural one. I think we ought to foster unity in the country among the people of various ranks. If social services and amenities are not provided Self-Government will mean little or nothing to the masses of the people. As one speaker has said earlier, I like to endorse that view that it is necessary for a gap between the higher and lower income groups of this country to be closed as much as possible. One way of doing that is to propose a national minimum wage, and one thing I regret much is the absence of any reference to a national minimum wage for workers in this country. I think the workers expect that no matter where they work they should earn a certain minimum wage to cope with the general cost of living in this country.

I note that some proposal for a housing scheme has been referred to, and that is in the Federal Territory of Lagos. £1 million is going to be devoted to the building of houses such as are now found in Suru-Lere. One should have thought also that Government would undertake the provision of houses for the lower income workers in other parts of the Federation in order to enable these workers to obtain houses at fairly reasonable rentals.

One other point I would like to mention is the loss of money through strikes, and go-slow strikes by workers. I think the cure for that, as I have mentioned, is the provision of a housing scheme, a national minimum wage and closing the gap between the higher and lower income groups. I will pursue this subject by referring to what someone else mentioned before. I think the provision of Telecommunications services mentioned in the Governor-General's Speech referred mostly to the big towns such as Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Enugu, Port Harcourt and Ibadan; I think these towns do not exclusively constitute Nigeria, and I think the country can only be satisfied if the rural areas are also provided with these amenities.

The Electricity Corporation of Nigeria is also trying to extend its scheme of development in the big towns, and I think the rural areas

should also benefit from such development. Real income is not reckoned in terms of cash alone, but people's needs for satisfaction can be partly met by the provision of social amenities. Government feels reluctant to extend these services to the rural areas because they consider doing so uneconomic. But any losses incurred from services in the rural areas can be covered by money realised from subscribers from the big towns. One additional advantage would be to check the influx of people into the towns and also the tendency to increase the atmosphere and conditions favourable to crime.

Talking about roads, I think I said before that perhaps the Federal Government is not aware that federal roads follow only very limited lines, and without being sectional, I will point out that the omission of any reference to the provision of any federal road in the Delta Province is not encouraging. I think that this Budget Session should provide the Federal Government with the opportunity of looking into it and seeing that something is done either by taking over such roads as are already provided by the Western Regional Government and so enabling that Government to develop some of the district divisional roads and make them more concrete, or cutting new lines and surfacing them.

Some reference is also being made to the bridging of the River Niger. The bridging of the river has long been overdue, and the efforts made by the Government to bridge that mighty river cannot be too highly commended. I should have thought also that the Government would have considered the bridging of the River Ethiop at Sapele. Several commissions have passed through several towns such as Ibadan, Akure, Benin City, Asaba, Onitsha, Enugu and Port Harcourt without calling at Warri at all, and I think the transport difficulty and communications were responsible for this. It will also be noted that that province is yielding from Sapele Port alone several million pounds yearly. I understand that the Western Region Government is proposing to do some work on the river and the least that should be expected from the Federal Government is to meet the Regional Government half way. If we can accomplish the construction of such a bridge we can then get out from Warri or any other part of Delta Province and reach the Aerodrome at Benin without the restriction of the now unbridged river. The omission of



[SENATOR EJAIFFE]

any reference to the bridging of River Ethiop is a sad fact to me and so is the absence of any reference to the provision of an Aerodrome in the Delta Province and of Federal roads which are now non-existent.

As regards loans, someone has mentioned something about the loans which the Federal Government proposes to raise. I think a developing country cannot finance all the various projects out of its own resources. To do so would have been the ideal thing: to provide your own money from your own resources would have been the ideal thing, but as things stand that is just impossible and we know that the country requires very heavy capital expenditure and therefore loans are inevitable. It is not a very happy thing that we are going to take such heavy loans that will carry perhaps 4 per cent interest and therefore will saddle this country with very big payments in interests.

Foreign policy. I am happy that the Speech contained something about foreign policy but one would wish that the terms in which that foreign policy were expressed were a little clearer, but it appears that most of it is going to be thought out.

Finally, the subject of bribery and corruption is one which cannot be too frequently stressed. Bribery and corruption eat like the canker worm the flesh of this country like many others but I do not think that the reference made to it in the Speech is satisfactory. I think it will require some kind of Committee to look into the real causes and their real operation in the country so that we will cut it at the root. It will not be enough to make legislation. Legislation alone cannot eradicate corruption. I think there are already laws against corruption. We should think out the causes of corruption, the sources and the places where they can occur and make a more practical approach to the solution of this problem.

I am happy, with the Speech and subject to these provisions I would like to associate myself with the Motion.

**Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu:** Mr President, I rise to support the Motion and humbly associate myself with other speakers in thanking the Governor-General for the able

way the Speech from the Throne was made. A lot that is worthwhile about the Speech has been said and I beg to add the following.

The Police. Hon. Members will see eye to eye with me that issues nowadays go to point out that lives and prosperity are not quite secure unless something is done to strengthen the force of our Police in both towns and country. Thieves these days go in gangs and are fully armed. I suggest that our Police Force should be increased and the Police Ordinance revised to allow our police to be armed when on guard. It requires brute courage for an unarmed police force to chase and catch a gang of armed merciless robbers. I feel such steps will go to reduce the number of atrocious deeds of carnage and savagery which local papers report now and again. Peace and order could only be maintained among the lawless by rigid discipline. Our independence will not mean what it should mean if criminals are allowed to slip out of Police hands.

Further, one problem confronting District Councils and Native Administrations to-day is the provision of adequate roads. People are getting civilised and are no longer contented with travelling on bush tracks and pathways. They want bicycle tracks, motor roads, wooden and concrete bridges; the demand is ever increasing and very pressing. In this respect I suggest that an approach can be made to tackle the problem by asking the Federal Government to take over some roads from the Regional Governments who will in turn take over some roads from the Native Authorities and Divisional Councils thus giving them chance to supply the needs of the taxpayers.

One more thing I wish to speak on is Education. On account of its utility and problems, I suggest that it should be the responsibility of the Federation to take over responsibility for secondary schools. We should not confine ourselves entirely to foreign matters without looking into the demands of our local people such as electricity and communication.

My next point is the lack of an adequate telecommunication service in most divisions, for example, Orlu Division. The people of Orlu Division are great travellers and businessmen. To them the telephone service is a great



necessity. I know so many of them who have applied for installations since almost more than four or five years ago but could not be supplied till now. I suggest that the telephone service should be expanded in Orlu Division to minimise the problem. The worst part of it is that after 5.00 p.m. every day there is no more telephone communication until 8.00 a.m. the next day. I am very serious on this matter of telecommunication for there is already a great deal of correspondence about it but nothing has been achieved until to-day.

Turning to the important problem of industry. Many of our Federal Ministers have never visited Orlu Division. This is a cause of agitation in the minds of the people. Orlu Division is not very large in area but it is thickest in population—about 400,000, people and about 300 people per square mile. Here we are faced with the problem of unemployment but there is much industrial potential. Soap and all industries dependent on palm oil and palm kernels can be easily established and expanded. I suggest that in future the visit of these Ministers should not be limited to Kaduna, Kano, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Aba, Warri, Benin, Calabar, Jos, Ibadan, Zaria, Ogoja, Akure, Onitsha, and so on; other places like Orlu and other Divisions should be included in the list of places of interest for the Federal Ministers. Their visits are not attended without blessings so that their goodness should be widely distributed. They will also be supplied with first hand information and knowledge of the local problems and they will be able to plan effectively for their solution.

I beg to support the Motion.

**Senator L. C. Daldry :** Mr President, Sir, in the building up of a modern progressive state I suggest that legislation should have a threefold aim. It should have the aim of social, financial, and economic legislation. The Speech that we heard yesterday from the Throne embodies, I think, no lack of legislation under these three headings. On the social side we learned that there is to be a Bill to revise the Labour Code. A Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance. Proposals are to be examined for a National Provident Fund Scheme, which is a very far-reaching piece of social legislation which ought

to be welcomed very much by the whole country. And there are also, we are told, medical development plans. On the financial side, there is, of course, the Budget, and we are told that Government's borrowing powers are to be brought up-to-date. A £12 million Commonwealth Assistance Loan is to be taken and also other loans from the British Government. On the economic side the largest single project is the investigation into the proposed multi-purpose dam over the River Niger. This is obviously a tremendous undertaking which will have effect all over the country and can hardly be said to be Regional because, if that dam is ever erected the power which will come from it in the form of electricity and so on, will be, I understand, available to regions far removed from the dam itself.

The Speech then contains much which comes within the threefold aim which I have suggested, but there are some notable exceptions. I want to support the hon. Senator who this morning spoke about the lack of bridges linking the mainland. It is urgent and very important that a second bridge should be erected. The sole bridge that we have at the moment carries, I believe, not only the traffic, but also the water and the electricity, and it means that the capital of this country is therefore very vulnerable. It depends on one bridge and it is important that something should be done about that, and I was sorry that there was nothing in the speech about it. Leading on from the bridge there is the problem of traffic congestion which I am afraid you will agree, Sir, becomes worse and worse as time goes on. We know that certain roads are being repaired, that the slum clearance scheme is proceeding and so on, but nevertheless it seems to me that there are bottle-necks in this Federal Capital which may not be removed even when the slum clearance scheme is finished and the road repairs are completed. I would have liked to have seen something in the Speech aiming at preventing the traffic congestion which is likely, in my view, to become worse, and I am thinking of the time in October when this country will have its independence celebrations. The eyes of the whole world will be on Nigeria then and it is important that the visitors coming here should get a very good impression. I cannot help worrying, Sir,



[SENATOR DALDRY]

when I think of what is going to happen in regard to the traffic at that time.

I would also have liked to have seen in the Speech some mention of this problem of co-ordinating transport. We have heard a lot about the difficulties of the railway and the competition which faces them on the roads and it is high time that Government should grasp this nettle and get down to the problem of co-ordinating transport throughout the country. An hon. Senator this morning has mentioned telecommunications. There is a reference to that in the Speech and we are told that a Telex is, I think already in force, or if not, coming very shortly, whereby it will be a fairly simple matter to communicate with Europe and America without difficulty. Well that is all very well, Sir, but we still have considerable difficulty in telephoning to each other within Nigeria itself. It has improved greatly within the last year or two but I would like to see it coming along at the same time with this very modern development of the telex. I would like to find that it was easier than it is at present to lift up one's telephone and get into communication with places like Ibadan, Enugu and Kaduna, without the frustrating delays which we still get.

Lastly in regard to these points which I am disappointed were not mentioned in the Speech, is the problem of the water supply in the Federal Capital. I have lived here now for many years, but throughout that time water, ordinary domestic water, has been an acute problem. I know that pipes are being laid to-day, we see them when we motor up to the airport, and we hope that they are going to solve the problem, but I would have liked to have seen some assurance in the Speech that it is going to do so, because there again, I am reminded of October which is getting nearer and nearer. Huge blocks of new offices and flats are going up here. In October the hotels and, I am sure, all our private houses in Lagos will be full of visitors. Are we going to have enough water then? We do not know. I would have liked to have seen some assurance about it, and the problem of water reminds me of the question of sewage. In a modern progressive state its capital should have water-borne sewage and that is something, although it is not mentioned in this Speech, I do hope will be mentioned in a speech of the future.

Mr President, Sir, it is easy to criticise and to find points which are not mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, but on the whole, it is my view that the Speech contains a very vigorous and praiseworthy programme for the future. The whole question is "Where is the money coming from?" The Speech mentioned this by saying that if the development programme is to be fulfilled, it is absolutely essential for the Government Revenue to exceed the estimated expenditure. Well, we must wait for the Budget. But meanwhile, Government appears to realise that in addition to raising revenue, it must economise, and I was very glad to see the reference here to the fact that the Government is concerned to ensure the maximum of economy in Government spending so that the financial strength and credit-worthiness of the Federation may be maintained. I was glad to hear that a far reaching policy of economy will be rigorously pursued and that certain specific economic measures will be announced in the course of the meeting.

Towards the end of the Speech, I have the pleasure to note the reference to Nigeria joining the Commonwealth. I know that this problem of non-alignment with any particular bloc is a difficult one for any newly emerging nation. It is easy to realise that such a nation wishes to remain on good terms with all the world, and that is indeed a very laudable aim, but we cannot get away from the fact that there are certain groups and blocs in the world to-day and it is wise for a country to discern where it is going to find its friends. This country knows full well where it found its friends in the past. I have confidence that that great bond of friendship will always remain. I think that Nigeria needs the Commonwealth but I also think that especially at this difficult time, the Commonwealth needs Nigeria. I do not propose to say anything more about that but I am sure, Sir, that you know exactly what I have in my mind. The Commonwealth at this time needs Nigeria.

I would say that this Speech expressed the position of this country at the present time—vigorous and determined to push forward. I have no doubt that with goodwill on all sides, Nigeria will find the way and will go on from strength to strength. (*Applause*).



**ADJOURNMENT**

*Motion made and question proposed that this House do now adjourn until 9 a.m. tomorrow :*  
(Minister of State—Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi).

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved :* That this House do now adjourn until 9 a.m. tomorrow.

*Adjourned accordingly at fourteen minutes to twelve o'clock.*



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION  
OF NIGERIA*Saturday, 2nd April, 1960**The Senate met at 9 a.m.*

(PRAYERS)

(Mr President in the Chair)

## ORDER OF THE DAY

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS): Adjourned Debate on Question (31st March).

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency, the Governor-General, as followeth:

"Your Excellency,

We the Members of the Senate here assembled beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Speech which Your Excellency has addressed to both Federal Legislative Houses." (Senator Nuhu Bamali).

**Senator Dr J. O. Omitowoju:** Mr President, Sir, I have to join other Members of this hon. Senate in thanking the Governor-General for presenting to us the policy of his Government as outlined in his Speech from the Throne. They are all man-made policies and cannot be really perfect. It is my hope that our political independence shall not usher in a sort of economic slavery. Before planning the economy of this country, it is essential that our resources be analysed by experts and that those experts should advise us on how to develop such natural resources to our advantage and in such a form as to make the attraction of external assistance for our development such that will not make the country a chronic loan-seeker and a debtor nation.

The second point is the question of coal which is becoming a sort of worthless gold in our hands, and the introduction of diesel engines on our Railways without first considering what impact it will have on the coal industry of this country. We should not think that our only development in this country should be in building houses at fantastic costs while the development of our natural resources is left unattended to. The complaint of the Government about not being able to relate our high expenditure to our falling revenue because of tax evasion and smuggling is rather unfortunate. In my humble opinion, for easy

tax collection, the rate of taxes generally should be guided by the ability of the average man to pay. On smuggling, any measure to combat smuggling will meet with the approval of every right-thinking person in this country, but the cause of smuggling should first be investigated and eradicated for it may be due to unemployment and lack of industries. The income of the average Nigerian is very low, and at the same time, he wants to enjoy when he can, the real essentials of life. He goes to the cheapest market where he can get them. If most of the goods produced in this country are sold at a price that will suit the pockets of the lower income group, or the producer countries can so regulate their cost of production to compare fairly with those in the neighbouring countries, the urge to smuggle may be reduced to the minimum. I will be looking forward to the programme of economic measures which the Government intends to present to this House. I hope that the economic measures will not be such as to transfer the rightful gain and profits of the Government of the Federation to privately owned or Government favoured foreign firms.

On the oil industry in Nigeria the concern of the Government on this important but new industry is commendable. The encouragement of oil firms showing practical interest in the establishment of the industry in the country is commendable as well. I hope that the Government will keep in mind the necessary safeguards for the future security of Nigerian partnership in this very important enterprise.

On the contract finance system, the building of bridges and roads are really very laudable projects but will the workers of this contract finance system appear on our present estimates? If they will, how do we know that the eventual bill will not highly exceed the votes in our estimates? Surely, if we do not practise this blank cheque technique in our private enterprise, why do we have to practise it in Government business? It is my sincere belief that the system of awarding contracts on the basis of what we can estimate for is the only way of preventing this country from running into quick debts.

The Government has a very impressive and laudable medical programme but I wish to refer to the curative service. What are the arrangements being made by the Government



to preserve this laudable project in which a lot of money will be sunk? I have in mind the present active shortage of Doctors in the curative division of the Ministry of Health. I have again in mind the paucity of the number of medical graduates turned out annually from the Universities of Ibadan, the British Isles, and other parts of the world. In view of these elaborate buildings and improved projects, is this not an opportunity now for the Government to consider making facilities available in Lagos and at the University College Hospital in Ibadan for the clinical training of our medical students and medical graduates, and, in future, with the co-operation of the component Governments of the Federation the establishment of up-to-date inter-regional teaching hospitals for medical students financed from Federal funds? This will enable the intake of the clinical students to be considerably increased as against the very few people that are taken at present. We cannot overstress the point of the training of medical specialists in the different branches of the medical profession. The changing of the Massey Street Dispensary into a Children's Clinic, I think, is not really suitable. A separate site should be acquired and an impressive children's hospital built in Lagos.

On legislation against bribery and corruption the local arrangements as far as Lagos and the Regions are concerned, I believe, are not far-reaching enough.

On our relationship with other African states I now wish to touch briefly on this because I know the Government is taking an anxious consideration on this burning point. It is my view that it is not necessary to wait until independence before this great country shows the interest and concern she has in every African country. Every opportunity should be taken to show our interest on a national scale by attending and actively supporting conferences on African affairs and also by showing our more oppressed brothers in other parts of Africa our reactions to their treatment and suffering. The recent happenings in South Africa glaringly show that Pan-Africanism is the only ideology that Africans can reasonably accept and this country should think of taking a lead in this direction.

On Nigerianisation I hope the policy of Nigerianising the public service of the country which has been reiterated from year to year may

now be vigorously pursued. I am expecting to see before independence all Permanent Secretary posts to be Nigerianised; and all senior service posts as well to be Nigerianised completely.

On the question of building of inter-regional secondary schools this is a very laudable project and in fact it should have been the policy of the Government right from the introduction of secondary school education in this country. The only secondary school which I can say is truly Nigerian is the Kings College in Lagos. And if this new system can be introduced to include Government Colleges in Ibadan, Umuahia, Keffi, Owerri, Warri and Ede and voluntary agencies encouraged to open their entrance examinations to all eligible students all over the country I think it will do what education is expected to do in this country as far as the unity of this country is concerned, because where boys play games together the question of tribes playing against tribes will be completely eradicated. It will be the question of schools playing against schools in Nigeria and there you can have true discipline and comradeship and these two things are the first ingredients of unity in any country.

In conclusion, Sir, I have to thank the Governor-General for all the part he has been able to play in the eventual independence of this country. I hope the Speech from the Throne will be the last one to be delivered by a Colonial Governor-General. We have got our own men who by experience and age will be quite suitable to man such a very high office by the time we have our independence. So that after independence it is my sincere hope that the first Speech from the Throne will be by a Governor-General who will be a full-blooded Nigerian.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion now laid on the Table and before commenting thereon I have to say that His Excellency owes us a measure of thanks for listening to his long Speech from the Throne which embodied improvements in our dear country which is running fastly towards independence through his able leadership. He explained completed and proposed projects in his Speech and the time and energy spent in framing his speech account for his ability as a man of great experience worthy to lead a nation.



[SENATOR ABUBARKA BALE]

Turning to the Speech although I am aware that it will not be possible to carry out at once all the development programmes listed in the Speech yet mention should be made of some important ones in addition to those he touched so that they are not forgotten. His Excellency emphasised the development of the whole of the resources available in Nigeria. Economic expansion and development of natural resources depend to a great extent on Nigeria's ability to obtain credit. In this connection no mention has been made about assistance by way of grants from the mother country. Will grants cease or will they continue after independence? It is incumbent upon a good mother after weaning her son to look after that child for a reasonable period before he could be left alone to find his own way among his community.

About the investigation of the proposed multi-purpose dam on the River Niger which is to be pressed vigorously no mention has been made of the development of navigation on the Niger and Benue Rivers which have to assist the development of communications in the Northern Region in particular and in Nigeria as a whole.

As far as medical development is concerned, it is now time the Federal Government should pay more special attention to the fatal disease which invades the northern provinces of the Northern Region every year and as a result is causing the loss of so many lives. This disease of *meningitis* is spreading slowly and a quicker measure to combat it is of vital importance.

The judiciary has not been touched and it cannot be left out. The administration of justice in a country is like a magnet in drawing people from foreign countries to step in for the development of trade. There is no assurance of the lives of foreign people and their wealth other than the justice of a country.

For the improvement of communications airmail services are to be encouraged.

Mr President, Sir, I will conclude by saying that quite a lot of progress has been achieved and yet a lot more remains in the development of our dear country and I pray to Almighty God for further assistance even after the forthcoming Independence.

Mr President, I beg to support.

**Senator Chief the hon. S. O. Esangbedo :**  
Mr President, Sir I rise to support the Motion. The Governor-General, Sir James Robertson went so far as to say that it is the aim of his

Government to develop for the benefit of all, the whole of the resources available to Nigeria and to attract such external assistance as may be accepted without any infringement of Nigeria's independent status. It would be highly appreciated if all the proposals are carried out without anything omitted. His Excellency also said that in view of Nigeria's rapidly approaching independence, his Government has increased the number of Federal Scholarship awards from 180 to 540 for each of the next two years, it would be justified if Ishan is considered among all other Divisions in the Federation of Nigeria.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support the Motion.

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency, for the Speech from the Throne and in doing so, I have some observations to make. It is gratifying to note in His Excellency's Speech that the newly established Ministry of Economic Development will work to strengthen the machinery for development. As we all know that it is easy to formulate policy but it is hard to have them directed to the appropriate channel, I do hope that the new Ministry will try its possible best to live up to expectation. It is noted that assistance, as expressed by the Governor-General, will be given for the exploration and development of new areas and that special attention now being given to the possibility of finding oil in the Northern Region is highly appreciated; but the Federal Government should see that all efforts are made to speed up the proposal.

The Governor-General's Speech mainly contains some projects to be carried out after Nigeria has achieved independence but fails to inform us of the progress so far made with the present ones in hand. In some parts of the Federation, people were promised immediate amenities and there are no signs of having them carried out in the near future. For example, His Excellency the Governor paid a visit to Ilorin and during the course of his reply to an address presented to him raised the hopes of the people by saying that Ilorin would celebrate the forthcoming independence with electric lights. Up to this day the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria has not made a sign of carrying out this important project before the period mentioned.



The Federal Government in trying to foster the economic development of Nigeria through the postal facilities, heavy losses are now being sustained by the Federal revenue as a result of increase in the rates on telephone facilities. I feel that the Senators will agree with me when I say that many telephones have been disconnected and a large number of applications for new installations have been withdrawn by intending subscribers due to the exorbitant rates. The Federal Government should think very seriously on this item of our national revenue and on other ways and means to be carefully studied to allow more people to enjoy telephone facilities throughout the Federation of Nigeria.

It is gratifying to know that the Federal Government will soon receive a generous gift of two aircraft from the United Kingdom Government in addition to the heavy ones now being used for the training of Nigerian Air Pilots, but His Excellency did not tell us whether the Federal Government is proposing to improve some of the existing aerodromes now in dilapidated conditions. I suggest that a team of experts be sent out to investigate the possibility of making improvements on these types of aerodromes. There is no doubt in saying that Nigerians of to-day are more air-minded than those of yesterday.

Referring to the increase in scholarship awards from 180 to 540, I would say that the selection should be done on a regional basis and all efforts be made to avoid discrimination.

It is rather unfortunate to note in His Excellency's Speech that it will be when Nigeria achieves independence that an end will be brought to the tragic bloodshed going on in South Africa, but only Heaven knows what will become of the state of our remaining brothers and sisters now in existence before then. I feel that we are entitled to know of any active parts taken by the Government of other members of the Commonwealth in connection with this barbarous act, but unfortunately it has been omitted in the Governor-General's Speech.

With regard to the proposed expansion of the Police Force, there are two main factors to be seriously taken into consideration when deciding the fate of the Police Force if an independent Nigeria expects maximum and

exclusive maintenance of law and order: one is a general review of the present conditions of service, and the other is an increase in the present emolument, for a hungry man is an angry man. It is also noted that legislation is now being proposed to be introduced to empower the Police engaged in investigating cases of bribery and corruption to examine the bank account of their suspects. This is wholeheartedly welcome, but, as we all know, there are not only public servants who are always involved in this type of offence and we should remember that there is a certain class of people who are clever in the offence of indirect robbery, money doubling, people receiving money by false pretences and notorious smugglers. I suggest and I would like our two Ministers of State to take note that provision should also be made in the proposed legislation to have the bank account of this class of people similarly treated.

Finally, it is noted that a move is now being made to introduce external broadcasting. I regret to say that internal one has not been able to give us maximum return. Charity begins at home. To illustrate my point, a new transmitter was installed in Ilorin some few weeks ago which our people had been expecting with the hope that it will be capable of serving the whole province, but to the greatest surprise of the people, the transmitter could hardly serve the people living seven miles away from Ilorin town. It is also alleged that provision for further amenities previously made are now being removed by the N.B.C.

With regard to the debates in this Upper House of the Federation of Nigeria, full proceedings of the Senate are not announced by N.B.C. The Senate and the House of Representatives should be similarly treated. I do sincerely hope that the feelings expressed will be conveyed to the Minister concerned. Mr President, I beg to support.

**Senator P. C. Ndu :** Mr President, Sir, in supporting the Speech made by His Excellency from the Throne, I want to congratulate the Governor-General, Sir James Robertson, more especially on the part of his Speech stating that there would be new legislation for the establishment of a new Customs Tariff dealing with the strongest possible measures to be taken against tax evasion and smuggling and to check the large-scale smuggling across the border. I



[SENATOR NDU]

think that if the strongest possible measures are centred in some of the capital towns and cities of Nigeria, like Port Harcourt, Calabar, Maiduguri, Mubi and also some parts of Kano Province, including some other towns in the Western Region, to check and put a stop to this irregular practice of some notorious smugglers coming across from Fernando Po, Fort Lamy and many other French Territories, I am quite sure that if a proper severe measure is taken to check this irregularity the Nigeria's increase in revenue will vigorously rise to about 40 per cent more than it is at present. I feel that when that is successfully done the Nigerian revenue through the avenue of new Customs tariff legislation will be ultimately improved and there would thereby be no need raising loans from outside friends. This will definitely enable the Government of Nigeria for Nigerians to enjoy the fruit of their God-given resources.

**Electric Power:** During the Speech I also heard that the Government was going to extend power stations to some important towns in Nigeria. I would, therefore, like such generosity to be extended from Oji River Power Station to its neighbouring towns like Udi and Nsukka Divisions.

**Education:** Mr President, with the 180 scholarship awards now increased to 540, I praise the Government for this and would like to say that this number be evenly distributed so that every part of the country should have its fair share, especially Nsukka and Udi Divisions.

**Minerals:** I heard the Governor-General say something about the market for tin ore which of course is the only avenue of economic livelihood for those in the Plateau Province, Northern Region. I pray that the Government should give definite assurance and see to it that columbite is always very vigorously encouraged in the world market. Mr President, I beg to support.

**Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu Wusu:** Mr President, I rise to support the other Senators on the Speech ably delivered by His Excellency the Governor-General, Sir James Robertson, from the Throne. The Speech as it were should be divided into four categories: (1) Education, (2) Economic, (3) Social, and (4) other things.

**Education:** The other Senators who spoke before me have dealt with many aspects of Education. I would like to bring to their

mind that education, to my mind, is the backbone of every nation. It is fine that Governor-General said on page 5 of his Address that there is going to be an increase of more scholarships from 180 to 540 for each of the other next two years. We thank him and his Council of Ministers for this. But I think that they did lose sight of many other important factors.

I feel that sufficient provision should be made for employment. I could see that there was no mention at all made in His Excellency's address to this important question. As it stands, what will happen to a thousand and one boys and girls who get qualified and they have no employment? Where are we going to put them? It will serve no useful purpose to create more scholarships and cannot get work for their winners when they have graduated and left schools. It is wise that this aspect should be given a very serious consideration and immediate attention. If possible, a competent committee may be so appointed or the Council of Ministers should be told of this important point. I feel that they should be told from time to time the needs of our people. Details of scholarships should have been mentioned in order to encourage and enlist candidates for the establishment of inter-Regional Secondary Schools and Technical Institutes. It has been pointed out that such institutes will be financed completely from Federal fund.

Creation of more industries in our Regions should be carefully watched and looked into. The support from the Federal Government toward this will help to build the country because if there is no industry in our country we cannot stand as a nation.

**Economy:** Sir James Robertson, our Governor-General, mentioned the completion of 1,300 houses at Suru Lere. We are all happy and thank him for this. He further mentioned the great need of more accommodation for workers for which his Council of Ministers should join to provide a further £1 million for this need. Before such things could be embarked upon I think it will be with the consent of the whole Regions. I am afraid, in trying to encourage the workers in the Federal Territory, the Governor-General and his Council of Ministers have failed to tell how these people could get down to their work in time from Suru Lere. At the moment,



no immediate action is being taken to solve the problem of the road congestion on the Carter Bridge in particular. I am, however, happy that the only European we have in this Upper House mentioned here yesterday the need, I repeat, the urgent need for a second bridge to connect Lagos. I speak yet again with all seriousness that consideration of the hon. Senators should be given, or if possible, a committee should be appointed now to see as to how ways and means could be devised in order to improve the great congestion now taking place on the approach of Carter Bridge. The life of the city of Lagos mostly depends upon that bridge. I estimate that at the present time more than 30 to 50 thousand people will be crossing the bridge in one day. As is said by the Governor-General that Lagos will prove a true worthy city for the independence celebration, how will it look like when you are being held up for three to four hours? What will be the position? Is that a true and worthy city for an independent Nigeria? I will leave this to the hon. Senators to consider.

**Medical Facilities:** Though medical facilities are being more and more developed and improved upon, I must say this, that many diseases like tuberculosis, smallpox, meningitis, malaria and other vital diseases are now to be looked into. The seriousness of our Medical Department on this vital matter should be left in the hands of hon. Minister of State (*Dr Majekodunmi*). I am sure he is able to solve this problem and we are looking forward to him, with all the degrees at his command that he will do justice to Nigeria as far as our health is concerned.

Let us come to the social side of it. A greater responsibility demands greater work. "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." I am happy that Europeans do realise this very much more than Africans, and the time has now come that we should call a spade a spade, and the social side of our independence must be given a serious consideration. There are no sufficient provisions made to safeguard the number of people who will now or during independence go to either the Victoria Beach or any better Beach for relaxation. And after all the present Victoria Beach is becoming a complete *washout*, not worthy of a city; and unless something is done practically now to

safeguard our new buildings that are being sprung up at the Victoria Beach as mentioned from the Throne, what is the guarantee that these buildings cannot be swept away within the next five or ten years? What has happened to the old buildings of late Dr Obasa, late Dr Randell, *et cetera*? They could no more be found. What provision are we making to prevent the sea from carrying away our gigantic buildings that are springing up now within the next ten, fifteen or twenty years? We shall be looked upon by the next generation that it appears that the hon. Members or the people into whose hands the destiny of Nigeria as a whole was left disappointed them. They will say that we did not have the foresight to build a permanent and secured Nigeria for them.

A similar thing that is now happening is due to the lack of foresight that we are now crying against, that is the bottle-neck at Iddo Bridge. The water we use, the electric light, the telephone communications and the food that comes to Lagos all come through the Lagos Cater Bridge, and if anything happens to the bridge to-day where will you be and where shall I be? The city must be given every support, and real attention should be given to all the regions to see that they too enjoy some of the amenities. The planning of the city should be left in the hands of some committee to be looked into as there is much to be done to make Nigeria a great country.

Mr President, Sir, with this few words, I beg to support.

**Senator Hassan Yola:** Mr President, Sir, in supporting the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne, I would like to take the opportunity of congratulating His Excellency for the impressive manner he has delivered his last Speech under his present status and that of the country. The Speech is so lucid, comprehensive, bold and dynamic that it embodies all the necessary and fundamental programmes of the Government.

The Prime Minister and his Ministers deserve praises for the preparation of the Speech for the Governor-General as is usual



[SENATOR HASSAN YOLA]

for a progressive Government like ours. The name of Sir James Robertson will be long remembered in Nigerian history not only by our present children but by those yet unborn. He is an able captain who is sure to steer the ship safely to its destination. He has greatly contributed to the unity of the country by touring nearly every corner to see and talk to the people of diverse tribes, religions, cultures, ideologies who inhabit Nigeria.

Under his expert guidance and the leadership of the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar, the country is so much more united that less and less is heard of the problems of minority groups or creation of more states from the people affected directly, but only from a small group of politicians who try to make a capital for their selfish end.

Commenting on the Speech in which the Governor-General has stated that his Ministers are much concerned with severe losses of revenue through tax evasion and smuggling, I suggest that the measure for combating these evil practices should include making such an offence a crime and creating a special anti-smuggling police or border police to deal with the situation. These tax evaders and smugglers are enemies of progress of the country and they deserve any amount of rough-handling.

Sir, I am happy to note that the Government intends to exercise maximum economy in spending its money, because it is no use taking the trouble to collect the money from all sources and possibly by borrowing, only to come and spend it extravagantly on redundant posts or on an ill-supervised Public Works Department where much of the money goes into illegal pockets.

It is much appreciated that oil firms will be encouraged to pay special attention to the possibility of finding oil in the Northern Region. This is a wise move indeed in spreading the industry and development of the country and also helping to combat unemployment in the North.

In a large country like Nigeria, communications, both road and rail are very important if the country is to be developed successfully and evenly, and I hope that the improvement of the Trunk 'A' road system which the

Government has in mind will include Bauchi-Gombe-Numan, and the bridging of Ngurore crossing on the Yola-Takum road which is always a great handicap to traffic during the rainy season when the crossing gets washed off, cutting off Yola from Num-Gombe and Yola-Takum roads.

Touching on the establishment of Overseas diplomatic representation, it is hoped that the recruitment will be the cross section of the country and that of the people of the highest integrity whose behaviour will not disgrace Nigeria abroad.

I am glad to note that a Northern Branch of the Federal Training Centre will be opened in Kaduna. This is a wise move for the unity of Nigeria. In the past and at the present, the Federal Public Service is dominated by the people from some sections of the country. The more the people of Nigeria are mixed in the public service, the more united the country will be.

On Higher Education in Nigeria, it is not enough to have only one University for the 35 million people. Canada with half the population of Nigeria has 24 Universities, and each University has no less than 8,000 students. It is suggested that the Government probes into the possibility of opening more Universities for the country with a higher number of intake than at present.

With these few remarks, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator R. A. Umoh :** Mr President, Sir, in supporting the Motion so ably proposed, seconded and supported by many Senators, I have to express my sincere congratulations to the Governor-General who has contributed a large part by virtue of his office as the Governor-General in the process which has led to the present happy situation. I congratulate him for the happy announcement that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has now replied, confirming that legislation will be introduced during this session of the Parliament to enable the Federation of Nigeria to become fully independent on October 1st, 1960. I further thank him for his effective prayer at the conclusion of his Speech that the Almighty God should guide and bless our counsels with success and happiness for this land and for all our people, and also for the beautiful items, economic in character, which he has brought to our view.



Mr President, Sir, as my observation continues I must say that we should not start our relationship with the Commonwealth by borrowing a heavy sum of money from them—£12 million, which will compel and subject us to some rulings without leaving room for argument where necessary, irrespective of our national inconveniences. Mr President, Sir, I think we should start our relationship in a more nobler character.

I suggest that the means of celebrating Independence should be independent in character. I beg to warn that in collating our Foreign Policy our Government should be very careful and give serious thoughts to every item of the policy.

It was surprising to hear that most of the development outlined by the Governor-General for example, improvement of roads, supply of light, and so on, are done here in Lagos and its suburbs mostly and not much has been said about the different places in the Regions as regards matters directly under the Federal Government; for example, installation of electric lights in certain parts of the Regions. In the case of Ikot-Ekpené, the headquarters of Anang Province, it is a most disagreeable surprise to hear that they will celebrate independence with twig burn lights. About £75,000 has been set aside for this project but so far no work has been started.

It is certainly most important to mention that in establishing the Nigerian Military Forces, Nigerians should hold important leading posts or at least they should be trained to that effect. It is true that other speakers have already expressed that the present Police uniform does not befit an independent Nigerian nation.

In the Governor-General's speech mention was made of a training scheme for Pilots and a training centre to be opened at Kaduna. This is of great importance but I think that Federal training centres should be extended to different places in the different Regions. Also, installation of telegraph offices and telephones should be extended to important rural areas in the Regions like District Council offices in order to facilitate communication in preparation for independence.

With these few words, Mr President, I beg to support the Motion.

**Senator Mrs W. Esan :** Mr President, Sir, the Speech from the Throne is very remarkable because it is comprehensive on certain aspects and extraordinarily silent on others. For instance, nothing was mentioned in it about the cultural and social set-up of Nigeria. In Nigeria to-day we talk about unity—one Nigeria. We are all aware that this is a country of diversity, yet we have some tradition that unite us and we have some unifying aspects of our social and cultural background which are not apparent now. What is Government doing to find out these traditions and so advertise them to the world that they may know that we are really united. In the same way, nothing was mentioned as to how, after working, our people are going to relax and enjoy themselves. They do not mention anything about workers having amenities or social status that would give these workers more energy to start their work afresh.

Yesterday, one hon. Member said something about the deplorable method by which some young women who have no responsibility and who are not married are exempted from paying income tax although they earn fat salaries. I am happy and I know that the hon. Member will be happy to learn that this case is not general throughout the Federation. For instance, in the Region from which I come, I know that all women who earn taxable incomes do pay their income tax ungrudgingly. Women do not lack a sense of responsibility. They are well aware that when they claim civic rights they must be called upon to perform or to render their civic obligations. Moreover, urging the Government to make such few women pay tax will not solve this problem of tax evasion and it will not solve the problem of loss of revenue in Nigeria. What I believe and think causes this loss of revenue is the inability of most of our able-bodied men to realise that by loafing about they are not contributing any profit or any special benefit towards making Nigeria the nation we are all hoping and desiring it should be. Talking about women, these women do quite a lot to contribute towards the income of the country as a whole. They are energetic traders and they rush about from morning till night while these big men wait for Government to create industries and work for them (*Applause*).



[SENATOR MRS ESAN]

On the question of scholarships, it is indeed commendable that the Federal Government has decided to increase scholarship awards from 180 to 540. May I suggest that those people who have hitherto been denied the advantage of scholarship awards because of lack of academic requirements to qualify them for such awards be now considered. There are girls and women who would be very useful in the future development of Nigeria if given the opportunity to learn more about some simple things. Courses like Nursery, Nursing, Pottery, Dairy Farming and Canteen Management, House-keeping, and so on, I dare say, will be very useful in the development of Nigeria in future. We do need expert technicians—Engineers and such like, but we do need good housekeepers too. You are each of you here because there is some one to see that you do have your meals in time (*Applause*) and that you are made comfortable after coming here to talk too much (*Laughter*). If experts are consulted as to places where this knowledge can be acquired, I think the educational policy of the Federal Government would be greatly enhanced by awarding such scholarships.

I am glad that the Government is proposing opening a maternity hospital and a children's hospital too, but if one would consider the recent reports about the alarming rate of infant mortality one would bear me out that one children's hospital and a maternity hospital are not adequate for the fastly increasing population of Lagos. Government must go now immediately and find money and start arrangements for building more children's hospitals. After all the Federal Government should show a good example then all the Regional Governments will follow.

I also want to touch on the point of malnutrition and the diseases attributed to it. To people like me, malnutrition diseases start from lack of proper food and lack of proper food begins from lack of funds and that brings us to this question of unemployment. If all men work and they provide food for their families it will not take Government so much annually to cure diseases. Let Government start to industrialise the country quickly so that many of these men now whose excuse is "We have no work, we have written letters to so many offices and they tell us, 'No employment'" will not find that excuse in future.

Now the question of women having to go to work or trade brings to my mind this question of markets and stalls. I know that markets and stalls are not chiefly the concern of the Government, yet if the Government can spend thousands of pounds on the eradication of the slum areas, why can they not just consider spending a bit of this money to provide comfortable markets and stalls for these women? The majority of them are young nursing mothers and pregnant women and they do need all the care that Government can give them if Government means what it says when it says that they want to make Nigeria a nation of strong men.

Now the proposal of the Government to build houses for low wage-earners is laudable, but Government must be careful that this does not create a sort of class distinction. Also there are some low wage-earners who are not Government employees and they too would like houses, and they may not be entitled to such privileges. Another thing is the menace of the family circles of Nigeria. When we say a family in Nigeria it means your grandmother, your uncle fifth removed or aunt, and so on. Well, if these low wage-earners are going to be given houses is Government going to control the number of people who are going to stay in each house or is the Government laying the foundation for another slum area?

We come now to the question of bribery and corruption. Somebody mentioned yesterday that these evils must be eradicated but I believe that the evils are with us everywhere we go. Bribery and corruption are everywhere, even where we least expect to find them. Legislation against it will not solve this problem. Everyone of us good citizens of Nigeria must take it as our personal responsibility to wipe out bribery and corruption. If everyone of us is determined not to accept or give bribes then corruption will die out, but until every one of us makes up his mind to stamp these evils out they will continue to exist.

On the whole this remarkable Speech forgets to mention any benefits that the womanhood of Nigeria will reap when we do get independence for which we all, the women no less than the men, have worked so energetically and so actively. It is the women-folk who



are the support of the men-folk in all the struggles through which they have to go before they can attain independence. I would like to remind the Government of one thing on behalf of the women and that is that what is good for the goose is not always good for the gander. Often enough what may be of maximum benefit for the men may not necessarily be of equal benefit to the women. Whenever Government is calling for support on any particular point they are always very ready to enlist the support of the women-folk, but Government must realise that if they want the support of the women-folk in future, then Government must always see that things pertaining to women are mentioned when policies are being made to present to the nation as a whole.

With these few remarks, Mr President, Sir, I support the Motion.

**Senator Chief Z. C. Obi** : Mr President, Sir, I rise to speak in support of the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General for his excellent valedictory Speech from the Throne delivered during the joint-Session of the Senate of Nigeria and the House of Representatives. Before I make one or two observations on the Speech, with your permission, I would like to seize this opportunity to place on record my personal delight and appreciation for the decorum and the spirit of comradeship which marked the first Session of this august House. So manifest was the spirit that a prominent Member of the House spontaneously advocated by means of a circular the formation of an unofficial peace committee for Nigeria of the Members of the House. I extend my thanks to this hon. Chief and assure him of my ready co-operation whenever the formation of such a committee is seriously contemplated.

The part of the Speech from the Throne which appeals to me most is the last three lines of the second portion of the second to the last paragraph on page five, which reads (that was on the South African shootings) :

*My Ministers feel confident that with the influence which an independent Nigeria can exercise in Africa they will be able to achieve important results.*

To my mind such confident hopes of an influence which Nigeria will exercise in Africa as are herein expressed can only be realizable if and

when Nigeria achieves true internal unity and the achievement of such unity is now or never. The question of Nigerian unity is not only a desideratum but a MUST.

**Oil Refinery.** I would like to refer to the question of oil refinery which appears on page 2 of the Speech which reads :

*All plans are already in hand for the erection of a refinery in Nigeria.*

I must say that I was taken aback when I heard this read out. The sentence sounded as if it was incomplete, for when His Excellency visited Port Harcourt recently the people of that municipality and the Press understood it that the refinery was certainly going to be sited in Port Harcourt, and I have come to this Session of the House mandated by the people of the area of Port Harcourt to express their thanks to both the Shell B.P. and the Government for this proposed additional facility for the reduction of unemployment in both skilled and unskilled labour in that area. Howbeit, I shall return to my constituency fully confident that there should never be any question of robbing Peter to pay Paul over the issue.

**Expansion in Electricity Project.** The question of proposed expansion in electricity project is a welcome news, particularly from the point of view of industries, and it is my ardent hope that when the new Afam Power Station is ready for supplies to the long standing need of some of the areas producing oil, such areas as Ogoni, Isiokpo, Asa, Elele, Western Ahoada, Abonnema, Buguma, Degema and Bakana.

**Niger Bridge.** Another welcome news is the mention in His Excellency's Speech that work will start on this most important project soon. Apart from eliminating unnecessary delay and the distance to and from the Federal Capital the bridging of the River Niger will yield great economic advantages not only to the Eastern and Western Regions but to the whole of the Federation.

**New Aerodrome for Onitsha.** Unfortunately no mention was made of this, another important project yet (which was shown on page 13 of the Draft Capital Expenditure). It is sincerely hoped that the further investigation which it is stated is being made will be completed in due course to enable the work to start without much delay.



[SENATOR OBI]

Inter-Regional Secondary Schools Scheme. If there are agencies such as would help to break down language barriers and to promote unity and understanding among the youths and future generations of this country the Inter-Regional Secondary Schools and Technical Institutes such as are envisaged in the Speech would count among the best. The scheme shows a lot of common sense and foresight.

Shell B.P. Those of us who live at the operational headquarters of the Shell B.P. at Port Harcourt know that the generous propensity of this Oil Company towards the cause of charity in Nigeria is becoming proverbial and it is hoped that quarters responsible for the acknowledgment of the receipt of this handsome amount of half a million pounds for the Government will have done so not omitting to include the thanks of this Upper House.

I hope it would be the desire of this House at independence to see more cordial relationship between the Government and the Opposition of this country, as surely that would produce more amicable, more peaceful government which in turn would not only enhance the prosperity of our country but also the individual happiness of those they govern.

Sir, I must express my disgust at the wave of election petition cases sweeping across this country since after the last Federal Elections. Much as this is lawful it simply goes to show with what bitterness we pursue politics in this country. It is unprecedented throughout the world, and exposes this country to shame, but I hope it will be treated as part of our teething troubles before independence and that such practice will pass over with the days of colonialism.

Finally, I entirely associate myself with the views of the hon. Senator Abaagu regarding the future holder of office of Governor-General for Nigeria.

**Senator Chief T. A. Doherty:** Mr President, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks. When the Address from the Throne was to be delivered in the Lower House and Senators rightly and apparently unanimously opposed the idea of marching to the Lower House I was greatly impressed by that unanimity, and I only wish and pray that that unanimity will continue in our future deliberations and decisions. (*Hear, hear*). Then we will consider ourselves worthy irrespective of

tribe, religion, or creed. I have always had an idea that the Government never wanted to be criticised. My insight into that mentality of Government occurred in 1928 in the old Legislative Council when the Government moved a Motion and we the elected Members of the Opposition criticised the Government very severely. A Member of the Government Bench got up and ejaculated: "I have always been brought up in the belief that the duty of the Government is to govern." I do not think that that mentality of Government will be done away with. Therefore, I am not here to criticise the Government. But I am here addressing and advising the Government. I hope they will take any advice they are given as given in good faith.

Many speakers before me have dealt with almost all the aspects of the Governor-General's Speech and so I do not think it will serve any useful purpose for any speaker to go over them again.

The aspect I shall deal with is the scholarships, economic planning and the establishment of industries. These three are allied. As a Member remarked a few minutes ago we cannot give scholarships without finding jobs for the boys. People cannot pay taxes if they do not get employment. They cannot get employment unless we have industries. Industries will not be established unless we have foreign aid, foreign capital. And to get this foreign capital, you must show the world that you have a stable Government.

I do not intend to make any long speech and so I will be precise and come to my point and that is the unity of this country. The last speaker has impressed me greatly. We are here to work for the unity of this country. The Governor-General, in concluding his Address, said, "I pray that Almighty God will guide your work and will bless your counsels with success and happiness for this land and for all its peoples." Happiness goes with prosperity and prosperity comes out of peace and tranquillity. We must have peace and tranquillity in this country then there will follow the happiness and prosperity of our people. But how can we achieve this peace and tranquillity? That was why I thought of this committee, "The Unity of Nigeria Committee." Eighteen Senators have already signified their consent to serve on the committee but several Senators have been to see me stating that they could not



make up their minds unless I gave them an idea of what I had in mind. Therefore this morning I shall mention one or two of our objectives.

The work of this committee is to see that there is unity in this country. We have ten propositions or suggestions to propose to the Prime Minister and his Government but the two important ones I will mention here are firstly, that there should be a National Government in the centre, possibly and most advantageously, before independence because nothing can give us more respect and prestige before the face of the world than to have our independence celebrations under a National Government. It will give us a wonderful respect and goodwill of the world. Let us have peace and tranquillity. We do not need to go for capital; the capital will come to us. Our Premiers have all been all over the world looking for capital. But the world wants to know whether it will be worthwhile putting money into this country. If we have a National Government, we will tell the world that we have a National Government with peace and tranquillity. In Brazil, capital pours in at the rate of £100 million a year. I am sure the same thing can happen to this country if we have a National Government. I do not know whether the Government will agree but we have Members of the Government here and even our President who is Member of the Government.

Secondly, we should have our Premiers chosen from each Region for a period of three years. This means a rotation of three years. I do not think the Government will agree immediately to what we have to tell them but at least we would have put it before them. They will have time to think about it; they will have time to consider it.

But, my dear Senators, unless this is done it will be a regrettable thing indeed. After all, Nigeria is a federation, a partnership of three—the North, the West and the East, consisting of the Hausas, the Ibos and the Yorubas. You cannot have two partners dominating the third. It can never work; there can never be peace. You cannot rule an unwilling people. For instance, take Southern Ireland before and in the days of Oliver Cromwell and up till 1914-18 when Sir Roger Casement was executed, they could not subdue Ireland.

Eventually, Ireland got her independence. It will be the same thing unless we have full partnership which has a say in the Centre. When, after the election people mentioned to me that the East and the West should join against the North, I said 'No'. It was also suggested that the West and the North should join against the East, I said 'No'. It will cause trouble. If you bring the East and the West against the North, if you bring the West and the North against the East, there will be trouble. No matter which two parties join against the third, there will always be trouble. At the moment, it may appear to be just a calm before the storm. Things are not what we would like them to be.

**The President :** Order, order. I take it that the hon. Senator is expatiating on that portion of His Excellency's Speech about happiness.

**Senator Doherty :** You are right, Mr President. These are the two points I wish to stress and now that we have stated two out of our ten objectives we hope Members will now come forward and join the Committee.

With these few remarks I support the Motion.

**Senator Dahlton Asemota :** Mr President—

**The President :** I am afraid you have spoken once. You can only speak on point of explanation or on a point of order.

**Senator Asemota :** Mr President, Sir, I do not know exactly how speeches are recorded. I realise that I was very fast when I was speaking yesterday but, apart from some minor verbal corrections which may be due to the receiver, a character which is not complete—

**The President :** Point of Order? Please refer to the Standing Orders. The guiding rule is to be found in Standing Order 25 (1)—“A Member who has spoken on a Question may again be heard to offer explanation of some material part of his speech which has been misunderstood, but he must not introduce a new matter”.

**Senator Asemota :** I am not introducing any new matter.

**The President :** If anything has been left out in the *Hansard*, the best course to adopt is to contact the Editor of *Hansard* and inform him



[THE PRESIDENT]

that you would like certain portions of your speech which were deleted to be inserted and he will co-operate.

**Senator Asemota :** The speech has been published and, unfortunately, it has been so widely circulated that I am thinking of the enhanced dignity of the Senate.

**The President :** If the hon. Senator will turn to the top left hand corner of page 1 of any *Daily Hansard* he will notice that corrections which Senators suggest for the bound volume should be clearly marked in the Daily Report. In other words, if any item of your speech is missing, the same will be inserted in the bound volume.

**Senator Asemota :** Mr President, but unfortunately it will not affect the ones already in circulation. Will it be possible for Senators to see the drafts of their speeches so that it may be published in the correct form before it is circulated ?

**The President :** It will be taken care of so long as it is a speech you made since the opening of this Session.

**Minister of State (Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin) :** Mr President, hon. Senators, we of the Government Bench are very happy indeed at the way this debate has been carried on by the Senators. It really shows that we are the statesmen which we are supposed to be. However, I have to point out that the Speech from the Throne is nothing but a programme of work put forward by the Government of the day before the Legislature for the ensuing year, so that what you heard in the Governor-General's speech is nothing more than what the Government proposes to do. There has been a lot of criticism about the programme put forward and we on the Government Bench will bring these to the notice of the Government. Many Ministries are concerned and these Ministers are in the House of Representatives. We are your watch-dogs in the Council of Ministers and we will always do our best to bring matters affecting this House to the notice of the Council of Ministers. (*Hear, hear*).

I am now going to talk on certain points which have been raised by Members in the course of the debate and I will try to give you

some explanation and, my hon. Colleague the Minister of State will also make observations on certain points which you have raised. The first on my list is about the foreign policy to be pursued by this country after independence. We have read in the Press, eminent men making pronouncements on the foreign policy of this country and, at present, as a man who has got something to do with the foreign policy of this country I have to tell you that the Government have not as yet formulated anything substantial on the foreign policy of this country. (*Hear, hear*). Yesterday, I read in the *Hansard* of the House of Representatives of suggestions made by eminent men in that House that Nigerians should come together, think together and formulate a foreign policy that will suit us. I think this is an excellent suggestion and sometime this week I will put the suggestion before the Prime Minister who is responsible for the time being for external affairs. I am of the opinion that all those who can think should come together. I have my own personal views on what our foreign policy should be and, that is, we should be friends to those who are our friends and enemies to those who are our enemies. That is my believe.

Further, somebody said that recruitment into the foreign service of this country should be widespread, that it should cover the whole country. I am glad to tell you that at this very moment that is being done. Our recruitment at the moment covers the whole country and it will be so in the future. There are many of our children training in foreign embassies and, we sincerely hope that when we open important embassies in the very important capitals of the world our children will man them with efficiency and high sense of responsibility. I happen to come in contact with most of them at the moment and I can assure you that these young men will live up to your expectation in future. In the past, the colonial overlords believed that we could not do anything, but as the old saying goes—You cannot sit down in cosy seats of your sitting room and learn how to swim until you get into the water. When you get into the water you either get drowned or learn how to swim. We will rather learn to manage our own affairs or we get drowned.

Some speakers spoke about borrowing and were rather indignant that there was some money allocated to the Northern and Eastern Regions. Outside borrowing is the exclusive



preserve of the Federal Government and if any Region wants a loan from outside Nigeria the Region concerned will have to apply to the Federal Government stating its case. The Eastern and Northern Regions applied for loan. So far, the Western Region has hitherto made no approaches in such direction. Whenever they make a request for a loan I am sure the Federal Government will see to their request.

Somebody also spoke about our trunk roads. He said it was high time the Federal Government took over some of these roads from the Regional Governments, or that these roads should be subsidized. That is true because most of our produce come from these routes which have been built up over the years by the Regional Governments. At the moment the country is developing very fast and the money coming in as revenue is very small. Our capital expenditure almost overtakes our revenue and we must cut our coat according to our cloth. The Government is doing everything legitimate to raise money to develop this country, so, the Senators should watch the Government with patience and understanding and, remember that the Government has not got a sort of Lake Chad where it can go and draw money like water. We are very anxious to develop the whole country, but we cannot just do that at the moment.

Somebody spoke about Education and mentioned inter-regional secondary schools which we propose to build. He said money should be given out as grants. I am sorry that the observation was made by a Senator who also spoke about unity, but if we talk of unity we must devise a means of bringing up our children together. I was educated in the King's College and those of us—Ibos, Edos, Yorubas and others—who were brought up there we are as brotherly as ever whenever we meet ourselves and I am sure these inter-regional colleges will do more for the unity of the country because it is the children who will come out of these colleges that will be at the head of affairs of this country in future and they will look at this country as a single whole and not as a disunited, tribalist compartments in which every man would like to be a *lord*. The idea of building these colleges, I think is therefore a very good one and I am glad Senators supported it and this will be conveyed to the Government.

Somebody talked about the tax assessment of married women in the civil service and our Lady Senator has just told us that in her Region things like that happen. I think this also happens in the Eastern Region. We do tax our women who earn taxable income. They must contribute towards the development of their country and I am sure that our women will gladly pay their own share towards the general progress of our country. I am not aware that the Federal Government is taxing women who are in the service. Some of them are doctors and a lot of them who are working in the service ride in cars like ourselves and there is no reason why they should not be taxed. However, this will be brought to the notice of the Government that women who earn taxable incomes should be taxed like men.

Then there is the question of the Nigerianisation of the Civil Service. Somebody said that every branch of the service should be Nigerianised excepting the technical posts. Well, the Civil Service Commission is doing a lot. I happened to attend a cocktail party recently and I talked to one of them about your desire and he said: "We are doing our best". I must point out here that we should not have Nigerianisation just for the sake of Nigerianisation. We should not, because there are certain matters which our children have not been trained to undertake. Take for example the Permanent Secretaryship. In the Eastern Region we have Nigerian Permanent Secretaries. The Chief Secretary to the Premier of the Eastern Region is a Nigerian. He is a very efficient man. Recently when I went to see him he was sitting down there with efficiency spelt even on his face. He was trained and he had proper education. But we would like to fill the next posts to that of a Permanent Secretary—a supernumerary post like Deputy Permanent Secretary—with our sons who will be trained. We must point out that the ultimate responsibility for the civil service is still that of His Excellency the Governor-General and all would depend on his attitude towards it. I must, however, reveal that Government has recently taken a very serious view of the situation and something is bound to be done. While you are thinking aloud here we too in the Government have been thinking that the civil service of our country should be run by our own people because of various reasons which we need not enumerate here. We cannot rule our country and have people who are erstwhile



[SENATOR DR THE HON. ESIN]  
masters in charge of our service, because it is the civil service that executes whatever policy you indicate. Therefore it is only fair that our children should come into their own and carry out the Government of their country.

Somebody talked about Nigeria in relation of the other African states. I cannot say much about that at the moment.

I have since gone through the speeches here and the general feeling is that the next Governor-General should be a Nigerian. We all do agree that the next Governor-General should be a Nigerian to start with because we will feel the sense that we rule ourselves and I am sure that we will not feel happy if after independence we see a Governor-General who is not a Nigerian ruling this country. We will still feel that sense of frustration, that we have not truly got our independence. So, it is a very sound suggestion by hon. Senators that the next Governor-General should be a Nigerian. But Senators have attached a proviso to that; and that is that if he is a politician he should resign from politics. I am sure that any sensible son of this country—and we have got enough able men—who will become the Governor-General of this country will not be sectional no matter what his past activities might have been. So that we really look forward—and when I speak I do not speak on behalf of the Government—to the next Governor-General, when the present able gentleman shall have gone, being a Nigerian. (*Hear, hear*).

When hon. Senators spoke about the Police uniform, I was shocked myself when I saw them the other day. It was on trial and something will be done about it.

The hon. Senators spoke about telephone services all over the country. This country is a vast country and I know that thousands of people want telephone connections to their homes; but again it is the question of money—finance. We do not produce these things. We do not produce the lines, poles and ear phones and we have to buy them outside our country. These are the reasons why we should as soon as possible develop our country industrially because this is a very rich country. It is because of lack of funds that we cannot provide all the telephones you need. The

Minister of Communications, who happens to be my friend, wants money to do that but we cannot give him all the money he wants. We know it is a money making concern; it is a commercial concern really and we should give a lot of attention to that but the money is not enough for him to provide you with all the telephones you need. But you can rest assured that these things are being done and that in the course of the year he will give you the telephones you need.

Somebody spoke about the appointment of Ministers. Well, as the President of the Senate has pointed out it is the privilege of the Prime Minister to appoint anybody as a Minister.

The same Senator also noted that the patronage of the Government is not evenly spread and he asked that scholarships should be given to every part of the country. I hope that Government will take note of that. Even the number of scholarships awarded has increased and there is a reason for that. I am sure that every child who is capable of benefiting from these scholarships will be awarded a scholarship.

Somebody spoke about more Universities and that we should send our children to the Universities to produce the type of men we want. We are glad to know that the University of Nigeria is getting fully ahead and will be opened this year. There is no reason why each Region should not at this time have a University of its own. I must point out and this is personal to myself, that the entrance to the University should not be discriminating at all, a good child, no matter from any part of this country he comes, should have admission into the University and I am sure that the University of Nigeria will not fail us in that.

Again, somebody talked about another bridge at Iddo here, I am sure you read in the papers that the Government is thinking about it and will build another bridge; for we have tried to imagine what may happen during independence. At this moment, the place is so congested that it takes you almost sometimes, over 15 to 20 minutes before you can go over Carter Bridge from one end to the other because of the congestion of traffic. The Government is giving active consideration to that and it may not be too long before the



Government makes a pronouncement of that. The Iddo Carter Bridge is a very important one because really we are in danger. Supposing it just crashed due to heavy traffic during independence, it would mean that everything would go wrong in the country. We do hope that that will not happen.

Somebody spoke about the London Conference and said that the meeting should be in this country. I did not go to London the last time, but I thought I read in the papers that the next Conference would be between Government and Government and, that is, between the Government of the Federation and the Government of Great Britain and I think we should go to London and have our final say and bring back our independence "on a platter of gold", that was what Dr Zik said after the London Constitutional Conference. At that time, he was called names and now we are going to have our independence really "on a platter of gold", because there will be no bloodshed and no struggle. Yes, for the next few years, we will have to work hard, still harder, to retain our independence. Independence is not the end of it all.

Somebody spoke about the minority question. I would not like to touch that point at all because that is not in the Government's programme just now. Maybe when you come back from London, you would have to sit down among ourselves and think out whether the country should be governed in sections or whatever else we want to do.

There is the question of unemployment. That is a very great problem. What are we going to do with our children who are leaving the schools in their thousands? Those who pass their standard six and because of money or otherwise could not go any further, what are we going to do with them? That again, as one hon. Senator has just said, depends upon intensified industrialisation of our country and in giving a very close study to the problem of agriculture, the country is chiefly agricultural and we cannot build a sound industrial economy if we do not have a very good agricultural background so that our country should develop, and enough attention given to agriculture such as the one happening in the Eastern and Western Regions at this moment. We should pay enough attention to agriculture. Our youths should be prepared to go to farm and work.

I remember last year after my sittings I put on my boots and went out to inspect my rice field and some people were surprised that a doctor should be found paying attention to rice. The heat of the sun was terrific and our children should not be made to shun manual work. They should be made to appreciate it because everyone of us cannot go to office to work. Some must go to office, some of us must go to the farms, some of us must go to fish and so on. But the most important point is that it is the duty of the Government to provide these opportunities for them.

Well, Mr President, I think I have made enough observations and I guarantee that this matter, through my Colleagues, will be brought before the Government. I am very glad indeed for the way in which the Senators have carried out their business and had recognized the position of the Government.

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): Mr President, Sir, I would like to assure hon. Senators that Government has welcomed the criticisms which have been heard from this debate no less than the compliments. Happily my hon. colleague has answered most of the criticisms. But it is not properly realised that His Excellency's Speech from the Throne is no more than an outline, a very broad outline for that matter of the intention of Government during the ensuing year. Therefore, it cannot be expected to contain everything which we hope to achieve, indeed, it will be undesirable because it will be too long and it will not be as interesting as it turned out to be and the fact that it is so interesting has bolstered on the debate which has ensued from this Speech from the Throne. It must therefore necessitate a few omissions and some of these omissions, Members of the Senate have already pointed out.

Before I thrash out one or two things which have escaped my hon. Colleague I would like to compliment the hon. Senator who moved the Motion of Thanks, Senator Nuhu Bamalli, who moved it so ably and so soon after His Excellency's Speech before many of us had had time to digest the Speech from the Throne. Senator Beyioku was a little bit apprehensive about what he described as the omission that has been made. I have no doubt that he will have ample opportunity of quoting chapter and



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION OF  
NIGERIA

Tuesday, 5th April, 1960.

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

(PRAYERS)

(Mr President in the Chair)

OATHS

Oath of Allegiance was administered to the following new Members:—

The Minister of Finance... Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh.

The Minister of Education... Hon. Aja Nwachuku.

Minister of State... Hon. M. T. Mbu.

The Minister of Labour... Hon. J. M. Johnson.

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS

WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL  
(NIGRIAN STATUS) (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Education (Hon. Aja Nwachuku): *Second Reading*—This day.

BETTING DUTY (LAGOS) (AMENDMENT) BILL

**The President:** The Minister of Finance has presented, in respect of the Bill just read, a Certificate of Urgency signed by His Excellency the Governor-General in accordance with Standing Order No. 52, which Certificate reads as follows:—"I, Sir James Wilson Robertson, G.C.V.O., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria, hereby certify under Standing Order No. 52 that the proposed Bill for an Ordinance to amend the Western Region Betting Duty Law, 1954 should in my opinion, be introduced into the House of Representatives as a matter of urgency. Dated at Lagos this Second day of April, 1960.

Signed J.W. Robertson, Governor-General."

I now call upon the Minister of Finance to move the second reading of this Bill.

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr President, Sir, I rise to move, That a Bill entitled an Ordinance to amend the Western Region Betting Duty Law of 1954, which was passed by the House of Representatives yesterday under a Certificate of Urgency, be now read a second time.

In view of the difficulties that may arise in the minds of hon. Senators or the doubts which may arise in their noble minds as to why a Certificate of Urgency should be presented to this honourable House, I propose to explain to the House quite briefly why it is necessary for us to do so.

Usually, in any Ordinance imposing some taxation, the rates of such taxation are embodied in a Schedule to the Ordinance with power given to the Governor-General to vary the rates as required by the Order.

In the Western Region Betting Duty Law of 1954 that is not the case as the rates of duty have been stated in the main body of the Law. This means that an increase of the rates can only be done by the enactment of an Ordinance by the House. For security reasons the usual procedure for the publication of Bills cannot be followed and Standing Order 52 allows for this helpful alternative mode or proceeding. Increased duty is provided for by this Bill. The Customs Tariff changes came into operation on Saturday the 2nd April and it is desired these changes at least, should be effected as soon as possible thereafter.

Sir, the object of this Bill is simply to amend sections 3 and 4 of the Western Region Betting Duty Law of 1954. It is to increase the duty on every bet made on any totalizator run by a recognised Race Club at an approved race meeting from five *per centum* to twenty *per centum* of the stake money paid. It also increases the duty on every lottery or sweepstake ticket sold and on all monies otherwise invested in a lottery or sweepstake organised and controlled by an authorised Race Club from ten *per centum* to twenty *per centum* of the amount paid, contributed or subscribed.

Race Meetings organised by these Clubs are becoming very popular and I am satisfied that these new rates of duty will not kill this popularity. I estimate that these increases will result in an additional revenue of approximately £50,000 *per annum*. Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Labour** (Hon. J. M. Johnson): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator Chief A. O. Fagbenro-Beyioku:** Mr President, Sir, nobody will question the act of Government in raising the duty on lottery or sweepstakes at race meetings either in the Western Region or in any part of Nigeria. I



agree with the hon. Minister of Finance that race meetings and lottery are becoming very popular in this country and in most cases the Government have not been making as much revenue as they should make. The question of encouraging betting at races or signing sweepstake tickets is one of absolute luxury. Nobody is forced to do it. People can live comfortably well without pool betting and I therefore support the Bill as it stands. The Government has done no questionable act by increasing the duty to 20 per cent.

**Senator J. K. Nzerem** : Mr President, Sir, this Bill, in my opinion, is not a controversial Bill. Many people in this country are getting more and more concerned about the propensity of the people to bet on sweepstakes and I think it is high time something is done to check this propensity. I feel a measure of taxation even to the tune of 50 per cent will not be out of the way. Every right thinking man in this country is feeling concerned about the get-rich quick mania in this country. I do not agree that the way to get rich is to try and gamble. No harm will be done if the Government discourages betting in this country. I sincerely support the Government in taxing this sort of luxury.

**Senator Abubakar Bale** : Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Bill and I have to add these few remarks. If one attends race meetings in this country one will be surprised to see the amount of people there. The place looks like a stock exchange or the celebration of a feast. People will be rushing towards each other. I think this is the only way the Government can increase its financial resources, and I am glad this House supports the increases.

With these remarks, I beg to support.

**Senator Sani O. B. Okin** : Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Bill but there are some remarks I would like to make. If the duty is increased to 80 per cent I do agree, but the Government should be careful. The Government is trying to get more money in order that the revenue of the state might be increased, but the Government should be very careful in checking all our workers in the offices. These sweepstakes are reducing the output of Nigerian workers. Going into some of our offices we find some young clerks trying to get

rich quickly instead of doing their work. You will see them busy filling football coupons. It is a good thing for Government to raise money but the workers should be properly checked. We are more concerned about our output rather than to increase revenue. So I do suggest to the Minister that something should be done to check up the workers in our offices so that the output of Nigerian workers may be increased. We shall soon be left alone to man our own affairs and if the output of our workers is very low I feel the nation cannot progress at all. These are the few remarks I would like to make.

**The Minister of Labour** (Hon. J. M. Johnson) : Mr President, Sir, we have to thank this honourable House for the way they have spoken very kindly to this very necessary Bill but, I must explain that this Bill has nothing to do with Pools which I feel was at the back of the mind of the last speaker when he was discussing the filling of forms during office hours in government offices. It only affects horse-racing throughout Nigeria and I think, as somebody said, if you want to indulge in the habit of betting at horse-races you have got to travel all the way to the racecourse where somebody has aptly described as a sort of stock-exchange in a wide open place. I can assure this House that before long the honourable Minister of Finance will introduce to this House another Bill which will help in meeting the objections of hon. Senators about pool betting.

In most cases, we find that it is impossible to stop the people from indulging in what they think they like to do. It is very difficult to stop somebody who is of age from putting his money into something he likes, but we are going to check it. We hope you will give us the fatherly touch you gave this Bill when we bring the new Bill. In the mean time, I must explain to the House that this Bill affects only horse-racing in Nigeria. We are very grateful for the kind reception we have got here.

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr President, Sir, I am very grateful to hon. Senators for assisting me to get this Bill through, this being the first time I have come here to present any Bill. I am very grateful indeed for the observations made by hon. Members. Some of your observations



[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

are relevant, but some of them are also relevant in other spheres of our economy. Increased productivity is something that this country must face. In other Bills that I will put before you during the consideration of the Budget you will find ample opportunity to amplify some of the views you have expressed this morning. I consider it vital for this country to realise that increased wages or increased salaries can only cause inflation if there is no increased productivity to match them, and I think that Government is sensitive of this and we shall do our best to see to it that this is carried out.

Much as I am grateful to you for trying to increase the tax to 70 per cent and 80 per cent I will say very respectfully that we are quite content with the increase we have made if you will be kind enough to pass it.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a Second Time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(Mr President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

#### ORDER OF THE DAY

WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL  
(NIGERIAN STATUS) (AMENDMENT) BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Education** (hon. Aja Nwachuku): Mr President, Sir, I beg to move, That a Bill for an Ordinance to amend the West African Examinations Council (Nigerian Status) Ordinance, 1952, be now read a second time.

Hon. Senators will be aware that the West African Examinations Council serves not only Nigeria but Ghana, Sierra Leone and Gambia. The Council was established in 1952 and derives its legal existence from a Gold Coast Ordinance which was given effect in Nigeria by the West African Examinations Council (Nigeria Status) Ordinance, 1952. The original legislation vested certain powers in the Secretary of State for the Colonies. These included the nomination of the Council's

Chairman, the nomination of two Members representing the Universities of Cambridge and London, certain disciplinary control of staff as well as powers in connection with other matters. Ghana's independence and Nigeria's impending independence have made the existing legislation in certain respects out of date, and the purpose of the Bill is primarily the transfer of powers previously vested in the Secretary of State.

Section II of the existing Nigerian Ordinance gives the Council established by the Gold Coast legislation of 1951 its status within Nigeria. The old Gold Coast Ordinance has recently been amended in order to transfer from the Secretary of State to the Council itself the power to nominate a Chairman and from the Secretary of State to the Chancellors of Cambridge and London Universities the power to nominate members to represent these Universities. Section II of the Bill before the House will make these changes applicable within Nigeria.

Section III of the Bill again seeks to withdraw from the Secretary of State for the Colonies certain powers of direction vested in him in connection with contracts and other matters. At the same time it repeals certain provisions of the existing legislation relating to audit and the acquisition of land.

In moving the Second Reading of the Bill before the House of Representatives I pointed out that there was nothing controversial in it and that it was only the tidying up of operations necessitated by constitutional changes. Ghana and Sierra Leone have amended their legislation and Gambia will shortly do so.

Finally, Mr President, may I say on the first occasion I have appeared before this honourable House, that I feel highly honoured to be privileged to address you.

I beg to move.

