



FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

OFFICIAL REPORT

SENATE

Session 1962-63

Comprising Period

22nd—31st March ; 30th April,
1st—3rd and 29th May, 1962

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Senator A. Nwoke.

21 MARCH 1962

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA

(FORMED BY ALHAJI THE RT. HON. SIR ABUBAKAR TAFAWA BALEWA, JANUARY 1960)

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IN THE THIRD SESSION OF THE
FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE
FEDERATION OF NIGERIA WHICH
OPENED THIRD OCTOBER, 1960

Wednesday, 21st March, 1962

Parliament met at 10 a.m. pursuant to a Proclamation by the Governor-General in the Official Gazette Extraordinary of 14th March, 1962, as followeth :—

A PROCLAMATION



By His Excellency the Right Honourable Doctor NNAMDI AZIKIWE, Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria.

NNAMDI AZIKIWE
Governor-General

WHEREAS under the provisions of section 62 of the Constitution of the Federation, the Governor-General is empowered to appoint a place and time for each session of Parliament :

AND WHEREAS it is expedient and necessary that Parliament shall be convened :

NOW, THEREFORE, I, NNAMDI AZIKIWE, Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria, in exercise of the powers in that behalf vested in me HEREBY PROCLAIM that Parliament shall be convened in Lagos : AND I do appoint the National Hall as the place of assembly for the purpose only of the State Opening of Parliament which shall thereafter meet as in accordance with established usage : AND I do further appoint the time for assembly as the 21st day of March, 1962, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

The attendance of Honourable Senators and Members is accordingly requested for the transaction of such business as may be prescribed or offered during the assembly and thereafter as from time to time required.

GIVEN under my hand and the Public Seal of the Federation of Nigeria at Lagos, this 10th day of March, 1962.

PRAYERS

(The President of the Senate in the Chair)

His Excellency, the Governor-General, entered the Chamber in procession and took his seat.

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

Mr President of the Senate, Mr Speaker, Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

When, twelve months ago I addressed you, it was to usher in the first session of this Parliament in an Independent Sovereign Nigeria.

At the recent Conference in Lagos of Heads of African and Malagasy States, a Charter of the Inter-African and Malagasy States Organisation was accepted in principle. This Charter is being considered by my Government and a White Paper thereon will be submitted to Parliament in due course. The implementation of the various Conference Resolutions including those on Economic and Financial Co-operation, Transport and Telecommunications, Education and Decolonisation will be actively pursued with a view to strengthening solidarity, co-operation and unity between countries in Africa.

Nigeria, being a member of the eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament, has sent a delegation to Geneva in the cause of World peace. This is the first time that Nigeria is playing an international role of the greatest significance to the future of mankind. My Government will continue to give active support to the United Nations in its search for World Order.

In the field of Internal Security, my Government will ensure that steps are taken to strengthen the security of the nation. Additional Police Posts will be opened along our borders. A Pilot Dog Section is to be started during the year to assist the Police in tracking down criminals and suspected persons. Our Security Forces in the Congo Republic have maintained and will continue to maintain the very high reputation they achieved soon after their arrival in that country, and the House will be glad to know that my Government has received many expressions of praise for our Police and the Army in that country.

The coming year will see greater improvements in the defence system of the country. Proposals will be laid before you for meeting the costs of further expansion of the Royal Nigerian

Army and the Royal Nigerian Navy, and for the re-equipment of the existing forces to ensure that they improve their effectiveness in meeting internal security problems and possible external aggression.

For the first time the Royal Nigerian Army will embark on a scheme to Nigerianise the higher ranks of its officers and the training of a sufficient number of cadets to ensure complete Nigerianisation within the shortest possible period.

Preliminary work has been started on the proposed naval base at Calabar and the foundation laid for a wide training programme for ratings and other officers of the Royal Nigerian Navy. The Royal Nigerian Navy will also start on an intensive and extensive training programme in the United Kingdom as well as in other countries to enable our Naval personnel to have up-to-date knowledge.

New ships, designed to suit our naval needs, will be commissioned during the year. Unserviceable ships which can no longer meet modern requirements will be put out of commission.

The welfare of officers and other ranks will be further improved with the new scheme to provide them with better living quarters and proper schools for the education of their children where such facilities do not already exist. In addition, provision has been made to start vocational training for other ranks who are due to retire from the Army.

The Federal Government will press forward vigorously with a scheme for the establishment of a Military Academy which in due course will be responsible for the training of all our cadets, an ordnance factory and a strong and competent Air Force able within a short time to give adequate protection to our cities, Army and Navy. Thus we are, for the first time, embarking on a policy which will make the Royal Nigerian Army truly independent in trained personnel as well as in the provision of its equipments.

In the sphere of external relations, my Government will continue to maintain its declared policy of friendship with all nations and countries that truly respect the sovereignty and independence of Nigeria, and to take part in all efforts designed to promote international co-operation and the maintenance of world peace and security. In pursuing this aim, special attention has

naturally been paid and will continue to be paid to African affairs.

My Government has, in its first year of independence, already established sixteen consular and diplomatic missions abroad, and it is the intention that in the current year Nigeria's representation abroad will expand to include new posts in Africa, Europe, Asia and the American continents.

My Government has repeatedly made clear its position in regarding the plight of subject peoples everywhere; and it has unequivocally condemned all forms of oppression and discrimination on grounds of colour or race anywhere in the world, but more particularly on the continent of Africa. Nigeria will continue to play vigorous part in movements designed to bring an end to the domination of African peoples by foreign powers and will assist in the progressive development towards independence of such parts of Africa as are still under foreign rule.

My Government will pursue its policy of improving and modernising the country's transport system.

To this end a Transport Planning Unit will be established, which will have as its principal task the analysing of real transport costs and needs on a national basis and the formulation of an overall Transport Policy.

An expansion of the Marine Division already begun will be continued and an additional office will be opened at Warri to supplement the facilities now available in Port Harcourt.

Now that Nigeria possesses a Merchant Navy of its own, it is essential that shipping should be controlled and protected by an appropriate and comprehensive Merchant Shipping Law. For this purpose a Merchant Shipping Bill will be brought before you in due course.

The work on the Escravos Bar project and the construction of deep water berth at Port of Koko will be continued and other projects on the developments of the Port area will be commenced. Steps will be taken to implement the recommendations of the Consultants engaged to draw up plans for the improvement of the Port of Baro and six new piers in Eastern Nigeria will be completed before the end of the year.

In order to meet the increasing volume of ocean traffic in Lagos, further expansion of facilities at the Port of Lagos will be undertaken. Additional deep water berths with complementary Transit

Sheds, Warehouses and ancillary services will be constructed at the Apapa Quay. The old Quay at Port Harcourt will be rehabilitated and the Wharf extension undertaken.

The Nigerian National Line will continue to expand its fleet, and two new ships at present under construction will be delivered before the end of this session.

The work on the Bornu Railway Extension will be continued. Improvements and modernisation will be carried out on the existing open lines. The remodelling of the Shunting Yard at Kano and Kaduna will be carried out. The new station at Enugu will be opened during the year and work on the replacement of steam engines by diesels will continue.

My Government recognises the importance of improving the road and rail communications to keep pace with the growing needs of Nigeria and will maintain the present satisfactory rate of progress on the construction of further railway lines. By the end of the year it will be possible to open the Railway traffic as far as to Gombe on the Bornu Railway Extension Line.

In the field of Civil Aviation, better system of runway lighting will be installed at Lagos Airport, work on lengthening and strengthening the runways at Lagos and Calabar will be completed, the runways in Ibadan and Kaduna will be improved and Terminal Buildings at Ibadan and Sokoto completed. Further training of Pilots will be undertaken.

My Government is conscious of the increasing importance of Nigeria as the hub of Air Transport in this part of Africa. The Nigerian Airways will take an important step forward when the first of its new aircraft ordered for its international services is delivered during the year. The construction of a comprehensive engineering base at Ikeja for this and other aircraft will be pressed forward as rapidly as possible and improvements undertaken at the major international Airports of Lagos, Kaduna, Ibadan and Kano.

My Government will accelerate the programme of Aerial Mapping with a view to completing the major portion of an up-to-date and comprehensive map coverage of Nigeria.

In addition to the major work already in progress on the Niger Bridge, Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin and Tegna-Daura roads, other new road re-construction programmes will be initiated. Plans are already well advanced on the second Mainland Bridge for Lagos together with further improvements in Lagos Water Supply.

My Government will initiate, during the year, the next phase of posts and telecommunications development programme. The year will be devoted largely to the preparation of detailed plans and specifications for the new Development Programme.

Initial emphasis on telecommunications development will be placed on urgently needed development in the Lagos and Port Harcourt areas and on further expansion of the national trunk network.

Fifteen new Post Offices will be established and in addition telephone, telegraph and telex services will be expanded to the maximum within the capacity of the national telecommunications system.

Nigeria's international telecommunication services will be designed to ensure that they are capable of meeting the requirements of an independent and rapidly developing nation. Important changes in the relationship between the Federal Government and the present operating Company, Messrs Cable and Wireless Limited, are envisaged which will bring these vital services under the control of the Government. Particular emphasis will be placed upon the training of Nigerian officers for higher duties and responsibilities.

My Government will press on with the development and expansion of the meteorological services to meet the present day requirements, with special reference to the needs of agriculture.

Oil industry is developing rapidly; Nigeria's tin is in brisk demand; and columbite output is increasing. New process are being used for the coking of Nigerian coal, the utilization of natural gas, the production of iron and steel, and for the discovery of mineral resources by aerial survey and other methods.

My Government attaches great importance to the exploitation of the nation's mineral resources and, to this end, it proposes to accord the highest priority to assembling a strong team of Nigerian administrators and specialists fully capable of developing Nigeria's mineral and power resources in co-operation with other interested parties, private and public, whose efforts they will supplement and where necessary regulate and inspect in the national interest.

Legislation will be introduced to place the finances of the Coal Corporation on a sounder basis, and to encourage the Corporation in its

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determined efforts to adapt itself to the changing market conditions. The Electricity Corporation Act will be amended to enable the Corporation to meet the challenge offered by the Niger Dam Scheme and the Nation's demand for electrical power, and in particular to provide a more effective means of consultation with Regional and local interests.

My Government will follow up the implementation of the accepted recommendations of the Ashby Commission and the Report of the UNESCO Advisory Commission for the establishment of the University of Lagos.

A Bill will be brought before you for the establishment of the University of Lagos. The University will be established this year and arrangements are being made to bring this into effect.

In order to ensure the orderly development and maintenance of the Universities in Nigeria, a body to be known as the National Universities Commission will be established.

Steps will be taken during the year to establish an Inter-Regional Manpower Development Board to which will be entrusted the periodical determination of the nation's manpower needs in all occupations and which will formulate programmes for effective manpower development throughout the Federation.

An All-Nigeria Academic Council will be established and its functions will include the correlation and maintenance of high academic standards among the Universities in Nigeria.

In order to produce a variety of suitably qualified personnel for the services of the Federation, my Government will continue its policy of offering scholarships for undergraduate and post-graduate studies in Nigerian educational institutions as well as in Universities and Colleges abroad.

My Government will intensify its activities in such fields as Library development, Audio-visual aids in Education, Text-book production, Laboratory development and Modern Language teaching. Plans will be made to expand Education broadcasts by the mass-media of radio and television.

My Government will continue to accelerate construction of buildings and Land Reclamation in Lagos Area as well as the main drainage drive on Victoria Island. In order to enable owners of

land to have their land registered in the Land Registry under their own names and to safeguard members of the public, as well as allow investigation into any objection which may be lodged against any particular application, legislation for the Registration of land in Lagos will be introduced.

A team of experts will advise my Government on ways and means of dealing with problems of traffic congestion, sewage and provision of low cost housing for workers in the Federal Territory of Lagos.

My Government intends to expand and re-organise the Medical and Health Services in Lagos. To this end, the work of modernisation and improvement of the Lagos General Hospital will continue and it is hoped that the first phase will be completed early in 1963.

A new 360-bed Mental Hospital will be built in Lagos during the coming year.

My Government attaches great importance to the improvement of the health of children and proposes to build a new 200-bed children's hospital and to establish a Child Health Institute in Lagos which will conduct research into all aspects of child health and lay the foundation for research in allied fields.

Each Ward in Lagos Municipality will have at least one Health Centre which will be open both day and night to cater for the whole community of that Ward, thus reducing the congestion which is at present a feature of the big hospitals.

My Government will establish, during the coming year, the Lagos University Medical School.

It is proposed to introduce measures to raise and improve the general standard of nursing in Lagos and to establish a national standard for the nursing profession. A post-graduate school of nursing will also be established.

During the year ahead, my Government will start, in collaboration with the World Health Organisation, an extensive programme for the eradication of malaria throughout the whole of the Federation.

Plans will be laid during the coming year for the introduction of a contributory Health Insurance Scheme in Lagos.

My Government will follow up its policy of establishing a responsible Judiciary that is

conscious of its responsibilities in a democratic society in which the rule of law and respect for individual freedom are guaranteed.

In order to improve the working conditions of Judges and Magistrates and reduce substantially the number of cases pending in court, a separate Supreme Court and additional Magistrate's Courts will be built. The present High Court of Lagos will be extended. Provision has been made for Library expansion in the Courts.

A Bill will be introduced to provide for the regulation of the legal profession in Nigeria, and will deal with such matters as the qualification and admission to practise, disciplinary proceedings against members of the legal profession and the regulation of legal education by the establishment of a Council of Legal Education and a Federal Law School.

Legislation will also be introduced to bring up-to-date the existing law regarding litigation by or against the Government.

A Bill will be introduced to replace the existing law with an up-to-date Official Secrets Act that is appropriate to sovereign Nigeria.

My Government will continue its efforts to gear Labour Services to meet the problems of rapid Industrialisation and Urbanisation, and employment services will be extended. The Employment Market Information Unit already established will continue to analyse the problems of Employment and Unemployment with a view to finding a solution to these problems.

In accordance with the policy of promoting healthy labour management relations, my Government will continue to encourage the development of strong and effective trade unions of training programmes which will be of benefit to both employers and the unions.

A review of the Labour Code will be undertaken in order to embody provision universally accepted, to make its provisions reflect the sovereign status of this country, and to embody a number of International Labour Conventions that have been ratified.

My Government intends to introduce co-operative thrift societies to promote the formation among petty traders, market women and wage-earners, of co-operative credit societies which would make loans easily available to their members.

A National Sports Council will be established to foster the development of sports and to improve

the standard of performance throughout the Federation. Financial provision has been made in the Development Plan for further improvement of the National Stadium.