**The Minister of Labour** (Hon. J. M. Johnson): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku**: Mr President, Sir, this is a vital matter and I would have felt happy if the whole Ordinance had come before the Senate before to-day. As it is now it is the question of doing the usual copy work which is not giving satisfaction to those of us in Nigeria who have the true national spirit, because all along the West



African Examinations Council has derived its strength from Ghana and what we are now called upon to do is just to approve or agree that we copy certain laws from Ghana and make them to be applicable to Nigeria. According to the *Objects and Reasons* the West African Examinations Council derives its legal existence from the Gold Coast Ordinance and, as it is now, there is nothing we can do other than to say *Okay* to the present request of the Minister of Education.

We would like the Minister of Education to bear in mind that in a few months' time Nigeria will be independent and this West African Examinations Council has not proved entirely satisfactory to the people of Nigeria. Lately there has been some criticism about the Council and I think it is high time the Minister of Education did think of a way out, whereby we must be able to establish an educational status in Nigeria which will command the respect of the world and which will be acceptable in any academic University throughout the world.

Besides, the Minister of Education must be thinking of age restrictions and other things having to do with education in this country. I am referring to the educational system of this country whereby it takes a boy six years in an elementary school and another eight years in the secondary school.

**The President :** Order, order ! Will the hon. Senator be relevant ?

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** I am very sorry, Sir. I just want to take this opportunity to give the Minister some food for thought. Anyhow I know that that is a deviation and I will come back to the real Bill before us. As it is, as I said, there is very little we can do because this is just a section of a big Bill and all the Minister wants is just to apply the Gold Coast law so that our law may fall in line with what exists in Ghana and in Sierra Leone. There is nothing we can do now, Sir, other than to say *Okay*. We are supporting the Bill but we look forward to an opportunity to discuss the whole problem.

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, one would have loved to have been able to see the whole of this Bill. After all, in Nigeria,

the people are beginning to get a little frustrated about certain things particularly in the field of education. I will agree with the last speaker on this Bill that there is very little we can do because the Government is anxious to bring the Bill in line with what obtains in Ghana. I think we have nothing to do but to say *okay*, but we would press that the Government review this Ordinance immediately after Nigeria attains her independence so that we can have a West African Examinations Council which is to the liking of the people of Nigeria.

I beg to support.

**Senator Dr J. O. Omitowoju :** I beg to support this Motion. The only point I would like to raise is that Ghana has got its own independence and I am sure that that country now is making all arrangements to make its own educational system suitable to its own background. It will be a happy thing if the Minister of Education will, between now and this time next year when we shall have a better system, be able to present a real Ordinance, a complete Ordinance, which shall be truly Nigerian. We would not like to have things like the West African Examinations Council, we would like to have a Nigerian Examinations Council in which we will be able to plan our own educational system to suit our own background. All we have been taught all through the years, of course through colonialism, has been a sort of copy work, to have to raise our own standard on what is happening in other countries. What we want in this country will be an educational ordinance which shall be truly Nigerian. I am asking the Minister of Education that he should be thinking on such a thing right now so that we shall not have difficulty in future years.

**Senator Mrs Wuraola Esan :** Mr President, Sir, I beg to support this Bill. While supporting it, I would like to congratulate the Federal Minister of Education for the school buildings that are now being put up in Lagos. I wish to say that it is really commendable and if the Minister of Education and the new Nigerian Council of Examination will do the work as it is being done now, we have no fear that we shall have something worthwhile in future.

Mr President, with these few words, I support.



**The Minister of Education** (Hon. Aja Nwachuku): Mr President, Sir, I am very thankful to hon. Senators for the contributions they have made. The West African Examinations Council has its seat in Ghana, then Gold Coast, because Ghana is regarded as the central point between other countries in West Africa. There is nothing derogatory in Nigeria drawing its legal existence from the West African Examinations Council. It is a West African Examinations Council and Nigeria cannot have its legislation different from other countries of West Africa.

These examinations are being conducted by the University of Cambridge and it is not a Ghana examination but for our boys and girls in West Africa.

When we come to the question of age limit, there is no age limit for taking this examination because boys and girls who were not privileged to benefit from the secondary education have always had the chance of taking these examinations and improving their educational status.

There is nothing like frustration as mentioned by hon. Senator Nzerem. We are not at all frustrated. Our educational system is, if not the best, one of the best in the continent of Africa. I have had the privilege to travel extensively in America, Britain and France, also in Switzerland and I have been shown round most of the school buildings, there, and I can say with pride that our school buildings compare very favourably with such buildings in other civilised countries of the world. Well, our educational system commands respect in the sense that the University College, Ibadan has never been found below the standard when the students take external examinations with other universities in special relationship with London, and in their examinations they have never proved inferior to students in London or in any other institutions in special relationship with London University. The Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology also proved that Nigerian institutions command respect in other parts of the world.

If we have our own legislation different from other countries of West Africa, then the essence of the West African Examinations Council will come to nothing because we have joint consultation and if we are to withdraw

from this Examinations Council, other countries in West Africa which are in consultation with us must establish their own different legislation. Meanwhile, as far as this West African Examinations Council is concerned, Nigeria cannot have a separate legislation.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1 to 4 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

#### ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn till Monday 25th April. (The Minister of State, Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi).*

**Senator J. K. Nzerem**: Mr President, Sir, Members will no doubt recall that during the last sitting, on speaking on a Motion for Adjournment, I pointed out that those of us who come from the up country do so with the idea of staying for a certain number of days and that it would be necessary for the comfort of Members that we should have some indication of how long the session is going to last so that we may make adequate preparations for our stay in Lagos. No definite statement was made by any of the two Ministers. I then got back and addressed a letter to the Clerk of the Parliaments. In his reply, he stated that it was probable we would be staying for only three days after listening to the Speech from the Throne. It is now 8 days since then.

Another thing that I would like to talk about is the inconvenience to which Members of the Senate are exposed. Their housing condition is not quite satisfactory. Many of us are putting on in years and we would want to live in comfort if we are to live to do this work. The Members could therefore, like very much to be assured that when they come on the 25th they will be a little more comfortably accommodated.



**Senator Muhammadu Sani Makaman Sokoto :** Mr President, Sir, I quite agree on the first part of the last speaker's speech. I do not know whether it may be possible to estimate for how long we would be staying when we resume on the 25th. As the last speaker said, we had thought that after listening to the Speech from the Throne we would adjourn after two or three days. Now the time has been lengthened. Most of us come from afar and we would like the Clerk of the Parliament, or whoever is responsible, to tell us in advance for how long a session is likely to stay. If we know this we can then make provision for our stay in Lagos. That, I think, is very important. We shall in that regard have our mind fixed on how long we are likely to stay.

**Senator P. C. Ndu :** Mr President, Sir, I think the Housing Manager, the Porters, or whoever is concerned experiences great difficulty in solving our housing problems. Personally, I experienced a lot of difficulties which the Housing Manager himself cannot solve. Before some Senators take their bath, if they do so at all, it will cost them something. Those rooms allocated either by the P.W.D. or the Town Council or even if our Ministers of State are responsible should be improved, and I think that Members of this House will appreciate it very much. We live at Ikoyi where every business is run by water. If at any time water is not available the rooms become distasteful.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** Mr President, I have some observations to make and they, of course, have nothing to do with water supply. The first is in respect of a newspaper publication to-day, relating to our Ministers of State. The House of Representatives are quite free to make general observations on the appointment of Senators. But we would very much like, as far as we are concerned, that those of us who have been charged with any Ministerial responsibility in this House, should be allowed to try their appointments until they prove a failure. As far as we are concerned two Medical Gentlemen who have been appointed Ministers of State and who have been made Members of the Senate are quite acceptable. We are proud and ready to give them every assistance and every co-operation. (*Hear, hear!*)

The statement by a Member of the House of Representatives that one of our Ministers should be sacked or asked to resign because he

is a Civil Servant is not in our favour in this House. I know the contribution Civil Servants can make to the administration of Nigeria. We have often said when we were on the political platform that the best brains in Nigeria are hiding somewhere in the Civil Service and if we could extract one of them and pick his brains for the governmental function of this country, we should not blame either the Prime Minister, the Governor-General or the Council of Ministers. I want to state that we here in this House have implicit confidence in the two Ministers. We are proud of them and we would like people to leave them alone to do their work. (*Hear, hear!*)

**Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye :** Thank you, Mr President. I just want to say a few words about the position of Senators in the present Government. My main complaint is the condition on which we have been placed by the Members of the other House. I had thought that this was the Upper House. But seeing the treatment we are now subjected to I think we better change the name of this House to the Lower House. (*Laughter*). If this is actually the Upper House, then something should be done to prevent people treating us like school children.

Although I was not here during the opening ceremony of this session yet I understand that we were treated thus. I do not know who is responsible for this? If it is still maintained that where we are to-day is the Upper House then the Senators must be treated like people from the Upper House indeed.

For example, if you look at the Estimate you will see where we are placed. I do not think this is fair. The President of the Senate is placed on top, of course this is very good indeed, why the Senators were not placed next to him but placed very far below after other sub-heads, I do not know, anyway I must leave this until we shall come to that when the Estimates will be debated by the Senators. I do not personally like this. The position that Senators hold should be made clear to the Members of the House of Representatives; it should be pointed out to them that this is the Upper House and that they should not just treat us as they like. I do not know where we are; let us know where we are and we will not just be treated like school children. I do not know whether the Ministers are responsible for this. I must be frank, Members of this Senate are not



[SENATOR CHIEF OLAYEYE]  
well treated. I hope the President will take steps against this kind of treatment and let us know what difference is between the Members of the Lower House and those of the Senate.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** I just want to know why the proceedings of this House are not given publicity. I think the proceedings of this House should be given publicity, especially in the way of radio broadcasts.

**Dr. J. O. Omitowoju :** I would like to say a few words in support of Chief Beyioku's speech in respect of a publication that appeared against one of our Ministers today. We Members of the Medical Profession are really very proud to see that one of our Members, a very important Member as that, has been raised to the Ministerial status through the Senate. In years past, we have been having a lot of difficulties in getting the right men to serve this country. Now the opportunity has come and such people could very well serve the country. I am sure Dr Majekodunmi will be greatly disappointed for leaving his lucrative practice to come and serve the country and I am sure it is a great sacrifice on his part to come into this House and accept this very great responsibility. For people not to appreciate this is really very disappointing indeed. I feel that we should be very grateful to the Prime Minister or the Governor-General for giving such a man the opportunity to serve the country.

I therefore join Chief Beyioku in deploring the statement that appeared in the papers today, and if there is any means of getting such resentment to the other House, I think our Minister should be able to do so. Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin :** Mr President, Sir, I have only two observations to make in connection with the speeches already made by Members of the Senate. One is on Chief Beyioku's speech. He was not concerned in his speech with quarters. He must be sympathetic with Senators who have come from other places and have no residential quarters in Lagos.

Secondly, we were informed last Saturday by the Minister of State that there would be no meeting on Monday. I was worried about this. I thought there was a public holiday, but this morning I could see that we were only pinned down because of the two Bills to be passed by the House of Representatives. In course of

time, Members will be pinned down in Lagos doing nothing until the Budget Session is over. Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator D. Asemota :** Mr President, Sir, You remember a few days ago that I raised a point that it will be interesting to know how Ministers are chosen, and if such a system has been in force it could have saved Members of this House the trouble of raising the point which has just been raised by Senator Chief Beyioku. I do not think we have to refer to any other Minister than our present Doctor who is not only sociable, appreciative and dynamic, but most helpful, and I am very glad that Chief Beyioku raised the point that if there should be any Minister of State to be appointed it should be from us. We hope you will present our opinion to the Prime Minister that when a Bill or Motion is being considered in the Lower House, Members of the lower House should at least dissociate the Senate from being party to such considerations at that time.

The next item I would like to refer to is the Housing of Members during the sittings. If Senators are usually regarded as elder statesmen I think special consideration should be given to them in the allocation of quarters. As it is now, many Senators have to share quarters with Members of the Lower House. This is very uncomfortable. I think definite arrangements will be made so that Senators can know exactly where to stay, and this will at least play some part in relieving the present bad situation that exists in the minds of Members. The Senators should be given special consideration.

That brings me back to the treatment we had when we went to the House of Representatives to listen to the Governor-General's Speech from the Throne. Some of us had no seat. I personally feel we should be given the honour of being Members of this House, and I would ask that you kindly take a very strong view of this. I noticed that after His Excellency had left the House, you yourself, Mr President, had to find an exit out of the House and other Senators had to find their way back to the Senate Chamber. After all we Members here are no children and we should not be treated as such.

As regards the time and the period that the Senators are required to be in Lagos. I think it is very important that we should know them. Many of us come from far away places and would like to know how long they are going to remain in Lagos under this poor condition,



particularly those who have no accommodation in Lagos. This is one of the important points we would like you to consider, and therefore to say how long Senators are to remain in Lagos when a meeting is summoned.

**Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu:** Mr President, Sir, we share the same view with Chief Beyioku about what we read in the newspaper this morning about the Minister of State. Nobody was happy about it. The meaning of what we read in that paper is more than insubordination towards the Members of the Senate. Therefore, I support the same views with them.

There is one thing which I want to know. Last time, there was a question about forming of special areas or zones. That question was put last time and the reply to my own understanding was not very comprehensive. Therefore, may I know if there is satisfactory provision made against such a thing for it is improper for a Senator to conduct himself in manner suggesting ignorance. I shall be grateful if the hon. Minister of State will give us the proper picture of the whole thing.

Furthermore, I have one other important observation to make with regard to what I find with hon. Members of the Upper House since the beginning of the Senate. Their method of approach and friendliness in all their debates and dealings, which shows obviously elderly behaviour deserving of the Upper House. Under these circumstances, I have pleasure to make one special application. That is, as representatives of the various parts of the Federation, it is our prime duty to relay to one another all our necessary observations in our various parts of the Federation and where there is work to be done to effect a cure. This I am sure will help to consolidate the unity of the Regions together as one Federation of Nigeria worthy of this hon. House.

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin): Mr President, I rise to thank hon. Senators for the remarks they have made. My colleague, Dr Majekodunmi, will reply to most of the points they have made. He will answer most of the points you have raised on this adjournment. I would like, however, to speak about what we read in the newspapers this morning. If you observe very closely Nigerian youths are very, very bullying and at times you cannot blame them for being so. The remarks made against one of our Ministers

was one would say, most deplorable and unfortunate; but I must ask hon. Senators to think of the fact that this is the first time that that young man has been in the House of Representatives and naturally he feels a little bit nervous and likes to explode; also being a young man he likes to say all sorts of things about us. We can only hope that some day, he will become an old man, as old as ourselves and will be in this House (*Laughter*).

If you will read what the Speaker of the Lower House said about this man's speech—with your permission, Mr President, I quote: "I always try to be as tolerant as I can, and there are ways of reading well and reading badly. The hon. Member is not making a very good maiden speech." So, you will see from those remarks, hon. Senators, that the young man is just new in the House and does not know how to talk in a House of Legislature. We hope that he will improve himself and try to speak better. Meanwhile we note the strong objections which you have made and we will present them to the Prime Minister. I can only ask that my colleague, Dr Majekodunmi, should accept the lines which I have taken, that is, that this very brilliant young man does not know what he is talking about.

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. MA. Majekodunmi): Mr President, Sir, I would like to express my humble gratitude to hon. Senators for the very kind sentiments which they have expressed this morning about the reference made to me in the House of Representatives. I must say at once that I am very highly honoured indeed to have been given the opportunity of serving in this honourable House as a Senator and of serving the Government in my capacity as a Minister of State where I hope I should be enabled to put some of the ideas I have dreamt about into practical use. We all hope we shall be able to contribute our quota towards fostering the health and happiness of our people here in Nigeria.

As Minister of State in the Senate, I wish to assure hon. Senators, on behalf of the Government, that we are in full sympathy with the views which you have expressed about the discomfort to which you are put during your stay here, but I hope you will bear with Government on this point in that this is the first time that we have had to deal with a very greatly enlarged legislature. Our resources have been strained to the limit to enable us to house the Members of the Senate and Members



[SENATOR DR THE HON. MAJEKODUNMI] of the House of Representatives. Hon. Senators will notice that on the way to Victoria Island, there are blocks of flats going up which are designed to house the enlarged legislature. They are not completed yet and therefore we all have to put up with some inconvenience. I would like to assure you on behalf of Government that we shall do all in our power to ensure that you are put to the very minimum of inconvenience during your stay in Lagos (*Hear, hear*). We hope that it will not be very long before we have a House Committee, a committee of Senators, who will be specially charged with looking after the comfort and accommodation of Senators while they are here in Lagos.

It is not possible to forecast in advance the duration of any session because, as you yourselves will appreciate, some points which we cannot envisage will prove controversial, may prove to be so. Senators may develop great interest in a debate and the debate may thereby be prolonged and therefore all the forecast that any one could make would be thrown out of gear. It is essential that Senators should be given every opportunity of bringing their mature judgement to bear on the problems facing this country. It is not the intention of Government to hurry debates in the Senate. We would like to continue to get the fullest benefit of your mature experience and your wisdom and that is why it is not possible for us to say a debate will last say, an hour. We may expect that it will last an hour but on the other hand it may last the whole day, as hon. Senators may have noticed in this House this morning when the Bill to amend the Western Region Betting Law was debated. This Bill passed through the House of Representatives without any debate whatsoever. Here in this House, hon. Senators felt that there were a few things which needed saying and the things which were said in this House have proved of great benefit to the Minister of Finance and the Government. Many hon. Senators expressed and deplored the

fact that some of our youths spend a lot of their time in filling football pool coupons and things of that nature. This is advice which we very greatly appreciate in Government and we do not wish to deprive ourselves of the opportunity of getting such advice. I assure you we shall do all we can to ensure that we give you an approximate period in which you are going to stay in Lagos but we cannot always succeed in doing this.

Now a Senator has raised the question of the Senators touring their Senatorial areas. Well if you will recall there is a consolidated travelling allowance given to every Senator as well as to every Member of the House of Representatives and this travelling allowance is meant for Senators to tour their areas and explain to their people the points of view of Government and what has been discussed in this House. If there is any suggestion that this travelling allowance is insufficient that will have to go before the House to be reviewed, but Government cannot change it without consultation with the Legislature.

**The President :** Before putting the question I would like to associate myself with the views expressed by many Senators here over the unwarranted attack yesterday which was made against Senator The Minister of State, and also the other Ministers who are *ex officio* Members of this Senate. It was uncalled for and most unfortunate. I do hope that the Parliamentary Parties concerned will take appropriate action in order to inculcate in their new Members what they can say and what they cannot say in the House with propriety. One feels that an action of the type which occurred yesterday was quite uncalled for and I hope that the Parliamentary Party concerned will take appropriate action in order to discipline this Member.

*Original Question put and agreed to.*

*Adjourned accordingly at twelve minutes past eleven o'clock.*



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION  
OF NIGERIA

Monday 25th April, 1960

The Senate met at 10.00 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr President in the Chair)

PAPERS

**The President :** The following papers which have been published in the Supplement to the *Official Gazette* Nos. 17, 19 and 21 of 2nd, 7th and 14th April, 1960 respectively, copies of which have already been distributed to Members of the Senate, are deemed to have been laid on the Table :—

(1) The Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 45 of 1960).

(2) The Excise Duties (Amendment)—Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 46 of 1960).

(3) The Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 2) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 50 of 1960).

(4) The Excise Duties (Amendment)—(No. 2) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 53 of 1960).

(5) The Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 3) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 54 of 1960).

The hon. Minister of State, Senator Dr Majekodunmi will make a Ministerial Statement.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

**The Minister of State** (Senator Dr. the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): Mr President, Sir, I rise to make the following Ministerial Statement. I am very happy to inform hon. Senators that Government has given further consideration to the arrangements for joint sittings of the Legislature. It has been decided that all future joint sittings should take place in the Chambers of the Senate. (*Applause*).

The next joint sitting of the Legislature will take place at the time of the State Opening of Parliament in October during the Independence Celebrations. From that day, in order to provide maximum comfort for the Royal Visitor and for our distinguished guests from overseas, the joint sitting will take place in the National Hall, but on that day the National Hall would have been declared in advance to be the Chamber of the Senate. (*Applause*).

The Senate will meet in the National Hall on that day and after prayers and the ordinary business, Members of the House of Representatives will be admitted. After that meeting, all subsequent joint sittings will take place in this Chamber until such time as the permanent Chamber of the Senate is completed on Victoria Island.

Sir, may I also make a business statement. I am sure Members would like to know the programme of business for this week, 25th of April till Saturday, the 30th April.

This day, 25th of April, Presentation of Public Bills :

- (1) Evidence (Amendment) Bill
- (2) Government Promissory Notes Bill
- (3) Loan Bill
- (4) Loan (Regional Development) Bill
- (5) Loan (Internal Borrowing) (Amendment) Bill.

Second Reading and remaining stages of Evidence (Amendment) Bill and Government Promissory Notes Bill.

Tuesday the 26th of April, Presentation of Public Bills; Appropriation Bill (1960-61) Bill; Second Reading of Appropriation Bill. The debate to be adjourned till Friday the 29th of April. Second Reading and other stages, if possible, of Loan Bill; Loan (Regional Development) Bill; Loan (Internal Borrowing) (Amendment) Bill.

Wednesday the 27th of April, remaining stages not completed on Tuesday. Then Senate will adjourn until Friday.

Friday the 29th of April, Second Reading of Appropriation Bill, Second Allotted Day.

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS

EVIDENCE (AMENDMENT) BILL

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): *Second Reading*—This day.

GOVERNMENT PROMISSORY NOTES BILL

**The Minister of Finance :** *Second Reading*—This day.

LOAN BILL

**The Minister of Finance :** *Second Reading*—Tomorrow.

LOAN (REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT) BILL

**The Minister of Finance :** *Second Reading*—Tomorrow.



LOAN (INTERNAL BORROWING)  
(AMENDMENT) BILL

**The Minister of Finance:** *Second Reading—*  
Tomorrow.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

EVIDENCE (AMENDMENT) BILL

*Order for second reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance:** Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill entitled "A Bill for an Ordinance further to amend the Evidence Ordinance (Chapter 63)" be now read a second time.

I do not think that I need detain Senators long with this Bill. Section 41 (i) of the Evidence Ordinance provides that either party to the proceedings in any criminal case may produce a certificate signed by a Government chemist, a Government pathologist or entomologist or the Accountant-General of the Federation, and the production of any such certificate may be taken as sufficient evidence of the facts stated therein.

In criminal cases relating to forged West African currency notes, the Accountant-General of the Federation has certified whether the notes involved are forgeries or not, and his certificates have been issued under Section 41 (i) of the Evidence Ordinance. The Accountant-General in issuing such certificates acts in his capacity as the Currency Officer of the West African Currency Board.

In respect of our new currency, however, which is issued by the Central Bank, it is not, of course, appropriate for the Accountant-General to issue such certificates. Cases have already arisen in the Courts relating to the new currency and on more than two occasions senior officers of the Central Bank have had to make long journeys to testify in Court as to the genuineness or otherwise of the notes concerned.

If this position is allowed to continue the Central Bank will obviously be considerably inconvenienced. The effect of this Bill, therefore, is to allow the Governor, the Deputy Governor or the General Manager of the Central Bank of Nigeria to issue in respect of the new Nigerian currency notes certificates of the same kind as have hitherto been issued by the Accountant-General of the Federation in respect of notes issued by the West African Currency Board.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator J. K. Nzerem:** Mr President, Sir, I think this is a very important law. If, as the hon Minister of Finance has pointed out, the Central Bank would be incapacitated at its initial stage, it will be disastrous for the country. I think that this Bill is one that should go through this hon. House without any difficulty. I personally consider it very essential.

Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion. I am quite in agreement with the deliberation made by the hon. the Minister of Finance. I think this suggestion has been well thought out and it is one of the best ways in which our money or our currency in circulation can be safeguarded.

For this reason, I beg to support the Motion.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee).

*Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The President resumed the Chair).

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

(GOVERNMENT PROMISSORY NOTES BILL)

*Order for second reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill entitled "A Bill for an Ordinance to make Provision for the Creation and Issue of Government Promissory Notes for the Purpose of Raising Loans" be now read a second time.

The present legislation covering loans in the Laws of Nigeria is both various and complicated. Apart from the specific Ordinance relating to loans already raised and which could not, for



obvious reasons, be amended, the legislation falls broadly into two categories. These are, legislation relating to the method and procedures of borrowing, and legislation authorising the raising of specific loans and regulating the provisions for which the monies so raised may be applied.

Later the House will be considering two Ordinances authorising the raising of specific loans, but this Ordinance, on the other hand, is one dealing with methods and procedures of borrowing. While we have on the Statute Book general legislation covering the issue of stock publicly overseas and within Nigeria, there is at present no general legislation regulating the procedure to be adopted when Government borrows either inside or outside Nigeria by means of the issue of Promissory Notes.

A Promissory Note is, quite simply, a promise to pay at some future date and in the meantime to pay interest. This type of borrowing is however becoming increasingly common. Government is already committed for instance, to issuing Promissory Notes to cover deferred payments arising from the construction of a bridge over the River Niger at Onitsha. The Issue of Notes will almost certainly also be necessary under other deferred payment agreements whether in the form of contractor finance or expert credits. They will also be issued under the terms of the proposed Commonwealth Assistance Loan which will begin to be made available to us later this year.

There is, Sir, therefore, urgent need for Government to take general powers over the issue of such Notes and for the regulation of procedures to be set out in the legislation. In this way the holders of Promissory Notes will know the exact standing of the Notes and by so doing Nigeria's creditworthiness should be increased. The legislation before the House seeks to do this.

I must emphasize that the original Bill has been amended by the House of Representatives by the deletion of Clauses 19 and 22.

The Bill follows closely the provisions relating to Promissory Notes in chapter 120 of the Laws of Nigeria (the Local Loans Registered Stock and Securities Ordinance) which was repealed about a year ago. At that time it was not thought that the Federal Government would have to undertake specific borrowing by

means of Promissory Notes. For the reasons I have given, this is no longer the case, and in addition to issuing Promissory Notes payable in Nigerian currency, it will also be necessary in certain circumstances to issue notes payable in other currencies. That is to say, the Federal Government would acquire external liabilities as well as internal liabilities as a result of the Promissory Notes it issues.

The Bill is in four parts. I need not detain the Senate on Part I, which merely contains definitions. Part II relates to the issue of Promissory Notes. The House will see that under Clause 3 the issue of Promissory Notes is confined to other Governments and bodies corporate. It is not proposed that Government should issue Promissory Notes to individuals. The issue of Promissory Notes will be incidental to the raising of large loans or the carrying out of large construction works or purchases on a large scale.

Clause 4 charges principal sums and interest represented or secured from Government Notes on the general revenue and assets of the Federation. This is a standard clause in all loans bills and provides security for anyone lending to Government.

Clause 5 ensures that the essential information about the extent to which Government has issued Promissory Notes is published in the *Gazette*. Lenders have the right to know the extent of Government's indebtedness at any time. In practice, of course, this information will also appear in the statements of the Federal Government's accounts which are published in the *Gazette* and which include, at regular intervals, full statements of Government's public debt both within Nigeria and outside.

Clause 6 (1) is, I think, self-explanatory. It states that all Promissory Notes shall bear both my signature and that of the Accountant-General.

Clause 6 (2) provides that the Notes shall normally be denominated in terms of Nigerian pounds, but it also makes it possible for Government to issue Notes denominated in other currencies. In the latter case, such Notes will, of course, then form part of the external public debt of the country.

Clause 7 relates to negotiability and provides that in appropriate circumstances the negotiability of Notes may be limited.



## [MINISTER OF FINANCE]

Clause 8 provides for the automatic appropriation of revenue for the payment of principal sums and interest. This clause follows logically from Clause 4.

Clauses 9, 10 and 11 deal with the extent of Government's liability under Promissory Notes and the method of payment. Senators will see that Clause 11 provides that in appropriate circumstances the Central Bank may make arrangements for Promissory Notes to be paid outside Nigeria.

Part III of the Bill deals with sinking funds. Senators will see that the setting up of sinking funds will not be essential in all cases but that such funds will only be set up where appropriate after consultations with the Governor of the Central Bank. Where Government raises a loan by the issue of Promissory Notes, I envisage that a series of Notes will be issued which will have the effect of paying off the loan, together with the interest, at fixed intervals over a period of time. In such cases it will not be necessary to provide for sinking funds.

However, it may be that in some cases Government will borrow a sum of money, the whole amount of which will be repayable at a single time. In such circumstances it may well be appropriate for Government to set up a sinking fund since by doing so, and setting aside sums each year, the burden of debt repayment will be evenly spread over the whole period of the loan. The sinking fund provisions in Clauses 12 to 17 provide for the management of such funds by the Central Bank on similar lines to the arrangements already made and approved by the House in respect of local loans. There are no novel points of principle in this part of the Bill.

In Clauses 18-24 are set out general provisions relating to the regulation of the issue of Promissory Notes.

Clauses 20 and 22 are of a technical nature and they determine Government's liability as well as exempt Promissory Notes from stamp duties. Under section 23, I am empowered, after consultation with the Governor of the Central Bank, to make regulations on various matters in connection with the issue of Promissory Notes.

I commend the Bill to the House as a piece of very necessary legislation at the present time. To the outside lender it should be the

expression of our determination as a Government to offer the very best security. Potential holders of Promissory Notes will now know the terms on which they are to be issued and the rights and privileges attaching to them. I hope that this legislation will enhance the Government's credit-worthiness both inside and outside Nigeria.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of State** (Senator Dr the Hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator L. C. Daldry**: Mr President, Sir, it seems to me that this Bill has no fundamental effect, either adverse or otherwise on the borrowing of the Federal Government. If the Government borrows, and whatever evidence or receipt it may give for the borrowing, the fact remains that the Government would have given a promise express or implied to repay in due course.

A Promissory Note is merely a legal instrument giving the terms of that promise; and whether that legal instrument is given or not makes no difference to the fundamental promise which the Government made to repay the loan. I am quite certain that no Government in Nigeria would ever default on any of its loans.

As far as I can see some benefit may accrue, by the terms of this Bill, to such lenders as contractors who, if they have a Promissory Note may be able to sell that note or discount it and thus provide themselves with funds in order to carry on. I understand that there are various reasons why the Federal Government does not wish Promissory Notes to be handed round and to move from one person to another indiscriminately. I can well understand that there may be circumstances in which it is undesirable for a Promissory Note of the Government of Nigeria to change hands.

For instance such a note might get into the hands of a person who needed money very urgently and who might be willing to sell or discount the note with a very big margin of discount. It will not be appropriate for Nigerian Government paper to be discounted at a heavy rate and for that and other reasons I imagine that Government wishes to restrict the possibility of Promissory Notes changing hands.

It seems to me that in order to restrict that happening, Government has put in section



7 (i) and (ii) in this Ordinance. Section 7 provides that every Government Promissory Note should specify whether or not it is negotiable and if negotiable, the extent and the manner in which it may be negotiated.

Now, Clause 7 gives power to the Government to restrict negotiability but I wish to point out that the mere restriction of negotiability does not necessarily restrict transfer, which I think is what the Government has in mind, for a Promissory Note which is marked "Not Negotiable" can still in my opinion be transferred. The fact that it is marked "Not Negotiable", in my view, merely means that if it changes hands several times and a person through whose hands it passes acquires it by fraud or in some way which makes him not entitled to the Promissory Note, then if such a person has a defective title he cannot pass the note on to another person in such a way that that person can enforce it against the Government.

That, in my view, is the meaning of negotiability. It is merely a protection for the Government in case the note gets into wrong hands, but it does not prevent, in my view, a note being transferred from one person to another and that I think is what the Government really had in mind. There is, in my view, a method of correcting this.

In Section 8 of the Bills of Exchange Ordinance, there is a clause which provides that if a Bill, which includes a note, is marked in such a way as to restrict its transfer then two things would be achieved—not only will the transferability of the note be restricted but also the negotiability of the note. So in my view the word which has been used here, in Clause 7, "Negotiable" is not really the right word. The word which should be used is the word "transferable". If the Government takes care to make its Promissory Notes not transferable, then it will achieve its object. It will prevent the note from being transferred and it will also prevent the note from being negotiable.

When the Bill comes to the Committee stage, I intend to move an amendment to illustrate the argument that I have just made and I have reason to believe that the amendment may be acceptable to Government.

Subject to what I have said, I support the second reading of this Bill.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu:** Mr President, Sir, this is a Bill which is better handled by my hon. Friend, Mr Daldry, but from my own layman's point of view there are one or two aspects which need to be pointed out.

It is quite true that no Government can exist without committing itself to raising loans either internally or externally but I would suggest also that the Government try to withdraw certain loans even from the outside world because I understand that a large sum of Government money is invested abroad at a higher percentage of interest than the percentage charged on our money loaned from similar institutions. Therefore, I support the Bill in principle for as I said earlier, no Government can run its essential services without having to commit itself to borrowing money either internally or externally, but this money that the Government has invested outside should be brought home.

Sir, I beg to support

**Senator J. K. Nzerem:** Mr President Sir, I have heard it said in this country that the borrowing propensity of the Government is causing some alarm. A Promissory Note is a very good thing to issue but it has one very great danger and the Government must always see to it that they do not issue so many of it that in the course of time they will not be able to redeem them. We all know the effect of buying things on credit. You keep on issuing credit notes until you finally find it extremely difficult to make good your borrowings. Therefore, Government must be warned to be very careful in issuing these Promissory Notes because if it is done indiscriminately, instead of increasing our credit-worthiness, it will have the opposite effect of reducing it.

When we come to the Committee Stage certain things will be pointed out which might help the Government to make this scheme a success.

Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin:** Mr President Sir, I rise to support the Motion and to point out some few points. Nobody likes Nigeria to be a debtor country but we know all our Ministers, especially our present Minister of Finance, is doing everything to develop



[SENATOR SANNNI OKIN]

Nigeria. In comparison, Nigeria is yet undeveloped and we all wish that Nigeria should be rapidly developed but we cannot do this without money. Therefore, whatever the Minister of Finance, with the support of the Members of the House of Representatives, are doing in this respect, we should support.

However, this question of loans, as one hon. Senator has already mentioned, causes a lot of headache in Nigeria. Some political parties make use of these loans by misrepresenting it. They tell some people who are illiterate that such and such a loan has been given to such and such a Regional Government, but you ordinary people have not been able to get anything from it. Therefore, I suggest that whenever a loan is raised the Government should try its best to give it wide publicity. They should say how the money is raised and how it is going to be utilised. I believe if this is done, the people will be happy and will be conscious of their civic responsibility.

I wish to suggest that whatever might be the risk, it is a national risk as we all know, and this money is to be used to develop our independent country. As we are now entering the day of our independence, nobody would like that Nigeria should not be carefully developed as other countries in the Commonwealth. I do support this particular Bill, but my point is this that the Minister of Finance should give it wide publicity so that everybody will know what Nigeria has to pay and how the money raised as loans is going to be used. I think our people ought to know these things.

Mr President, I support.

**The Minister of Finance :** Mr President, Sir, I am very grateful to hon. Senators for the contributions they have made. Senator Daldry made reference to Section 7, (1) (2) of the Bill for which he had given notice of an amendment. When we go into Committee, Sir, I shall express Government's view on the amendment.

Senator Abaagu made a statement as to Government's investments abroad and said that the purpose of Government establishing a Central Bank is to enable Government and, of course, her instituted money market in Nigeria, to recover her investments abroad. It was for that purpose that I made an appeal not only to Regional Governments but also

to marketing boards and all such corporations that, at the moment, have their investments abroad, to bring them to Nigeria; but you cannot do that if you do not eliminate and substitute.

You cannot ask Government or corporations to bring their investments to Nigeria just because of national interest because the money is earning interest abroad, and if you want to do that you must bring something that will enable them to return the money to Nigeria, but, at the same time, to be able to earn the same interest as the money is earning overseas. That is our purpose now, that is why we feel that we have arrived as regards our monetary situation now that we have got our Central Bank.

We are passing another law to-day, we have other laws about securities and stock exchange, all being introduced into this country. There are a number of things in Nigeria at the moment, but as they come to be realised, you will find that there will be no need for us to invest our money abroad, and I would assure the Member that this is the purpose behind Government's intentions. There will be no question of inability to redeem promissory notes. Unless a Government is bankrupt that Government ought to be able to redeem its promissory notes. I am sure that we all know that not only are we credit-worthy, but that our financial position is very sound and is laid on an unsinkable foundation (*Hear, hear*).

Senator Nzerem warned about issuing promissory notes indiscriminately. I want to assure him that it is not possible for Government to do so because, as I said in my second reading speech, Government will issue promissory notes as regards specific loans for a specific purpose and I cited the case of the Onitsha Bridge. If the Onitsha Bridge is to cost £7 million and we have given it out on contractual finance and you want to issue promissory notes to the contractors to cover this, as Senator Daldry has mentioned, all we can do is to issue promissory notes to the extent of the value of the contract and no more.

I shall be bringing another Bill to this House on the question of raising loans of about £40 million and I am controlled by the Ordinance on such a specific loan. I cannot authorise the issue of more promissory notes



than are approved by the Legislature; and if it is over-subscribed and the Government feels that they will also accept the over-subscription, I shall have to come with an amended Bill for you to authorise me to issue more promissory notes. If this is not done I have no powers to do so in law.

Hon. Senator Okin has warned us about publicity. Certainly we will do so. If we do not give it enough publicity the response will not be such as is required at all. We will certainly do our best to see that we have sufficiently used the machinery of publicity so that people like Senator Chief Odutola may invest their money as well as other Senators here.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a Second Time and committed to a committee of the whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1-6 agreed to.*

*Clause 7 :*

**Senator L. C. Daldry :** Mr Chairman, Sir, I rise to move the following amendment: "Clause 7, page C.76, line 24, leave out from "is" to end of subsection and insert: "transferable, and, if transferable, the extent to which and the manner in which it may be transferred." page C.76, line 27, leave out "negotiable" and insert "transferable".

Mr Chairman, I will not repeat the argument which I have already elaborated on the second reading of this Bill. I sincerely trust that Government will accept the amendment and that hon. Senators will support it. If so, this will be a truly historic occasion because this will be the first time that a Bill will have been sent from the Senate back to the Lower House. This, Mr Chairman, will be concrete proof that this august Chamber is doing the work for which it was constituted as a revising Chamber.

Fortunately, this is a non-controversial and non-political Bill and therefore, happily, there can be no question of any differences of opinion between this Chamber and the Lower House on these points. It will merely be, I submit, a sincere wish on the part of this august Chamber to help the Government.

Sir, I beg to move.

*Amendment proposed.*

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale :** Sir I beg to support the amendment.

**The Minister of Finance :** Mr Chairman, Sir, I would like to signify that the Government accepts the amendment, (*Hear, hear*), and as Senator Daldry has really said, I think that by the time I return this Bill to the House of Representatives, the Members there will realise as never before the supremacy of the power of the Upper House. (*Hear, hear*).

I want to say, Sir, that the purpose of bringing this Bill was really to restrict the transfer of promissory notes should circumstances warrant, but after Senator Daldry had given us the Notice, I had consultations with the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank, the General Manager of the Central Bank, and the Legal Draftsman, and they all feel that the amendment is clearly the one that is required to meet the case for which Government had put in that Clause, and it is a matter for high appreciation to Senator Daldry for bringing in this amendment. Government is very grateful.

*Question that the words proposed to be left out be left out, put and agreed to.*

*Question that those words be there inserted, put and agreed to.*

*Clause 7, as amended, agreed to.*

*Clauses 8 to 23 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(Mr President resumed the Chair.)

*Bill reported with amendment, read the third time and passed.*

### ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and Question proposed, That the Senate do now adjourn—The Minister of State (Dr M. A. Majekodunmi)*

**Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi :** Mr President, Sir, I just want to advise the Government that when they want to prepare the Order Paper of the day the following points should be taken into consideration. I do hope, however, that the House should always have a Business Statement.

We are supposed to know the state of things. We are not supposed to join on minor things but only on important things. But when the Order Paper for the day is considered I suggest



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In any case, I can assure the hon. Senator that we will do our best to keep them well informed and give them good notices of the Bills and *Gazettes* as and when they are convenient to them.

**An hon. Senator :** You will keep us busy.

**The Minister of Finance :** I can keep you busy, oh yes !

**The President :** Well, before putting the question, may I make a few remarks in connection with the Amendment successfully adopted by the Senate on the Government's Promissory Note Bill. I think we have to admit, with pride, that the Senate as an Upper House is coming into its own. (*Applause*). We have made history to-day in the development of legislative institutions in Nigeria.

As Senator Daldry has rightly pointed out, this is the first time that a Bill is revised by the Upper House and returned to the Lower House. I am sure hon. Senators will join me in offering our congratulations to Senator Daldry for pin-pointing this error and piloting to success this Amendment in the Committee Stage, and also to the hon. Minister of Finance on being magnanimous to study the suggested Amendment and after consulting his expert advisers to accept same on behalf of the Government.

I am proud to have the privilege to preside over the deliberations of this hon. Senate on this historic occasion.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved,* That the Senate do now adjourn.

*Adjourned accordingly at eight minutes past eleven o'clock.*



**SENATE OF THE FEDERATION  
OF NIGERIA**

*Tuesday, 26th April, 1960*

*The Senate met at 10 a.m.*

**PRAYERS**

(Mr President in the Chair)

**PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS**

**APPROPRIATION (1960-61) BILL**

As Amended in The House of Representatives

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): *Second Reading*—This day.

**NOTICE OF MOTION**

**COMMITTEE OF SELECTION:  
ELECTION OF MEMBERS**

**The Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that Senator Somolu, Senator Obi and Senator Nuhu Bamalli be members of the Committee of Selection.

I wish to add, Sir, that the Council of Ministers have nominated the following three Members to be members of the Committee of Selection, pursuant to Standing Order 53 (2):—

The Minister of Mines and Power, Hon. Maitama Sule

The Minister of State, Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin

The Minister of State, Senator Dr Majekodunmi.

*Question proposed.*

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved,* That Senator Somolu, Senator Obi and Senator Nuhu Bamalli be members of the Committee of Selection.

**APPROPRIATION (1960-61) BILL**

As Amended in the House of Representatives

*Order for second reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill entitled "A Bill for an Ordinance to appropriate the sum of forty-six million, six hundred and twenty-nine thousand,

nine hundred and thirty pounds to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March, nineteen hundred and sixty-one" be read a second time.

It is for me a singular honour to be able to present before this House the first main Appropriation Bill which it has considered. We had yesterday a singular example of the useful constitutional purpose which this House can serve. Now, of course, the powers of the Senate in regard to finance matters are limited. The Senate can only delay money bills. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the debates in the Senate on the Appropriation Bill need not be fruitful and illuminating. I hope that our debates in this House will illuminate the minds of all who consider the many problems attendant on Nigeria's rapid economic development. I am sure that Members of the Senate will regard these debates in the same light. I shall much welcome their contributions and Senators may rest assured that I shall give the closest attention to whatever they have to say.

My speech before the House of Representatives on the Appropriation Bill has already been published and fully debated in that House. I believe that Members of this House will have already considered it. I do not intend, therefore, to-day to repeat all I said in the other House. Rather, however, I intend to focus attention on the main points of the Federal Government's economic and financial policies and on the main points that have already been made in debates elsewhere. By so doing I hope that our debates here will be constructive and helpful.

Let me first remind Members of the ten-point plan for the financial and economic policies of independent Nigeria. They are as follows:—

(1) to maintain confidence in the value of the Nigerian currency and to maintain reasonable stability in wages and prices;

(2) to continue to expand the basic infra-structure upon which all economic development depends;

(3) to give every support to increased agricultural production;

(4) to continue to encourage the growth of industry and the further development of Nigeria's mineral resources;



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(5) to promote the training of Nigerian man-power especially in professional, technical and managerial skills ;

(6) to ensure that development works are undertaken in accordance with their priority and importance to Nigeria and that there is proper co-ordination between all the Governments of the Federation in this field ;

(7) to make effective arrangements for the provision of the funds required to finance development in Nigeria, both by mobilising domestic resources and by attracting capital from overseas ;

(8) to continue to develop the social amenities increasingly required in accordance with the ability of the economy to sustain them ;

(9) to ensure that Nigeria plays her full part in the international institutions and organisations designed to promote development and freer and wider international trade ;

(10) to ensure that Nigeria plays her full part, both as a donor and a recipient, in international technical assistance programme.

Now, I do not propose now to speak at any great length on every one of these points but some I think are of such cardinal importance that they need repeating.

First, it is vital that we preserve the value of our new national currency and guard against the evil of inflation, so that one shilling will continue to buy one shilling's worth of goods. The introduction of our new currency has gone remarkably smoothly and this is due in no small part to the efficiency of both the Central Bank and the commercial banks. The currency seems to have been accepted without any hesitation throughout the country, which is no mean achievement.

Our task after independence will be not only to maintain that internal confidence, but also to ensure that the outside world has the same trust in Nigerian currency as Nigerians have themselves. In a rapidly expanding economy like our own there is a natural tendency for an upward movement in prices—a movement accompanied by increases in production. Naturally in such circumstances, it is only right that the workers should enjoy their fair share of the increasing worth of the country.

What we have to ensure, however, is that resources of the country are not overstrained and that too swift advantage is not taken of the benefits of increasing prosperity.

Inflation could rob us of the benefits we hope to see being passed on to all sections of the community. Therefore we do not rule out price control, however great the practical difficulties, if indeed that proved to be the only effective means of controlling the situation. We shall maintain comprehensive statistics relating to the general standards of living, so that the movements of prices and their reasonableness can be judged.

The second point I made concerns the continuance of the expansion of the basic infrastructure on which all economic development depends. I believe that it is the general wish of the people that at all costs this development, which has reached such truly substantial proportions in recent years, should be continued. It does, however, mean for me the finding of much money and the mobilisation of resources in perhaps the most difficult problem which my Ministry faces.

Much play has been made with the suggestion that my principal aim is to burden this country with an excessive amount of external debt. This suggestion is, of course, quite unfounded. But it leads me to restate my policies on these matters. It is my firm intention that the maximum possible amount of our economic development is financed from our own resources.

This was the theme of my 1959 Budget Speech and I repeat it here. This financing can take place in three ways—by additional contributions from revenue, by mobilising savings locally and encouraging the people generally to put by money which they will need in the future, and which will in the meantime contribute to the country's development, and by mobilising capital at present invested overseas.

As regards the first of these points I have emphasize that the most important source of money for development is the amount we can find each year from our ordinary revenues—the direct and indirect taxes which all of us pay. It has, therefore, been my object this year to budget for as big a contribution to development as possible from the ordinary or recurrent budget. This is the budget from which we pay for the ordinary day-to-day services of



Government—the maintenance of trunk roads and bridges, police services, the military and naval forces, higher education, normal administrative expenses, and so forth.

There have been two principal problems I have had to face this year in framing my budget for 1960/61. On the one hand revenue growth was modest. Increases resulting from the natural expansion of the economy were offset by such factors as the loss of the British Government's defence contribution and the decline in income from investments held overseas as these are sold to finance development in Nigeria. Expenditure, on the other hand, showed sharp increases. These came from the Mbanefo Award, from plans for meeting Nigeria's defence and police services in the crucial independence era and from the expansion of postal and telegraph services.

We are also making a number of economy measures with a view to holding in check the mounting level of recurrent expenditure. I will refer to them later. The point I wish to make now is that recurrent expenditure cannot be allowed to continue to rise without commensurate increases in revenue if we are to make an appropriate contribution to the Development Fund. Painful though this might be to some, it is necessary for us all to be prepared to make sacrifices for the future of this great country. This then is the first point which I wish to make about mobilising resources for development.

Now I would like to say a few words about the mobilising of savings within Nigeria. It is my aim to provide at the earliest possible moment suitable machinery for savings of all kinds and at all levels within Nigeria. I referred in my Budget Speech in the House of Representatives to the progress which is being made by the commercial community in the establishment of a stock exchange, which will, I hope, act as a focal point for channelling investments in both the private and public sectors of our economy.

But here I want to deal particularly with the mobilisation of savings to finance the capital expenditure of the Federal and Regional Governments. First, we have begun an ambitious series of local loans with the successful issue in May last year of over £2 million worth of stock. We intend to float the next of these internal loans to coincide with Independence.

Once again, I must appeal to everyone in Nigeria to give their fullest support to the success of these loans. Whilst individuals can assist by investing some of their own savings in this way, I appreciate that for some time to come the lion's share of investment in these loans must come from such sources as the Marketing Boards, commercial banks, insurance companies and other large institutions, including the Provident Funds of major commercial concerns.

In another place the suggestion was made that we should nationalise all insurance companies. When replying to this suggestion I pointed out that the proposal was economically most dangerous, not only because it was just the kind of move which could frighten off private investors, but also because it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Government to undertake all the specialised facilities which insurance companies can offer to their clients.

I would like to repeat this because I have been reported in one of the national newspapers as having changed my previous stand so that I now favour nationalisation of the insurance companies. This suggestion is completely unfounded. Government has decided to set up a committee to look into the activities of one aspect of the insurance business carried on in Nigeria, namely, motor vehicle insurance. This should not be taken to imply that Government intends to nationalise this or any other form of insurance.

Having said this, however, I must in all seriousness, as I did in my Budget Speech last year, address a special word to the insurance companies. They must accept the fact that it is in their own interests, not less than in the interests of Nigeria, that they should invest the maximum possible amount of the funds which they derive from Nigeria in Nigerian securities. I am sure that this will be heeded.

Allied to the issue of these local loans is the question of the repatriation of capital at present invested overseas. Nigerian owned assets invested overseas stand at present at remarkably high levels but the reserves of the Federal Government from only a relatively small proportion of this total. Hitherto in the absence of a developed money market here, firms and institutions have found it necessary to hold funds overseas where suitable facilities for investing them have long been available.



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But all this is now changing. Surely it is not asking too much to expect Nigerians and Nigerian institutions to invest from now on in the future of Nigeria. I appreciate that for many of the large institutions to switch their investments from sterling securities to Nigerian securities our own securities must be available on suitable terms. This is to say there must be stocks maturing at varying dates and bearing appropriate interest rates. In consultation with the Central Bank I am determined to do all in my power to meet these reasonable requirements. In return I look to the institutions, and particularly to the Marketing Boards, to repatriate very considerable amounts of the funds which they have at present invested overseas.

To some extent the holding of these reserves outside Nigeria duplicates the foreign exchange reserves held by the Central Bank and these are Nigeria's foreign exchange reserves proper. The Central Bank Ordinance has fixed by law the level of these reserves in such a way that they should be sufficient for our needs and to ensure the maintenance of confidence in our currency. Later this year, when we become a full member of the International Monetary Fund, we shall have access to much larger reserves of foreign exchange upon which we could call in an emergency.

Thus, not only because Nigerian owned assets should be invested in the future of this country, but also because our basic foreign exchange position is sound, it is my firm intention to continue to do everything possible to encourage the rapid and capital growth of the local market in securities. It is my sincere hope that there will be a most substantial repatriation of funds at present invested in London within the next two or three years.

The second new development which has taken place recently is the introduction of local issues of Treasury Bills. Members will remember that the first issue of Treasury Bills in April was of £4 million. In the last few days the Central Bank has been able to announce the further issue of £2 million of Bills in May and £3 million in June. Thus, by the month of June no less than £9 million will have been invested in Federal Government Treasury Bills. Now, it is a cardinal feature

of Treasury that they should be readily encashable at any time. They form, in fact, part of the liquid assets of the banks and other large bodies which in the main hold them. Thus they serve in no small way to channel the small savings of thousands of individuals into productive ways.

But Treasury Bills are available for long term development. It is only reasonable, however, to expect that there will be a hard core of money which will always be invested in Treasury Bills. It will be reasonable to apply this hard core to economic development.

We shall only know the amount of this hard core by experience. I can, however, say that all the indications are at present that it will be rather larger than we had anticipated.

Finally, I have not forgotten the small man with only a few shillings to save. The measures to which I have just referred are frankly not really aimed at the small man, but at the major institutions. In the case of insurance companies and commercial banks, in particular, investment by them will indirectly mean investment by the small man, since these bodies can only invest monies which have been placed with them by a multitude of small investors. But I intend that there shall be effective means for the small man to contribute directly.

I am planning a full scale national savings drive, which will include an attractive issue of National Savings Bonds suitable for the small investor. My colleague, the Minister of Communications has already announced a number of changes which Government intends to make to the Post Office Savings Bank so that it may become a more effective and popular medium of saving throughout the country. I hope also that the small investor will feel able to invest some of his savings in the stocks and shares of companies which will become increasingly available once the stock exchange is functioning properly.

I now come to the question of external borrowing. The needs of Nigeria for capital development, and the needs of many other under-developed countries for that matter, are immense. They are greater than can be met, even if it were possible, to mobilise all our own resources. We are by no means alone in the world in this.



I would like to quote briefly from a report of the recent Royal Commission on Canada's economic prospects:— "The growth of the country at any stage in its history would have been much slower without large supplies of capital from foreign countries, principally from the United Kingdom and the United States. All our periods of great economic activity and expansion in peacetime have been characterised by heavy inflows of capital from abroad; in periods of economic stagnation, we have been importing very little capital. Canada has always been a debtor nation."

Let us not forget that almost all of the highly developed countries of the West have borrowed heavily from overseas during the early stages of their development. The United States of America, Australia and Canada are typical examples. India and Pakistan are at present seeking to borrow enormous sums so that they may be applied to increase the standard of living of their people. All the evidence suggests that external capital in one form or another is essential for *rapid* development.

This is not to say that external borrowing is the keystone of my plans for financing our economic development, but rather than external borrowing on suitable conditions can supplement local resources in a most valuable way and can permit of a much more rapid rate of development than would otherwise be the case. But at the present time there is a world-wide shortage of capital. Anyone who has attended international meetings on economic affairs as I have done cannot but be impressed by the way in which the needs of underdeveloped countries for external borrowing are emphasised by one delegate after another.

There is no need for us to accept such aid—it is not being thrust upon us and if Nigeria dropped out of the queue from such aid—and I can assure hon. Senators that the queue is a very long one—such a move would be welcomed not only by the developed countries who would see the call on their resources reduced, but it would also be welcomed by other underdeveloped countries like ourselves who would see in it an opportunity for improving their own chances of obtaining external assistance. Thus I shall not be deterred from continuing my efforts to find external finance from whatever

source it can be obtained on suitable conditions. I shall not accept, nor even consider, any offers which would carry with them political strings. Nor will I be a party to incurring excessive burdens of short term debt, having regard to our overall creditworthiness.

Now, Sir, I turn to the budget proper for 1960-61. I should say at the outset that these figures vary slightly from those which I gave to the House of Representatives during my Budget Speech. The figures I am now giving reflect the additional revenue measures I have recently introduced. The total revenue accruing to the Federal Government will be some £95,955,000. Of this £42,264,000 or over 44 per cent will pass to the Regions through the revenue allocation system. £53.5 million will be retained by the Federal Government. Of this it is proposed that just over £6.3 million should be devoted to capital expenditure by transfer to the Development Fund. For the recurrent budget therefore the Federal Government will have at its disposal £47.35 million, of which it is proposed to spend £45.79 million on recurrent services of the Federation, leaving a surplus of £1,625,000.

The ordinary retained revenue of the Federal Government totals some £49 million, which represents an increase of some £4 million over the revised estimate for 1959-60. General import revenue is expected to rise by £1.5 million and a further £400,000 increase should accrue from import and excise duties on beer, wines and spirits. Over and above this there should be £900,000 extra for motor spirit and diesel oil revenue and even £400,000 from tobacco revenues.

The revenue measures I have introduced this year are estimated to bring in an additional £697,000 in all. This figure includes the anticipated revenue from the export duties on animals, birds, reptiles and reptile skins and the excise duties on sweets which were brought in just over a week ago. Other significant items of revenue will be those from mineral oil licences on what is known as the Continental Shelf. The revenue from mineral oil royalties too, show substantial increases. The relaxation of the severe restrictions imposed on our production of tin will also lead to an improvement in the revenue from royalties on this mineral.



## [MINISTER OF FINANCE]

Turning to the expenditure picture, the ordinary recurrent expenditure shows an increase of £6.76 million over the 1959-60 Estimates. When budgeted expenditure for 1960 is compared, however, with the revised figure for 1959-60, the increase is only £3 million. The memorandum on the Estimates shows clearly the particular components of this increase. The first and obvious item is the Mbanefo Salary and Wages Award. The next most important increase is in respect of defence services. I am sure no one will quarrel with the Government's realisation of the need to preserve the security and integrity of the realm as we move forward to independence. A further significant increase is the additional £900,000 required by the Ministry of Communications almost entirely for the Posts and Telegraphs Division. The heavy expenditure on Posts and Telegraphs arises as the natural consequence of heavy capital expenditure in previous years.

As I emphasised in my Budget Speech, we are taking the strongest measures to introduce economies inside the Government machinery. Conditions of service which are no longer related to current conditions are being reviewed and as readers of Government's well-known best seller—the *Official Gazette*—will be aware we have introduced new controls to regulate the growth of establishments. We hope to reduce the cost of air passages by getting more officers to travel tourist class and in the field of day-to-day expenditure many other economies are being considered and implemented.

I also described at considerable length in my Budget Speech the measures we are taking to tighten up on revenue control, both by more control over the frontiers and additional measures to prevent the evasion of income tax. I have high hopes that these measures will achieve a substantial degree of success. Members may rest assured that I shall do everything within my power to combat these evils.

Turning to the Development Programme, we are now spending at the rate of over £35 million each year on our Federal Development Plan. This vast expenditure is being met from the separate capital budget. It represents the Federal Government's investment in such things as highways and bridges, Lagos Town Planning, electric power supplies, railway and

telephone development, expansion of higher education and so on. Our development commitments for the three years 1959-1962 total £102,000,000. This includes several new projects. £2 million for further modernisation of the military and police forces, an increase of £2 million in capital for the Railway Corporation, £550,000 low cost workers' housing estates, both in Lagos and up-country, and £300,000 for urgent improvements to the Lagos General Hospital. These commitments total some £16 million more than the resources we can count upon for certain, but they could be honoured in the last resort. Hence the need both to mobilise all available Nigerian resources and in addition to look overseas where we have already secured valuable loan assistance from the World Bank and the United Kingdom Government.

In concluding I pray that what I have named as this Stability Budget will provide a strong financial structure for the Federation as it marches into the glorious dawn of independence. We in this Government are determined that Nigeria should take her rightful place in Africa as the largest independent state. We look forward to close and friendly associations with our neighbours and the economic development and political evolution of West Africa, but we deplore any suggestion that one country should dominate. By all means let there be unity, but it must be unity on the basis of freedom and equality.

In maintaining the stability I have sought to achieve in this Budget, the Senate has a most important part to play. "The condition upon which God Hath Given liberty to man is eternal vigilance". I am sure that Senators will exercise this vigilance in matters economic and financial. It is indeed, I feel, perhaps the main purpose of this House that it should exercise such vigilance. In my Ministry we deal with many matters which are basically questions of judgment. I therefore look forward to hearing the mature comments of our Senate on my financial and economic policies.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of State** (Hon. M. T. Mbu) : Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**The President** : May I call the attention of hon. Senators to Standing Order 63 which stipulates that, after the Motion on the second



reading of the Bill has been made and seconded, the Debate thereon shall be adjourned for not less than two days, and when resumed, shall be confined to the financial and economic state of Nigeria and the Government's financial policy.

The Debate, therefore, stands adjourned till Friday.

#### LOAN BILL

##### *Order for second reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance :** Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill entitled "A Bill for an Ordinance to authorise the raising outside Nigeria of a loan or loans not exceeding £40 million for the purposes in connection with the Economic Programme and Development Programmes of the Government of the Federation and of other Governments in Nigeria, and with certain Statutory Corporations, and repeal of the Loan Ordinance 1954 Bill", be now read a second time.

The Bill replaces the Loan Ordinance 1954 which, because of constitutional and other changes, is no longer an appropriate instrument for the raising of external loans. The Bill provides for the raising by the Federal Government of a loan or loans outside Nigeria not exceeding £40 million in all. It also provides that in appropriate circumstances the proceeds of such loans may be re-lent to Regional Governments or Statutory Corporations.

At present it is known that the provisions of the Bill will be used in connection with the £12 million Commonwealth Assistance Loan, and also in connection with the issue of Promissory Notes to cover deferred payments in respect of the construction of the Bridge over the River Niger at Onitsha.

Thus, in the near future we shall be utilising the provisions of this Bill to the extent of raising nearly £20 million overseas. The balance of this provision will be utilised as and when it becomes possible to borrow further sums externally.

Senators will have noted that the Bill to amend the Loan (Internal Borrowing) Ordinance raises the Federal Government's internal borrowing powers from £20 million to £30 million. This Bill gives the Government the power to borrow £40 million externally.

I should emphasize that during the period of the remainder of the present Economic Programme, the Federal Government will not necessarily borrow the total provision provided for internal and external borrowing, that is, £70 million. At present we do not know exactly how much will be forthcoming internally and how much externally. Thus in both Bills there is a margin of over-lap. This will avoid the need for further legislation, should either the sums we can raise internally or externally turn out in the event to be rather larger than we can foresee at present.

The Bill is quite a short one. Clause 2 deals with definitions. Clause 3 sets the limit on the extent of external borrowing that may be made under the provisions of the Bill. Sub-section 2 of Clause 3 prescribes the method which may be used in the raising of this sum. The General loan and inscribed Stock Ordinance mentioned in Clause 2 (a) is the Ordinance under which the Federal Government would raise public loans overseas.

Clause 4 of the Bill sets out the purposes for which the proceeds of the loans raised under the Bill may be applied. It is proposed that the proceeds of loans may be freely used for any of the projects in the Federal Government's Economic Programme or that they may be re-lent to Regional Governments provided that the Regional Governments concerned have enacted appropriate loan legislation.

This Bill, together with the Bill to amend the Internal Borrowing Ordinance will give the Federal Government the powers it needs to have in order to raise the necessary loans for the completion of the current Economic Programme and the Development Programmes of the Regional Governments.

Although we have to repay such loans, and although they will bear interest, I am satisfied that, as far as the Federal Government is concerned, its share of the borrowing now proposed will not cause any unduly heavy burden on the Government's financial position. We are fortunate in that so much of the development that has taken place in this country since the war has been financed out of our accumulated surpluses of past years, thus the burden of external public debt is, for a country of our size, remarkably low. It amounts only to some 15s per head of the population.



[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of State** (Hon. M. T. Mbu):  
Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator A. E. Ukattah**: Mr President, Sir, as the Minister has remarked this is quite a narrow Bill but I feel like saying a few words about it.

To incur a debt is always a very serious undertaking whether by an individual or by an organisation, but some debts are inevitable and are sometimes the result of trying to live comfortably.

The old trouble with the Federal Government was that of inadequate executive capacity in carrying out its capital works and projects, but it appears that the old trouble has now died out and the new headache is that of inadequacy of capital.

Since the Government can neither produce all the money it requires by itself nor raise it internally, it becomes imperative that the money must be looked for elsewhere, and as the Minister said when he was making his speech on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill, perhaps now we are to join the long financial queue marching towards Lombard Street. I have faith in the ability of the Federal Government to raise any loan and I think there is no fear at all in supporting this Bill. I therefore ask hon. Senators to give it the legal blessing which it now seeks.

However, in doing so, I wish to sound a note of warning. That warning concerns the application of any such loans that may be raised under the provisions of this Ordinance to the execution of the projects for which this loan is intended. I have in mind capital works and projects located outside Lagos. In the past the Federal Government has not been giving due consideration to capital works and projects located outside Lagos. I do not grudge Lagos its position as the Federal Capital of the country, but it will be unfair to give no attention or less attention to these other places outside Lagos.

If any loan is raised under the provisions of this Bill I wish the Federal Government, if for nothing else but to show a change of heart,

would use this money for these places located outside Lagos for their capital works and projects, particularly such projects as they have included in the economic programme. If I may cite an instance; in the economic programme one of the schedules presented in the past, I think it was in 1958, when I was a Member of the Federal House, showed that a post office was to be constructed for Umuahia-Ibeku, and that was in 1958. Now I can tell you that up till now no start has been made and you can just imagine how disappointing this must be for the people of that place, particularly after their representatives had given them every hope that a new post office was going to be provided for them.

Well that is just one, and you have a hundred and one other instances of such projects for capital works located outside Lagos for which provision has been made, and I have seen no beginning. I hope this will not be so with any loan that might be raised under the provisions of this Bill.

I wish also to suggest that if any loan is going to be raised or is being sought for under this Bill, that the loan be raised from any country, wherever possible, overseas, which may be prepared to accept some or any of our export raw materials in repayment of any such loan. It is only when such condition is unacceptable that the Government can undertake that the payment will be made in cash, and that will help to find new overseas markets for our raw materials.

Now my last point, while it may not be a very serious one is on Clause 4 (b) subsection 1. I intend, in Committee, to move a Motion on that, but I would just like to point out that, if the President would allow me to read, it says here "empowering the Government of that Region of the Southern Cameroons to borrow money from the Government of the Federation". Just that, the words "Southern Cameroons". I do not think that that should appear here in view of the recent most annoying outrages by some of the political leaders of that territory; and in view of the fact too that quite soon the Southern Cameroons will be breaking away from Nigeria. Is there any wisdom in allowing this Bill to make any provision for the Southern Cameroons? That is just the point



I would like the Minister to say something about, and with these few points, Mr President, I wish to support the Bill.

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, the Loan Ordinance 1960 appears to me to be a very necessary piece of legislation. Nigeria as a young country, making gigantic strides towards full nationhood is in need of capital both from within and without. Borrowing is therefore inevitable.

It is gratifying to note from the Speech of the Minister of Finance that in borrowing money from places outside Nigeria, care will be taken to see that no strings are attached. The people of Nigeria are very serious about this and it is to be hoped that the Minister will see to it that no strings of any kind are attached to any loans which he seeks to obtain under this Bill.

As Members are no doubt aware the borrower, whether an individual or groups of individuals or governments for that matter, are very often at the mercy of the lender. That is why the people of this country are always afraid when there is anything said about external borrowing. The country is relatively under-developed; the people are not in a position to provide all the money they require, but, at the same time, they must be listened to when they criticise the Government in its borrowings. That is why it is necessary for both the elected representatives of the people in the House of Representatives and the Members of this hon. House to sound a warning which I think the Government will take to heart.

As I said before, this is a very necessary piece of legislation and one which will undoubtedly receive the blessing of this House. It is noted with pleasure that money borrowed under this Bill to be used for specific projects will be so used, and the last speaker mentioned the fact that very often, in fact more often than not, projects sited outside Lagos are never taken very great care of. We believe that Lagos as capital of this country should receive a special attention, but we cannot endorse the idea that every project of development for this country should be sited in Lagos.

It is to be hoped that the Niger Bridge project which I envisage will be one of the projects which the Government has in view,

will receive every priority. I know too that telecommunications will figure very prominently, but we have to warn again that unless something is done to develop the rural areas of this country you cannot say that you have used the money profitably. It is most essential that the rural areas of this country, upon which the economy of the country so much depends, should be developed, and the Government will have done a very good thing if, on raising this loan, a good part of it is used in telecommunications development.

Mr President, Sir, with these few words, I support the Bill.

**Senator L. C. Daldry :** Mr President, Sir, this Bill deals with the very important question of raising loans externally. In this country, recently, a good many fears have been expressed in connection with this subject, lest borrowing externally should lead to some kind of economic domination by the outside world. Sir, these fears are very real and very solid and they cannot lightly be brushed aside.

It is my view, Sir, that in order to examine the validity of these fears and to dispose of some of them, it is very necessary to look into the purpose for which any loan borrowed from abroad is used. This Bill makes it very clear that the purposes for which these sums will be used are entirely in connection with the Federal Economic Programme, or the Economic Programmes of the Regions, or for the use of a Statutory Corporation which, in itself, is economic development; so that any money raised within the terms of this Bill must be used for those purposes and for no other purpose.

If, Sir, we look at the Federal Economic Programme, which is Sessional Paper 54, I think it is, we shall find that most of the money to be spent on the Federal Economic Programme is to be spent on highways and bridges, posts and telegraphs, ports and inland waterways, electricity and railways; that is where most of the money is going. Up to the present the only loans of any significance that have been raised from outside, I believe, are from Great Britain, the World Bank and the United States of America; but the highways and bridges, the ports and inland waterways, the posts and telegraphs and the electricity



[SENATOR DALDRY]

and railways still belong to Nigeria, and no outside foreign Government has any share or ownership of those vital assets of Nigeria. After October, only Nigeria will have any jurisdiction whatever over them.

Therefore, up to the present I cannot see any chance of danger from the loans which have been raised, nor from the loans which this Bill empowers the Government to raise. In any case the Bill fixes a limit of only £40 million, and this is really quite a small sum compared with the total being spent on economic development.

I believe the Programme envisages expenditure of well over £140 million.

Now, in regard to the future, it is very important to look most carefully into the terms of any loans which are taken from abroad. However, the Minister, both in this Chamber and in another place, has already made statements which seem to make it clear that the Government is well aware of any such dangers and will be on the look out for them. Whatever we may say about loans, there is one point about them which is inescapable, and that is they must be repaid. In order to repay then it is wise to set up sinking funds for the purpose and to put away money year by year towards the repayment of the Government's obligation.

There is not in this Bill any specific mention of sinking funds, but in section 3 it mentions that loans may be raised in the manner provided by certain other Ordinances. I have looked up those Ordinances, and I find that each of them contains a reference to sinking funds. Therefore, I think we may safely assume that in connection with these outside loans it will be the Minister's intention to set up sinking funds. But there is no reference in this Bill and, therefore, when the Minister replies to the debate he might be kind enough perhaps to mention that specific point.

Mr President, I support the second reading of this Bill and in doing so I would like to say that I consider that the raising of this modest sum does not appear to carry with it any danger, provided that terms are never agreed to which would impose economic or political conditions contrary to the independence of Nigeria. There is nothing basically wrong or dangerous

in a borrowing of this size in a country so important and so completely credit-worthy as Nigeria. (*Applause*).

**Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi :**

Mr President, although we seem to be embarking on a major scale of borrowing, I feel there is no way out of it if we really want to develop this country to take the proper position among the independent countries of the world.

The other thing I wish to mention, Mr President, is that if this money is borrowed I hope it would be used in the best way and that it should assist the economy of this country, as promised by the hon. Minister of Finance. In this I wish to point out that much of this money, I hope, will be spent on what I call road communication, which is still very poor in the country, especially up in the North; and I will suggest that much of this money should be used for water supply, because upon that depends the health of the country.

Finally, I have the assurance from the hon. Minister of Finance that he will not borrow the money in such a way that the country will be made a slave country, and the last speaker has pointed out that up till now this country has been borrowing money and has been making use of the money, but he has never noticed any example where this country is in any difficulty. Well, I quite agree with this statement and I will endorse it strongly, but at the same time I still wish to point out that what we mean by saying that the loan should be raised in such a way that the country should not be made a slave state is that the loan should not be made on any condition which will have a direct control over the direction of our exports or imports.

Mr President, by this I mean that we may borrow from any country no matter which country it is. It may be the United Kingdom or America or anywhere. But we will not make any arrangements, with such countries, which will make us direct our exports to that country conditionally, or to import from that country because in the past this country has been suffering, to some extent, under this condition. There are certain conditions governing the export of certain goods to other countries other than Britain and there are also certain conditions governing imports from other countries into Nigeria. But this is the sort of thing that we say will make Nigeria an



enslaved state as long as we borrow money from other countries no matter what country it is. We should not be under the obligation to send our export to certain countries or to import from any particular country. I am sure we shall be all right.

My next comment is on the personality of the Bill itself. If I am allowed to read the title of the Bill, Mr President, I read—"An ordinance to authorise the raising outside Nigeria of a loan or loans not exceeding forty million pounds for purposes in connection with the Economic Programmes and Development Programmes of the Government of the Federation and of other Governments in Nigeria and with certain Statutory Corporations, and to repeal the Loan Ordinance, 1954." Well, I am becoming a bit too pedantic, but it seems to me that Government is seeking power to authorise the loan of money to Regional Governments. According to the Bill, nobody is to be authorised and it may mean that authority will be given to the Northern Region, or the Western Region or the Eastern Region or the Federal Government, unless we have an explanation on this point.

I am hoping to introduce an amendment which will make the position quite clear as to who to be authorized to raise the fund. I do not want to bring the amendment now—I wish to bring an amendment during the Committee Stage so that will have a sufficient explanation for that point.

The next thing I would like to say, Mr President, is about Clause 4—if I may read it—"The sums raised under the provisions of this Ordinance shall, save in respect of the amount or amounts necessary to defray the expenses in connection with the raising thereof, be appropriated and applied in respect of the following purposes". Now, which are the purposes? "for the Economic Programme of the Government of the Federation" to the end of the Clause. "(b) for lending, in accordance with such terms and conditions as may be approved by the Minister" to the end of it and "(c) lending to any Federal statutory corporation, which is empowered under the provisions of any law".

Well, I am feeling rather pedantic here too. I think either we drop 4 and (a) and (b) and say "for these purposes". Which purposes

are these? The Economic Programme of the Government of the Federation, may be in accordance with a set form and conditions given to any Federal statutory corporation, or—

**The President :** Order, order! May I remind the hon. Senator that at this stage he should confine his remarks to the general merits and principles of the Bill. If he has any amendments to make, these can be made at the Committee Stage.

**Senator Sanni Dingyadi :** Thank you, Mr President. My intention is to do so, but I was inclined to make mention of this because I do not want to bring any amendment unless it is necessary. I just wish to give the Minister of Finance a chance to answer my point and if he answers satisfactorily then I will give up my amendment.

Sir, I beg to support the Bill.

**Senator Chief T. A. Doherty :** Mr President, I cannot make up my mind whether to support this Bill or not, because I do not think we have been given sufficient particulars or sufficient date on which to base our remarks this morning. At the same time, we have a Bill coming forward for an internal loan, then another Bill which will enable the Government to raise loans by Promissory Notes which, I believe, means by Treasury Bills.

Naturally, we sympathize with the Government in their ambition to satisfy the country and we are certainly most willing to support them, but like good businessmen we want to know exactly what these monies are going to be expended for; when these monies will be raised; how much will be raised at a time and the specific projects for which these monies are wanted for. This is necessary because if we just go on sentiments—the country is great; we are having independence and we must raise money because we need money—yes, we can raise money but we have got to pay interest on the money and the money is got to be refunded. So, we have got to provide a sinking fund.

I would like to have from the Minister of Finance a table showing exactly how much we are going to raise from different sources and how each source is to be expended and when it is going to be expended so that we would be guided as to how much support or criticism or



[SENATOR CHIEF DOHERTY]

advise we can give the Government in their ambitious scheme. If Mr President will allow me, I will not make any speech yet on this Budget until these particulars are supplied. This applies not only to me but to other Members of this House so the Minister should let us know exactly what the position is.

Secondly, we would like to know who is to be responsible for the raising of these loans and whether we are going to have a say or knowledge as to when and how the money is being raised or not. Then he should tell us exactly the plans of the Government in making provisions to repay these loans. These, I think, are very essential for any businessman to consider before debating.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** Mr President, Sir, this loan of £40 million, according to the Bill, is expected to finance our Economic and Development Programme as contained in the original report on our Economic Programme and the Fourth Progress Report of up to 1955-62 and which has been laid on the Table of the House as Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1960.

I find, Sir, that the original cost of the Development Programme was within £117,000,000 and the Government, for that matter, extended the period to 1962; and that would bring the total cost up to £146,721,671. Now, according to the Appendix, Sir, in the year 1960-61 the Estimate was in the region of about £34,000,000. Already, according to the sources from which we expect to finance our Economic and Development Programme, we expect a further amount of about £84,000,000.

Up to 1958-59 we had spent £27,000,000 so that we are still within the region of £117,000,000. Whereas, now, according to the extended period we shall be requiring £146,000,000. We are going to raise a loan of £40 million more or less to finance the Programme for this financial year.

I would just like to know, Sir, whether after having raised this £40 million, in the next financial year we will be called upon again to authorise the raising of another loan to cover the £146 million which we earmark for the period up to 1962; or if the internal loan of £30 million will be diverted to the Development Programme, and according to

the Fourth Progress Report we find that the amount on which we would have to spend this special loan would include such things as the liquidation of the old W.A.A.C. and the Lagos Slum Clearance.

I should think that is a device to make Lagos smell sweet during the period of Celebrations. And then the Lagos Slum Clearance would come into it, as well as our medical and health matters and improvements to the General Hospital, as said by the Minister.

I would emphasise, on the allocation to the Posts and Telegraphs, on the development of our telephones, because it is our responsibility to make our country look quite acceptable to ourselves in the first instance and to our visitors during the period of Independence. And for that matter, Sir, we would ask the Minister of Finance to ensure that to whatever arms of the Government a part of this money is allocated, that money should be used quite judiciously and quite wisely to make our country look exactly as we want it to look.

It will be a very sad day, Sir, if visitors from all over the world who come to join us in the celebration of our Independence pick up their telephones and they find that it will still continue to take them 30 hours to connect the line they want. I should think that in allocating the money for the P. and T. one of the aims was to remove this abnormality.

And then, Sir, some of the amount should be devoted to our Defence, the Military, acquisition of new war weapons and things like that, and the Police. All those are quite good, but the most important one are the roads and bridges. And there come again the Federal Minister of Works who must work hard to see that our roads and bridges could compete quite favourably with roads and bridges in other parts of the world, and to promote our trade.

It is unfortunate that in the Economic Programme for 1955-60, extended to 1962, the question of the second bridge for Lagos has not been thought of. But I should think that it was raised in this House at the inaugural session, and in the House of Representatives it has been emphasised equally. Well, we know that this £40 million we are looking for will not cover this particular project of a second bridge for Lagos. There are such things as Other Miscellaneous Capital Works and we still



call on the Minister of Finance to see what he can do about this very important question of a second bridge for Lagos, and to see whether this particular £40 million can accommodate the volume of work on that bridge or whatever means of raising money that is possible.

As it is, Sir, Members have emphasised that this £40 million to be looked for from outside should be free from everything other than the usual conditions for lending money because in lending money there should be such conditions as interest and the time the money should become payable and matured, and other things. But there should be no political attachments, because at the moment we are going to be independent and we know there are several nations in the world who would like to woo Nigeria. Some will come with flourishing promises and all these sorts of things; but we are confident that the Government, in accepting loans or any offer for loans, will place at the back of their minds the general feelings of the people of Nigeria.

Every assistance coming to Nigeria should be assistance free from political attachments; assistance free from any special obligation other than the obligation usually attached to the raising of loans.

With these few observations, Mr President, I have to support the Bill.

*Sitting suspended : 11.28 a.m.*

*Sitting resumed : 12.00 noon.*

**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** Mr President, Sir, as I said yesterday, I always support any move made by the Government to raise money for the services of the Federation. But I am going to suggest a way in which I think this scheme should be pursued.

I would like the Government to take its programme one after another. If the Government wants to build a bridge over the Niger let it just borrow the money which should be sufficient to do this work. If it wants to build bridges over the Niger and the Benue it should only raise money for this project. If the Government borrows all this money which will amount to about £40 million the interest will be accruing every year. An I am sure that all this sum will not be put in use at a time. So it will serve no useful purpose to raise this huge sum of money at a time.

People usually say that the Government wants to get all its projects simultaneously. If the Government will mount on all the projects at once, then it becomes "Jack of all trades" which is master of none. I, therefore suggest that the Government should take its project one by one. The Government is already in the safe hands and I think if plans are wisely taken up it can carry out the multiples of plans it has for Nigeria.

Somebody mentioned Lagos. The budget for Lagos is, I think, much more than the budget intended for the rural areas. This is true. Why people do not seem to understand what the Government is doing is because Government spends more money on Lagos than any other of the rural areas. Not very many people visit Lagos to know what is going on. As a matter of fact the Government is doing very well to improve Lagos, but the aim seems to be to improve Lagos at the expense of the rural areas.

I think it is very unfortunate for the Government to treat Lagos as capital territory. I would suggest, if Lagos is going to cost Nigeria too much, that Government should begin to look for another Federal Capital. I think Jos in the Northern Region will be all right; it has a good climate and the town is already developed.

Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Dalton Asemota :** Mr President, Sir, I have got very little observation to make in connection with this loan. I think it is a very good thing indeed for one if he succeeds in getting a loan for development purposes. I congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance for having been able to raise this loan. But there is one aspect of it which concerns every Member of this House and that is the purpose for which this money is to be used.

If you turn to the Estimates of capital expenditure for this year, from the Economic Programme part 1, page 4 to the end of the amount voted for disbursement under the Economic Programme, it will be found that part of the whole amount which we are now asking the Government to borrow, only £3,626,000, is to be disbursed outside Lagos.

This is very disheartening indeed.



[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

I quite agree that Lagos is the capital of Nigeria and should be well developed to be worthy of this. But Lagos should not be improved at the expense of other Regions. Even only the sum of £1,765,000 has been allocated to Onitsha bridge for this financial year. It looks very much distressing indeed for us to support a borrowing scheme of the Government and only to find that very little of that money has been set aside for development of places outside Lagos.

But my main point at issue is that I think the Government should have a change of heart. They should have a change of mind and set reasonable amount aside for the development of other parts of the country outside Lagos. I quite agree that the borrowing of money is a necessity where we find that we cannot provide the money internally. The point is this; when we borrow money we must use it in such a way that does not invite comments from the other parts of the country. I am not going into details at the moment until we come to discuss various items for which the money has been allocated. I think that will come under the different Ministries, and when time comes for us to discuss the Estimate generally I will be able to bring out my point. But I think the hon. Senators will agree with me that a change of heart is necessary for the Government.

I beg to support.

**Senator M. B. C. Chukwubike** : Mr President, Sir, personally I do not think that this Bill is a controversial one. But there is one point which some hon. Senators have spoken about and that is the concentration of Government projects in Lagos. I share the views of the hon. Senators who spoke on that point. I quite agree that rural areas are very much forgotten especially in matters of postal facilities, road works and telecommunication.

Naturally no Government can rule without money. Nigeria cannot claim to be very rich, though we all know that in the very near future, if the mineral resources—those discovered and those to be discovered—are tapped to the full, it should be classified among the rich countries of the world. But until then the Government has no alternative other than to be subjected to foreign loan.

I appeal to the hon. Minister of Finance to take note that when a loan is raised other areas should be remembered. Many towns in the Eastern Region have no water supply at all, and the one they have is very bad and it is infected with guinea worms.

**Mr President** : Order, order ; this is within the jurisdiction of the Regional Governments.

**Senator Chukwubike** : Mr President, Sir, I am only trying to see that the Federal Government helps the Regional Governments in carrying out this project.

**The President** : That is irrelevant to the Debate on the second reading of this particular Bill.

**Senator Chukwubike** : Mr President, with these few remarks I support the Bill.

**Senator Dr J. O. Omitowoju** : Mr President, Sir, in asking us to authorise the borrowing of an amount of money not exceeding £40,000,000, the people of this country would like to know, I am quite sure, certain facts. In the first place, we would like to know what plan the Government has in mind before trying to embark on such a project ; secondly, the advantages that will really accrue to every section of the country from this project ; thirdly, the obligation this country will have to the lending country ; and last, but not least, we have to allay the fears of the tax-payers of this country in respect of loans.

We all know the importance of the Economic Programme for a newly independent country which this country is going to be very shortly, and we know that by such a programme it will be possible to raise the standard of living of the people. But the people would like to be assured that a proper plan is being made in respect of the programme for which this loan is intended.

I have a few examples to give to show this House that improper planning is giving this country a lot of headache in our development programme. The Lagos—Ijebu-Ode—Benin road. This project has been on for a considerable time. It was first carried out by the Federal Public Works Department, later on by a firm of Contractors and then the whole project was abandoned and an enquiry was set up and now it is just given out on contract



again. We feel that if a proper plan had been made this project could have been completed long before this year.

Most of the programmes contained in the Progress Report on the Economic Programme were meant for 1955/62. If a proper plan had been made and the people had clear minds on how this project will be done I am sure the crowning plan between now and 1962 would not be necessary. A lot of projects and a lot of money would not be hurriedly spent between now and 1962. If this thing had been properly set out as from 1955, I do not think this rush between now and 1962 would be necessary.

The other thing is that we would like all this work to be done in an order of priority. For instance, I do not see the real importance of a National Hall over a Parliament building when this country is going to celebrate its independence in just a few months from now. If a proper plan had been made, and we already knew that by October 1960 we were going to be free, this work could have been planned ahead so that the Parliament building could have been completed on or before October 1960. Now, to use a National Hall as an interim place to celebrate our independence is not—

**The Minister of Finance :** On a point of Order, Sir, I am afraid the hon. Senator is really debating the Capital Expenditure. We did not raise loans to build a National Hall. It is irrelevant to this Debate.

**The President :** Will the hon. Senator please confine his remarks to the subject matter only.

**Senator Dr Omitowoju :** Thank you, Mr President, I am just giving an example about the question of planning ahead before the economic programme is being taken up, and a National Hall and Parliament building are part of our project for economic development. That is just the point I would like to raise.

In talking of advantages. Well, the people up-country do not really envy Lagos for the concentration of most of the economic project there, but all the same we can be given advantage of extremely good Trunk 'A' roads. Anybody travelling from Lagos, *via* Ibadan, to Benin and Warri or Asaba will see that these roads are just very bad indeed. And we

want to have a very good system of telecommunications. Besides the fact that it may be a sort of economic advantage to the high-ups to be able to speak between England and Lagos we feel that the man in the village would like to see the real essence of this economic development right at his door. People in the country like to see a good system of telecommunications. We want to use our telephones, and we want all these things to be properly developed and not concentrated in capital towns alone.

On the question of obligation to the lending country. That is where people in this country are actually afraid about external loans. You have given us an assurance this morning that there will be no political string and that you will not put this country in economic bondage; but in your Budget Speech you mentioned the places you visited like Europe and America, and you complained about the fact that a lot of people wanted to tie us down so that before we can get money we must either buy their goods or do other things like that, and you only hope that—

**The President :** I take it that the hon. Senator is not referring to the Chair. You are referring to the hon. the Minister of Finance.

**Senator Dr Omitowoju :** No, Mr President. I am addressing the Chair.

We has not given us the assurance that until we are able to improve our relationships and international institution for getting loans, then we shall not be able to get these loans from abroad. We have not been assured by these people who wanted trade that no string attaches to any money they are going to loan to us. That is one of the points that cause this country a lot of fear. You have told us, and you should not be tired in telling us everytime, once you clear the minds of the people of economic bondage, well that time you must have done your duty very well to this country.

We have to take things slowly so that the taxpayers of this country will not misunderstand the purpose for which this loan for our development programme is meant. We would like to see a real National Economic Board set up to plan this programme properly for us, and we feel that the present National Economic Council should not exist further after October 1st, 1960.



[SENATOR DR OMITOWOJU]

Mr President, Sir, with these few remarks, I support the Motion.

**Senator Professor Eni Njoku :** Mr President, Sir, I want to take this opportunity of saying how much I agree with Senator Daldry when he referred to one of the possible dangers of internal borrowing, especially when he referred to the possible effect on our trade. But it might be possible by bilateral trade agreements instead of the multi-lateral and open system of trade which we all advocate. Knowing what the hon. Minister said in another place about the intention of the Government to ensure that our trade is multi-lateral and open, I think we should assume that we would not have much danger in this particular scope.

The other danger which one can think of is the possible effect on our foreign policy, but until October 1st when we declare a Foreign Policy it does not arise.

In future it may well be that the Government which lent us money may want us to support it or to follow particular aspects of foreign policy which we may not want to pursue ; but that is a matter which we will consider when the time comes for us to know what line we are going to pursue.

At the same time the crucial thing about borrowing externally is to save. One can either save first and spend afterwards or one can spend first and save afterwards. When we raise loans internally we are spending what we have saved already and when we take loans from abroad we are spending first and hoping in the years ahead we would save enough to repay this loan. So that ultimately it depends on whether we shall be able to save enough to pay these debts. If our credit is sound and we can pay our debts it is very unlikely that the pressure on us from a foreign Government will be very great. If we default and are unable to meet our obligations then it is possible for the lender to influence not only our Foreign Policy but even our internal policy.

As I see it, the important thing is to ensure that whatever money we borrow from abroad is within our means to pay easily as time goes on. It is on this point that I hope that when the hon. Minister replies he will clarify one or two points which agitate my own mind.

In the first place, one sees from Clause 4 of the Bill that the purposes of the Bill are three. First of all, for the Federal Government's

Economic Programme ; secondly for loaning to Regional Governments and thirdly for loaning to Federal Statutory Corporations. As far as loans to Regional Governments and Federal statutory corporations are concerned, we can assume that before the Federal Government re-loan to such bodies it will ensure that they can repay. It is, therefore, wise to say that unless they default the loans which have been made to them will not be a burden on the Federal Government revenue and it is only the loans which are used for the first purpose—for the purpose of the Federal Government's Economic Programme—that will fall as a charge on the Federal Government revenue, and one would like to know what proportion of the total £40 million the hon. Minister anticipates will, in fact, as far as one can estimate, be used for this first purpose. For that will enable this House to know what burden we are taking up as far as future charges on the Federal Government revenue are concerned.

The current Economic Programme, I think I am right in saying, is coming to an end in 1962. So that the time left for it to run is sufficiently short for one to be able to say how much more is likely to be needed for completing that programme. I hope therefore, that it will not be difficult for the hon. Minister to give some indication of how much of this £40 million will, in fact, be used for the purposes of the Federal Government's Economic Programme.

In the Federal Government's Progress Report on the Economic Programme there is an item of £21.19 million which is supposed to be our prospective share, that is to say, the Federal Government's prospective share of the United Kingdom and internal borrowing. If this is the sum required for financing the programme as the Report suggests then it may be fair to conclude that the total borrowing required to finance the current Federal Government Economic Programme is something of the order of £21.19 million. That includes some internal borrowing. Therefore, one would go further to infer that the amount required from external borrowings will be less than that £21 million.

I would like to know from the hon. Minister in his reply whether one is right in inferring that out of this £40 million it is only a sum



which is less than £20 million which will, in fact, be used for the purposes of the Federal Government's Economic Programme.

The other aspect of this is that the time for this programme is running short. It is coming to an end in 1962. One would expect that funds which are not already committed will be committed in the next year. Again I would like to know whether this Clause 4 (a) is as restrictive as it sounds. That is to say that only expenditure for the current Economic Programme can be met out of the money which will mean that we will have to borrow this money very quickly and have it committed before this Programme ends, unless it is expected that some of it will be used to finance a further extension of this current Economic Programme.

One further point as far as the Federal Government aspect is concerned is that under this Bill the money can be used, according to Clause 4 (a) only for the current Economic Programme. I would like to know, Sir, whether this restriction also applies to the Regional Governments and to the statutory corporations. Is the money to be raised under this Bill to be used for their current Economic Programmes or can they use it for other extensions or additions to their existing Economic Programmes?

Lastly, if the hon. Minister is able to indicate, one would like to know what time-table is envisaged for these loans. Is it expected that the full £40 million will be taken out at one time or over a definite period of years or will the Minister borrow as much as the market can stand at any one time? Again that would help one to know how the burden will be spread as far as re-paying of this loan is concerned.

With these queries which I hope the hon. Minister will satisfy us on, I support the Bill, Sir.

*The Minister of Finance rose in his place—*

**The President :** Would the Minister rather reply now or wait until it is nearer the time when the Question will be put?

**The Minister of Finance :** I would like, Sir, to appeal to hon. Senators to go through the three Bills first of all. If all of hon. Senators would like to speak on this one Bill there may be no time. If I reply now it may well be that after I have replied, hon. Senators would . .

**The President :** Well, you may reply but we are going to adjourn at one o'clock to resume at three o'clock when we shall sit until six o'clock. I am sure the Minister of Finance does not intend to restrict the debate on this Bill.

**The Minister of Finance :** No, Sir. What I meant is that if I were to reply to some of the points now, I may clear some points from the minds of hon. Senators and the debate will then be shorter.

**The President :** Very well, you may reply.

**The Minister of Finance :** Thank you, Sir. I would like to start from where my hon. Friend, Senator Professor Njoku, stopped. He referred to the application of Section 4 (a) of the Bill and in his view, if I understand him well, he feels that the Economic Programme is the Law of the Medes and Persians. It is not an unalterable programme. As he will himself find Part (a) of the Bill states: "and approved by resolution of the House of Representatives on the 15th March, 1956, as such may be amended from time to time." I repeat, "as such may be amended from time to time."

It means that the capital estimates for which the loan will be applied will be amended from time to time and it will be placed before the Legislature as it has been placed on this occasion. Hon. Senators will have the items, and debate them, approve or disapprove them as it occurs to them. I think also that this answers one of the points made by the hon. Senator Doherty about how we are going to use the loans. The Capital Estimates will give Senators, from time to time, the specifications of the different projects for which these loans will be applied.

Senator Ukattah mentioned the question of the Southern Cameroons. I want to say, Sir, that until the 1st of October, the Southern



[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

Cameroons is still a part of the Federation and at the moment we cannot enact any law and exclude the Southern Cameroons, despite the fact that some political statements made in the Southern Cameroons may not be so palatable to the ears of our people in Nigeria. We are dealing with constitutional matters and we cannot side-track these things.

Senator Nzerem and others talked about this vexed question of strings and Senator Dr Omitowoju tried to define what are strings, and in his definition he seems to infer that the conditions under an agreement to receive a particular loan would mean strings. Certainly if you are going to be a lender you are not just going to throw your money to somebody. Senator Daldry will tell you that in his bank he may not attach political strings he must lay down conditions under which he will give you the money, and if these conditions are acceptable to you then you accept the loan, if they are not you reject it.

I think that this hon. House will agree that they have enough confidence in the ability of the Government of the day to examine, with its advisers, any conditions that will be stated in an agreement before any loan is taken. I would like to say, therefore, that the question of strings need cause hon. Senators no anxiety at all. When we say *strings*, we mean political strings or political attachments, or the type of strings which my hon. Friend, Professor Eni Njoku has mentioned that is, whether we are going to tie ourselves to receiving loans from one particular country and buying goods from them bilaterally, irrespective of the cost of the goods. I have made it abundantly clear in another place that we prefer multilateral trade and whether we are going to take loans or not or whether we are going to buy the goods or not, we must satisfy ourselves on the terms of the agreement that the goods to be supplied will be on a competitive price basis. Nothing short of that will be acceptable to us.

Now, Senator Daldry mentioned the question of sinking funds. Borrowing under the Bill must be in accordance with the Ordinance mentioned in Clause 3 (2). Both these

Ordinances contain sinking fund provisions. Normally these provisions will be used. My experience is that it is impossible to interest lenders overseas without making sinking fund provisions. The sinking fund provisions under the Promissory Notes Ordinance, are not obligatory. This is because promissory notes are repayable in a series of regular intervals over the period of this loan. In such cases the Senator, I am sure, will agree that sinking fund are not appropriate in the circumstances.

An hon. Senator has said that in the Capital Estimates only the sum of three and a half million pounds has been allocated for the services outside Lagos. With respect I would say that in the Capital Estimates there is provision for not less than Eleven million pounds to be re-loaned to the Regional Governments, and, as the hon. President has earlier remarked to an hon. Senator, by our Constitution there are certain services that are allocated specifically to the Regions, as those in the list of the Federal Government. We cannot interfere with those services of the Regions.

We appreciate the views of Senators, that they want an even development all over the country, but we have our responsibilities. We cannot interfere. All we do, as the father, with the approval of the Regional Governments, is to borrow this money and give to them. There again, someone asks how we are going to raise this loan, by what power, and by what agency. By our Constitution it is only the Federal Government that has power to raise loans overseas and no Regional Government can do so. Therefore, we have our Loans Advisory Council in which all Regional Ministers of Finance are Members, and myself as Chairman. When the Regional Governments find that they are unable to finance their projects and they want external or internal loans, we put our projects together and look at the priorities as they occur to each Region, and when we get them together we, by ourselves, decide how much money we shall raise either internally or externally, to finance the projects in the Regions in order that there may be an even distribution. I can assure you that this Council has been working very satisfactorily.



Hon. Senator Doherty again asked how shall we pay this debt. He would like to clear his mind on this point. I have said that the Federal Government is not going to raise loans for the fun of doing so. Even in this Bill you will find that we have enumerated all the projects we shall use the loan to finance. Apart from the Federal development programme which, of course, is specifically laid down in every year's Capital Budget, you will find, for instance, that we have raised loans for the Railway development project.

Naturally hon. Senators all know that the Railway, as a statutory corporation of the Federal Government is viable. If it is not economically viable the International Bank will never lend the money, and before the money is lent, they, like good businessmen, also send their experts here to examine the viability of the project concerned whether it will be self-remunerating—whether it will pay its way.

It is the same thing with the Onitsha Bridge. We want to make the Onitsha Bridge a toll bridge. We are not just going to build it there for everybody to use, or because we want to develop the country. If we do so we shall be killing the goose that lays the golden egg. Therefore, Members can rest assured that our purpose is to raise this loan for specific projects and these specific projects are expected to repay the loans. Where they cannot, from our contribution to the development fund, we shall be able to service it because it is obligatory for us to render certain services to members of the community.

My hon. Friend Senator Abaagu spoke about instalmental borrowing. I was not able to get his argument quite correctly, but if I understand him correctly, he meant that when we borrow for the Niger Bridge we must not build another bridge until that one is completed. Well, I must say that, with respect, that could be selfish economy because this country is so vast, and the needs of the people are so varied, and if you wait until one project is completed before you start on another one, it means that you will make some sections of the country very dissatisfied. For example hon. Senators have been arguing this morning that the Federal Government is concentrating on the development of Lagos and that they want some

of the money to be sent to the provinces. Wee if that is going to be the case, you cannot eat your cake and have it.

What we are trying to do is this. We want to discharge our responsibilities. After all the Federal Territory, with very great respect to the Deputy President of the Senate, belongs to the whole of Nigeria, although specifically it belongs to him and to his people, but I am sure that hon. Senators will agree with me that in developing the Federal Territory of Lagos it is certainly development for the whole of Nigeria.

Take even the question of the independence celebrations. Would hon. Senators like people to have a very poor opinion about our country? When they come they will visit here, then Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna, and other important cities. They are not going to go into my village in Benin-River, or yours in the rural areas. So I am sure that it is essential, in order to give a good picture of our country, which is so important in Africa and is emerging into independence, that we must at least show something to prove that we have arrived. Nigeria, as a big country, must do things in a big way otherwise we cannot claim that position that we are all looking forward to.

With these few remarks, I hope that I have been able to reply to the points made by hon. Senators, but if there is any other point that I have not replied to, and other speakers will speak on them, maybe during the Committee stage, I shall have the opportunity of replying to them.

**Senator E. A. Lagunju :** Mr President, Sir, about this Bill I have these few observations to make, as the Minister of Finance has said a mighty lot and hon. Senators have said the sum of £40 million is not enormous comparing the size of the country. Yes, it may be true that this sum is not enormous if the greater part of the sum is to be spent on industrial projects.

We all realise that most of the things mentioned in the Fourth Progress Report of the Economic Programme are basic necessities, or what they referred to as "infra-structure". We know that we need the railway expansion. We need the dam on the Niger, and we need the bridge over the Niger right down to



[SENATOR LAGUNJU]

Onitsha. But considering the position of the country at present we are just rising to nationhood and also we are confronted with the problem of unemployment. It is high time a serious thought on the question of setting up industries or on promoting already existing industries—

**The President :** Order, order ! This is irrelevant. The application of the loans is indicated quite clearly in the Bill. If you do not agree with this you will simply oppose it, but you cannot make a substitute. The inference of this Bill is that £40 million is to be obtained by way of loan in order to carry out certain substantial projects. But we are not here now to debate the righteousness or wrongness of these projects. What we are debating is rather that we should prove that this Bill will enable the Government of the day to obtain the loan.

**Senator Lagunju :** Shall I continue, Mr President ?

**The President :** Yes.

**Senator Lagunju :** Well, when it comes to the question of highways and bridges, Mr President, I think this is relevant.

**The President :** If it were on the economic programme it would be.

**Senator Lagunju :** It appears that there is much concentration on a particular Region. I am not trying to envy the Northern Region by saying most of the roads and bridges to be constructed are all concentrated in the Northern Region. I think in this particular Region there are Local Councils and Divisional Councils, and that the Divisional are doing a lot of work on road construction and, of course, if this is done in the North, I see no reason why Government should not try as much as possible for the other Regions, to help road expansion. So, I feel there is much concentration on that particular Region. I think something should be done as regards other Regions.

Then coming to this question of loans. We have already borrowed £10 million from the World Bank. I think the agreement has been signed, and I presume the money has already been borrowed, but thus far we have only spent £3.75 million. £3.75 million has been drawn up to 1st of April, 1959. Well, I do not know whether that drawing has been made on the

money, and I presume right from the moment we borrowed the money we are already committed to pay interest. It then means that we are paying interest on the money which still lies in the hands of the lender, and that is why, I think, when somebody spoke on this question of instalmental borrowing, it only means borrowing specifically for what we need. Not only concentrating on Niger Bridge, but if we need the Niger Bridge, the dam, and this, that and the other within this year and we need only £4 million, then this year we will borrow only £4 million and then we are committed to pay interest on £4 million this year.

In other words we do not sign an agreement all at once for £10 or £40 million when actually our need is only for £4 million. I think that is what somebody is referring to when he mentioned the question of instalment borrowing.

**The Minister of Finance :** On a point of information, Sir, if my hon. Friend will yield ?

**The President :** Are you yielding ? Will you allow him to make the point of information ?

**Senator Lagunju :** Yes, I allow him, Sir.

**The Minister of Finance :** My hon. Friend would be happy, perhaps, to hear that we pay interest on what we have actually received from the International Bank or from any lender. Although we signed an agreement to raise £10 million loan, we would have been stupid to accept the whole amount at the same time on which we would be paying interest. But what we do is that what we draw is what we pay interest on.

**Mr President :** The explanation is in terms with what the hon. Minister had said.

**Senator Lagunju :** Mr President, I thank the Minister for the explanation he has made. These are the few observations I have to make.

**Senator S. B. Okin :** Mr President, Senators have spoken on what I previously had in mind to say, but the Minister of Finance has reduced my debate down to five per cent.

It is easy for the Government to raise external loans, but the method of spending the money very wisely is very hard. I should suggest to the Government that when working



out the project priorities must be given to the revenue earning project, because when we spend money on capital work we should not forget that provision must be made for the recurrent expenditure by taking these loans. We have so many gigantic projects, but we should not forget to make provisions for the recurrent expenditure.

There are some projects which do not yield revenue at all, and at the same time we have got to maintain all these projects and we have got to pay interest on the loans raised.

I, therefore, suggest that priority should be given to revenue earning projects when the Government is out to work the project to be carried out between now and 1961.

**Senator Chief S. J. Hunponu-Wusu :** Mr President, I have listened attentively to the Minister of Finance, and my addition on this has been reduced to 15 per cent by the Minister of Finance, in that he has solved the problem to such an extent that I will agree with the last speaker that we who are now at the Upper House will require something very definite. He who goes a borrowing goes a sorrowing.

This is not the time for the elderly people to go on borrowing money and be full of sorrows. We are to consider the Bill and to approve it so long as we like Nigeria to develop. I am sure hon. Senators will agree with me that we do not like to place ourselves in an awkward position in that we shall be full of debt.

Now on raising this £40 million, the hon. Minister of Finance, to my mind, has failed to take this hon. House into confidence. At what rate of interest are we going to borrow this money? Is it from the United Kingdom, or U.S.A., or Holland, or some parts of the world. I think there may be a lower interest from certain continental countries less than the other. Not all the bankers or all money-houses do go on the same rate of interest. At some banks, it may be that their own rate is eight per cent. Perhaps somebody lenient has to give his at six per cent or five and a half per cent. And perhaps you may be unfortunate to have it at eight per cent somewhere, provided you have not got the foresight to look into the market.

The time has come now that before we accept or approve this Bill I would like the hon. Minister of Finance to place before this

House, a table, for this hon. House to see very clearly at what rate of interest we will borrow this money. I am not going to labour very much on what other Senators have said because they have cleared the other points which I wanted to raise by wanting to know from where we will raise these loans; how much we are going to borrow and for how long and whether we are going to use all the £40m. at a time. He has answered that point clearly and I thank him for that. As a matter of fact, we cannot use all the £40m. at a time, definitely not.

One of our Senators here then asked—"Why do you go and borrow £40m at a time when you want to spend only £10 between now and the ending of June?" He has cleared that point too. I do not want to labour on that point but this is what I would like to say—

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Sir, on point of information.

**The President :** Please let him finish.

**Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu :** What I would like to say is about the rate of interest. As a matter of fact, as a father if you have a son who intends to build a house and he approaches you to get more money, he says "My dad, I want to build a house or a flat or even a storey house". You ask him, "Have you got all the money?" He replies, "No, dad, I have got only £300." Then you ask, "Where are you going to borrow the £200 from? And at what rate of interest?" A reasonable father would ask his son then, "Look here, why do you go and borrow it from the Barclays Bank at five per cent when you can get it from B.W.A. or the National Bank for two and a half per cent?" So, my dear President, that is what the Minister of Finance should place on the table for the hon. House to consider.

Secondly, the money should be well spent. Although we have not come to that point, some hon. Senators have discussed it at length in that priority must be given to Lagos. As the Minister himself said in his speech we shall be having many visitors coming during the independence celebrations. They should not come in and find the City of Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, in the position it is to-day. You will all agree with me that I said this at the onset of this hon. House—that there is



[SENATOR CHIEF WUSU]

need for a second bridge in Lagos. You can see what is happening now and although independence is now less than six months hence, the money must be found. From this £40m. I would like the Minister of Finance to tell us here definitely how much they have allocated to the Minister of Works for the second bridge as far as Lagos is concerned.

**The President :** Order, order ! I will now call upon the Minister of Finance to wind up and then I shall put the Question and at one o'clock sitting will be suspended until three o'clock.

**The Minister of Finance :** Thank you very much, Sir. I have only one point to reply to at this stage. The point is the one raised by the hon. Senator, the last speaker, as to what rate of interest would be chargeable on this £40 million. I would like to say that neither my Government nor myself can act without the sanction of the Legislature. That is to say that your question pre-supposes that we have arranged for this loan and that as soon as you pass this Bill, I shall go and get it and that I have already bargained for it.

I have not and I have no powers to do so. All I am asking the Legislature is to give me the power to go and negotiate for these loans, as and when they are required either by the Federal Government or by the Statutory Corporations or by the Regional Governments. When the time comes for me to raise these loans, I shall certainly put my hands into so many places, either in the National Bank in which, I am sure, the hon. Senator has got some interest—

**The President :** Order, order ! Will the hon. Minister of Finance please confine his remarks to the debate ?

**Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu :** Thank you, Mr President.

**The President :** Oh, I see you are interested (*Laughter*).

**The Minister of Finance :** Or to any other bank that will be able to give the lowest rate of interest. And I can assure hon. Senators that in negotiating any loan, we shall take into serious consideration the opinions and view expressed by them as we shall not be doing

credit to ourselves or to this country if we go and raise loans without first of all looking at all angles to see whether we can get these loans at a lower rate from other sources.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a Second Time and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.*

**The President :** In view of the previous announcement made by me, this Bill will be committed to a Committee of the Whole House in order to consider its clauses *seriatim* when sitting is resumed at three o'clock.

*Sitting suspended : 12.57 p.m.*

*Sitting resumed : 3.00 p.m.*

*House in Committee.*

*Clauses 1 to 5 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The President resumed the Chair).

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

## REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT BILL

*Order for second reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill entitled "A Bill for an Ordinance to authorise the borrowing by the Government of the Northern Region of a sum not exceeding £2 million, and by the Government of the Eastern Region of a sum not exceeding £1 million from Her Majesty's Government for purposes in connection with the Development Programme of Regional Governments", be now read a second time.

Senators will be aware that when I visited London in July last year, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom promised loan assistance to Nigeria of £15 million. £3 million of this assistance is to be made available to Nigeria before independence under the provisions of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1959. This Act provided for Colonial territories to receive substantial assistance by means of loans from Government funds in addition to assistance by means of grants.



In the last six months before independence Nigeria will receive £3 million in this way. The balance of £12 million will become available in the months after independence. This loan of £12 million will be made available under the United Kingdom Government's legislation through which loans from United Kingdom Government funds are made available from time to time to independent Commonwealth countries.

The allocation of the proceeds of external and internal borrowing is agreed between the various Governments through the Loans Advisory Council. At its meeting last September the Loans Advisory Council recommended, and the Governments of the Federation agreed that £2 million of the proceeds of this loan should go to the Northern Region Government and £1 million to the Eastern Region Government.

Now, Sir, external borrowing, as I said this morning, is an exclusive Federal subject. The normal procedure would have been for the Federal Government to have borrowed the money and then to have re-lent it to the Regional Governments. However, because of the provisions of the United Kingdom Legislation it would have been necessary, if the Federal Government had borrowed in the first place, for the Federal Legislature to have approved the Capital Estimates of the Northern and Eastern Regional Governments. This course, apart from creating administrative difficulties, might have created misunderstandings. It would have given a false impression of the constitutional position.

This Bill therefore provides that, subject to appropriate conditions, the Regional Governments on this particular occasion borrow direct from Her Majesty's Government. I should emphasise that this is a special case and that it is not intended to follow this course normally.

Sir, I do not think that I need say much more except to express the thanks of the Federal Government to Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for this loan assistance.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of State** (Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator E. A. Lagunju** : Mr President, Sir, this Bill would have been a non-controversial one and would have passed through the House easily but for Clause 3 on page C66, which reads thus : "If any principal or interest or any part thereof in respect of any sum or sums raised under the provisions of this Ordinance remains unrepaid after the time when such principal or interest is due to be repaid, the Government of the Federation shall repay the amount of such principal or interest or part thereof in the same manner and according to the same terms as may have been agreed between that Region and the Secretary of State, and such amount shall be charged on the general revenue and assets of the Federation".

It then means that although it appears that the Regional Governments are borrowing money, if they fail to repay at a stipulated time, it will be incumbent on the Federal Government to repay ; and as I have seen this Bill there is no conditional pact to show that if these Regional Governments fail to pay they will be penalised in one way or the other, whether there will be some confiscation of property or security or something like that, or whether there will be refusal to grant other loans ; nothing like that is specified in this Bill.

It is just as if we are trying to pamper some Regional Governments. In other words, if we do that, any Regional Government can come down and borrow money, and since it is provided that if the Regional Government fails to pay the Federal Government will pay, of course there is nothing to compel the Regional Government to look for the money sometime. I sincerely hope the Federal Government will look into it and there should be some provision necessitating payment in one way or the other either in money or in kind. That is what I have to say.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah** : Mr President, Sir, in fact just following the last speaker's speech, I have got to speak on this Bill. But for some constitutional reasons, I do not think that the Regional Governments should come to ask the Federal Government for their loans. They have their own specific programmes and, like every other Government, they require capital for their work, and if they cannot find all the money from their own coffers, of course they look for capital some-



[SANATOR UKATTAH]

where else. The Constitution lays it down that they have got to look for this capital elsewhere through the Federal Government. I think that is the only reason why they have to pass through us.

I do not think that we need have any fear at all. Speaking for the Government of the Eastern Region, I am quite confident that a loan of £1 million will not be a problem and it will never place the Federal Government in difficulty.

I am supporting this Bill, Mr President, with all the might in me.

**Senator O. B. Sanni Okin :** Mr President, as far as I could see in the Bill, I think there is nothing there to be debated. The Regional Governments are responsible to pay. It is for them to accept the loan or not. The Federal Government is, according to my experience here, only like a guarantor. The same thing is being done by the Regional Governments if any individual person applies for a loan from the Regional Government, I think the Native Authority will have to sign as guarantor. I think the same thing applies to the Federal Government—to stand surety for the Regional Governments.

This Bill does not need any further debate and, Mr President, I have got nothing to say but to support it.

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, I think what is at the back of the minds of some of those who have spoken about the Bill is this question: has the Federal Government any guarantee to give that if another Region not asking for a loan at this particular time does ask for it at a future date, the loan will also be guaranteed by the Federal Government? Perhaps with that assurance this Bill need not be a debatable one.

£1 million for the Eastern Government, for instance, is a very small sum of money and I am sure that they must have given the Federal Government a sufficient guarantee to convince it that the loan will be repayable in good time. I have no hesitation in supporting the Bill.

**Senator Mrs W. Esan :** Mr President, Sir, the question I would like to ask has already been asked by the last speaker, that is if this Bill is passed now, that when any other Region

wishes to have a loan it will receive the blessing of the Minister of Finance in the same way as this Bill that we are asked to pass is receiving his blessing? That is what I want to ask.

And added to that is the fact that in the Northern Region this Bill, when supported and the loan got, is going to benefit women as well as men. I want this assurance because there women are not supposed to exist, or if they do exist, they are seen but not heard. Women are not supposed to sit down where men are going to borrow because it is our primary duty to teach our children not to borrow. But when I come here to support a Bill for a loan for a Region where women are to be seen and not heard, what is going to be the lot of the women who are to be made to contribute towards the repayment of such a loan?

Mr President, Sir, that is my contribution.

**Senator M. G. Ejaife :** Mr President, Sir, as someone has said before, this is a Bill which I think should not take very much of our time.

I would like to commend the way in which you conducted the business this morning, particularly as the Minister of Finance was available to answer certain questions. I think that fact made it possible for us to very nearly finish the debate this morning.

All I want, Mr President, is an explanation on one or two points. I may not have heard, but I suppose that this Bill was made at the request of the Northern and the Eastern Regional Governments. Secondly, I would like to say that although I come from a particular Region, I am here to represent the Federation of Nigeria, and I would like the interests of the Federation to be protected.

The way I would like to look at it is not so much in anticipation of whether or not any other Region may be asking for a loan in future as in what way is the Federation of Nigeria protected. If the Federation is going to stand surety for any of the Regional Governments, even including the Western Regional Government if ever they apply for a loan, in what way is the Federal Government secured? Is there any understanding between the Federal Government, as the surety to pay in case of any default, and the Regional Governments now applying for loans? I think, if that can be explained by the Minister



of Finance, Mr President, it should be unnecessary for this debate to go on much longer.

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale :** Mr President, Sir, I find it a bit confusing, this loan business. Now, I have heard that the Northern and the Eastern Regional Governments are now seeking a loan direct from Her Majesty's Government. But in the morning we passed a Motion seeking a loan of £40 million, and I heard that the other Governments are included in that loan. Now this is a separate Bill. I would like to have the hon. Minister of Finance's explanation on those points.

If other Governments can participate in that £40 million, why then should these Governments seek another loan direct from Her Majesty's Government? With answers to these questions, I would then be able to support this Bill.

**Senator Chief A. O. Fagbenro-Beyioku :** Mr President, Sir, in the normal course of events, I should not have liked to support this Bill at all because I am getting to a stage where I feel that this country should resist anything or any move which will give undue prominence to regionalism in this country. Nigeria abroad should be Nigeria. People should hear of the Federation of Nigeria abroad.

Even according to the Constitution of the country, I think the only organ of our Government competent to raise a loan is the Federal Government. But now we have got to lend legality to something which I should say is not consistent with our Constitution but which we want to do just for the love of doing it.

If we start to allow all the Regions to be going abroad to be raising loans in their own name as a Government on their own, then where is the authority of the Federation? We can as well say that the Local Authorities or the Local Governments in the Regions could come straight to the Federal Government and raise loans as against the overall function of the regional governments themselves. I think again, Sir, I would not just like to kick against an act of the Government; but I feel this will be the last of this type of Bill which will be brought before this House or this will be the last of any

attempt on the part of the Government to give undue publicity and undue prominence and undue authority to any of the Regional Governments.

In Clause 2 (b) of this particular Bill, we find that there is provision for the purpose to which any such loans may be applied to be limited to meeting in whole or in part of the capital expenditure comprising part of the development programme set up in the capital estimates, and approved by the Legislature of that Region and the Secretary of State. I know that the Secretary of State was brought into it because he will be the lender and at the same time, we are the guarantors, the Federal Government is the guarantor. The Federal Government too must have to be satisfied that the purpose for which the loan is to be raised is a worthy purpose and the one which requires the raising of a loan so that it will not be sufficient to say that the purpose must be approved only by that Regional Government and the Secretary of State as the lender.

If we are to come in as the guarantor, particularly the Federal Government, we are responsible for the overall function of the Governments in this country, we ourselves must have to satisfy ourselves, I mean, the Federal Government must have to satisfy itself of the need for the loan and in that matter, Sir, I wish the Minister of Finance would be willing to give consideration to the inclusion of the Federal Government in that particular section of the Bill and also in Clause 2 (b) of the Bill.

If that is done, I will support the Bill.

**Senator Dr Omitowoju :** Mr President, Sir, I am just going to say something just a bit different from the last speaker. The Regional Legislature is competent in authorising the seeking of loans and so on. All I am asking is that there should be a sort of forum where there will be an advance information to the Federal Government that such and such money will be borrowed by such and such a Region from the United Kingdom Government, because if the Federal Government is going to stand as a sort of surety that in default should have to pay the money and the interest, then they should be able to get the advance information that the Regional Government concerned is actually taking such a certain amount of money.



[SENATOR DR OMITOWOJU]

Probably it may not be constitutional to have to give a specific approval before such a loan is given, but if the Federal Government is actually informed, I think it will solve the whole problem.

**Senator Chief Z. C. Obi :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Bill. This House this morning has been very meticulous about the Finance Bill, but I would like us to remind ourselves that already, the Bill has passed through the House of Representatives and personally, I feel that we have not got something yet to make us distrust our present Ministers. I think we all should accept this Bill without being too cautious.

I feel satisfied ; I support the Bill.

**Senator D. Asemota :** Mr President, Sir, I have got one or two observations to make in connection with this Bill, and that is reading this Bill in conjunction with the one we passed this morning, in paragraph 4(b), it was clearly pointed out that the Federal Government, in case of any Regional Government need any money, will act on their behalf and the loan of £40 million was not only for the Economic Programmes of the Government of the Federation but also it will be shared with the Regional Government.

What is the necessity for this second Bill, Sir ? Is it because by the second Bill which is brought before us, empowering the Governments of the Northern and Eastern Regions to borrow money directly, they are going to get a lower rate of interest ? Actually, I do not quite understand it, Sir, because if the Federal Government is acting on behalf of the Federal and the Regional Governments by way of getting loans, I do not quite understand why the Eastern and the Northern Governments are now empowered to go abroad themselves to borrow this money. It makes things complicating to me unless there is some special conditions attached to this Loan (Regional Development) Bill. I really feel that the first £40 million Bill should have covered this, Sir.

That is my point, Sir.

**Senator Olajide Somolu :** I think that the objection raised by my fellow Senator in respect of this paragraph 4(b) of this Bill is very important. On the face of it, and reading through the *Objects* and *Reasons* of the Bill, it

looks to me as if it is a guarantee that the Federal Government should do so, and if I am permitted to say, there is the law of guarantee wherein the borrower as the principal debtor signs the agreement and the lender also signs before the guarantor can be bound, and I feel he must also be made to sign, but if that interpretation is correct, what is the protection of the Federal Government ?

Suppose as has been pointed out, the Regional Government fails or refuses deliberately to repay these loans ? It is not a question of incapacity ; supposing the Regional Government does not pay, and the Federal Government is made to pay, how shall the Federal Government recall the money from the particular Regional Government ? I think this is a point on which this House should feel very strongly and which requires the hon. Minister of Finance to give us an undertaking, to give us an assurance that a provision will be inserted in this Bill before it passes through this House.

It might have passed through the House of Representatives it was only yesterday we saw that what escaped the notice of the House of Representatives was pin-pointed here. The fact that it passed through that House and it comes here does not prevent us at all from picking holes in it if we have every valid reason so to do. There is no reason why if this point is cleared up as well as the point made also by Senator Nzerem, this Bill should be debated ; but I think that this point is very, very vital indeed.

**The Minister of Finance :** Mr President, Sir, I am very grateful to hon. Senators for being a little bit critical of this very short Bill, and it will certainly make me and my colleagues to be very careful whenever we are bringing our Bills here, because we know that we are going to face this sort of battle. However, Sir, I will endeavour in my own way to try to explain to the House or reply to the points raised by hon. Senators. I am sure that by the time I have finished, they will all agree with me that this is a non-contentious Bill and one that should easily pass through this House.

Before I reply to the major points made and re-echoed over the House, I would like to reply to some minor points made by my hon.



Friend, Senator Chief Fagbenro Beyioku. He wants the Federal Government to be careful in projecting the Regional Governments outside Nigeria and for that reason, he has asked us not to allow these Governments to go out to borrow. I must say with respect that we are not doing anything to project the Regional Governments. They are already projected outside Nigeria by virtue of our constitution.

There are things they can do and there are things they cannot do. As he knows, and as both he and myself have the honour of belonging to the same party that believes in one Nigeria, we feel that that must be so, but we must be careful in trying to break what, in the meantime, is unbreakable.

Regional Governments are in themselves autonomous in so many respects and whatever they want to do in matters in which they are autonomous, we have no right to side-track them or to refuse same. Constitutionally, we cannot and as a matter of fact, there is no reason for us in this particular case to do so.

Hon. Senator Ejaife and hon. Senator Asemota were a bit anxious as to why we should allow Regional Governments to borrow this particular money whereas we have just passed a Bill for £40 million and these Governments are going to share from it. Certainly, this is a specific loan that is given by Her Majesty's Government to a colonial territory. The law we passed this morning is to enable a free Nigeria to raise loans in future years, but these loans are given to Regional Governments in a Federation which is not yet free although these Regional Governments are internally free.

You will appreciate, therefore, that whatever comes in our way now, if it was in the olden days when we were not sure of the day of our freedom, we might be sceptical in accepting, but we have no barriers in our way now and whatever is given to us—charitably or otherwise from overseas, I think you will agree with me that it is proper that we should receive same with open hands as long as I take your views or advice that no strings should be attached.

Now, Sir, it has also been asked whether women would benefit from these loans and if so in what way; whether they will be seen

and not heard. I must say, with respect, that since women are mothers of the people who would benefit from the economic development, it goes without saying that they would naturally benefit because their children would benefit from them and there can be no question that they would be seen and not heard. (*Hear, hear*).

Another question which has been raised, Sir, is if other Regions in the future like to raise loans of this nature whether it would be possible for them to do so. Sir, I mentioned in passing this morning that there is a body known as the Loans Advisory Council of which all Regional Ministers of Finance are members, and my humble self the chairman. All the decisions about loans to be raised internally and externally by the Federation, no matter from where the money comes, are taken by this body. The Council is summoned and all the needs of The Regional Government and the Federal Government are placed before it and each claim is examined and debated and the final decision of the Council is then put to the Federal Government and the Regional Governments and when acceptable, it then becomes the order of the day.

Therefore, when this loan of £3 million was offered to Nigeria, the Loans Advisory Council sat and examined the immediate requirements of all the Governments and we found that our brothers in the North and our brothers in the East were most anxious to accept this money to fulfil certain aspects of their programmes. The West at that time was not so keen and we all unanimously agreed that we should divide the money up in accordance with the immediate needs of these two Governments. This was the result of our joint responsibility and our joint decision. I can assure you that the Regional Governments are not statutory Corporations; they are responsible governments in themselves run by responsible Nigerians and these governments do not just play with words or just come and say, "Give us money; we want to raise loans" just for the fun of it.

They will do so—as we have been told—after their capital budgets have been passed by their own legislatures, and when they are passed, they must obtain legislative sanction to



[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

raise such loans in order to fill the gap. You can never draw up a programme of say £102 million and expect the Government to provide all the money immediately. There is nearly always a shortfall in revenues so that whenever the opportunity arises for the Government to ask for more money and they know that the technical know-how and man-power is able to carry out the project, they will ask for the money to meet this shortfall in available resources.

Now, Sir, I now come to the more difficult points made by the hon. Senators. Hon. Senators are a bit worried about section 3 of the Ordinance which states that although we guarantee this loan, if the Regional Governments cannot pay, we have to repay; they have to debit us. After all the Regions are part and parcel of Nigeria and what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. I do not think hon. Senators should be worried that there would be default. According to our Constitution, if the Regional Governments were to run bankrupt—which God forbid—it is the duty of the Federal Government to supplement or assist them. That is the responsibility which we must shoulder.

But in this case it is not so; we have to guarantee and that guarantee is simply this: It is the duty of the Federal Government to collect revenues from Customs and Excise which amount to at least 75 per cent of our revenues and we are the people who allocate, in accordance with the constitutional provisions based on the recommendation of the Fiscal Commission to the Regional Governments and pay it to them before they can put up their estimates.

Therefore, we have the weapon in our hands and if we were to collect say £50 million for the Eastern Government and they are owing us £1 million, all I will have to do is to keep £1 million from what I collect from revenue and give them £49 million. (*Applause.*) So, Mr President, this is the position. I can assure hon. Senators that the guarantee is there, that we have the weapon in our hands. We hope that no Regional Government will give us any cause to use it.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

LOAN (INTERNAL BORROWING)  
(AMENDMENT) BILL

*Order for second reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill entitled A Bill for an Ordinance to amend the Loan (Internal Borrowing) Ordinance 1958 be now read a second time. This is a very short Bill and seeks to do two things.

First, it raises the amount that may be raised under the terms of the Loan Internal Borrowing Ordinance 1958 from £20 million to £30 million. Since the original Ordinance was passed in 1958, we have raised about £2 million under its provision. I refer, of course, to the Federation of Nigeria Development Loan 1959. The total amount which at the moment we hope to raise by internal borrowing to the 31st of March, 1962 is just about £19 million.

It may well be possible to raise even more by internal borrowing if the Marketing Boards and other institutions are prepared to switch some of their investment in London to invest in Nigeria. But the existing law only provides for a margin of rather less than £1 million, whereas we might well be able to raise presumably more than this internally. The Bill increases the total which can be raised internally from £20 million to £30 million. The proceeds will be available both to the Federal and the Regional Governments.

The second thing which the Bill does is to permit the raising of loans by means of Promissory Notes. At present sums may be raised under this Ordinance by the issue of registered stocks or bearer bonds, but circumstances may arise when issues of promissory notes will be more appropriate than the issue of loan stock.



Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of State** (Senator Dr the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator L. C. Daldry** : Mr President, Sir, the second object of this Bill is to allow internal borrowing to be done by the issue of Government Promissory Notes. We can hardly quarrel with that after the historic way in which we passed the Bill concerned yesterday ! The first object of this Bill, however, is to raise the amount which Government allows to be raised internally from £20 million to £30 million and that I think is the interesting part of this welcome Bill, and indicates the intention of the Government to allay some of the very fears which have been expressed recently about the raising of loans externally.

We often hear about the untapped resources of Nigeria and usually when that phrase is used it is in the economic sense. But there are other untapped resources. There must be, in my opinion, untapped monetary resources. And now it is clear that it is the the object of the Government to tap those resources.

This is a very large country with something approaching 40 million inhabitants. If every man and woman in the country can invest only £1 in the Government Stock, that would be a huge sum which the hon. Minister, I am sure, will be very glad to have. These untapped monetary resources, therefore, must be, and will be mobilised and it will probably become a patriotic duty before long for people to invest in Federal Government Securities. Moreover, it will be a good evidence to the outside world that Nigeria intends to stand on her own feet and not to depend entirely on loans from outside.

Sir, it is a pleasure to support this Bill.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku** : This is indeed an uncontroversial Motion but I only have to say this. For a long time we have all been crying that things Nigerian will be done by Nigerians and in Nigeria. This is an opportunity for all of us to show our willingness to identify ourselves with the proposals of Government in projecting the Nigerian personality.

I want to advise the House that this question of £30 million loan should not be left with the foreign firms trading in this country because in most cases they are the people who contribute the most when required in this country. Those of us who are Members of the Nigerian Parliament should show the example.

I feel sure that this Bill will be an honourable one when passed and it will not tell well on us if there will be any one of us who will not patronise it by taking one or two bonds of this loan. Not only Members of Parliament should patronise it but I think that members of local Councils also should be educated that this is an opportunity for every patriotic Nigerian to show his Nigerian personality.

Mr President, I wholeheartedly support this Bill.

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale** : Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Bill. In doing this, it is my intention to tell the House that it is our duty to teach the people, the common man, that this is what we want and this is what independence brings for us. Most of our people do not know how to save their money in this country. Things like the Promissory Notes, raising of loans by the Government inside Nigeria are the ways which our people should be taught to save their money. These people can then understand that it pays them to invest in Government Securities.

There are a lot of people up till now who do not know what Savings in the Bank can bring to them ; that it will bring them interest. I am sure that the loan scheme especially will make these people to understand what it is intended to deal with.

I strongly support the Bill.

**Senator Mrs W. Esan** : Mr President, Sir, this is the only Bill which I have great pleasure in supporting. (*Hear, hear*). But I must say this, that people sitting here can buy shares however high they may be. I am also advocating that the shares be put so low that market women and petty traders will be able to participate in it. If this is done, we are going to teach the future generation the habit of saving.

Thank you, Mr President, for this Bill



**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** Mr President, Sir, this is a Bill which seeks to prevent us from washing our dirty linen outside the world. If we can get sufficient response to this Bill, I think I should suggest that a provision for the amount of money be raised to about £1 million. (*Hear, hear*). If we can raise £1 million in Nigeria I see no reason why we should go outside Nigeria to borrow.

Sir with these few words, Mr President, I support the Bill.

**Senator H. Udo :** Mr President, Sir, getting loans internally is a repetition of what has happened before.

I remember the effect either during before or after the war and nobody complained of it. There were some officials who were not in good terms with Government because they were not given loans or advances. These people fought one way or the other to ruin what others who were given loan have originally done. In this way, only very few will understand that if this House through the Minister of Finance will indicate the amount and use the various organs, we will all know what we want when the time arises. In this case we should agree with the Government and we will find the means. We are not as bad as we are thought to be.

With these few remarks, Mr President, I beg to support.

**Senator S. T. Hunponu-Wusu :** Mr President, Sir, much as I rise to support this Bill, I would like to bring to this hon. House three important factors in connection with internal borrowing. "Charity begins at home". If really we want to be independent I think it will be wise that we should start from this Upper House. The internal borrowing should emanate from the Upper House. During the war. . . . . (*Interruption*).

**The President :** Order, order. A money Bill is not for this House to initiate.

**Senator S. T. Hunponu-Wusu :** We should start the ball rolling from our own home one way or the other by educating the public from the Upper House.

According to the last speaker, we subscribed certain money by way of borrowing during the war, and I think similar things could be

done at the moment. If we really want to show the whole world that we are out to be independent we should start something of our own by internal borrowing. If we start doing that now, I know wherever we may go in the near future to borrow they will have implicit confidence in us and they will say that we started the ball rolling from our home, but we have not got enough, that is why we extend our application to outside for more borrowing.

Much as I would like internal loans I would like us to make it open, and to start the internal borrowing from the Upper House here if the Minister of Finance could arrange it in a way that will interest those in the Upper House as well as the Lower House, and I am sure the Nigerian public will be able to emulate and copy us that really we are trying to form one Nigeria. If this could be done there will be no need for us to go out and borrow money.

We know the number that forms the liquid assets of Nigeria as a whole. Now, let us average it as 25 per cent. We know that will give us so many pounds, and as such I think I very much support this internal borrowing in that we should start it from home. "Charity begins at home".

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, my only contribution to the debate on this Bill is to congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance for bringing the Bill before the House. In principle, I am opposed to all sorts of borrowing. I do not advocate borrowing, but I would not mind borrowing from my son and daughter. The Federation of Nigeria is now trying to borrow from her sons and daughters and we gladly approve that.

As some speakers have said, hon. Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives should show good example in supporting this. With my whole heart I support the Bill.

**Senator Chief R. A. Umoh :** Mr President, Sir, in supporting the Bill I have to give my congratulations to the Minister of Finance for bringing the Bill before this House. But I want to make some points. In the first place, it is that everybody, every true Nigerian with the spirit of patronage, would like to patronise this Bill or play his part in giving out whatever he has to lend to the Government. There is also a word or two I want to bring before the Government.



As we are moving now towards independence, it is very good that we stand as a people and make those who come to our place here feel that we are really independent. Take for example, the different things that we do in Nigeria to-day could be of a permanent nature.

When we take the building or construction of a road, say a new road is constructed, you will find that the road is narrow and about 22 per cent or 40 per cent of the money we have is used for the construction of the road: about 50 per cent is used for maintenance. The road should be as permanent as ever. Whatever we do as from now should be very permanent. We should use about 80 per cent of the money we have in perfect road construction.

**The President :** Order, order ! The hon. Senator should be relevant.

**Senator Chief Umoh :** I would therefore like to say that we should all give out whatever we have to Government for borrowing.

With these few words, I support the Motion.

**Senator E. A. Lagunju :** Mr President, Sir, in rising to support this Bill I have few comments to make. We all know the difference between an internal loan and an external loan. In the case of an internal loan of this nature, whatever we have to pay as interest will go to our own people and we shall benefit by it. In the case of an external loan the interest goes outside the country where we have to pay it in money or in kind.

Consequently, I strongly hope the hon. Minister of Finance will try as much as possible to give this one priority over the external loan. A great part of the Promissory Notes will be short term, so that we are aware of the fact that we are going to pay the money back at any time.

With these few comments, I support the Motion.

**Senator P. C. Ndu :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Bill because this is an opportunity for us to show how sincere we are to our Government. It is true that independence is a very heavy load. This does not mean that we are going to carry loads on our heads. This is one of the ways in which we can contribute and show how sincere we are. During the war things like this happened and many people contributed, so I know we shall do this with all sincerity.

Sir, I support the Bill with my whole heart.

**Senator Dr J. O. Omitowoju :** Sir, this Bill should receive the blessing of this House but I am suggesting that the hon. Minister of Finance should give this Bill wide publicity so that everybody will be able to understand the meaning of an internal loan and all the different aspects of it like Promissory Notes, Treasury Bills and the other ways in which every Nigerian will be able to participate.

We all have external loans so I am sure that if all the machinery of information can be used to give this Bill wide publicity, the scheme will succeed.

**Senator D. Asemota :** Mr President, Sir, I have very few words to say about this Bill. I merely wish to congratulate the Government for introducing this Bill. It is most eminent in the sense that as we are entering our independence it is very necessary that we should train our people to understand the meaning of independence and one of the best ways of getting them to understand it is to get them to invest their money in the Government. Thus, they will have faith in the Government and they will feel and recognise themselves as part and parcel of the Government.

When they, the Local Councils especially, know that the Government wants their money to assist them to carry out development programmes in their own areas they will certainly have a feeling of oneness with the Government. It will make them have a greater sense of responsibility and confidence in the Government to know that whatever money Government spends is not because the Government has some sort of well that it drains money from or magic wand with which it gets the money. If they know the Government certainly needs their money they will take care in deciding their estimates. You will probably find that if this Bill works as it is intended, very little trouble will come from the Local Councils.

There is something which is very necessary and that is that this Bill should be given the publicity it deserves. Government should first of all state the amount of money that is required, then the interest and then the benefits. We all know that there are people who would like to invest money and then think that the Government will be able to give them back their money the following month. That



[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

sort of situation should be avoided. Things should be explained so that they will make up their minds in such a way that they will realise that they are part of the Government and will benefit from the scheme. It must not be put in such a way that they will expect to get these benefits the following week or the following month.

Sir, I support the Bill.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

#### MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

**Minister of State** (Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi): Mr President, Sir, before I move that the Senate do now adjourn till Friday, the 29th April, I would like, for the benefit of hon. Senators, to point out that there was a mistake in the *Hansard* of to-day. When I made the Business Statement yesterday, I pointed out that the First Allotted Day for the second reading of the Appropriation Bill will be Friday the 29th. Saturday the 30th will be Second Allotted Day of the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. Hon. Senators will please note.

#### ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn—Minister of State (Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi)*

**Senator M. Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi:** I am sorry, Mr President, that I seem to be making it a habit to stand on the adjournment. That may create some inconvenience, but I do apologise to the Senate.

Yesterday, Sir, the decision of the Council of Ministers was conveyed to us by the hon. Minister of State, Dr Majekodunmi. We do appreciate this great gesture and on behalf of hon. Senators I wish to congratulate the Government for its readiness and willingness to accept constructive criticism.

Thank you, Mr President.

**Senator M. G. Ejiafe:** I would like to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the last speaker. I think it speaks well for the unity of the people and of the Government that the suggestions made here have been taken to heart and have now been implemented to the satisfaction of all concerned.

There are one or two points I would like to have clarification on. As you know there is no legislation as to whether or not Questions can be raised in this House and Motions debated. We do find in the Papers distributed among us, a full list of Questions raised by Members of the Lower House. I do not suppose we are forbidden to put Questions up, but this is a new House and we would like the point clarified as to whether or not we can also put Questions to Ministers like Members of the Lower House.

Motions have been initiated by Members of the Lower House, but up to now not a single Motion has, as far as I know, stood in the name of any Member of this House, nor has any Question been raised in the name of any Senator.

We would like the point clarified as to whether we are in fact entitled, like our colleagues of the Lower House, to raise Questions or initiate Motions.

Another point I would like to make is this. In order to make a smooth relationship smoother still, before we debate any Bills or Motions the relevant papers should reach us early enough to enable us to read and digest them so that we can have sufficient background to embark on an intelligent debate here. Sometimes all the things that we require do not reach us. For instance, the question of what we discussed this morning.

We should have required to check the progress report on the development. There is only one copy, I think it is only one, Volume IV. I think it would have been better if Government had made available copies of reports, numbers 1, 2 and 3, also the paper relating to the decisions taken in 1956. If we had been able to get a copy of a paper like that that would have given us a better background than we had for discussing the relevant Bill this morning.



Also I think that the *Objects and Reasons* generally appended to Bills by Ministers are generally too scanty. They are sometimes very dry and we do not get all the reasons and all the objects. If Ministers take the trouble to make them richer, perhaps it will assist us in contributing still more intelligently to the debates that we have here, Mr President.

**The President :** Before putting the Question it may be that I can assist the House in answering some of the problems raised. On Question, it will be admitted that interpolations, as they are technically called, form the spice of Parliament, and naturally there is nothing to prevent any hon. Senator from putting Questions, but in doing so they should not be addressed to any specific Minister but to the Government and then the hon. Minister of State will be in a position to reply on behalf of the Government after due notice of such Questions has been given.

Questions, as you know, may be either written or oral, though, for the benefit of those who may not be quite familiar with the difference between the two, the Clerk of the Parliaments is available to help.

On the question of Motions, subject to the Minister of State going over these with his colleagues in the Council of Ministers, I see

no reason why Tuesdays should not be Private Members Days. We are bound by the Standing Orders, and according to the Standing Orders every Tuesday is Private Members' Day. It simply means that precedence is always given to Private Members' Motions on Tuesdays before discussing Government business.

As to the availability of certain documents I would like to remind the hon. Senators that there is a library upstairs. The library is up-to-date and information can always be obtained from the librarian who will be very happy indeed to co-operate.

Now as to *Objects and Reasons* of Bills being scanty, I think that any Senator who demands further explanation can get it from the Minister of State or the Minister responsible. He can make an appointment with the hon. Minister responsible and he will be able to explain. If he is not able to do so surely his Permanent Secretary or one of his permanent officials should be able to give the explanation.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved,* That the Senate do now adjourn until Friday 29th April, 1960 at 9.00 a.m.

*Adjourned accordingly at fourteen minutes past four o'clock.*



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION  
OF NIGERIA

Friday, 29th April, 1960

The Senate met at 9 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr President in the Chair)

PAPERS

**The President :** The following Papers are deemed to have been laid on the Table :

(1) Statement of the Guarantee by the Federal Government for a Loan made by the Bank of West Africa to the Lagos Executive Development Board ;

(2) Statement of the Guarantee by the Federal Government of a Loan made by the United States Development Loan Fund to the Nigerian Ports Authority.

REPORT FROM SPECIAL COMMITTEE

**The President :** I have to lay on the Table a Report from the Committee of Selection. This will appear in the Minutes of Proceedings of to-day's sitting.

The Committee of Selection reported the appointment of Committees as follows :—

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE

Senator Nzerem  
Senator Chief Odutola  
Senator Muhammdu Sani  
Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku

HOUSE COMMITTEE

Senator Chief Obi  
Senator Mrs Esan  
Senator Nuhu Bamalli  
Senator Chief Ojon  
Senator Professor Njoku  
Senator Daldry

PUBLIC PETITIONS COMMITTEE

Senator Shettima Kashim  
Senator Sani Okin  
Senator Lagunju  
Senator Chief Acholonu  
Senator Hassan Rafin Dadi  
Senator Asemota  
Senator Dr Omitowoju  
Senator Ukattah  
Senator Dr Orizu  
Senator Chief Doherty.

NOTICE OF MOTION

SITTINGS OF THE SENATE

**The Minister of State** (Senator the hon. Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that, notwithstanding anything contained in Standing Order 63, not more than three days shall be allotted for the Second Reading of the Appropriation (1960-61) Bill, and at the conclusion of the proceedings on the Second Reading, the Bill shall not be committed but shall be read the third time.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

**Senator O. Somolu :** Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, this pre-supposes that at least three days shall be spent in debating the Appropriation Bill. What will happen in the event of Members not being so keen on speaking at length on it and we are able to wind up the debate on it in a day or two? I would very much like that point to be clarified.

**The Minister of State :** The question is, that *not more than* three days shall be spent on the Bill. If the hon. Senators wish to conclude the debate before the three days, it will be a pleasure to the Government.

**Senator Dr N. Orizu :** Mr President, Sir, I thought most Members were going to move a Motion to cut my salary for the year for my absence for a long time now. I want to apologise to the President that it was ill health that was responsible for my inability to be in the House—

**The President :** That point could better be raised on a Motion for adjournment ; at present it is not relevant.

**Senator Orizu :** In supporting the Motion, I think that three days may not even be considered enough. I hold an opposite opinion to that of the hon. Member. I think that he is anticipating the inactivity of the Senate Members by suggesting that we might not be interested in observing a great deal in a matter concerning the Appropriation. Even though we have not got a lot of power to stop anything, we can, however, observe and the people will understand our own views.

Mr President, I support.



*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved :* That, notwithstanding anything contained in Standing Order 63, not more than three days shall be allotted for the Second Reading of the Appropriation (1960-61) Bill, and at the conclusion of the proceedings on the Second Reading, the Bill shall not be committed but shall be read the Third Time.

### ORDER OF THE DAY

#### THE APPROPRIATION (1960-61) BILL

##### FIRST ALLOTTED DAY

*Adjourned Debate on Second Reading (26th April).*

*Question again proposed, That the Bill be now read a Second Time.*

**Senator A. E. Ukattah :** Mr President, Sir, I am happy to be given this opportunity to say a few words on the Appropriation Bill for the year 1960-61.

Now, this Bill usually gives Members an opportunity of examining closely the Government's financial and economic policy. I shall base my contribution to the debate on this Bill on the Government's principal objectives in the formulation of these policies. These principal objectives as expressed by the Federal Government are, quoting from the Budget Speech—"the achievement and maintenance of the highest possible rate of increase in the standard of living and the creation of the necessary conditions to this end including public support and awareness of both the potentialities that exist and the sacrifice that would be required". No doubt, Mr President, these are very lofty objectives. For the attainment of these objectives it would be absolutely necessary to examine certain factors.

The first factor I wish to examine is agricultural production. As is generally said, agriculture forms the basis of our industry, and I go further to say that it is the key that unlocks our economic development. For Constitutional reasons, the Federal Government's interests in agriculture are limited to research. Research work takes so much time and the results usually come in slowly. Nevertheless, in my candid opinion, from the results of the Government's research work, sufficient expert advice has not been made available to the

farmers of this country. Apart from money, the farmers require advice from experts in agriculture.

In the competitive world markets one cannot be surprised to hear that our palm produce or cocoa or cotton finds no ready buyer. The buyer in the world markets looks for commodities of the highest quality. If Nigeria is not the producer of these highest quality commodities, then tell me what would prevent her from being pushed not only against the wall but over the wall! It would be disastrous if this happened. I therefore think that it is high time the Federal Government paid more attention to agriculture which has always been the chief occupation of Nigeria.