My Government considers that the existing legislation dealing with immigration and with the restriction and deportation of aliens is in many respects out-of-date and does not now reflect the status of Nigeria as an independent country. A Bill will be introduced to provide for a single, comprehensive up-to-date Immigration Law.

Legislation will also be introduced to regularise taxation on moneys staked on Football Pools.

A Bill will be introduced to provide for a single Electoral Act to replace the various Electoral Regulations, and to incorporate such changes as are considered appropriate.

Borstal Institutions and Remand Homes will be established during the year.

My Government recognises that the present Information Services of the Federal Government are not suited to the present day needs of the Government. Proposals will be put forward during the year for a comprehensive reorganisation of the Information Services to meet the present day requirements of the Federal Government both within and outside Nigeria.

Plans for the establishment of the Federal Television Service are proceeding and it is hoped that the service will open next month.

The "Voice of Nigeria" which is at present heard in English and French will also be heard in Arabic.

My Government intends to establish a National Library in Nigeria and legislation to this effect will be brought before you during the year.

The past year has been of great significance for the growth of co-ordination and consultation between all the Governments of the Federation in fiscal and monetary matters.

My Government intends to do its utmost to strengthen this collaboration at all levels since it recognises that without effective co-ordination of policies in this field, the success of the National Development Plan will be in jeopardy and effective economic planning rendered impracticable.

My Government will lay before you the 1962-1968 Federal Government Development Plan which has been drawn up in close collaboration with the Regional Governments. The Plan is by

far the most ambitious exercise which this country has ever undertaken. Its aims are to maintain and to increase the rate of growth of Nigeria's economy so that by 1980, Nigeria will have achieved such a diversified economy as to assure that she is reasonably self-sustaining and less dependent on external assistance. To this end, the emphasis in the Plan is on Agriculture, Industry and Technical Education. These will contribute to the maximum growth of the national economy as well as to maximum use of our natural resources and available manpower.

My Government attaches first priority to the success of the Plan of which the total Capital Expenditure of £670 million is envisaged. The ultimate success of the Plan will, among other things, depend on the willingness of the people to make sacrifices in order to finance the Plan which, when completed, will ensure a better life for our people. The first priority of the Plan will be the Niger Dam Project which at a cost of about £70 million will provide considerable amount of electricity for our industries, all-year-round navigable water-way up to the Niger Republic, irrigation of some thousands of acres of land, alternate crossing over the Niger and about 10,000 tons of fish a year.

One of the difficulties to be encountered in the execution of the project will be the resettlement of the inhabitants of the area which will eventually be inundated. My Government has in co-operation with the Northern Nigeria Government been examining most carefully the question of resettling the people that will be affected.

Research work in Agriculture, Veterinary and Forestry will be expanded and results already available will be utilized in speeding up production.

My Government has arranged with the Food Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations to carry out a country-wide comprehensive Agricultural Survey which will enable the Government of the Federation to undertake greater agricultural production projects.

My Government's contact with other International Organisations concerned with Economic Development of Africa will be strengthened to ensure maximum co-operation and collaboration with other African countries with which economic co-operation is possible.

My Government will continue to promote the development of the Industrial sector of the economy by maintaining a favourable investment

climate in Nigeria so that further investment of overseas capital and expertise may flow into the country. Special attention will be paid to the developing of small scale locally-owned businesses to which the services of consultants and skilled personnel will be made available. Plans are in hand for a long-term Industrial Development Programme which is designed to increase the contribution made to the national income by the private Industrial sector and to provide wider opportunities for Nigerians to establish and manage their own businesses.

Having regard to the undesirable effects of the European Economic Community on Nigerian trade, my Government will continue to press within and outside the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade organisation for the removal or mitigation of these effects. In co-operation with producers and consumers, my Government will continue to explore ways and means of avoiding violent fluctuations in the prices of the local primary products on which our economy so largely depends.

With the aim of promoting tourism, preparations are far advanced for forming a Nigerian Tourist Association which is sponsored by all the Governments of the Federation. In order to encourage local industries, they will be protected from unfair competition through import restrictions.

My Government is organising an international Trade Fair which will be held in Lagos between October and November this year. Already, thirty-one Governments and many Nigerians and foreign Commercial concerns have made arrangements to participate in the Fair. This event will be the first large scale international Trade Fair to be held in West Africa and promises to attract investors as well as serve as an impetus for future development of new industries and the attraction of new markets for Nigerian products.

Mr Speaker, Members of the House of Representatives, your principal business at this meeting will be to consider the Appropriation Bill with its supporting Estimates of Recurrent and Capital Expenditure for 1962-1963 in the context of the inaugural year of the National Development Plan. All my Government's economic, fiscal and monetary policies will be geared to the needs and requirements of this Plan in order that the nation may effectively meet the challenging problems which will undoubtedly arise during its execution.

My Government attaches particular importance to strengthening the financial institutions of the nation and to providing a modern legal and administrative frame-work within which the financial and monetary machinery of the country may develop and play an ever increasing role in our evolution towards a self-sustaining democracy.

Changes will be introduced to bring existing financial legislation up to date and in keeping with our status as a sovereign independent nation. My Government is determined to maintain the stability of the Nigerian pound and the world-wide confidence which it has won. To this end, the overall balance of payments position will be kept under constant review.

My Government has taken steps, which have received the support of the Regional Governments, for the repatriation of Nigerian-owned overseas assets which are at present held by a large number of official and semi-official bodies abroad. This measures will be pursued with the utmost vigour.

Legislation will be placed before you to facilitate the mobilization of small savings, with the two-fold aim of inculcating the habit of thrift as widely as possible throughout the community and of mobilizing the maximum amount possible to finance our own development. You will also be invited to consider new legislation regarding both domestic and external borrowing which will be required to finance the National Development Plan.

Legislation will be introduced to provide for the effective revenue control of the distillation of alcohol and related industries, which are at present hampered by archaic legislation.

My Government will continue the battle against smuggling, to which end the control over frontier traffic entering and leaving the country will be tightened, and additional customs posts established on main routes not at present controlled. At the same time, negotiations with our neighbours will be continued to strengthen mutual assistance and co-operation in respect of common Customs problems.

With the expansion of industry and the growth of personal incomes the effective assessment and collection of income tax will become of increasing importance. The past year has seen the establishment of the Investigation Branch of the Federal Board of Inland Revenue. My Government proposes to strengthen and expand this branch, and so to make it far less easy for unpatriotic companies or individuals to evade payment of their proper dues.

Mr President of the Senate, Mr Speaker, Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, I pray that Almighty God may grant you wisdom in your deliberations. (Applause).

His Excellency retired from the Chamber.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That Parliament do now adjourn—(THE MINISTER OF FINANCE).

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That Parliament do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at 10.45 a.m.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Thursday, 22nd March, 1962.

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

OATH

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

Alhaji Ahmed Abdallah Metteden

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION
ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The Minister of Health (Senator the hon. Chief M. A. Majekodunmi) : I beg to move, That Senator Chief Z. C. Obi, Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale and Senator Chief T. A. Odotola be appointed members of the Committee of Selection of the Senate.

Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of State : Senator the hon. E. A. Esin) : Sir, I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : That Senator Chief Z. C. Obi, Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale and Senator Chief T. A. Odotola be members of the Committee of Selection of the Senate.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION OF
NORTHERN NIGERIA

The Minister of Health (Senator the hon. Chief M. A. Majekodunmi) : I beg to move, That, in accordance with the provision of subsection (4) of section 5 of the Constitution of the Federation, the House signifies its consent to the Constitution of Northern Nigeria (Amendment No. 2) Law, 1961, having effect.

It is necessary to refresh the minds of hon. Senators about the history of this request which Government now proposes to bring before the Senate. Arising out of decisions taken at the 1957 Constitutional Conference, the Northern Regional Government appointed a Commission of Jurists to advise on the re-organisation of the legal system of the Northern Region. As a result of the recommendations

of this Commission, the Sharia Court of Appeal was set up in the North and the Head of this Court was the Grand Khadi.

In order to give effect to the integration of the legal system in the North, it was necessary to amend the Northern Region High Court Law of 1955 which also necessitated a consequential amendment, Constitutional Order in Council of 1954 in section 142A, sections 13 and 14 of that Constitution. This Amendment made it possible for the Grand Khadi to seat with two Judges of the High Court of the North when that High Court comes to decide cases involving Moslem Law.

This had been in operation from 1959 up to the attainment of Independence of Nigeria. The draftsmen who drafted the Constitution of the Independent Federation of Nigeria assumed that since this was existing Law and it was in operation, it would be regarded as part of the existing Law which was specifically covered by the provision of our Constitution that all existing Laws will remain unaltered except in so far as they are altered by the Parliament of the Federation.

In a case which came before the Federal Supreme Court however, it was ruled that the Grand Khadi was sitting with two Judges of the High Court of the North when the decision of the High Court was taken, and that decision must be set aside because the Law establishing the High Court in the North stated that Members of that Court should possess qualifications to enable them to practise the Law in Nigeria.

I wish to assure hon. Senators that neither the Northern Regional Government nor the Federal Government has any quarrel whatsoever with that decision. The Federal Supreme Court is there to interpret the laws of this country, and we have implicit faith in its impartiality.

But this is a position about which Northern Regional Government are concerned. The practice which has been in operation and accepted by all the Members of the Federation was found, as a result of the defect of the Constitution, to be no longer applicable, and in order to restore the *status quo* the Northern Regional Government proceeded to amend the High Court Law and also the Constitution of the Northern Region. It is to give effect to the Amendment to the Constitution of the Northern Region that this Motion

has been brought before the Senate, because, although the Northern Region has passed the law to amend the Constitution, it cannot have effect until it has been ratified by the Parliament of the Federation.

This law has been ratified by the House of Representatives, and it now remains for the Senate to ratify it. I want the Senate to make its position clear on this issue because it is the duty of the Senate to ensure the unity and the progress of all parts of this country. If we are to discharge our responsibilities in this respect we have to co-operate with all the Governments of the Federation. The Government of Northern Nigeria which is the Government appointed by the people of the Northern Region, the Legislature of the Northern Region as responsible as any Legislature in this Federation—had passed this law, and they now seek our concurrence.

I wish to assure you that if this request had come from the Government of the Western Region in which the Party in power is not reflected in the Federal Government the attitude of the Federal Government would still have been the same, because we believe that in order to ensure that the people in this country are happy we have devised a Constitution which will enable each part of the country to develop according to its own faith and according to its own tradition. When people in a Region appoint their Parliament and their Government, it is up to the Federal Parliament and Government to co-operate with the Government of that Region, except where we are satisfied that a measure which a Government in the Federation is about to take is repugnant to natural justice and law, or is likely to endanger the continuance of the Federation.

This Bill coming from the Northern Region is a non-controversial Bill. It is a domestic affair of the Northern Region. It is a measure which is designed to rectify an omission or a mistake during the drafting of the Federal Constitution. Therefore, I do not wish to belabour the point unduly. I wish to appeal to the good sense and responsibility of the Senators that we should give this measure our support.

Sir, I beg to move.

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

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : When sometime ago this Bill came before the House and we debated it we had no ulterior motive. The intention behind our minds then was to see that the principles and the general application of our laws were adhered to.

Now, it is quite clear that we must have to take into consideration the religious characteristic of every section of our community. Our apprehension at the first stage was that this Bill was going to create a dangerous precedent in the Federation. That apprehension has now been removed. In objecting to the Bill we were discharging our full duties as conscientiously as we felt then, but since the Bill is just to give legality to what had existed, and was not going to create any problem in our laws, we can no longer object to the Bill.

Sir, we do not want to be obstructive. We do not want to obstruct any Government in pursuing their own characteristic way, I feel that when some time ago we moved that the Debate on the Bill be adjourned *sine die* we did it with one motive, and I am very happy that the Government have taken our feelings into consideration and accorded us our status and dignity, and they have now come back again praying us and giving us the assurance that this is not going to create any precedent. In fact we debated the Bill at length sometime ago, and went into the merits and demerits of the Bill. I feel, this being the Budget Session, we shall be faced with a very heavy work. I do not think we of this hon. House should belabour ourselves on the Bill again since almost everybody had expressed his mind. To enable us to continue with the work before us we must concede to the people of the North what they feel will help them in their general constitution. In this respect I move that the question be now put.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : I beg to second the Motion.

Question, That the Question be now put, put and agreed to.

Main Question put and the Senate divided.

Ayes—37, Noes—5, Abstentions—Nil.

Seat No.	Name of Member
1	Senator Shettima Kashim
3	Senator Asemota
4	Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku
5	Senator Bawa
6	Senator Chukwubike
7	Senator Ejaife
8	Senator Alhaji Ahmed Metteden
9	Senator Abaagu
10	Senator Chief Ugwuocha
11	Senator Chief Ojon
12	Senator Adele II, the Oba of Lagos
13	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale
14	Senator Chief Ndu
15	Senator Chief Olayeye
17	Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi
18	Senator Nzerem
19	Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu
20	Senator Chief Acholonu
21	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba
22	Senator Chief Obi
25	Senator Fulani
26	Senator Dr Orizu
27	Senator Chief Esangbedo
28	Senator Chief Doherty
29	Senator Hassan Rafin Dadi
30	Senator Nakoku
32	Senator Idrisu Tafidan Adamawa
33	Senator Udoh
35	Senator Yusufu
36	Senator Ukattah
38	Senator Zanna Sheriff
39	Senator Chief Umoh
41	Senator Alhaji Ungogo
42	Senator Alhaji Abudu
	The Minister of Health
	Minister of State
	(Dr E. A. Esin)
	Minister of State
	(M. Nuhu Bamali)

NOES	
Seat No.	Name of Member
16	Senator Mrs W. Esan
23	Senator Olamijulo
34	Senator Eytayo
37	Senator Ogundipe
40	Senator Lagunju

Resolved, That, in accordance with the provision of subsection (4) of section 5 of the Constitution of the Federation, the House signifies its consent to the Constitution of Northern Nigeria (Amendment No. 2) Law, 1961, having effect.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A FOURTH REGION

The Minister of Health (Senator the hon. Chief M. A. Majekodunmi): I beg to move, That this House approves a proposal

for an alteration to section 3 of the Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria for the purpose of establishing a fourth region within the Federation of Nigeria consisting territorially of Benin Province in Western Nigeria including Akoko Edo District in Afenmai Division, and Delta Province in Western Nigeria including Warri Division and Warri Urban Township area.

This Motion has already been accepted by the Hon. Senators but owing to a certain hitch which occurred during its passage in the House of Representatives we have to go through the Motion of passing it here again and, therefore, I do not propose to make any lengthy speech on this Motion at all.