In this respect, I am offering the following suggestions. The first suggestion is: apart from encouraging the production of our present export products, an earnest attempt should be made by the Government to see that other types of crops which are in demand in the world markets and which at present are not grown in Nigeria are introduced and tried on our soil. This was how the growing of palm trees was introduced into Sumatra, and to-day the palm oil from Sumatra, I understand, is superior to the palm oil produced in this country. In fact, I also understand that a palm fruit in Sumatra is as big as a man's fist. I see no harm in trying foreign crops which come from countries that have identical climatic conditions with Nigeria. To my mind that would be an experiment that would make for variety in our crops and may yield great dividends in the final analysis. This is an aspect of agricultural development in which the Federal and the Regional Governments must co-operate and I suggest that the Federal Government should initiate the development.

Mr President, my second point on agricultural production is mechanization. I know that this is not an easy matter. But I know too that many other countries did not shun it just because of the difficulties involved. At present our farmers think of mechanized agriculture as a dream. The reason for this is ignorance of the cheapest way of achieving this. To my mind that cheapest way must be emphasised and I mention it here that it is co-operative farming. One of its many advantages is that the burden of finding the capital is no longer to rest on any one individual farmer.



[SENATOR UKATAH].

It is my conviction that mechanization and mechanization alone will eliminate our farmers' crude methods and outmoded tools which militate against the country's agricultural production. If the Government is serious about agriculture in this country, let it think of how to impress the idea of co-operative farming on our farmers, and let the Government be prepared to give grants and loans to co-operative farmers.

My next point, Mr President, is on international trade. The world trade is rapidly expanding and the Federal Government realises this. The Federal Government should make sure that we take part in international trade in such a way as to benefit Nigerians. The chief aim of all traders is to make profit. In our trade overseas the Federal Government should ensure that Nigeria sells in that market that offers the highest possible price and that she uses the proceeds in buying from that market that sells cheapest to her. I am happy to note that Government is pursuing this policy at present.

Next, I come to Nigerian manpower. This requires that the Federal Government should step up and intensify its training schemes. But this must be done judiciously in order to ensure that training is given to people needed immediately in the Government's various fields of endeavour for providing professional, technical and managerial skills necessary for our industries and the maintenance and expansion of the country's social and economic services. The Federal Government should ensure sound training in its training schemes. There should be no quack professionals, as these will be mere white elephants collecting fabulous salaries and offering no professional advice.

I would like to touch on the point relating to the Central Bank. In this respect I am both proud and happy that the Federal Government has done much already to foster the growth of capital and a money market in Nigeria. All I wish to add is that the Federal Government should continue to give publicity to the activities of the Central Bank. In this respect, I would suggest that such terms as Promissory Notes, Treasury Bills and Stock Exchange be fully explained in simple language, easily understandable even to the most simple-

minded in this country and published in a pamphlet form so that the pamphlets can be distributed to the people of this country. This will help to influence the public in the various economic devices and other activities of the Central Bank.

Next, I switch on to mineral resources in Nigeria. It is heartening that encouraging results are now coming in from the Shell BP. If that Company had not come to this country many years ago in search of mineral oil the fact that mineral oil exists in Nigeria would be a mere geological guess-work.

Mr President, Sir, there are no indigenous companies capable of undertaking mining industries. The Federal Information Department should make greater efforts in giving publicity to the potential mineral wealth of our country. In fact, I go further to suggest that invitation should be extended to all well established mining companies the world over. In the past, the Government had had to rely on guess work in matters relating to mineral resources in the country. The time has now come when we should know where there is this or that mineral deposit and whether the mining of such a mineral will be of immediate economic benefit to the country. The Minister of Mines and Power should be prepared from this time to furnish this country with more accurate information on the mineral deposits in Nigeria.

Earlier on I mentioned that the Shell-BP had done successful mining operations in Nigeria. It is a matter for great jubilation that that company now contemplates putting up an oil refinery. Let us hope that the proposed refinery will not be unduly delayed and that our Government will give the necessary co-operation and help.

I go on to touch on another important and special point, that of smuggling. There is no hiding the fact that this notorious and iniquitous practice has proved to be one of the greatest problems of this country to-day. As long as the "get-rich-quick" mania continues to have firm grip on our people, there can only be a twenty-to-one chance of finally stamping out smuggling. I do not however wish to give an impression of pessimism. No matter what preventive measures the Government may adopt, smuggling will continue until the



seemingly physical impossibility of guarding our frontiers in every direction is overcome; but apart from this, even where there are stations, many of the staff engaged in tracking down smugglers co-operate with the offenders to perpetuate this practice in order to line their pockets.

My suggestion here is that the Government should arrange in a special way to sell goods seized from the smugglers instead of destroying them as I understand is the practice at present. The goods themselves are genuine. The only point against them when brought into this country by the smugglers is that they come in duty free. I suggest that all seized smuggled goods be stored and sold out under special arrangements to non-traders only and all money realised should go into the revenue of the Customs and Excise or to be used to provide more control stations along Nigeria's frontiers.

So far, my suggestions have been for the economic independence of our country. But now, I wish to say a few words about some of the Departments of the Government and the services they provide to the general public. My first observation is on the Eastern Airports. The miserable and depressing Airport buildings at Enugu and Port Harcourt are worth mentioning. I do not mention them because I am an Easterner. Overseas visitors including our potential investors get their first impression at the Airport on arrival.

The Airports at Enugu and Port Harcourt are hardly an advertisement of the achievement of either the Government of the Eastern Region or the Federal Government. The buildings are small, drab and entirely out-moded for the heavy passenger traffic which they handle to-day. The Port Harcourt Airport is unworthy of the largest commercial centre that Port Harcourt is in the East and the Enugu Airport is unworthy of the Regional capital city that Enugu is. Let me hope that before Independence Day, some improvements will be effected. It is true that all the Airports in Nigeria may not be international but after seeing the Kano Airport, one cannot help feeling that the shocking state of Enugu and Port Harcourt Airports has been due to gross negligence and calculated indifference on the part of the Federal Government.

My next observation is on the Police. This time, I do not want to mention that those in the traffic section collect money from the drivers and their mates, I would like to speak on certain aspects of the Police Force. The first, the Police Wireless Personnel, from my own observation, it seems that this section of the Police Force does not get its due attention in matters of promotion. The work done by the Police Wireless Personnel is technical. Only trained Policemen can do the work. The Inspector-General is being called upon now to show a little more interest in that section of the Police Force so that those attached to that section may have their promotions when they are due for it and to have their allowances due to technical workers.

Next, I go on to touch on recruitment into the Inspectorate grade of the Police Force. To-day, the Government has the policy of direct recruitment to the Inspectorate grade. This is good. But it should not wipe away the idea of promotion from the junior ranks. If this is done, there can be no attraction into the Police Force for holders of certificates lower than G.C.E. or the West African School Certificate. No one likes to get into any job which offers no prospect of promotion.

Now, I go on to the awards of certificates and medals for gallantry. I am not against awarding certificates or medals to members of the Police Force but I feel that most of the cases for which those certificates or medals are awarded merit more than certificates and medals. An example of what I condemn in the practice of awarding certificates or medals can best be seen in this short story. Once I was invited to a presentation ceremony. Now, the S.S.P. called up a constable and read out that so and so man is being awarded this certificate for gallantry and one of the cases mentioned was that he succeeded in arresting a murderer that had locked himself up in a room. Somebody killed a man, got into a room and locked himself up and every attempt was made to arrest this man, it was difficult.

Now one policeman considered an idea of making an opening in the roof of the house and succeeded in getting in and over-powering this man. In the end a certificate was given to him. One can imagine what would have been the effect on the family if he had been killed by that



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murderer. I do not think that such a case should deserve only a certificate. Such a man should be promoted to encourage the people in the Force. Promotion will give him more money, higher rank and higher standard of living.

If you issue a certificate as wide as a table that will not make any difference to him personally. That is just the point I want the Inspector-General to understand. Certificates should be given for minor cases of bravery or gallantry. But when a man gets into a room and overpowers an armed murderer, such a person should be promoted. If I were in that Force, if you gave somebody a certificate for overpowering an armed murder, I would never risk my own life in future to arrest a dangerous person since it is only a certificate that would be issued to me at the end.

**The President :** Order, order; may I remind the hon. Senators that for any contribution made on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill to be relevant, such comments should be confined to the financial and economic state of Nigeria and Government's financial policy. Whether a medal is given for gallantry or should be given to any particular member of the Police Force or not is important in itself but it is, I believe, not relevant to the debate.

**Senator Ukattah :** I will submit easily to your ruling, Mr President.

I go next to speak briefly on Posts and Telegraphs services, and that is just a point relating to my own town.

Last time I mentioned this in the lower House, when I was a Member there, that the telephone exchange at Umuahia leaves much to be desired. There is only one line connecting that place with any other place outside the town. A point I wish to emphasise is that a single line exists between Umuahia and Enugu but the Regional Controller has not thought it fit to allow that line to be used. I very much wish this point to be considered by the Minister of Communications and Aviation.

In winding up, I wish to convey the gratitude of the people of Umuahia to the Federal Government for the supply of electricity which I hope will be given before the end of this month. Requests were made in the past and

the Government gave an undertaking and that undertaking will be regarded now as realised. With these few remarks I do support the Second Reading of this Motion.

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba :** Mr President, Sir I rise to congratulate the Minister of Finance, Chief the hon. Festus Okotie-Eboh for presenting his "Stability Budget" before this hon. House. He has been entrusted to keep the Nigerian purse for three consecutive years. This is a very rare honour bestowed on very few people.

The hon. Minister has elaborately explained in detail the ten-point plan for the financial and economic policies of an independent Nigeria here and in the House of Representatives. He has, I hope not deliberately, forgotten to mention the orbit round which all his ten-point revolves—socially speaking—the cause of Nigerian Unity. If the Unity of Nigeria is not established on a firm basis, all the ten-point plan will flop.

We cry loudly for a bridge across the River Niger or a second bridge in Lagos. But I, personally speaking, give priority to building a strong permanent bridge in the hearts of all Nigerians, spanning differences and narrow outlooks and creating links of trust and co-operation and mutual understanding and confidence.

I now come to finance. We all know that finance is the life-blood of industry and commerce in any country. If we really want a strong and efficient Nigerian Government which will be a credit to the new Nigerian nation, the Government has to find money, of course a substantial amount of money, to finance its development projects. So, Sir, I suggest the following :

The Government must explore new ways and means of collecting revenue in any revenue-earning department, and deal severely with any abuse of office when and wherever it occurs. At present a lot of revenue is being wasted as a result of inefficient ways of collecting it.

The Minister has admitted that about £2 million is going out from this country annually in the way of football pools and so on. It is a very good gesture that the Government has seen fit to increase the duty on every bet made



on any totalizator run by a recognised Race Club from 5 per cent to 20 per cent. It should go further to introduce a bill which will empower the Government to organise its own pool betting. I can assure the Minister that such a bill will have the blessing of this House.

The Government should appeal not only to Marketing Boards and businessmen but also to Native Authorities in the North and Local Councils in the South to invest from now on in Nigeria and to repatriate the funds which they have at present invested overseas.

The Government should embark now on educating the masses of the country on their duties, rights and privileges as members of an independent nation. The people should be told that independence means hard work, more sacrifices and willingness to accept responsibilities. We must throw off our *rigas* and *agbadas*, strip to the waist, and work hard in order to develop a spirit of tolerance and responsibility and a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding, so that we can show the outside world that Nigeria is fit to take care of her affairs.

Sir, I would welcome the birth of a non-political organisation in this country—the Nigeria Society. I think the Government should see to it that the three papers read at its first Annual Congress should be given wide publicity in our dailies.

Finally, millions of pounds have been spent and are still being spent in urban areas with the exclusion of rural areas, but I venture to say that if half of that amount is being spent in the rural areas, I am certain that Nigeria's economy, financial and social problems would have taken a brighter course.

Now, I understand that the Senate can initiate things, so I am proposing to table a Motion asking the Government to create a new Ministry immediately which will be solely responsible for rural development.

Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator E. A. Lagunju :** Mr President, Sir, speaking about the Appropriation Bill, we all know the position of the Senate as regards money Bill, but as I said before and as the former Senator has said whatever constructive criticism we have to bring up, I sincerely hope the Government will welcome, and they may be of use in formulating our future policies.

In the first instance let me turn to page 10 of the Appropriation Bill itself where we have the summary. We realise that what is available to meet the current expenditure is £46,679,750, and the estimated recurrent expenditure 1960-61 is £45,729,290. The surplus that is left is, of course, £950,460. To my mind Mr President, this is a marginal surplus. It is a pity we have so many commitments and our resources are limited. Therefore, probably it is not possible for the Government to budget for a larger surplus, but what happens in the case of temporary disequilibrium.

Some time ago we had to pass a Supplementary Appropriation Bill covering almost £3 million. What happens if something like that comes forward? On this marginal surplus I sincerely hope we shall do all we can to get a larger surplus next time against times of emergency.

Mr President, Sir, it is a pity the only source of revenue available to the Government is taxation. But I sincerely hope the Government realises that the taxable capacity of the citizens is limited, and I normally believe that in raising new taxes we should always think in terms of necessity and luxuries. However, these are relative terms, but I am yet to be convinced that *Tango*, *Fanta* and some of these cold drinks that are non-alcoholic are luxuries. In other countries like ours these things are becoming necessities, and I do not think we can rely on water alone. We need something more; and the most depressing of this new tax measure is the tax imposed upon Corrugated Iron Sheets.

In the provincial towns where most of the people are just getting rid of thatched houses and substituting iron sheets, I think this drives somebody away from buying iron sheets. We must think of the people in the provinces, and if there is anything at all to be taxed I think corrugated iron sheets should be the last.

Now, we come to this question of our External Affairs. Sir, we are approaching independence and every day we are aware of the fact that we are getting closer and closer, and I think our External Affairs should be manned as far as possible by Nigerians. I do not think we lack competent Nigerians to do this job. So when we think in terms of office of Deputy Secretary we should be able to get a Nigerian to fill that post before independence.



[SENATOR LAGUNJU]

Now, when we come to the Ministry of Defence it appears as if we still have some redundant officers there. From page 51 of that Appropriation Bill we have somebody on top, then we have a Deputy Permanent Secretary, Permanent Secretary and all these officers. I think this question of appointment of Deputies is what we inherited from the old colonial system, and I do not think when we have somebody at the top and we have Permanent Secretary we actually need a Deputy Permanent Secretary.

We all know what the Mbanefo Commission is now costing this country; roughly £3 million, and as a matter of fact it is £2,909,760. Why then do we have wage increases? I think before people can agitate for increases in their wages cost of living must have risen, and when the cost of living goes up automatically one's money cannot buy him so much and, therefore, he begins again to agitate. Unfortunately no sooner workers get their wage increases than we see commercial firms and other people raising their prices. I think this is rather unfortunate because prices of these consumable goods or necessities must have gone up before we agitated for increase in wages, and if these people come back again and increase the prices of their goods it is rather very bad. I think we have this always because we have never attempted to stabilise prices.

I think it is something important for the Government to get some statistical expert to go round the market, find out the particular prices of these goods, and of course, have in mind the cost of production and other factors, and then try as much as possible to stabilise prices. After all we do not dictate the prices of our cocoa to the World market, and it is unfair that the prices of most of the things we buy in this country will be dictated to us. It is the competition in the World market; the simple law of supply and demand, and when we get to the market we get the price of our cocoa.

But I am rather surprised that the Minister of Finance made a statement that it would be unfortunate, if I get that quotation correct. Volume 1, No. 15, page 570, paragraph 2 of the House of Representatives Statement says: "It will be most unfortunate if the recent salary increases led to too great an increase in imports". Personally, I wonder if the recent

salary awards are not backed up by increases in import what we shall use the money for. It only means that our workers would use their money to buy local materials and we have not got the industries to supply them all the necessities. This means that the imported articles will be bought at very high prices because it will be a case of too much money chasing too few goods.

What we want is more imported goods where we have not got local substitutes. Where there are local industries, like the cement factory at Nkalagu, by every means let us try to encourage it, but where we have got no local industries, I think the only way out is to get more of these goods supplied to this country and then, of course, we will be able to buy cheaply from a larger market.

We must do something to stabilise prices and we must do something to evolve an equitable basic wage, otherwise we will continue to get more Mbanefo Commissions. As long as you have prices rising, the workers will continue asking for more increases and keep on asking for more and there will be no end to this wage spiral.

I now come to the question of minerals. It is very depressing to hear that more people are being sent out of the coal mines at Enugu. I think we depend too much on our Railway to transport our goods. I think it is high time we looked for alternative means of using our coal. If this is exploited, probably for domestic purposes and if the whole thing is given wide publicity, there will be more work for our coal miners and this question of being thrown out of jobs will be solved.

On the question of Telecommunications, I think in this wise I may have to be a little bit sectional. As regards telecommunications, Oshun Division, particularly, in the Western Region has been neglected by the Federal Government. There are so many large towns where there are not even rural Call Offices, not to speak of Telephones. What is the Federal Government doing about it? People keep on applying and applying and most times the letters are disregarded and even when they are replied, the Authorities say vaguely that plans are afoot.

Even here in Lagos, when you want to make a Trunk call to Abeokuta or any town out of Lagos, you tell them the call is urgent and still



you do not get the call through before three hours. That is when the call is urgent. What happens when the call is not urgent? I think the Telephone Service, if it is efficient, should be a source of revenue to the Government. People will patronise it but when they know they do not get good service for their money, they will not, and there will be no point in their making the call. So, I sincerely hope that Government will do something to improve our telephone service in this country if we are to benefit from it.

Sir, with these few remarks I support the Bill.

**Senator M. B. C. Chukwubike :** Mr President, Sir, I support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill, ably presented by the hon. Minister of Finance, Chief Okotie Eboh.

The hon. Minister styled the Budget a Stability Budget and indeed a thorough study of his speech proved beyond doubt that it is a stability budget. It is suitable in our economic and political emancipation. It is a worthy budget to lead this country into independence. I therefore join with other hon. Members in congratulating the Minister, his staff and the Council of Ministers. There is a saying that : "No man's work can be perfect". I am not doubting this fact. I am not saying that the speech is all-round perfect but I have to add that it has helped greatly to prove to the outside world that Nigeria is ripe for independence.

The Ten-point Plan in the speech embodies almost everything that matters as far as the destiny of this country is concerned.

Sir, permit me to make the following observations.

**Tax Evasion and Smuggling.** I am very happy that the Minister took notice of these revenue killing practices in this country and has assured the House that some arrangements to arrest them have been contemplated upon. No amount of punishment will be considered too drastic for the offenders in these evil practices.

**Road Development.** I want to say a few words to the Government on this. We all know the importance of roads. I praise both the Federal and Regional Governments for the marvelous work they are doing to improve our road conditions. Hon. Members here will

bear me out that each small village in this Federation wants good roads. The District Councils have many more roads to maintain with the result that most of the roads go bad very often and traffic is automatically interrupted.

I want to suggest to the Federal Government to take some Trunk 'B' roads from the Regional Governments and the Regional Governments will be happy to take some more important roads from the District Councils, thus improving more and more on our road conditions. At this juncture, may I suggest that the Federal Government take over Enugu-Awgu road, the Trunk 'B' road joining Okigwe Road. This road is very important in the Eastern Region. It cuts down the distance from Enugu to Port Harcourt by over 47 miles. It is a shortcut to Okigwe, Umuahia and even Calabar. There are many other roads like this in the Eastern Region.

I turn now to Agriculture. My observation here is that the Federal Government should pay attention to this important project, rather than leaving it to the Regional Governments. The question of Agriculture itself is one of the most important projects the Federal Government should have interest in. I am suggesting that the Federal Government should take it more seriously and consider how to help the farmer. We have the men and the land and the men are ready to work. The Government should, therefore, encourage the farmers.

The other point, Sir, is Industrial Relations. From time to time strikes and the threat of strikes are the day-to-day practices among our workers. Unless the Government finds a way now to solve this, I am afraid after the independence, there will be a rise in the number of strikes.

I am suggesting that a National Wage structure will eliminate this practice.

Another point is about the Lombard Bank. I quite agree that in our Nigerianisation policy we must take efficiency into consideration and that also we have some work here in the country which only the experienced expatriates can do well but still I do not see why such banks like the A.C.B. and other Nigerian owned banks cannot do for the Federal Government what the Lombard Bank is doing for it now. I am suggesting that the Government



[SENATOR CHUKWUBIKE]  
and the Minister of Finance should take this up very seriously in order to clear the minds of the people about this embarrassing situation.

With these few remarks, Mr President, I support the Bill.

**Senator M. Hassan Rafin Dadi :** Mr President, Sir, the Budget this year is historic, and I think, delivered in a historic year, is unequalled in the Colonial History of this country. It denotes the clear and upright conscience of our nationalist Minister, whose love for his country is as clear as anything. No words can adequately express our deep gratitude to this gallant and illustrious son of Nigeria for the way he has been handling the financial and economic affairs of this country ever since taking office as the first Nigerian Federal Minister of Finance.

What is more, Sir, through his influence and dynamic spirit he has already accorded Nigeria an international recognition even before the attainment of independence. History will record that Chief Festus is one of the greatest architects of Nigeria in the field of her economic emancipation. Perhaps the splendid superstructure on which the Minister has framed his Budget is the unity of the Federation leading to the formation of the coalition Government by two of the three major political parties of this country. This made stability possible, the term which the Minister preferred to use as the name for the Budget. It is most fitting because it is on this stability that all aspects of Nigeria's future including the welfare of the people depend.

Here, I think we must pay special tribute to the wisdom and the foresight of our political leaders for the way in which they too have handled the affairs of this country. They have sunk their political differences for the good of the country and this seems to me to be the only satisfactory solution for a country as diverse as Nigeria and in its present stage of development. As I see it, the type of democracy suitable to us in Nigeria is one that may be adaptable to our indigenous institutions and ways of life.

Now turning to the Budget itself, the factors in favour of healthy economic growth have, I think, preponderance over those against, and the signs for the future welfare of the people of this country are very encouraging indeed. Some of them are: the total mobilization of

Nigeria's financial resources; internal and external loans; favourable balance of trade; multilateral system of trade; the strict economy measures in Government expenditure; and finally, the ten-point plan.

These, Sir, if properly implemented and under favourable conditions will have laid strong financial and economic foundations for Nigeria and her future prosperity will be assured.

Now the factors against are: the European Common Market; smuggling and continued rise in recurrent expenditure. Added to these are the failure of some Government projects in the economic programme to live up to expected standards of revenue production. They are the Posts and Telegraphs Department and the Railway Corporation. These are two of the greatest revenue earning bodies and if at the initial stage they show signs of inability to live up to this expectation something must be wrong somewhere and Government must be alert to this great economic danger which might wreck the whole hopes of this country and endanger the future well-being of the country itself.

With regard to the European Common Market the Government does not seem to face the serious situation with a realistic approach. It is a real threat to the economic stability of this country. These six signatories to this Common Market Agreement, Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, Luxemburg, West Germany, and France, indicated preferential treatment of some of our export crops which affects Nigeria to the tune of about £40m. Government cannot afford to sit back when the lifeblood of this country is being drained away. If in the event of this preferential treatment taking effect, Nigeria, I think, must reciprocate by boycotting all imports from these six European Countries.

Apart from the Common Market another serious danger threatening the economic stability of Nigeria is the encroachment of the Sahara Desert along the Northern Border of this country. This too presents an even more serious threat to the major part of the agricultural economy of Nigeria. It affects the main cotton and groundnut areas of Kano, Katsina, Sokoto and Bornu Provinces, also involving some £40m. worth of agricultural commodities. Since it is the intention of the Federal Government to give every support to increased



agricultural production, extensive programmes of soil reclamation by either afforestation or soil conservation or any measures the Government deems to be appropriate, should take priority in the next development plan. Encroachment of the sea from the south, and of the Sahara Desert from the North, must be tackled with utmost vigour and determination.

Finally, Mr President, since it is the declared aim of the Government to develop the whole available resources of this Federation for the benefit of all, the concentration of all amenities in the urban areas is not consistent with this declared aim. Time and again the attention of the Government has been called that something must be done for the rural areas. It is, as we all know, impossible to supply all the needs of the rural population in this great country of ours, but a start, however small, is a move in the right direction.

In this connection, I would like to associate my views with a previous speaker and humbly suggest to the Government to create a new Ministry to be called the Ministry of Agrarian Development, or the Ministry for Rural Development, or whatever name the Government wishes to call it.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

**Senator Mrs Wuraola Esan :** Mr President, Sir, before I say anything I would like to register my gladness, because this Bill that we are discussing to-day, the Appropriation Bill, has been written, formulated, and planned by a man, and supported by men. If the case is otherwise I do not think we shall name nor praise the person who named this Appropriation Bill a Stability Budget, because I do not think anybody feels that continuous going aborrowing to run our Government and most of the things in this Budget must be stable, if we want to run a welfare state, the country where everybody's welfare shall be taken into consideration.

I would like to take you back to page four, paragraph two, of the Budget Speech. In my last speech I advocated that the next loan should be given all necessary publicity so that petty traders and women will be able to realise that it is to their own advantage to join such a project, and I am sure if all the publicity is not directed only to people who could read and write but is being preached to ordinary

common market women, markets of Nigeria all over the country, I think women and petty traders who have not got plenty of money would be able to join in this project.

Sir, although, as I said before, I do not support the habit of borrowing, yet no one would condemn a Government who would borrow and spend judiciously. As far as I could see most of the money that has been spent in the past, to me as an ordinary person, is a waste. If we look at our bridges and roads and study them closely we would know that thousands of pounds have been wasted. One Trunk "A" Road, and a major one at that, is the road leading from Shagamu to Benin. I do not think at the rate of progress now that this would be completed in the life-time of any of us here unless Government does something drastic about it, and to my knowledge, unless something is done now to show the population of the country that that road would be completed before Independence, it is a waste of public revenue, and I am asking the Government to divert the majority of this money that is going to be lent towards the completion of some of the Trunk "A" Roads as urgently as the need arose, and that is before the Independence Day.

Now, turning to the point raised in the Budget Speech. One of them is Agriculture. Much has been said on this by those who can give the facts and figures and those who really know much about Agriculture, but I would like to support the first speaker of to-day on his points one and two, and also to add that research should be made into our forests so as to find the best reservation for Government now because all the land is being cleared rapidly for building purposes. It is good for everyone of us to have a comfortable building and to have manufacturing buildings and things like that, but what will happen in the future if we do not have the proper soil to grow our products, either cash or locally needed crops like vegetables, and so on. If we do not do the research now land that could be reserved for things like timber, cocoa, maize, and vegetables may not be as suitable as the land that is being used for buildings. So, before we clear all our forests I think Government should look into this research of the soil and see that most of the land that will be fertile is not used for building purposes.



[SENATOR DALDRY]  
is of expenditure increasing much more quickly than revenue. How then can his budget be for an increase in expenditure and an increase in revenue of about the same figure? The answer as I see it is that he decided to economise. He intends to slash expenditure.

In the Lower House, in his Budget Speech, he referred to proposals for expenditure sent to him by various Ministries and he said, "I have cut these proposals ruthlessly". This is the way he is balancing his budget this year. It is quite clear that there are only two ways of balancing this budget. These are, general increased taxation, or economies.

The Government has chosen to economise and I think that the country should be grateful to the Government for making this choice. The only increased taxes in the main are taxes on luxuries and taxes which provide means of protection and fiscal incentive. I hope the Government will be able to continue such a policy for a long time to come. I think in order to appreciate what has been done, we have to look just for a moment at what the picture would have been if the Government had made the other choice and brought in general taxation measures.

Coming on top of the Mbanefo award, a general increase in taxation would probably have meant a general increase in prices, which would probably have nullified the Mbanefo award. In addition, if there had been general increase in taxation it is highly probable that most commercial concerns would have had to follow the Mbanefo award and put up their salaries and wages at the same time.

As it is, most large commercial concerns have revised their salaries and wages over the years, from 1954 to 1959 and have kept pace with the cost of living. If they have done this they should not have to increase their salaries and wages any further, but they would have had to do so, probably, if there had been a general increase in taxation. If there had been general increase in taxation, the Mbanefo award nullified, and commercial concerns compelled to increase their salaries and wages throughout the country, this would probably have brought about yet another rise in prices, and therefore the spiral of inflation would have been given a dreadful impetus.

All this has been avoided through the Government decision this year and that is why I think that the country should be grateful for the way in which the budget has been presented. I think I have said enough to convey that I consider this present budget to be very sound and statesmanlike. Nevertheless, Sir, everything depends now on whether the Government can hold the position as it is presented to us on paper. An increase of £4 million in estimated revenue may be optimistic. Can Government hold expenditure to a rise of only £3½ million, especially having regard to the fact that the Mbanefo award is going to cost the country about £3 million?

It all depends upon the determination of the Government and the Minister to carry out the economies which they have mentioned. But perhaps the most difficult question of all is as has already been mentioned this morning by an hon. Senator, "can the Government possibly provide for the Supplementary Estimates which must come forward, from the surplus which has been declared", and in that connection I would mention that the figure given to us by the Minister in this House is rather more than that which he had given in the House of Representatives.

He told us that he now hopes for a surplus of £1.62 million and not merely £900,000. Well, if it is impossible to deal with the Supplementary Estimates with the surplus we shall have, it will mean that so much less money will be transferred to the Development Fund, and we do not want that to happen. We must hope that there will be wind-fall revenue—unexpected revenue arising, and I think we have some hope that Nigeria is not without wind-fall revenue.

Only a few days ago the Minister of Mines and Power in the Lower House stated that an unexpected wind-fall of a million pounds had come into the Nigerian coffers as a result of payment of premium by an Oil Company for two concessions. So, we must hope that Government will be able to keep to the budget which they have presented to us.

I wish now to make a few remarks about the Mbanefo award and to appeal to Government not in future to review their salaries and wages after a long interval, nor to do it by means of a public Commission.



All the main commercial concerns try to revise their salaries and wages very regularly and to keep pace with the cost of living. When Government leave the position for several years, as it happened in 1954-59 and then set up a Commission which eventually recommends very substantial increases, this is very unsettling to the commercial concerns. Commercial employees are apt to forget that Government have not made any substantial rise during those years. They are also apt to forget that their own Companies have made increases along those years. All that the employees of the commercial concerns are concerned with is that their friends in Government Departments have received a very substantial increase in their salaries and wages. That leads to demands from the commercial employees. Explanations have to be given, and often a lot of heart-burning has to occur.

I think the Minister is quite conscious of this because in the Lower House he said "I cannot too strongly say that changes in Government salaries and wages must not be taken as a signal for automatic increases in the private sector. I do suggest to Government that the best way to avoid this happening is to revise their salaries and wages very regularly, without a lot of publicity, and without a Public Commission.

The Minister devoted a substantial portion of his speech to the subject of external loans. Some fears have been expressed about this, and only a few days ago in this Chamber I expressed the view that I think the fears are unnecessary at the present time. But I am glad that the Minister has decided to mobilise resources internally. It is very heartening to hear of the savings drive and the issue of national savings bonds. This happens to be a suggestion which I made when this Chamber was "another place", and I am very happy indeed to find that Government are thinking on these lines and are intending to do something about it.

Mr President, Sir, Nigeria cannot develop her potential, increase her revenue and raise her living standards without accepting any investment from outside. There must be international private investment in Nigeria, otherwise the country is going to take too long to develop. It is vital therefore, for this country to encourage outside investment, and I am not talking about loans, I am talking about investment.

Only the other day a very interesting speech was made by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition in the Lower House on the subject of Economic Planning and investment. I would certainly advocate the setting up of some machinery whereby the growth of outside investment in this country could be watched and if necessary could be controlled.

If a tremendous amount of money suddenly started pouring into this country from any one particular country it might look suspicious and it might be necessary to examine what was happening, but I do suggest that care must be taken to make certain that nothing is done which will make investment irksome or difficult. Nothing could be worse than outside investors having to go through a mass of red tape before they could invest in Nigeria. That would be very harmful. Therefore, I suggest that care must be taken about that.

Perhaps the most important pronouncement in the Minister's Budget Speech was on the the question of Point 1 in his 10-point Plan, where he says that the Government intends to maintain confidence in the value of the Nigerian currency and to maintain reasonable stability in prices and wages. Nothing could be more statesmanlike than that and if the Nigerian Government can keep to that policy this country is certainly on the right road economically and financially.

In concluding my speech, I would like to draw attention to one or two points which should influence an outside investor when looking at Nigeria. This is a large country with plenty of room and plenty of man-power. It is true that at present we rely on the export of primary commodities but steps are being taken to diversify the economy and this is not a one-crop country. We have a sound currency, backed by British Sterling, and the Minister has said that the fiduciary element in the currency backing will not be more than 20 per cent. That in itself should give plenty of confidence outside.

There are fiscal and other incentives to investors and all the governments of the Federation have made pronouncements which should allay any fears that outside investors might have in regard to Nationalisation and so on and these pronouncements have been re-affirmed by the Minister in his Budget Speech to the Lower House.



[SENATOR DALDRY]

We have a sound Budget on the eve of the country's independence and perhaps above all we have racial harmony. We have here a multi-racial society at its very best, functioning as an example to the outside world, and the mere fact that I am permitted to stand here and speak is proof enough of that (*hear, hear*). Sir, what more can an investor want? It is my considered view that Nigeria is one of the best countries in the world to invest in to-day. (*Applause*)

**Senator Chief T. A. Odotola:** Mr President, Sir, those of us who have been in the Nigerian Legislature during the early Forties and have been watching the growth of the country since then will appreciate the high degree of rise in the volume of the revenue of the country. For instance, in say, 1945, or barely sixteen years ago, the total revenue of the country was just a little over £11 million, whereas to-day the Government of the Federation alone could budget for over £95 million out of which only £42 million will go to the Regional Governments as Statutory Appropriation. The Western Regional Government also budgeted for about £35 million and the Eastern and Northern Regional Governments are not far behind. What the whole country budgeted for sixteen years ago is just a little bit more than what one Region in the Federation voted for its Education Programme this year.

There is no doubt that in the Government of the Federation as well as in the Regions some people have really worked very hard, I repeat, very hard to increase the volume of the revenue to its present state.

In terms of money the growth is spectacular but although the country is paying such a heavy bill for its services, are we sure that we are really getting corresponding service for the money we are contributing. Take the case of our Telecommunications services for which £5½ million is voted this year. In dealing with this item of our services, I would not like to be sectional as one hon. Member has just said but I would make my remarks general.

When Trunk Call charges were about half of what they are to-day and local calls were free in the Provinces, the services were not as bad as they are to-day and this applies also to our Postal Services. However, I am glad that the Minister of Finance is not unaware of this

fact because when he was replying to some points raised by hon. Members in this House about the delay in getting their papers, he expressed the fear that if the papers were sent by post at the time they were put in the Members' Pigeon-Holes, hon. Members will not get them before they came to Lagos and that is within a period of not less than 20 days from the time he was speaking.

The point I want to make is that letters posted anywhere in this country should be able to reach its destination in less than one week of posting.

For the past 16 years, that is, if I may say so, since I have been a member of this country's Legislature, Regional or Federal, there was hardly any Budget Session in which the Ministry of Communications has not come for severe criticism. These irregularities cause businessmen great inconvenience and is one sure way of losing revenue. Government and workers should strive to play fair on their part of the bargain. I am sure that if any commercial firm like the U.A.C. or the John Holt were to compete for any of the services now rendered to the country by the Ministry of Communications the more competent of the two to give better and more satisfactory service will throw out the other.

In the Budget Speech, the Minister of Finance assured this House that independent Nigeria's one shilling will be worth one shilling anywhere in the world. We do not only want one shilling of an independent Nigeria to be worth one shilling anywhere in the world but we also want one shilling of an independent Nigeria to be able to purchase goods worth one shilling even in this country and also to be able to have services available for people who are prepared to pay any amount for such services.

This year Government is to spend about £6 million for Works and Services. This does not include the cost of special works like Asaba-Onitsha Bridge and Ijebu-Ode-Benin Road which will in themselves entail a huge sum of money. I have to appeal to the Government, not only to see that Ijebu-Ode-Ondo-Benin Road is completed in good time, but also that all Trunk Roads A which pass through the Provinces, especially through the townships, should be properly and more regularly maintained. It appears that once a Federal Road is constructed the maintenance is



not properly pursued in many parts of the country and the general blame for poor maintenance of such roads through a town is laid by members of the public at the door of the local authorities.

As regards Ijebu-Ode-Benin Road, I would not like to say very much about this, but I would like to say that I would like to see the road completed at a time that I would be able to use it for at least thirty to fifty years before I die. One of the hon. Members has said that by the way the construction of the road is going on at the moment, it may not be possible for any of us to use the road before we die. I would like to use the road for at least thirty years before I die.

Sir, I would not be doing justice to my conscience if I did not make a few comments on the way the work was handled. The road, as you quite know, Sir, would be about 140 miles from Ijebu-Ode to Benin when completed. Long before 1949, when the Federal Government decided to construct the road, 15 miles of the 140 miles had already been constructed by the Ijebu Divisional Council, leaving about 125 miles of road to be done. This remainder of 125 miles is the work that the Federal Government has been constructing since 1949—eleven years ago.

One bridge at a point 15½ miles away from Ijebu-Ode has been under repair for the past two years and there is no reason to believe that the repair will be completed soon. I am sure that Members will agree that this handling of the construction of the Ijebu-Ode-Benin Road leaves much to be desired. I do hope, now that Government has found the money and the people to do the work that everything possible will be done to see that the work is put in hand and completed once and for all.

I am appealing to Government not only to see that this Ijebu-Ode-Benin Road is completed in time but to see that all possible arrangements are made whereby anybody from the West can go to the East without any difficulty and at a very short time and also to the North in the same way. At present there is no tarred road linking the North to the West and no tarred road linking the North to the East.

I do not think that the country is all that poor. We are all now looking forward to the great day of independence but I am sure that hon.

Members of this House will agree that independence can only mean good roads, good water, good health and plenty of food for the common man. Only the very few people at the top know that independence means anything beyond this.

*And it being 11.45 a.m. the Debate stood adjourned.*

*Debate to be resumed—Tomorrow.*

### ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn—Minister of State (Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) :*

**Senator Chief Fagbenro Beyioku :** Mr President, Sir, I have one observation to make and that is in respect of our Serjeant-at-Arms. We, the Senators of this hon. House feel that everything spelling dignity must be watched and should be around all the surroundings of this House. We are not very happy to see the Serjeant-at-Arms escorting the President of the Senate to this Honourable House in shorts. It is a disgrace to this honourable House.

It is a disgrace to keep on doing so and I feel too that the Government should see to it that the Serjeant-at-Arms is either supplied with his official uniform officially, or at least that he ceases to wear his knicker to escort our President. I feel this should be looked into urgently, Sir. (*Hear, hear*).

**Senator Chief T. A. Odutola :** I support the view that has been expressed by my hon. Friend. I do not think it would cost the Government much money to buy one yard or two yards, in fact one yard to make a pair of trousers for our Serjeant-at-Arms.

I am sure what it would cost Government by way of criticism would be much more than what it would cost Government to provide its Serjeant-at-Arms with long trousers. I think my hon. Friend has just struck the right point.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah :** Mr President, Sir, while supporting the view of the previous speakers, I would go further to suggest that since this is the Upper House, the Serjeant-at-Arms should come to this House and that the Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms should go to the Lower House.



**Senator Chief E. Ugwocha :** Mr President, Sir, I am in support of the last speakers but I would suggest that the very type of uniform worn by the Serjeant-at-Arms to escort the Governor to the House of Representatives should be the very one for our Serjeant-at-Arms to wear in this Upper House. Therefore I support.

**Senator M. Sanni O. B. Okin :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion and in doing so, I would like the Minister of State to register our feelings to the authorities concerned and if possible, to get this changed before the House meets at 9 o'clock tomorrow. (*Hear, hear.*)

**Senator Dr N. Orizu :** Mr President, Sir, I think this matter is over, and I am coming in with another little suggestion. We know that in any conversation it does not become interesting until it comes on the fringes of danger. It is only when it becomes dangerous that it becomes interesting.

As the Upper House of this country the leaders are to advise, and I think it is our function that whenever anything happens that is likely to be a hazard to the equilibrium of our progress, we are there to advise and to give advice to the Government, and to make suggestions.

This morning I read in the paper not that the President of the Senate, but that one of the important pillars of this country has refused to go to the coming Session meeting in London. As we are in the Upper House I feel that it is our own problem and I found in the papers a complaint that it was owing to some expatriate treatment, a treatment given to him by some expatriates.

I am not suggesting anything. What I am saying is that as the Upper House we ought to find out what kind of treatment was given to him, and why he refused to go, because if the treatment that was given to him was all right I will be one of the people to command him to go and I think he must, and if he does not go I will complain.

We have heard it and we are part and parcel of the land. We should like the Government to tell us and investigate what happened to him and why he should not go to such a conference, otherwise, while we are making economic planning, we are talking about this Appropriation Bill, it might be a waste, to waste money to go there and come back.

Mr President, Sir, these are my submissions.

**The President :** Before asking the Minister of State to reply, I think I can help the hon. Senator by assuring him that Government has looked into the complaint and adjusted matters so that the other point raised by him no longer arises.

**Senator Nuhu Bamalli :** Mr President, Sir, the explanation just given by the President is in such a very diplomatic language that we do not understand the facts of the situation now. Is the man going, or is he not going ?

**The President :** If the complaint no longer arises, and if it is because of the complaint that he is not going, the logic from the conclusion is that he is going. (*Loud Applause.*)

**The Minister of State (Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) :** Mr President, Sir, I wish to assure hon. Senators that the Government no less than Senators are always conscious of the importance of maintaining dignity in this House, and all the advice which you can give us in ensuring that the dignity and supremacy of the Upper House is maintained we will always take adequate care to study the advice closely.

I can assure you that the complaint which you have made this morning about the uniform of the Serjeant-at-Arms will be very carefully considered, and we shall do our best to ensure that the dignity of the House is maintained.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved :* That the Senate do now adjourn.

*Adjourned accordingly at six minutes to twelve o'clock.*



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION  
OF NIGERIA

*Saturday, 30th April, 1960*

*The Senate met at 9 a.m.*

PRAYERS

(Mr President in the Chair)

BUSINESS STATEMENT

**The Minister of State** (Senator the hon. Dr M. A. Majekodunmi): Mr President, Sir, the Business Statement for next week is as follows: The debate on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill will continue until Monday if it is not completed to-day, and we hope to present all the Bills coming from the Lower House to this House and we hope to take the Second Reading of two of those Bills on Monday. Then on Tuesday and Wednesday we hope to take the remaining stages of these Bills and we hope that the House will rise on Wednesday next week.

APPROPRIATION (1960-61) BILL  
SECOND ALLOTTED DAY

*Adjourned Debate on Second Reading (26th April).*

*Question again proposed, That the Bill be now read a second time.*

**Senator Chief T. A. Odutola**: Mr President, Sir, we all agree that Nigeria is an agricultural country but it is also equally true that there is unlimited possibility for industrial development in the country. While we spend so much on agriculture our industrial development programme could also be more progressive.

In the Estimate of expenditure for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry only £52,410 is voted for special expenditure, which sum I believe is meant for investigation projects likely to be suitable for the country. One could have thought that more money could have been voted for this purpose. We need a lot of money to run this Government and the money must be looked for from all possible different angles because independent Nigeria should not be one where pipe-borne water would be a rare feature, good roads a dream and the health of the people a fantasy.

I appeal to the Government to spend more money on our industrial development programme and to see that industries are not all located in one place but evenly distributed all over the country in order to avoid the congestion now experienced in Lagos and other large towns of the country.

In support of what my hon. friend Senator Daldry said yesterday about the Government's attitude towards foreign investors, I would like to go a bit further and say that although the Government has from time to time given the assurance to foreign investors that any money invested in this country would be safe, there is still one important aspect of the matter which must be tackled wisely.

At the present our rate of company tax is 8s-0d in the pound. There is no foreign concern which knows that it could make an equal amount of profit if not more in its own area would care to come and invest its money in this country. Of all the countries already developed, there is none of them that started its development with the same degree of high rate of company taxation as we now have in Nigeria. The amount of money which will accrue to the Government if our rate of taxation is lowered will be much more than double what the country realises at present on this item of our revenue.

The rate of company taxation if lowered will, apart from being an inducement to foreign investors, encourage more Nigerians to register limited liability companies and thereby increase the Government revenue. I wish the Government to give this humble advice its favourable consideration. The secret of success of any Government lies in the way it responds to any constructive criticism levelled against it; for it is by responding to such criticisms favourably and quickly that the Government can hope to succeed.

I have no reason to hope that this Government will not work when we think of the Government's attitude towards the protest raised in this House against Members being marched to the House of Representatives to hear the Speech from the Throne, the acceptance of the amendment of the law of evidence and the way our protest on the Serjeant-at-Arms uniform was heeded yesterday in this House, all indicate the Government's readiness



[SENATOR CHIEF ODUTOLA]

to listen to constructive criticisms. I do hope that this gesture of goodwill on the part of the Government will continue.

Mr President, Sir, I support the Appropriation Bill.

**Senator M. Nuhu Bamalli :** Mr President, Sir, in dealing with the Appropriation Bill, it is inevitable that repetition would have to be tolerated. One cannot help treading on the grounds already covered by previous speakers but I would, however, try to be very brief and I congratulate the Minister of Finance for presenting the Budget. It is very good, Sir, and we do appreciate the responsibility he is carrying.

Sir, no national budget can be said to be healthy with a surplus of only £950,000, but as an assurance has been given by the Minister we are only looking into the future with hope.

Like other speakers, Sir, I would like to ask the Minister about the activities of smugglers. I think one of the best ways to do away with smuggling is to go and borrow a leaf from the French Authority, and deal very hard and very brutally with these offenders. I would like to see more check points established on Nigerian Northern, Eastern and Western borders. At the moment the loss of revenue on the Nigerian side is much greater than the loss of revenue on the French side, simply because smugglers know that if they are caught on the French side they are almost finished.

Mr President, one hon. Member here yesterday criticised the taxing of iron sheets, and I am inclined to agree with him. In a country which is so heavily undeveloped as ours, and where the Government is striving to raise the standard of living of the people, things like iron sheets should be made duty free.

We are trying to adjust ourselves so that we might avoid extravagant spending. I would like the Minister of Finance to see if we cannot dispense with the services of the Crown Agents now, or immediately after independence.

The Crown Agents, as we know, have been and are still handling the bulk of our overseas business, especially in the purchase of indents and other kindred matters. We pay them a very large amount for their services, but now that we have a Nigerian House in London why should we not divert all the business to Nigeria

House, and thereby save that way? After all, that is what the Nigeria House is established to do.

I will now turn to the expenditure side of the Budget, and I will confine myself to only three Ministries. They are Communications, Works and Surveys and Pensions.

Communications, Sir. I would like the Minister to know that the whole country looks up to him to bring the remotest parts of it closer together by telecommunications. To do that will not only help to enhance the current trade of the country but also help to make the Prime Minister's plea for unity a reality. There can never be real unity among diverse people without mutual understanding, and mutual understanding is impossible without contact.

In this year of independence, I wish the Minister to attend to the demands of the people all over the Federation for telephone and telegraph facilities. I would like the Minister to make a special investigation in certain places like Zaria, to know why certain applicants for telephone have been on the waiting list for over five years, while others only need to apply to be supplied. I have waited five years and I am still waiting for a telephone in my house. During the same period I have seen a number of people who have been supplied, not because they needed a telephone more than myself, but because they belong to the same tribe, or have the same political view as the person responsible for telephone installation. I would like the Minister to check this ridiculous idea of political or tribal identity. It is so strong in the Ministry, and it can only make Nigerian unity impossible.

Sir, I will now turn to the Ministry of Works, and here I want to remind the Minister that he was one of the few Ministers who earned the praise of the Members of the former House of Representatives for his excellent achievements during the last five years. I hope that credit will continue to be poured upon him now and in the future. I would ask the Minister to embark vigorously upon a road-building programme so that between now and the next five years the roads of the country will be a credit not only to him, but to the Government.



To achieve this I would ask the Minister that when a road-building contract is to be given out to a private contractor, speed should be one of the conditions of awarding that contract. It is now the habit of some road contractors to sit on the work on a piece of road for too long a time. As I was saying last time, I know a bridge the construction of which was started this time last year, in 1959, but this bridge is still under construction. This particular bridge is just five miles outside Kaduna on the Kaduna-Zaria road. It is a very short one, not more than ten feet long, and should have been finished in three to four months' time, but the contractors continue to delay the work, forcing motorists to follow a one-mile diversion which is so bad that it has put an end to the life of many a car. That is only one case in point, there are many such delayed works all over the Federation.

I am particularly worried, Sir, to see that only £9,500 is allocated this year to be spent on the Zaria-Kano road. We from Zaria, and people from Kano, have thought that this vital road should be tarred and finished, this year. It is one of the few projects which have taken too long to complete, and it has reflected very badly on the efficiency of the Government. The road is only 100 miles long and there is only one long bridge to complete, but it has taken more than eight years now, and it is still incomplete. I hope, therefore, the Minister will be vigilant over all roads, by pushing every bridge through, and not just leaving it to the whims and fancies of contractors. Roads are our vital lifelines, and it will be a disgrace if, by the time of our independence, our roads—at least our trunk roads, are a little better than cattle tracks.

I now turn to the Ministry of Pensions. This is a new Ministry, with a new Minister, so there is little I can say but to implore the Minister to do two things. One is to explore the possibility of increasing pension rates, and secondly, to co-operate with the Regional Governments to set up an efficient machinery whereby methods of paying pensions would be improved in the Provinces. The rates of pension, like the rates of wages of Government employees, should be related to the cost of living of the country. It has been mentioned here that some people are receiving a poor reward for giving their best to the service of the country in their youth. Some pension rates are more like charity gifts to paupers than awards for past services.

Not only are pensions too small, but also the amount of indignation to which the pensioners are subjected on pay day is too great. For example, Sir, it is a pathetic scene to go to the Provincial Office at Zaria at the end of the month, and see how these poor pensioners are made to queue up for hours outside the pay offices, regardless of the weather, standing patiently, each waiting to hear his name called. Some of the people, Sir, are well over 60, and some are nearing 80 years of age.

I think the Government should be more considerate in its treatment of pensioners. Let us not forget that these men gave their best for the service of their country and the building of this nation. To-day they may be worn-out, jaded and old but there was a time when it was they who adorned our Civil Service, our Military and our Police Force. Therefore, degradation and starvation should not be their reward.

Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Professor Eni Njoku :** Mr President Sir, having listened to the speech of the hon. Minister of Finance when he presented the Appropriation Bill to the Senate last Tuesday and having read the Budget Speech which he made elsewhere, I feel satisfied that the Minister is aware of most of the ideas which it is necessary to interpret into realities in order to further the economic growth of this country. If he succeeds, as I hope he will, in bringing the proposals mooted in his speeches to fruition, he will have made a lasting contribution towards a happy future for Nigeria.

In a rapidly growing country like ours, it is absolutely essential that the conversion of ideas and proposals into realities and fulfilments should be as rapid as possible. In this connection, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Minister and his Government colleagues on the success they have achieved in bringing into reality the idea of a Central Bank in this country. When the idea was first mooted some years ago we were afflicted with the usual crop of expert reports. The reports were at first negative and discouraging, but as Government became more determined, the reports became more and more favourable until at last we obtained the constructive proposals which have led to the establishment of the present Central Bank



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which I am pleased to say, in the very short time it has existed, is already proving a most valuable asset to the economy of this country.

The moral of this is that experts are human beings. They are usually sensitive to the ideas behind Government calling them to their aid. If experts know that the Government has determination, the experts will do all they can to enable that Government to overcome any obstacles which may be in the way of carrying out its proposals but if experts know that a Government has no determination, the experts will doubt the Government's ability to overcome obstacles and will tend to emphasise the difficulties in the way and, therefore, produce a somewhat discouraging report.

I have no doubt that the lesson will not be lost on the hon. Minister and his Colleagues. If they show determination in carrying out the various proposals already mooted in the Minister's speech, then I am sure, that experts will be available to help them and advise them to overcome any difficulties which may be in the way of achieving them.

It is now generally accepted that economic growth cannot come on its own. It has to be planned and the beginning of such planning is usually, economic survey, the practice being to repeat such a survey annually in order to keep progress constantly under review. But early this year the Federal Government published the economic survey for 1959. I feel that considering the conditions under which this economic survey was produced it is a very admirable effort. Nevertheless, I think it is fair to say that it is inadequate in many respects. The principal way in which it is inadequate is that it makes no attempt to suggest future lines of action. It stops merely at description.

Having examined our economy as far as this was possible in 1959, it should have been possible to go on to suggest how we can improve on that position in 1960. What desirable objectives should we aim at. What target should we set ourselves in home production, in capital formation and matters of that kind? Having set these targets, what steps should we take to achieve them?

I referred earlier to the conditions under which the survey was produced. I believe that to make a success of this survey, which I hope

will be continued, it is essential to have available for carrying it out, more full time officers than were available in its production last year.

I must say how much I welcome the Government proposal to appoint an Economic Adviser. I am sure that such an Adviser with the help of a number of other full time officers—I am thinking of Nigerian Economists—and also with an efficient Economic Secretariat to serve it, should be able to greatly improve the last effort in the way of an economic survey. Such a body of experts we can call a Planning Commission if we like, but the essence of the matter is that there must be a body of professional experts not burdened by other duties whose main job is to produce blue-prints on which the Economic Council can base its plans and decisions.

I was interested to see from the hon. Minister's speech that among other places, he visited India last year. I hope that he was able to see something of the Indian National Planning Commission and that he will be applying the Indian method of planning to the economic benefit of this country. The ultimate objective of economic growth is, of course, to increase the national income by increasing productivity. The Economic Survey for 1959 to which I have referred already gives the national income for last year per head of population in Nigeria as being between £25 and £29. The authors comment that this is very low by the standard of industrialised countries such as Britain for example, where the income per head is of the order of £323.

They go on to suggest that our rate per head is not particularly low compared with other countries whose economy is predominantly agricultural like ours. That may be so, but when we look at the table on page 18 of the Survey where the national income per head in Nigeria is compared with a number of other countries in the sterling area, we really find there is no cause for satisfaction at all. It is true we are doing a little better than Pakistan and India who are confronted with problems of over-population. But even not much more developed countries like Jamaica which has £93 per head, over three times our own national income and, not getting far-away, even our humble neighbour Ghana has a national income of £56 per head which is practically double our own national income per head.



It seems to me, therefore, that we must make a determined effort to increase our national income per head. Unless people can earn more by producing more they cannot save more. In order to increase our national income it means that we must invest and put more capital into productive enterprises in the country, particularly agriculture, and some of the new industries which the Government is considering.

It is true that unless people earn more they cannot save enough to produce capital required for this investment and it is on this point that it is reasonable to agree with the hon. Minister that in order to provide the initial capital which we require, we should be prepared to borrow externally, provided of course that we take all the precautions which have been emphasised during the course of these debates. We must, however, in spite of a low national income, save as much as possible; and here again, Sir, the Minister has already shown from his speeches that he is well aware of what steps are necessary in order to mobilise internal savings. Let us hope that his determination will be such that he can quickly bring these proposals into reality.

I have in mind the suggestions about the creation of local money and stock markets and more post office savings branches, launching savings campaigns and so on. It is obviously important, Sir, that whatever little we earn we save as much of it as possible and I would suggest that those of us in a position to do so should set an example for the rest of the country in this problem of conspicuous consumption.

It has been suggested by critics of colonial countries that it is part of the colonial mentality that the new middle class is always so anxious to show that it is as good as its colonial masters that it tends to indulge in conspicuous consumption and because the erstwhile masters lived in big houses the new middle class also wants to live in big houses and run big cars and indulge in all the usual appearances of wealth, although in fact, as we know, Sir, very often we are not as wealthy as we appear. So, I do hope that at least in order to encourage and raise morale, the Ministers, Senators and all of us should do all we can to set an example in this matter.

It is not easy, Sir, looking at the economic survey or the Budget to see any figures which will enable one to understand what the proportion is between the total capital investment in this country and our national income. This is another respect in which the economic survey is inadequate. It is now generally agreed among economists, Sir, that in order to maintain and sustain economic growth a country should invest something of the order of 10 per cent or 15 per cent of its national income. Now, one would like to know what proportion of our national income was, in fact, invested and what steps can be taken to increase that proportion as soon as possible to the level which is appropriate for maintaining economic growth in this country. It would be unfair to ask the Minister to give us such figures off-hand, but I do hope that future economic surveys would address themselves to problems of this kind.

As regards measures for increasing capital investments in the country, I was pleased to note the reference made by the Minister himself not only to the need to repatriate sterling balances abroad but also for the Central Bank to reduce the present 100 per cent backing of our currency and introduce a sizeable fiduciary issue. The latter point is important, Sir, because it is unnecessary to back our currency with foreign exchange to the extent of 100 per cent. It is obviously inconceivable that the whole of our currency can disappear completely from domestic circulation. Moreover, it is absolutely illogical for the Government to hoard money—which is what this 100 per cent banking amounts to—while it is itself appealing to its citizens and to citizens of foreign countries to invest in Nigeria.

As for the repatriation of the sterling balances, I wish the Minister every success in persuading all the agencies concerned—the Marketing Boards, Corporations, expatriate banks, insurance companies and so on—to do all they can to invest in this country. But again, Sir, I hope that the Government will itself set a good example.

Up till a few years ago, I know that the passive deposits of the Post Office Savings Bank were still being invested in gilt-edged securities abroad in the United Kingdom, Dominion and Colonial Stock other than Nigerian, and in



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British Municipal stock. I would welcome some assurance from the Minister that this position has changed and that the Post Office Savings deposits are being invested in Nigeria.

Before I finish, Sir, there are two points which, with your permission, I would like to mention at this stage, especially as we shall not be considering the Bill in Committee. The first refers to the fact that I have carefully examined the Estimates for the Ministry of Education and I can find no financial provision for the very excellent proposal which the Government made, that of starting Inter-Regional Secondary Schools. I hope that there is provision somewhere and that it is only lack of diligence on my part that has failed to reveal it; because this is one of those excellent ideas which must be converted into reality as soon as possible.

The idea was first put forward (if I remember rightly) by the late Rev. Miller, famous for his Missionary work in Northern Nigeria, who in his two books vigorously canvassed this idea of sponsoring Inter-regional secondary schools where selected young men and women in this country could live together and play together and learn to appreciate each other and to lay the foundations for a really good future for this country. The idea really appeals to me as a most powerful instrument for promoting the unity of this country. I hope, therefore, that in bringing it about the Government will also bear in mind some of the points made by Rev. Miller in his books, one of the most important in my opinion being that in selecting staff for these secondary schools, a definite effort must be made to select men and women who believe in the ideals of such schools and will zealously promote them, and encourage the young people under their charge to become true citizens of Nigeria. I hope that this proposal will not for long remain at the stage of consultations with Regional Governments, but that by the time we meet for another Budget Session it will already have been translated into concrete reality.

Finally, Sir, if I may refer to a matter concerning a number of Government departments, I have in mind the Federal Department of Agricultural Research, the Federal Department of Forestry Research, as well as Fisheries and Veterinary Research. You will under-

stand, Sir, and excuse me if I appear to be laying too much emphasis in drawing the attention of Members of this hon. House to the importance of research in the growth of this country. Every new development in agriculture and industry is usually the result of active research and I do not think it can be too early for us to begin to pay some attention to the problems of scientific manpower in this country. It is only occasionally unfortunate that the results of research are spectacular. Most of the time the layman does not even know that research is going on and the result is that the promotion of research does not often find its way into the manifestos of political parties or into election promises.

Nevertheless we realise that this is a most important aspect of the country's progress and I do hope that the Government will give it all the attention that it deserves. I would urge that, we should, now at the threshold of independence, do everything we can to promote fundamental research in this country.

We must not only produce more scientists to do the research but we must make conditions attractive enough to induce more of our best brains to take up research careers. We all remember, Sir, those parts of the Solaru Nigerianisation Report which refers to these scientific departments like agriculture, geology and forestry. Page after page of the Report one reads of the depressing account of unfilled vacancies, of few Nigerians coming forward and all the rest of it.

It is obviously important, Sir, that we do not, in our zeal to deal with the civil service—that we do not overlook the importance of finding suitable Nigerians to man our research institutions. Up till now, we have received generous support from the Colonial Research Council in our research activities. Obviously, Sir, after October 1, we cannot with self-respect expect other people to organize and carry out our research for us.

I would like to congratulate the Government on the steps taken recently in inviting Sir Frank Engledow, a Fellow of the Royal Society in Britain to examine and report on the organisation of research in this country. He has already produced a report which I believe has been published as Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1959.



would suggest, Sir, that the Federal and Regional Governments should act as promptly as possible on the recommendations contained in that Report and I would like to urge Ministers to take a lot more interest in the research institutions and that whenever they have the opportunity, to visit such institutions in order to stimulate the workers and to help to emphasise to everybody the importance of carrying out some of these fundamental studies. I support the Bill, Sir.

**Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu :** Mr President, Sir, I like to associate myself with the sentiments already expressed by various speakers in this House on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

Now, Sir, going through the 'Stability' Budget, as the Minister of Finance has described it, I like to draw the attention of this hon. House to page 13 on the Ten-Point Plan and in this wise I will restrict myself to four departments in the Bill. First, Agriculture: this requires, to my mind, a modern mechanical farming and from the allocation in the Appropriation Bill now coming for the Second Reading, it is obvious that it does not make sufficient provision in the Estimates for rapid development in farming.

For instance, the planting of palm-tree seeds needs looking into. Nigeria is very big and the method of planting our palm-trees requires immediate attention. Presently the palm-trees in Nigeria are so tall that within the next five to ten years it will be difficult to get anybody to climb up to get them down. Why not come in time to plan as it has been done in some civilised countries where they have shorter palm-trees; where they can get the seeds readily down without climbing the trees.

Now, we are crying for development; naturally agriculture takes a very important part in Nigeria and we must all view it from that angle. In the North, East and West, we need more production.

Industry: at page 13 of the Minister of Finance's speech, growth of more industries is advocated. I agree this is highly essential for an independent Nigeria because from this, we can stand as a nation and so also can our government. And if the Government can bring pressure on No. 4 of the Ten-point

Plan, then it will help to work out the last item on the last line—No. 7 successfully. The amount budgeted for industries does not indicate that adequate encouragement is being given in this respect.

I come now to high-ways and bridges. Under these Estimates, Sir, various speakers spoke much about Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode and Benin roads. Several bridges like Five Cowrie bridge, Ajilete bridge, Enugu-Onitsha-Owerri bridge, Kaduna-Zaria bridge, Gusau-Sokoto bridge, etc., were mentioned on page 10 to 11 of this Appropriation Bill. I fail to see any allocation whatever or estimates for the second or third bridge or Carter bridge—I should call it, for Lagos. Now it is very important and urgent.

It is an eye-sore to everyone of us that out of a total expenditure during 1955 to 1960 of over £23,827,500 allocated to high-ways and bridges there was no mention whatever for second bridge to connect Lagos island with the mainland. This is highly essential and very urgent. Allocation must immediately be made and money must be found if truly we know that Lagos is our capital.

At the moment, according to the daily papers, we are losing £5,500 daily on Lagos roads, which means that business is running down from time to time. You will agree with me, Mr President, that where there is no business, the nation cannot stand. So, I appeal through the President to the Minister of Finance to look into this. Early arrangements should be made and allocation or money should be found to erect a second Carter bridge or the third.

I come now to the Police: the increased estimates in the Bill of £5,623,929. This particular department deserves that increase. The security of Nigeria to-day rests very much on the integrity, honesty and faithfulness of the Police Department. The Police Department as we well know is responsible for the safety of Nigeria. If Nigeria is to develop, that department in particular should be encouraged in order to avoid what is going on now—that is bribery and corruption in that department. As a matter of fact, before a case is presented before a magistrate or before being transferred to the judge, the police must do the arrest; the police has to prefer the charge, the police has to submit the evidence before the magist-



[SENATOR HUNPONU-WUSU]

rate or the judge before the magistrate or the judge can decide as to whether the man is guilty or not guilty.

For this reason, the question of security, honesty and faithfulness should be observed in the Police department. These cannot be attained except the Police Department is given the much needed encouragement.

Mr President, Sir, I come now to Medical Department. As we all realise, a country that is not healthy, such a country cannot be expected to run a healthy government. Nigeria as a whole is a very big country and as we all need improved medical facilities, it is almost obvious that we cannot get these facilities if we do not get sufficient doctors. To my mind, Sir, from the budget, what is allocated for this particular department is completely inadequate and you will agree that it is one of those professions that require immediate attention.

We are now aiming at having our Independence, and if the country is not healthy it will be difficult for us to run a successful government. I will crave the indulgence of the President, Sir, to advocate the employment of some specialists in our Independent Nigeria. We are fortunate that we are having some Africans now as specialists, but I will say this that they are not being encouraged, and when there is no encouragement you will agree with me that it does not induce anybody to take up such a profession. Comparatively speaking, in some other departments like the Judiciary and the Legal there are more privileges and more opportunities than are provided for Specialists in the medical profession who toil day and night and for years only to be behind the other two departments of the Judiciary and Legal !

Now, Sir, it is in their hands that Nigeria is safe. I will give an example. A similar thing happened in 1925 when the Prince of Wales (now Duke of Windsor) was about to come to Nigeria. There was a rumour that there was a plague in Nigeria. He had to stop at Accra on the Gold Coast (now Ghana), but for the expert advice of medical specialists, by the late Dr Graham and others who went with the Bishop of Lagos to induce the Prince of Wales to come to Nigeria, that there was no plague. If we were not fortunate to have such expert medical

specialist advisers who went and convinced the Prince of Wales at Accra, it would have been a shame on the part of Nigeria then.

Now, as we are developing, Mr President, Sir, I do emphasise that the medical department should be given more encouragement. We need more doctors than lawyers at the moment.

Coming back to the other side of it : position we hold to-day in the world is such that money is not everything. Though we need money for development, the people inside must be encouraged. The more we give them encouragement the more we get the money. I will ask, through the President and this hon. House, that encouragement should be given to our internal borrowing which should start from this hon. House.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** Mr President, I just want to say a few words in contribution to this debate. I am very much concerned about the economy of the country, and I want to start by suggesting how the Government really should achieve this in certain respects.

I will start with Nigerianisation. In my humble view, I think if the Nigerianisation Officer likes to improve the economy of the country, he will do it only by Nigerianising the essential services especially those departments which our boys can efficiently man : I mean such departments as Medical, Police, Army, Legal, Judicial, Education and Prisons. If we look into the difference between the money earned by an expatriate and our Nigerian civil servant, the difference is too much. The difference sometimes ranges from about £800 to £1,000. In addition to this huge salary, the expatriate draws an inducement allowance. He also has an extra privilege of drawing children's allowance, and when his children reside outside Nigeria he flies them into Nigeria and back about twice a year at Government expense. He is again entitled to his leave which he usually spends in his home.

Just consider the transport too. If you take all these things into consideration, the difference ranges from between £800 and £1,000; whereas if we had Nigerians in their place, we would not have to pay this heavy transport allowance because they are in Nigeria. If we have to pay at all, we may spend very few pounds.



I am interested to say something about the Medical Department and I think this is a good opportunity for me to do so because we are not committing this Bill to the Committee of Supply. In the specialist department of the Medical Department there is an irregularity in the staffing. In that department there are two substantive holders of the specialist post and there is one acting. The head of that department is an expatriate. This expatriate has only A.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.—and he is the head. Then compare him with the African who is under him with A.R.C.P., A.R.C.S., L.M., A.R.P.T. This man who is in an acting capacity has the highest degree of the three. The expatriate does not have M.B.ChP., A.R.C.P.S., A.R.C.P... (Interruption.)

**Mr President:** Order, order. May I remind the hon. Senator that matters of promotions, etc., are the prerogative of the Public Service Commission, and at present he should confine his remarks to the economic and financial policy of the Government.

**Senator Abaagu:** Thank you very much, Mr President. You know, I brought this argument because I would like to see that where Africans are sufficiently qualified, the expatriates should go and give way to the Africans. I should suggest that the Government should look into the case of this particular gentleman who has these qualifications and make the necessary adjustments.

Now, Mr President, I want to come to tax. Tax is the most important source of revenue of the Federal Government, and if the Federal Government does not want to fail in the raising of revenue by this means, it should consider very carefully what we are saying in regard to its economic policy.

There are certain irregularities in the assessment of tax. Certain people who should be assessed are not assessed and certain people are assessed but they are not properly assessed. People who are assessed at all do not get papers. These include us, that is ourselves in the Legislature. I happened to visit the Inland Revenue Department about two weeks ago and I was told that about 25 per cent of the Members of the Old House are in arrears now for about two to three years. If we are not showing the example, how can we expect others to do the same thing?

Of course, during the election campaigns, certain political parties said that if they were voted into power, they would reduce taxation. I am not attacking any particular political party because this question of the payment of tax is an offence which every Member of the House is guilty of whether he is in the Action Group, N.C.N.C. or N.P.C. So I am not attacking any particular party. I would want the Government to look into it and suggest some means of collecting this tax and I would suggest that even if we adopt a policy of pay-as-you-earn, I think that is the term, that is, we allow Government to take taxes from our monthly salary.

**The President:** I hope that the hon. Senator does not imply that Legislators are dodging the payment of their taxes.

**Mr Abaagu:** They are not dodging the payment of taxes but they are not living up to expectation.

**The President:** I rule you out of order because under Standing Order 25 (8) it is out of order to discuss or to raise the conduct of the Members of the House except upon a substantive Motion.

**Senator Abaagu:** Thank you, Mr President, for directing me. Anyway, I have said it and I cannot erase it.

**The President:** You may have said it but I have ruled you out of order.

**Senator Abaagu:** I agree, Mr President. I would like to say something again about these unmarried ladies. When I say unmarried ladies, I do not mean only those waiting to be married, I mean those girls who go to pubs everyday. They make a lot of money, they have a lot of money to pay for entrance into the pubs, they have money to pay to go to cinema and everything. These girls are parasites living at the expense of people. They discourage married life, they encourage prostitution. I think the only way to discourage them from these activities is to make them pay taxes. I also suggest that tax should be levied on luxuries like cinemas, tobacco, television and extraordinarily big cars. I would like an increased tax to be levied on these items.

I come to Members' allowances. I should say that now that we are not committing this Bill to a Committee, I want to say it here once and for all. I am not for the increase of



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allowances to Members. I would like to say one or two things which might have prompted Members to ask for increase in allowances. The money paid to Members is not for them but for those people who elected them. In my own part of the country, a Member elected into the Legislature has nothing to do of his own. What he does, he does for the people. He gets his money because it is his salary. This salary is used in entertaining those people who elected him. When they come to you, you give them bottles of whisky, if they do not finish them, they take them away. This is a very serious matter. When these people come to you, you are forced to entertain them, if you do not entertain them, they will look at you and say "All right! Next Election!"

**The President :** A bottle of whisky is not intended to induce them to vote for you.

**Senator Aabaagu :** But then you are compelled to pay a tax which you do not want to pay, direct tax. So things like that, you are in a station with a Civil Servant, perhaps he earns more than you do, he may be earning about £900 to £1,000, if you go to a social function, the Civil Servant is spending something like £5, you who earn less are expected to donate about £10. This is the life of a Legislator.

Some people say that politics is a dirty game and I think I share in this view. I should say that those people who are asking for increased allowances for Legislatures are not making a mistake but they are compelled to. I am not supporting it but I want to say the reasons why they are asking for those things. I therefore suggest that this salary that is paid to us should not be called salaries but rather be called entertainment allowances because we do not use it for ourselves but to entertain people who voted us and we are compelled to do it. If you do not do it, you will not be elected.

So you could see that in this country, there is nobody who is rich, not even our political leaders. Some of them may have become millionaires because of politics, they are ruled out. I want to say something about our President of the Senate. I was privileged to be in the political camp and saw how this gentleman entertained—

**The President :** It is out of order to raise any matters affecting the conduct of the President of the Senate except upon a substantive Motion.

**Senator Aabaagu :** This is a question of his social dealings with other people and therefore cannot be out of order. Anyway, Mr President you said it is out of order. In any case, I want to tell the House that in politics, unless we tell our people not to compel us the Legislators or politicians to run into bankruptcy, the hon. Members will continue to agitate for increased allowances. I should suggest that this should not be called salaries but should be called entertainment allowances payable to Members since we do not use this money for ourselves.

Mr President, I beg to support.

**Senator O. Somolu :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to make my own contribution to this debate on the Budget Speech made by the Minister of Finance. I have noticed that since this debate opened, the Minister has been particularly fortunate in the series of encomiums that have been showered on him. Perhaps it will not be charitable to say that he does not deserve some of these presents. But I dare say that I shall make bold not to join this attribution club.

The Minister of Finance has nicknamed this Budget "Stability Budget". Looking at it from his own point of view, perhaps he feels quite satisfied that this is a very appropriate nickname. But I can only agree that this nickname is right and proper if it expresses the hope not only of the Minister, not only of the Government, but also of the people of this country. Reading through the Budget Speech and looking through the various items budgetted for under the different Ministries, I am compelled to suggest a new nickname for this Budget. In my view it is a budget of Expediency. This is so because right through there is one thing that is very important throughout the Speech of the hon. Minister and that is Borrow! Borrow! Borrow!

Now, if we have to go aborrowing in order to balance our budget, in order to finance our development programmes, I wonder what pride there is in us, especially when the hon. Minister himself has come to this House to proclaim that there are large sums of money belonging to various bodies in this country invested abroad. With your permission, Mr President, I would like to quote exactly what the hon. Minister at page 27 of the Budget



Speech has to say. I quote, "In raising these large sums we shall be seeking the full co-operation of the institutions—in particular, Sir, I must mention the Marketing Boards. They have large sums of money invested overseas and it is my hope that they will be prepared to dis-invest at least some part of their overseas holdings and take up local securities. This is vital for the successful mobilisation of resources to finance the development plans not only of the Federal Government but also of the Regional Governments. I cannot help mentioning that the size of the Marketing Boards overseas investments is often a cause of embarrassment to me when I seek external assistance. Overseas financial authorities are inclined to argue that the existence of these investments does not suggest that Nigeria has any real need for external help".

Now, Sir, this is to me the confession of an opium dealer. Apart from saying this, does the hon. Minister give us any idea as to what he intends to do apart from mere preaching to these various bodies with large sums of money? I cannot see anything in the Budget to indicate this. I humbly suggest that this is a failure on the part of the hon. Minister. If he is aware, and if his Government also is aware that these various large sums of money are overseas, what are they doing to repatriate them? One hon. Minister in the Lower House the other day put these various sums of money to the figure like £250 million. Neither the hon. Minister nor any of his colleagues has denied this. There is a saying in this country that if you have sixpence in the house and you go out to borrow sixpence, it is your own sixpence that you will find. If we have £250 million invested abroad by various bodies—Marketing Boards, Native Authorities and so on, in this country—and we go out with cap in hand to beg to borrow £40 million, is it not a shame?

This, to me, looks like pursuing a policy of financial suicide. The Federal Government with the various Regional Governments if necessary should take all necessary steps to contact these various bodies. Something like a Development Investment Committee could be initiated to work out plans so that these various sums of money could be brought back into the country to be harnessed for the development of this country.

The Minister of Finance told us the other day in one of his replies to the debate in this House that he envisages that two to three years would be needed to persuade these various bodies to bring back these various sums of money. This is a luxury affair attitude. If the Minister is vigorous in the pursuit of this policy of repatriation of our money abroad he should be able to do it within twelve months. There is no reason why if these various sums of money are brought back the loans we are going out to seek cannot be found in this country.

The Minister told us at page 16 of his Budget Speech of the plans he is making to encourage saving. I commend him for this and it is my hope that he will put more energy into it. If we are going to have an Independence Loan I do not see the reason why we should not also have an Independence Savings Bond. There is nothing to prevent us from working hard towards these programmes provided we know that it is to our own good. Sacrifice is what we need to make and we can only make sacrifices if the Government makes an appeal to the people to practise upon their patriotism instead of just sitting on the fence, year after year, and preaching like a clerk in Holy Orders who thinks that some day there might be a change of heart. We cannot, in my opinion, apply this type of attitude to our financial policy.

Again, as one hon. Senator has already hinted this morning, it is time we looked into the structure of our Public Service and tried to encourage our own men and women to undertake responsibility. They cannot undertake responsibility if we discourage them. We have heard it said over and over again that it is difficult, some say that it is impossible, to replace some of the expatriates that are holding key positions in our Public Service. As has been pointed out the employment of these people raises the figure of our personal emoluments.

Nigeria is about the only country I know with the present stage of development paying out so much money as Personal Emolument, and that is because we inherited the Colonial system of economy. Having inherited it we find it difficult to get out of the Colonial mentality. We keep on, we cannot easily tell these people to go. Why can we not? The pre-independent Malayan Government did it.



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They made it plain that on the assumption of independence every key position in their country would be held by a Malayan and they carried it out.

If we go on ringing our hands we cannot tell these people to go because they will complain. Of course, they came along to this country, and when they came they had at the back of their minds that some day this country is going to be independent and our own people are going to hold the key posts in the country. If those of them who are politically-minded can yield ground why are we afraid about those of them who are civil servants? We seem to lose sight of the fact that they can decide to go.

Very many of them have their names on the 'B' List, and yet they are still hanging on, being stumbling-blocks in the ways of our own men and women. They would not go and they would not stay. I submit Sir, that our Government should do something about this. The more of our own people we have in the key posts of our country the less we shall spend on personal emolument, and the less our budget will make provisions for the expenses that we launch out on these people.

Mr President, Sir, our industrial programme is important because it is this programme that can carry us across to national self-sufficiency. But at the moment it is a pity that much effort is not being put on this question of industrialisation. All various regional Governments go their own way in making their own plans; there is nothing on the part of the Federal Government to consolidate the effort of these people.

It is my suggestion Mr President, that we should have a National Industrial Commission composed of the various Governments and of experts in the service of this country to sit down and plan jointly for the industrial development of this country. Piece-meal development is bound to cost us a lot of money. But if there is cohesion, if there is combined effort, there is no doubt that we shall benefit greatly and the resources of this country can be pulled to finance the greatness which belongs to Nigeria.

In his Budget Speech, Mr President, the hon. the Minister of Finance in dealing with tax evasion and smuggling touched upon the question of Customs cases. He has detailed

vigorous steps which the Government intends to take in order to see that smuggling is reduced to the barest minimum along the frontiers of this country. These steps will not be of much fruit if these cases are not prosecuted quickly and swiftly so that the people will be able to see the effect of justice on the smugglers. It is no use catching a smuggler in 1959 and his case is not finished until 1961. Everybody has forgotten about it.

Turning to the methods which the Minister has suggested in respect of these cases, with your permission Mr President, I will read page 26 of the Budget Speech which says: "The next step in enforcing the law against smuggling must be the expeditious prosecution of our customs cases in court. I consider that when the measures I have outlined become fully operative, there will be a great increase in the work of prosecuting cases of smuggling. We shall no longer be able to rely on the good offices of Regional Crown Counsel in conducting prosecutions. This is a difficulty I intend to overcome by directing the Legal Advisers to my own Ministry and to the Board of Customs and Excise to undertake these prosecutions, assisted where necessary by private legal practitioners.

"So, in this way, with a reorganised Preventive Service and the establishment of the proposed new customs stations, with the institution of strong mobile patrols assisted by the Army, Police and Navy and with the expeditious prosecution of smugglers, I am satisfied that organised smuggling can be hit so hard that it will cease to be a profitable undertaking".

Mr President, those who have an insight to the working of our courts know how difficult it is to get these cases through. Cases have remained on the Calendar for two or three years. It is my humble suggestion to this hon. House that the hon. the Minister of Finance should give very serious consideration to the establishment of Revenue Courts so that they can be there independent and devote their whole attention expeditiously to the prosecution of these cases instead of having them to go through the normal Civil Courts where they will be subject to unending adjournment. This defeats the purpose, and the hon. the Minister of Finance himself is very well aware of this.



I submit that he should go forward a little bit more and make his provision in the Budget Speech a reality.

Many Senators in this House during this Debate have touched upon various departments and suggested that the personnel should be encouraged, and that our Government should make more provision in order to get the right men. I humbly agree with the suggestions of Senators who have touched upon the Medical Department as one of those departments and we are lucky in this House to have one of our Ministers as a Specialist in this vital department. I am sure he will be able to advise his colleagues on the Government that a good deal still has to be done to encourage people in the medical service particularly Doctors, to encourage them to become specialists in order to focus attention to very aspects of medical work in this country, but it is disheartening to understand that when our Doctors have spent time and money to acquire specialist qualifications they are still kept meditating. This does not encourage anybody, and the Government should look into it.

The hon. Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech dealt with the Railway and the loss of revenue. This has made it imperative that the Government should vote more and more money either as subsidies or as loans to the Railway. I suggest that the Federal Government should initiate something like a National Transport Commission which will comprise of the Railway and the Road users so as to be able to work out a plan which will give the Railway preferential treatment in the carrying of certain goods. Goods like groundnuts, cotton, tin could be made preferential to the Railway. That means that the Railway will be able to develop along its own lines, collect more revenue and so be able to finance its own development plans instead of having to borrow from the Federal Government.

Thus, the various aspects of our economy should take precedence in the consideration of the Minister of Finance and the Members of the Government. It is in this way that we can get the country's resources and money with which to finance our country's development programmes, and if we pursue this policy vigorously we shall be able to balance our budget without so much borrowing from

abroad. The more we are able to finance our own schemes ourselves, the better for the greatness of this country.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Dr Orizu:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to second the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill. And in doing so, I have to reclaim the rights of men because in this mixed hon. House yesterday an hon. Colleague said she was proud to be a woman because the budget was prepared by a man and she was happy she was not a man. Now, I say that I am proud I am a man and that the budget was prepared by a man, a man who in my opinion is a real man (*Hear, hear*).

I must praise the Minister of Finance, the hon. Festus Okotie-Eboh, because we do not measure people by current standards, we measure people by the standard from where they come up. That Nigeria is able to produce a man of this nature who did not go to Oxford or Cambridge or to Colombia or Yale, but who is bold enough to stand before this country to produce this propitious budget, which he called the Stability Budget. That word 'Stability' has both economic and political interpretation because stability in my opinion first of all expresses that this Budget indicates a coalition economic philosophy. In the world to-day we live in the market of ideologists particularly in the field of political economy, and the whole world is divided into two or three great camps. In most countries when a nation is getting to independence the trend of its economic planning shows the kind of money they are pouring into the market of ideology. But here this particular Budget did not specify clearly what exact economic philosophy independent Nigeria would pursue. It indicates a coalition economic philosophy to stabilise the unity of Nigeria. Therefore, I think the term 'Stability Budget' apart from stabilising the economy stabilises the unity of Nigeria (*Hear, hear*).

I must also give credit to the Prime Minister himself because it is only through his encouragement and agility that he is able to encourage the Minister of Finance to produce such a wonderful Budget. When I say wonderful I am not unaware that any word used in that way is relative. There is nothing



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wonderful that has not got a defect. So when I say wonderful I am not saying anything I have not looked into.

I observed his ten-point programme. No. 1 states: "to maintain confidence in the value of the Nigerian currency and to maintain reasonable stability in wages and prices". What he means here in my opinion is to say that stability in wages and prices bring increased production. In my opinion when other countries talk of Africa what they really refer to particularly people of western civilisation, what they have in mind is this: they simply mean that we are lazy people. We do not work hard enough. Sir, I want to say this: they are correct.

Now, we see the white man in Nigeria with tie and coat and everything. What we have to realise is that the average white man works very hard. He works very very hard. When we talk about big cars, we are talking about big cars. You wait until we get independence. There are many other big things that will come into this country. You do not need to be afraid of big things (*Laughter*). Now I was saying that we do not know that these big things are a reflection of hard work. We do not need to run away from our image. In maintaining our independence we must not run away from the things that make for prosperity, but we must work for prosperity.

When we talk about wages and prices we have got to remember that production simply means this: it is intelligence plus skill plus material. If you have intelligence and have the skill and impose these upon the material you produce value and the value becomes money.

I am saying that in Nigeria when we have independence all we need to do is to develop the skill because every man has an innate capacity and it is this innate capacity developed that you call ability. I repeat every man has a native capacity and it is only when you develop that native capacity that that capacity becomes ability.

What we want in Nigeria is the ability to impose value upon materials. To talk about anything else without any effort of developing this ability to impose value on our materials means we shall always go on borrowing and borrowing.

If you know the history of other countries that grew, countries like Japan, Russia, America, these three countries, also China and England, India, small as it is, what makes them grow is hard work. This is ability to impose value on materials.

Coming to the second point of the ten-point programme which states: "to continue to expand the basic infra-structure upon which all economic development depends". Well that is alright, provided it is well understood. What do you mean by this infra-structure? There again I shall bring it up again when I come to the question on Debate to show the relationship between horizontal education and the infra-structure.

Then it comes to item 3: "to give every support to increased agricultural production;" What are we talking about, agricultural production? Although we know that it is one of those concurrent subjects, we visualise the Regional Governments having their own plans, and then the Central Government. The truth of the matter is this, if you are flying from New York through London, and say you have just come down suddenly on the soil of Ghana, and you remember what you have seen may be in Mid-West, may be in Ohio in Minnesota or Illinois in America, and you think of the mechanised farms, or if you have been to Idaho and Michigan to see Ford Authority's agricultural equipment, or if you go to see the international harvesters at Massachusetts and see what they can do with their own materials, and you suddenly come to Accra, or to Lagos or to Ibadan. You will see one man in Ohio driving one machine and running through many areas of land in one hour, and you will find one man in Nigeria with a hoe doing like this. What are we talking about agriculture? What are we talking about? And we do not even know whether there is any plan for anything like that, whether there is any imagination going towards that kind of thing.

So my point is that even to have a nation that is healthy our agricultural structure must be of the first-class order to produce the first brand intellect for this country for constructive thinking. You cannot think well unless you eat well, man after all is a vegetable object. We cannot think well unless we eat well. I have said it before, I have gone round Lagos which is the capital of Nigeria, and I have not



been able to drink a glass of milk from any hotel that is really milk. It is a wonderful thing that here in Lagos you can have breakfast, and they give you rice crispies or corn flakes. They give you hot water to add to a small milk to drink in the morning. How can a nation grow like that? I mean that is why we come here and talk a lot of nonsense because our minds and our bodies are worse off for that. You cannot have thinkers in this country yet, without agricultural development. It is only through agriculture that you have a lot of milk, that you have a lot of eggs.

I just mention these two things particularly because they are very essential to the national diet of any country, and I did not see any planning in these estimates. Nothing. I am therefore suggesting that there must be something, a national agricultural committee for the co-ordinating of all the inter-Regional and national agricultural planning and to relate them towards making the agricultural life of Nigeria to develop and expand. It is no use going round talking, talking, talking.

Then it says here: Item 4: "to continue to encourage the growth of industry and the further development of Nigeria's mineral resources". Well, it is good to say so. I think it is a very nice idea to express our feelings about industry and the mineral substances. We have seen what happened at Enugu. We want to put in diesel engines, which is very good, but there was no forethought. There was no planning of what to do with coal so as to absorb the workers that have been retrenched. There again, that is exactly what I said before, we have the coal but the intelligence and skill must be put upon it to find some other development. That is the problem there, nothing else, and to go and borrow money to keep these people down is nonsense. The best thing to do is to face the fact that coal is a material, man has intelligence to develop his skill, so that he will put another value on coal.

Now the fifth point is "to promote the training of Nigerian man-power especially in professional, technical and managerial skills." How can you do that when you have not changed completely the educational policy of this country? I think that there are certain things that are fundamental and education is fundamental and I have not seen it yet;

again it is a concurrent subject between the regional and the central governments, but there can be co-ordination.

My point of view is that there are certain things we must do about education. First, the trend now is that we have no teachers in Nigeria. Nobody considers teaching a profession in Nigeria any more. Those who teach in schools teach only to think of something else. They have passed their Cambridge or West African Certificate and now they are thinking of G.C.E. When they come to class they put some items on the blackboard and sit down to study their G.C.E. lessons, because that is the only way that promotion comes. When they have their G.C.E. they get promoted. If we want to have education in Nigeria, the first thing to do is to make a plan to professionalise the teaching, to make it a profession, and how are we going to do that? First, to let not promotion come by passing the G.C.E. or passing B.A. or M.A. Let teachers be promoted according to how civil servants are promoted so that they will be loyal to their profession. (*Hear, hear*).

**The President:** Order, order. May I remind those sitting in the Gallery that they are not Members of this House and they are not expected to applaud. (*Applause*).

**Senator Dr Orizu:** When this is done, laws will be made also concerning teachers. They will not be allowed to be running about from one vacancy to another for employment. It is necessary to professionalise teaching in Nigeria because to-day Nigeria has no teachers. I just want the country to note that fact. I happen now to be one of the employers of teachers and I am not complaining about my own staff, they are good, but I know what I am talking about and to do that we shall encourage teachers by actually paying them according to the rates that others are paid in other fields of the same grade.

Another thing is to change, and I use the word now in construction, to change the infra-structure of education from perpendicular to horizontal. By that I mean from something straight without a large base to something with a broad base and goes on with less base that goes up and up in a pyramid form. You see, when you want to teach a man to be a civil engineer that man ought to be able to



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learn a little bit about geography, to learn a little bit about archaeology, to learn a little bit about sociology, to learn a little about philosophy, to learn a little bit about psychology, so that when he comes to be a qualified civil engineer he will not be a one-track minded individual to whom it is difficult to know why he is doing what he is doing.

In Nigeria to-day our education has hitherto been perpendicular. A man will get B.A. in Geography, he has no elementary idea of mathematics, he has no elementary idea of anything else, and he boasts about his geography. The reason for that is this, we have followed too much on only one system of education. In a growing nation like this we have to employ the knowledge of all nations. Who would deny that Britain has developed a wonderful system of education? They have done so because they have produced great men, if you read the history of sciences, they have come down from that very Oxford and Cambridge and many others. They have produced many . . . .

**The President :** Order, order. It is not my intention to interfere with the hon. Senator in delivering his speech, but may I advise him to confine his remarks on education on how these affect the financial and economic policy of the Government since we are not now debating the educational policy of the Government.

**Senator Dr Orizu :** Mr President, Sir, I am only trying to make these observations so that my comparisons will be more logical and understood. My point of view is that in our education policy we have to employ the system of other countries along with the one we have, and these go together to make a new educational structure. For Nigeria it would be Nigerian structure of education. Then I can still say to ensure that development was our undertaking in accordance with priority and importance to Nigeria and that there is the proper co-ordination between all the Governments of the Federation in this field.

Well, my own advice to this is that there ought to be established a National Economic Planning Committee composed of experts and nationalists to help enhance this kind of

programme, because there is no need of writing something down and doing nothing about it.

Item 7 says : "to make effective arrangements for the provision of the funds required to finance development in Nigeria, both by mobilising domestic resources and by attracting capital from overseas". I have already emphasised that we can get our resources from here first. Nobody is going to respect you when you are unable to develop capital within your own body. I endorse the idea of foreign investment in this country, provided this is controlled. But I emphasise that it is nothing unless we know that even if Nigeria has a wall around her now, that is my belief, apart from war, if it has a wall around it like this House we will get on for two centuries. It is only a matter of food and clothing. We shall need nothing from anybody. That is the only trouble, that the world of man refuses to rest. Those who do not have bread want to have it. If you do not open the door for them they will break it. That is all when we are talking about internal independence. We can remain in this country for centuries and eat food. Getting on !

Now, coming to Item 8 : "to continue to develop the social amenities increasingly required in accordance with the ability of the economy to sustain them". Well, I very much want to point out only a thing here. This is the question of building materials. Iron-sheets which used to cost about four pounds four weeks ago are now seven pounds. I want to say that if anybody wants to come to Nigeria from abroad I think what they would like to see is that we have good roads and good buildings. I think that one of the benefits of Independence is to raise the standard of living from within. I am advising the Minister of Finance to do everything possible to remove duty on building materials, to make it duty free on materials for building. That is my own advice on this point.

Item 9 : "to ensure that Nigeria plays her full part in the international institutions and organisations designed to promote development and freer and wider international trade". Here I want to mention only one point, and that is what the British Government is missing. This Government does not appear to understand the value of cheap labour in the international world. We are bound to under-sell



anybody in whose country the labour is higher that is, where the production is higher. Nigeria is in a stage at present to under-sell all the Western countries of Europe. Look at cement in Nkalagu. We have cheap labour. I am sure that there is something difficult to raise the price of the cement to the standard of imported cement. That is a bad way of taking advantage of God's blessing. The Nigerian government must begin to consider seriously now how to take advantage of the international world trade. Nigerian Government must take advantage of her cheap labour for the time being.

On Item 10: "to ensure that Nigeria plays her full part, both as a donor and a recipient, in international technical assistance programme." Now, I come to the advice of my hon. colleague, hon. Eni Njoku, who talked about scientists. Look, let us go straight to things. Let the Nigerian Government train scientists with a detailed programme of assignment. If you know the history of the atomic bomb how America and England planned it for some time, then you will know what you are talking about. We do not just have to sit down. We have to train or people either in Germany, or in England, or in America, or in Russia. I do not care where. Train them! Tell them what they are trained for. If the person refuses let him come back. Withdraw the scholarship! Let Nigeria train scientists!

Then certain things are not here that I want to make some passing remarks upon. It is about Defence. I expect that the greater plan must be in the minds of the Government about this Department. Under this Defence I just want to mention Police. I think that before we get our Independence we just have to change their present uniforms. I do not like it. Stop it! The Police also have to be thoroughly Nigerianised. I do want to emphasise that the Police also should be trained abroad like anyone else.

Then I come to the question of External Affairs. I am not sure that Nigeria is training people in foreign languages. If I am wrong I would like to be corrected. I do not know how many Nigerians are being trained now to study foreign languages, say the Russian language. All! I want to know how many Nigerians are studying the languages of the

major countries of the world whether friendly or unfriendly. We are already linguists and we will continue to be that way. When we talk of foreign languages we are talking about languages other than English.

I want to suggest that there be a Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. Since we are advisers we ought to be able to act. That is so of all other Senators anywhere in the world. We should view it now before we go. Let there be a Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and there must also be a Housing Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Lastly, just as my other colleague there said that if you go as Senators I do not think that anybody is going to ask me to give him any bottle of whisky because I was not elected by any particular individual. On the other hand, I was appointed by the Members, if I am correct. And those who appointed us are not the type that will take bottles of whisky. But I assure you that even if they do not take bottles of whisky, when you go home, they will want to know whether you said anything about them. So our communication!

Last time I was going to expand on this and the President ruled me out of order. Nnewi town, from where I come, is the head of that particular district. There are many towns in the East in which the Federal Government has installed telephones. I do not know why they did that. In a big place like Nnewi where there are many secondary schools, hospitals, maternity hospitals and everything, there is not a single telephone there. What happened? Nnewi is the largest single town in the East that is not a metropolitan territory. And yet when somebody went and asked the Minister of Communications about it, he got a report from the East from I-do-not-know-who that Nnewi could not subscribe for telephones. Only ten people, they said, had five pounds to pay for telephones in Nnewi, only ten people in Nnewi and without any fear of contradiction, is it not true that in Iboland Nnewi is one of the richest towns? We have some of the richest men in Nnewi, you know. And yet they said that Nnewi has only ten people to pay five pounds. So, I want to submit now that Nnewi wants telephones before independence, Minister of Communications.

Sir, I beg to support.



*Sitting suspended : 11.03 a.m.*

*Sitting resumed : 11.18 a.m.*

**Senator Dr J. O. Omitowoju :** Mr President, Sir, I can see from the speech of the Minister of Finance that the purpose of his Budget Speech is to provide a strong financial structure for an independent Nigeria. In expanding on this, the speech covers, (a) the taking of stock of the finance of the Federal Government as it stands to-day. In this, we have discovered that our revenue cannot satisfy our economic programme and at the same time, external aid cannot come without strings being attached. (b) It covers the description of the plan of the Government for ensuring that our finances are strongly managed in the years ahead and more revenue collected. In this, he has been able to propose some economic measures to be within the present extensive Civil Service, the curbing of smuggling activities and better ways of tax collection. His ultimate goal is that the stronger our economy is, the stronger will be our political freedom and the stronger will be our position in the world. Here he advocates that we must develop our basic economy measure with huge foreign loans in order to attract the establishment of industries and foreign capital into Nigeria. Experts in this House have told us that when it is necessary for us to take loans there must be a means of paying back. The Minister of Finance merely tells us that we are credit-worthy; there is nothing in his Budget Speech to show how we shall pay these loans back.

He explained to us that Canada and India borrow money but he has failed to tell us further that their trades, their banking, their shipping and many other things are squarely in the hands of Canadians and Indians. In Nigeria it is not so. If we look at the draft Estimates, the main sources of our revenue are from Customs and Excise, direct taxes and mining. The key to our economic strength lies in our agricultural products, our mineral wealth and import trades. The danger is that the control of all these is in the hands of foreign combines. They control our exports and imports, dictate the prices, they exploit our mineral wealth and we do not take part in all these things except what we are relegated to do which is that of an ordinary petty trader.

And even then we still have foreign people competing with us in this aspect. In the colonial days, the revenue from our taxes—taxes from our import and export trades, and direct income tax were sufficient to maintain the old colonial Government and to safeguard the interest of the foreign firms who were exploiting our natural resources for the benefit of Britain. Our nationalists fought the AWAM during the war years without success. Now that Nigeria will be free from October 1 this year, this foreign exploitation, in my opinion, must stop with it.

The hon. Minister of Finance seems to be fighting shy of these foreign combines. He is able to see the huge investments being made abroad by our Marketing Board, but that is very good if he advises this Board to bring all these investments back for internal development. But he has not been able to tell us whether the huge investments made abroad from the profits made last year by our foreign combines could compare with all these.

In my own humble opinion, I would suggest that the Government must take a very drastic view about taking part in the import and export trade of this country. We have to do so in partnership with the foreign combines and this should be done on a basis which is satisfactory to the Government of this country. The infra-structures for carrying on this import and export trade are already here, the Regional Development Corporations, Marketing Boards, The Association of Nigerian Co-operative Exporters Limited, our Nigerian shipping Lines and all the indigenous concerns, can safely come together with the Federal Government to carry out such negotiations with the foreign combines to establish this import and export trade for the benefit of the country. On such a body, a Nigerian Board of Trade can be safely formed to plan ahead what type of trade and how it shall be carried out by indigenous Nigerians.

In about 10 years, this country should be able to control both her internal and external trades and whatever profit is made can be used to increase the revenue to be used for our development. The advantage of this method is that the foreign countries will now recognise that the Nigerian nation has come to stay and that it will be credit-worthy and able to



pay for her development. It will be suicidal if after we have spent a lot of money on our infra-structures for development, foreign exploiters will have to use them to swell up their own gain and overseas developments. We must control our economic and our natural resources. The appointment of just a few Nigerians on a Board of Directors of a foreign combine is a sort of hypocritical way of strangling our economy with the hands of our own people. All our profits made in Nigeria must not be exported.

On the point of our mineral resources, this is a very delicate issue and we should not make mistakes of other countries, particularly the Middle East. Indigenous capital along with foreign investments must be used in developing our mineral resources. If we have to rely mostly on collecting just taxes and royalties and we are happy that our country is going to be rich, I am afraid in about 20 to 30 years, we may have to be sorry for ourselves because the foreign capitalists will have strangle-hold on our mineral resources and we shall have to live to regret such.

I hope it shall not happen to Nigeria. So I will maintain that this Government must think of a way of going into a sort of partnership with whatever companies will be able to exploit our mineral resources. By the time we have all worked together for say a period of ten to fifteen years we should have been able to produce many of the technical know-how.

The other aspect of our trade which I will refer to is in respect of trade among the Asiatics who are residing in this country. They take up most of the retail trade to the disadvantage of our own people. In his Speech, the hon. Minister of Finance told us only of the social side of his visits to Lebanon, India and other parts of the Middle East but he failed to tell us how he has been able to convince the Government of those countries to increase the volume of their trade by taking more of our raw materials in compensation for the amount of money they take out from the trade of this country.

If we look at the statistics, you will see that if you compare the amount of money going out to these people's lands with the amount of money they actually put in by buying our raw materials, it is just like taking our money without

putting in anything at all. That is not safe for an independent country, and it should be brought home to these countries that after independence it should be possible for them to increase the volume of their trade in this country. They should not just come here and increase their imports and take the money out. They should be able to buy a lot of things from us in exchange.

Many of them are naturalised and if this is not brought home to them they may claim Nigerian citizenship later on and at the same time they would still keep on sending money to their countries.

The other question is that of Japan and other places where our people are actually having trade connections. Our people have import licences to buy many things from Japan but we find that it is just the same thing as happens in the case of the Indians, Lebanese and Pakistanis. These people just bring their things, sell them to us, take the money out and buy nothing from us at all. We as an independent country eventually should make it a point to send an economic mission which shall consist mostly of Nigerians to explore the possibility of these people being able to take and buy many of our raw materials. Any other method by which we can increase our revenue I will support and at this stage I will agree with those people who have suggested that a Revenue Commission should be set up as a matter of urgency.

We must plan ahead how we are going to increase our revenue. Merely trying to track down people who evade tax or trying to track down smugglers, though these measures are very important, it takes a long time before they start to take effect. We must sit down practically to discuss the active way by which we shall increase our revenue. Foreign industrialists should not be afraid that we shall discuss anything about nationalising their concerns out here. Nationalisation is not a good weapon for a young country to adopt, but foreign combines must sympathise with our economic aspirations and co-operate with us in our attempt to secure our total economic freedom.

On the economic measures which the Minister of Finance proposes to take, I will mention the one in respect of the civil service.



[SENATOR DR OMITOWOJU]

The Government is relieving itself of the responsibility of advancing money to civil servants to buy cars and to give them allowances to run them. Well, I fully support that idea and it will go a long way to tell our people that we have to live within our means and only people who really feel that they require cars for their work under the Government will be able to approach banking houses to get loans.

But the support given to a foreign bank to take up this contract is something which I would, along with other people who have spoken against it, really detest. We have Nigerian banking houses and every encouragement should be given to these people in respect of Government contracts to help the development of our people. I am sure that if the Minister of Finance had been able to approach any of these Nigerian banking houses in the interest of this nation they would not refuse to take up this advance contract, and I hope the Government will be able to take a very serious view of this, Sir, and perhaps allow just this first year in which Lombard Bank Ltd. will be able to continue to do this thing. I believe that by next year the Minister of Finance should be able to come on the Floor of this House to tell us that indigenous banking houses have taken up this advance contract.

The next point I have to talk about is loans. The hon. the Minister of Finance seemed to have stressed the taking of external loans over the question of raising internal loans for our development. We know that to carry out our economic programme we must use both systems of loans but the application of external loans should come in when we have seen that after exploring every avenue of raising internal loans we still find that we are far short of what we want to spend on our Economic Programme. In the first place, we have not got the details of how much money we require for our economic programme and how much we shall get from internal loans and see how much we have left before we can seek external loans.

I would definitely support the idea that every propaganda must be made to see that the idea of internal loans is properly entrenched in the minds of our people. The Minister of Information should go out with his propaganda machinery—cars, lorries, leaflets, cinema houses

—to show programmes of Savings Bonds, Treasury Bills, Promissory Notes and so on. We have seen good examples from the way in which the Barclays Bank and the Bank of West Africa have been advertising their banks in the cinema houses, and I am sure the Ministry of Finance in association with the Ministry of Information should do everything to see that this idea of internal loans is properly entrenched all over the country. You can use calypso and high-life songs to see that everybody is in the mood to save for Nigeria.

Now, I come to the other point about other forms of helping this country to raise the standard of living of the people, and here I will talk about agriculture. We all know, as many people in this House have mentioned, that this is a concurrent subject and where the Federal Government is concerned is in respect of the research section. Research is very important in itself but I know the Agricultural Department has been carrying on research for the past forty years or so in this country and many of the things they have been doing have not gone beyond the laboratory. The farmers have not got any benefit from all this research. Many of our farmers still use the same old system of farming, the hoe and so on, and at the same time we are not producing enough food in this country. A section of the country is having yams and they live all the year round on that. Another section produces cocoa and they do not know how to go out and conserve the energy of the people producing yam for their own benefit, so that the agricultural economy is run in a haphazard manner. In my own humble belief, I think that the Agricultural Research Department should go beyond allowing the officers to do research in their laboratories, collect very good degrees, leave this country and go to a place where they can get better salaries. This country still has to pay them a lot of money to come and do the research work for us, but unfortunately they do not wait to do anything in this country for our benefit.

I am very happy that in the Estimates the Government is making a provision for inviting four Statisticians from America of the International Co-operation Administration to help us to draw up a programme and to do investigations in respect of our agricultural projects in this country. I am happy to see that in the



memorandum prepared for these they say that Nigerians are going to be trained to take the place of these people in a few years' time. It is a very good idea.

The only thing is that the Government must ensure that the Nigerians in the Agricultural Department, particularly in the research section, must be given active encouragement to see that they have the best equipment to be able to serve this country properly.

Plantation system. We do not have any plantation system in this country because of the inimical effects of colonial rule, but to-day, or in a few months' time when this country shall be free, we must think of a way in which we shall relieve the wave of unemployment amongst our people. I think about two or three Government missions within the last five years have gone on a visit to Fernando Po to complain about the ill-treatment being given to our people in the Spanish colony. We have not been satisfied, and we are protesting that our people should no longer take jobs in that colony.

But what is the practical method by which we can bring these people back home and tell the Spanish people that we do not like their treatment? The only system is that the Federal Government, in association with the Regional Governments, should solve this problem by the establishment of plantations where cocoa, oil palm, rubber, groundnuts and other raw materials of this country can be planted. Thereby we can safely remove a lot of unemployment problems. There will be room for people who can organise; there will be room for people who can work as labourers. I am sure that if such a system is adopted, in about ten years' time we shall have very little of demonstrations amongst our school leavers in respect of unemployment.

Somebody mentioned that in any of the public houses you cannot have a real glass of milk to drink. People who have travelled all over Europe, particularly in England, know what a bottle of milk means, and if you look through that country you will find that the question of malnutrition is definitely unknown. School children are given their milk in schools; but out here malnutrition is a great problem.

Right up in the North cattle are reared just before that part of the country favours the

rearing of cattle. But the old colonial Government left it like that and it appears that this Government must take over where the colonial Government left it. The people should be encouraged to produce milk wherever local conditions favour it so that people who can afford to buy the milk will buy the milk. I believe the Government should go straight ahead in a practical way to organise the building up of ranch right up in the North.

The materials are already there; all we require is to encourage the people to do it. Not enough people can have money to do these things. Do we wait till we have independence to bring foreign people to come and run this thing so that we shall be surprised to see that cattle ranches can be a paying business in the hands of the foreign people?

*And it being 11.45 a.m. the Debate stood adjourned.*

*Debate to be resumed upon Monday.*

#### ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and Question proposed, That the Senate do now adjourn—The Minister of State (Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi).*

**The Minister of State** (Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi): Sir, I would like with your permission to take this opportunity to inform Senators that when I made a business statement earlier this morning I was, unfortunately, not in a position to give any details of the business for next week. I have now got the detailed programme of the business of the Senate for next week; it is printed and I shall have it circulated to hon. Senators.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah**: Mr President, I just wish to point out an important thing in the Votes and Proceedings of yesterday. The Business Committee of the Senate laid on the Table the previous day a report of its work, and on going through it I found that we have only three Committees set up. But the Standing Orders provide that the Public Accounts Committee should be there.

This indeed is a very important Committee and I do not know whether there is any constitutional reason for the Senate omitting this. I would just like to have an explanation of the omission.



**Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu:** Mr President, you may remember that much has been said—

**The President:** Will the hon. Senator please raise his voice?

**Senator Chief Acholonu:** I am speaking on the question of the Iddo Bridge. So many Members have spoken about the Bridge and several questions have been put about it. But I do not know what sort of answer was given. Therefore, Sir, may we know from the Minister of State what the actual arrangements are to effect the construction. We know that whatever—

**The President:** When the Minister of Finance or the Minister of State winds up, I think that either of the two Ministers will in his reply meet your point. Or if you prefer you can contact them privately and they will give you the information you require.

I am afraid I will not allow you to speak on this particular point on the Motion for adjournment.

**Senator Chief E. Ugwuocha:** Sir, I think that as the debate on the Appropriation Bill is adjourned until Monday, the hon. President will perhaps give us time to speak on Monday because everyone of us wants to speak on this Bill. There has been much extension of time given to hon. Senators; some spoke for more than thirty minutes—

**The President:** Order, order! If your eyes catch mine, you will be recognised; but the Chair is the sole authority to determine whether any hon. Senator has exceeded thirty minutes. As far as I am concerned no Senator has exceeded thirty minutes.

**Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye:** Sir, in support of the last speaker I think I have not spoken since I have been coming here—

**The President:** Order, order! I am quite sure that the hon. Senator has spoken here on more than two occasions as the *Hansard* will testify. Maybe you have not spoken since we resumed. (*Laughter*).

**Senator Chief Olayeye:** Since we resumed; that is so, Sir. I thought I could say something this morning, but on the contrary I was deprived of the opportunity. I am asking the President if he can extend the time.

**The President:** Order. The President has no power to alter the decision of the Senate. You decided to allow three days for the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. If you decide to extend it, the President is your servant.

And may I suggest that in future if any hon. Senator is going out of town and would like to speak, all he has to do is to send a note to the Chair through the Clerk of the Parliaments.

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin:** Mr President, Sir, I think that the Senators are not being encouraged. I can see that the Ministers are never present in this House. Many points have been raised which the Ministers concerned could have taken notes of and replied. I can see that some of the Senators here have been expressing their views on certain matters relating to the Budget which the Ministers could have taken notes of. I am afraid that our own Minister of State cannot do it all.

For example, some people have spoken about telecommunications and telephone facilities and some other things like those which our Minister of Communications could have taken notes of and replied to. Mr President, I am now appealing to you to convey our feelings to the Ministers concerned to be present whenever we are debating or taking decisions so that we will be encouraged.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu:** Sir, I just want to call attention to the fact that this House is a different body from the House of Representatives where they have Chief Whip and Deputy Chief Whip, and I think it would be more appropriate if this House would also appoint one or two people to that job. If we can get a man like that we can approach him easily to help solve our difficulties, as we cannot always have our Ministers.

**Senator Nuhu Bamalli:** Sir, I do not agree with the last speaker. We here are elderly people, responsible people, and we do not need any whip. We can behave well without a whip. (*Hear, hear*).

**Senator D. O. Asemota:** Mr President Sir, I just want to second what Senator Okin has just said about Ministers not being present in the Senate. I remember that throughout the whole of this week when the House of Representatives was in session none of the



Ministers was here, and I think as a rule that as the Senate is the Upper House they are supposed to sit in this House and from here go to the House of Representatives to answer any questions, rather than for them to come here as and when they feel they are free.

That is just the point I want to bring home, Sir, for after all this is the Upper House.

**The Minister of State** (Senator Dr M. A. Majekodunmi): Mr President, Sir, on the question of Committees of the Senate, Senators will notice that we have a Standing Orders Committee which has just been appointed, and it is proposed in the near future to revise the Standing Orders for the Senate. Hitherto we have been using the Standing Orders prepared for the House of Representatives and there are certain aspects of these Standing Orders which are not strictly applicable to the Senate.

The scrutiny of public accounts is appropriately the work of the Lower House. Our constitutional responsibility in regard to accounts is limited in that we can only delay Money Bills. That is why it is really not necessary to have a Public Accounts Committee of the Senate.

No doubt, when our Standing Orders Committee meet, they will be able to recommend to the Senate other Committees

or other changes which they consider appropriate.

It is unfortunate that Senators insist that Ministers should be present here all the time. I hope Senators will realise that at the moment we have concurrent sittings of the Legislature going on, and Ministers have a very heavy legislative programme to get through in the Lower House. We have arranged the meetings of the Legislature to enable them to attend to their business in the Lower House, so that by next week the lower House rises they will be able to come here.

Senators need not feel that some of the criticisms they have made or some suggestions which they have given in regard to the policies of the Government will go unheeded. We have here the officials from the Ministers who are representing the different Ministries sitting down and taking notes, and I myself have been taking notes of what every Senator has said in this debate. I can assure hon. Senators that I intend to pass them on to my colleagues who will satisfy them on some of the questions that they have raised.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved, That the Senate do now adjourn.*

*Adjourned accordingly at three minutes to twelve o'clock.*



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION  
OF NIGERIA

Monday, 2nd May, 1960

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr President in the Chair)

**The President :** May I apprise the House of the fact that the Speaker of the House of Representatives will be elected this morning and I propose at 10.40 to suspend sitting to enable hon. Senators who may wish to do so to be able to visit the Lower House.

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS

SECOND SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION  
(1957-58) BILL

**The Minister of State** (Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : *Second Reading* : Tomorrow.

THIRD SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION  
(1958-59) BILL

**The Minister of State** (Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : *Second Reading* : Tomorrow.

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION  
(1959-60) (No. 3) BILL

**The Minister of State** (Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : *Second Reading*—Tomorrow.

CUSTOMS AND EXCISE MANAGEMENT  
(AMENDMENT) BILL

**The Minister of State** (Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : *Second Reading*—Tomorrow.

SAVINGS BANK (AMENDMENT) BILL

**The Minister of Communications** (Hon. Olu Akinfosile) : *Second Reading*—Tomorrow.

PENAL CODE (NORTHERN REGION) BILL

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation** (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : *Second Reading*—Tomorrow.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (NORTHERN  
REGION) BILL

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation :**  
*Second Reading*—Tomorrow.

ADAPTATION OF FEDERAL PROVISIONS

(NORTHERN REGION) BILL

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation :**  
*Second Reading*—Tomorrow.

FEDERAL SUPREME COURT BILL

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation**  
*Second Reading*—This day.

HIGH COURT OF LAGOS (AMENDMENT) BILL

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation**  
*Second Reading*—This day.

WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' PENSIONS  
(AMENDMENT) BILL

**The Minister of State** (Senator the hon. Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : *Second Reading*—Tomorrow.

(WEST AFRICAN COCOA RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
(NIGERIAN STATUS) BILL

**The Minister of State** (Senator the hon. Dr. M. A. Majekodunmi) : *Second reading*—Wednesday next.

AUDIT (AMENDMENT) BILL

**The Minister of State** (Senator the hon. Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : *Second Reading*—Wednesday next.

NATIVE LIQUOR (TOWNSHIPS AND  
CERTAIN AREAS) BILL

**The Minister of State** (Senator the hon. Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : *Second Reading*—Wednesday next.

NOTICES OF MOTION

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION BILLS

**The Minister of State** (Senator the hon. Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) : Mr President, Sir, I beg to move in respect of the Supplementary Appropriation Bills that, tomorrow, notwithstanding the provisions of any Standing Order, the debate on Second Reading of the Supplementary Appropriation (1957-58) (No. 2) Bill, the Supplementary Appropriation (1958-59) (No. 3) Bill, and the Supplementary Appropriation (1959-60) (No. 3) Bill may be resumed ; the necessary period for the second reading of these three Bills shall be deemed to have been thus complied with ; and the Bills when read the second time shall not be committed but shall be read the third time.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation** (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to*



*Resolved* : That, tomorrow, notwithstanding the provisions of any Standing Order, the debate on Second Reading of the Supplementary Appropriation (1957-58) (No. 2) Bill, the Supplementary Appropriation (1958-59) (No. 3) Bill, and the Supplementary Appropriation (1959-60) (No. 3) Bill may be resumed; the necessary period for the second reading of these three Bills shall be deemed to have been thus complied with; and the Bills when read the second time shall not be committed but shall be read the third time.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY

APPROPRIATION (1960-61) BILL (AS AMENDED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)  
(SECOND ALLOTTED DAY)

*Adjourned Debate on Second Reading (26th April).*

*Question again proposed, That the Bill be now read a second time.*

**Senator Dr J. O. Omitowoju** : Mr President, Sir, I will now touch on the Civil Service. I feel that we are spending too much money in respect of personal emoluments in our civil service. There is the high four-figure salary, expatriation allowance and children allowance and also there are far too many expatriate officers, particularly in the administrative sector of the Service resulting in unnecessary duplication of offices. If we are to maintain an efficient civil service within the size of our revenue, I would suggest the following :

All the expatriate officers who are qualified under the lump sum compensation arrangement should be allowed to leave the service and the country by the 1st of October 1960.

All Permanent Secretary posts should be held by Nigerians by that date, either by promotion of the Nigerian deputies, or, where these are not immediately available and after due consultation with Regional Governments, highly efficient and experienced indigenous Permanent Secretaries now serving in the Regions should be allowed to be seconded into the Service of the Federal Government, particularly the Ministries of Finance, Foreign Service and Defence and I believe this is a matter of national emergency and should be treated as such. I am sure the Regional Governments will not turn deaf ears to the Prime Minister's appeal.

In Professional Departments like the Medical, Works and Surveys and Agriculture, Nigerian heads of departments and senior officers of those departments should be encouraged to be appointed as Permanent Secretaries because of their high administrative experience of their particular departments.

I believe that in our developing Nigeria, our experienced indigenous professional and administrative officers are the best to advise the political offices of our ministries.

I will now make a few observations in respect of the Medical Department. According to the Report of the Minister of Health in the Lower House, he said that six specialists and one Medical Officer would be leaving this country owing to transfers or retirements. He is proposing, as there are no Nigerians who will be able to take their places immediately that he is likely to appoint expatriate officers to take their places. Well, in specialist posts, this may be immediately necessary but it is gratifying that already there are specialists being trained at present to man these essential services as soon as possible, and I hope that the contract period which these expatriate officers would be given would be really specific so that immediately these indigenous specialists come out, they will be able to take the places of these expatriate officers at once.

I would suggest that the programme of the Medical Department should be such that experienced medical officers should be encouraged to be appointed as specialists even if they have not got specialist qualification and while that opportunity is possible, as many as possible of our young doctors should be encouraged to specialize in as many fields as possible.

In the University College Hospital, there are already Nigerian who have worked and have acquired specialist qualification within a reasonably short time after qualifying, and the highest appointment they have been given so far is the post of Senior Registrar. I believe that such Medical graduates should be encouraged to stay in a place like the University College Hospital to be able to become lecturers or consultants so that in future they will be able to take the places of the present expatriates as Professors.



[SENATOR DR OMITOWOJU]

It is rather disheartening that two very promising Nigerian doctors had to be lost to the Makerere Medical School in East Africa and to the Federation of Nigeria, because—I do not know the reason—probably because of the better pay—but I believe that as many Nigerians as are able to take up work in institution planning, should be given every encouragement to do research work and to aspire to higher posts than the ordinary post of Senior Registrar.

**The President :** Order, order ! The hon. Senator has five minutes to finish his speech.

**Senator Omitowaju :** In conclusion, Sir, Nigeria needs money for her development and manpower for her social services. It is imperative, therefore, that our internal means of raising money for these development projects should be exploited and utilised in full before we seek any outside help.

The training scheme of Nigerians must be carried out as a matter of priority. Our farmers must be subsidised to give more food to our growing population and to produce bigger economic crops. This is the time for every Nigerian to work hard not because of gain, but because of the stake we have in the future of our country. The success of our enterprise in the political and economic control of our country lies in Nigerian hands. May we not fail our people.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support the Bill.

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Motion that is now laid on the Table and to subscribe my comments thereon.

I congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance and his colleagues for drawing up this large Budget. It is not easy to frame a national budget like this. Every Minister thinks out his proposals and sends it forward to be considered first by the Minister of Finance who, knowing what we have in the national purse, knows how much to allot to each Ministry. To do this is very difficult.

There are many ways in which the revenue of this country can be developed and unless these ways are worked out and followed, we will not be able to achieve any results. The hon. Minister said that it is the Government's intention to see that the maximum possible amount of the economy of this country can be

financed by our resources. I am glad to hear this. But what are the ways by which we can do it ?

The only way we can do it is by trying to provide enormous sums of money to the Ministries of Economic Development and Mines and Power. Those are the ways in which the security of the loans that we are seeking will be met.

Sometime ago, last week, we passed a Bill for external borrowing, and many people talked about it. But I have noticed that some of the hon. Senators are now trying to create more expenditure by asking the hon. Minister of Finance to make more provisions for such and such posts. How are these going to be met ? We say we are not interested in taking them, but we are creating more expenditure ! The only way we can do this is by encouraging internal investments. I am confident in this. For example, during the war time an appeal was made and the people did their best, although at that time it was confined to the salary and wage-earners. But now if we look through, there are many well-to-do people in this country and if these people will be persuaded to invest their money, a large sum of money will be invested which will be of great assistance to the Government in fulfilling its programme. To do this, mere speculations will not do. Local Councils and Local Authorities should be informed, and I am confident they will co-operate.

I have noticed in the Budget Head 63—Electoral Commission—that a further provision has been made. By now I think a lot of saving should be made from this Head. Nigeria is our own. As much as £10,000 has been inserted this year for bye-elections. It is good. But the total sum under this sub-head should be reduced to a minimum. At the moment those savings should go to the two Ministries that I have just mentioned to enable them to dig out the treasure underground. It is only in this way that we can increase the wealth of this country.

A lot has been said about this Motion, and I should now conclude by saying that it is incumbent upon us to see that we develop the resources of this country and as such we the sons should play a great part to be able to shoulder our enormous responsibilities.

With this, Sir, I beg to support the Motion.



**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, like a number of other hon. Senators, I would like to begin by congratulating the hon. Minister of Finance on the very carefully prepared Budget presented to the House and the very able manner in which he presented it. Whatever anybody may say to the contrary—and we are told that everyone, including perhaps a lunatic, is entitled to his opinion—I think the honourable Chief has brought to this difficult task a wealth of experience for which the nation must be grateful.

Far be it from me to suggest that the hon. Okotie-Eboh's "Stability Budget" is a perfect one. I have yet to see or hear of a perfect human instrument. All that I say is that in spite of all his limitations, the hon. Minister has done very well indeed and we are proud of this illustrious son of Nigeria and of his achievements both here and abroad. So, I believe I am expressing the sentiments of a majority of hon. Senators in saying that we have implicit confidence in his ability to steer our financial ship of state to a haven of stability.

The financial and economic programmes of the Federal Government as clearly enunciated by the Minister of Finance must have been prepared with the advice of Government Financial Experts. So for a layman in the field of economics to pick holes in it may appear like fools rushing in where angels fear to tread. Be that as it may, I have something to say from the layman's point of view, particularly in regard to the Minister's ten-point plan for the financial and economic policies of an independent Nigeria. Some of the points are far too technical for me, so I leave them to those more qualified than myself to talk about them. The points 3, 4, 5, and 8 are of special appeal to me and I propose to deal with each at some length.

Point 3, Sir, he says, "it is to give every support to increase agricultural production". Permit me, Sir, to point out that the statement looks like a mere platitude, for the Minister fails to indicate how he proposes to set about this. I appreciate the fact that agricultural activities come within the competence of regional governments while the Federal Government only concerns itself with agricultural research. Nevertheless, by co-ordinating agricultural activities of the Regional Government and establishing one agricultural research

station in each of the Regions, the Federal Government will be demonstrating in a practical way its avowed interest in stepping up agricultural production. Some previous speakers have suggested the creation of a new Ministry charged with the responsibility for rural or agrarian development. I commend this suggestion to every serious consideration of the Government.

Point 4, the Minister has there, "to continue to encourage the growth of industry and the further development of Nigeria's mineral resources". One notes here, with intense satisfaction, Government's proposal about industrialisation and the great encouragement it has given and continues to give the company engaged in oil industry in Nigeria. The happy news that a decision has been taken to have an oil refinery at Port Harcourt is a genuine proof of the interest of Government in the welfare of the workers of this country. I see in that proposal, Sir, Government's determined efforts to rehabilitate the retrenched coal miners and find employment for the teeming school leavers of Nigeria. It is only to be hoped that the project will materialise at no distant date.

Point 5 is to formulate the training of Nigerian man-power especially in professional, technical and managerial skills. This is good as far as it goes. While commending what the Government has already achieved in this field much remains to be done. It is a sad reflection of short-sighted policy that on the eve of national independence, the Federal Government can boast only of one Nigerian Permanent Secretary in its Civil Service. I stand to be corrected but that is how I saw it. We should have copied the noble examples of India, Malaya and even Ghana where I understand that most of the key posts were manned by their nationals before independence. If it is not already done, I strongly suggest that every Ministry must have a senior indigenous Civil Servant under-studying the expatriate head of the department with a view to ultimately taking his place.

It is necessary that this policy should be pursued regardless of the advice anyone may offer to the contrary. I have very great respect for the British Civil Servant. His sense of justice, his devotion to duty, his impartiality are some of his well-known



[SENATOR NZEREM]

qualities which his Nigerian counterpart must emulate. But with all this, Sir, I dare say, and I repeat, I dare say with all the emphasis at my command that it is asking too much to expect that expatriate civil servant can and will serve an independent Nigeria with the same zeal, the same attachment, the same singleness of purpose as a Nigerian can.

In addition to training Nigerian manpower in the ordinary sense of the word, the Federal Government should undertake what I may call a programme of re-education of the workers of this country in order to eradicate in them the erroneous idea that the Civil Service is the white-man's work. This idea like its twin brother, inferiority complex, is one of the unhappy consequences of what people have often described as 'colonial mentality'. It is high time that the Government called a labour summit conference and Labour Leaders made to realise that increased wages are impossible without increased productivity. I do not know of any modern state which spends a higher proportion of its revenue on personal emoluments and yet gets so poor a return in efficiency as in the case of this country.

I have not the least doubt that Labour Leaders taken into confidence by Government can help to save this country from economic and financial catastrophe.

In this connection, may I suggest too that influential and respected members of the African Community in every place be invited to Government's working places like the Railway Workshop to give talks to the workers from time to time, in order to bring home to them that to evade work, to malingering and to go slow is to sabotage the independence of the country which is no less dear to them than it is to me and to you.

If doing this costs the Government some money the expenditure will have been well made and justifiable, as I am sure that the step will procure the desired effect.

The eighth point is to continue to develop the social amenities which are increasingly required in accordance with the ability of the economy to sustain them.

One hon. Senator speaking about the fiscal policy of the Federal Government was pleased that the Minister of Finance was able to balance

his budget without resorting to increased taxation, I mean increased direct taxation ; so I am pleased too. But taxation as a fiscal measure is never relished by anyone anywhere. Unfortunately, however, like the poor, taxation must always remain with us. Whether we like it or not, sooner or later, we are sure to be called upon to face a measure of increased direct taxation.

I feel the Finance Minister should have been bold enough to tell the nation so even if it is only to prepare the minds of the people. I believe, notwithstanding election promises, that we are yet far from our maximum taxable capacity. Let me not be misunderstood. Taxation in this country should take both upward and downward trends. By this I mean that there are many people who should pay more than they are paying at present and there are some—the unemployed, the employed of lower income group—who should pay considerably less.

The whole system of our direct taxation should be reviewed and the pay-as-you-earn system, which has proved so successful in the Eastern Region, introduced forthwith, not only for the Government servants but also for all salaried workers. All salaries and wages irrespective of the sex or the nationality of those who earn them should be taxed alike. Only in this way can the Government hope to find the necessary money to supply and satisfy the ever-increasing demand of the people for social and other amenities.

I will now speak very briefly on the activities of certain Government Departments.

**The President :** May I ask whether the hon. Senator intends to speak longer in view of my earlier announcement of suspending sitting to enable Senators who wish to do so to visit the other place.

**Senator Nzerem :** Sir, as a matter of fact, that suggestion came from me and I am prepared to stop now and to resume later.

**The President :** That is all very well.

*Sitting suspended : 10.45 a.m.*

*Sitting resumed : 11.23 a.m.*

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Sir, at the time of the interruption of business I was trying to focus attention on the activities of some Government Departments.



I think I should begin with the Police. It is not often that one hears anything good of the performance of the Nigeria Policeman. Outside the Federal Capital the Traffic Police has inherited notoriety which only time and a change of heart can eliminate. But in Lagos one cannot but be impressed by the efficiency, under extremely trying conditions, of the Traffic Police in Lagos who discharge their duties with such patience, devotion and impartiality. I would like to say that they are a credit to those who trained them, and deserve the gratitude of all road-users in Lagos.

I notice, Sir, in the Fourth Progress Report on the Economic Programme 1955-62 at page 23 under Highways and Bridges. I read with concern the following: "Enugu, Onitsha and Owerri roads—re-construction of Bridges—the Programme has been virtually completed". I beg to say that this is not by any means the true picture. One little bridge at Ugwuoba and another one at Okija in Onitsha Province, the Nworie Bridge between mile 60 and 61 on the Onitsha-Owerri Trunk A Road, the Otamin Bridge between miles two and three on the Owerri-Aba Trunk A Road, the Olakwo bridge between mile 8 and 9 on the Owerri-Aba Road, and the Owerinta Bridge across the Imo have not yet been built. How on the face of this the Programme is described as virtually completed beats my imagination. In Ibo there is a proverb which says that a child does not recognise that the market is over until his own mother has returned home.

As the hon. Professor Eni Njoku has pointed out in his speech last week, the omission of financial provision in the Draft Estimates under the Ministry of Education to start inter-Regional Secondary Schools is very much regretted. Government has happily recognised the importance of such schools to Nigerian unity, which is so dear to the heart of our President no less than to our own, and everyone looked forward to a start being made this year. Is the omission due to oversight on the part of the progressive Minister of Education under whose leadership so much has been accomplished in the Federal Territory in the field of primary and secondary education as well as in the field of teacher training.

Speaking about education I am not un-mindful of the fact that primary and secondary education in the Regions are the responsibility

of Regional and Local Authorities. There are, however, in my humble opinion certain aspects of education which ought to become national. Namely, educational standard, certification and remuneration of teachers, and I am sure you will agree that to do so is most desirable. But the hon. Senators are no doubt aware that educational standards in this country are very low at the moment. Some blame this on the teachers, some on the moral laxity attitude among our present-day school children, and others on the lack of parental care and guidance. These factors may all be partly responsible, but I dare say that they are not the root cause of the problem.

The lot of teachers in Nigeria is not a happy one. What with a faulty salary structure, poor service condition, and insecurity of tenure, we find it extremely difficult to attract men and women of the right calibre into the teaching profession which in Nigeria more than anywhere else can rightly be described as the noblest of professions but the sorriest of trades. Unless we take the necessary step, and that immediately, to improve the lot of teachers all our talk about falling standards will yield little or no fruit.

**Mr President :** The hon. Senator has five minutes to finish his speech.

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Yes, Sir. The other day I was studying the statistics of prison population Region by Region and I was amazed to see the figures for the Eastern Region by far the highest. To the uninformed, these figures are quite misleading for they did not include those serving prison sentences in the prisons run by Local Authorities in the North and West. In this connection, Sir, may I draw hon. Senators' attention to the Annual Report of the Prison Department for the year 1958-59; page 2 paragraph 1, General Review, which with the President's permission I read. "Local Authority prisons in the Northern and Western Regions and local approved schools in the Northern Region being the responsibility of the Regional Governments, no report is made on them by this Department. They are reported upon by the Regional Governments concerned".

What I want to do, Sir, is to erase from the minds of hon. Senators any notion that one section of Federation is more criminally minded than the rest. Before I finish with



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the Prison Department let me take this opportunity to thank the Federal Government and the hon. Minister of Internal Affairs for their bold and imaginative programme of prison reform and constant improvement in the service conditions of Warder staff. What remains to be done is to speed up the Nigerianisation of Super scale posts of the Department.

Then the question of Postal and Telecommunications. Both in the Lower House and here, speakers have criticised very adversely the work of this very important arm of Government. In this financial year alone provision is made to the tune of £5½ million for our postal and telecommunication needs. But it appears that the more we spend on postal services the less efficient they tend to become and I am wondering whether the time has not come when the Government should consider the possibility of converting the department into a Corporation for a trial period of some five years to see whether there will be some changes.

A few days ago I was reminded that it takes seven years to educate a doctor and three to four years to educate a lawyer; and that after educating a doctor for seven years he needs from five to ten years to acquire full specialist qualifications, and that a lawyer, after qualifying takes about ten years practice to be appointed a judge. It is very surprising to me why a medical specialist should earn far less than a judge. I am not saying that a judge is paid very highly, all I am trying to show is that the medical specialist does not receive adequate remuneration.

You know doctors are very important in any community. If a judge makes a mistake an innocent man may be thrown into prison for some time and then gets out to rejoin the society of free people, but a disgruntled medical practitioner can be a very dangerous man indeed to any society because if he makes a mistake an innocent man is sent to an early grave. And so, I am appealing that something should be done to encourage our medical officers who are very very important to us because without them no nation can be sound.

Stopping smuggling Mr President, is more easily said than done. Hon. Senators have suggested increased check-points and multiplying preventive police. All that is well and good but what guarantee has the Government that

the preventive force will not be in collusion with the smugglers to cheat the Government? I would rather suggest that all restrictions to importation from across our border be lifted, and the people should be allowed to trade there and make profit. Then, after some time Government will take notice of those who are engaged in this practice and then ask them to pay.

**The President :** Order, order !

**Senator Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator P. A. Ogundipe :** Mr President, Sir, I have a few comments to make on this very important Appropriation Bill which has been entitled "Stability Budget". Personally I like the title because it is an ambitious title showing the ambition of the Minister of Finance to see that in his time there is stability both in the economy and political status of the country. Even if there are so many faults in it we can yet hope that it is the duty of the Minister to struggle to see that his ambition is realised and the budget really sees the beginning of stability both in economy and politics of this country.

I think this honourable House, the Upper House, will be able to make the Budget really a stable one. Already, early in the session one hon. Senator, Chief Doherty, has suggested the formation of a committee in this hon. House which will be able to advise the Government in ways through which the Government's activity could be helped, and I think a few days ago a Member, Dr Orizu, mentioned a Foreign Policy Committee which he said this hon. House should form in order to help the Government in seeing that the budget is really stable.

I am not one of those who fear extremely about raising loans either internally or externally because the history of the growth of other countries has shown that it is not always possible for particularly a young and undeveloped country to have all the funds necessary for the kind of rapid development that it wishes to embark upon. The history of early Empires like the Roman Empire and Egypt has shown that those countries have been developed not by means of loans as we are now looking for, but by means of a strong form of exploitation of other countries. We know the Pyramid of



Egypt, the highways of the Roman Empire, and the lofty buildings of those countries in those past years were constructed by the effort of the slaves that were captured and imported to those countries.

One would go to Europe to find that through exploration they tried to exploit the wealth of other countries in order to build up their own. The history of the exploration and the rush to come to Africa and the rush for gold, for spices, for the elephants' teeth and our palm oil which were almost got for nothing, and also of the gold and silver of the West Indies all known to us. These countries, the European countries, have been largely industrialised and built up, and with all these raw materials which have been taken almost for nothing from other countries including our own; but it has now come to our turn to develop our country. This is no longer the time for exploration. There is nowhere we could go in order to take the raw materials almost for nothing. Therefore, there is nothing bad if we could get loans either internally or externally from the countries that are already developed and industrialised, especially those who owe their own industrialisation and development to our own country.

This note of warning I shall strongly sound, that the loan we get should be spent wisely and not extravagantly. It is one thing to borrow money, but it is another thing to spend it wisely. There are certain actions of the Government which to the common people in the street are shrouded in mystery.

I think it is necessary that at least some explanation be given about the Ikoyi Flats which one hon. Member has given hints about are going to be sold out. Well, so far as the explanation which I think most hon. Members have read in the newspapers is concerned, one can say that if they are ever to be sold out the community should be satisfied that it is necessary that they are sold out; but if ever such business is going to be done it must be done in the open market and the Government should lay its cards flat on the table and sell to the highest bidder and not look about for the lowest bidder.

I have said this because most of us have read in the newspapers about the Mosaic buildings near the Central Bank. If what we read in the newspapers is true then there is a case on which the public requires some explanation from the

Government. The paper comments say that the builders were prepared to sell on the open market for £260,000, even though the ordinary business man might even bid for a lower bargain, but a liberal government which requires a lot of money for development was ready to buy and had actually bought this building for £280,000. The public has had no explanation for it and I think you will agree that that should not be the case, and even to top it all, it is understood that the necessary tax that should have been paid was waived.

For this reason I hope that if we borrow money the Government will see to it that the money is very well spent and whenever the public is in doubt or there are ugly rumours about the way such and such transactions are going on, the Government should, if there is nothing to hide, quickly let the public have a satisfactory explanation on such matters.

Well the next item I am going to speak about is unemployment and labour unrest. Many hon. Senators have spoken about this unemployment that is becoming rife in the country. Well for an industrial country the latest figures of unemployment would not have been anything alarming. The latest figures that I have read about for February show that there are 13,200 roughly, unemployed people in the country, of whom 7,500 are in Lagos and we may add to this the 1,700 who are already being sacked as a result of the Enugu Coal Miners' affair, and in addition to this even during the last week we saw a case of the demonstration by school leavers in front of the House of Parliament showing how those who are unemployed could be a source of alarm and a source of trouble to the country.

As it is, this position would not have been anything frightful in an industrial country, but in a purely agricultural country like ours we ought to begin to take a warning, and for this reason I would suggest that the Federal Government will have to take over more functions than at present. I do not know whether to say the original Constitution was wrong or rather to say that there is need for revision or rather it may be necessary for the Federal Government to perform more functions side by side with the Regional Governments.

The case of the announcement already made, for example, about certain secondary and technical schools, Federal ones, that are to be



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located in the Regions, is very interesting and pleasant news and when the hon. Members remember how many people have complained about bad roads in the Regions and suggested that some of the roads that are now maintained by the Regional Governments should be taken over by the Federal Government, well I think the Government would be aware that people are showing, in other words, that there are more functions that ought to be taken over by the Federal Government from the Regions or that they should have new ones going side by side with those of the Regional Governments. As a result, I would suggest that the Federal Government set up certain industries in the regions.

Well if you look at the list of our exports, things produced in the country, one would say that there are a lot of things on which the Federal Government should begin to think of raw materials for producing our own manufactured goods. Therefore, the Government should prevent or reduce unemployment and labour unrest, because the fact remains that many people who are unemployed in the Regions often find their asylum in Lagos. For this reason, it would be very advisable for the Federal Government to begin to think of establishing certain industries that would be located in the Regions.

Well the one point more I am going to speak about is the alarming number of motor accidents that are now taking place and continuing to take place month by month. I begin to feel that the case of avoiding these motor accidents should be a thing for the Federal Government to consider throughout the Regions since motor lorries and vehicles and motor cars of one Region cannot be confined to that Region and a bad driver from Ibadan can come to endanger the lives of the people in Lagos or Ikeja. I have just seen a cutting of the list of accidents in Ibadan-Oyo Road in only one month : 48 killed, 430 injured in Ibadan-Oyo. Figures just issued by the Police show that a total of 48 persons were killed and 430 injured in 532 road accidents which occurred in Ibadan-Oyo Province during the first quarter of this year. Recklessness and negligence on the part of the drivers accounted for 225 of the accidents, mechanical defects 24, excessive speeds 22, and careless crossing of roads by adults 39, the report stated. Well in

order to avoid these road accidents I would suggest that a law is made to make it necessary for anybody who would be a driver to have at least attended a primary—

**The President :** Order. I have allowed the hon. Senator latitude to speak at length but surely the question of drivers' licences and the qualifications of drivers has nothing to do with the economic and financial policy of the country. Will the hon. Senator please be relevant?

**Senator Ogundice :** Thank you, Mr President. I have mentioned that because the owners of the cars and vehicles are paying a lot of money on licences which goes into the coffers of the Government but I withdraw further comments.

The last point I am going to speak about is the question of remuneration of Ministers and Legislators. Well different Members have expressed different opinions but, in my own opinion, especially at a time when we want to be quite careful in our expenditure when we have to borrow a lot of money to finance our expenditure, I think the Ministers and the Legislators should also set the example. The rumour that the pay of the Legislators is likely to be raised is likely to bring a lot of hue and cry from the public. Left to me I would suggest that to set a good example even the pay of the Ministers should be cut by one-third of what it is now and those of the Legislators who are doing politics as part time work should be left as they are now, because to increase unnecessarily the pay of the Legislators is to make politics too much of a paying concern or a money concern, so that many will be tempted to do politics alone even when they can afford to do private work.

Most of our politicians and leaders of to-day, those who have first shown the light before we were following, were not attracted by the remuneration they were going to receive before they took part in politics. Politics to them was just something necessary for the advancement of their country. To mention a few, men like Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the late Mbonu Ojike of blessed memory, and others in their days, were not thinking in terms of how many pounds, or how much they would be paid before they would interest themselves in politics. Therefore, in order to set the example I feel the present



remuneration of the Legislature is quite satisfactory, and probably those of the Ministers even fabulous.

We are all aware that elections are becoming more and more competitive. More and more people are interested in contesting elections in their constituencies not so much because they are interested in politics or what they say during the campaigns but because of what they think they are going to derive from it. I think that the Legislators both of the House of Representatives and of this hon. House should not desire a rise in their stipends or remuneration.

With these few comments I beg to support.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** Mr President, Sir, I would not like to bother myself much about the speech by the hon. Minister of Finance, but going through the Estimates, there is one important thing I observe which will always affect the stability of the Financial state of this country, particularly when it comes to the financial policy of the Government as reflected in its Wages policy. The national wealth of this country is not so distributed as to create an atmosphere of satisfaction and stability because the way wealth is distributed leaves much room for agitation and industrial unrest which ultimately will affect the national tranquillity and which will always affect the financial stability of the Government.

I would like to cite the Ministry of Labour as an example. In the Ministry of Labour, with all due respect to the Minister of Finance, may I say that in this quotation I am not claiming absolute correctness but I feel I am 98 per cent correct. In the Ministry of Labour we have about 103 Senior Service officers and these 103 Senior Service officers will draw an emolument of about £113,856. This will give an annual average of £1,135 *per person per year*, and which if worked out will come to a monthly average of £95 *per person per month*. Whereas in the same Ministry we have about 662 Junior Service officers and these 662 Junior Service officers will draw about £14,830 which will give an annual average of £224 *per person* and if reduced to a monthly average will only come to £19 *per person per month*.

In short then the comparison is this : on the one side we have a class drawing about £94 and then on the other we have a class drawing about £19 per month. I want to tell you that in the ordinary course of things until this wages policy of the Government is properly corrected, there will always be industrial unrest in this country ; not that the labour leaders as such want it, but it is the very economic and wages policy of the Government which is promoting it and if we take into consideration that the other employers of labour take after Government policy, we will agree that what happens in Government will happen in commercial houses.

Again, I observe that in this country we say we have presented what we call the "Stability Budget". I still wonder whether we can be stable if we refer to the Annual Report of the Department of Labour and if we go to page 46, Table 10, we see that in September 1956 there were only 449,165 employed persons throughout the Federation of Nigeria. Out of a population of about 40,000,000 only 449,165 were employed ! Now, we hide under the camouflage that Nigeria is predominantly an agricultural country. I ask, Sir, where is the agricultural project to give work to the people ? I want to see that millions of people are employed and then when we say that there is an agricultural policy, as a friend of mine said in this House during last week, then we know that we are not being plunged into an agricultural policy which is not yielding anything.

And still out of this 449,000 we have threats of retrenchment everyday, and then we say we are presenting a "Stability Budget" ; when less than half a million of the population have work to do, and out of this half a million every year several thousands are to be retrenched, and we say we are presenting a Stability Budget. I would not accept that the Budget will be stable until we project a policy whereby the national wealth of this country will be so evenly distributed as to allow for labour tranquillity and labour peace. (*Hear, hear*).

And again, going through the extraordinary Budget, what do we find ? I should think the other time I asked a question in this House whether it was the policy of the Government of the Federation to sell Ikoyi houses. Then hon. Minister of State was not able to give me an answer, but the answer has been given in the



[SENATOR CHIEF BEYIOKU]  
Lower House. "Yes, but not yet", and the Federal Government meant that sooner or later they will be selling out these houses and their property in Ikoyi. If we go through the special Estimates we will find provision for the building of more houses, the provision for the building of more quarters for senior service officers, and whereas the Government knows very well that sooner or later all these houses will be sold.

**The President :** I hope the hon. Senator is not trying to anticipate.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** Well, Sir, I am going by the answer which was given at the Lower House.

**The President :** The Supplementary Bill will be submitted in due course.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** All right, Sir. When we come to this question of the policy proper, we have read through the speech by the Minister of Finance but I do not see anything which shows a real seriousness on the part of the Government to promote industry in this country. Nothing, Sir. We say Nigeria is predominantly an agricultural country ; we all agree, but at the same time we know that our agricultural system is so rural, and that our agricultural system becomes most challengeable and that we must have to supplement it with proper industrial undertakings. But where is the industry ? I will look it up, when we come to the Special Estimates, I will have my views on that. There is no project for industry.