The Motion is acceptable to the people in the area which is designated by this Motion. The Motion is acceptable to the Government of Western Nigeria from which this area is going to be carved off as a separate State and this Motion is also acceptable to the Federal Government of Nigeria.

The reason why this Motion should come before us is that in order to give effect to it, the constitutional procedure is that it should be passed by each House of the Federal Parliament by a two-third majority, and I have no doubt that since the Hon. Senate has already signified its approval to the Motion during the earlier debate, it should also signify its approval to it to-day.

I beg to move.

The Minister of State (Senator the hon. Dr E. A. Esin): I beg to second.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota: This is a very welcome measure indeed and I sympathise with the Government for bringing it up again because it has already passed through this House and we have all given our consent to it.

I am a Mid-Westerner myself and a Mid-Westerner of some standing at that. The desire of the Mid-West people to form themselves into a separate State is based on very substantial grounds. It is not a flimsy one at all. It is not based on the passing whims of politics. History and geography and the forces of cultural and social development have marked us out as a peopled district. As a peopled district we believe that formed into a

separate governmental entity we are in a better position to forge the fortune of our destiny and we believe that given the opportunity to forge our own destiny, we are in a better position to contribute to the greater advancement of all Nigeria, to political and agricultural stability and to the development of the whole country.

There is nothing I can add to those remarks because all that we are asking for is to be given the opportunity to take care of ourselves and to place us in the same position as other peoples in the other Regions. The happiness of it is that once the Mid-West State is created it will, I hope, automatically place us in the same position as the Northern Region, as the Western Region, and as the Eastern Region in the Federation of Nigeria. So, I do not think that anybody is wrong to ask for this. It is our right and privilege to ask for what we want and I do hope that hon. Senators will accept the Motion as it is in its original form.

There is one unfortunate thing however, that I want to point out. It is the mis-interpretation that is going on in the Mid-West. Some political parties think that they are the overlords of everything. As a result, people are killing themselves: people are shooting themselves; looting and extracting money from one another with the hope that when they succeed in creating the State they would be in power and the other people would be subjected to their whims and caprices.

This is unfortunate indeed and what I want to make quite clear is that this demand for the creation of a fourth region is not a political issue and should not be regarded as a political issue at all. It is the desire of the people for their own advancement, and this is natural. If there is any political party which thinks that it is through its efforts one way or another that the State is being created, I am afraid that I do not agree with that party. It is like a child anywhere in the world. If you have a child and it is lost, naturally, the child should be expected to grow. It does not necessarily follow that the people who actually look after the child are responsible for its growth. It is nature. Evolution has come and we find that the time has come for us to put our demands across to the Government and that is why we have done so. Whether there is politics or not, it does not really matter for the

time may come when we may do away with the Action Group and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens in the Mid-West and form our own political party.

We have nothing to do with the political set-up in the country at all—not even with the N.P.C! What we want is to be given a chance, so that we will be able to look at ourselves and prove our mettle, to the greater advancement of the people of this country.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale, Madawakin Bida: The reason that the Motion has been brought back to this House to-day, as has already been explained to the people, is that it has a technical parliamentary addition which it lacked before. This has now been rectified. Our reasons for agreeing to this proposal were explained during the last session, and I see no reason why we should go back giving reasons for this and reasons for that; if we are going to say "yes", we must say "yes". So now, as to the Bill, I think we had better put an end to all that is in the minds of hon. Senators here and just vote and finish with it.

Senator E. A. Lagunju: We have never at any time opposed the creation of more States. When this thing was brought before us we supported it, but certain things have been added this time; in other words in the Bill as it now stands we have got the actual area properly stated—

The President: I am afraid I have to call your attention to the fact that it was like that before. If you look it up you will see it.

Senator Lagunju: Oh, really? Well, we shall be very happy to see more states created in this country and we will fight for it. We will be very happy to see this fourth region as stated, provided that the remaining part of the present Western Nigeria shall certainly be the Region under the Constitution. That is one condition. Another important condition is that prior agreement shall be reached between the major political parties in the area of the new region on the following matters, and that such agreement shall be embodied in the Act of Parliament establishing the new region: Constitution of the new region; constituency delimitation; fiscal arrangements; internal administration; date of first election to the new Regional Legislature

[SENATOR LAGUNJU]

In addition we shall be very happy not only to see just one new region created. After all, we are not using it merely as a political cat's-paw, and we want this country to have some sort of all-round development. We take it that the object of the creation of a new Region is to promote administrative efficiency, and it is obvious to us that there is a region as large as the East and West put together—even larger—and if the West with its present size is too big to be administered as a single body, then there is no reason why the North is not too big even to be administered as four regions. Consequently, we would like more regions created as soon as possible. We want the North-East, the Central, the Middle Belt, the North, the North-West, the East—

An hon. Senator : And the Calabar State.

Senator Lagunju : Calabar State—that is all right. Later on, there will be about eight regions.

One thing is certain, whatever we may do at present, we may do the right thing from the wrong motives. I am not trying to impute motives, there are good motives for the creation of the new State, and we are not using it merely as a political cat's-paw; we are using it because we feel it is necessary.

It is true that the Government of the Western Region has given approval at some time or another for the creation of this State, and I am sure many people still support the creation of new States, but we should be realistic in whatever we do. If we want all-round development, then of course, we must realise that in different sections of the country there are minority groups that still have their fears and doubts and what-not, and we are after minority interests. Therefore, we should go all out now for the creation of more States, this is within the competence of the Federal Government to-day. The agitation is there, but the agitation can be stifled one way or the other. It all depends on the attitude we adopt.

One thing is certain—history is there and it is evident that one particular political party cannot rule the country indefinitely. Even the Whigs who dominated British history for almost thirty years in the eighteenth century fell out of power. So, if we are doing something to-day we must think of what we are doing; after all, the whole thing is a sort of boomerang

—we can fire it out to-day and it will strike somebody, but it will come back in the future. All of us should realise the motives behind all these things, in all the things that are done; they may even do away with the Action Group or the N.C.N.C. and stick to something new; in other regions new political parties will spring up.

I do hope therefore we all realise that we are not here indefinitely and that we always have history behind us. Personally, we are not opposing the creation of this region. Hon. Senators have mentioned these other conditions—that practical assistance be given by the Federal Government, that the remaining part of the Region remains a Region recognised as such in all aspects of any Regional Legislature. I sincerely hope that whatever we do, we will do it in the interests of the unity of this country.

Those, Mr President, are the few observations I wish to make.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : The creation of a fourth region was considered by us here exhaustively. The only point I wish to make here is that this Motion has come to us a second time, we are told as a result of a technical hitch. It is a matter for pride that this hitch did not come from the Senate, so the authority of the Upper House is not questioned. I am very happy that this is so, and I congratulate ourselves on that.

Senator Salahu Fulani : In giving our blessing to this Motion impartially, I am glad to say that the whole thing has come off very splendidly. In fact, that a fourth region should be created is the wish of the people. One hon. Senator has said that the Northern Region is a very vast area and may be divided in years to come—I can assure him that the Northern Region is one country with one destiny, and it is not within the foreseeable future that such a thing should ever happen in the North. If the time does come, it may be that he will be in his grave, and I too.

There are no grounds for what we call minority fears—those are things that were created by our former colonial bosses. When the white men came they met the Northern Region intact as it is now. The people of the Northern Region have never entertained any fears, they had never had any fears about the Government and even the Native Authorities.

In supporting the Motion I should like to assure the House that the fourth region will be welcome and will be a blessing to this country; it will be a very good thing too, but there will never be created any other region as far as the Northern Region of Nigeria is concerned because the people are treated with impartiality and fairness. In giving this blessing to the Motion, therefore, I wish that the fourth region, if it will be a success, be created.

Senator T. Olamijulo : Mr President, in giving my own consent and blessing to the Motion, I have to say that I am very glad to hear what those who have spoken before have said. It is always very difficult to start a discussion but it is better to speak when the discussion has been going on because from the discussion which has been going on, one can gather facts; and the fact remains that we have given our blessings and we shall continue to give our blessings to this Motion.

It is always laudable—for one to aim high and to seek one's destiny in life for prosperity and all other things. These aims have been pursued by the people that are being given consideration to-day and it is always the privilege of everybody to aim high and to be able to achieve much. There is no doubt about it that the smaller we cut ourselves, the better the management of our affairs is going to be.

It is no destiny in life that one should be static; I do not think that this is a good destiny. We are created to grow in life. Children are born to become men and women in future. It will always be a mistake for anybody to forestall the future. One can only hope and pray but the motive of God is always unknown. As such, I feel Nigeria will always be better when we become smaller and are thus capable of managing our affairs both separately and collectively.

There are people now who unite not because they really like it, but because circumstances have forced them to unite. This is not a bad thing because unity is strength and birds of the same feather always flock together. It is only when people's language, culture and other things are compatible with one another that they can live together happily. I sincerely congratulate those who have aspired and have had the blessing and the fortune of achieving their aims. We should always praise others

and even encourage them. We do not like to govern even our children for ever be they male or female. Even if we like to do so, we cannot govern our servants for ever; we can do so up to a certain stage. We should, for this reason, encourage this cutting of the country into bits.

On the other hand, I want the Westerners to have it in mind that when a thing is started and is immediately up and continues to go on and on without a hitch, that thing cannot last very long. It will be a blessing for those who are starting it now to see this work begin. We are going to learn from experience, and good things will come later out of the bitter experience of this beginning. As such, I heartily congratulate the Westerners who have been given this privilege and quite heartily will always welcome the fact that these things may not be limited to one Region only. It is a thing that we shall always encourage. I sincerely support the Motion.

Senator Mrs Wuraola A. Esan : Mr President, this, I believe, is a progressive age and all progressive elements in this country will always welcome this Motion. We have been advocating—I mean the people from the Western Region of Nigeria, have been advocating—the creation of this Mid-West State. We believe that when certain ethnic groups want to have power to administer the affairs of others for the rapid development of the country as a whole, we should all be happy and welcome such a step.

But I would like, at the same time, to support Senator Lagunju's view point that there is a rumour all over the country now that the creation of this fourth region is being done only to stifle the existence of a particular Region—the Western Region. I do not think this is the purpose and no one here believes that this is the purpose; but that is the rumour now being carried about.

I would like to suggest most strongly that the Government should make it a sort of primary consideration to give equal treatment to all throughout the country and not just the privileged ones. The reason for the creation of this fourth region should be made clear so as to allay the fears of the people concerned.

Another thing that I would like to add is this that while we are considering the creation

[SENATOR MRS ESAN]
of this fourth region, we must be thinking of creating many more other States as well because we feel the desire of everybody is to enjoy life more abundant and freedom for all. Because of this, the Senate is in a peculiar and a unique position and it should use its powers to advise the Government to do things the right way; we have been doing it too, and I am very happy that the Government of this country respects us so much that whenever we say 'no' to anything, it takes it back and finds another way of bringing it back to us. That is a sign of respect and that is why I say we are in a peculiar and a unique position of giving sound advise on the creation of more States.

Whenever we are thinking about the creation of these States, we must remember to have it written into our Constitution if possible that wherever possible, whenever there is reason for it and if there is urgent need for it, too, we shall go on creating more States. All ethnic groups in the country must be satisfied.

I would like to add, Mr President, that whenever we want to create this fourth region, women should be made Ministers because this is a new thing and as we are living in a new and progressive age. As this will be the first State to be created after Nigeria attained her independence, the Government should raise the status of women by making women Ministers.

Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi : I rise to move that the question be now put. But before doing so, I would like to raise two points.

An hon. Senator : May I know from the President whether an hon. Senator who is moving that the Question be now put can at the same time speak on the Motion. The hon. Senator is trying to prevent other Senators from speaking, and yet he wants to speak on the Motion.

The President : The hon. Senator Sani Dingyadi is not out of order, but he should say "I rise to contribute to the Motion."

Senator Sani Dingyadi : In rising to make my speech, Mr President, I will be brief. The reason for bringing this Motion to this hon. House is not that we may debate it, but just to correct certain formalities that were not

observed when the Motion was first passed, nothing more. I know we are free to speak but before we speak, we must think. We are all gentlemen. This Motion has been passed once. Why should we go back on it again ?

With these few remarks, I beg to move that the Question be now put.

The President : I have to call on Senator Hunponu-Wusu.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : We all agreed and passed this Motion here and as other Senators have just said, if you have agreed on something and later on, by experience, you discover an anomaly or a mistake which you never thought of when you are taking your decision, that does not mean that correction should not be made, and it does not mean that you are trying to set aside your first decision. Some hon. Senators who spoke this morning tried to give this impression. I would ask those Senators to consider this matter very seriously because we are not going back on our words, we have taken the decision.

This is nevertheless a note of warning to all Senators, that the smallest of the regions is being divided in order that we may grant some people their wish. We agree that it is the wish of the people who are now part of the Western Region to have their own separate region created, and we have granted that. I would say this however, and you will all agree with me, that the Western Region is the smallest Region in the Federation to-day.

An hon. Senator : The hon. Senator is incorrect to say that the Western Region is the smallest if we take population into consideration. The Senator, I think, should speak with some sense of Geography.

The President : Yes, that is correct. The Eastern Region is the smallest by population.

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : I am open to correction; but nevertheless, an hon. Senator said a few minutes ago that the Northern Region has been intact for a long time and that it will never be divided. That is why I am saying that it is a note of warning to everyone of us that in dividing the Western Region now we are reducing the size of the Western Region. I hope we are not cutting our nose to spite our face in the future; because if we do it to-day, it will come back tomorrow like a boomerang, as

one hon. Senator has said. I feel that more states should be created to meet the wishes of people in the different Regions.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Senator M. G. Ejaiife : Coming from the Mid-West, I am naturally very very proud indeed that this Motion has come up and that at long last, the Mid-West people will be granted a Region of their own. I once more support the creation of the Mid-West state.

I would like to make it quite clear that though I am a native of the Mid-West, I am also a native of Nigeria and, therefore, I have much at heart the interest of Nigeria as I have of the Mid-West itself. So, whilst welcoming the Motion and wishing it safe passage, I would like the Government to make a statement about certain points which are being made at the moment. In the interests of the passage and implementation of the Motion, and to prevent any slip occurring again—it is said that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well—I would like everything possible to be done to ensure that the Motion when passed is implemented and that it brings good results to the people of the Mid-West and to Nigeria as a whole.