We are in this country and we still allow things like butter to be imported and to carry out our money. Butter should not be imported into Nigeria again ; milk is imported into Nigeria to carry away our money, timber is imported into Nigeria to carry away our money, tobacco is imported into Nigeria, tinned food and tinned poultry : all these things are imported into Nigeria to carry away our money. I feel the time has come when these should stop, because we are able to produce these in Nigeria and producing these in Nigeria and selling them within Nigeria will make money available in Nigeria to circulate within Nigeria and to allow for sufficient funds for our development programmes.

When I visited the United States in 1956 what impressed me most was the form of internal trade they have there. I should think that about 80 per cent of their products were for internal consumption, so that that allows for money, for wealth to circulate within the States. But out here in Nigeria, we have our raw materials which we should develop into commodities which will build wealth out of which we should get sufficient excise duties to develop our country. All these materials are sent overseas and then when they are all taken overseas they allow for expansion of trade overseas, they allow for people overseas to get more work to do, because they go to their factories and then those people have raw materials to produce goods, people there have work to do. Whereas we need all these things here ; we need them here. If we undertake now to develop our raw materials and then concentrate on manufacturing our necessities out here in Nigeria we can do it. That will be the job of this Government.

We know very well that we have money coming out by way of loans or otherwise. But this money which is coming by way of loans is for specific projects, it is for development programmes. So I am seriously submitting that the time has arrived when the Government of the Federation of Nigeria should have to reorientate their economic policy and concentrate on industrial developments, as well as to allow for more work. As somebody has just said, there was a demonstration last week. Boys leaving school have no work to do. We have material but we are not prepared to develop the material, we are not prepared to work on the material ; rather than that we send them overseas.

And then we say we have agriculture. Look at the Moor Plantation. I think the Moor Plantation, Ibadan, by this time should be made to be productive rather than experimental ; that Moor Plantation has been experimental for the past 20 years to the best of my knowledge. The Plantation should be productive. We also have a plantation at Agege which should be productive. And then we should have the boldness of mind to go into the rural areas and ask our people to organise themselves into plantations and make them to be productive, to allow for more work for the people,



and then introduce machinery to work their plantations. I feel that if this is done there will be more work for the people and there will be more money for the development of the country.

Going through the estimates, Sir, I wish to make a little comment on the Medical Department. People have spoken very much about this Department. I think the Medical Department must be congratulated for everything they have been able to do for Nigeria, but I must say that at this stage we must have to remove some sort of bias for things which are our own. We are developing, and at every stage of our development, we continue looking up to the British government for everything; we have plants, we have the birds, we have the animals and everything from which these very British people extract medicine for us. We have not taken serious interest in the development of our own physical products.

I feel that we should start now to train some of our men—the only trouble with them is that they cannot read and write but they are wonderful scientists. We must not allow them to go away with the knowledge they have acquired. All we have to do is to remove the barrier, draw them near; ask them what about this; what about that and then we can apply our modern ideas and develop the thing so that instead of having to order for all our medicines from Germany, America or India, we should be able to be producing these medicines here and if we start to produce these medicines here, well, that is a stock of revenue for us because it is something which will help our national wealth.

I want to make a little remark about the Police. I think people in the past have been condemning the police. I have to thank Senator Nzerem for the remarks he made about the Traffic Police in Lagos. I feel if there is any section of the Police which should be commended, it is the Traffic Police because they are doing wonderful work. In this connection, I feel the Government of this country must have to encourage them by passing on to them the remarks of the hon. Members.

In the Traffic Police section—those of us who use cars everyday—we know that they are very, very good in the way they control traffic. I feel that the Minister in charge of Police must

have to look into it and stop saying that unless a policeman has class 20 or class 4 or Ph.D. he would not be encouraged. If you have a man with little intelligence but who is very good at the work, encourage him and you will see that the police system will improve in this country.

There is one thing I want to discuss in general and that is that we talk of expatriates, we say expatriates must go. I am all for this although I must say that some expatriates are very good. We all agree that these expatriates must go. It is not all expatriates in this country who have academic qualifications and I believe that we can conveniently replace these expatriates with some of our people who have general experience both in the United Kingdom and in the United States. Many of them are in the United Kingdom. If to-day we say expatriates must go by the 1st of October, I feel confident that we have many Nigerians in the United Kingdom who have no academic qualifications but who have been working in industries and in other departments to acquire sufficient experience and if they are brought back home to fill the places of these expatriates who must go, I am sure they will do very well.

It appears that the country has not been doing justice to the interest of these youngmen and I am humbly submitting that the Government of the Federation of Nigeria should now look into the position of these youngmen, both in the United Kingdom and in the United States who have acquired full experience in industries there but who for one reason or another have no academic qualification.

If we continue to insist upon academic qualifications we will always have need for expatriates in this country, because before we can get all our people to be qualified academically to fill all the posts, it will take us another ten to fifteen years and it stands to reason that for the next ten to fifteen years expatriates will have to sit in these posts; whereas if we can get rid of the expatriates we shall have some national gain. Children's allowance would be saved for us; the question of their passages would be a saving to us; the question of inducement allowance would be a saving to us and several other allowances they draw would be savings to the country and we can now use the money in the country for the development of the country.



[SENATOR CHIEF BEYIOKU]

Now we have an estimate of £5 million for the Ministry of Communications. I want to say very sincerely and honestly that the telephone system in the country is a disgrace and is not helping the economy of the country. I would say that our people are losing more money through our telephone system; and it is because of the fact that there is this lethargy in the telephone system. This is because the telephone service is a department of the government. Well, why not let us try an experiment? In other parts of the world this telephone business is run by private people. Let us try that here. If we make the telephone service something of a corporation we will be able thereby to improve the state of our country and improve the economy of the country because communication has a lot to do with the economy of the country.

Our education system which ultimately will have to do with the stability of our economy is something we must have to re-examine. It takes an unduly long time for boys to get through education in this country. It takes about 8 years in the elementary school and then another 8 years in the secondary school before he goes to the College or University. Those of us who have been elsewhere know that that is not the case. Elsewhere boys will be doing their secondary education when they have been only six years at school because by the time a boy gets to Standard 4 he starts on secondary education.

I feel, therefore that if we want the development of this country and if we want to be able to get more men to serve in the departments in time, we must have to change the present time wasting system of education and introduce a modern system of education which will make our boys to be qualified in time and waste less time as it is at the moment.

I agree with those of my colleagues who have supported the pay-as-you-earn system in income tax. I can remember some years ago, the stamp system was introduced in this country when you had to go and buy stamps in payment of your income tax. I think that this system was discontinued because of laziness, because the next thing one heard was that there was no staff; it was too much burden on the staff and for one reason or another it was

discontinued. Apart from the pay-as-you-earn system which works effectively in Government departments and commercial houses, I wish to suggest that the stamp system be re-introduced for the general public so that they find it more convenient. When they have extra 2s they go and buy stamp; when they have extra 1s they go and buy stamp and by the end of the year they have paid their income-tax completely. I feel that if we could do more publicity about it, it may make more tax to come in for the country.

The next question is—I have a little observation to make with regards to the Ministry of Pensions. People who have served this country must be encouraged because if they are not encouraged, people who are still serving to make the economy of this country to be stable will feel disgruntled and we shall not get the maximum out of them.

It is a very bad thing in this country for a man, having served the country for about thirty years, when he is retired, it takes him not less than 15 to 18 months in some cases before he can get his entitlements. That is very bad. It serves to discourage others who are serving and that is one reason why you have some sort of indifference in our civil service. The work is not going on and revenue has not been coming in as it should and this is because the example given to the people still working by the treatment given to the retired people gives no encouragement. The Minister of Pensions would have to look into this and to make it possible for a man to claim his entitlement within a month of his retirement from the service. If anybody knows that that would be his lot, he will pull his weight and he will do his best.

I am not a lawyer, but I do believe there is one thing people call equity. In most of our government departments there have been losses of public funds and so on. We trust ourselves and we have no cause to doubt the integrity of Nigerians. But there is this thing. When a youngman on a salary of about £60 per annum is placed in charge of revenue of up to £10,000 a month, £20,000 a month, £30,000 a month, it is bad. I feel the best thing the Government has to do about that is that they must see to it that people who are paid higher salaries must be left in charge of Government funds.



And that brings me to the question of the real wages system which I mentioned when I started this my speech. The question of the several scales that people pass through in this civil service is so frustrating that I would suggest that the Government should now appoint a special commission to examine the possibility of making the scales from the junior scale up to the Assistant Chief Clerk one scale, and the only intermediary scale between the senior service and the junior service will be the Chief Clerk grade. When you have that you will have a contented service. People who are not in the labour movement do not know what is going on. We have not been having a contented service because people are not well paid.

And this point about payment : instead of giving them 10 per cent which we are convinced they are entitled to, they give them 2 per cent. You must expect that they will come out with another demand for more pay. So I suggest, Sir—(Interruption).

**The President :** Order, order. The hon. Senator has five minutes to complete his speech.

**Senator Chief Beyioku :** At your pleasure, Sir. Now, the Ministry of Lagos Affairs—I will discuss that when I come to the special expenditure. But we find that some money from the Recurrent Estimates will have to go to the Town Council. We appreciate the work the L.E.D.B. is doing now, but we must have to look to the other parts of Lagos—the Isale Eko area, Olowogbowo area—they should be made to be really motorable. Business appears to be concentrated on one side. If we carry business to the other side, I think it is something which will help.

Besides, Sir, we feel that the question of the industrialisation of the country will have to do with the Federal Capital and I am sure that almost every intelligent man in the country is agreeable that the Federal Territory should be extended. We feel that this is the time for the Minister of Lagos Affairs to start to think of the way the Federal Territory is to be extended so as to cover the old Colony area, so that when we talk of this industrial development there will be land and people who want to trade with us will have an area to be allocated to them. As you know, Sir, all business always like to have their headquarters where the headquarters of the Territory is. We feel the Minister of Lagos Affairs should look into this and take an urgent action on the extension of the Lagos boundary.

Mr President, Sir, the other thing I want to say is on the Mines. It appears that we just take our Mines Department as an ordinary department. We are not making the best use of our mineral resources. Others are making use of our mineral resources and all our Estimates year in and year out are just on ordinary administrative expenses. The time has arrived now when we must take control of our mineral resources and see that the country is actually benefited.

The country is still in its infancy. There are a lot of minerals to be developed, but we think only of our tin, coal and we think of some columbite and a few things in the North. There are still more. It is high time Africans and Nigerians went into the mineral business. Before we export any of our mineral resources, we must have to think of the use we can make of them within Nigeria with a view to producing commodities within Nigeria and allowing such commodities to circulate within Nigeria so as to keep the money and the wealth within Nigeria.

Mr President, Sir, I cannot go through all my observations. I will reserve the rest, unless I have a special grace of extension, otherwise, Sir, I—(Laughter).

**The President :** May I remind hon. Senators that this is the Third and last Allotted Day for debate on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill. I propose to allow speakers 10 to 15 minutes in order to air their views, and when we resume this afternoon I will allow one hour for the speakers to finish and then I will call upon the Government Bench to reply, after which we shall proceed with the other two Bills on the Order Paper. I therefore hope that Senators will avoid repetition and not repeat what other Senators have previously said. Senator Udoh.

**Senator H. Udoh :** Thank you very much, Mr President, Sir. I like to wind up as time is against us. In supporting the Appropriation Bill 1960-61, I have a few observations to make. In the Appropriation Bill we notice that we are in dire need of money, and even the money needed, looking closely into all the avenues, will not be sufficient for the development of the country. The Government should acquire land in order to be able to produce food crops and cash crops, and it is incumbent on



[SENATOR UDOH.]

the Agricultural Department to do its actual work. Since we started to hear of the Agricultural Department it has been all on experimental basis.

Well, Sir, each time a programme is published for things to be done the rural areas are mentioned only as a matter of formality, and the programme is never implemented. If the rural areas are not developed in communications and transport, how will the enormous wealth in the country be developed?

This is the time the Minister of Transport should tour the rural areas. It is there and then that he can get first-hand information from the people and see the places and know how to meet their needs. If not, whenever someone with practical experience of those areas mentions what they require, probably those who do not know those places think that we are wasting other people's time or looking for trouble.

For instance, in Umuahia Province, there is a creek called Enyong Creek which goes through Ohafia, Abam, Arochuku, Ito and Asang. These places produce large quantities of palm oil, palm kernel, timber, cocoa, and so on, but this creek is altogether closed up and even a very small canoe cannot pass through it. People from the other side like Ohafia and Abam have to do a roundabout journey in order to carry their produce *via* Umuahia down to Port Harcourt. The people there have no roads at all. Probably some—  
(*Interruption*).

**The President :** I am afraid the hon. Senator is referring to matters within the exclusive competence of a Regional Government. In the absence of the Federal Government describing any particular river or creek as an inter-regional highway, it remains the responsibility of the Regional Government. But we are debating now the economic and financial policy of the Federal Government.

**Senator Udoh :** Yes, Sir, Mr President, I think the Inland Waterways come within the province of the Federal Government.

**The President :** No, that is what I am trying to point out to you that certain rivers and inland waterways come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government but the one you are

now referring to not being Cross-River is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Regional Government.

**Senator Udoh :** I thank you for putting me through. There is another point. The Government has to stabilise the wage basis in order to check up strikes from time to time and look into it properly. It is not the strikers who enjoy the increase of wages but rather the Mercantile Houses for if wages are to be increased tomorrow, the Mercantile Houses will raise prices at 12 mid-night to-day and the increase automatically comes back to the Mercantile Houses. But if the Government has stabilised wages, strikes for increase of wages will not be the case every now and again.

Now coming to the increase in the cost of building materials. The Government of the Federation is trying to induce people as a sort of development to better housing condition, and if as it is now, the cost of building materials rises, it means telling the people the other way round to go back to the old method of living in thatched houses and mud walls. If the prices of building materials are controlled, that will also solve the problems.

You find many workers in large townships in the Federation suffering greatly due to house rentage. If Government controls the price of building materials, it should also step in and control house rentage. This was attempted sometime ago at Port Harcourt but as usual, there was no continuity and the poor workers still suffer in the hands of landlords.

Mr President, Sir, we are discussing all possible ways of training scientists, specialists, but there is one thing which through oversight has not been mentioned seriously, and that is, sense of responsibility. Many Senators touched on the disappointment in telephone messages. That is not the only thing. If you go to many working houses, you will see big people, honourable and decent people who come for business queue up to be attended to. The party or the youngman, whoever he is, responsible for attending them will say "Wait my friend, I am busy." He is probably conversing on things that do not matter. Some people beg the people working, and we lose thereby. That is, in making arrangements to train scientists and specialists, this one also should be included. Business to-day, the work of to-day, is your work and my work. It is not the 'white-man's work' as we had formerly and



carelessly termed it. It is not the 'white-man's work', it is Nigeria's work. If you do it anyhow you suffer, I suffer, the country suffers. That is one of the things many people seem to lose sight of.

Now coming back to tax evasion. It is not only direct taxation that matters. There are very many avenues of tax payment and those responsible for the collection of taxes should forget the word favouritism particularly in the large towns. The people in the rural areas are more serious than the people in the large towns where big business is carried on. If everybody pays his or her taxes, things would be better improved. We spoke of raising loans among ourselves. This is the only way we can get those things. When one is given his own assessment or we know he is capable of doing something and he is well-off, if he buys a savings certificate, whichever form Government may adopt, it is because there is need for it. You should help instead of going to surrender to certain conditions in order to get money for the improvement of the country. Nobody should be spared in this form of tax payment.

Mr President, Sir, with the chance given me, I beg to support the Bill.

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin :** Mr President, Sir, thank you very much for having called upon me to contribute to this debate and I am definitely happy to see the Minister of Education present here this morning. I rise to support the 1960-61 Appropriation Bill and in doing so, I have some observations to make.

First of all, I have to direct my attention to the University College, Ibadan. The University college has not given us the maximum return and has not been able to satisfy our request and at the same time has not lived upto our expectation.

Mr President when one pays a visit to the College, one suspects that there is discrimination being practised in the College. Looking around, you will find a Chapel provided for the Christian students in the College, when the Muslim students are denied this amenity.

**The Minister of Education** (Hon. Aja Nwachuku) : They will soon have theirs, we are not denying it.

**Senator Okin :** I think you have to give it free. I feel that there will be no good government without the fear of God. If we are serious to teach our children to become God-fearing citizens, religion must be encouraged in the College.

Even the Christian Missions are trying their possible best to provide places of worship in their Secondary Schools; how much more the University College which is financed by the Federal Government. I was informed that the Chapel referred to was erected at the expense of a certain patriotic section of the community. If that be the case I do not see the reason why the Federal Government should allow some private people to contribute certain amount to erect religious places at the University College.

At the same time, I understand that the Muslim students are now making arrangements to go out to the public in order to raise money to erect a Mosque in the University College. We do not expect that Nigerian students are to be regarded as beggars. The Government will have to try its best to find sufficient money to erect a Mosque for the Muslim students in the College. I feel that if the Muslim students are allowed to carry out their proposal this will be scandalous and a disgrace on the part of the College and on Nigeria as a whole.

I humbly recommend that if the expense of erecting the Chapel referred to was borne by a certain organisation, the money should be refunded by the Federal Government as quickly as possible. There is no need to say that it is a disgrace for a man to start a building and being unable to finish it because of insufficient fund. A man building a house should try to have everything completed at his own expense rather than ask members of his family to contribute a certain amount to put up, say, a dining room or a reading room. I think the same thing must be done in the case of the University College. The Minister of Education should try to see that the national anomaly is removed before October 1st.

The Extra-Mural Department of the University College is not sufficiently encouraged. There is no doubt that this



[SENATOR OKIN.]

Department will do a lot of good to the country. As a Chairman of the Extra Mural Department in Ilorin, complaints came to me a few months ago that the University College had arranged to give us some resident tutors, but unfortunately there was no place to accommodate them. This is so especially in the Northern Region. There should be residential quarters at least to meet the courses in demand at present, and the tutors should be encouraged. The Federal Government should try to provide sufficient funds to build residential quarters in all parts of Nigeria for the resident tutors.

I have to talk now on the Agricultural Department. Wherever you go it is no less important and it has been universally admitted that Nigeria is an agricultural country. If that be the case I do not see the reason why the financial responsibility should not be borne by the Federal Government. There is a limited area in Lagos, that is going up to the Yaba Round-about. Lagos has not extended its boundary in order that there may be space within Lagos for Agricultural Department. Spaces can be found only in the Regions.

I do not see the reason why the Federal Government should not make an effort to make Agricultural Department to be a Federal subject. If you go to places like Germany, Italy, Russia and other places, the people there will tell you that Nigeria is an agricultural country. I think that if you tell them that agriculture is a Federal matter this information will not be doubted. I think, Sir, that if possible, the Nigerian Constitution should be amended so that the Agricultural Department will be a Federal subject.

The next point I have to discuss is in connection with the Police. The conditions of service in the Police Department should be thoroughly examined; I think it requires a special Commission of Inquiry. It is not always the practice in other departments that an occasion may arise when a First-class Clerk may be reduced to Third-class. The practice is such a person's increment will be withheld or that his future promotions may be affected. But in the Police Department it is all the way round. One finds a Sergeant to-day, for a mere offence, he becomes a Lance-Corporal tomorrow and some are demoted even to First-class Constable.

In the Ikeja Training College I have seen so many Assistant Superintendents of Police who have turned out so many Policemen. Some of those trained by them have risen to the rank of A.S.P. while their contemporaries are still Sergeants or Inspectors. I hope that something will be done about the Police Department before Independence. The Policemen should be encouraged. Without these men our property and many other things will be placed in perpetual danger and fear.

**The President :** The Police Service Commission is charged with the responsibility, under the Constitution, of matters relating to appointments, promotions and discipline, and it is not relevant to this debate at this stage for you to make reference to the promotions of the Police.

**Senator Okin :** And I think the Police Council must be encouraged. They cannot see what we can see. The Ministers cannot see what ordinary Members of the House are seeing outside. We can go from corner to corner, from house to house to hear the views of the people, and it is our duty to express their feelings to this House. Therefore, the Police Council must be encouraged. We must tell them that there is a certain discrepancy and that that discrepancy must be amended as early as possible.

The Minister of Pensions should not forget that the present pensioners are our old friends and old friends are better than new ones. They help to train our youngsters and they must be encouraged. Whether you come from the University or from anywhere you must be taught by these people. I can remember when Nigeria was highly pressed sometime ago. These pensioners were recalled. They were promised every encouragement but after some time the Government was not prepared to encourage them. I say once again that these pensioners should be encouraged.

In view of the time at my disposal, there is no reason why I should not be brief in my speech. Finally I come to the Public Service. Our boys must be encouraged. I have expressed to the House that there are some defects in the Public Service. It is useless to ask a man to work as a carpenter whereas he has the qualification of a tailor. This is what is going on now in this country. When we



are training our boys we should have in mind the work they are going to be given after school.

**Senator M. G. Ejaife :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support this Bill as amended by the Lower House with the following comments. The Minister of Finance deserves very high admiration for his indefatigable efforts as shown by his frequent journeys to oversea countries in quest of loans, and no doubt in promoting goodwill for Nigeria abroad. Also and particularly for his very bold, comprehensive, and voluminous Budget Speech. If this speech is as sound as it is full and exhaustive, the stability of Nigeria's economy must indeed be assured.

Judging from his ten point programme, it would appear that no stone has been left unturned to lay the foundation of the ideal welfare state. It is however unfortunate that the Budget Session is holding so shortly after a release of the unfavourable elements in a recent report of the Director of Audit; and when the memory of this House's co-operation in approving Supplementary Bills is still green. Let it be hoped then that after all the encomiums which the speech has evoked from the majority in both Houses, the hon. Minister will not within this same financial year come back to the House to solicit for Supplementary Votes.

I come now to the question of priority. I am very much concerned that the Budget Speech, voluminous as it has turned to be in print, gives no indication as to the order of priorities as among the Ten Points in the Programme envisaged. Which is more important or urgent, is it Education, Industry, Agriculture or Health? Absence of any indication of any scale of priority rather makes it doubtful if deliberate and detailed planning for these services has been made.

One would normally expect the relative importance of each of various items reflected in the figures assigned to it. The hon. Minister rightly in his Ten Points programme extolled the role of Education and of Health in the National Economy. But in so far as figures in the Estimates are concerned, these two subjects must yield pride of place to the following services. I refer to the estimate on pages C 60 to C 61 where we find that Works and Surveys takes about £5,900,000; Communica-

tions £5,500,000; Police £4,200,000; and also note that Health and Education rank only twice as important as Information Services which takes about £1,500,000, and Prison takes about £1,171,000. Between this, Education and Health account for only £5,300,000.

I appreciate that these two subjects are mostly of regional competence. Then Education and Health. I know that Regional Governments exclusively stand for these two services, but notwithstanding this, it is hardly fair that subjects as vital and indispensable to human progress as Education and Health should account for so small a proportion of £46,000,000, budgeted for the services of the Federation.

Now, I come to Education. On this subject the plea of regional assignment cannot excuse the Federal Government from performing its clear and sacred duty of promoting, in the hon. Minister's own words, "the training of Nigerian manpower, especially in professional, technical and managerial skills". The demand for more universities, more schools of Technology and more Federal scholarships stands ever more insistent.

In this connection I think the announcement that a new university is being planned in the North and that of the new University of Nigeria at Nsukka is very welcomed indeed. In all the regions I think it is still necessary for this country to have more universities because one only appreciates the necessity for more places of higher learning in this country. Many of our boys and girls who have passed the General Certificate of Education Examination at Advanced Level and those who have passed Higher School Certificate Examination are now qualifying in hundreds and thousands to-day to enter universities, and yet there are no universities for them to go into. The University College at Ibadan can only take a very negligible fraction of the number of people qualified to enter universities, and I am quite sure that the University of Nigeria will be capable of absorbing these people. Even the number that will be taken up by these two institutions will be very small compared with the numbers of boys and girls who are qualified to enter universities.

We know how very much admission into university colleges in the United Kingdom and United States are seriously kept, and we know how difficult it is for our boys and girls to



[SENATOR EJAIFFE]

enter universities. They have to pass through the Student Council, and if they manage to find admission into a United Kingdom university, they are forced to pass through the Colonial Office and in spite of having qualified it takes them one, two or three years' waiting to gain admission to an institute of higher learning.

Therefore, I would like to emphasize that the necessity for more universities is becoming increasing. I would like also to emphasize that we require Polytechnics and more colleges of the type that we have, such as the branches of the School of Technology which are now at Ibadan, Zaria and Enugu. In regard to this education, I would not like to increase but to underline and try to enforce the points made by hon. Member of this House not too long ago that the conditions of service for teachers must be improved. If the standard of education is not to fall we cannot do better than encourage teachers so that they will put their minds into this very essential service of training our boys and girls in this country to improve in education.

Turning now to the question of unemployment. To train men and women and then throw them into the world to fend for themselves without making arrangements for their eventual employment is to cause trouble as a demonstration staged last week outside the House must remind us.

True, some element of unemployment there must be in any country, but a good deal can and must be done by a discerning Government to plan for the absorption of its citizens in various occupations. All this is bound up with sound economic planning, and the Government would be well advised to get a settled and clear-cut Economic Plan for the nation. To recognise the need for such a plan, and the vital role of Education and Health Services in it, and to accord to them their quota in the national finances is to have laid a deep, solid and lasting foundation for progress.

*Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.*

*Sitting resumed : 3.03 p.m.*

**Senator Ajaife :** Mr President Sir, I hope now to put across my views as to the necessity for priorities among the various points raised in the budget and to say also that there have been some very useful guides on some of the proposals which were indicated but other

proposals from my observation do not reflect the true importance of the figures in the Estimates and we are therefore unable to treat them fully. I also wish to express my views on the necessity for education which though essentially is a regional subject has claimed more attention from the Federal Government.

I have also said something about unemployment. I would also like to add that we fully endorse the views which a Member raised this morning to the effect that one of the causes of unrest is the gap which lies between the lower and higher income groups which I have mentioned before. I do hope that the Government which we have now will explore fully the possibility of closing that gap at the earliest possible time.

Finally, I would like to bring the attention of the Government to the absence of special provisions in the estimates for some of the things I mentioned here before in regard to bridges and so on, and to say that in my province that is not one mile of Federal road, there is no aerodrome and no plans to erect one there. Also I do not see any proposal for constructing a bridge across the river which I think should be given priority.

With these few observations I like to say once more, Sir, that I support the Bill.

**The President :** May I inform the Senate that I now intend at this stage to call on the Minister of State to reply and after that I will call on the other Senators. Finally the Minister of Finance will wind up.

**The Minister of State (Senator the hon. Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) :** Mr President, Sir, I would like first of all to express Government's appreciation for the most constructive criticism which we have had from Members of this Senate on this debate. Although Senators hold different political views we have all in our debate been conscious of the fact that we are elder statesmen and have not attempted to score party points very much even though the temptation has been there.

Sir, I think no one who has studied the election manifestos of the three major political parties or who has listened to the debate in this House and in the other House will fail to realise that the elders of this country are beginning to have second thoughts on the extent to which government services in this



country are being regionalised and it has now become apparent that this could be a source of weakness in our Constitution.

In this debate on the Appropriation Bill many Senators have urged the Government to do more for agriculture in this country. To mention but a few, Senator Ukattah would like the Government to introduce in this country high yielding varieties of palm trees of the type to be found in Sumatra. On the same subject Senator Hunponu-Wusu would like the Government to introduce dwarf variety of palm-trees which could be more easily harvested. Many other Senators also spoke in the same vein, and Senator Nzerem and Sanni-Okin urged the Government to explore the possibility of amending the Constitution in order to make agriculture an exclusive federal subject.

No one can under-rate the importance of agriculture to our economy. Whatever we say or do now about industrialisation, agriculture will for a great many years to come continue to be the mainstay of our economy. According to our constitution, however, agriculture is a concurrent subject and in this respect the Federal Government's responsibility is largely limited to agricultural research, the result of which is always made available to the regional governments who are very much alive to their responsibilities in the promotion of agriculture in their areas of jurisdiction.

There is little doubt that great economy and efficiency will be achieved by central direction and planning and you may be assured that the Federal Government will continue to foster inter-regional co-operation in this field.

A great many of us feel that the educational system of the country would be most effectively geared to the country's need if it were given the benefit of central direction and co-ordination, this would result in improved and uniform standard throughout the country and ensure the continued steady production of much needed skilled manpower to which the Minister of Finance referred in his Budget Speech to the Senate. Here again there are constitutional difficulties, but it is said that where there is a will there is a way.

As a first step the Federal Government intends to establish inter-regional secondary schools in all the Regions. This would

promote the bringing together of the youths of this country in their formative years and thus bring about greater understanding. Further the standard of such schools set up by the Federal Government cannot fail to set the pace in the locality in which they are established and thus, if only passively, help towards the achievement of the much desired uniformity of standard which many Senators had touched.

It is generally appreciated that diseases know no boundary, Regional or international. It is in recognition of this fact that there are at present now established powerful international agencies who are bringing all available knowledge to bear in the combat of diseases on a global scale. Here in Nigeria, no matter what the constitutional limitations, we cannot afford to ignore this elementary fact, diseases are enemies of mankind and cannot be fought in isolation lest the efforts of one area is nullified by the slackness of the neighbouring regions.

In this country as in other under-developed countries, we lack trained manpower and we lack money—in this respect I may mention just for comparison that in this financial year, the United Kingdom Government intends to spend approximately £600,000,000 on their health services alone. Hon. Senators will see that what we have asked you to vote for all the services of the Federal Government is less than one-tenth of this sum.

Now if we are to derive the fullest benefits from our limited human and material resources, we shall need to plan our medical services, particularly the preventive medical services on a national rather than a Regional scale. Here again, there are constitutional difficulties, but hon. Senators would have noticed in the Address from the Throne that the Federal Government intends to apply the knowledge already available to the eradication of diseases like malaria, meningitis, malnutrition and other diseases attributable to faulty environmental hygiene.

Now as everyone knows, these diseases are widespread throughout the Federation and indeed one of them—meningitis is happily so far not an epidemic problem in the Federal territory of Lagos for which the Federal Government has constitutional responsibility in medical matters. It is, therefore clear that Government intends to extend its activities in the field of the application of preventive medicine beyond the confines of the Federal territory of Lagos, of



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course, with the co-operation of the Regional Governments, which co-operation we are quite confident would be readily forthcoming.

In the address from the Throne, you find the broad outline of Government policy. Concrete and practical proposals designed to ensure the implementation of our programme both in the field of social services and in the rapid development of our country have been ably and expertly outlined by my hon. colleague the Minister of Finance. He has already received many congratulations, not only in this House, but also in the other House and both at home and abroad, on his stupendous Budget Speech, but it would not be saying too much if I add that judged by any standard anywhere his Budget Speech would rank as one of the most comprehensive and most lucid Budget Speeches of the year.

For the speedy execution of our projects, Government has decided to mobilise our internal resources and to seek external aid. Many Senators during this debate have expressed misgivings at the policy of seeking external loans and I have no doubt that the Minister of Finance would during his summing up allay the anxiety of hon. Senators on this point. But I would like to say that the fears of Senators, in this respect, although completely unjustified, are quite understandable.

We have all had it drummed into our head in our childhood days the evil of borrowing, and philosophers throughout the ages have expatiated on the virtues of being neither a lender nor a borrower. These moral precepts still hold good to-day, and no one would have any respect for a man who mortgages his property to raise money in order to celebrate his birthday anniversary. If the Minister of Finance had proposed to borrow money to celebrate our attainment of Independence, we should all call him a prodigal son.

No Sir, it would be indefensible to incur a debt to finance an unproductive scheme. On the other hand it would be criminally foolish to wait until we have accumulated enough capital before we begin to develop our resources. If we did that we should continue to starve in the midst of plenty and, perhaps what is worse, this would be the surest way of inviting international marauders to displace us from the wealth which we refuse to develop and would allow no one else to develop.

We have, therefore, given careful consideration to our development projects on which much money would be expended in the next few years and we are satisfied that these would be more than repay the money spent on them. We are quite confident that by the time this programme is completed, we would have succeeded in raising to a considerable degree the standard of living of our people in increasing their spiritual and material welfare.

Naturally, we cannot embark on a development project on the scale which we are contemplating without giving thought to our defences. Five months from now we shall become an independent sovereign state, and we are determined that we shall never, never again become subject to any other power in this world. We realise only too well that nowadays no single nation can adequately defend itself against external threats. It is therefore essential that we use our intelligence and diplomacy to steer clear of trouble. But if trouble should come we must be prepared to give a good account of ourselves.

It is said that one cannot be too careful, but the cost of being too careful in terms of military matters is now so prohibitive that prudence demands an objective appraisal of possible military threats to the nation, so that our preparedness could match the foreseeable threats. What are these threats? As we all know, there are in the world today two great power blocs: the eastern bloc headed by Soviet Russia, and the Western bloc led by the United States of America. A direct threat to our security from eastern bloc would be part of a global conflagration from which we have been informed there would be neither victors nor vanquished, but an evenly distributed total destruction.

Then perhaps one might ask, could we be attacked by any of the countries of the Western democracies, the United States, for instance, or Britain, or even France? I would say this is inconceivable under present circumstances. After all, we have not won our freedom from Britain by force of arms, but rather by moral persuasion and by recognition by Britain that there is need to win the goodwill of the uncommitted nations of the world. Indeed, we have heard from no less an authority than the Prime Minister of Great Britain himself, that the struggle with which the great powers are



now faced is a struggle for the minds of men. We do not win the minds of men by enslaving them, nor do we win them by putting a bullet to their heads. No, Sir, we do not fear armed attack from the Western democracies, and we know that they can win our minds only by showing us kindness, and by themselves showing a good example in international morality.

Here, in this continent of Africa, we have but one powerful foe, and that is the practitioners of the ungodly *apartheid* policy in South Africa. We have no illusion whatever about it. If these people could enslave the rest of Africa as they have enslaved their little bit of it, they would not hesitate to do so. Luckily for the rest of mankind they are a very unhappy lot, who, it can confidently be predicted, would be swept away by the forces they are now generating. They have succeeded in building up a prosperous economy on the sweated labour of 12 million Africans who are made to work night and day at the point of a gun. This has produced a situation in which neither the oppressed nor the oppressor can afford to relax and when a state of tension lasts long enough there is bound to be an explosion sooner or later—we hope sooner.

Indeed, one of the happiest things happening to us in this part of the world is for these mad racialists to attempt to enlarge their slave empire in the continent of Africa. Then they will unleash against themselves such moral and physical forces which would sweep them off the surface of God's clean earth, as Hitler and his hordes before them were swept off. No, Sir, they would love to attack us, but they dare not, and what is more they are already engaged in the mortal combat of their own creation, from which we hope they will never survive.

This, then, reduces the numbers of potential aggressors to those of our neighbours who either from inordinate ambition to build a new empire, or as a result of external instigation, might wish to attack us. Well, our armed forces are specially designed to meet this type of aggression, and they are ever ready to carry the battle to the aggressors' homeland.

Together with our advisers, we have given close study to this particular problem, and we are satisfied that we have the most effective

army of all independent central African states to-day. Even then, in anticipation of the increased responsibilities which will be imposed on the armed forces of this country in the years immediately following independence, considerable reorganisation and re-equipment is now being carried out in order to give the Army the maximum possible power and mobility, so that in spite of our extensive boundary areas, we can bring the most effective forces to bear on any trouble spot at short notice.

During this Debate, Senator Wuraola Esan made a special plea for the wives and families of army men. I would assure the hon. Senator that wives and children of army men are not being neglected in the development programme. In the new barracks which are now being built playgrounds are provided for army children, and special arrangements are made for the welfare of wives and families. Senator Wura Esan claims to be the daughter of an old army man, and I must say, Sir, if she is an example of what the old army can produce, the modern army should have to try very hard indeed to keep up with the standard. Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Dahlton Asemota :** Mr President, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to say a few words. I have been trying to catch your eye.

First of all, I would like to take pride in contributing to this debate, for the success that Nigerians have achieved, both in the Federation and in the Regions, since they assumed the government of this country. I remember when they assumed the greater responsibilities which they now hold, there were certain classes of people who doubted the success of the people, and I am glad that the results have proved that Nigerians are alive to their responsibilities. I therefore associate myself with the sentiments expressed by various Senators congratulating the Minister of Finance for his Budget and Budget Speech.

I would also like to extend these sentiments to the Regional Ministers of Finance for the able way that they too have prepared and presented their Budgets. During the last debate on the Internal Loan Bill the Minister of Finance made it known to us that



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he and the Regional Ministers meet for general discussions from time to time. This arrangement is commendable and I would suggest that if similar arrangements have not already been made, consultations should also take place between Regional Corporations and other Ministries for them to exchange views and deal with the problems of one another together which, in the long run, will be of immense benefits to the people of this country.

There is nothing like mutual co-operation and I strongly suggest that the Federal and Regional Governments should exchange views as often as possible.

Mr President, Sir, although you said there is a time limit for this debate, with your permission, I would like to digress a bit and that is to refer to the Cocktail Party which we all attended in your house last Wednesday, with particular reference to the cordial greetings between you and Chief Awolowo. I must say that I am personally very much impressed by that meeting which the Press have given due publicity. It is an exhibition of statesmanship which many of us in that gathering appreciate very much, and I am glad that the photographs taken at the meeting were given wide publicity by the Press. It should be an eye-opener to followers of both parties to realise that being in an opposite camp does not necessarily make one become the enemy of the other man.

You want to know what is happening in my own part of the country between members of political parties. A father demands the return of his daughter from his son-in-law because he holds allegiance to a party he does not belong to. (*Laughter*). It is as bad as that. Most of them are made to believe that you and Chief Awolowo are as far apart as the sun is from the moon in your political and non-political capacities. I hope that that photograph will be taken as an eye-opener for them to remodel their ideas about the political situation in this country. I am glad about this little gesture exhibited by both of you and I do hope that it will go a long way to educate the masses that after elections there should be no earthly reason why people should not come together as it was before the elections.

I would like to refer now to the *Mbanefo* Award of £300,000. This country has been much troubled by the unpleasant dilemma of

wages perpetually chasing after cost of living in a race which need never have arisen or be so accentuated if the politicians had not plagued themselves with the unwholesome disease of attempting to use wage increases to build up political good-will and political following. I have seen that these things do contribute to strikes themselves.

I am aware that in any developing society having contact with the outside world, cost of living is bound to fluctuate. When that fluctuation means an upward trend, something must be done to help the wage earner who, in the circumstances, suddenly finds himself poorer than he used to be because, in reality, he begins to earn less after paying corresponding increases on other commodities which were brought about by the same increase in salary. The point, however, is that wage increases should be the last resort—when all else have failed. This implies that we must all along be devising means and be applying these means which will prevent the gap between wages and cost of living from ever widening.

The question we ought to ask ourselves then is from *Haragin* to *Gorsuch*, and from *Gorsuch* to *Mbanefo* what have we done to prevent the cost of living index from leaving too far behind the level of wages? My observation has been that some times we have been directly responsible for raising the cost prices of imported goods as, for instance, when we raised duties on petrol and now contemplate raising the duty on corrugated iron sheets. This was done mainly to defray the cost of wage increases. By neglect, we fail to arrest the price of foreign goods, when no bold attempt is made to encourage native industries. Our cotton weavers, for instance, receive very little bold encouragement—although it is obvious that a cotton industry cannot fail in Nigeria. Take the question of rent control even within the Federal territory of Lagos alone. The need for control is felt. Everyone talks about it. Why can a start not be made? Certainly, there will be certain snags in the implementation of a system of rent control. But ought we not to make a start and seek to overcome the snags one by one during the process of implementation?

My contention is that something ought to be done about it. Can Government not set up a working party to study the problem or prob-



lems involved? Some there are who may argue that wage increases as a form of inflation may be a good thing—in that it excites trade by increasing the volume of money in circulation. But the poor wage earner soon finds out that the money merely passes through his fingers. That is perfectly so. This wage increase of 5 per cent now, 10 per cent after, does not help at all. With all these increases these wage earners do not save enough to build their own houses. So the wage earners come back asking for more and more, armed with threats of strike, go-slows and all whatnot, resulting in an endless Commission of Enquiry to find ways and means of increasing wages.

What about the non-wage earners who find life becoming a torment now and again that wages have gone up. They have to find the means of meeting the wage increases, the farmers, the clergymen who do not have increases in wages and who buy from the same market as the civil servants. What of the mercantile houses and the people in them. The people working in mercantile houses will ask for increases in pay and the owners of the mercantile houses have no alternative but to increase the prices of their goods. Has the Government taken into consideration the plight of these people before increasing wages? It is my view that Government should set up a Body charged with the duties of devising ways and means of keeping the index of cost of living from rising. This is most necessary now.

This working party ought to submit an Annual White Paper to the Legislature. Our problem is not for a Commission of Enquiry to find the ways and means of increasing the wages, it should be to find ways and means of stamping out this perpetual increases which, as I said before, hardly do the workers any good as the increased volume of coins simply passes through the workers' bare fingers. What we want is the industrialisation of this country. After wage increases, taxes go up, landlords increase their rents and everything becomes very difficult.

So, I hope the Government will take these things into consideration and will find a solution whereby they can stop these constant commissions of enquiry into wages and set up industries. We have a great deal of industries to be

developed in this country. We have our maize to be developed. We have also our rice industry. If you go to Pategi you will see a rice plantation which is yet to be developed. If we go to Auchi and Oyo there are industries there too to be developed. A rice industry can also be developed in Warri. We talk of wealth in this country but once we find the ways and means to develop these industries automatically we shall be wealthy. So, getting wage increases everytime will not help us.

The next thing I would like to touch, Sir, is the Police. Well, this is a Department which really has been occupying my mind for quite a long time. I feel I must make reference to a very fatal shortcoming which at the moment plagues the Police Force—a very foul disease indeed of which every one in the country is aware and a thing which is rapidly devouring the very soul of the Police Force. I have in mind the very heavy incidence of bribery and corruption in the Police Force. Several times persons in various walks of life have spoken of this disease and about the need for urgent curative measures. But very often nothing appears to have been done, and Judges and Magistrates continue to find it necessary to make scathing remarks about the conduct of members of the Police Force. Certainly no results appear to have been achieved in the direction of taking necessary remedial measures.

We talk of Nigerianising the Police Force. This is very well indeed, Sir, for we ought not in an independent Nigeria to leave the business of preservation of law and order in the hands of non-Nigerians. But I am quite aware that there will be a period of transition during which we must continue to use the services of those expatriate officers who for the time being are irreplaceable. But we must ensure that we are taking measures now which will make that period of transition as short as it ought to be.

But if we must Nigerianise the Police Force we must also ensure that it continues to be a good Police Force. The trend that things are taking at the moment does not appear to give any hope to the idea that the indigenous Police Force which we are hoping to evolve will be a good Police Force. Even now, when we have expatriate officers still manning the key strategic posts, scarcely a day passes in which we do not read of a criminal case of corruption against one



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or two Police officers or in which we do not hear stories of alleged corrupt acts by officers of the Police Force, particularly of the Motor Traffic Division, except of course, here in Lagos where events of this kind do not take place ; but in the Provinces, you will understand what I mean.

The situation fills one with horror. Is this the legacy which will be bequeathed to an all-indigenous Force? What plans have the expatriates who are now in the directive posts of the Police Force put forward for the elimination of this disease? Certainly it cannot be that they are unaware of the disease, for that would be a terrible indictment on their ability as Police Officers.

There is no use any one saying that the cause of this foul disease is the rapid Nigerianisation of the Police Force. No, Sir, I do not agree. We have had the Police with us since 1900—that is for nearly 60 years. If in 60 years a good officer cannot reproduce himself, then very many things are wrong in very many places. In any case it is up to those in the top directive posts of the Police to say clearly what is a reasonable Nigerianisation speed, and what are the requirements in order that that speed may be maintained and improved upon.

I have heard it said that owing to pressure to Nigerianise the Force many Junior Officers are being promoted who are not fit for promotion. That has been repeated both in the Lower House and in this Senate. If this statement means that the element of unfitness includes an ingredient of lack of integrity and lack of honesty, then certainly one must regret and indeed be alarmed that the Police Service Commission, by promoting undesirables into Senior Service posts of the Police, is leading the country down a precipice into the brinks of disaster. For is it not obvious that one cannot use crooks and rogues to maintain law and order?

Indeed we hear that in war time the British used the services of top crooks to blow safes containing Nazi secret documents ; but those crooks in war time were not an index of what they may be or do in peace time assignments. For it is also on record that in peace time many of these war time hero-crooks found a resting place in British jails. This is precisely where the crooks in our Police Force must find a

resting place, not in Senior Service posts in a Force designed for the maintenance of law and order.

Mr President, Sir, I am not an expert in Police administration and organisation ; I am however a businessman and, as a businessman, I know that Managers who have feasted with their subordinates on the proceeds of embezzlement or ill-gotten goods can never succeed later in stamping out corruption and dishonesty from the company. (I am pleased to note that the Minister of Communications is here because we were colleagues in the same firm, and he understands what I mean). Nor can anyone of these subordinates who later rises high above his mates ever acquire the courage to turn round and tell his erstwhile companions in sin that now that he himself has risen, everyone must now forgo the flesh pots. It is impossible. It is difficult for him to control his juniors—actually that is what he himself has done to get to his present position.

**The President :** Order, order. Will the hon. Senator confine his remarks to the economic and financial policy of the Government. I have no doubt whatsoever that a lot of what he is saying is quite correct. Perhaps when we debated the Speech from the Throne it would have been in order to raise the question of the conduct of officers in the Police Force, but now we are engaged in the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill. Please bear in mind the Standing Orders regarding relevance.

**Senator Asemota :** Thank you very much, Sir. I wanted to raise this point at the time and I think, if I heard you correctly, you said that all these things should wait until we are discussing the Appropriation Bill. So, that is why I have taken time to wait until this time. What I wanted to talk about is the remedy to such a situation and that is why I realise—

**The President :** Does the remedy affect the Budget ?

**Senator Asemota :** It does affect the Budget, Sir.

**The President :** Proceed.

**Senator Asemota :** I realise that what I have said amounts to this, that I entirely distrust the possibility of cleaning the Police Force from within. I admit that this is the force of what I have said. Certainly, there are



exceptions within the Police Force ; I quite admit that there are some good men among the Police Force, not all of them are bad. But I maintain that we cannot plan on the basis of the exceptional—

**The President :** I am afraid you are still being irrelevant.

**Senator Asemota :** Well, my proposal is this, Sir : that we must select a new type of Nigerians for a short one-year police training course overseas (America and England), and thereafter grant them entry to posts in the Police Force equivalent to those of Assistant Secretaries in the Administrative Service. Mr President, I mean—excuse me if I may read a bit—

**The President :** I hope I did not hear you say that you are reading ? (*Laughter*).

**Senator Asemota :** I mean that we must select Nigerians with graduate qualifications and send them abroad for training on a one-year Police course. I will prefer, Mr President, that these persons be young Nigerians who have acquired their degrees by an internal University course, whether it be in Nigeria or abroad, who have therefore received a kind of mental discipline and whose social outlook is different from that of members of our present Force who, because they have grown up through the ranks, have generally been tempted and fallen victims of flesh pots that lay scattered all over the traffic route from Lagos to Asaba, from Onitsha to Port Harcourt.

Now, my point is this, that after the training of these men that have been selected they should not be posted out. They must be posted within the Police to detect crimes within the Police, and not outside the Police. As I have said, that would be a remedy that would certainly solve the present situation.

**The President :** The hon. Senator has five minutes more.

**Senator Asemota :** I am sorry, Sir. The next thing I would like to refer to is the Development Programme. If you would allow me to recall history in this case, I would like to inform you that in 1932, the late Oba of Benin, Eweka II, approached the Governor of Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford, for railway extension to be made from Oshogbo to Benin. The reply given at the time by the Governor was

that the proposition was such that the financial position of the country then could not effect an active consideration. But four years afterwards, the request was made to another Governor, Sir Graeme Thomson. At this time, as history recorded, arrangement was made for the survey of the project.

Now, there is no getting away from the fact that railways play a very great part in the development of this country. What I was trying to say is that the government should consider extending the railway from Oshogbo or Ibadan to Benin across to Asaba and now that the arrangement for the bridge across the Niger is completed, I think the railway can run across the bridge to Onitsha to link up Enugu and with the possible extension to Koko Port—which is the pet baby of the Minister of Finance !

Now, Sir, if you allow me, I would like to say a few words in connection with the Shagamu -Ijebu-Ode-Benin road. I made reference to this road during an earlier speech in this Senate. Now, about the road, Sir, I would like to refer to the statement made by the hon. Minister of Works. He said that circumstances at the time necessitated the setting up of an official enquiry and as a result of it, it was decided to cancel the contract and order a fresh one and that the reason why it was cancelled was that the contract was given on a fixed fee basis, that is to say, that the contractor was paid according to how much work he has executed. The inquiry recommended that a proper survey of the road to know exactly how many bridges are to be constructed should be carried out and that the government is now negotiating with a firm of contractors to undertake the work.

Well, Mr President, Sir, looking through the estimates of the Economic Programme, that is estimates for Highways and Bridges for the year 1960-61, I found that it is only £10,000 that has been provided for this road and if Senators would only turn to page 23 of the Progress Report on the Economic Programme for 1955-62, they will see that under this road the amount of £10,000 is in respect of the initial stage of the construction of this road and that negotiations are in hand with contractors for this project. What I had expected to see in the Estimates is a reasonable



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sum of money to be put aside for this work which the Minister agreed has been outstanding for over 5 years, and as the project becomes a new deal entirely and with the understanding that the survey is now ready and contract documents completed and further, that the government was speedily negotiating with the firm of contractors to undertake the work, although not before the end of October, it is not only a surprise but also something not imaginable that the amount of £10,000 allocated can hardly cover the cost of filling and embankment of any of the bridges on this road.

An explanation would certainly be necessary so as to know from the hon. Minister of Works and of course, to tell us exactly when they expect the work on this road to be commenced and not of course when they expect it completed as something not started could hardly be completed. The delay is of grave concern to everybody in the country.

Now one other important matter I want to raise—

**The President :** Your time is up, I am afraid.

**Senator P. C. Ndu :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill and in that I want to state that a lot of water has passed under the bridge since this hon. House met last to debate the Budget speech, so ably delivered by the hon. Minister of Finance we have gone back to our—

**The President :** The hon. Senator is perfectly entitled to refer to his notes to refresh his memory, but he is not entitled to read his speech.

**Senator Ndu :** Well, I saw so many Senators reading their speeches.

**The President :** If you noticed that any Senator read his speech, you should have raised a point of order. I did not notice any myself. Please proceed.

**Senator Ndu :** I was saying that we have gone back to our people, and consulted with them, and we know what they want. We also know in what order of priority they want it.

**The President :** Will the hon. Senator please raise his voice.

**Senator Ndu :** But I am happy to say, that the people have implicit confidence in this House and in the Federal Government. Sir, the

people of Enugu, Nsukka and Udi have one greatest need to-day, and that is education. The people want to be enlightened so as to take their rightful place among the citizens of this great nation.

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin :** Point of order Sir. The hon. Senator is referring to a particular Region when he should confine his comment to the Federal Government.

**The President :** That is not a point of order. Please proceed, Senator Ndu.

**Senator Ndu :** The Federal Government deserves praise for the efforts it had made in this field, in these areas, particularly Enugu. I refer to the branch of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Enugu. The establishment of this college has been a step in the right direction. But, I feel the Government can do more. It can turn this College into an autonomous higher institution on the basis of the polytechnics in the United Kingdom where young men and women can go and prepare for University education. Happily, this College, when raised to this status, will supplement the efforts of the Eastern Regional Government, to provide university education, by the establishment of the University of Nigeria at Nsukka.

All over Nigeria to-day, there is an irresistible quest for education. At Enugu, Nsukka and Udi people are no less anxious to get this all important thing—education. I would appeal to the Government that in establishing the proposed inter-Regional secondary schools in the country particular attention should be paid to Udi and Nsukka Divisions.

On communications, I would also stress the importance of providing adequate telephone services for these and other areas. I have to state that in the Province, Enugu is fast growing into an industrial city in Nigeria, Nsukka into a University town, and Udi into an important mining centre. The needs of these places, therefore, are to be adequately served with modern communications systems.

Minerals—I would like the Government to quicken the arrangements for the steel industry to help the 1,700 coal miners now to be retrenched at Enugu as this is no doubt adding more to the already over populated number of unemployed in this country.



The government should also encourage the tin miners in the Plateau Province of the Northern Region by seeing to it that the tin and columbite are always vigorously increased in the world markets as this is the only avenue of marketing the main source of livelihood in the Plateau Province, Northern Region.

Roads. I want the Government to tar the Trunk A road from Jos to Aliede in Benue Province, Northern Region, to facilitate safe travelling by Northerners and others using this important road of nearly 900 miles to Lagos *via* Asaba, and to do the same thing to those coming to Lagos *via* Minna through the Western Region.

I would also appeal to the Federal Government to take over the Bridges and the maintenance of all Trunk B roads in all the provinces to enable the three Regional governments to concentrate on other roads which are now becoming very dilapidated and sometimes not good enough for motoring.

With these important remarks, Mr President, I support the Bill.

**Senator Chief S. O. Esangbedo :** Mr President, Sir, the Minister of Finance in presenting his Budget for the current financial year has laboured strenuously to give a vivid picture of the state of the finances of the Federation; he has endeavoured to show the magnitude of the financial commitments of the Government and the steps it is proposed to take to meet those commitments.

Obviously the economic programme of the Government is heavy and the resources of the government are scanty. This is quite natural in an under-developed country; particularly in a young under-developed country which is rapidly emerging from tutelage to nationhood.

Five months from now we shall be independent. That is to say that we shall be masters of our own fate and architects of our own future. We shall have to shoulder all our responsibilities ourselves, both on the internal and in the international planes without the guiding hands of our erstwhile political masters. It will be the concern of our government to raise the standard of living of the people; to provide more social amenities, more education in all fields, better housing conditions, more employment for our men and women and adequate health facilities. Our Government

will have to organise protection for the State against external aggression and to establish law and order within. In short, it will be the duty of all of us—Government and the people alike—to build a happy and prosperous nation out of the debris of colonial exploitation.

Indeed, Sir, the assignment is tremendous, but our finances are lean. That is why I am in sympathy with the Government when they propose external borrowing to finance the development of this country.

Nobody will go a-borrowing when his own resources can match his commitments, but urged by necessity, borrowing is expedient. This is the state in which we in Nigeria find ourselves to-day. We have got to borrow in order to develop our country, and it is our hope that if our borrowings are put into proper use, we should in course of time be able not only to pay back our debts but to be in a position, if the need arises, to lend to others that may solicit our help. That will have to be the position if we have a sincere belief in the important role—

**The President :** I do not want to cut the hon. Senator short, but if the notes to which he refers to refresh his memory could be handed over to the Verbatim Reporters, they would be reproduced in full in the *Hansard*.

**Senator Chief Esangbedo :** Yes, Sir, I have a lot of things to say. But even Chief Okotie-Eboh does not find it easy and he refers to his notes; how much more myself?

**The President :** The hon. Senator has one minute to conclude his speech.

**Senator Chief Esangbedo :** Is that so, Sir?

And furthermore, I have no fear to entertain that the hon. Minister of Finance has capable men to carry out the work in his Ministry efficiently. As such, I would only like the Government to discharge its programme according to the arrangements.

Mr President, I do not envy the people in other places for the priority they usually receive as far as the economic development programme is concerned. Nevertheless, Benin Province as a whole in the Western Region, and Ishan Division in particular should not be overlooked.



[SENATOR CHIEF ESANGBEDO]

I should have liked to say something about the loans made by a private company to the hon. Members and officers in the public service.

**The President :** Order, order ! Senator Chief Z. C. Obi.

**Senator Chief Z. C. Obi :** Mr President, owing to the little time at my disposal, I will just associate myself with the praises showered on our Minister of Finance, Chief the hon. Festus Okotie-Eboh, for the able way in which he has prepared and presented his 1960-61 Budget speech.

I shall now go to an item in my speech which has much to do with the economy of this country and upon which no speaker has touched. Mr President, Sir, the first question is the loss of revenue which this country has suffered from for several years now in respect of import duty on stockfish. It is very appalling if it is true that no customs duty is raised on our stockfish imports. At least £8 million of this commodity is imported into Nigeria annually free of duty. It will be correct to say that in the whole of West Africa only the Eastern Region, and the Western Region to some extent, deal in stockfish trade and, therefore, it cannot be said to be in excessive demand or in short supply. Why then should our people and Government suffer while the producers alone reap all the benefits ?

Sometime in the year 1957, I attended a meeting of the Customs Tariff Advisory Committee in Lagos where an attempt was made to remove import duty on corned beef from Argentina, perhaps after the practice that had been obtaining in the case of stockfish. The only reason given to us was that whereas the Gold Coast (now Ghana) with a smaller population consumed more corned beef, Nigeria with a bigger population consumed less, and it was reckoned that if the duty of 3d on each tin was removed that would help to boost the sales. We called for figures of duties raised on this commodity for the first nine months of that financial year, and this was given as £100,000. We turned down the suggestion and advised that if the producers of corned beef in Argentina wished to boost their sales in Nigeria and considered that high price was the reason for poor

sales, the only course open to them was to reduce their factory costs and not to plan for the removal of import duty of 3d on a tin which accrued to the Nigerian revenue.

If this was the revenue derived from a small item of import like corned beef, how much more would be expected from a big item of import like stockfish. Stockfish, like corned beef, is a luxury. Nigeria can obtain cattle from the North and fish from the South for her requirements.

A bale of stockfish before the last war sold for between £2-10s and £3, but to-day it sells at between £11 and £12. Maybe the present Government of Nigeria inherited the present iniquitous stockfish trade conditions. Whatever the case may be the Government should investigate without further delay how this situation came about and, in the light of present day requirements, review the conditions of stockfish trade in order to ensure that the producers do not continue to enjoy alone all the profits from the trade plus the import duty which, if you please, might amount to £ $\frac{3}{4}$  million which should have accrued to the revenue of Nigeria.

The Members of this august House would like to know the circumstances which led to the present import-duty-free trade on stockfish and what arrangements have been made to put a stop to this loss of revenue of this country in this way, and the rate of duty that has been imposed.

As I have said, I was not going to refer to other items of my speech for pressure of time remembering the dictum of live and let live, so that other Senators who wish to air their views may have a chance to do so.

With these few remarks, I support the 1960-61 Appropriation Bill.

**Senator Chief R. A. Umoh :** Mr President, Sir, in supporting the second reading of the Appropriation Bill, I will agreeably tow the line of the previous speakers, the hon. Senators in congratulating the Minister of Finance for this Bill which he has brought to this hon. House. Before supporting the Bill, I have to make a few remarks. My observations are in the field of agriculture.

In the field of agriculture, we have seen such as a Chinese author has once written. He said, "If you compare a nation to a tree, agriculture



is its roots, commerce and industries are its leaves and branches and if the root is harmed, the leaves fall off and the whole tree dies." I have looked through and found that we should give more attention to agriculture. As a matter of fact, looking through the field of development in agriculture in the whole of Nigeria—and in saying this, I have in view the co-operation of the Federal Government with the different Regional Governments—we find that the problem falls into two different categories.

The first one is the usual efforts of the Government to bring about development in agriculture. The second one is the little efforts made by rural science teachers in schools to teach rural science, the scientific method of planting or agriculture in schools; but when we look round to the men in rural areas, they toil day in, day out unaided by any of the above factors and cultivate a large area of land, at the end, as a result of unscientific method of agriculture, they produce very little at the end. What is the point? What does the Government do to help?

The general crop production in the whole of the country is dependent on the efforts of the men, the people in the rural areas. I should suggest that the Government should send out Agricultural Masters to teach the people of rural areas how to apply modern methods of agriculture in their daily work of agriculture. This is not only enough. The Government would have been thinking about that already qualified people should be sent over for research work. Our soil from different parts of the Regions should be tested and plantations opened by the Federal Government in different parts of Nigeria. In addition to this, the variety of crops from other countries should be brought over to Nigeria and tried and I am sure they will do very well.

I have to give a little bit of my observation on education. Considering the furtherance of education in this country, we find that if we want to take our stand as an independent country, we have to send more Nigerians to study for degrees and also to specialise in certain subjects. I am having in view particularly the study of science. Any young country that wants to move abreast of other countries in the world has to have a lot of scientists. As a matter of fact, what is going to be our position as an independent nation if we have

no scientists to make Nigeria tow the line to go abreast of other countries of the world?

Take for example, when it comes to production of weapons of defence—the Atomic Bomb for instance—how are we going to do it if we have no Nigerians going to study these things in the different parts of the world? It is a very important factor. If we have to rise, we have to conquer everything in its early stages.

**The President:** Will the hon. Senator please wind up?

**Senator Chief Umoh:** I also believe that with the brilliant Nigerians we have to-day and with the study of science, we can succeed. I know of an English proverb which says, "He who aims at the sky, reaches the top of the tree". I do not think that Nigeria is too young even to produce her own satellite. Nobody knows what you can do until you have tried.

Let me come to the question of communication. As a matter of fact, this is a very, very important item that I have in mind and it needs a very great attention on the part of the Government. Communications in the rural areas is as we see a pitiable and disheartening thing. As a matter of fact, I want to take a special case of my own clan. Ikot Annang is a place that is about more than six miles away from the main post office and more than six miles also away from any of the postal agencies and it should have permission to open a postal agency. This is not only applicable to my own side, it is also applicable to different places in the rural sides of Nigeria.

When you come to telecommunication, as I have already suggested sometime ago, it is very important for a great nation like this, a nation that is marching towards independence, there should be easy means of communication everywhere. Telephone communication is of extreme necessity of District Councils, as they form a very important unit in the field of Government, so that they may have an easy means of communication with central Governing bodies—I call them administrative bodies—in the Divisions.

Central Annang District Council as a matter of fact is one of the District Councils that would like to have telephone installation in the



[SENATOR CHIEF UMOH]

rural areas. Different places in different District Councils in other provinces would like to have telephone installation and I believe that it is also applicable to different District Councils in different parts of Nigeria.

However, I have to make some remarks as regards the Police Force.

**The President :** Your time is up.

**Senator Chief Ezeogo Ugwuocha :** Mr President, I rise to speak on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill proposed to this House. In doing so, Sir, I should first of all congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance on how ably he presented his Budget speech, especially on introducing revenue measures this year which have been estimated to yield £6,697.

Many hon. Members have made mention about smuggling goods into Nigeria.

In my humble opinion I feel we shall find a way to combat this practice. I shall use this opportunity to charge our Police Force, not all the members of the Police Force, but those who are living in that area where smuggling of goods is carried on. These smugglers always meet them and they have a secret meeting among themselves. However, I am not prepared to expose the secrets of the meeting here. I live in the area where these smuggled goods are sold and I know what is happening. The traders who buy the smuggled goods have confidence in the Policemen because they are not going to arrest them. They know they can easily offer the Policemen some money and they will go safely. This is what encourages the smugglers and the traders in the smuggled goods. If the Police were serious about their duty I do not think the smugglers would try to go to Fernando Po for smuggling goods.

In this respect, Mr President, I should like to make some suggestions. My suggestion is that those Policemen who live in that area—Ifanyong and Calabar—should be transferred right away to the Federal Capital and that the new ones be told what to do in that area.

Now I have some observations to make on Education. When we talk about Education, every hon. Senator here will bear in mind that this House alone cannot clear all the implications involved. This is an important matter

because it is a passport to any department in life. Everybody is aware that any independent nation without soundly educated citizens can never stand. I now crave the indulgence of the House that in the distribution of scholarship awards, Abakaliki Province should be remembered because it is a backward area. Most of our sons and daughters have not enjoyed Federal Scholarships.

Now I have some comments to make in respect of telecommunications. There is every likelihood that Nigeria is becoming independent on the 1st of October 1960, and that every town and every village in this country shall have the desire to communicate with their brothers and relatives and to express their feelings about the independent celebrations. I have earlier said that Abakaliki Province, particularly Afikpo Division is very backward. The Minister of Communications should waste no time in providing regular mail and telephone services for about 254,000 inhabitants of that area.

There is a Postal Agency at Owutu Edda which has been approved to be converted into a Post Office since 1958. I will seize this opportunity to ask the Minister of Communications to have this carried out soon.

**The President :** The hon. Senator's time is up. I will now call on the hon. Minister of Finance.

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr President, Sir, although it was not possible for me to be here in person during the first two days of this important debate owing to official engagements in the House of Representatives, I want to assure hon. Senators that I have taken the pains to study the *Official Reports* of the contributions made by hon. Senators to the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

I would like to express my gratitude to hon. Senators for their kind words, not only about me but also about the Budget which I have named the "Stability Budget". I must say that the standard of contributions made by the majority of Senators has been very helpful to me, and I am sure, to the Government. But, Sir, I would not be doing justice to my conscience if I failed to say in all modesty that at least about two or three hon. Senators have made contributions or criticisms which have



been made by the Opposition in the House of Representatives and which, in my view, cannot be said to be constructive.

I propose in view of the limited time at my disposal to divide the criticisms which I consider constructive into two categories. Before doing so however, I would like to express my appreciation to the hon. Senator who had just spoken for the advice he has given to me about the difficulty which the Government is encountering in respect of smuggling. During the last year I was able to check up and I found out that we had lost revenue up to the tune of £1½ to £2 million only on tobacco due to the activities of smugglers. One of the first steps I took when I was appointed Minister of Finance was to follow his suggestion, that is to say, to see to it that Customs Waterguards who are posted near the frontiers for preventive duties are not kept there for more than six months. When I introduced this measure and it was carried out, I received several reports and complaints from these Waterguards. Some of the complaints were that their children would not have the advantage of proper education if they were transferred from one place to another as frequently as I introduced, and other reasons were also given.

I am sure hon. Senators will agree that until very recently no Minister was really responsible for the Police, and it was difficult for one to suggest that Policemen should be transferred as often as any one could have wanted. But I think that a very useful purpose is served by such debates as we have heard here to-day and in the other place because it is essential for us to bring it forcibly home to our Nigerian Policemen as well as the Customs Waterguard to realise that they have a duty and a responsibility to this country by safeguarding our revenues.

It is difficult to appreciate how people who are expected to be the watchdogs of our revenues should contribute to this sort of practice as the hon. Senator has mentioned. I do hope that they will learn some lessons in due course and that as we emerge into a sovereign state we shall do our best to take more stringent action in seeing to it that whoever is caught in the abuse of his duties especially as regards to our collection of revenues will be severely dealt with.

The hon. Chief Z. C. Obi has mentioned specifically the question of stockfish. I must say that the policy of Government is to tax luxuries and to contribute in enhancing the standard of living of the common man.

Stockfish, if I may say some of us are eating it, but I think it is much more intended for the ordinary man in the street. To my mind it would not be fair to such people if we are to tax stockfish, and therefore raise the cost and make it impossible for the ordinary man to be able to buy it. That has been the consideration of the Government, and I think it is essential for us not to tax such things that are required for the general use of our people, but I think it is our right to refuse to reduce or waive import duty on corned beef. Corned beef is luxury. We have enough of meat in this country. We can prepare them in our houses and if somebody is interested in eating corned beef instead of going to the market to buy meat or to the river to get fresh fish, I think it is right and proper for the Government to tax such luxuries.

Now, Sir, with your permission, therefore, I shall proceed to examine in general the points made by many Senators. Many Senators spoke on the need for rapid development of agriculture in this country. The Federal Government is quite conscious of this but under the Federal Constitution its powers are limited. I know that the Regional Governments are now alive to their responsibilities in this sphere and we hope that before long the desired improvements in this vital industry will become more widespread and visible. As regards agriculture research for which the Federal Government is responsible, work is going on steadily all the time but progress has not been as fast as we desired owing to shortage of research staff.

Shortage of scientists is a world-wide problem and not confined to Nigeria. We are taking steps to implement the recommendations of Professor Engledow who was invited to advise the Government on the organisation of research. We are engaged in a war on ignorance, fear and poverty and disease, and one of the first tasks is to ensure that our people are properly fed. We shall do all that lies in our power to ensure an adequate food supply at all times for our people. Indeed number



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three of my ten-point plan for the financial and economic policies of independent Nigeria is, and here I quote, "to give every support to increased agricultural production". This I must add includes veterinary and forest products.

Sir, Senator Somolu said that the present Budget which has been widely applauded in Nigeria and abroad should not have been called the "Stability Budget" and suggested another name because it includes provision for loans to be raised locally and overseas. Mr President, Sir, I can understand economists and businessmen criticizing constructively a Budget of this kind, but lawyers as it is characteristic of them are quite miles away from the economic field, and therefore I can pardon the hon. Senator for this observation.

Sir, however, on going through the hon. Senator's speech I found that he was not against borrowing for economic development as such, but rather he was concerned about the rate at which the Nigerian sterling assets are being repatriated home. Therefore, Mr President, I propose with your permission to deal briefly with these sterling assets.

At the 30th September, 1959, Nigerian owned sterling assets were as follows :—

	£ million
Federal Government .. ..	37.58
Regional Governments .. ..	35.82
Local Governments .. ..	3.54
Regional Development Corporations .. ..	5.50
Other semi-official bodies (ECN, Ports, Railway, LEDB, UCI, etc.) .. ..	11.52
Post Office Savings Bank .. ..	2.93
Marketing Boards .. ..	54.43
West African Currency Board currency backing .. ..	34.00
Savings Bank overseas assets .. ..	31.00
Commercial banks .. ..	20.10
making a total of .. ..	236.42

Very little of this is within the control of the Federal Government. Of the Federal Government's £37.58 million, by far the greater portion represents investments held by the Development Fund. These are rapidly being drawn down to finance capital expenditure. Of the balance, £5 million relates to the Reserve Fund

and the balance to sinking funds required to repay loans raised in London. The yield on the Federal Government's investments at present exceeds 5 per cent.

Now, Sir, I would like at this juncture to refer first of all to the question of loans made by my hon. Friend Senator as well as two others. I would like to reply to what they have said that Government is not just out to borrow money for the fun of doing so. It is impossible for the Government to exhaust its own financial resources internally before looking for money elsewhere in order to finance important industrial projects which will reimburse itself, and then give work to many people in Nigeria.

I have said in my Budget Speech that it is not peculiar to Nigeria for countries both developed and under-developed do borrow money. Take the question of Ghana and their volta project. Such a small country not as large as the Western Region alone in Nigeria is asking to borrow not less than £1 million for its volta project, and I want to say, Sir, or to quote an analogy to show to hon. Senators as to why we must continue to borrow until we are properly established.

Take the question of Chloro-gas project which the Government is examining at the moment and which will bring to Nigeria very soon the investment of International Bank. This project, at its first stage is expected to cost about £54 million, and it will produce electricity to light the whole of Northern Region to the whole of Western Region including Lagos and also part of the Eastern Region. Apart from that it will assist navigation and it will also assist irrigation.

Well, Sir, it is calculated by experts that within a few years this project will be able to pay itself and then finance the next stage of the project. Apart from giving employment to many Nigerians it would enable industrial houses to have cheap electricity as well as the ordinary man to have cheap electricity. This is an important project that will help the economy of this country. Is it being suggested therefore, that because this project is mooted, when the time comes we should draw the whole of our money and then put it into this project with the hope of all the things we have been asking for, like telecommunications, road development and every other thing just because we want to introduce it? After all if a man is not creditworthy he will not be able to



raise loan, and you cannot be creditworthy when you have spent everything that you have in your hand, otherwise you will become a chronic debtor; and certainly neither Senator Daldry nor Senator Wusu nor Senator Doherty will agree to loan money to somebody who has no security or whose financial position is not stable. (*Laughter*).

Therefore, Sir, if Nigeria is going out to borrow for such projects as I have mentioned and were receiving such money, it is something for which we should be proud. But one constructive point which hon. Members have made and with which I agree is that we must not raise loan just for the fun of it and put it into a project which will not pay back for such a loan. That assurance I think I have given to the House that it is not the policy of the Government to raise loan abroad in order to finance projects which will not be remunerative.