I would like to pay tribute to the President of the Senate in the person of Chief Osadebay, for the statement which he made after the passing of the first Motion. I think we all read the papers when he expressed the hope that when the Mid-West State was created, there would be no discrimination between one person and another and that if possible, he would advocate a coalition government for the Mid-West—I think he said things like that. He would like the people of the Mid-West to mix and take up the challenge and try to make a success of the new Region. I think that is of paramount importance. If the new Region is created, and no success is made of it—like the Congo, I am sure the rest of the world will point a laughing finger and say that those called Mid-Westerners ask for a Region to be created and now that it has been created, there is a lot of confusion. I think, for that reason, all men of goodwill should try their best to come together and settle any rift prior to the passing of this Motion.

Apart from the statement made by our eminent and very revered President, certain efforts have been made by other individuals.

The President made an effort to summon the people in the Mid-West so that we could resolve certain differences in the Mid-West. This is necessary because, although this Motion was passed by this House without protests because everybody like it. All sorts of things have happened in the Mid-West—including a new wave of thuggery and hooliganism, things that were not heard of before in the Mid-West. We have been hearing of murders and all sorts of things from other Regions and from other countries, but the Mid-West has been known and characterised by its perfect peace, tranquility and orderliness. As has been mentioned, since the passage of the first Motion—certain people—I am sure they are not people of goodwill but people with unscrupulous conscience—have been trying to make capital out of it and have been trying to mislead the public by saying this and saying that. The result is that one hears of thuggery in Ishan and other districts of the Mid-West. There is no end to the amount of thuggery and hooliganism going on in the name of the creation of the Mid-West. We would not like such things to happen at all.

I would like to pray the Government to make a statement in connection with this Motion in order to allay the fears of certain people in the Mid-West and in other parts of the Western Region. After all, the creation of States arises out of the fears of the minority and I think when a Commission was set up some time ago, one of the Commission's terms of reference was to propose measures for allaying the fears of minority. In an attempt to allay the fears of the minority, other fears were aroused; then we must have been doing something. We must have been planting something evil in the place of something we are trying to remove.

In the words of the Motion itself this is going to be a fourth region. I want an assurance that the rest of the Western Region will not be tampered with. I would pray the Minister to make a statement to the effect that when the fourth region is created what is left of the Western Region will be not only by law, but also in reality a Region. I would like that statement to come from the Minister.

Secondly, before the referendum takes place Government should correct the rumour spread by some people that a care-taker

[SENATOR EJAIFE]

government will be appointed in the Mid-West leading to reprisal and political victimisation. These are the things that have struck fear into quite a number of people and so we would like an assurance that before the next elections, hon. Members of the present Western House from the Mid-West should be allowed to run the Government until the next elections take place because this Government arbitrarily plants people in the Mid-West to administer, but human nature being what it is, it cannot be guaranteed that victimisation will not take place. I am sure that the Mid-West being a hot bed of politics and with all the atmosphere there just now, things like that happen, and I am not quite sure that the Mid-West will have a happy beginning in that case. So I would like some statement to be made in connection with the interim arrangement pending the referendum in the Mid-West.

I am very happy indeed that this new region is being created because it is a sign that the Western Government have been self-less. I am also happy that it augurs well as a beginning of the splitting up of Nigeria into quite a number of States because if you want to create something and you create one from your own region, we shall be in a much stronger position to press for the splitting up of all the other Regions and I think that would be in the interest of true federalism, and this will amount to eight or nine different States for the stability of this country. We shall then have a true Federal Government, not a Federal Government which will be lob-sided.

Nothing can be better than splitting this country into a number of States. The West is now kicking off and I am sure that other regions will follow. It is inevitable. I think it is only inevitable now that the start is made, the die is cast, whoever is voting for it, is voting for the inevitable splitting up of the Federation into a large number of different States in order to ensure that the Federal Government is more stable and that it is less lob-sided than it is at the moment. The Western Region, I would like to remind hon. Senators, was not forced in the first instance to pass the Bill.

The President : May I remind the Senator that after this, a Bill has to be passed, and he will then have the chance to say what he wants to say.

The Minister of Health (Senator the hon. Chief M. A. Majekodunmi) : A Bill is coming behind.

Senator Ejaife : There is no harm in repetition Sir. I would like to remind the House that in the first instance when the Western Regional Government passed the Motion, it was not forced. For that reason, we do hope that whatever rumours are afloat are completely groundless and we pray the Minister to make the necessary statement.

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

Senator H. O. Abaagu : I would like to oppose one or two points made by the speaker about the conditions to be observed. I think the Mid-West region will be created. I do not think the Government would be wise to commit itself, that is, to give an undertaking that it will create the Mid-West only on condition that the other component parts of other Regions will be affected. I think the creation of States lies on the people who are in each State. Who knows if after the Mid-West has been created, other parts of the Western Region will like to get out ?

Several hon. Senators : There will be more.

Senator Abaagu : So I think it will be very dangerous if the Government gives that undertaking.

I do not think anybody is opposed to the creation of States provided that the people who want a State to be created are corporate in their demand. For example, there was once a demand for the creation of a Middle Belt State. That was in 1959 when a party contested an election on that ticket and won 25 seats. What happened ? Few years after that, that demand died a natural death.

During the last election, the same issue was raised but the party failed to win the election there, it fell from twenty-five seats to about nine. So, Mr President, I would like hon. Senators to note that there has been no demand whatsoever for the creation of a Middle Belt State.

Mr President, I support the motion.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I think the major work we have to do this morning is more or less a revision of our work, and I think we have done the revision well

and I think our exercise books have been properly marked and I think that everybody has fared well.

Now some Senators raised the question of more States or something like that. In my opinion, Sir, since they themselves expressed some believe in history, let them leave everything to history. I do not think we are competent to say that the matter is not properly brought before the House.

That being the case, I beg to move that the question be now put.

The President : I have to call on Senator Chief Olayeye.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : We thank the Western Regional Government for being broad-minded and for being able to grant a separate State to the Mid-West. It is a great thing indeed. What the Western Regional Government has done is an example for other Regions to follow. It is for the other Regions now to follow suit.

If it were possible for the President of the Senate to travel round Nigeria, he would see clearly that many people in this country are willing to have separate states. Everybody wants to be independent, even my wives at home do not want me to control them. Many people in the Regions want separate states. As I said, the Western Regional Government has set an example for other Regions of the Federation to emulate, and this is a great deed indeed.

I have a certain fear and some hon. Senators have mentioned it here. That fear is that when the Mid-West State is created, it will have effect on the other two Regions of Nigeria. I support my good friends from the Mid-West that a categorical statement should be made to clarify the position either by the President of the Senate or the Minister responsible for this matter in order to avoid series of mis-interpretation of this very issue now being made by some political leaders in the country against the Western Region Government with a view to creating incessant chaos all about the Region.

These are the points I want to place before the Senate. Mr President, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given me to contribute to this debate.

Whereupon Senator J. K. Nzerem rose in his place and claimed to move, That the Question be now put, but the President withheld his assent and declined then to put that Question.

Senator Chief T. A. Doherty : I deplore strongly the attitude of the Senate in a lot of measures. The partisan spirit is still worrying the Senate. I believe the Senate is the Upper House in which we should be fair in everything we do, in our debates and in our decisions. We are here to consider uppermost, the interest of this country. We are not party men but I have noticed since I became a member of this Senate, that in almost every measure there is this partisan spirit. I do not think we will be doing justice to this country if we do not change our attitude. Anything that concerns the N.C.N.C., the N.C.N.C. members are ready to support it whether it is right or wrong; the same thing applies to the N.P.C., the Action Group the same.

An hon. Senator : They are worse.

Senator Chief Doherty : We should not continue in this way and say we are doing justice to this country. We have all read in the papers that in the Mid-West there is a lot of trouble, they have been killing themselves. We as Senators should appoint a Committee and ask these people to come and tell us what is their trouble and in what ways we can help them to get their problems settled. All we do is to come here and everybody talks. The Mid-West State—yes; the Middle-Belt State—no; the C.O.R. State—no. That is not the way to help this country. I am here to tell the country the truth, to tell the Senate the truth. I am no party man. I am not a member of the Action Group, I am a supporter, I am not a registered member. Chief Awolowo said it and wrote it in the papers, I am not in the N.C.N.C., I am not in the N.P.C. I am for the good and unity of this country.

When I was appointed a Senator, the first thing I did was to form the Unity of Nigeria Committee. This will show you that I am out here for the good of this country. We have all read in the papers what Chief Awolowo said about the creation of the Mid-West State. He put down certain conditions. He said he has no objection but the Government should fulfil certain conditions. Not one Senator has referred to these conditions. We have not considered these things. For goodness' sake let us be honest with ourselves. If we are going to be Senators, let us put party politics aside, let us face issues in an honest manner.

[SENATOR CHIEF DOHERTY]

I suggest, I know it will not be carried, but I will tell the country whether the Senate accepts it or not and my conscience will be clear, I feel in an issue like this, the Senate should appoint a Standing Committee to inquire into all these troubles. We want to create the Mid-West State but the people there are killing themselves. Is that a good augury for the future? I am not supporting the move and the only thing I am suggesting is that the Senate should speak to our President that a Committee of this Senate be summoned to meet the Prime Minister, the Premiers of the three Regions and let us discuss this matter. We must understand that no tribe should feel that it is superior to another tribe in this country. The British Government asked us to work together in partnership and we must get that into our heads. No tribe should think that they are superior because they are the majority tribe in the country or that they should ride other tribes like a horse. I hope this Senate will consider the matter.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : On a point of Order, Sir. I think on three occasions, Senators have moved that the question be now put. Unless the President can satisfy the Senate—as regards Standing Order 30 (1)—

“After a question has been proposed a Senator rising in his place may claim to move “That the question be now put”, and, unless it shall appear to the Chair that such motion is an abuse of the rules of the Senate or an infringement of the rights of a minority,.....”

The President : So it appears.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : Mr President, Sir, I beg to move that the question be now put.

The President : Hon. Senators, the President has an absolute discretion and I think when a good President finds that there are still many people who want to air their views, he should let them air their views. It is not the duty of the President to stifle people who want to speak.

Senator Dr N. Orizu : I am very happy that I have been called upon to speak because when this Motion was first debated in this House, I was not present.

I wish to refer to what I gathered from the speech of the last speaker. He said it would appear that people had been partisan. I was satisfied when I came in this morning to note that other hon. Senators of this House spoke with a certain amount of understanding and honesty by insisting that this hon. Senate had agreed and had given consent to this Motion before. Those who spoke on any other consideration were only warning us about certain things. I did not hear anybody either from the West or from the East or from the North who said it was a partisan affair.

Now, to the function of the Senate. The function of the Senate is not to constitute itself into Committees of Enquiry. The function of the Senate above all things is to look into the correctness of a Bill that comes before the Senate, what has happened and what are the antecedents.

What are the antecedents? It was a special idea that was originated and given to the nation by the Government of Western Nigeria. There has never been any other Regional Government which passed any view or passed any Motion, in any fashion, creating or giving assent to the creation of any new region except the Western Region.

The other thing is that when you talk about people not being satisfied with the *status quo* or with the framework which is the Government, you have to realise that there are two things that affect all, what you call evolution or what you call agitation. When an agitation succeeds it counts as independence; but when it fails it counts as insurrection. That is it. If the people, gathered together, say that they will not do something and they succeed, then the other people will count them as good people. But if they do not succeed, the Government of the day will count them as insurrectionists and they will be working against the law. That has been true all over the world. Their being able to win depends on the absoluteness of the wishes of the people as a whole.

We have hon. Members of the Senate here now who are from the Mid-West. I do not know their political identifications but from what I have learned from them, they have indicated clearly that this is the wish of the people of the Mid West, petty quarrels notwithstanding.

We would like to know whether there has never been trouble even in the homes of hon. Senators here—troubles probably among their children. For instance an hon. Senator has five children. Among the five, some would be the favourites of the father and some the favourites of the mother. All of them would quarrel with one another, but will the Senator abandon his family because there is quarrel within them? Any new State must have a bit of trouble within it. It is a sign of growth. When, therefore, there is a little trouble in the Mid-West, take it as a sign of growth resulting from the human nature.

I will now go on to dismiss completely the suspicious views about the creation of the Mid-West State. I know that the people with such views are the same people who were so low as to completely reject the proposal about the Northern Region. If we are partisan politicians here, why did the N.C.N.C. Senators here support the N.P.C. Senators. It is because it is an indication that our Senate is one of the best in the world.

According to the rumour that the Mid-West State is intended to serve the Western Region, I do not think that the Mid-West State should serve any Government. It is not for us to discuss the mechanism of the would-be Mid-West State. I should at this stage make one addition but the person I would have made reference to is here and I therefore will abandon what I would like to say. But I want hon. Senators to understand my own view that this new region is going to be one of the holiest regions in Nigeria. The men who are going to man it are men I know to be of honesty and truth.

Now, I, therefore, insist that hon. Senators, not me now because I am, as far as I am concerned, the only person out of it, that hon. Senators approve the Motion and stop making quarrels otherwise it would be pure politics again. Whenever one is pointing one finger at somebody one should remember that there are three fingers pointing at one. Everybody is not playing politics but the political politic is the man who talks and acts politic who is playing politics. Therefore, I beg the House again that we act like Senators as we have been doing and carry on the decision that has been made; to act not as an N.P.C. member, not

as an N.C.N.C. member and not as an A.G. member but as a Senator of the Federation of Nigeria. (*Applause*).

Question put and agreed to.

The President : In view of the requirements of the Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria, I direct that the House go into Division.

The Senate divided.

Ayes—41, Noes—Nil, Abstention—1.

AYES

Seat No.	Name of Member
3	Senator Asemota
4	Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku
5	Senator Malachias Bawa
6	Senator Chukwubike
7	Senator Ejaife
8	Senator Alhaji Ahmed Metteden
9	Senator Abaagu
10	Senator Chief Ugwuocha
11	Senator Chief Ojon
12	Senator Adele II, the Oba of Lagos
13	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale
14	Senator Chief Ndu
15	Senator Chief Olayeye
16	Senator Mrs Esan
17	Senator Muhammadu Sani
18	Senator Nzerem
19	Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu
20	Senator Chief Acholonu
21	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba
22	Senator Chief Obi
23	Senator Olamijulo
25	Senator Fulani
26	Senator Dr Orizu
27	Senator Chief Esangbedo
29	Senator Hassan Rafin Dadi
30	Senator Chief Nakoku
32	Senator Idirisu Tafidan Adamawa
33	Senator Udoh
34	Senator Eyitayo
35	Senator Yesufu
36	Senator Ukattah
37	Senator Ogundipe
38	Senator Zanna Sheriff
39	Senator Chief Umoh
40	Senator Lagunju
41	Senator Alhaji Ungogo
42	Senator Alhaji Abudu Minister of Health Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin) Minister of State (M. Nuhu Bamali).