I think, Sir, with this explanation hon. Members will agree that this is not peculiar to us. As I said in my speech the United States of America lent to other countries, and the United Kingdom is even still indebted to the United States by now, and it is therefore nothing derogatory to the status of Nigeria. It is because Nigeria has a future for potential economic resources that people would like to loan us money, but that does not make us a debtor nation because whenever we loan we will be able to pay back. This may be a very difficult operation but it is something which I honestly believe will help this country.

**Internal borrowing:** With regard to the national savings drive which we propose to launch I would assure hon. Senators that all possible steps will be taken to interest everybody in this patriotic and profitable venture. I do hope that when the time comes all legislators will not only invest substantial sums themselves but also encourage members of their families, friends and constituents to invest in the future of Nigeria.

**Taxes:** As regards recent taxation measures some Senators expressed the opinion that mineral waters are necessities and therefore should not have been taxed. I am afraid that I cannot accept this view which appears to conflict with the facts of the case as many other people see them: these items are generally regarded as luxuries. Senator Mrs Esan

suggested that textiles and wearing apparels should be taxed because, as she put it, men are trespassing on the right of women and are accumulating more than necessary gowns in their wardrobes. I wonder, with very great respect, whether this is more true of men or of women themselves. What about those wonder trinkets all around and those heavy headties that we see all around. I would like to say here that textiles and wearing apparels have always been liable to import duties and, in fact, the duties on them were raised in January, 1959.

If in spite of the increased taxes on textiles, men and women still find it necessary to buy so many clothes for display, *Aso-ebi* and all the rest of it, I could only point that surplus cash can always be saved in the Post Office Savings Bank against a rainy day. The Savings Bank in addition to security offers a reasonable rate of interest on moneys deposited with.

I do hope that all of us in this country will now start to practice thrift in earnest. That is the Government's call. The money we save will be used for developing our country and make it a better place for all of us and our children.

**Tax evasion and smuggling:** I have dealt with this but I welcome the assurance of Senators to support Government in our campaign against the enemies of public revenues, namely, tax evasion and smuggling. These evil practices are robbing the nation of millions of pounds of revenue. We are, therefore, determined to put a stop to it. Senator Somolu's suggestion that a revenue court should be established to deal expeditiously with revenue cases will be considered along with the other suggestions on this subject.

**National industrial Commission and National Planning Commission:** Senator Somolu and Senator Dr Eni Njoku made contributions on this and many Senators spoke about the need for co-ordination of the country's development plans and the setting up of Commissions for this purpose. The Federal Government is ever mindful of the need for full co-operation with and amongst the Regional Governments in these important matters. For Nigeria is one and our political and economic destinies are indivisible. There exists already a national machinery for effective consultation and co-operation in economic matters. We have the



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Loans Advisory Council. This Council, on which all the Finance Ministers in the Federation sit, meets from time to time to review the capital needs of the Governments and to recommend how best to apportion loan monies becoming available, both within and outside Nigeria.

Secondly, there is the National Economic Council which was established in 1955 with the aim of giving the maximum encouragement to the development of truly national economic policies and to further the closest co-operation in the economic field between all the Governments of the Federation. In 1958 the Council set up the Joint Planning Committee, consisting of two officials appointed respectively by the Federal Government and each of the Regional Governments and one official appointed to represent the Cameroons, together with certain co-opted members such as the Director of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research.

The Governor of the Central Bank is the Chairman of this Committee. Its terms of reference include advising the National Economic Council, in particular by: (1) preparing a statement of fundamental objectives for the guidance of the planning committees of the several governments in the formulation of their development plans for each succeeding period; and (2) examining the plans formulated by the Governments and advising that modifications should be made to them in the light of the fundamental objectives agreed for this purpose, in order that the plans together may form a coherent whole. The Committee has already prepared a statement of fundamental objectives, and also produced the Economic Survey of Nigeria, 1959, to which my hon. Friend, Senator Dr Eni Njoku referred during his speech last Saturday.

In addition, the Federal Government is making arrangements to engage an economist of international repute. Provision has also been made in the current Estimates for the expansion of the Economic Studies section of the Ministry of Economic Development. I am sure, Senators will agree that these arrangements will meet the present needs of the Federation. We are, however, always prepared to consider suggestions for improvements and modifications to the foregoing

machinery having regard to the fact that no human agency is perfect. The point I would ask Senators to remember is that our Constitution is a Federal one and powers are divided between the Federal and Regional Governments. In such circumstances we feel that the greatest progress can be made by effective and continuing consultation.

National Transport Commission; With regard to the suggestion that a National Transport Commission be set up, I would like to say that a study of our present requirements for all forms of transport is to be undertaken in order to enable Government to plan for the proper co-ordination of transport throughout the Federation.

The last point I would like to reply to with your permission, Sir, is about the Budget Surplus. Senator Lagunju expressed the view that the sum of £950,460 shewn in the Draft Estimates was a marginal surplus. I would like to remind the hon. Senator that I said in the course of my speech in this Senate last Tuesday that as a result of the recent taxation measures the estimated surplus under the recurrent budget surplus now stands at £1,625,000. It should also be noted that this surplus has been achieved after making a contribution of £6,335,400 to the Development Fund to finance capital expenditure. I consider this to be a satisfactory state of affair.

Surely, a Government that can have an aggregate surplus of about £7 million a year can be proud of itself that its financial policy and programme are certainly stable. We should take pride in looking forward to the future with great optimism that Nigeria is emerging into full sovereignty not as a non-credit worthy nation but as a nation that has a diversified economy for which we should be rightly proud. As the programme foresees also in developing our potentialities we hope that we will have assistance from outside and that our sons and daughters will rally round to realise the importance of saving and investing money in our money market in Nigeria so that our future children will have every reason to be proud that the policy which I have enunciated in this Stability Budget is practised to the benefit of all and sundry in Nigeria.

(Applause)

Question put and agreed to.



*Bill accordingly read a second time.*

**The Minister of Finance :** Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that the Bill be now read the third time.

**The Minister of Transport :** Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read the third time and passed.*

#### FEDERAL SUPREME COURT BILL, 1960

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation** (Senator the hon. R. A. Njoku) : Mr President, Sir, I rise to move that a Bill for an Ordinance to be entitled the Federal Supreme Court Ordinance, 1960, be now read a second time.

Sir, when the Federal Supreme Court was established in 1954, provision was made for it to begin to function by the adaptation of the Federal Supreme Court (Appeals) Ordinance which was formerly known as the West African Court of Appeal Ordinance. This was done under the adaptation powers conferred by the Nigeria Constitution Order in Council 1954 and was intended as a temporary measure pending the preparation in due course of a new ordinance which would make comprehensive provision for the Federal Supreme Court in the light of the Constitutional Orders as they were being made.

In 1955 a new Ordinance entitled the Federal Supreme Court (General Provisions) Ordinance 1955 was enacted simply to supplement the Federal Supreme Court (Appeals) Ordinance. At the same time the provisions of the Federal Supreme Court (Appeals) Ordinance were expanded by another Ordinance. Since then a series of decisions at the Constitutional Conferences has resulted in amendments to the Constitution Orders which has affected the jurisdiction, powers, and procedure of the Supreme Court.

It is now thought that the provision of these Ordinances as affected by the Constitutional provisions relating to the Court should be consolidated into one ordinance, and it is for this purpose that the Bill now before this House has been designed.

The opportunity, I must also add, has been taken to rectify an anomaly in the existing legislation in respect of the periods of appeal.

In some cases the period of appeal is thirty days, but in the Federal Supreme Court appeals are at the moment allowed within only fifteen days. In the present Bill the period has been enlarged to thirty days.

Also the Bill seeks to provide for the new salaries of the Chief Justice of the Federation and the Federal Justices in consequence of the general revision of salaries of the Federal Public Service.

The Bill, Sir, is not a very long one, and the *Objects and Reasons*, as set out at the end of it, are in very clear terms. It has hardly been necessary for me to add these short remarks except simply to amplify it.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Mines and Power** (Senator the hon. M. Maitama Sule) : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator Olajide Somolu :** Mr President, Sir, I wish to say that I welcome this Bill most heartily, and I congratulate the Minister of Transport and Aviation for the very clear way he has presented this Bill to this House. There are, however, one or two observations which I would like to make in relation to this Bill.

The first is in relation to Part I, Section 3 which deals with the number of Federal Justices. This Section says that "If at any time it shall appear to the Governor-General that it is necessary to increase the number of the Federal Justices of the Supreme Court, he may by Order provide for such increase, and thereupon the number of Federal Justices shall be the number specified for that purpose in the Order".

Now, according to the present state of the Ordinance regulating the composition of the Federal Supreme Court there is provision for one Chief Justice and three Federal Justices. At the moment, I believe, there are one or two vacancies in the composition of the Court. Now the point I wish to make in relation to this particular section is to ask the Federal Minister of Transport who is sponsoring this Bill why he has not thought it necessary to make an immediate increase in the number of Judges sitting in the Court with a view to re-organisation, because, from my own experience in that Court, I wish to say that the Judges in that Court have been working very, very hard and



[SENATOR SOMOLU]  
it is very strange and surprising that with the amount of work that is piling up on them in that Court they still manage to retain their judicial temper.

It is my suggestion that the Federal Minister of Transport and Aviation may give consideration at some other time to the question whether there should not be an immediate increase in the number of judges in this Court so that we might be able to have, for example, a Court of Criminal Appeal separately, and a Court of Civil Appeal. This will relieve the Chief Justice of the onerous duty that is imposed on him and also allow some form of leisure to the Federal Justices who, I am sure, are labouring under very great handicaps.

The other observation which I would like to make in relation to this Bill is the absence of provision for shorthand writers such as we have in the Bill we shall consider next. It is very heavy work which these judges are doing and if consideration could be given to the provision of shorthand-writers for taking notes in the High Court of Lagos, I think it is much more desirable in the case of the Federal Supreme Court.

As the hon. the Minister of Transport and Aviation has said, this is a most non-controversial Bill and as I say, I welcome it, and with these observations, I beg to support.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah :** Mr President, Sir, I am not a legal practitioner, but I can recognise goodness wherever it exists if I can find it. Now going through this Bill, I find that really I must give expression to those points which have struck me.

Now one of them is the point on Clause 9, and I will take it along with Clause 10. Now it says here that "The Supreme Court shall be duly constituted if it consists of three judges," then 10, "A single judge of the Supreme Court may exercise any power vested in that court other than the final determination of any cause or matter, provided that" then the rest follows.

Well the point I wish to make there, Mr President, is that I am really impressed that powers have been given to a single judge, that though you have "The Court shall be regarded as duly constituted where it has three judges", yet any one of these three is capable of doing very useful work that should be done by the

three judges. Well I feel that this is a very wise decision because it may happen that any of the three judges is incapacitated by ill-health and is unable to be present, and then you have perhaps a lawyer on behalf of his client trying to send in an application for a motion. Well, you see, he can do that, and the application can be entertained even by that judge sitting there alone.

So I think that this is really very wise because it saves delays and eliminates any inconveniences that might be caused perhaps by waiting for the three judges to be present.

Now, Mr President, I go on to another point, and that is on Clause 32. With your permission, Sir, I just wish to read it. "The Supreme Court may at any time assign counsel to an appellant in any appeal or proceedings preliminary or incidental to an appeal in which, in the opinion of the court, it appears desirable in the interests of justice that the appellant should have legal aid. . . ."

Well, this is indeed a very generous and charitable provision, and the only point I wish to make is that we have only had two out of every hundred of the people of this country who know that this provision exists in our law. I would therefore ask that the Government should do its best to make people to know that we have such a very wise provision made in order to help the poorer classes of the country. The money that is used in the Supreme Court and the Federal Judiciary is money that comes from the central revenue of this country and is the tax-payers' money. They ought to know that the Government is quite prepared to help the poor wherever it is necessary, and this is just one of the examples. Unfortunately only very few people know that such a generous provision exists.

Now, Mr President, I go on to another point. That is on Clause 5, subsections 1 and 2.

**The President :** May I remind the hon. Senator that we have just forty-five minutes. We have another Bill and we have not yet gone into Committee.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah :** Well, Mr President, Sir, I agree and the fact is that I am hurrying on to come to an end with just one other point, and that has to do with the appointment of the



Federal Supreme Court Officers, and that, of course, refers to Clause 5, subsections 1 and 2 which empower the Governor-General to appoint officers even from the Officers of the Regional High Courts.

But the point I am trying to make is that this should be done with care. We do not have to go to the Regional High Courts and whisk off those Members of the Court who are really very efficient, otherwise one might lower the efficiency of the Regional High Courts so that if possible Officers of the Federal Supreme Court should be trained by the Federal Judiciary.

Now, winding up, I see that this Bill has amended the salaries of the Federal Chief Justice and the Federal Justices. This indeed I think, is an appreciation of the arduous work being done by the Federal Judiciary. I think, too, that by raising their salaries, that of the Chief Justice to £4,150, and of each of the Federal Justices to £3,600, they will also realise that the Government appreciates their contribution which they make towards the Judiciary of this nation.

Mr President, Sir, I support this Bill wholeheartedly, and I call on all Senators to give it their approval.

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation :** (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : I like to reply very briefly to some of the points made by the Senators who have kindly commented on the Bill.

First of all, Senator Somolu has spoken about the number of Judges. Originally there were four Judges of the Supreme Court. One of them has been elevated now to the post of Chief Justice in one of the Regions, leaving only three vacancies. There, Sir, I have to mention that all three Regional Chief Justices are also ex-officio Members, and this is a new practice of the Supreme Court by moving from the Federal Territory to the Regions to hear appeals and dispose of cases standing before it. It has made it much easier for the Chief Justice of the Regions to sit as Members of the Supreme Court and thereby make it easier for the Court to function.

In other words, we might even say that there are three full-time judges and three part-time Judges as Chief Justices. I think that there is no undue pressure of work at the moment. As an hon. Senator has said, the Court is duly constituted. The quorum of

the Court is three. Judges. If we have three Judges full-time and three part-time I think that is quite enough for the time being.

As regards the provision of shorthand-writers I have to say that this was discussed before the provision was made in the High Court Bill. The matter was discussed with the Chief Justice of the High Court of Lagos and also the Chief Justice of the Federation, and it was considered that it is more necessary in the High Court, because the High Court do a lot of criminal cases where witnesses have got to appear and give evidence.

In the Supreme Court, as hon. Senators know, generally, appeals are heard in the Supreme Court unless in cases where the Supreme Court are exercising jurisdiction on constitutional matters. But I assure the hon. Senators that the Federal Chief Justice is well aware of the situation and if he feels that shorthand-writers are necessary in his Court he will let us know and we will make the necessary provision.

It remains for me to reply to Senator Ukatah on his remarks, and to say to him that in Clause 32—Provision of Legal Aid—it is not absolutely necessary for people to know that they can get legal aid; the Court is fully aware of that, and it is the Court that assigns legal practitioners to people who are needy and poor. After reading the records if they appeal in an important case, say, a murder case is filed by a prisoner not with the aid of any Counsel, then the Court will consider it necessary, in a capital case like that, that counsel should appear and the Court makes necessary the assignment of Counsel.

It is not absolutely necessary for people to know that they have this right. A lot of them do know; but I can assure the hon. Senators that the matter is well in hand and that there can be no question of somebody not getting it in a deserving case, merely because he does not know. It is for the Court to assign; the Court is fully cognizant of the provisions of the Bill and makes the assignment wherever it is necessary.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole Senate*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

*In the Committee.*

*Clauses 1 to 25 agreed to.*



*Clause 26.*

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** 26 (1) —The proviso, "Provided that the Court may, notwithstanding that it is of opinion that the point raised in the appeal might be decided in favour of the appellant, dismiss the appeal if it considers that no substantial miscarriage of justice has actually occurred".

I am not a lawyer but I should think that in the normal course of events the benefit of doubt is given to an accused and when the man comes to the Federal Supreme Court, the highest court locally, and then the Court is of the opinion that there is a substance in his appeal which can make the Federal Supreme Court allow the Appeal but at the same time the Federal Supreme Court will maintain that there will be no substantial miscarriage. How do we decide that there is a substantial miscarriage of justice or that there is no substantial miscarriage of justice ?

I do not think, Sir, that that particular phrase "substantial miscarriage of justice" should remain in our law. I do not think it will do real justice to our people, but before I make any amendment, Sir, perhaps the hon. Minister of Transport can put me right because I would not like to go wrong unnecessarily.

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku) :** Mr Chairman, Sir, The proviso said exactly what it means. Whether there is a miscarriage of justice or not is a matter for the court, and it is the court that is using its judicious discretion to the effect that although the appeal may be carried in favour of the appellant, that is to say that although there may be a technical point in his favour, that if the appeal is dismissed there will be no substantial miscarriage of justice.

Sometimes a man may win purely on a technical point ; he may win purely on technical point, but if his appeal is not allowed, he cannot complain of suffering any substantial miscarriage of justice.

I would like to assure the hon. Senator that we have to rely on the judicious discretion of the court, the sense of justice of the court, and in this case of the Supreme Court, to be able to know whether there is a substantial miscarriage of justice or not. After all in the Supreme Court, and even in the Lower Court, we give the benefit of the doubt to the accused. If

there is any case or there is any likelihood of a person suffering a substantial miscarriage of justice or being punished when he ought not to be punished, or being penalised when he ought not to be penalised, then, naturally, the Court will grant an appeal.

This is not a new design ; the law has been like this all along. It is the same in England and everywhere.

*Clause 26 agreed to.*

*Clauses 27-35 agreed to.*

*Clause 36.*

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** This is a Clause which seems to give power to the Registrar to express his opinion on appeals which might be filed in the Federal Supreme Court, and if he is of the opinion that there is no substance, he will advise the Judge and the Judge will just sit and summarily dismiss the appeal. I would like to be educated on this point.

Why I am feeling touchy on this matter is that we should not introduce law in this country which will be to the disadvantage and detriment of our own people and which will give undue power to the people who have the power. The Supreme Court is there and I feel that in any appeal which is filed before the Supreme Court it should be for the Supreme Court to decide itself whether that appeal would be allowed or not. But it would be wrong to allow the Registrar to express an opinion and to say that there is no ground and that is just a vexacious or malicious appeal and then gets one of the Supreme Court Judges to agree with him and just goes before the Court in the summary way to say "No grounds of appeal".

It may be good some days but there are some days when it may be very bad. I would therefore like to be educated on this.

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation :** The hon. Senator has misfired at the Clause. The Clause says that a Registrar may look at the grounds of appeal and if the grounds are only on the questions of law he may refer it to the single Judge and if the Judge holds the same opinion then the Judge will direct the Registrar to list the case for the hearing of the whole Court of three Judges. And it is this Court of three Judges that will determine it summarily and then can dismiss it.



So that the case does come before the full court of three Judges, but it is a single Judge that can refer; he will direct the Registrar to put the case up before the full Court. No single Judge has the right to dismiss such a case.

*Clause 36 agreed to.*

*Clauses 37 and 38 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

*The President resumed the Chair.*

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

HIGH COURT OF LAGOS (AMENDMENT) BILL  
*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation** (Hon. R. A. Njoku): Mr President, Sir, I rise to move that a Bill for an Ordinance to amend the High Court of Lagos Ordinance, 1955, be now read a second time.

Sir, this is a short Bill and a much simpler one than the one which we have just dealt with and I hope to be very brief in moving it. It is supplementary to the Bill with which we have just dealt and its main object is to amend the High Court Ordinance, to take into account the provision of the Nigeria Constitution (Amendment) Order-in-Council, 1959, relating to that Court.

It does not involve any new alteration of substance other than for the provision for the use of official shorthand writers for the recording of court proceedings. The other purposes of the Bill are clearly set out in the *Objects and Reasons* and need not be repeated.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the Whole Senate.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1 to 5 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(Mr President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported, without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

## ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn—Minister of state (Senator the hon. Dr M. A. Majekodunmi):*

**Senator Mallam A. S. Yesufu:** Mr President, Sir, it is a pity that in the Bill for the Amendment of the High Court of Lagos Ordinance there is an omission which, in fact, may be termed irrelevant but I think it is a matter to be looked into and that is the attitude of barristers to their clients in this country. I think it is becoming awfully bad the way they are dealing with their clients. A barrister sometimes receives money from his client who is involved, perhaps, in a criminal case but eventually what happens on the day of hearing the case? The barrister will not turn up and then the client has nothing to do about it.

They have a certain way of tackling this problem by saying "I have performed your work because I have listened to you and I have given notice of appeal", and so on and so forth. Then they continue wasting the poor clients' time and money and I am afraid there is nothing to avoid that and then perhaps the Judges may not have interest in hearing such cases. I do not know what will be the best remedy for this now that the country is becoming Independent.

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation** (Hon. R. A. Njoku): Mr President, Sir, I will like to assure the hon. Senator that the legal profession is an honourable profession and has got a code of conduct. In the other House the other day a Member was complaining that Members of the Legal Department were chasing barristers around instead of going to court to prosecute, chasing barristers who fail to do their work to their clients. That shows that not only is there a code of conduct but every effort is being made to enforce that code of conduct.

I am quite sure that the majority of the legal practitioners do their best to give their clients good services for the fees which they receive and if there are any solitary cases where some legal practitioners have failed to turn up the clients know exactly what to do. They can go to the Police to complain or to the barristers and if they cannot get any satisfactory replies they can go to the Disciplinary Committee which will look into it. I think, if the hon. Senator



[MINISTER OF TRANSPORT] does not know that, I have given him the information and I hope that he will be quite sure that he has a good case before lodging any complaint before the Disciplinary Committee.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro—Beyioku :** Mr President, Sir, I only want to request the hon. Minister of State to, as it were, convey the appreciation of this hon. Senate in connection with the ceremony which took place in the Lower House this morning. That was the elevation of a Nigerian as the Speaker of the House. It was indeed a very historic occasion because it goes to prove that Nigeria is ripe; and all important posts are being taken over by Nigerians gradually.

At the same time, Members of this Upper House appreciate the services of the former Speaker and we request also that the hon. Minister of State should convey our appreciation to that hon. gentleman who will now be vacating the chair of the Speaker.

**Senator Dahlton Asemota :** I would like to point out one little thing, Sir. That is about the time limit for Members to deliver their speeches. I noticed this that afternoon—the time varied, some Members had thirty minutes, some had more than thirty minutes and some were not allowed up to that time so speak. If it is a recognised practice that certain number of hours should be placed at the disposal of Members to deliver their speeches I think we should observe that; although you said previously that only two or three days would be allowed for the debate on the Appropriation Bill. Then no other Bills should have been tabled for discussion at the same time. I personally feel very much worried because I had a series of things to be discussed but unfortunately there was not sufficient time to deliver them.

Moreover, as Senators are looked upon as elderly men, elderly men are not to be interrupted when they are speaking. When an elderly man gets up to speak he should be respected and should be allowed to finish his speech.

**The President :** The Standing Orders are quite clear on time limit of speeches. No Senator is allowed to speak for more than half an hour.

A Senator raised that point the other day and he was corrected but no Senator has spoken so far for more than half an hour. It is for the President to decide whether a Senator has spoken for thirty minutes or not. You will remember that I warned Senators that we had three days to debate the Appropriation Bill and that we had to consider these two Bills to-day as well. So if you all wanted to speak it would be necessary for you to economise your time. That was adhered to and we were able to finish in time. Otherwise it is possible that about half a dozen Senators would not have been able to speak to the Appropriation Bill.

Now, about elders being interrupted or not you are perfectly entitled to say that here but I will remind you that in accordance with the Standing Orders it is no interruption if the President should, in discharging his duty, call you to order according to the Standing Orders. So, whether you are an elderly man or not you are bound to obey the Standing Orders.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** I have listened to the announcement of the Eastern and Western Region Governments in respect of their gesture to their former Premiers and we appreciate this decision—the question of making permanent statues for the former Premier of the East and the former Premier of the West. I should, therefore, request that this Government should do the same in respect of our Prime Minister by having a statue for him in token of our appreciation for the services he has rendered to the country.

**The President :** Are you informing the hon. Senators that you have such inside information that the hon. Prime Minister is leaving the Federation? (*Laughter*).

**Senator Abaagu :** He is not leaving but I think I like to be educated. Would it not be proper if we had such a thing?

**The President :** Certainly it is quite proper. Your suggestion is that it should be done whilst he is still in office?

**Senator Abaagu :** Yes.

*Question put and agreed to.*

**Resolved :** That the Senate do now adjourn.

*Adjourned accordingly at half past five o'clock.*



SENATE OF THE FEDERATION  
OF NIGERIA

Tuesday, 3rd May, 1960

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr President in the Chair)

PAPERS

**The President:** The following Papers already distributed to Members of the Senate are deemed to have been laid on the Table:—

- (1) Annual Report of the Prisons Department 1958-59.
- (2) Annual Report of the Department of Marketing and Exports 1958-59.
- (3) Schedule of Additional Provision—Capital Expenditure 1957-58.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION (1957-58)  
(NO. 2) BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr President, Sir, I beg to move, That a Bill entitled "An Ordinance to make Supplementary Provision for the Service of the Federation of Nigeria for the year ended on the Thirty-First day of March, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty-Eight" be now read a second time.

I have it in command from His Excellency the Governor-General to give his recommendation for the consideration of this Bill.

Although the title is in the usual form for a Supplementary Appropriation Ordinance, this Bill is in effect an "Excess Votes" Bill which seeks formal legislative sanction for excess expenditure which was actually incurred during the year 1957-58. This being so, hon. Senators would wish me to outline the actual overall out-turn for the year before turning to the details of this Bill.

To take the revenue first. The Approved Estimates envisaged that the Federal Government would retain revenues amounting in total to £37,129,810 during the year. When presenting Supplementary Estimates to the House of Representatives in September 1957 the Minister of Finance, who at that time was the hon. Prime Minister, indicated that our revenues might turn out to be £1,505,380

more than was original estimates. In fact the revenues amounted to no less than £41,915,880—an increase of more than £4½ million over the original estimates. This was due mainly to buoyant revenues from import and export duties coupled with unexpectedly large incomes from our investments held both overseas and in our Statutory Corporations.

On the expenditure side, apart from the statutory revenue allocation payments to the Regions, the total expenditure authorised by the House of Representatives as reflected in the original and Supplementary Estimates, amounted to £37,607,800. But the actual expenditure incurred amounted to only £36,644,190, that is £963,610 less than was authorised by the House of Representatives. Overall, we ended up the year with a budget surplus of no less than £5,271,691 even after contributing the very large sum of £6,102,042 to the Development Fund to finance capital expenditure. That I regard as a most satisfactory state of affairs.

Senators may well be wondering why, although Government spent less during the year than was authorised, it is still necessary to come to the Legislature for approval of excess expenditure. The reason for this is quite simple: the actual overall under-expenditure of £963,610 during the year was made up of under-expenditure amounting to £2,532,571 in respect of fifty Heads of Expenditure and excess expenditure amounting to £1,568,961 in respect of sixteen other Heads of Expenditure.

The Annual Estimates embody the economic, financial and social policies of Government for the forthcoming year, but these policies are not rigid and inflexible like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. They must be adapted to meet changing circumstances and changing needs. These changing needs are almost invariably reflected in changes in the pattern of expenditure.

A good example of this can be seen in the Schedule to this Bill which seeks formal approval for expenditure on the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Health—two items of expenditure which could not have been foreseen when the Annual Estimates were presented to the Legislature.

Although I have the power to authorise variations in the provision within any particular Head of the Estimates, as for instance, by authorising additional expenditure on labour



[MINISTER OF FINANCE].

against equivalent savings under personal emoluments, I have no power without your consent to offset excesses under one Head against savings under another Head. This is as it should be, if we are to preserve parliamentary control of expenditure. However, even in the most favourable conditions, it is inevitable that the various spending Ministries and Departments may occasionally incur expenditure without authority.

Since the year to which this Bill refers, various steps have been taken to secure greater parliamentary control over public expenditure consistent with the requirements of good Government. Provisions to regulate expenditure and finances generally have been embodied in the Constitution Order following the enactment of the Finance (Control and Management) Ordinance, and detailed measures designed to secure effective control over expenditure have been introduced and are constantly being reviewed.

So much for the background to this Bill; now for the details of the actual over-expenditure for which approval is sought. Of the total over-expenditure incurred during the year some £220,000 was in respect of Pensions and Gratuities payable in accordance with the Pensions Ordinance and, as such, is a statutory charge on the revenues and not subject to specific appropriation by this House. This Bill is therefore concerned with the balance, amounting to £1,346,359.

Details of the individual excesses which have contributed to this total will be found in the *Objects and Reasons*, but I would like to refer to one or two items. By far the largest single item, accounting for well over half the total over-expenditure, is represented by Contributions to the Development Fund. In 1957-58 the policy was that any revenue in excess of £4 million which the Federal Government retained from export duties should be regarded as "windfall" revenue and should be used to finance capital expenditure only. I have already stated that this was an exceptionally buoyant year in respect of revenues from export duties. It follows that our contributions to the Development Fund from this source would automatically exceed the estimates.

Furthermore, this excess does not represent expenditure in the true sense of the word—it

merely represents a transfer from one Government fund to another, from general revenues to the Development Fund. This Bill in no way confers authority for the final expenditure of this money once it was transferred to the Development Fund. Moreover had this sum not been contributed to the Development Fund during the course of the year it would have swollen the actual budget surplus and would have been automatically transferred to the Development Fund at the close of the year by virtue of a Resolution of the House which authorised the transfer of the Budget surplus for the year.

Another large item is the £145,389 for postal, telegraph and telephone charges. Again this represents a transfer between Federal Government funds, the payment being made to Posts and Telegraphs revenue. The increased payment was largely due to the increased charges introduced during the year.

The remainder, totalling £478,668 represents which I regard as genuine over-expenditure, but this amounts to less than one and one third per cent of our recurrent expenditure for the year. Many of the individual items which go to make up this remainder were approved by the former Standing Committee on Finance and have already been brought to the notice of the House in the Reports of that Committee. One item, representing the excess under the Council of Ministers Head was brought to the notice of the House in connection with the Supplementary Estimates introduced by our Prime Minister. Others are clearly of a nature which cannot accurately be estimated in advance, passages, losses of funds and refunds general are cases in point. Others again, such as the education grants-in-aid, were also clearly unavoidable and in accordance with the accepted policy.

I should also explain why this Bill was not submitted earlier. First, the expenditures involved were incurred before the enactment of the Finance (Control and Management) Ordinance, 1958. Under the old system, since all additional provision had to be authorised by the Standing Committee on Finance of the House of Representatives, the submission of a covering Supplementary Appropriation Bill was not a matter of urgency. There was provision under the former Standing Order No. 66 of the House for the Reports of the



Standing Committee on Finance to be laid on the Table of the House at frequent intervals. In fact, two reports were so laid during the 1957-58 financial year and as I have indicated these included authorisations for many of the excesses incurred during that year. It may therefore be truly said that such expenditure had already been sanctioned by the former House of Representatives. Secondly, it was originally intended to submit this Bill last year but owing to the Federal General Elections the House did not meet after August. Further it was not considered appropriate to burden the new Legislature with the job of enacting the Bill into law at its first meeting which was convened primarily to pass the historic Independence Motion in January of this year.

In conclusion, I should say that all democratic Governments the world over, including Regional Governments here in Nigeria, have always had to regularise previous years' transactions in this way. This is so because it has not been given to any mortal to forecast accurately the future to the last detail. Some items may be overestimated whilst others are under-estimated. It is only at the end of the year that one can know which had been underestimated and then Parliament is invited to ratify the out-turn for the year in question. I am happy to report that there has been no overall excess in the 1957-58 financial year covered by this Bill. Indeed, as I have indicated, we ended the year with a budget surplus of over five and a quarter million pounds in addition to making contributions totalling over six million pounds to the Development Fund to finance capital expenditure.

Sir, I beg to move.

**Minister of State** (Dr M. A. Majekodunmi) ;  
Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator J. K. Nzerem** : Mr President, Sir, I do not think it is the purpose of this House to spend any undue amount of time on this Bill. All that the Minister is asking for is a covering approval to regularise the expenditure and, as he has well pointed out, this is the practice the world over in all democratic countries. Sir, I support the Bill.

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin** : Mr President, Sir, I have to congratulate the Minister of Finance and in doing so I have to recall that whilst I was a Member of the Finance Committee in the olden days I well remember that on one occasion a certain Bill of this kind was presented to the Committee, requesting approval for over-expenditure for the past five financial years. If the Minister will remember perfectly well I did advise in the House of Representatives that the Minister should have to be more active. Whatever might be the case the expenditure has been incurred before 31st March every year ; this is quite definite. But how that thing is allowed to exist was lack of technique on the part of the Heads of Departments or the Vote Controllers. If the Vote Controllers are advised to be checking the funds allocated to them such a thing will not exist at all. It will be the duty of the Heads of Departments to check at least on the 1st October every year, to know whether the funds available will carry them to the end of the financial year or not and by so doing the Minister of Finance will be asked to approve whatever may be required.

We know that there are times when some incidental expenses, unforeseen circumstances might warrant certain expenditure, but whatever may be the case the approving of an expenditure of three financial years brings no credit both to the Minister and the House. Therefore, I suggest and I still maintain that the Minister of Finance would have to advise the Heads of Departments or the Vote Controller to be more vigilant in future before signing vouchers. It is also the duty of the Heads of Departments or the Vote Controller to make it a point of duty and to be sure that before appending his signature votes are available. If this is done, I think such a thing would not have happened. Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah** : Well, Mr President, nobody would really like to speak very long on this, but the point I wish to make is that while I do not support the idea of bringing a Bill of this nature I wish to say that the fact that it has been brought in at all shows a very big change in Government activities. In the past money had to be voted and at the end of the financial year much of the money voted had to lapse into revenue and the reason for that was that there was no executive branch.



[SENATOR UKATTAH]

Now I think that it is just the other way round. The fact that money had to be spent over and above what was estimated for at any given year is an indication that the Government is now working very hard and that most of the services are now being made. Mr President, Sir, I support the Bill.

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale :** Mr President, Sir, before supporting the Motion, it is rather curious for me to see that the Legislature's sanction is being sought to pass the Bill for an expenditure of the past three years. I do not think it is always advisable for Heads of Departments to sign vouchers showing over-expenditure on any vote for which they are responsible and if measures are not taken now I think this will continue to occur over and over again. I do not believe that an account of this nature can be said to be good accounting where an account of over two years is still outstanding.

It will be easy if these measures are taken in good time and it will thereby be easily seen whether any provision made has been exhausted and if an addition is required ; and if Heads of Departments are allowed over-expenditure without prior approval of the Committee of the House, it will in the long run do no good to the Minister of Finance. If this is heeded, it would easily be seen that as soon as the financial year ends the votes which are exhausted and those not exhausted would be known and there would be no reason for such a thing to occur. With these few points I support the Motion.

**The Minister of Finance :** Mr President, Sir, I do not think that there is any new point made which I have not covered in my Speech. I have said, Sir, that this happened before the new Constitutional Order-in-Council and also the enactment of the new Finance Policy Bill and that at the moment I am provided with expressed amount with which to meet over-expenditure and this position to my mind having been regularised will not occur again.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time.*

**The Minister of Finance :** Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that the Bill be now read the third time.

**The Minister of Mines and Power :** Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read the third time and passed.*

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION (1958-59)  
(No. 3) BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill entitled "An Ordinance to make Supplementary Provision for the Service of the Federation of Nigeria for the Year ended on the Thirty-First day of March, 1959 additionally to that made by the Appropriation (1958-59) Ordinance, 1958, the Supplementary Appropriation (1958-59) Ordinance, 1958 and the Supplementary Appropriation (1958-59) (No. 2) Ordinance, 1958" be read a second time.

Sir, I have it in command from His Excellency the Governor-General to give his recommendation to the consideration of this Bill.

As was the case with the similar Bill in respect of 1957-58 which I introduced earlier, this Bill is in effect an "Excess Votes" Bill which seeks formal legislative sanction for excess expenditure actually incurred during 1958-59. This being so, I propose to touch briefly upon the actual out-turn for the year before turning to the details of this Bill.

To take the revenue first. The Approved Estimates envisaged that the Federal Government would retain revenue amounting in total to £43,715,290 during the year. At the time when I presented the First Supplementary Estimates for the year in August 1958 it seemed that this figure would be exceeded by rather more than £2 million. In the event the revenue for the year amounted to no less than £46,223,006—an increase of more than two and a half million pounds over the original estimate.

This was again due in the main to buoyant revenues from import and export duties but our share of the surplus of the West African Currency Board turned out to be very much greater than had been forecast. In addition we received an unexpected grant of half a million pounds from the United Kingdom Government towards our greatly increased defence expenditure.



On the expenditure side, apart from the statutory revenue allocation payments to the Regions, the total expenditure authorised by this House as reflected in the original and two subsequent Supplementary Estimates amounted to £44,742,630. But the actual expenditure incurred amounted to only £44,321,593, that is £421,037 less than was authorised by this House. Moreover, we ended the year with a budget surplus of £1,901,413, after contributing the very large sum of £9,295,978 to the Development Fund. That again I regard as most satisfactory.

This figure of £421,037 as the overall under-expenditure during the year was made up of under-expenditure totalling some £3,450,898 in respect of 55 Heads of Expenditure and excess expenditure totalling £3,029,861 in respect of seven Heads of Expenditure. Let us look more closely at how this excess expenditure was itself made up.

Again, by far the largest single item, accounting for almost three-quarters of the total over-expenditure is represented by contributions to the Development Fund. Again this was entirely due to the automatic payment into the Development Fund of revenues in excess of £4m. which the Federal Government retained from the proceeds of export duties.

As I stated in respect of the 1957-58 Excess Votes Bill earlier, this excess does not represent expenditure by the Federal Government. It is merely a transfer from one Federal fund to another. This Bill does not in anyway confer authority for Government to spend this money once it has been transferred to the Development Fund.

Moreover, if this money had not been transferred to the Development Fund during the course of the year it would again have gone to swell the actual Budget surplus, but the Budget surplus itself was transferred to the Development Fund at the close of the year by virtue of a resolution of the House of Representatives. In short, in respect of this very large sum of £2,253,428 this Bill is purely a technical formality. There has been no expenditure as we understand it.

Another large item is £109,124 for postal, telegraph and telephone charges under the Miscellaneous Head. This again represents a transfer from one Federal fund to another

since the payment was made to Posts and Telegraphs revenue. The excess was due in part to an improved method of assessing charges by the Department, and in part to the increased charges. If these two items, Sir, are excluded, we are left with some £667,312 only, which I regard as over-expenditure in the true sense of the word. This represents less than 1½ per cent of our total recurrent expenditure for the year.

The largest single item is represented by the expenditure on passages. I have been worried for some time at the mounting expenditure, and in my Budget Speech I announced that Government intended drastically to restrict first-class air travel. This should go far to keep this expenditure under control. The items which have contributed to the various excesses are set out in the Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill, and I do not think I need worry the House by repeating them here.

I would, however, like to say that the excess expenditure in the case of Public Works has already been brought to the notice of the former House of Representatives. This expenditure was authorised by use of the Contingencies Fund machinery. In the First Supplementary Estimates 1959-60 the House of Representatives approved the replenishment of this Fund in respect of expenditure incurred on the Public Works Department.

Finally, I would like to point out that Government has taken the earliest possible opportunity to present this Bill to the Legislature. It is clearly impossible to be certain of the amount of unauthorised expenditure during the year until the accounts for the year are finalised. The accounts for 1958-59 were in fact finalised in October 1959. This is the first meeting of the Legislature since that time, apart from the meeting in January, which was convened for the specific purpose of considering the historic Independence Motion.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Mines and Power** (Hon. Mallam Maitama Sule) : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time.*

**The Minister of Finance** : Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that the Bill be now read the third time.



**The Minister of Mines and Power** : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read the third time and passed.*

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION  
(1959-60) (No. 3) BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr President, Sir, I beg to move, "That a Bill entitled a Bill for an Ordinance to make Supplementary Provision for the service of the Federation of Nigeria for the Year ending on the Thirty-First day of March, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty, additionally to that made by the Appropriation (1959-60) Ordinance, 1959, the Supplementary Appropriation (1959-60) Ordinance, 1959 and the Supplementary Appropriation (1959-60) (No. 2) Ordinance, 1960, be read a second time.

Sir, I have it in command from His Excellency the Governor-General to give his recommendation to the consideration of this Bill. This Bill contains two Schedules. The First Schedule relates to the additional provision of £83,000 required to cover interest on temporary advances from the Joint Consolidated Fund.

Senators are aware that we are drawing down our investments in London to finance capital expenditure. The income from these investments varies very considerably, according to the terms of the stock in which the money was invested. All these investments with a relatively low yield have now been realised; most of the remaining investments give a yield in excess of 5 per cent, but we have been able to borrow from the Crown Agents on the security of these investments substantial sums at lower rates of interest.

So long as this state of affairs prevails it pays us to take advances from the Joint Consolidated Fund, upon which we must pay interest, in order that we may defer realising investments from which we derive a greater income. The additional sum of £83,000 covered by the First Schedule to this Bill is more than matched by the yield from our investments which we have not yet realised.

The Second Schedule to the Bill covers reimbursements to the Contingencies Fund. Senators are well aware that the Contingencies

Fund was established in 1958 under the Finance (Control and Management) Ordinance, 1958 with a provision of £1 million. The purpose of this Fund is to enable Government to meet urgent recurrent expenditure which cannot be deferred without prejudice to the public interest until the next meeting of the Legislature.

The Ordinance stipulates, however, that all withdrawals from the Contingencies Fund shall be reported to the subsequent meeting of the Legislature. It further stipulates that the Fund shall be restored, as necessary, to its original level of £1 million by appropriation from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Mr President, Sir, section 3 of the Bill provides, therefore, for the transfer of a sum of £904,600 to the Contingencies Fund to make good the amounts withdrawn from the Fund in March. Details of this amount are given under Head 101—Reimbursements to the Contingencies Fund which you will find at page 4 of the Third Supplementary Estimates in your hands. Senators will note that of this amount, £850,000 was authorised in order to pay the Mbanefo Award to Government staff before the end of the last financial year.

I am quite sure that Senators will un-animously agree with the Government's decision to pay the workers their entitlement without delay. This decision imposed some strain on the Accounts Division of my Ministry, but I am happy to say that the officers concerned undertook the additional work involved cheerfully, and thus made it possible for practically all eligible officers in Nigeria to receive their arrears before the end of March.

The balance of £54,600 related to the 10 per cent interim award in respect of three Departments whose applications for additional funds arrived too late for inclusion in the Second Supplementary Estimates for the 1959-60 financial year which were approved in January.

The recurrent expenditure authorised for the 1959-60 financial year now stands at £42,798,376, including the amounts covered by this Bill. The latest forecasts, however, indicate that actual expenditure due to savings and unfilled vacancies would not exceed £42.2 million. On the other hand, the revised estimates of revenue retained by the Federal Government for the year is £49,117,540.



After making provision for revised contributions to the Development Fund totalling £6,611,500, there remains a revised estimated surplus of £306,040. In fact, the actual surplus when the accounts are closed will probably be very considerably higher than this figure. This surplus will be a welcome addition to our resources for financing the Economic Programme.

Mr President, Sir, I would now deal briefly with the Third Supplementary Capital Estimates for 1959-60 which are on page 5 of the volume in your hand. The first item relates to a sum of £806,000 which was authorised by special warrant in March, to cover the additional cost of minting the new Nigerian coins delivered during the last financial year.

I should mention, Sir, that the cost of financing the new Nigerian currency is being reimbursed by the Central Bank. A further sum of £150,000 was also authorised in March by special warrant, in order to enable the liquidation of the former West African Airways Corporation to go ahead. When the Federation of Nigeria Development Loan, 1959, was floated last May it was hoped that some £2 million would be raised. I am glad to say that the loan was over-subscribed and in actual fact £2,355,400 was raised. The recommendation of the Loans Advisory Council which was endorsed by the former Government, was that the whole of the proceeds of this loan should be re-lent to the Northern and Eastern Regional Governments. The Approved Estimates provide only for the re-lending of £2 million. The Draft Supplementary Estimates provide for the additional £355,400.

These Estimates bring the authorised capital expenditure for 1959-60 to a total of £45,813,680. Latest forecasts however indicate that actual capital expenditure for the last financial year would be of the order of £38.41 million. The balance in the Development Fund at the 1st April, 1959 was £30,319,590 and receipts of the Fund during 1959-60 have been estimated at £16,497,610 making the total amount available to meet capital expenditure during the year £46,817,200. With revised estimated expenditure at £38.41 million the balance in the Development Fund as at the 1st April, 1960 has been estimated at £8.4 million.

This is an impressive rate of capital development and is concrete evidence of the determination of this Government to modernise our economy and raise the standard of living of all our people.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Mines and Power :** (Hon. M. Maitama Sule) : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin :** Mr President, Sir, I definitely know that this is not the end of 1959-60 Appropriation Bills. More will soon be brought to this House. I know that all Departments are now very busy working out their annual financial reports and towards the end of this year or in August similar 1959-60 Appropriation Bills would be brought again and I think the Minister of Finance will have to try his possible best to inform the Heads of Departments or the vote controllers to work out their commitments. If some votes have been exhausted or over-spent they should work out what they require so that when we meet in August we shall be able to approve. I know the condition of the Minister of Finance.

It is not always possible to know the exact amount to be spent and I know that perhaps in August we shall be here to approve another supplementary expenditure. I feel these things should be worked out together. The Heads of Departments are ready with a reason to give, but if they are held responsible for these Supplementary Estimates Nos. 1, 2, and 3 I think the number of Supplementary Estimates will be reduced because I know these things are for the year ending 31st March. When we approve them now they will be back-dated to the 31st March, 1960 and all these were approved in the month of May. They cannot insert the month of May. When we approve now, the Heads of Departments will put 31st March, 1960.

So, I humbly suggest that the Minister of Finance should have a circular addressed to all Heads of Departments to work out their commitments up to March 1961 so we do not lag behind this year as last year.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time.*



**The Minister of Finance :** Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that the Bill be now read the third time.

**The Minister of Pensions (M. Musa Yaradua) :** Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read the third time and passed.*

**CUSTOMS AND EXCISE  
MANAGEMENT (AMENDMENT)  
BILL**

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) :** Mr President Sir, I beg to move that a Bill to be entitled "An Ordinance to amend the Customs and Excise Management Ordinance, 1958 (No. 55 of 1958)" be now read a Second Time. In this Bill changes in the law are proposed as follows :

The existing section 29 of the Customs and Excise Management Ordinance deals generally with the securing of goods and, therefore, of the duty liable on such goods which have not been cleared on the expiration of a specified period after their discharge from the importing vessel. One such provision is that where goods remain unentered after 14 days from the completion of discharge the proper Customs Officer may direct that they be removed for security to a Government Warehouse. This provision is faulty, however, and this is meant to provide for the securing in this way of goods which though already entered, have not been examined and released by the Customs.

The Amendment proposed seeks to remedy this by substituting the word "uncleared" for the existing word "unentered", thus giving discretionary power to the proper Customs Officers to secure all goods not duty paid examined and released within the time stipulated.

A further Amendment to sub-section 5 of the same section 29 is proposed to simplify the wording in conformity with the remainder of the amended section.

The second main Amendment sought, seeks to amend the Ordinance in such a way as to make it possible for licences to be issued and regulations made in respect of any goods other

than spirits, beer and tobacco for which a duty or excise may at any time be prescribed. The Amendment includes provision for the seizure of goods and the infliction of penalties on persons contravening any regulation so made. This is an enabling legislation only, and does not apply to any goods specified as "dutiable" in the schedule to the Excise Tariff Ordinance.

The next Amendment sought is to provide for a discretionary power to be vested in the Board to vary or waive the payment of rents assessed on goods deposited in a Customs area or in a Government Warehouse. This provision is necessary in order that relief can be awarded on such rent payment where the Board is satisfied either that goods on which rent is charged have been improperly deposited in a Customs area or Government Warehouse or that the amount of rent is excessive in view of the circumstances on any particular appeal. This power will, of course, be very sparingly used.

The final Amendment to the existing Ordinance is to provide for the inclusion of a maximum minimum amount to represent buying commission in the value for duty purposes on goods imported. This measure is useful because of the existing variation in the amount shown in the invoice value of goods imported because certain firms purchase goods in a manner which does not involve the payment of buying commission. The same thing applies to a value of similar goods imported by different persons.

Mr President, Sir, this is a straightforward Bill and is designed to assist the collection of revenue without strain.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Pensions (M. Musa Yaradua) :** Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole Senate.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clause 1-5 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

The President resumed the Chair

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*



## SAVINGS BANK (AMENDMENT BILL)

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Communications** (Hon. Olu Akinfosile): Mr President, Sir, I rise to move that the Bill for an Ordinance to amend the Savings Bank Ordinance should be now read a second time. My hon. Friend, the Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech last month intimated that it was his intention to launch a national savings drive which would be aimed at encouraging savings by all sections of the community. He mentioned that apart from the advantages to the individual of operating a personal savings account the mobilisation of savings was in the interests of Nigeria as a whole. The Minister went on to list a number of measures which it was proposed to take in order to further the national savings drive. One of these measures was to popularise savings, especially by the small man, through the medium of the Post Office Savings Bank.

As hon. Senators will be aware, the Post Office Savings Bank is the responsibility of my Ministry, and I am most anxious to ensure that the Bank shall play its full part in meeting the needs of Nigeria. As from the 1st of April a system of photographic identification was introduced by the Bank in order to facilitate withdrawal of money by the Bank's depositors. This is the first of a number of measures which will be taken in order to increase the attractiveness of the facilities which the Bank offers, and enable it to meet the requirements of the community.

The Bill which is before this hon. House today is a further measure designed to adapt the Post Office Savings Bank to meet more adequately the needs of a free and independent Nigeria. There are two important sections in this Bill. The effect of Section 2 is to enable the Minister of Communications, after consultation with the Federal Minister of Finance, to make such variations in the rate of interest payable by the Bank as may be deemed necessary from time to time. This section is intended to allow a reasonable degree of flexibility in the interest rate of rates payable upon deposits in the Bank.

It is essential that the rate of interest paid by the Post Office Savings Bank should be in line with the general structure of market interest rates. If the Post Office Savings Bank interest

rate is allowed to fall below the rate of interest paid by similar commercial institutions then it is obvious that the Bank will not be able to attract the desired amount of small savings.

The Ordinance as it stands at present prescribes a cumbersome and out of date procedure for changing the interest rate: it involves reference to the Governor-General in Council, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and also the giving of three months' notice in the *Federal Gazette*. This procedure militates against the flexibility of the Bank's policy, and impairs efficiency.

The other important section in the Bill is Section 3, which amends Section 11 of the existing Ordinance. The present Section 11 deals with the investment of money available in the Post Office Savings Bank. Honourable Senators will appreciate that when a Bank has a considerable amount of money on deposit it is desirable for a suitable proportion of that amount to be appropriately invested. The present Ordinance lays down that a third at most of the Savings Bank's available funds may be invested in Nigerian Government securities, and this implies that the bulk of the Bank's funds must be invested overseas.

In the Government's view, there is no reason why the Post Office Savings Bank should be restricted to such an extent in its investment policy. The Bank's funds represent an important potential source of capital for use within Nigeria. Consequently the Government feels that it would be more appropriate for the Minister of Finance, in consultation with the Governor of the Central Bank, and myself, to prescribe from time to time what proportion of the Savings Bank available funds should be invested in securities issued by the Federal Government. Provision is made for this in Section 3 of the Bill.

Honourable Senators will note that it is proposed in Section 3 of the Bill that the funds of the Savings Bank should be invested in accordance with the provisions of subsection 1 of Section 9 of the Finance (Council and Management) Ordinance, 1958, the purpose of which is to ensure that public funds are invested in a proper and secure manner. Section 11 of the existing Ordinance also requires reference to the Secretary of State for the



SENATOR CHIEF DOHERTY].

I think we all agree that the commercial banks in this country are rendering very great service to the community and government have been aware of this and this was why they formulated such a condition to govern the Post Office savings bank so that it does not actually over-compete with the commercial banks or kill the commercial banks because the commercial banks depend for their progress on the savings of the people.

The big traders come to the banks—the commercial banks—for help, and I think most of you here are big traders and merchants or your people are. If you starve out commercial banks you are starving out yourself. Please be aware of that; because unless the commercial banks get the support of the deposit of the public, they will not be able to finance you in your different endeavours, nor will the commercial banks be able to give the Central Bank the support it needs.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah :** Mr President, Sir, I really want to emphasise a point already raised by Members, and in doing that I do not think it is just out of fun. I think it is just a way of showing emphasis.

The first is the rate of interest paid in the Post Office Savings Bank. There is no hiding the fact that the Post Office Savings Bank is now becoming very unpopular and I think the main reason for that is that the rate of interest paid is really very low. If you have two or three banks, say, in your town and you have higher rates offered by one or two of these other banks, it will be madness and unwise if I should go and invest my money in a bank that offers the lowest rate of interest.

It will not do just to say that the Government will consider the rate and offer the rate being given by commercial banks. Let us know exactly what that rate is and, if possible, the highest possible rate, and let the people know. That is just the only way in which you can bring them back to increase their interest in the Post Office Savings Bank.

The second point, is that withdrawal there is really very difficult. Members have touched on that. I would like to hammer on that again. We who go very close to the general public know really the murmurs that go round and one of the great murmurs that we hear against the Post Office Savings Bank is that withdrawal is very very difficult.

When a poor man saves the very little money he has in the bank and he is later compelled by necessity to ask for a part of that money and he is told, "You have to wait; a form is to be filled in and sent to Lagos before you can get that money", he is being driven to madness; he is being compelled to go to borrow when he has his own little money in the bank. This is the point that should be taken into consideration and let it be relaxed.

People have been frightened away. I would not invest my money in a venture or put it in a bank where the banker would tie me down to a certain number of days before I can get part of my money. That is the point I would like the Minister to take note of.

The next point is that sometime in 1958 when I was a Member of the Lower House, the then Minister of Communications quite often made a promise of introducing post office savings bank facilities in most, if not all, postal agencies. I think that point came up when I was speaking about the postal agencies in my own constituency, Bende Division. He gave me an idea of postal agencies that qualify. Later on, on my own investigation, I discovered a circular came, after the Minister had given us the assurance here, from the Regional Comptroller saying that post office savings bank facilities to be introduced in postal agencies would have to wait for some time.

I do not know whether the Minister is aware of the fact that orders given here or assurances given to people here do not usually convey their value owing to the fact that in the Regions we have Regional bosses who may not see that promises made are implemented. This is the point I would like the Minister to take note of, that their promises to introduce post office savings bank facilities in existing postal agencies have not been fulfilled. If at all they have been, they have not gone round. It will help to provide money for the revenue apart from the fact that it will reduce the trouble that we have in the main post offices.

With this, I have to support.

**The Minister of Communications (Hon. Olu Akinfosile):** Mr President, Sir, I am grateful indeed for the interest which hon. Senators have shown in the operation of the post office savings bank. But I would say that the points they have made in debate are far in excess of what I saw in the other place.



I want to say that I welcome the points made that the post office savings bank should be popularised and that we should be willing to extend our activities to the postal agencies and make our services readily available to the working man in his own place; also, that we should, as far as possible, make it possible for withdrawal to be easy and as much money as people want to withdraw should be allowed.

Then also there is the point to increase the rate of interest. Let me say that the real purpose of this Bill is indeed to increase the volume of savings in the post office savings bank. Hitherto, we have had difficulties in increasing the rate of interest because of the very cumbersome system which we have got to go through. As I said, once this Bill passes through this hon. House, we should be able, here in Lagos, instead of referring to London and waiting for three months and getting all sorts of promises to do so, when we find that the hon. Senator, Dr Doherty's National Bank's rate of interest is increased, we should be able to follow it up and, as suggested by the hon. Senator, probably I would have to do that by adding a further quota if only to get more savings into our bank.

Secondly, Sir, we seek, by this Bill, as I have said in my speech, to be able to control completely the use which will be made of savings in our country. I think that is the greatest contribution that we can make. It is unlikely that we might have to be able now to decide in Lagos to what investments we should put the money at our disposal, that we might be able to extend the facilities by raising funds from the post office as loan to the Federal Government.

Now, I notice that there has been pressure for increase in postal agencies, and particularly that savings should be possible at postal agencies. But this is not an easy matter. Indeed in Britain where postal agencies exist mainly in urban areas, it is easy for security purposes that postal agencies should receive money, and probably large sums of money, because that can be taken away to major savings areas in the matter of an hour. Here it is not altogether that.

In addition, the Ministry of Communications is at the moment very short of funds for the expansion which we so much need, and I have

emphasised in the other House that at the moment we are being compelled to utilise whatever resources that are available to us for purposes of developing telecommunications facilities in our rapidly growing industrial areas.

As soon as we have got over that, we should be able from the funds which come to us to extend Postal Agencies and other services which mainly serve the rural areas. I should do all I can to see that withdrawals are made easy. As I said in my speech, we have taken the first step, it will now not be necessary for a person withdrawing to find someone to identify him; by the mere production of the book, the photograph will determine it, we should be able to pay at once.

The other problems as to the delay which arises from the checking of books, we will look into it and see whether we can improve on it. I do find in my years of stay in Britain that the Post Office Savings Bank plays the most important part in the process of national savings which is taken very very seriously in Britain. As we are now on the threshold of a new pace in the services of the Post Office Savings Bank, a stage in which we envisaged that before long we would have a whole building devoted to the operations of the Post Office Savings Bank, we would be able to find from other profits sufficient funds to carry out a large scale of propaganda to cause the savings and the services which we give.

Undoubtedly, we are better placed than the Banks to give these services because we do exist in the remotest areas of the country and we intend to take the fullest advantage of that position. I feel, Sir, that our problems in the Post Offices at the moment are very largely based upon the shortage of sufficient funds to carry out the work which we want but I can assure this hon. House that in the process of enlarging the facilities which we provide, the part which the Post Office Savings Bank will play in the National economic development of the country is very great.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*



(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

The President resumed the Chair.

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

*Sitting suspended : 11.25 a.m.*

*Sitting Resumed : 11.55 a.m.*

PENAL CODE (NORTHERN REGION)  
FEDERAL PROVISIONS BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation** (Hon. R. A. Njoku): Mr President, Sir, I rise to move that a Bill entitled "The Penal Code (Northern Region) Federal Provisions Bill 1960" be now read a second time.

This Bill, Sir, is complementary to the Criminal Procedure (Northern Region) Bill which is also being introduced at the present meeting of this House. The purpose of these two Bills is to supplement legislation which has recently been enacted by the Government of the Northern Region introducing a new Penal Code and a new Criminal Procedure Code for that Region.

The history of this matter is that in December 1958, both Houses of the Northern Legislature accepted certain recommendations that had been made by a very distinguished panel of jurists appointed by the Northern Government to enquire into the legal and judicial systems of that Region. The legislation for the North is substantially modelled on the Sudan Code, which is in turn based on the Indian legislation, which was originally drafted by the Indian Law Mission, presided over by Lord Macauley. The legislation consists of the Penal Law and the Criminal Penal Law 1960 and it is a compromise between the Moslem Law and the English system of criminal law, and the panel strongly recommended that this system was suitable for conditions in Northern Region.

It should be remarked that before proceeding with proposals for this legislation, the party in power in the Northern Region brought those proposals before the Constitutional Conference in London. The Conference recognised that such legislation was within the competence of the Northern Region Legislature.

In consequence of this new regional legislation the courts of the Northern Region will follow a new system of law in so far as regional offences are concerned. Members will readily appreciate that it would be impracticable for these same courts to continue at the same time to operate under the existing provisions in respect of Federal offences. This legislation is consequently being introduced into the Federal legislature for the purpose of enabling Federal offences in the Northern Region to be tried under the new Northern system of law.

The purpose of the Bill now before this hon. House is twofold. The first object is to apply to Federal offences committed in the Northern Region the general principles of law which will in future be in operation in that Region. The second object is to specify those matters which are of exclusively Federal competence and to authorise the Northern Region courts to deal with them.

The Bill is in fact designed to incorporate the existing provisions of the Criminal Code Ordinance in so far as they affect the Northern Region, in the new Regional form. It does not incorporate the one variation of substance from these provisions which the Regional Penal Code contains, namely the extension of the power to impose corporal punishment to cover all cases involving male offenders irrespective of the length of the appropriate prison sentence.

Under the existing federal legislation corporal punishment may only be inflicted whether as an alternative or as an additional punishment in the case of offences where imprisonment for a period exceeding six months is provided, and the proviso in Clause 3 of this Bill, that is of the Bill under consideration, has been inserted in order to retain this limitation in respect of federal offences.

Perhaps, Sir, I should repeat again that in the body of the Northern Region Penal Code it is provided that corporal punishment can be inflicted in many cases where it could not be inflicted under the present system of criminal law enforced throughout the Federation. Now we have refused to accept this. That is the only change of substance. We have refused to accept this extension of corporal punishment and have limited the corporal punishment to those cases where it can be inflicted under the present law.



Then, Sir, the Penal Code law which has been enacted by the legislature of the Northern Region is not of course before this House. Clearly, however, the code which it lays down would be incomplete without the provisions contained in the Penal Code (Northern Region) Federal Provisions Bill concerning matters on which this hon. House alone is competent to legislate. These provisions represent a change of wording rather than a change in substance, and I can see no objection to re-casting the Federal Criminal Code in its application to the Northern Region so as to bring it into line with the new Regional Penal Code. This is exactly what this Bill has done, and I commend the Bill to the House.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Mines and Power** (Hon. Mallam Maitama Sule): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba**: Mr President, Sir, I rise to congratulate the Northern Regional Government for its vigilance and foresight in enacting this Penal Code Law in that it is right at the requisite time. As the Minister of Transport has already stated that this Bill is a compromise between the Moslem Law and the English system of Criminal Law, we need not delay its passage, but give it an elderly blessing.

Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Olajide Somolu**: Mr President, Sir, whilst it is very difficult to oppose this Bill as presented to this House by the hon. the Minister of Transport and Aviation, I think it would be pertinent to say a few words in relation to the Regional Bill upon which this present law has been presented to this House, that is the Penal Code of the Northern Regional Government.

Sir, in all solemnity, I wish to observe that in this Penal Code, this, the Federation of Nigeria, is facing its hour of trial. This is not an alarmist note at all. This explanation is borne out by my own personal observations and by what I think is the observation of very many people, that this Penal Code enshrines in itself the germ of separatism.

There is no reason why the various Governments of the Federation of Nigeria cannot continue to administer the same Criminal Law; but in this Penal Code we have the beginning, and I hope it is going to be the last, of a further effort to divide this country, because when in a country like Nigeria you begin to have central legislations, particularly in relation to the administration of the Criminal Law, it is the beginning of trouble; because for upwards of more than half a century we have had the same criminal administration of justice. If it is found that this old law is not all that compatible with the administration of justice as it is known in the Northern Region I think that the enactment of the Penal Code should have been the concern of every part of this Federation.

I realise the fact that it is a compromise legislation and it is on the recommendation of the panel of jurists upon which very distinguished people sit.

During the recent conference on the future of the law in Africa I had very great opportunity of meeting one of these great men, and that is the Chief Justice of the Sudan, and I had some discussions with him in relation to this Penal Code. As the hon. Minister of Transport and Aviation has indicated, this Penal Code derives its life from the Sudan Penal Code, which in turn was derived from the Indian Penal Code.

Now, Senators, anybody who knows the history of this Indian Penal Code will agree that it is utterly unsuitable for a growing country like the Federation of Nigeria. It is true that the Indian Penal Code was drafted by Lord Macaulay. But, who was Lord Macaulay? Lord Macaulay was the Governor-General, or the Viceroy of India in the bitter days of Indian colonial rule. That is the Code from which leaves have been borrowed, passing through the Sudan into this country.

Now, the essence of it, as far as I see, is that anyone, anybody can be subjected to the punishment provided for in this Penal Code, be he white, or red, or yellow, because its implications are such that nobody is exempted. And on going through the Code itself there is one fundamental aspect which one finds absent, and that is the absence of criminal administration of justice, as we know it in this



[SENATOR SOMOLU].  
country for more than half a century, that is, the duty being cast upon the prosecution to prove the guilt of an accused person beyond reasonable doubt.

Chapter 2 of this Penal Code carefully omits this fundamental principle—intention which is the bedrock of administration of justice as we have borrowed it from the English people is out. If that is given here you will have to prove yourself not guilty. That is the only inference one can draw from the policy of the Code.

Mr President, Sir, there is a provision in this Bill about concurrent punishment of imprisonment and a fine—I think it is section 75 of the Bill—with your permission, Sir, I shall read it. It says: "Where a fine or any part thereof remains unpaid the offender or his testate, if he is dead, is not discharged from liability to pay the fine or the unpaid part thereof, notwithstanding that he has served a term of imprisonment in default of payment of the fine". Now, this is a provision which runs contra to every known principle of justice. This is in the Code, and it is going to apply to anybody within the Federation of Nigeria who happens to travel up North and falls foul under the provision of the Penal Code.

This is what this Parliament is being asked to give its blessing. To say the very least, Mr President, Sir, I can only say that provision like this gives only hostages to tyranny, especially when, as provided in section 77 of the same Code, anybody who falls foul of this legislation can be subjected to caning, especially if he is supposed to be a male. Section 77 provides that any male who falls foul should have a sentence of caning not exceeding twelve strokes, and can be passed by any court, whether trying the case summarily or otherwise on any male offender in lieu of or in addition to any other punishment to which he might be sentenced for any offence under this provision.

Now, Mr President, Sir, in my view the operation of this could run contra to the very amiable spirit of which the Prime Minister of the Federation spoke the other day to the Nigeria Society, because in my view it cuts across the question of the unity of the country. It is true that the administrators of justice should be regarded as people competent to

administer it fairly and without bias and without undue passion, but Mr President, Sir, this is a hope, and one can only say that this hope might materialise as this Code is implemented in all its various ramifications. If it does not, the adoption of this Code can only mean the beginning, at any rate, in a substantial part of the Federation of Nigeria, of a new despotism which, I hope, will not be.

The Amendment which the hon. Minister of Transport and Aviation has put before us is such that could give some confidence. With the spirit embedded in that Amendment, that is the limitation of corporal punishment, that spirit will run through the administration of criminal justice. We shall begin to find it when this Code begins to operate in the Northern part of this country, so that instead of the fears which this Code engenders in the people of this country we shall have a new lease of unity which would destroy this fear, this seeming separatist attitude.

I hope that it is not only that this new spirit will show itself in operation. Perhaps, with the years it might be possible for the various parts of Nigeria to come together and once more adopt one single law for the administration of justice in this country, because it is only in that that we can find great pride in our protestation of one Nigeria.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku:** Mr President, Sir, at times we do not seem to be quite sure of ourselves as to where we are going in Nigeria. At times we talk of emphasising those things which unite us in Nigeria and then disregard those things which unite us. At times we say that we must project Nigerian personality and at times that colonial mentality overtakes us and then we go off the road.

This Penal Code, Sir, in my own opinion, is not the type of Bill which we should introduce in Nigeria at any stage of our existence. If there is any need for us to examine, amend or revise the existing Laws of Nigeria, I feel we should have done that with one common objective to safeguard the peace, love and harmony of the country. But, I am sure, we are getting to a stage where in Nigeria we will have to be governed by several criminal laws and several penal codes. If this is passed into Law now as I know very well that the Northern



Regional Government will be very anxious to have it passed, it may appear as a temptation to the other Regional Governments and if they will not exercise some prudence they will also like to look to Turkey or Hungary or some other outside state for any other form of law which will seem applicable in that particular region. And what is going to happen? In the final analysis, our Penal Code and Criminal Law in Nigeria will not become of Nigerian background but of foreign background.

During our days under the colonial status which will terminate within the next four months, we have seen a lot, we have borne a lot of burden because to a large extent our Laws in this country have been shaped and patterned under the British system of law. But I should think that as we transcend from that colonial status to the status of independent people, I should think, after we shall have attained our independence, the whole Federation of Nigeria will sit down and think of the way we can introduce or bring about a law which will be common throughout the Federation and which will have as its background Nigerian usages, Nigerian customs and Nigerian traditions. What we are doing now, according to the very Minister of Transport who introduced this Bill, has no Nigerian background; the background is Indian. And according to my hon. Friend, the Law was drawn by a colonial ruler when India was still in the colonial state.

Again, Sir, it was adopted in Sudan where we all know very well that there was some time when there were troubles in Sudan and even up to the time our present Governor-General was there.

Now, must we continue to develop in ourselves that slavish instinct which the British made us to believe exists in us? Or, must we get to a stage where we must become conscious of our existence and feel anxious to project our Nigerian personality? This is a dangerous weapon because we believe in Nigeria that there is a section in this particular Law which says that if an offence is committed outside the Northern Region it has some effect in the Northern Region. And if at the time of the offence he was not in the Northern Region but he comes to the Northern Region then he is handed to the Government or the prosecutor. And if the Northern Regional Government has

reasons to believe that that offence has some effect in the Northern Region, the man can stand convicted in the Northern Region for an offence he did not commit in the Northern Region but for an offence he committed somewhere else and for which he could have been tried under other Law. He would be tried under this Penal Code and then it will be left for that man to prove that he was not guilty but it is not left for the Law to prove that the man was not guilty.

I do not think that there is much we can do now because after all they have carried this Penal Code to a very great extent, but I would feel very sincere that if we are to express our own minds in this Senate, we must have to delay this Penal Code. So we must have to give a thorough thought to this Penal Code in order to know more about it. And again every Nigerian citizen must have to know where he is going.

When you leave the Western Region and you get to the Northern Region, you are under another Law. If this is passed, there is nothing which stops the Eastern Region tomorrow from passing another Penal Code; there is nothing which stops the Western Region tomorrow from passing another Penal Code. And then what of the Federation? It is shattered into pieces. We must have to educate ourselves on this and then our brothers of the Northern Region, the Government of the Northern Region, must have to be educated on the undesirability of this Penal Code. And I am sure that with thorough education, the average English-speaking Northerner would see the undesirability of the Penal Code. If their eyes become open to the undesirability of this Penal Code, the Penal Code will be shattered and it will be left to rest in peace in the archives of the Northern Region.

Sir, that is my observation on this Penal Code.

**Senator Chief Z. C. Obi :** Mr President, Sir, I rise to associate myself with the last two speakers opposing the passage of this Penal Code in this House at the moment. As Elder Statesmen of Nigeria, I think that this is one of the cases when we should not be expected to join-chorus in passing some Bills simply because they have passed through the Lower House, that is the House of Representatives.



[SENATOR OBI].

I do not see any absolute necessity for this Law for a section of Nigeria at the eve of our Independence. It is not like a Money Bill which will delay activities of a Government. After all, it is something that has to do with human liberty and I feel we must be very careful of how we go about it.

There are two arguments in the Lower House on this question which appeal to me very much and which, with the permission of the Chair present, I would like to read out. The first argument came from the hon. Albatan Yerima Balla from the Northern Region. He says, "The Northern Region Penal Code which is copied from Sudan and Pakistan was quite outside the Muslim Penal Code and the Code was just very primitive and has been verthrown by the primitive people of these places, because Sudan was under the Turkish Empire which is noted for her dictatorial rule, and Pakistan was once under Britain. Even the Aligha University had rejected the present Muslim law. I have contacted the Al Azhar University of Cairo about Muslim laws and I have not found justification for the present penal code in the Northern Region. I hope that in the near future universal law will be developed and applied throughout this country".

The second speech that appeals to me came from hon. D. D. U. Okay from Port Harcourt and with your permission, Mr President, I shall further read—"Now, to my own personal opinion I feel that this Bill is discriminatory. That is my personal opinion. I do feel that within the Nigerian Constitution Order-in-Council there is the Eastern Region Government, the Western Region Government and both of them are in a position to enact such a law as this but because all of us are clamouring for one Nigeria they have not been able to produce or to enact a law of this type. My fear must be allayed that if this law passes this hon. House it is not going to be used against political opponents in the Northern Region. This is my personal opinion. My fear must be allayed by the Minister responsible for bringing this Bill into this hon. House. Well, if an assurance is given to this hon. House that it is not going to be used against any political opponent in the Northern Region or it is not going to be used by judges

or the Alkali courts or those in positions against Southerners in the Northern Region then I shall give my support to this Bill".