Abstention

28 Senator Chief Doherty

Resolved, That this House approves a proposal for an alteration to section 3 of the Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria for the purpose of establishing a fourth region

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[*Adjournment*]

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within the Federation of Nigeria consisting territorially of Benin Province in Western Nigeria including Akoko Edo District in Afenmai Division, and Delta Province in Western Nigeria including Warri Division and Warri Urban Township area.

the Senate do now adjourn—(The Minister of Health).

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That the Senate do now adjourn.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That

Adjourned accordingly at thirty minutes past eleven o'clock.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Friday, 23rd March, 1962

The Senate met at 9 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH
(MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS)

Senator Shettima Kashim : I rise to move the Motion standing in my name on the Order Paper of the day, 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 Houses of Parliament."

I consider this not only a privilege but a singular honour to move this Motion and lead the Debate. This is the second Speech from the Throne since Nigeria attained sovereignty eighteen months ago, and it is also the second Speech from a Nigerian Governor-General, an illustrious son of Nigeria.

Nigeria has been extremely lucky to have the Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe as its first Governor-General, and we in this country, especially those of us who come from the North where Dr Azikiwe was born, have every cause to thank Almighty God for creating Dr Azikiwe in Nigeria. In Nigeria there is not a more deserving person to occupy the Throne of Governor-General, because Dr Azikiwe has done more than any living man in this country towards the liberation and independence of Nigeria. He has done this not by any miracle but by mere patience over the years. He has done this by a very deep sense of patriotism and sheer tolerance, by a clear determination, by a very strong courage and sincerity of purpose, by honesty and integrity, and by refusing to be discouraged by oppressions, suppressions, victimisations and intimidations.

It is only right and proper for this man who has laboured and sweated so much for Nigeria, this man who has served Nigeria so faithfully, to be Head of a free and sovereign Nigeria. But, I do not know whether Dr

Azikiwe has been rewarded adequately for all he has done for Nigeria. I personally consider it is far from being so.

Nigeria is heading for a republican form of Government sooner or later, and when this is accomplished Dr Azikiwe should be compensated fully by making him the life President of a Republican Nigeria.

The Speech from the Throne is not only noble and brilliant in itself by any standard in the world, but it is also touching and encouraging, and it carries with it many far-reaching development projects for the people of Nigeria. The Speech lays out very vividly all the external and internal problems of Nigeria and the plans outlined in it are very progressive and imaginative and they are so designed to cover adequately the just requirements of the people of Nigeria for their social and economic development.

Before I try very briefly to deal with the Speech, I would like to express my appreciation of the efforts made by the Federal Government since independence, in the manner in which it has run smoothly and peacefully. The Coalition Government of the N.C.N.C. and the N.P.C. has come to stay and it has proved beyond doubt that it is going to continue. The Ministers are quite prepared to work together amicably ; they have thus falsified their enemies who have been expecting a breakdown in the Federal Government since independence.

The Prime Minister and his Ministers deserve our congratulations for their sincerity and devotion to duty, and also for their readiness to shoulder the greater and increased responsibilities brought about by independence. We have implicit confidence in Sir Abubakar and his Ministers, and we wish them every success for the future.

Turning now to the Speech from the Throne, I would first of all refer to the recent Conference in Lagos of Heads of African and Malagasy States and the Charter referred to in that connection. It is a welcome step forward to bringing the African States together, and Nigeria has already built for herself a high reputation on dignity and respect, and there is no reason why, with Nigeria as senior partner, the resolutions on economic and financial co-operation, transport and telecommunications, education and decolonisation, will not be pursued with a view to strengthening solidarity, co-operation and unity among countries in

[SENATOR SHETTIMA KASHIM]

Africa. If this ideal is worked for gradually by closer collaboration among the countries in Africa, unity among them will no doubt be assured.

We feel proud that Nigeria is a Member of the eighteen-nation Committee on Disarmament, and we hope the Nigerian Delegation to Geneva will play its part in the cause of world peace.

It is pleasing to note that Government is taking steps to strengthen the security of the nation, and that our Security Forces in the Congo Republic have maintained and will continue to maintain the very high reputation they received, and also that Government has received many expressions of praise for our Police and Army in that country. I do not think it is out of place if I suggest that a few Senators and Members of the House of Representatives paid a visit to the Republic of the Congo to see our Police and Army there. This will encourage them and boost up their morale, and the visit will justify the money spent on it.

The Speech from the Throne contains a plan for the welfare of every Nigerian of any walk of life. In short, the Federal Government has proposed to reorganise and expand the Royal Nigerian Army and the Royal Nigerian Navy; establish a Military Academy; improve the health and welfare of the entire people of the Federation; improve the administration of justice and of the legal profession; expand educational facilities; improve rail and road transport; encourage sports and recreation; improve telecommunications and broadcasting and introduce television; expand research into agriculture, veterinary and forestry, and continue the battle against smuggling.

As a Member of the Ashby Commission, I note with pleasure that Government will follow up the implementation of the accepted recommendation of that Commission, that a National Universities Commission will be established and that an Inter-Regional Man-power Development Board will be established.

As I said earlier on, the proposals in the Speech from the Throne are far-reaching. Let us pray that God may grant strength and wisdom to the Prime Minister and his Ministers to implement them.

Mr President, I beg to move.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : It is my honour and privilege to second this Motion of Thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria for his eloquent Speech from the Throne.

As the hon. mover has rightly said, this is the second occasion on which the Speech from the Throne has been read by an indigenous Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria. There is no doubting the fact that when the last imperialist Governor-General was here, he left us in no doubt as to the fact that the responsibility of holding that office will one day devolve upon one of our own citizens and rightly that office was taken up by the man who was best suited for it, and that person is the Rt. Hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe.

One point I wish to emphasize, however, is that the divine enlightenment that we had which led this nation to choose him as the first indigenous Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria will guide us to consider him as the first President of a Republican Nigeria. Because we have able men like the Governor-General himself, the Prime Minister and all the other Ministers to guide us, no one fails to realise the fact that Nigeria has safely marched forward in the management of her own affairs, particularly since the 1st of October, 1960, when Nigeria became a sovereign and fully independent nation.

We all hear of disastrous events taking place all over the world to-day. It is, therefore, significant that while some of the older nations and more advanced countries are facing difficult times, our own country led by the Federal Government of Nigeria and, indeed, all the Regional Governments of the Federation have timed their work and plans under circumstances which make it more congenial and happier for our progress.

Anybody who listened attentively to His Excellency's Speech from the Throne will certainly agree with me that the Federal Government is resolute in making its plans. This is shown by the fact that in spite of financial limitations the Government has gigantic and expansive programmes designed to ensure the economic emancipation of this country which alone can give value and meaning to our national political independence.

In order that these programmes may be carried through successfully, it is our duty, as Senators, to examine critically all the salient points contained in His Excellency's eloquent Speech from the Throne. We have to do this with a view to making useful suggestions and offering concrete advice that will help to guide the Government.

The first point on which I would like to touch here is the most recent Conference held in Lagos of Heads of African and Malagasy States. Personally, I am happy and I am satisfied that all the delegates were hospitably received and very comfortably accommodated. It would have been a disgrace if the contrary had been the case. It would have been a loss of honour, the honour of playing host. One of the outstanding features of the Conference was the acceptance in principle of a Charter of the Inter-African and Malagasy States Organisation. There is a hint that a white paper will come before us in due course and I, therefore, do not intend to anticipate this white paper. Meanwhile, I touch on this matter not because I wish to answer the question whether that Conference was a success or not. I think the best thing to do here is to leave time and history to give the answer.

What has led to my speaking on this, however, is a recent newspaper report that a British Daily, *The Economist*, secretly published a report giving the world the impression that the Conference was a flop and attributing the failure of that Conference to the unsuitability and inefficiency of all the main Nigerian political leaders. In his Speech from the Throne, His Excellency said and with your permission, Mr President, I read: "In the sphere of external relations, my Government will continue to maintain its declared policy of friendship with all nations and countries that truly respect the sovereignty and independence of Nigeria".

One might argue that *The Economist* is no organ of the British Government or that the report as contained in our own newspapers here was incorrect, but one fact remains and that is this that neither the British Government at home nor its representative here in the country has refuted that report. One is, therefore constrained to come to the conclusion that *The Economist* was expressing the view of the British Government as regards the merits and demerits of that Conference with special reference to the part played by Nigeria.

May I make it clear that we resent all such invidious attacks on our leaders, particularly when such attacks are unprovoked and unjustifiable. Our leaders are our leaders, no matter what may be their short-comings and no Ulysses from Great Britain can come here to displace them as our leaders; no Macmillan, no Maudling can do that. Our leaders are our leaders and we recognise and respect them as such. What crime have they committed to be attacked in that way other than that they lead the country to see and believe that no man is good enough to know another man's business?

We want the friendship of all other countries but not at all costs. People who abuse our leaders certainly can have no respect for the sovereignty of our country and friendship with such countries, I must say, must be viewed with suspicion.

The second point I would like to touch upon here, is the establishment of a Military Academy. I have always said that the Nigerian Army cannot as yet be expected to be what it should be until its officers and personnel are all Nigerians. One of the causes of the downfall of the old Roman Empire was that the army was flooded with people from foreign countries. If there is any place in the services of a nation where foreigners should not be allowed to serve, that place is the Armed Forces. The reasons are too obvious to require mention here. It is, therefore, necessary that the Government should think of the establishment of our own Military Academy which will make the Nigerian Army fully independent in both trained personnel and the provision of its equipment.

My next observation is on the establishment of an All-Nigeria Academic Council. This idea is indeed plausible. I am sure that the Government appreciates the pressure of high standards in our educational institutions. I would suggest therefore that the Federal Government, in conjunction with the Regional Governments, sets up a similar body for all the secondary and primary institutions we have in the Federation. This alone will ensure the production of suitable would-be students for our Universities. Until such a body is set up, the great evil of falling standards created by regionalising education will remain unchallenged.

[SENATOR UKATTAH]

Concerning text-books, especially in our primary schools, I must say that the Government has really failed to satisfy the needs of Nigerian schools. Not all schools in the country can boast of suitable text-books for pupils. And as a result, there are frequent changes from one series to another, from this set of notes to another. Every Education Officer tries to recommend his own set—usually those written by his brothers. This system, in addition to causing hardship to parents and guardians, does not make for either orderly progress or efficiency. If the Federal Government can take a definite measure for the production of suitable text-books then we have gone a long way in creating a record in the field of education in the country.

Coming to the question of raising and improving the general standard of nursing, I have to say that the main trouble with our nurses is not failing to pass examinations. It lies in their attitude to the patients. The arrogant and insulting attitude of most of our nurses all over the country tends to make our hospitals and medical institutions very unpopular ; and I must point out here that these troubles come from our women nurses. The insult and maltreatment which patients—especially pregnant mothers—receive from nurses now constitute a national problem, and the Government should do something about them because if patients fear to go to our hospitals to be insulted by nurses, they will seek medical attention from other doctors ; and we know the consequence. This point is very serious and I hope the Minister will take note of it, so that in trying to raise and improve the standard of nursing, emphasis must be placed on the importance of showing sympathy, and patience. Nurses should treat patients with patience, with sympathy, with affection, with courtesy, and give useful advice instead of abusing the patients.

The next point is the problem of unemployment. I have a very short observation to make. You know that unemployment is a world-wide problem and here, in this country it is becoming so acute that everyone of us should help to find a solution. My advice to the Government on this is to discontinue the practice of employing or re-engaging pensioners, no matter how rare their qualifications may be. We have passed the stage

when pensioners were re-engaged on the grounds of their possessing rare qualifications and qualities.

I go next to what touched me most in His Excellency's address, the £670 million Development Plan. With the permission of the President, I wish to read a portion of the relevant paragraph here—paragraph 67 : "The ultimate success of the Plan will" that is the six-year Development Plan, "among other things, depend on the willingness of the people to make sacrifices in order to finance the Plan." The ultimate success depends on the willingness of the people—that indeed is a factual statement. But how then can we secure the willingness of the people? That is the question. I do not think that there is any better way than the wise way now adopted in Eastern Nigeria by summoning all the leaders of thought to consider the gigantic programme. We cannot leave this kind of thing to just a few. A nation-wide conference of the type we envisage should give us the opportunity of drawing together all the talents of the nation, from among our educationists, economists, merchants, petty traders, clergymen, industrialists and indeed all other people in all walks of life.

In the East where such a conference has been held more than once, it has proved successful. I do not see the reason why the Federal Government should not follow. It will not be out of place to follow this method adopted by a Regional Government if we want to ensure the success of the six-year Development Plan. We must do everything in our power to arrive at useful decisions ; and if we get all these leaders together from all over the country, it certainly will help to secure the willingness of the people.

I go next, to research work ; although by the constitutional set-up of the country, the Federal Government is concerned only with research. The Federal Government should do more than research work. We should do everything possible to popularise agriculture.

We all appreciate the efforts made by the Regional Governments in the field of agriculture and the most striking feature of the activities is the establishment of farm settlements. It is indeed a very wise measure. Wise in that the settlements are designed to popularize agriculture to make it attractive and

provide room for the absorption of our primary school leavers. If that is followed up it will go a long way towards minimising the problem of unemployment throughout the Federation.

The suggestion I would make therefore is that the Federal Government should squeeze money from the votes constantly made for research work in agriculture, forestry and fishery, and reduce the army of research officers, many of whom are doing nothing. Let the money go into something profitable and practicable. Let the Federal Government think seriously on this and try to make financial aid available to Regional Governments to enable them execute in full their farm settlement projects.

In conclusion, I wish to say that whatever advice and suggestions are given here are given in good faith and with the sole aim of helping the Government to do more. Nobody is beyond advice. No Government is beyond advice; all Governments are human organisations and nothing human is perfect.

Although the Federal Government is not perfect, I believe it is efficient and energetic. There is no doubting the fact that if we examine carefully what the Federal Government has achieved, we will find that what it has done rightly far exceeds what it may have done wrongly. No matter what may be the shortcomings of the Government, I am convinced that if the six-year Development Plan is carried through, Nigeria will certainly be transformed, and our own future generations will remember us for good.

Once more, may I say 'congratulations' to His Excellency and to the Federal Government in general.

Sir, I beg to Second.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I have first to thank the hon. Senators who have moved and seconded this Motion, particularly, the mover, the hon. Senator Shettima Kashim, a matured politician and a matured statesman for the way the Motion was presented to the House. Once again, it leads to the well established impression that this is indeed a House of matured statesmen.

We have to thank the Governor-General for the Speech. Each time we meet for the Budget Session and have the Governor-General, a Nigerian, delivering his Speech, we have cause

to be joyful. We have cause to look back, we have cause to take stock, and we have cause to adjust our bearings to know where next to steer.

The Governor-General is a man of great personality who has given every aspect of his life to the public life of this great country of ours. We thank him very much, and I am sure the people of this country reading the Address once again, have rededicated themselves to the loyalty and the great allegiance they owe to the National Flag of this country.

This is indeed the second Address after our independence, an Address which is highly technical because the Address was trying to carry Nigeria away from that state of complacency and to present a programme or arouse a national awakening to the task ahead.

We cannot therefore expect that Address to be as simple as an Address made when things are normal. Indeed, we are not in any state of emergency but economically, it may be said that we are in a state of determinism, gearing ourselves and getting ourselves prepared to face the reality ahead.

The close of the Address dealt with the Development Programme. Of course, the Governor-General, was not in a position to give us details of the Development Programme, but he has given us the principles. What we are concerned with is the principle of the Programme and I am sure, everybody in this hon. House will align himself with that principle because we feel satisfied that Nigeria should be developed not only to create buildings, but to bring about a state of contentment and to raise the standard of living of our own people.

It has been said that in the execution of this great task ahead, every Nigerian will be called upon to make sacrifice. We are prepared for the sacrifice so that our children may come to live in happier surroundings. I am sure, there is no soul to-day and no Nigerian to-day who will say, that he will not make whatever sacrifice he may be called upon to make, even to contribute the widow's mite. The Government may therefore have our assurance as Members of this hon. Senate, that we shall co-operate with our own Government in the execution of the Development Programme and God being our helper, we shall all live to see the Development Programme mature and we shall all live to see the fruits and to enjoy the very fruits of our own labour in the matter of developing this country.

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The recent African Heads of State Conference has been a pointer to the peoples of Africa. It was a success because once again, it attempted and has brought Africa back to the position Africa was prior to its partition, when the colonialists got themselves together and divided Africa among France, Germany, Belgium and Great Britain. We have brought Africa back to her former position, we are back to that era when Africa was one and, what we have to do now is to reweld ourselves so that Africans will be able to work together and speak with one voice.

And what greater honour do we expect for Nigeria than that the African Heads of State Conference was held on our own soil. I do not think there is any greater honour than this. On that we have to congratulate our Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. We have been watching very carefully his performances and I can assure him that historians are taking note. I am sure that in no distant date, he will be projected to the world as one of the greatest sons of Africa. (*Applause*).

We do not want to pick words here, and we do not want to give any impression of people who suffer from complex. At the same time, in this hon. House, the Governor-General being the Head of State, we being statesmen, the President of the Senate being the Chairman of the statesmen and, in our own line-up, we are in the line-up of the Governor-General. We shall not accept any insinuations on our Governor-General. We were not happy when one of the national papers in an African territory made a conjecture that our own Governor-General was repeating the voice of London. That was the greatest insult that this country can be called upon to bear. Of course, attempts have been made to recall and to disown that statement. In future, we would like all Africans to be highly cautious, and any attempt to ridicule or embarrass ourselves, we must not allow our personal feelings or our *ego* or our arrogance to becloud our real sense of judgment. We would not like to see such a thing happen again, particularly affecting our Governor-General. Every country on the African soil to-day knows that if any African repeats the voice of any nation, particularly an imperialist nation, the last man to do that will be Dr the Rt. hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

The other point I want to raise is this. We are very happy that this Conference was held in Nigeria. At the same time, we were not very happy with how Senators, big men of the State, elder statesmen of this country were treated. There should have been opportunities for us to meet people like His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, invite him to our Chamber to address us, and let us hear from him. When our leaders visit other countries, they address the Legislators there; even when our Prime Minister visited the United States, he addressed the Congress. The Legislators of this country should have been afforded the opportunity of having first hand personal knowledge of these Heads of State. When all these African Heads of State assembled in Nigeria, there was no opportunity for them to see our Parliament at work. The Heads of State, in particular the Emperor of Ethiopia, the symbol of African history, should have addressed our Parliament. I think in future our Government will take note of this because more of these Conferences are yet to come.

Again, if Senators are far away and they are not able to attend functions, the mere act of sending them these invitations, will satisfy them and make them say to themselves—"yes, I am recognised." I do not think that Chief Obi would like to come all the way from Port Harcourt just for the pleasure of attending a State Banquet, but it is an honour particularly to our most respected Alhaji Shettima Kassim. Let him receive these cards and then say—"well, these people are worrying me; tell them I am sorry." I think it is the greatest honour and our Government should take note of it.

From this, I want to make a suggestion that the time has come when some African languages should be taught in all African schools, because when we assemble like Africans we have no common language. We use French and English and these are all foreign languages. If we speak in different languages and the languages are African, it is acceptable to me. But we should not assemble to speak different languages and for these languages to be foreign. I think it is high time we did away with that. Let our African leaders meet and decide on which African languages are acceptable, and let those be taught in African schools so that our children coming up will not be faced with the same difficulties that we have now.

On my part, I have to congratulate the Government in the attempt to Nigerianise the top posts in the Army. But there is one point I should have liked the Governor-General to clarify. With your permission, Mr President, I quote : Page 2 of His Excellency's speech :—

“For the first time the Royal Nigerian Army will embark on a scheme to Nigerianise the higher ranks of its officers and the training of a sufficient number of cadets to ensure complete Nigerianisation within the shortest possible period.”

In my whole life, I have lived to disregard these words—“as early as possible” or “within the shortest possible period”. It is indefinite; we must have a date. We must say that we are working towards the end of 1963, 1964 or 1965 or that by the end of 1963, 1964 or 1965 all the top posts in the Army would have been Nigerianised. That is definite. That is something that we can look forward to. But, as it is now, I feel that the Government, in the usual diplomatic language, is trying not to commit itself. But, in matters of this nature, we must have to commit ourselves so that the nation will know what we are heading for.

The other point that I want to deal with is on external affairs or friendship. I agree that we must be friendly with all nations, but we must be very very careful. Call me a conservative; call me a socialist, or call me anything—we must be very careful. If we are not very careful and we muzzle the shade of opinion in this country in our attempts to be friendly with all nations, we may be running this nation into a totalitarian state, because if you watch most of these youngmen—it may not be known to you, we are in and out—most of these youngmen have ideas. I do not quarrel with communists; I do not quarrel with democrats; but I quarrel with totalitarianism. This thing is finding a foothold in Nigeria gradually and I will caution our Government that they must watch their steps in this particular matter.

The speech of the Governor-General is all-embracing, I raised this matter with the Minister of Transport—we have road works, we have accidents. There is no day you will pick up your newspaper without reading of fatal accidents on the road. In the first place, we have no good roads in this country, but I am sure our development plan which we are now envisaging may take care of that.

Apart from this the workers themselves are overtasked. They have no resting place. Those of us who have been abroad to places like Europe or the United States will know the conditions under which road workers work. A driver has the use of hotels and other resting places so that he does not have to overwork himself. The man who drives in the night does not have to drive in the day so that the man does not run weak.

In this country, one of the reasons why the men are overworked is that as far as road work is concerned all a lorry owner has to do is to get a driver and put him in the lorry. There is no condition of service; no satisfaction. The driver is simply ordered to take the lorry to Lagos with the cargo and come back again with another cargo. No more. I feel it is high time our Government took particular care of road workers to bring about working conditions which will ensure the safety not only of their lives but also the lives of the people who also use the roads.

In another aspect I see that the Government is determined to carry out its re-construction of Lagos. That is very good and is welcome but I feel that in the carrying out of that re-construction of Lagos the Government must fulfil its obligation in seeing to it that, as much as possible of the reclaimed areas of Lagos goes to the people of Lagos and that as many of the people of Lagos as would like to acquire land are given such consideration. Afterall, a Lagos man cannot go to the East or West or North and lay claim to any land. For the mere fact that Lagos is a Federal territory, it appears that the indigenous people of Lagos are being squeezed out of their land. The land is allocated to people from the West or people from the North or the East while people from Lagos suffer. I do not think this is a salutary situation and it is not making those of us who are indigenous natives of Lagos really happy. We therefore, appeal to the Government.

In this connection, I would like to add that the idea of imposing standard buildings is not at all helpful bearing in mind the economy of this country. A man is said to be given a piece of land and yet it is insisted that he must have five or six stories built on it. I do not think that this can help this country at this stage. The ultimate result is that the land goes back to aliens. How many Nigerians

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can we find outside Lagos, who are in a position conveniently and without any loan, to build five or six storey houses? How many? I do not think that this will help us. It is just like saying that we want to safeguard our land and at the same time giving it away. I think that the Government should look into this, re-consider it and let the people build modest buildings which they can afford.

An hon. Senator : Not slums !

Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : Modest buildings do not mean slums.

I am very happy that for the first time the Labour Code is mentioned by the Government. I was on the panel of experts, I claim to be, who considered the revision of the existing Labour Code. I think we completed that work as far back as 1958 but up till now the report has not seen the light of day. Whether the employers were sceptical of it I do not know. I do not know either whether they thought that it was giving the workers too much money. Now that it is decided that the Labour Code will be reviewed, I think it is a very happy and welcome thing.

Connected with that is the problem of unemployment in this country. As I said sometime ago, we are thinking of establishing more universities and more secondary schools in Nigeria and yet we are still facing the problem of unemployment. The days of ignorance and illiteracy are gone in Nigeria. Everybody will now be educated.

I do not believe that the answer to unemployment is to refuse the employment of pensioners. After all, how many pensioners are re-engaged? Very few of them.

The thing is that the opportunity for employment is not there, both the Government and the labour employers are still dismissing and discharging people. I do not think that is a very good thing. If even for anything, in order to be able to maintain the society it should be the policy of the Government to guarantee continuous employment. After all, that is the fair share of the ordinary man in the national economy. It is his own fair share. As many as are employed, as many there are in a position to buy and to influence the economy of the country for good. So I think that the Federal Government must now have to abandon its idea of dismissing people. They must find work for

them. Everybody who is presently engaged must be retained. We must find work for them. All those contracts given to big contractors and other things like that must now be done by direct labour or otherwise. But something must be done.

I have to thank the House for bearing with me in this very important matter. The other matter I have to touch upon is the question of our telecommunication. We are very happy that it is going to be improved. Millions of pounds of money will be spent on it. I should now point out that the telephone system in this country is shameful. Although we have telephone operators, if one dials 94 and 95 on the exchange lines to get help in obtaining a number or to make an enquiry, one will hang on for twenty minutes during which time no operator will answer it. Instead of receiving help on the line one would only receive laughter. This is not at all helpful. The operators just keep laughing and one could guess the operators are in conversation. We should have thought that women operator's would do the work well as it is a woman's job but with apology to our womenfolk, am not insinuating but I do not know if our women operators are more interested in other people or other things than in the jobs for which they are paid.

I feel that the Minister of Communications must look into this because a man coming from abroad will expect the same telephone attendance here as in his own country. When I was in the United States for instance I wanted to speak to a friend in San Francisco—about 4,000 miles away. Within two minutes of my lifting the receiver I was talking to that man 4,000 miles away.

The other time when I was in London I wanted to trace my sister working in a hospital in Surrey. I only had to give the operator my sister's name and the name of her hospital I said to the operator : "I want to speak to her but I do not know the telephone number. Can you help me?" She asked : "What is your number?" Within four minutes I was talking to the lady.

You cannot get such things in Nigeria. In point of fact, if you tell an operator here that you want the hon. Minister of Labour, she will ask you for the Minister's number. If you reply that you do not know the number

and that is why you are asking her to help you get it, she will tell you that the number is in the Directory. This type of thing is not particularly helpful to people who are here for the first time. The Minister of Communications must have to do something about this situation which is not a welcome one.

An hon. Senator referred to the question of Health. I am a Labour man, and if these nurses are given good conditions they have to be taught the humanitarian aspect of their job. I feel the same thing applies to the doctors, with apologies to the hon. Minister of Health.

There was a case in the hospital the other day. Somebody had an accident and was bleeding. The doctor on duty at the hospital looked at the time and said: "No, it is two o'clock now; I must go. You had better wait for the man who is coming after me". The man died. I think it is time we started suing our hospitals.

There was another case. I took someone to the residence of a doctor and we found the doctor all right, but he said he was going for lawn tennis. If the doctors can do that what do you expect the nurses to do. If the doctors show some sense of seriousness the nurses will know that their bosses will not take any nonsense. Therefore, they have got to be up and doing in their job.

The doctors are the people corrupting the nurses, and I feel if there is anybody to be spoken to it is the doctor. Fortunately, I do not go to the hospitals. I cure myself.

I feel I have covered some grounds on this very important Speech made by our Governor-General, but I cannot take my seat without referring to the constant leakage of our official secrets. We are not very happy. Things which are done in the Council of Ministers and things which are considered to be very secret are found in the papers. I do not think we can build a country in that way if we cannot trust ourselves.

The next thing is that we do not want Europeans to be secretaries. We do not want any other expatriate to be secretary. Now we make Nigerians secretaries and we find that there is no secrecy. As a result we as a people start to suspect our Ministers. Whether the fault is theirs or not we cannot say. The Ministers suspect the secretaries.

The secretaries suspect the permanent secretaries, and all that sort of thing. That is why I warn that if we are not very careful a totalitarian form of life is finding its way into this country. There are several agents.

A Bill, Official Secrets Act, is shortly coming before us. I do not know to what extent that will cover this constant leakage in our Cabinet. We do not want it as a people. We are not happy about it. I would advise that our Ministers must have to talk less because a Minister may be in a car with the orderly and the driver discussing between themselves. You never know what can happen after all. I feel we are not happy. We only want the Government to know that we are not happy, and something must be done about that, because it is not showing us in good light to the outside world.

As far as the Electoral Act is concerned care must be taken of hooliganism at elections. We attained our independence without incident. There was no bloodshed. There was no killing. There was no burning down of houses. Now that we are an independent and a sovereign state should we simply because we are going for elections start to kill ourselves and hire boys who belong to the under-world to do all forms of nefarious things so that we may come into power? I feel the Electoral Act must take particular care to see that where any Party infringes the Act that Party's candidate should be disqualified. We must only come into power through the wishes of the people and not through intimidation. I think this must have to be condemned wherever it is found.

The Voice of Nigeria is heard all over Africa, but we must extend it to Europe. We have thousands of our boys there. They want to know what is going on at home. I think if this is done we should have done a good job.