I am not going to say that this law is going to be used against any section of people in the country but what is uppermost in my mind is the unity of Nigeria and the freedom of individuals. So that I agree with those who are opposed to passing this law at the moment.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** Mr President, Sir, I have to say that in my humble opinion the Bill is designed to serve the overwhelming majority of a section of Nigeria and that is the Northern Region. In the Northern Region, of course, there are very many tribes but the Muslims form an overwhelming majority in that part of the country. In fact, they are about four-fifths of the population of the Northern Region and I cannot see my way through to blame or criticise a Bill of this nature since it is designed to serve the majority of the people in such a place. Even if this Bill is being copied from the Sudan you all should understand that Sudan is a Muslim country. I have no quarrel with this Bill at all because the majority of the people living in the North are Muslims. As I said, in fact they form about four-fifths of the population of the Region.

I think there are concessions in the Bill. At present in the North if a Christian opts to be tried in a special court he is allowed to be tried in that court. If a Muslim opts to be tried in another court he is allowed to do that. If these assurances are given in the Bill I see no reason why we should quarrel with the Bill. Some people have mentioned about allaying the fears of people from other Regions. I do not think there are no similar laws in the other Regions. If you go to the East and if you live there you are subject to the customs and traditions of the East; if you live in the West there are certain customs and traditions of the people and provisions are made if you infringe one you may be tried in any of the Customary Courts be you an Easterner or a Northerner. After all, the other Nigerians in the North have been accustomed to the way of life in the North and do not very much grudge this.

I am not trying to say that the Northern Region Government has formulated this Bill simply to punish people who are not



Northerners. Not at all, but I think this Bill has come to stay because the majority of the people who live in the North are Muslims and this is something which is applicable to their own way of live. We who are not Muslims in the North are very few and we have no quarrel with the Bill since the rule of the majority has come to be accepted.

**Senator J. K. Nzerem :** Mr President, Sir, one may feel a little inclined to be in sympathy with the North. After all Muslims are human beings and what is bad for one human being is bad for another. I would like to know why this Penal Code is being rushed. What is the idea of rushing it? Have the provisions of the law been made very widely known in the North? Are we satisfied that the Muslims for whom we are trying to legislate are happy about this law? Discretion, we are told, is the better part of valour. I think that this Bill should be delayed for some time and more publicity given to the provisions of it. If the majority of the people in the North say "O.K., it is all right for us, we do not mind", then we can enact it but at present I do not see any necessity for rushing it. That is only what I want to say about it.

I am not a lawyer. The Bill is very complicated. I have read some of it and I shuddered. If the Muslims say that is good for us, well it is up to them, but let us give the thing a little time to mature.

**Senator Mallam Sani O. B. Okin :** Mr President, Sir, I have to thank the Senators who have been able to express their feelings about this Penal Code Bill but I am greatly worried. I must say it. Before the advent of the British the Northern Region had their own written law unlike other places where cases were tried according to the native law and custom and unfortunately these native laws and customs were not written down. Before the introduction of the Penal Code if you went to the North and queried an Alkali as regards the basis of his decision on a case he would point to a section in the Muslim law. It is a pity that many of our people here know only one section of the law. They are not conversant with the Muslim law.

In the Western Region so many Customary Courts have been established. They were not in existence in the past twenty years but in the

North, I have already said, before the advent of the British we had our written law unlike the other places in the whole Federation. Only politics has brought these Customary Courts into being.

As one Member has said, we have three Regions; we have the Eastern, Western and Northern Regions. I believe each has its own laws. I remember there was a certain law enacted by the Western Region Government which said that nobody should criticise the Government on the appointment of Chiefs but it was defeated in the old Federal House of Representatives. But according to the Muslim law there is nothing like that existing and I know this because I have almost read the whole passages of the Penal Code. I was fortunate that I was an interpreter to the Europeans sent to train our judges and alkalis, and immediately this Penal Code comes into existence there will be no more Muslim laws or Criminal Code.

A Member asked whether this has met with the approval of the majority of the people in the North. I should say that those who are conversant with the Koran and Arabic laws have found that there is only a slight difference.

We are sure that there is nothing to be afraid of in the North because even the Northerners should have reviewed this Penal Code if they were not in agreement with what they have been using before. When the Northern Region dispensed justice with Muslim laws nobody queried. It was only the change of time and we must move according to the change of time, that is why this has come to be.

Fundamental human rights and no fundamental human rights, as some people used to say! It is not a new thing at all. It is only a reminder of our religious obligation. I think fundamental human rights have been written in the Bible and in the Koran. And that means only one thing: 'do unto others as you would like them to do unto you'. That is fundamental human right.

Some politicians come to my gate and abuse me and apply for permit to campaign at my gate. By giving that particular party the permit to campaign, they have been given facility of fundamental human right. But coming to my gate to abuse me is going against the fundamental human rights.



[SENATOR SANNI OKIN]

There is nothing to be afraid of at all as far as this Penal Code is concerned because it is not a new thing. If we check together all the existing Moslem laws, the Koran and everything, we come to the conclusion that this Penal Code has been in existence in a place like the Northern Region for the past hundred years. There will be no trouble there. So I am now assuring hon. Senators that there is nothing to be afraid of in the North.

As regards Chief Beyioku's remarks, the question is, supposing a party commits an offence in the North and happens to run to Ibadan, what do you do? The Northern Region is the place where the case should be tried. That is why the Federal Government should have to accept this so that when one commits an offence say, in Kano or Katsina and then runs to Lagos, if the warrant of the arrest is issued, the Western Government or the Federal Government will not say that it is not in accordance with the Criminal Code. That is all.

As you know, even in Nigeria to-day if a certain offence is committed even in Mushin, I think the matter will be tried by the Western court and not by Lagos court because that offence has been committed within the jurisdiction of the Western Region.

I am now saying again that there is nothing to be afraid of. We studied it and we have to contribute our own quota. If there is any amendment to be made we are quite satisfied. I am now saying again that the majority of the people in the North are quite satisfied with this Penal Code.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Dr J. O. Omitowoju:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to say a few words in respect of this Penal Code law. Nigeria is particularly lucky that it is not only the House of Representatives that will pass this law but as a sort of safeguard there is the Upper House which should be able to study something and see whether it is inimical to the interests of certain sections or the whole section of the population of the country.

If in 1958 temporary circumstances existed to push the unwary to have an idea to enact a law of this nature, 1960 has brought home to everyone of us that the Southern and Northern Regions have a lot of things in common than

the people of Sudan and Pakistan. Any law in any section of this country should be applicable in a way to ensure the essential unity and oneness of this nation.

The Minister has just told us that when this Bill was being drafted jurists, eminent people were appointed from the Sudan and Pakistan. If the essential unity of this country was considered at that particular time, some form of consultation between the Northern sector of this country and the Southern sector should have been considered.

We know the real tie, a very strong one, between Sudan and Pakistan and the Northern Region, and that is religion. Nobody quarrels with that but in this country, the appearance of this House to-day shows that the sitting here is not Moslem: it is that of a Nigerian nation and as such in any law which should be applicable even to the Northerners themselves who are the Moslems and are bound by Moslem law, some consideration should be given to the future when Northerners themselves might have been versed in the learning of the law, English system, Moslem law, and all the rest of them in well-founded schools. Perhaps they themselves will be able to turn round and say 'whoever passed this Penal Code law must be a group of imbeciles who never thought of the future of the nation.'

Here in this House we must not be sentimental, we have to think of the Nation as a whole. We must think of the stability of this country, we must think of the unity which we talk about everybody and any law which we feel will mitigate against the interest of any section of the country or even anybody in any section of the country should be really opposed and given a real consideration in this very House. To rush through this law to-day and pass it, I think it is not too good for us to do. If we give it a delay of about six months, let us all think together and see, read through and see whether Southerners who are at present resident in the North can be safeguarded or they themselves happily agree to this type of law. There is nothing which should make us rush through this law to-day.

As I have said before we have so many things in common which I think our religious beliefs themselves can properly look after. Mr President, Sir, I want this House to allow this Bill to be delayed for six months for careful and thorough consideration.



**Senator Abubakar Bale :** Mr President, Sir, I support the Motion now on debate. I want to assure the hon. Senators that this Penal Code is not a new thing introduced into the country. It is a compiled law that was introduced into the Northern Region a long time ago and is in line with Moslem religion. It is being practised in all native courts in the North.

Many people from other Regions are in the North and are being tried in these courts and still nothing has happened. The only difference is that time has passed and we must bring things back—those books, those Moslem books have now been translated and compiled so that other people may see what is going on in the Northern courts. Some indication has been made that this new law is in line with the practice in the Sudan and Pakistan. Yes ! It does not mean that everything now in the new penal code is in line with Sudanese practice. In fact, there is one thing we have in common and that is religion. That is why decisions were made with these two countries.

Native Courts as now existing are under the Alkalis and they should attend refresher courses on the penal code to make them understand what has been translated in accordance with the modern understanding.

We must not delay the passing of this Bill simply because it will affect other Regions. The Eastern and Western Regions can produce a penal code which will affect their own conditions, but it does not mean that we do not have other things in common. There is, for instance, volumes on the laws of Nigeria. In the North we have so many different courts: there are Courts of Appeal which you can go to. Therefore, what is the fear? If you know that you have not been satisfied in one court you can go to another; and there is the Supreme Court of Appeal here in Lagos. So where is the fear?

I notice that there are some people who think that offences in certain cases should not be made criminal—that is what I make of it. But why not? Are we to encourage people to be guilty, or are we to encourage people not to be guilty? The Law of a country is made to safeguard all the people, and this law is a special law to apply to the North and there is

no reason why it should not continue. It is now being tried in the North; it is already in practice.

If we want this religious system to continue, we want it to be in such a way that people will still be able to understand it, and that is what we are doing in the North. To accord with modern civilisation and development that is why we are called upon to revise it, to put it in line with the movement of the times.

Some indications were made that people coming home from higher schools in the Northern Region may deviate from the present system. But there is no reason why they should depart from what their elders did in the cause of religion. It is one; it has always been one, and it will remain one.

The penal code does not say that the other codes in the other Regions should act in accordance with it. It is only in the North, and the people in the North are in agreement with it. So I can assure the Members that there is no reason to fear.

With these comments I think that those who have fear that the implication of the penal code in the other Regions will be harmful should have no more fear. I assure you that it will continue.

With these few remarks, Sir, I support the Motion.

**Senator Zanna M. Sheriff :** Mr President, I rise to support the Motion and in so doing associate myself with the views of the last Speaker. The penal code is not bad and it has been accepted in all the North.

Considering the vast Muslim population, the minority tribes have all been consulted and it is the only thing which is acceptable to all.

Formerly, Muslim law was not very acceptable to the non-Muslims, but this penal code has provisions: as has just been said, it is a compromise, and it is to meet the changing times.

The question of delaying this Bill is not right simply because Senators from the West or from the East have not got knowledge of Muslim law. I think it will take years before they acquire that knowledge and pass the Bill if every Senator must acquire knowledge of the Muslim law sufficient to go through this and examine it; it will take years. After all, it is in



[SENATOR ZANNA SHERIFF]  
practice in the North and it is acceptable, otherwise it would not have been passed by the Regional House, much less come here. Therefore the question of delaying should not arise.

Those Senators who have fears say things against it simply because they have not got the knowledge of the Muslim law. They should not fear, the penal code was not worked out over night. Careful consideration was given to it; experts were called upon to examine it and, as the last hon. speaker has just said, already it is in existence. These are just a few amendments to allay the fears of the minority groups in the North.

As you know, the minority groups have complained several times that they do not want to be tried by Muslim courts.

*Sitting suspended : 1.00 p.m.*

*Sitting resumed : 3.00 p.m.*

**Senator Zanna M. Sheriff :** Mr President, Sir, in continuation I wish the hon. Members of the Senate should realise because of age that the Penal Code is not presented to serve any political purpose. It should not be regarded as an election manifesto. Far from it. It is pure justice at its best, and above all it is acceptable to the people of the North.

I am surprised to hear hon. Members of the Senate say that they dislike the idea of having the Penal Code introduced from India, the Sudan or Pakistan or anywhere else. Well, if an idea has worked out well in one country, no matter where it comes from, and if it is acceptable to the country and serves the purpose, I see no harm in copying that idea automatically no matter whether the country is above us or below us. I think hon. Members should realise that having brought that idea from outside, that does not mean that it is not acceptable to the people.

I should not like to continue further but I want the hon. Senators to realise again that what obtains in the East or in the West may not be acceptable in the North, and what happens in the North may not be acceptable in the East or in the West. So I would like hon. Senators to understand that this Penal Code is non-controversial and we should not argue about it any further. Rather it is a model which I feel should be copied by the East and the West because if Customary courts are accepted and

their instruments are accepted I see no reason why this Penal Code should not be acceptable.

With these few comments, Mr President, Sir, I beg to support.

**Senator Chief Ezeogo Ugwuocha :** Mr President, Sir, I fear what has obtained a few years ago might obtain in this particular Bill before the House this afternoon when many of our leaders took pain and trouble to strike out the Richards constitution. The Richards constitution emphasised that the North is for the Northerners, the West for the Westerners and the East for the Easterners. With this kind of Bill before us, Sir, I feel that what obtained at that time might obtain now. What I understand the hon. Senator who spoke on this Bill said was not against the North, it was for the unity of Nigeria. When a Bill of this nature comes to this House it should be in form of uniformity. That is what I understand the hon. Member who spoke against the Bill was after. I see there is but little fundamental fact in the issue. The only effect is to change the High Court to read District Court. If the Northerners feel that the Bill should stand as at present until the near future when the Bill is to be drafted to cover all the three Regions, well I raise no objection.

I beg to support the Bill.

**Senator Mrs Wura Esan :** Mr President, Sir, I think it is the haste which the hon. Senator said should guide us to pass this Bill that is compelling us to be very careful in this House before we support any Bill. We are not saying that the present Bill before us is a totally bad one. What we are objecting to is the putting of new wine into an old bottle. If we now agree that this should come into the Penal Code of Northern Nigeria as it was before this amendment, then we are not doing justice to the cause of unity in Nigeria. There are so many things that are not so good in the Penal Code and if those clauses that are not so good are removed, we have no objection to agreeing to the Bill now being proposed. We are not objecting because we are Christians or because we are Moslems in the West or because we are pagans. Our only objection is on the ground that we want the unity of Nigeria and if Nigeria must be united we must not do anything at this stage that will cause disruption in any part of



Nigeria. If we say now that this Bill should be passed without raising voices of protest in this hon. House, then we are just placed here and we are not doing our duty because people know that as elders we should see not only with one eye but should be able to see both sides of any subject put before us before we decide on the right one. If we agree with the Northern rulers that all they do about amendment of the Penal Code is satisfactory, then we are not doing our just duty.

Sir, we must be judicious every time we pass a Bill here because when we as elders get back home and are asked: What have you done in the place where you went? He or she must be able to say, We did this or we did that; and when you are asked: What have you contributed? You must be able to say what you have contributed. I would like therefore to appeal to our Northern rulers that they must always listen to criticisms from hon. Members of this Senate not because we are placed here by one party—we are not placed here as Moslems or Christians—but because we are here as Nigerians, and as Nigerians whenever we see anything that will go against the interest of Nigerians, whether it is from the North or the East or West or South, we are here to say so and, on this ground, I repeat my appeal to the Northerners to temper justice with mercy. Leave this Bill alone for the present time and pause to consider another way of removing some clauses from their penal code, then bring back the Bill and I dare say, that the way in which it shall be accepted will be much more unanimous than it should be now.

Mr President, Sir, that is my own view.

**Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu:** Thank you very much Mr President. Before I give my own humble opinion on this Bill I shall say that since the official opening of the hon. House of the Senate it is only to-day that we have met a real Bill or a matter of that kind and the occasion is a very tempting one too, one that requires wise consideration and necessary contribution.

I have seen the predicament of the hon. Members from the North. They are trying to force this Bill on us so that it may be passed immediately but I shall advise them to cool down.

**The President:** Order, order! No Senator is forcing the Senate to pass the Bill. The hon. the Minister of Transport and Aviation moved the second reading of the Bill and it is the stage that we are in now. Nobody is forcing anybody.

**Senator Chief Acholonu:** I am sorry, Sir. All I mean is that they are all agreed on the point. That is what I mean, Sir.

I have to associate myself with the general views expressed by most of the Senators who have suggested that the Bill be delayed and requested that it be given the wide publicity that it deserves. This delay should not be construed to mean refusal but only an opportunity to give it a second thought as elderly Members and by this measure I am sure that our people will know that we have the interest of this country at heart.

My whole contention, as I said before, is that anything that can bring unity and oneness to the Federation of Nigeria is wise and anything outside it is unwise.

My happiness in this hon. House is the way and manner everybody has been laying emphasis on all the activities of both the House of Representatives and the Upper House.

**Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku:** Point of Order, Sir.

**The President:** What point of order?

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku:** Order No. 25, Clause 1: "A Member shall not read his speech but he may read short extracts from books or papers". It appears the hon. Senator is reading his speech.

**The President:** The hon. Senator is refreshing his memory. *(Laughter)*.

**Senator Chief Acholonu:** Sir, the unity of this country is what we are after and it is only through common understanding, mutual agreement and the spirit of give and take that we can fight and overcome our national difficulties. I shall beg the permission of the President. . . . .

**The President:** Order, order! May I remind the hon. Senator that whilst refreshing his memory he should also look towards the Chair!



**Senator Chief Acholonu :** I shall do so, Sir. As I was saying, I crave the permission of the President to quote a native parable which says: "While making medicine for clearing a dim sight, pepper must not be applied". I repeat, Sir, that delaying this Bill is not refusing it. I therefore suggest that we are only asking the hon. Members from the Northern Region to help us to maintain peace and order and at the same time give this Bill a second thought which it deserves. I also request the Minister concerned to help us to see that this Bill is delayed for some time when the Members of the Senate will have this Bill well considered and passed unanimously.

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku):** Mr President, Sir, I must begin by saying that I am very grateful to the hon. Senators for the very great interest they have shown in debating this Bill. I have to say right from the start that although I circulated a Law which has already been passed by the North, that is the Penal Code Law 1959, that law is not before this House, that law has been passed already by the Northern Region because it deals with subjects within the competence of the Northern Regional Legislature and I notice that most of the criticisms of the hon. Senators have been on the Penal Code Law of the North, that is Sections 1 to 409; our own begins from Section 410 and from Section 410 to Section 477 we have provisions covering matters over which the Federal legislature alone has competence to enact law and that is exactly what we are now concerned with. So that while I circulated the Northern Penal Code in order to give the background to hon. Senators, I hope they will appreciate that that portion of the Penal Code is, strictly speaking, not before this hon. House. That has been passed already and there is nothing that we can do about it.

As I said before in my former speech the Northern Government presented before the Constitutional Conference in 1958 some of its proposals for the consolidation of its laws. As a matter of fact, and as some Senators have already pointed out, especially those Senators from the Northern Region, the present enactment in the Northern Region is too straightforward from what obtains now in the various Native Courts in the North. In other words, it can to that extent be described as being

progressive because it is a straightforward movement from the laws which are now in force in the North at the moment.

What we are now concerned with, Sir, is that part of the legislation which covers exclusively Federal subjects, and I would like hon. Senators to turn their attention to this section. I must say that I am very grateful to the hon. Senator Somolu for his contribution. He pointed out the question of caning.

In the Northern Penal Code Law there is provision for inflicting corporal punishment in almost all cases for male offenders. Now we do not accept it as part of our Federal laws and, as I have already said, we have made provision excluding corporal punishment from several offences except where corporal punishment can now be inflicted under the Criminal Procedure Law which is in operation throughout the country.

That is one major change of substance which the Penal Code Law of the North has introduced but we have refused to accept that. In Clause 3 of our Bill we have a proviso to limit the infliction of corporal punishment to those cases where it can now be inflicted.

Now, there is one other point which the hon. Senator Somolu made as regards section 75 about fine and bail of accused persons or prisoners. I have taken special note of that, and I will pursue that matter because it is fundamental. But, as I already said, that part has already been passed by the Northern Region legislature.

Senator Chief Beyioku in his speech referred to what amounts to the same system of criminal law, that is to say that the accused person has to prove his innocence. I want to say, Sir, most emphatically that this Penal Code does not contain any such provisions. That is to say, the Penal Code maintains the accepted principle of English law that an accused person is presumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty.

As I said, the Penal Code is a compromise between the Moslem system and the English system of law. This is one of those instances where the English system has been upheld, namely that the presumption of innocence of the accused must be held out until the contrary is proved beyond doubt.



The hon. Chief also referred to the venue of the crime, that a person who commits a crime elsewhere may be tried in the North. I would like, Mr President, to point out that there is no change whatever as far as the venue of the trial of an offender is concerned from the present system. The present system in the Criminal Procedure Ordinance specifies various courts in which an accused may be tried. He may be tried in court where the crime was committed or wherever the prisoner is apprehended. So there is nothing new in that special provision of the Penal Code.

Senator the hon. Z. C. Obi said that there is no haste and that this law should not be passed. As I have said, Sir, there is haste in this sense that the law has already been passed in the Northern Region and I suppose it will come into operation very soon in the Northern Region. If we do not pass this section of it which covers Federal offences, the Northern Region has passed its law and will go on to enforce it.

It will be very awkward for the Federal legislature to refuse to pass this new Bill covering Federal offences whereas the North has passed its own part of the Code which covers the greater ground. If Members look at the circulated Northern Penal Code Law, they will see that the Northern Code, which has already been passed, is about five or six times as voluminous as our own. So the bulk of the Criminal Code Law has been passed and we are only asked to pass the section dealing with Federal offences.

Now, there was some criticism about how this law will be applied if passed. Some people have expressed fears about offenders being tried in Alkali courts. I want to give this assurance, Mr President, that none of the Federal offences will be tried in the Native Authority courts. That I have already done by an amendment in the Lower House to the Criminal Procedure Law. It is the Criminal Procedure Law that provides for the jurisdiction of the various courts, and when the Criminal Procedure Bill came before the Lower House I moved certain amendments which limited the jurisdiction of these cases to High Courts and Magistrate Courts so that the Alkali and other native courts in the Northern Region will have no jurisdiction whatever over the Federal offences which are enumerated in this Bill now before this hon. House.

Senator Somolu has also commented on the Bill and asked whether the provisions of the Bill have been brought to the notice of the people in the North who are most directly affected. My answer to that is that that is so. In fact the Bill has been debated in the Northern Region and most people in the North are aware of the changes which have been made. As a matter of fact, as I have said already, changes which have been made in the law show a marked step forward in the direction of progress.

Now, delaying this Bill will not do us any good because already the bulk of it has been passed. Also, the Northern Region Government took the other Governments in the Federation into confidence before they embarked on the codification of the laws in the Northern Region. It was recognised in the Constitutional Conference that the Legislature of the Northern Region was competent to pass the law which they have passed, and it is the supplement to the Law which covers Federal offences that we are now being asked to enact.

I can give this assurance, that with the provision that Alkali and other Native Courts will not deal with Federal offences and also the provision that corporal punishment shall not be indiscriminately imposed, that is a sufficient safeguard. I would like hon. Members to feel quite assured that the High Court and the Magistrate Courts in the Northern Region which should have jurisdiction exclusively over Federal offences with which we are concerned are going to do justice in every way.

May I end by saying that I agree that we must do everything possible to maintain the unity of this country.

I think, Sir, that by passing this Bill we shall be doing much to strengthen the unity of this country because we realise that the Northern Region Legislature has done something within its competence and is asking us to do that little bit which is within our competence and I think it will be in the interest of co-operation and unity in this country if this hon. House will also co-operate with the Northern Region Legislature and pass this Bill into law.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.*



*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1-5 agreed to.*

*Schedule agreed to.*

*Preamble agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(Mr President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported, without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (NORTHERN  
REGION) BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation** (Hon. R. A. Njoku): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the Second Reading of a Bill for a Criminal Procedure (Northern Region) Ordinance. This Bill, Sir, is complementary to the Bill which I have already moved for a Penal Code (Northern Region) (Federal Provisions) Ordinance. Its purpose is to enable Federal offences committed in the Northern Region to be tried in accordance with the new Code of Criminal Procedure which has just been introduced in respect of Regional offences in the Region by the enactment of the Criminal Procedure Law, 1960.

As I said in connection with the Penal Code Bill, this new Code of Criminal Procedure is being introduced in the Northern Region following the recommendations of a panel of jurists appointed by the Northern Government to enquire into the legal and judicial systems of that Region. The procedure is modelled on that in the Sudan, which is in turn based on the Indian system which was originally drafted by the Indian Law Commission presided over by Lord Macaulay. The procedure represents a compromise between Moslem Law and the English system of law, and the panel recommended that it was suitable for conditions in the Northern Region.

The effect of the Criminal Procedure Law, 1960 is to replace the present Criminal Procedure Ordinance in the Northern Region so far as Regional offences are concerned. Now, it would obviously be impracticable for the courts to use two entirely different systems of procedure in dealing with Regional and Federal offences and the Federal Legislature are

accordingly being asked to enact legislation in order that Federal offences may be tried in the Northern Region in accordance with the new procedure.

The main alteration is that the courts are given much wider responsibilities to see that everything is done to ensure that a complaint is properly investigated and brought to trial.

Thus, the first and most important thing to know about the new Criminal Procedure is that it gives very much greater control to the Magistrate of prosecutions brought before the court. The Police write down a complaint in a case diary and gather all details into a first information report, which is submitted to the court. The court can then either direct further investigation by the Police or proceed to deal with the case. If the Magistrate decides to deal with the case he hears the evidence which the prosecution produces and then drafts the charge. The Police do not draft the charge as at present and the charge is not drafted before any evidence is heard, but only when the Police have called evidence to satisfy the Magistrate that a *prima facie* case is established does the Magistrate himself then draft the charge. The accused or his solicitor can then cross-examine any prosecution witnesses and when the prosecution has completed its case the accused can make his defence and give evidence or call witnesses as he thinks fit. If the Magistrate does not consider the prosecution has made out a *prima facie* case no charge is formulated by the Magistrate and he discharges the accused.

The next thing to know is that the same procedure applies if the Magistrate holds a preliminary enquiry in order to commit the accused for trial in the High Court. The Magistrate, after hearing the evidence, formulates the charge if he is satisfied that there is a *prima facie* case (otherwise he discharges the accused and forwards the charge and record not only to the High Court but also to the Director of Public Prosecutions.) If the Director of Public Prosecutions is not satisfied with the charge formulated by the Magistrate, he can amend or substitute such charge as he thinks fit, and the accused will be tried on the amended or substituted charge in the High Court.



The trial can only take place in the High Court after a preliminary enquiry or by a direction of a Judge of the High Court as at present in section 240 (2) (b) of the Criminal Procedure Ordinance or on a charge for contempt, but the procedure at the trial is exactly as at present.

In order to give greater protection to accused persons, provision has been made in the Northern Region Procedure that when an accused person makes a confession he can be taken by the Police before a Justice of the Peace and his confession recorded by that Justice of the Peace. A confession taken in this way will carry greater weight than one taken under the present procedure which is still retained.

The new procedure in the Northern Region must, of course, remain subject to the powers of the Attorney-General of the Federation and the Director of Public Prosecutions, which are contained in the Constitutional Order-in-Council. As Senators are aware, the Director of Public Prosecutions is given complete control over prosecutions. He can institute proceedings of his own motion, or can take over proceedings or he can enter *nolle prosequi* in any case. These powers will, of course, still remain in the Northern Region.

The procedure, Sir, which I have outlined is different from that in the existing Criminal Procedure Ordinance, now in force in the Federation, but I see nothing in it which should lead the Federal Legislature to refuse to allow Federal offences in the Northern Region to be tried in accordance with it. And as I explained earlier, unless the practice and procedure of the courts in the Region in respect of Federal offences is assimilated with the new practice and procedure of those courts in respect of Regional offences, as provided for in the Bill now before the House, the practical difficulties will be immense and the administration of justice will be very much handicapped, and for this reason, Sir, I commend this Bill to the House and I hope that it will be favourably considered.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the Hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator J. K. Nzerem** : Mr President, Sir, reading through the provisions of the law of the Bill which the hon. Minister of Transport and Aviation has presented, one is compelled to be afraid. Certain provisions in my humble opinion seem not to accord very strictly with fundamental human rights and perhaps it is fortunate that the Minister of Transport and Aviation is a lawyer and if he can give us the assurance that all the provisions of the law are strictly in accordance with fundamental human rights then and not until then can this law have easy passage.

There is one thing here which I do not know Mr President, or which I do not find the meaning right ; it is this, with your permission to quote : 'if a person liable to arrest resists the endeavour to arrest him or attempts to evade arrest, the person authorised to arrest him may use all means necessary to effect the arrest'. That appears to me, Sir, to be going too far. All the means. All without qualification, all the means necessary to arrest him. Firing a shot at him to disable him might be a means of affecting his arrest. If that is not going too far, Sir, then I do not know what going too far means. Probably in course of time the hon. Minister of Transport and Aviation might explain.

**Senator P. C. Ndu** : Mr President, Sir, once again I would like to say that if there are constitutional powers beyond the control of this House there is very little we can do by the criminal procedure code law which is now being brought before this House by way of Federal provision ; but I would like to call the attention of the hon. Minister of Transport and Aviation to the provisions of Chapter 15 of the Code itself. It seems to me that following the observations of Senator Nzerem that the provisions in this particular chapter especially sections 143 to 148 of the Code violently conflict with the accepted principles of criminal procedure. Section 144 says, with your permission, Sir, I read : "Where a person, a subject of complaint appears before the court under the provisions of section 143, the court may require the Police Officer in charge of the investigation or any Police Officer acting on his behalf to state the summary of the case and if the court thinks it fit to produce the case diary for its inspection and upon the application of



[SENATOR NDU].  
any such Police Officer of his own Motion, the Court may give such directions as to the matters to be proved, and how they are to be proved and what documents or other evidence are to be produced”.

Sir, the provisions of this section are so wide that it amounts to the magistrate or the judge apparently conducting the prosecution for themselves. If the Police Officer proves the charge against the person and the charge is wanting in substance, the duty of the magistrate or the judge is to dismiss the charge and have done with it. But according to these provisions the magistrate or the judge can tell the prosecutor: “Look, you ought to go and find so and so evidence”. Now, in this way, it appears to me, Sir, that it does not appear nobody would get away with any offences. That is an idea which to me is very very strange indeed and violates the right of a man to be tried and tried once for an allegation.

As the Minister of Transport and Aviation himself knows very well, one of the important maxims in our law is that a man should not be tried twice for the same offence and this section appears to me to initiate that very obnoxious principle which the general law as we understand it does not approve. So sections 145 to 148 continue to show that when an offence has been brought before the court and the magistrate thinks “Well, I am satisfied that something is forthcoming”, he transfers the case to another magistrate or to another judge and once anybody has read the provisions of this code and he, speaking as a magistrate and having an accused person before him, in ten chances to one, he feels that another magistrate has found substance against him and proceeds to convict him.

It is my submission that the provisions of this Chapter, and particularly chapters 144 to 148, are very prejudicial to the fair trial of an accused person, and to that extent I would agree with Senator Nzerem that they certainly violate Fundamental Human Rights. As I said there may be nothing to do about it but I commend these sections to the hon. Minister of Finance and perhaps he would give us an assurance in this House that he will call the attention of the Northern Regional Government to them.

These laws are not going to affect Northerners alone. In this House, this morning, a point has been made that these laws are made for the Northerners and the Northerners have

approved of them and therefore, those others who are not Northerners have no right to make comments and all we have to do is to conform and pass this law. I respectfully disagree with this view. These laws are made and they are to apply to everybody in the North, whether they be Southerners, Easterners, Westerners or Northerners or even Europeans, because in section 3 of the Criminal Code, it says—“every person”. There is no distinction at all and I would like to say that what concerns all must be approved by all, but in this case what concerns all has been approved only by some. I think this piece of legislation will have to be looked into again and I hope the Minister of Transport will do that.

Mr President, Sir, these are my observations.

**Senator Dr A. A. Nwafor Orizu:** Mr President, Sir, this is not a strange situation in the world. Those who know a little bit about federation in other countries of the world know that we still have a conflict of laws in international law, and we quite often have a conflict of laws in federations, particularly where residual powers lie either with the Regions or with the Central Government. I think that everyone will be prepared to understand now that we are getting into the pains of federalism.

One of the pains of federalism is conflict of laws based on conflict of interests, so that when certain sections of the country seem to be emphasising conflicts in certain legal procedure let the other parts remember that the reason for that is that they also have equal rights to criticise in the course of time whatever happens in other parts of the country.

It is just like this; when you point your finger at somebody and say “You are a bad man” three fingers are pointing at you and the other man because you are the same. God is a great being to do it like that. You cannot point your hand at somebody without pointing at yourself.

Let the Northerners realise that while we do this there may be certain other things that may be happening, I mean from the point of view of law and proceedings that may be objectionable to the people of the Northern Region in the course of time. Well, we know now that they have arrived so they jumped in



and criticise. I think it is the joy of federalism where you have conflict of interests and, therefore, conflict of laws.

What really bothers me is not the *abracadabra* of law but whether this procedure is right or wrong. I am not a lawyer, but even if I am one, I do not think this is the time for a detailed, meticulous approach in this particular matter. Everything we do now goes only to emphasise one thing—we are seeking unity but it should not be at the cost of cases; even where we want to agree we can disagree.

What touches me very much is the *fait accompli*. The fact that Northerners are competent to enact laws means they are competent. The law has been enacted. The only thing we can do now is to temper it through the little power we have. I think if I understand the hon. Minister that is what he was saying. The Northern Regional Government have already enacted a law they have the competence to enact. If this is true, I want to ask—Why then do we come here to consider this Bill? I do not understand. It is worrying my mind.

If they have all that competence and that competence is final why do the Eastern Regional Government not bring some laws to us here to bless. I wish there would be some answer to that before I go further because it appears that we are being told it is a *fait accompli* and we are trying just to pour some beautiful oil upon the head of the people so that they will not die.

**The President:** Order, order. What the hon. Minister of Transport said was that the *fait accompli* referred only to matters within the exclusive competence of the Regional Government and that what was placed before the Senate was in respect of matters within the exclusive competence of the Federal Government.

**Senator Orizu:** Thank you, Mr President. That helps me out a great deal. If that is the case, what we are doing now is entirely within the competence of the Federal Government. It will be very difficult to convince this House why the Federal Government should take up a law that would prejudice the interests of Nigerians in one section of the country. I do not know whether the words 'suspend' and 'bring' amount to "reject and take to the Lower House".

I want to know which is which because if we say 'suspend' we cannot just suspend the Bill and leave it to the Lower House to bring it to the Senate again. The procedure is that when we reject a Bill it goes back to the Lower House for reconsideration. I am saying that we ought to send this Bill back to the Lower House and ask them to reconsider it and bring it to us.

I am not going to deal with the Bill in detail. I submit, I do not beg to support.

**Senator Zanna Medalla Sheriff:** Mr President, Sir, I have heard quite a lot on this Bill and I am still asking the hon. Senators to review carefully that the law must take its course and going through the factors there has been no exemption made on a particular race or community. If it is law it must be law to everybody either European, Nigerian or whoever you may be.

Hon. Senators should realise that this Penal Code has not been designed to punish any particular section of the community. It is the accepted principle based on the tradition of the country and my college education and religion.

Many Members commented about Sudan, Mecca, Pakistan and Arabia. We got our civilisation from the East and our religion from the East. Our customs are based on the Eastern pattern and our laws originated from the East, though modified, as they went by, through local conditions. I think all hon. Senators know what I mean by modification.

For instance, in Mecca to-day they still practice what is called "hand for hand". If you cut somebody's hand your hand too will be cut; and if somebody steals his left palm will be cut and displayed to be a deterrent to others.

We accept these laws in the North but we have made modifications. We do not cut people's hands for stealing. So you will see that many of these rigid Muslim Laws have been modified to suit the present time. I do think that hon. Senators should feel that the Northern Region is introducing some rigid laws and that their own sections of the community may be affected. That is not the case. It is far from it. I wish the hon. Senators to realise that. It is the result of complaints over years and years.

Of course, as one hon. Senator mentioned, about four-fifths of the Northern Region are Moslems. This thing is the result of so many



[MINISTER OF TRANSPORT].

Region to try Federal offences committed in the Northern Region which can be tried in the Northern Region.

The main objection which was raised was that the Northern Region criminal Law extended jurisdiction to the native courts. Already, the Lower House has expunged that extension of jurisdiction, and hon. Senators are now being asked to pass the Bill enabling the High Court of the North and the Magistrate's Courts only, and not the Native Courts or the Alkali Courts or any of the district courts, to try any of the Federal offences. That is what we are now being asked to do.

As I said earlier, Sir, we have no courts in the Northern Region and if we do not pass this into law, the Northern Region courts, which have now embraced a new system of criminal procedure, will find it very difficult—if not impossible—to try Federal offences; and then nothing can happen until we either build courts all over the country, or bring all offenders from the North into Lagos (the Federal Territory) to try them, which would mean an impossible task.

So, Sir, I would like to appeal to hon. Senators that, since we have done the main job—what has already been done is the main job—this one is a very supplementary job. The main job is that the Penal Code law has been passed. This is the Criminal Procedure and the sting in it has been removed, the sting which I found was the objection was the extension of jurisdiction to the Native Courts in the Northern Region. That has been taken out of the Bill. Although there are still other features which have already been admitted, yet there is nothing else which I find objectionable in the Bill which this hon. House is considering and I would appeal to hon. Senators to be as magnanimous in this case as they have been in the case of the Bill which they have just passed and give it an easy time from now.

The Law is not static, our laws are not like the laws of the Medes and the Persians which were inflexible and which were immutable. If this thing is tried out and we find it to work undue hardship, naturally I would only be too glad to come back to the Federal Legislature and say "Now, this thing has been tried and a lot of hardship is being experienced; we are going to insist on certain amendments".

Already, I have promised that certain points that have been made—especially in respect of the powers of the Magistrates' Courts to go into the investigation of cases—I have already promised that I will discuss this further with the Attorney-General in the Northern Region so as to see what can be done. I promise that in the course of time when the courts have started to use this procedure which we are now being asked to pass, if there are any undue hardships it will be the duty of the Federal Government and the Federal Legislature to see that those hardships are removed by appropriate amendments.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole Senate.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1-7 agreed to.*

*Appendix agreed to.*

*Preamble agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

#### ADAPTATION OF FEDERAL PROVISIONS (NORTHERN REGION) BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Transport and Aviation** (Hon. R. A. Njoku): Mr President, Sir, I rise to move that a Bill entitled "Adaptation of Federal Provisions (Northern Region) Bill" be now read a second time.

Sir, the Adaptations for which this Bill provides are not complicated at all. The purpose of the majority of them is to give recognition in the Federal Laws to the District Courts which are to be created in the Northern Region under the provisions of the District Courts Law which the Legislature of that Region has recently enacted. The remaining few provisions are Adaptations on certain Federal Ordinances in their application to the Northern Region, which are consequential upon the enactment by the Regional Legislature of laws relating to the new Penal Code and



the new Criminal (Procedure) Ordinance for the Northern Region. They are designed to give recognition to the existence of these new Regional Codes in Federal laws other than the Criminal Code Ordinance and the Criminal (Procedure) Ordinance.

The Adaptation of the Criminal Code Ordinance and the Criminal (Procedure) Ordinance to take account of these new Codes is, of course, the subject of two separate Bills. In moving the first of these two Bills I noted that the enactment of such Codes is, beyond doubt, within the competence of the Regional Legislature. I further noted that unless after enactment of such Codes are accorded recognition of the Federal laws, the situation will arise that Regional and Federal offences within the Region concerned will fall to be dealt with under two different systems of law. I do not need to emphasise again how very unsatisfactory and confusing such a situation would be.

If this hon. House agrees in principle, as I trust it will, that Federal amending legislation be warranted in order to avert such a situation, I need only add with regard to the Adaptations of this Bill now before this House that the detail of the Bill is uncontroversial. All the Adaptations in question are purely consequential and have therefore been incorporated in one single Bill which I now commend to the House.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the Whole Senate.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1-3 agreed to.*

*Schedule agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' PENSIONS  
(AMENDMENT) BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Pensions** (Hon. M. Musa Yaradua): Mr President, Sir, I beg to move the second reading of a Bill entitled "The Widows' and Orphans' Pensions (Amendment) Ordinance, 1960", as amended and passed in the House of Representatives.

The Widows' and Orphans' Scheme is governed by an Ordinance and all pensionable expatriate officers contribute up to 5 per cent of their salaries to it. The Scheme is a form of insurance, and these contributions purchase pensions for an officer's widow or orphans if he should die before them.

All contributions are paid to the Federal Government which in turn pays all pensions. In 1954, however, the then House of Representatives appropriated £4.2 million to enable the Scheme to be funded under trustees and to be put on a self-financing basis. The sum of £4.2 million represented the estimated liability of the Scheme for future pensions, arising mainly from past contributions taken into Government revenue.

This sum was appropriated on the understanding that there would be no further calls on Government revenue and, from the 1st April, 1954, the Scheme was, for accounting purposes, put on a self-financing basis. All contributions were credited to this sum of £4.2 million, as was interest earned by it, and all pensions were charged to it. Legislation to set up the fund under trustees was not enacted, however, and Government therefore remained legally liable for the Scheme.

Legislation was not enacted because it became apparent that although the sum of £4.2 million would have been sufficient to meet future liabilities in 1951, when it was calculated, it was not sufficient three years later. This was partly because three more years' contributions had accrued to Government and three years interest had been lost to the fund. In the circumstances the Government Actuary to the United Kingdom Government was asked to advise on whether or not the monies set aside for funding were sufficient.

In the meantime, the previous House of Representatives had approved a comprehensive increase in the pensions of retired officers to take account of increases in the cost of living. Similar increases were not granted to widows' pensions, because it was thought that the sum



[MINISTER OF FINANCE].

Next, I have taxed film strips and similar projectors except where they are imported for use in education institutions.

The final luxury items to be taxed is out-board motors. They are used both for pleasure purposes and for transport, but it would be impossible to distinguish between those to be used for pleasure and the others. The duty of 15 per cent *ad valorem* is the same as that for commercial vehicles.

As regards industrial development: first, we have increased the duty on corrugated sheets and ridgings to one penny per square foot or 10 per cent *ad valorem* in the case of corrugated iron and aluminium sheets, and 10 per cent *ad valorem* in the case of all other sheets and ridgings. This will protect our new aluminium industry and encourage the use of better quality roofing materials.

Second, the paint industry. The Order provides for the exemption from duty of pigments, colouring materials and dyestuffs used in the manufacture of paints. This exemption will not apply to washing blue, prepared paints or distemper. Paint manufacture is a comparatively simple industry and by these exemptions positive encouragement will be given to the rapid development of a Nigerian paint industry.

Third, I have imposed a protective duty of 10 per cent *ad valorem* of the import of ships, barges, boats, launches and lighters not exceeding 250 tons gross weight, other than native canoes; it also reduces from 20 per cent to *nil* the duty on iron and steel in secondary or part-worked form. The purpose of these changes is to encourage the local steel fabrication industry, to provide increased opportunities for Nigerians to learn technical skills.

Finally, three items which are merely in clarification of the tariff. Firstly, to provide exemption from duty for the heavy tyres of bulldozers and other earth-moving equipment which are exempt from duty, but the spare tyres for which are not exempt. These tyres cannot be used on any normal road vehicle.

Secondly, in respect of pumps, rams and storage tanks, so as to include those imported for industrial and manufacturing use. Thirdly, to provide that approved drugs and medicinal preparations are exempt even if they contain

more than 9 per cent volume of alcohol. The Order makes this clear whilst retaining the duty on potable alcohol.

The overall effect of these various changes is likely to result in an increase in our revenues of about £200,000 *per annum* initially.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Economic Development** (Hon. M. Shehu Shagari): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved:* That the Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 45 of 1960), a copy of which was laid before the Senate on 25th April, 1960, be confirmed.

#### CUSTOMS TARIFF No. 2

**The Minister of Finance:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, That, in accordance with sub-section 2 of section 7 of the Customs Tariff Ordinance, 1958 the Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 2) Order, 1960 be confirmed.

This Order is simply to correct a mistake in the Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) Order, 1960 which has just been confirmed by this Senate. The Order reinstates item 12 of the Second Schedule to the Customs Tariff Ordinance, 1958 which was inadvertently deleted by the previous Order.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Economic Development** (Hon. M. Shehu Shagari): Sir, I beg to second.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved:* That the Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 2) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 50 of 1960), a copy of which was laid before the Senate on 25th April, 1960, be confirmed.

#### CUSTOMS TARIFF No 3

**The Minister of Finance:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, That in accordance with subsection 2 of section 7 of the Customs Tariff Ordinance, the Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 3) Order, 1960 be confirmed.

This Order provides for the imposition of export duties on animals, birds, reptiles and reptile skins.



Much wild life is exported without any benefit to the revenue. The species most commonly exported are parrots, leopards, snakes and monkeys. In 1959, some 15,000 animals and birds of all descriptions were exported, but their declared value was only some £30,000, which I am sure is an under estimate. Talking parrots, for example, fetch a very high price in Europe.

It is quite impossible to estimate the revenue which will accrue from this source. Until we have had some experience of the duty it would be unwise to assume a revenue of more than £10,000 per annum.

Reptile skins are also exported in considerable quantities—over 100 tons with a value exceeding £150,000 in 1959. A duty with a similar incidence to that on undressed goat and sheep skins has been fixed—1s per lb., or about 7 per cent. This should produce a duty at some £12,000 per annum.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Economic Development** (Hon. M. Shehu Shagari): Sir, I beg to support.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved:* That the Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 3) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 54 of 1960), a copy of which was laid before the Senate on 25th April, 1960, be confirmed.

#### EXCISE DUTIES

**The Minister of Finance:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, That in accordance with subsection 2 of section 4 of the Excise Tariff Ordinance, the Excise Duties (Amendment) Order, 1960, be confirmed.

When moving the Motion in respect of the changes in customs duties, I explained that some of those changes were designed to tax luxuries. This tax on mineral waters is another tax on a luxury. It does not affect locally produced un aerated fruit squashes—it is aimed at soda water, lemonade and so on.

The duty was fixed at one shilling and four pence per gallon in order to produce a tax of one penny on a small bottle. My information about the industry is far from complete, but on completion of current investigations I hope to impose a fully effective control of this new source of revenue.

When control is fully effective, I estimate that this new duty will yield about £400,000 per annum.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Economic Development** (Hon. M. Shehu Shagari): Sir, I beg to support

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Resolved:* That the Excise Duties (Amendment) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 46 of 1960), a copy of which was laid before the Senate on 25th April, 1960, be confirmed.

#### EXCISE DUTIES NO. 2

**The Minister of Finance:** Mr President, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, That in accordance with subsection 2 of section 4 of the Excise Tariff Order, the Excise Duties (Amendment) (No. 2) Order be confirmed.

This is another Motion which deals with the taxation of a luxury—locally manufactured sweets. There are at least three firms engaged in the manufacture of sweets in a big way.

Present production is already equivalent to imported tonnage and is steadily increasing; but the local produce is on the average about one shilling per pound cheaper due to import tax. Clearly there is some scope for taxation of the local product and I have decided that there shall be an Excise Duty of four pence per pound on local sweets. This will still protect the Nigerian manufacturers and in practice it will only raise the price of a quarter-pound packet of sweets by one penny. I do not think it would be wise to bank on revenue from this source exceeding the sum of £75,000 per annum.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

*Question proposed.*

*Question put and agreed to.*

#### ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and Question proposed, That this Senate do now adjourn.* (The Minister of State).

**Senator J. K. Nzerem:** Mr President, Sir, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that all over Nigeria there is a hue and cry against the wording of our new National Anthem, and, to some extent also against the



**Senator M. G. Ejaife :** Mr President, Sir, I just want to speak on the appearance of Lagos and the Independence Celebrations I think a few of our people went to Togoland when they were celebrating their Independence and they have a very encouraging story to tell about how each and everyone was very concerned about the cleanliness of Lome, and I understand from some of the delegations that women on their own undertook to sweep the streets and made a very clean sweep of the whole place, so that it looks very very attractive.

I do not know whether we could not make use of the local N.B.C. to put on to the people here in Lagos that women and children should undertake to do cleaning of the various streets. I appreciate the work that is being done at the moment by the L.E.D.B. and by the Council of Ministers in trying to make the streets of Lagos cleaner. Coming from the Provinces to Lagos I am deeply impressed by the buildings that are going on and by the demolition of the shacks and the very unpleasant sites. I think this will be done quickly in central Lagos, because if you go to the interior part you will find remnants of the filth and squalor that have always been in Lagos.

I would not be asking too much if I called on the people of Lagos and appealed to their sense of patriotism that once and for all we are putting to test the patriotism of the people of Lagos. Will they please do their best without asking for pay to clean their streets and clean their windows, and clean their verandahs, to make Lagos a show piece. I think an appeal like that would receive a ready response, and I do not think it would be abusing fundamental human rights if, for once, both teachers and children themselves are asked to rally round and do actual voluntary work.

I think that should not necessitate the increasing of taxes or even asking for a special vote. I am sure everyone having the love of Nigeria at heart will rise to the occasion and clean the streets of Lagos and make them clean and attractive.

**Senator P. C. Ndu :** Mr President, Sir, I want to deal with a point which has been agitating my mind for a very long time.

Sir, it is very true that one cannot eat his cake and still have it. I refer to the number of Commissioners now in London to represent Nigeria. In the interest of the unity of Nigeria I would like those four Commissioners to be withdrawn and replaced with one. By doing that we can realise the sum of £10,000 paid to them annually.

**Senator Sanni O. B. Okin :** Mr President, Sir, I am really interested in the census of Nigeria. At the moment when one is asked what the population of the country is what one can say is that the population of Nigeria at the moment is 32 million. When you ask why, they refer you to the present House of Representatives: they are having 320 Members, which means each Member represents a hundred thousand people, and at the moment the population is now being reduced to 31,200,000, because the Southern Cameroons no longer is part and parcel of Nigeria.

To get our population correctly I am suggesting to the hon. Minister that what has caused the defect in the past was that during the last census when people entered one compound, according to the Minister of Finance, people ran away on the ground that they believed that immediately they were counted the next thing they had to see was that they would be asked to pay tax, and that is why the people were running away. But at the moment we all are enjoying very many facilities as a result of various projects.

What we are now trying to do in my own area is to tell the people that, had it been we had a correct census, the hon. Member for our Constituency must have been increased, instead of having two Members we might have had four. So, I think it will be the duty of every Senator here to educate his people that when census does come they will have to give the correct number, so that we will have the correct census.

According to the Delimitation Report you will see those differences were mentioned in the Report which should be a guidance to everybody if you read that particular Report. There are some other places where they felt that people were more than what they recorded, but they said it was too late to amend it. I think that if we amended that particular Report we would be able to know where we are going.



**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku :** Mr President, Sir, I only want to refer to the newspaper publication to-day, reporting the interview the Prime Minister of the Federation had with gentlemen of the press in London and the views expressed by him on the matter of the apartheid policy of the South African Government. I would like this hon. House to associate itself with that view expressed by the Prime Minister and in some way to congratulate the Prime Minister for focussing immediately the minds of the British people on how we in Nigeria think about the situation in South Africa and more so as the Prime Minister went to the extent of expressing that we would like to be in the club where everybody will respect the rule of the place.

I think that means much and we should like to encourage the Prime Minister to go further to tell the British people that we will find it difficult, as Africans, to associate ourselves with people whom we feel have malice and hate against the African race. If we are to be members of the Commonwealth, we would like to be in the Commonwealth and feel that all members of the Commonwealth have love and affection towards one another, otherwise I feel that Nigeria will have to be thinking as to what will be our attitude in our membership of the Commonwealth if South Africa remains in the Commonwealth and continues to exercise its apartheid policy and the Commonwealth closes its eyes towards it. For that reason, I would like this hon. House to associate itself with that view ably expressed by the Prime Minister and to thank the Prime Minister for doing so.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah :** Mr President, Sir, I really wish to ask the Council of Ministers to make a statement concerning the national flag. There is a country-wide agitation against the present one.

**The President :** In this case, it would have been better for you to drop a note to the President through the Clerk so as to keep the Minister well informed and then the Minister would be ready to make an authoritative statement.

I have given that tip to so many Members on motion of adjournment, bearing in mind that some are new in any national or regional legislature, but surely if you expect Ministers to answer intelligently to any questions raised on the Floor of this House then they are entitled to notice. If notice had been given

the Minister in charge, the Minister of State for that matter, would be very happy to give information. So if you would like to have any information, we still have tomorrow, and you may drop a note or get in touch with the Minister concerned, and he will make a statement.

**Senator A. E. Ukattah :** Mr President, Sir, thank you very much but that was exactly what I had in mind because I knew the procedure right from the old House that before going into the matter the House should seek the consent of a Minister to raise the matter and also give the Minister due time to go into it and have his reply ready when the matter is raised on the Adjournment. So what I am saying is that since that was not done I am asking that this matter be borne in mind by whoever is the Minister in charge and a statement could be made here tomorrow.

**The President :** I am not sure that that is right. You expect a statement to be made tomorrow on the basis of what we discuss on adjournment; but that, to me, is irregular.

**Senator Ukattah :** Mr President, Sir, let me go about it the way you directed.

**Senator Mrs W. Esan :** I would like to assure the Minister of Finance that although women have not been fairly treated in the committee that has something to do with the independence celebrations because not a great number of them are on the committee, if the Minister appeals to the sense of loyalty of women, I think the cleaning up of Lagos will be done without costing the nation anything. (*Hear, hear*). Women are there to help and they will be willing and proud to do their own little bit to improve the sight of Lagos when they are called upon.

**The President :** For the benefit of future speakers, may I warn hon. Senators that there is no point of information and also that there is no point of explanation unless one had made a statement and wished to clarify that statement. I would therefore suggest that Senators should read the Standing Order 25 (11) so that they will appreciate when to raise a point of explanation.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu :** Mr President, Sir, when I was suggesting that somebody should be honoured for his services towards the



**Senator Alhaji Sanni Ungogo :** Mr Deputy President, Sir, I think all I wish to add to this debate is to have the assurance from the hon. Minister of Pensions to the effect that this provision for pensions would be made retrospective so as to complete the justice of the whole thing. I think I am right in thinking that there are people who have been pensionable since 1950 and their pensions have not yet been provided. I think the justice of the occasion should imply that this Ordinance should be retrospective to cover their period of service.

Sir, I beg to support.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The Deputy President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported, without amendment read the third time and passed.*

#### AUDIT (AMENDMENT) BILL

*Order for Second Reading read.*

**The Minister of Pensions** (Hon. Mallam Musa Yaradua) : Mr Deputy President, Sir, I beg to move the second reading of a Bill for an Ordinance to amend the Audit Ordinance of 1956.

The purpose of the Bill is to give the Director of Audit the benefit of the salary increases which have recently been introduced for the whole Public Service. The need for a special Bill to achieve this simple purpose arises from the fact that the salary of the Director of Audit, like the salaries of Judges and certain other functionaries, is charged by law upon the revenues of the Federal Government and is payable from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. Salaries chargeable in this way are not subject to debate as are items in the Appropriation Bill but they can only be increased or otherwise altered by an amendment to the Ordinance which provides for the post concerned.

The post of Director of Audit is graded in Salary Group 4. The salary attaching to this group was raised by the recent general revision from two thousand six hundred and forty

pounds (£2,640) to two thousand nine hundred and forty pounds (£2,940). But, until the law is amended as proposed in this Bill, he can only be paid at the old rate. The whole purpose of the Bill is to remove this anomaly and permit the Director to receive an increase of salary at the rate provided by the Government for officers of his status in the Public Service.

Mr Deputy President, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Mines and Power** (Hon. M. Maitama Sule) : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku :** Sir, I rise to support this Bill, and in supporting it I wish to draw the attention of Government to the situation which now exists in Nigeria. I should think that quite recently we passed the High Court Bill which raised the salaries of the Judges and the Federal Supreme Court Bill which raised the salaries of the Federal Supreme Court Judges. Now we are passing another one to raise the salary of the Director of Audit and that is to bring his salary to £2,940. I think we are doing these things not because there is a revision but as a result of certain circumstances, and I only wish that the Government should now feel sympathetically inclined to realise that here in this country, even within the framework of the Government, while some people are on such salary as £2,940, there are still people who are on a salary of about £60 per annum.

I think the day will soon come when we shall come before this Parliament to realise that this dangerous situation which is a very dangerous cankerworm has eaten deep into the very fabric of our industrial and administrative life, and to realise that we shall not be able to present to this House such a progressive Bill as will allow for the removal of this great disparity which spells dissatisfaction everywhere.

Sir, I support the Bill.

**Senator E. A. Lagunju :** Mr Deputy President, Sir, I rise to support the Bill. I think that we are still continuing under the shadow of the old colonial system. We have been advocating Nigerianisation in all our fields and yet we keep on raising all these salaries and instead of keeping these expatriates down we still keep on paying them in the way of inducement, pensions and all other types of



allowances and so on; but when it comes to Nigerianisation and we still keep on raising salaries like this I wonder whether our administrative service is not likely to be the most expensive in West Africa.

So, I say, as Senator Chief Beyioku has said, that it is high time we considered these things because of the wide margin between the high income group and the lower income group. This point has been clearly clarified in this House but since this one is not peculiar to the Director of Audit, and since people in each category holding similar offices earn so much, it will be purely discriminatory not to raise his own.

I therefore support the Bill with the hope that our Government will be vigilant enough to see to these things and try as much as possible to reduce the running costs, of our administrative service to the minimum. After all we need money for industrial projects and such things and we cannot just put all our money into salaries and wages. Something must be done if actually we want to raise the standard of living of our people, otherwise we get all the workers coming round and agitating for more.

These are the few points I have to make.

**Senator M. G. Ejiafe:** Mr Deputy President, Sir, this Bill should not be controversial because it would be unfair for us to deny to one section of the Public Service what has been given to others of the same status. But I would like to endorse the views of the two previous speakers, namely, that at present the gap between the higher and the lower income groups is far too great and that something must be done to bridge the gap if unrest is to be stopped.

Another point which has been raised is that of a vicious circle. Each time salaries are raised, prices also rise, as a result workers again want more, and then prices rise, and salaries rise. That is a vicious circle. I want to draw the attention of the Government to the necessity of finding the reason or preferably a cure to all these things and one of the remedies that was proposed sometime ago was that Government should look into the salary structure and also try and control prices, to see that various bodies, various firms and so on do not increase prices merely as a response to the rise in wages and salaries.

Another thing is this, now that we are coming to our own and will be independent, we should have the courage of doing what we consider to be the right thing and try to avoid commissions of enquiry and looking into salary structures from time to time. I think the Eastern Region did something very commendable in that direction for when the Commission reported, the Eastern Government found that the people earning very high salaries did not deserve all that the Commissioner gave them. As a result of the increases if we give a certain percentage of rise, we see that people who are in the upper segment of society will earn more. If, perhaps, we have a general increase of ten *per cent*, ten *per cent* of one thousand pounds will be one hundred pounds, while ten *per cent* of twenty pounds will be only two pounds. If therefore there is a general increase of ten *per cent* in salaries, the lower income people, people who still earn twenty pounds will earn twenty-two pounds only, a rise of two pounds, whereas those earning one thousand pounds now will earn one thousand, one hundred pounds.

Even granting that the percentage is smaller, these people in the higher income group, that is those earning one thousand pounds, if the increase for them were only five *per cent* they would receive a rise of fifty pounds whereas those who are earning only say fifty pounds would earn fifty-five pounds.

Therefore I do not think it is always wise to make a general increase merely because there is agitation. After all, agitations do not rise from the upper segment and the case of those from whom the agitation arise must be looked into very carefully. I think that in future Government should, in the first place, try as much as possible to avoid setting up commissions of enquiry but if there is a necessity to do so they should accept the recommendations with some care, as was done in at least one of the Regions where the recommendations in respect of those people in the higher income group were taken with a grain of salt.

Mr Deputy President, Sir, with these observations I support the Bill.

**Senator H. O. Abaagu:** Mr Deputy President, Sir, in this particular Department I understand while going through the papers that the Director of Audit is going away, the



[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

liquor licences since the 15th of October, 1950, and, secondly, to apply to Lagos from that date the provisions of the Native Liquor (Townships and Certain Areas) Ordinance.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of Mines and Power** (Hon. M. Maitama Sule) : Sir, I beg to second.

*Question proposed.*

**Senator M. G. Ejiafe** : Mr President, Sir, I think it is the general feeling that speeches should be as brief as possible. I would like to support this Bill, but I would like to remind the House that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. I think that the Government has been vigilant in order to discover that this error has been lying there, but I think that the vigilance has taken a very long time for the Government to discover an act which took place since 1950 and we did not know that nothing was covering Lagos. I do not think it is a very praiseworthy thing. The old Ordinance ceased to cover Lagos on the 15th of October, 1950, so for 10 years Lagos has been issuing licences under an Ordinance which did not cover it. I think that is an unhappy situation.

We are now being called upon to make valid acts which would have been invalid. I think it will be very very poor of a House like this hon. House to refuse to support the Government because if we do not allow this Bill to pass through the House or if we delay it by even one day or two, it is possible that within that time the Lagos Town Council may be sued in court for acts which it has performed, and I do not think that any of us would like the Town Council to be dragged to court for performing acts under which it has not been covered. Therefore, Mr President, Sir, I support this Bill.

*Question put and agreed to.*

*Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.*

*Bill immediately considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee)

*Clauses 1-4 agreed to.*

*Preamble agreed to.*

*Bill to be reported.*

(The President resumed the Chair)

*Bill reported, without amendment, read the third time and passed.*

#### ADJOURNMENT

*Motion made and Question proposed, That this Senate do now adjourn sine die* (The Minister of State).

#### MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr President, Sir, I just want to put hon. Senators in the picture and not leave you in some sort of darkness or doubt as to when again you may be called upon to meet. The Motion is that the Senate should adjourn *sine die*. I only want to alert you, most of you who are businessmen, that it is hoped that the President may summon you here again about the second week in August. You are well aware that the House of Representatives, the Lower House, will be sitting on the 3rd of August. That is the statement which I would like to make on this Motion and which I would like hon. Senators to know.

**Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku** : Mr President, Sir, I have one important matter to place before this House and it is highly regrettable that at this stage of our national struggle, there are still Leaders in this country who would like to toy with the prospects of the nation and who fan up feelings of one section of the nation against the other. I refer to a press statement reported in the papers of today relating to the Prime Minister's statement on the question of the London Conference. I feel so sorry, Sir, that the hon. Leader of the Opposition did not take full advantage of the Floor of the House to vindicate his feelings on this very important matter when the opportunity was there for him. The press statement which he made today in my own opinion, Sir, would amount to the sort of an act by which he is calling on the nation to pass a vote of no confidence in the Government of the people and he did it in such a way as I feel would not even reflect credit to himself.

He referred to some outlining headings which were initialised by Heads of Delegation in 1958 and he sought to make the nation believe that the Prime Minister and the Delegation going to England were going to sign off the country and that was why he was staying behind. I feel that his action was a cowardly one and one next to treachery and treason because if he was all that well meaning and if he was all that



honest why would he not have made this known to the nation immediately he returned from the Conference in 1958?

**The President :** Order, order ! Much as the hon. Senator is perfectly within his right to criticise statements published in the press, I would counsel him that the gentleman concerned is not a Member of this House and that he should be less caustic in the choice of adjectives he uses to describe the gentleman concerned.

**Senator Beyioku :** Thank you very much, Sir, but it is that at this time we feel that we have all come together. There was a party the other time organised by the President of the Senate, most of us were happy to see the Leader of the Opposition there and we felt that it was the time we are all coming together and starting to think for the nation. I should think at this time we must have to emphasise all those things which unite us and not those things which dis-unite us. This very article in my own opinion has the tendency of stabbing at the back those of our Delegation headed by the Prime Minister going to England. That is why we feel very much concerned because our President will be leaving to-day to join the very Delegation and if we come to the conclusion that the Delegation was going to England to sign off the country and our own President would be a party to it, it means to say that those of us who are Members of this Senate are party to the signing off of Nigeria, whereas the author of the article suggested that the hon. Chief Okotie-Eboh made a statement that arrangements had not been finalised and Chief Okotie-Eboh should know something about the Agenda.

It is something for him to know the Agenda of a meeting coming and it is another thing for him to be able to make a statement that arrangements had been completed for the Agenda, so that I do not see where the hon. the Minister of Finance goes wrong. Rather than that, Sir, we would like to see all these sorts of irregularities in this country corrected. The 'holier than thou' attitude must stop. We must all start to think of Nigeria now and to project to the outside world that we are thinking of Nigeria becoming independent where we are all ready to work with a team spirit with a view to promoting the standard of living in the country and projecting to the world that Nigeria has actually come to stay.

I would like this House to record a feeling of dissatisfaction in this statement, Sir. It is indeed something which would bring back our progress and we would not like to see more of these things. We are elderly men ; when we come here we talk irrespective of our political affiliations, we talk as we see things and we talk with a view to projecting ideas which will help the country, and we would not like all these sorts of things coming from any political leader in this country. We would not like it, Sir. It is high time we stopped these sorts of stabbing each other at the back and it is high time we stopped projecting to the world that one political leader is more polished, is holier, is more honest, is more sincere than the other political leaders. We do not want it in this country again. We want all the political leaders in this country to team up and work for the country. This attitude of the Leader of the Opposition is highly unsatisfactory and I wish that we of this Senate will record that we are not satisfied with it.

We are very happy that the President is here to-day. . . . .

**The President :** Would you mind referring to the gentleman concerned as the Leader of his Party but not as the Leader of the Opposition because, again, we are not to sit in judgment over the conduct of Members of the other place.

**Senator Chief Beyioku :** Thank you very much, Sir, I just do not like to bring political parties into this place. I do not want to say Action Group, or N.C.N.C. in this House but I am forced to say, Sir, because the hon. Chief Obafemi Awolowo wrote and held the Conference in his capacity as the Leader of the Action Group. We would ask you very kindly, Sir, to make sure that you are present at that Conference. We are asking you very kindly, Sir.

The hon. the Prime Minister has given assurance to this nation that he would not commit the nation. He has given the assurance to this nation that he would not sign any pact or any agreement without the authority of Parliament and we of this House are satisfied with that assurance. We are begging you very kindly, Sir, to make sure that you are there because if you are there, the average man in Nigeria has the greatest confidence that Nigeria is there and we would assure you, Sir,



[SENATOR DR. ORIZU]

(2) That we are satisfied that members of that Conference are no babies, and that whatever pact they sign or unsign will simply reflect the combination of our many years of fight for freedom under Dr Azikiwe (*Hear, hear.*)

(3) That every citizen of Nigeria should ignore any untoward sayings about the last adventure in Nigeria's freedom, and only pray for our success.

We are talking as elders and not as Members of Political Parties.

Finally, I am making up another item altogether. We cannot only say things that will make Government feel good. We have to say something that will make us feel good. I think it is high time that our Government ought to know the feelings of the Senate. When a Conference like this is going to take place, (this is not a criticism, it is a reminder) they ought to know that our President is not going as the President of the Senate. All members are going as representatives of the Lower House, although not in a direct way; but not a single Member of the Senate is going to advise there. Are we going to sit down here without being able to advise them there too? (*Laughter.*)

Therefore, I hope that we should not be forgotten next time. We want to be there to advise.

**Senator Mrs W. Esan :** Mr President, Sir, I rise as the Mother of all the Members of Parliament. (*Applause.*) In my own opinion I think the hon. Gentleman who wrote in the Newspaper was only trying to show or to tell the country the reason why he refuses to attend the Conference, and he has the right to do so. I dare say many of the things said will hurt one person or another. That is bound to be. But we should not bring the ill-feelings here.

I know that the hon. Gentleman who spoke first has his own personal feeling about the release, but I do not think in my own humble opinion, that it is right to impose that feeling on us all. We too have our own feelings about it and bringing it here is not the best way to unite us. If he feels that that release will be criticized I beg him to say so where the other Gentleman can reply, and if they call on me to be the judge I will settle the matter. To bring it here will not let us go away with the spirit with which we came here and which I wish to prevail through-

out our meetings.

We do not want this sort of disunity here. We want unity here and we hope that God will use us as a tool of unity in the Government of Nigeria so that Nigeria will remain a very great nation.

**The Minister of Finance** (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr President, Sir, in view of the statement made yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition in the Lower House which has received wide publicity in the national press to-day I wish to make a statement on behalf of the Federal Government in the absence of our Prime Minister.

I wish to state categorically that the United Kingdom Government attached no conditions whatsoever to the grant of independence to Nigeria on the 1st October, 1960. In particular the United Kingdom Government did not make it a condition of independence that Nigeria should enter into a defence agreement. The grant by the United Kingdom Government of independence was free of all strings of any nature whatsoever. Since this decision was reached last year, there has been no suggestion that the United Kingdom Government has any intention of going back on its word. The Federal Government has implicit confidence in the good faith of the United Kingdom Government in this respect.

It is true that during the last Constitutional Conference in London discussions were held with the Prime Minister and the then Regional Premiers regarding a Defence Pact between Nigeria and the United Kingdom. This will again be discussed during the meeting in London this month. I wish to assure Nigeria quite categorically that no formal agreement will be reached during these discussions—indeed, no such agreement is in any way possible until Nigeria becomes a sovereign state.

Whatever conclusions may be reached during these discussions will be laid before the Senate and the House of Representatives for their consideration, and no agreement whatsoever will be entered into by the Federal Government save with the consent of the two Legislative Houses.

I am confident that Nigeria can trust Dr Azikiwe, the Sardauna of Sokoto, and the Prime Minister and our other leaders who will take part in the discussions in London at all



times to have foremost in their minds the best interests of Nigeria. There can be no question that leaders of this calibre will be a party to selling away any part of our cherished heritage of freedom.

In the light of these facts I can only regard the statement of the Leader of the Opposition as unnecessary speculation deliberately calculated to embarrass the Federal Government and our national leaders.

I repeat, no defence agreement will be entered into with the United Kingdom or any other country save with the consent of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

I repeat the United Kingdom Government attach no strings whatsoever to the grant to Nigeria of a full and free independence on the 1st October, 1960.

**Senator S. T. Hunponu-Wusu :** Mr President, Sir, I would like to associate myself with the other speakers, but in doing that, Sir, I would like to bring to this House our thanks and praise to God, and our prayer as mothers and fathers of our people who are now going to the United Kingdom. They are going not only from the Federal Capital, but also from other Regions, and I think it is wise as Mothers and Fathers to bless their children when they are going abroad.

It is our place to-day to commend them to the able hand of God Almighty and pray that whichever Region they come from, the Lord will keep their souls, minds and hearts from the time they leave until they come back, and that He may enlighten them with such wisdom that by the time they return safely to Nigeria, we shall have "on a platter of gold" that which will bring independence without bloodshed.

This is the time for Nigeria to be always prayerful, because we are now at the threshold of our independence and it is at this time more than at any other time that temptations of all kinds will come our way. We are aiming within five months to have our independence. Our fervent prayer, I am sure, from the President to the lowest Member of the House of

Representatives, is that we should have our independence on the 1st October, 1960, without bloodshed and by the grace of God we shall do so.

We commend into the hands of God those who are travelling to-day, those who have already gone and those who will be going later to the United Kingdom. May the able Creator take care of you and make you wise. He is the only one who can direct and control everything as the prayers which are said in this hon. House every morning by the President. In these prayers we never asked for outside help and guidance nor for outside wisdom, but always for God's guidance, help and wisdom. I am sure that by His help we shall carry through successfully. You will all go safely and return safely.

Other speakers as well as our Lady Senator have said that we are here to-day like mothers and fathers. When your children have any misunderstanding your position as mother and father is not to tell them: "Look here, Mr A you are right and Mr B you are wrong". Rather you should hear both sides like good magistrates or judges, and then tell them: "Look here, you are my children if I am to tell you that this one is wrong or that this one is right, I will be dividing my house". If any leader of the Opposition or leader of any Region has said something to-day which has annoyed any Member, we are in a position in this House to sort things out. In the way it has been put by a Member already, this is like throwing petrol into fire. We are asking that we must try and have unity in Nigeria. That is why we are here, and that is why this hon. House has been created, and if that is so, I see no reason why as other speakers have said, we should not bury the hatchet and try to work amicably for a united Nigeria.

I wish the President and all others who will be going to the United Kingdom safe journey and a happy return home. (*Applause*).

#### DEFENCE AGREEMENT

**The President :** Before putting the question, may I, as an interested party to this question of the Defence Agreement, make a few remarks.

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