I do not want to touch on the financial aspect. The Appropriation Bill 1962-63 will be coming before us, and when it comes we shall be in a position to exercise our minds to the full, but as far as this is concerned I should have thought that the Governor-General would make a little statement on our trade position, because up till now our import still exceeds our export, and that does not make our economy to be stable. I feel our Government

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should have made a pronouncement as to what plans they have to combat it, whether by restriction or any other means they could ever think of. I feel that if this is an omission it can still be taken care of, and perhaps a Ministerial Statement could be made by the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry as to how to allay our fears, because if that situation continues it may affect our plans for the development of the country.

I beg to support the Motion to convey our thanks to the Governor-General.

Senator M. B. Chukwubike : I rise to thank and congratulate the Governor-General of the Federation for his gracious Speech from the Throne. The Speech is the product of a master-brain, and I join other hon. Senators in praising the Governor-General for his Speech.

It is good for one to live and enjoy the fruits of one's hard labour, and at this point I am saying that the Governor-General who started the race to freedom is enjoying the fruits of his hard labour, and most of us Nigerians are sharing the same booty.

Permit me to congratulate His Excellency on his installation as the life President of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The hon. Senators who had the privilege of attending that occasion will agree that that was the second great occasion we had in this country since after independence, after his installation as the first Governor-General of the Federation. What greater honour can we not accord to this great hero ?

The Speech, as I said, portrays the activities of our Government for the past twelve months and far reveals to this hon. House the position of the Government in the current year. It is a fact that the past activities of our Government are commendable, laudable and beneficial, and the Federal Government is determined in the current year to shoulder the heavy responsibility of our independence.

We owe our hon. Prime Minister and his Cabinet unreserved vote of gratitude. I have one observation to make on Agriculture. It is gratifying that all the Governments of the Federation now realise that the main foundation of the economy of any great nation is agriculture. The Governments of the Federation have

embarked upon large scale agriculture, and the Federal Government as the steering body is expected to render greater help to the Regional Governments.

Farming in this country is becoming very attractive, and it is therefore a big challenge to unemployment. But permit me to remark very seriously that the price of our farm products is falling in a big way; the sharp cut in the price of our cocoa and farm produce is highly deplorable. All I am trying to suggest here, is that the Federal Government should by all means find better ways for our export crops.

I once more congratulate His Excellency the Governor-General on his noble Speech from the Throne.

I support the Motion.

Senator Dr A. A. N. Orizu : I am not going to speak very much of the Governor-General now; a lot has been said, particularly by the Mover of the original Motion. I only have to thank him again that he has once more vindicated our stand that the Senate is not a political platform but a home of statesmen. The portion of the hon. Senator's speech where he suggested that it would be very good to make His Excellency the life-President of the new Republic, is very flattering to some of us who have gone through the gauntlet. I am grateful for that, and for that reason, I am not going to speak any more on the Governor-General.

I would like, however, to speak on the Prime Minister himself, because when we talk about the Speech from the Throne, we know what it means—after all, that Speech was taken up by him and handed over to the Throne and the Throne read. Therefore we have to realise the hazards of preparing that Speech.

Therefore, I have to come back to the Cabinet and the Prime Minister himself. When people hear the news in this world, they do not know what they enjoy at the time of enjoyment. The moderate nature and the silent calm personality of our Prime Minister is a very soothing thing for a nation like Nigeria, with diversified cultures, diversified languages, diversified ideals of life. It takes a man with such a calm disposition, a man with the fear of God, to run on an even keel while the wind blows from left and right. It is not always

that the strength of mind is demonstrated by mouth, and it is not always that the ability of mind is indicated by pronouncements. Some men are born great in different ways. Therefore, I have to praise and emphasise that what we are enjoying now is the result of the type of personality we have in our Prime Minister. He is one of the few movers of moves; and I mean that—one of the few movers of moves.

Now, let me just go straightaway to this question of Pan-Africanism—the idea of African countries wanting to come together. I feel that there is no other way in the world through which the outside continents will respect us, except when we come together as a group of people.

But let us understand one thing at once: in doing so, I would hate to see Nigeria taking a particular position. Some of us think that states like Egypt headed by Nasser, or States like Ghana headed by Nkrumah, are working for a contrary ideal. No! I would like to put it this way: where there is no extremity in anything, the observer never will appreciate the middle ground. What I mean is, where there is no extreme claim by anybody, the observer is not going to appreciate the middle ground. Nkrumah and Nasser are representing something that small countries like theirs should represent. They are talking to the very top of their voices. They are radical African nations. We must have them, to make other nations appreciate Nigeria, with its moderateness, carrying other African countries along. If that does not happen, if we do not remain moderate like this, and Americans and Russians and everybody think that all Africans will just go along slowly with them, not criticising anything they do—as when they wanted to kill Lumumba, someone had to talk up, as Nkrumah did—that is my own view; I offer it as such. I definitely hate totalitarianism, even in Nkrumah himself—he is my colleague, I stayed in the same bed with him in New York, and we have worked together; even his Foreign Minister, I moved his two feet in my room one day when we were fighting; we were friends, personal friends. If I go to Accra tomorrow I am going to stay with him.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusufu : Point of Order! I think the speaker has gone beyond the theme—that is, whatever he says in this

House is being diffused to the outside world. Now, if the President of Ghana, Dr Nkrumah, should happen to hear this, then he might take retaliation, which perhaps—

The President : That is not a point of Order; you are making your own opinion, your personal opinion, which happens to be contrary to his. That is not a point of Order.

Senator Dr Orizu : I am not saying anything against Dr Nkrumah; I am trying to put him in a proper light. I am saying that he is representing a type of opinion which in Nigeria we would find a way to contest; that is what I am trying to say. Nigeria is a moderate nation, with a mission in Africa, and if we are going to do so we have a way to contain all African countries, and to adopt a policy of containment. I am not condemning Nkrumah.

Now, I am not very happy about the fact that when the Heads of African States came to this country, as Chief Beyioku mentioned, nothing was done to introduce them to either of the Houses. It is not done that way—we could not have invited them to the House during the time of the special Conference. The time that our Prime Minister was introduced to the House in America—that could be done, when he had an official invitation from the Head of the State of that nation to visit that nation, by the Government. It is at such a time that a Head of State can come and speak in the Parliament. I want to make that clear; it would have been done that way.

Now, going on, I come to the question of the unity of the corporate regions of this country, that is, dealing with the actual speech from the Throne.

There has been a critical development which is very very dangerous indeed. That is why many of us, or some of us, who know that there is something dangerous always speak dangerously. For this reason, I am going into this very dangerous thing. Very often we criticise other people and try to find faults, and at the same time we say that we are going to build a great nation, with the North as one of the Regions. If really we are going to build a great Nigeria. We must of necessity understand the Northerners and encourage them. We must learn to tolerate others and try to work side by side with all the other citizens of this country. The Southerners always refuse to see

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with the Northerners in whatever they may do, and always refuse to accept the fact that the Northerners are more accommodating. If the Southerners do not show interest in the Northerners, we shall fail. I must sound this note of warning. Of course, I said earlier on that I am entering into a dangerous field. I have to do that because this is the Senate. Therefore, I say here that we have to congratulate the Northerners whenever they do a good thing. Perhaps I am all alone in this and others may disagree with me, but here I concur, and I praise whenever it is necessary to do so.

Coming to the question of the Nigerian defence, the Governor-General said a good deal about the Nigerian Army, the Navy and the Air Force. I am not going to say much about these, but one thing I must mention is that if we are going to defend our country well, we must find a way out; we must look all around the world so as to be able to discover what is good for the defence of this country. Defence ability is not something peculiarly given to any particular country in any part of the world. No nation can say that it is all round as far as the question of defence is concerned. If we are going to be really feared and respected by other countries, the time has come for our Government to make plans.

We must have a military academy. This military academy should not be designed in the pattern of any one country; we should not follow the pattern of any Western or Eastern country. We should not follow the British, French or American pattern. We have to look around the world and try to see what pattern is good for us. The Western man is not specially endowed with peculiar genius. And I must say here that one Japanese can kill 20 Americans. During the last war, the Americans dreaded the Japanese because, as I have said before, one Japanese can kill more than 20 Americans. To know whether this is true or not, give the Japanese 10 days and they will finish America. This is the reason why I say that we should not necessarily depend on any one country or nation for the development of our Armed Forces, and if we are going to be feared by other nations, we have to look around the world.

It is said that people are angry when we say that we are going to Nigerianise the Army, and that we are being ungrateful to our past masters. What does that mean? Nowhere in the world

can one find aliens being in control of the defence of another country. Our defence system should never be based on the pattern of any particular country. This is not a question of criticising our Government. Our Government must be told where they go wrong. What I am saying is what the Government should know but neglected. We must of necessity turn our attention to a vigorous defence programme and establish a good military school not based on any particular pattern but should be adjustable to the best standard in the whole world. This military school should include teachers from all parts of the world, not just from the Western countries, for instance. If the military pattern or tactics of one country is well known to another country, there is no safety at all in that country. If we continue to attach ourselves slavishly to the Western pattern in anything we may do, we are not safe.

We should imagine how the Americans got into Germany during the last world war. What happened was that they planned and got into Germany where they were able to get information as to the German atomic bomb secrets. If we realise this, we will agree that we are very childish indeed. When there is a war, people can manage to get into a country and take photographs, try to discover secret things and learn the position of everybody and everything. If it is possible for people to do this from outside the country, how much more when they are teachers and heads of the Armed Forces of the country.

Another thing is that there are about four or five countries in the world which are considered militarily superior to other nations: Russia, America, China, Great Britain and France. These are considered to be the first-class powers. But I want to say here that Japan is one of them, and Nigeria too, although Nigeria is smaller than Japan in size and population—Japan can contain Nigeria four times. Although our population is very small, we have everything which can be attractive to other countries. We have facilities to produce oil, a great amount of oil; in fact, we are the leading African country as far as oil production is concerned. Why should we not know what to do? We should remember that one day there is going to be war, and if there is any major war in the world, what these big nations will first of all look for is our

oil. We should not deceive ourselves that any country will be on our side. I am therefore warning the Government to change its policy of unconsciously going one way about the question of training our men in the military field.

Coming to the question of foreign policy, I have said it again and again that the Government should establish a Select Committee on Foreign Affairs. Let the Government establish a House Committee on Foreign Affairs so that when it comes to the question of foreign policy, there will be the people to show the way. All the three parts of Government should be able to take an active part in the shaping of Government policy, especially as far as foreign policy is concerned. If the Legislature, for instance, does not have enough knowledge, the Judiciary may have. As you know, there are three parts in the Government: the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive. These three work hand in hand, and under a system of what is called check and balance. The Judiciary can help very greatly and so can the Legislature. I should like to emphasise it again that the Government should establish a Select Committee and a House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I then come to the question of diplomatic relations. Unless we expand very quickly our diplomatic relations with other countries, it will not be possible for us to understand other countries. It is high time we had ambassadors to Japan, to Russia and to many more other countries of the world.

A man who has been eating his mother's soup, after a while discovers that the other man has a mother who has a sweet soup. It is only when a man knows that his mother's soup is not the only sweet soup that he is mature. But any man who does not know that his mother's soup is not the only sweet soup is still a child, and imbecile who does not know anything at all. Let us not work like people who think that their mother's soup is the only soup in the world. There are many types of soup in the world. Some are sweet, some are not sweet. We do not have to taste all the soup.

When we want intelligent people to go abroad we should send them to the great countries. We do not want people to be ambassadors to Togo and Mauritania when Russia is there

Japan is there, America is there. When you hear that the Americans won the war of independence, do you know how they won it? It was not America who fought the war; they only had 4½ million people by then. It was the French, it was Thomas Jefferson whom they sent to France as their Ambassador and it was from there he made the plans to circumvent England and other countries helped them to get what they desired. Now we are friendly with England, we are in the Commonwealth. Now diplomatic relations with other countries should be speeded up.

I only want to say one thing about Civil Aviation. I had a hint that the Onitsha aerodrome scheme has been abandoned. That is a strange matter to us. I want to say that I do not understand it.

I now come to Education in which I have the greatest interest because I believe that education is the answer to everything we are saying now. Nearly everybody talks about the President of the Senate. Why is he the President of the Senate? Because he has education. You talk about hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe because he has education. You talk about your Prime Minister because he has education. There is not anything else. Therefore, my own policy has been to educate the people. To educate the mind, is to liberate the people. My greatest interest in the world even though I am a politician is education. I do not give anybody anything in the world. If I meet anybody, any poor boy, I give him education. I have no money; but I think that is what the Government will have to concentrate upon. When Hiro Hito rose in Japan that was the beginning of Japanese modern civilisation. What did he do? He got a plan to make it possible for him to functionalise education. We have functionalised our educational scholarship as much as we ought to. We are still going by the good soup of one's mother.

I have to congratulate the Federal Government for their plan to build the University of Lagos. Here I have to come out again in praise not of the person of the Governor-General but of the person of Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe for the way he adamantly and dangerously built the Nsukka University. Let everybody know that the University is not going to be the moon and even if it is the moon

[SENATOR DR ORIZU]

the Russians have been there. You know people have been talking all sorts of things, people have been criticising that there is not sufficient money. People made too much noise. The noise has subsided, the truth is out and everybody is praising the Government. We now have one at Ife and the North also has one. Now the Federal Government has come in. We shall have more, it is not enough. These are all Government functions.

The time will come when individuals will build universities; that is another step. So I want to tell the hon. Odotola, he is not here and all the big men we have here in the Senate to think and do something about it now. I should have hon. Chief Doherty that is the thing he should do rather than opposing the creation of the Mid-West State. Individuals should begin right now to think in terms of building universities: it is not an impossible thing. When we are talking—people think we do not know what we are talking about; afterwards it becomes a reality. The next step is for individuals to be able to build Universities. I will not be surprised if the Minister of Health, who, I understand, is a very rich man will be able to do it.

Now I want to talk about the All-Nigeria Academic Council, I have to warn now because I know that the usual mistake is going to be made. The Minister of Education is going to write letters to Provincial agencies in the North, Provincial agencies in the South, the chief adviser to the Catholic Church, the chief adviser to the Protestant Churches, for their opinions, all foreign. I have never seen in this world where foreign people plan education. What we shall do to these foreign agents is to encourage them because they helped us a lot, give them grants. But when it comes to planning our own education, the planning should not contain any foreign element. If such a thing continues in an independent Nigeria I will be disappointed. I will criticise every day I come to the Senate. Let there be no element of any missionary from abroad. If you want somebody from an area: tell them that the person must be a Nigerian. Look for the best. Look for shades of opinion. Give chance to the possibility of individual minds. That is the essence of democracy. It has been said that contradiction is victory, the victory of life helps victory of fortune is contradiction. Therefore, when this type of thing is going to be planned.

do not look for those who will agree on one point of view. Get everybody to tell the nation what they want to do; and no matter how radical you think the person is, if you think he has a peculiar idea of education, put him there to bring him up. If he is no good, you will soon find it out by the test. The other day I heard some one say in Ibo on the radio, that the harmattan said that if a person does not use his tongue to soften his lips the harmattan will do it for that person. When the educational policy is going to be made I want to be there. It may be arrogant but I want to say it. I want to be there.

I will now go to the production of text-books. First of all, we have to look out for people with the aptitude to write text books. Some people have the aptitude to write novels; some write poetry and, others have the aptitude to write serious books. The art of text-book writing requires a certain amount of detachment not common in many people. The Federal Government should select people with this aptitude, and send them overseas on a long-term special training, and bring them back to Nigeria to produce our text-books. But those who are going to be text-book writers must be experts in our culture, in our own ideology, in our own language and in other requirements of text-book writing.

Turning to Federal Law School, I want to say that this question reminds me of the Yorubas in this House—again I am talking about soup of the mother. The Law of Evidence and what is called the Continental Law or the Common Law are applied to certain offences. As regards that, I may quote what is called Law of Evidence. I am not a student of law, so I shall be entering a dangerous pit, very dangerous for me, but I have been to a law school for a while. I have an idea of jurisprudence, which is science and philosophy of law. It is unworkable to apply a law that does not originate in the country of the people. This can be seen quite clearly when one goes to the higher zone of legal force.

Therefore in this Law School that is going to be set up, let it be absolutely synthetic; that is, a combination and with bias for Nigeria's attitude towards legal thinking. Something must be done to make it particularly synthetic—Nigeria in the making, not entirely by the soup of the old mother.

Now coming to Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku and the Lagos land people, I think that it is justified to remind the Government that there are people who originally owned this land. I do not believe in using the majority to kill the right of the minority. If at this stage Lagos happens to be the Federal territory, and by chance of history it has become our Federal territory, we shall be grateful to those people whose forefathers founded the place that we have made our Federal territory.

Coming to telephone, I would say this again, that Nnewi has no telephone. That is all I will say about that because Chief Beyioku has said all what I wanted to say. Since yesterday, I have been trying to call Eastern Region. I took up my telephone and told the operator. "This is Senator Orizu, calling the Premier of Eastern Region. Give me the Premier at once." He asked me: "What is the telephone number of the Premier?" I said: "Are you crazy? Are you asking me the number of the Premier of the Eastern Region?" He said: "No Sir, No Sir." Up till now he has not got the Premier. This particular facility should be made readily available to legislators of the country, since anything might be happening which one would want to communicate immediately.

Apart from this, I want to bring up one important item, something that I think we have to realise right now. There is a trend in the Economic Programme of this country which is going to give us another fifty years to struggle against economic imperialism. The law also provides that any new company coming to Nigeria must have one director who is a Nigerian. The result is that there are many people who go round writing letters to all parts of the world inviting people with money, whereas they have no penny. When the people come here, they join them in the company and become directors without putting in anything. Then the company becomes a Nigerian company and is known as such. I think something has to be done to check this kind of practice in this country.

We want Nigerians as Directors, but they must have money in the company and thereby have a say in the running of the company. If necessary, let Nigerians have at least fifty-one *per cent* of the shares in every company that

comes in instead of inviting many companies into this country, as is done at the moment. Everybody writes to America, Germany and Europe, asking people to join companies. Many of these people, some of whom are contractors and engineers go, on tour of these countries at the expense of the companies. Then they go to our Ministers and say, "We are the directors of such and such companies". They have no money and they put on 'Agbada' and go to the Ministers as directors of such and such companies. Then, they are given contracts and the money goes back to these foreign countries. I would say that that practice ought to be checked.

Coming to the question of labour, I am very much in sympathy with the employers of labour. Let me say this that Nigeria and very few African countries are the only places where people still sleep for twelve hours. I have said this before: we sleep too much in this country. We are very lazy people, and we encourage laziness.

I am glad that our labour expert is present, because this is something he must take back to the workers. Our people are lazy. Workers in this country should be told that people work for many hours before they demand privileges. Europeans have made us to believe that our country is so hot that we cannot work for up to ten hours, because of the heat of the sun. They said that we must work for only five to eight hours.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : Point of Order, Mr President. The Senator has spoken for more than forty-five minutes.

Mr President : He has not. I think the Senator ought to know that I was not asleep. I knew when the Senator started. He is entitled to forty minutes. He has not exhausted the forty minutes.

Senator Dr Orizu : Thank you, Mr President. I do not know whether the Senator is a labour leader. He is becoming lazy now. That is the point.

The next point I want to speak on is about the Meteorological Services in this country. If the Meteorological Services want to be useful to the farmers of this country, it is high time they translated the daily weather forecast issued by them every day into the three main languages of Nigeria—Ibo, Hausa and

[SENATOR DR ORIZU]

Yoruba. I do not understand our whole Agricultural Programme. I do not know what the Federal Government is doing about agriculture. I know that agriculture is a Regional subject, but the Federal Government can help the Regional Governments by evolving an agricultural plan for the whole of the Federation. I have not seen anything like new equipment or new machinery being used by our farmers. New equipment should be introduced into our agriculture. When one travels through the Regions of Nigeria, what does one see? Our farmers are still using the old method of farming. You will see farmers going to their farms with hoes and cutlasses. None of the Governments of the Federation has started any project yet with a view to revolutionising our agriculture.

Up till now, we still drink milk manufactured in Holland, South Africa or Great Britain. With all the cows that we have in this country we still import milk from foreign countries. Let our Governments go into the dairy business in a big way. Let us drink milk made in Nigeria when we come to Lagos and, when we are in any town in Nigeria. That is why you do not find Africans looking fine except very few Senators who have plenty of money. We should train scientists in this country. It is when we have scientists that can make research into our agriculture that we will be able to have good food. All that we do now is to eat *gari* made from cassava and yams everyday. A boy fed with *gari* and yams can never grow up into a good looking man. That is our trouble in this country.

Our Governments should start now to find ways of improving our agriculture. They should get experts and let the experts tell us how many cows Nigeria will need in a day. It is not impossible. The Federal Government should start right now. If we vote, say, £2 million for agriculture, it will not be too much. The people of this country are under-fed and the Government is doing nothing about it! Our people are being over-worked; they have no good food to eat, and we are riding big cars when our farmers should be using huge tractors.

I will now speak on the Voice of Nigeria. If any country has a weak voice, it is Nigeria because we are being mis-interpreted all over the world.

The President: The Senator has two minutes.

Senator Dr Orizu: When foreign visitors come to this country let them speak to their countries from Nigeria about Nigeria. For example, if an American visits Nigeria, invite him to the studios of Radio Nigeria and let him speak to the people of America of his impressions about Nigeria. He may say—"I am now in Nigeria. Nigerians are nice people"—just two sentences. That is propaganda. Get them to talk to their countries about us. Let them tell their countrymen that we no more have tails and that we are not monkeys.

Unfortunately, time is against me. But before I take my seat, I want to speak about our electoral laws. The electoral law of Nigeria is good, but it is high time we educated members and supporters of our political parties. In any democratic country, the right to contest election is not the exclusive preserve of any party. A party is a group of people who agree on how to govern a society. Any other party can form the government, and an individual may choose to join any political party. Election in a democracy presupposes that everybody has the right to go to the electorate so that even in one's own area when one has an independent candidate, one should be kind to him because it is not a crime in a democracy to contest an election as an independent.

I beg to support.

Sitting suspended : 11.05 a.m.

Sitting resumed : 11.20 a.m.

11.22 a.m.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe: This Motion for a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne is well justified. The Address or Speech is a masterpiece from a master-brain and an international figure of no mean reputation.

In the Address, the Governor-General has outlined in general the policy and plans of the Federal Government in the ensuing year for the economic development of the Federation of Nigeria, and I wish to refer to a few points.

In the first case, if hon. Senators turn to page 10 of the Address, they will find that the plan is a colossal one which is to cost the country a total capital expenditure of £670 million. It should be noted, according to the Address, that the ultimate success of the plan will, among other things, depend on the willingness of the people to make sacrifices in order to finance the plan which, when completed, will ensure a better life for the people. This is indeed true and it points to all loving sons of the country the importance of savings both in our private and public capacities in order to be able to contribute to the economic development of the country.

But of all the projects, the one that impresses me most is that of the Niger Dam scheme which is going to cost about £70 million. It is a very important scheme and one which I wish the Government of the Federation would be able to bring into effect. We all know the importance of electricity development of such a colossal nature for the industrial development of the country. We would need a large electrical project of this type if we are to prevent the centrifugal tendency of the people of the country into the Federal capital. By this I mean that we all realise that many people, especially the young ones, usually rush to the Federal territory as well as to the big towns of the Federation because they want employment. If such a large project like the Niger Dam project by which we shall have a large and colossal electricity plant which will make possible the opening of large industries in various parts of the Federation, the tendency for people to rush into the Federal capital for employment will be greatly reduced. Therefore, it is my great wish that the Government of the Federation would be able to achieve this colossal plan and bring it into effect in course of time.

Another important point in the Address which calls for some attention is the National Universities Commission, on page 6, which, according to the Address, will be set up. The Address says that a Bill will be brought before the House of Representatives and the Senate for the establishment of the Commission in order to ensure the orderly development of universities in Nigeria. The Commission is to be known as the National Universities Commission.

At a time like this when several universities are growing up in the country, and we wish for many more, there should be a measure by which all these universities will be co-ordinated so that a sort of uniform standard may always be maintained.

For this plan of the Government to set up a body to be known as the National Universities Commission we have to congratulate the Federal Government, and we have to pray that the body will be able to work in such a way that all the universities of the country may be able to maintain fairly uniform standards as well as such high standards which will make it possible for the product of any university college to be fully recognised in every part of the Federation.

This also reminds me of what is at present the niggardly award of scholarships to university undergraduates by the various governments of the Federation, but I must restrict myself particularly to the Federal Government.

We all know very well that our sons and daughters are very ambitious and that they all struggle hard in order to qualify themselves for university education. At the same time we know that most parents, especially of the brilliant students, are poor and cannot afford the expensive cost of university education. It would, therefore, be the duty of our Federal Government to continue to set the standard and the example for the award of generous scholarships to our various universities now springing up, irrespective of clan or political affiliation.

Another branch on which I would like to touch and on which some speakers have touched which is so important, is the promise made in page 6 of the Address that the Government will make arrangements for text-book production. If I may quote :

“My Government will intensify its activities in such fields as Library development, Audio-visual aids in Education, Text-book production, Laboratory development and Modern Language teaching. Plans will be made to expand Education broadcasts by the mass-media of radio and television.”

I wish to restrict myself to text-book production at present, and that is what we have carried as part of our heritage from our imperialistic form of education.

[SENATOR OGUNDIPE]

All text-books, or most of the text-books for all subjects—English, English Literature, Geography, History, Science—are text-books produced by the white-man, particularly reading books for both primary and secondary schools. Most of these Reading books have nothing of interest to the African child, because they contain such things which not only take us back to the Roman history but also to foreign characters. In others we hear of Mungo Park and David Livingstone and so many other characters in British history. In fact, when we think of those explorers in Africa we may excuse some of those things, but it is time we stopped our children from reading books that remind them of our colonial age.

We must inculcate in their minds the eminent character of Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, the school-days of Dr Esin in Oron, the schooldays of other eminent people such as Senator Orizu at Nnewi, or Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku, the Labour leader. Such materials as well as geographical features and historical features and characters of our own country are things which we want our children now to read.

For this reason it will be in the interest of the Government to encourage would-be Nigerian authors. Already there are many amateur authors in all the different parts of the Federation who are struggling to publish books at their own expense. Some of the books never see the light of day, because they do not have enough money to publish them, or when they give them to oversea publishers they receive so little remuneration for their work that only first editions of such books are ever published. So it is the duty at this stage of our independence that our Federal Government should do everything it possibly can do in order to promote the writing of books on various subjects—Biology, Zoology, Geography, History, Science—showing the various aspects of our own life, showing the various birds of our own country, and showing the various animals and their names and characteristics. Thus when our boys go to examination they find illustrations or questions which deal with such animals and birds and other characters and features of our own country.

Now, I want further to touch upon what the Address has said on law regarding litigation by Government and against the Government of the Federation. The Governor-General in his

Address states that legislation will also be introduced to bring up to-date the existing law regarding litigation by or against the Government. This is a very welcome gesture to bring up to date legislation that will improve the law regarding litigation by or against the Government. But it is hoped that when such legislation is introduced, it will be democratic and progressive, and would not aim at interfering with the fundamental human rights of any citizen or any constitutional rights of any particular Region of the Federation. We hope that by such legislation the Government would regard all the Regions of the Federation as sons and daughters of one father, who should be treated in the same way and not discriminated against.

The next point I want to make is about the development of sports and the National Sports Council that is to be established to foster the development of sports and to improve the standard of performance throughout the Federation. This is a very welcome suggestion of programme for development. As hon. Senators know, the development of games and sports on a national basis will help to enhance the prestige of the nation, because it improves the sporting achievements of the nation internationally.

I therefore wish to suggest that the Federal Government should try to train or recruit experts who would be in a position to visit secondary schools particularly, in order to coach and advise games masters and sportsmen in secondary schools—because it is in secondary schools that we have the network of young men who will develop sports and games and who will, by their performance, become a credit to the nation. I would wish that the Government should act on it on a national basis.

It would not be too much, too, if the Government would provide grants for subsidising sports and sports equipment in secondary schools. There are many boys and girls in secondary schools who are potentially good sportsmen in one form or another but who do not have the opportunity to develop their talents due to lack of funds with which to provide equipment and coaches. Therefore, if it would be possible for the Government to organise this on a national basis and send coaches to these secondary grammar schools, it would be an

added advantage, and it would be an expenditure that would yield very high dividends in the final analysis.

Now, one other point to which I want to refer is in the last paragraph on page 10, which deals with "... a favourable investment climate in Nigeria so that further investment of overseas capital and expertise may flow into the country."

This, again, is a very welcome gesture in the Government programme for the ensuing year. Now, we have every confidence that the Federal Government will try to provide a favourable investment climate in Nigeria. The Prime Minister has set that example in his unequivocal reply to the cry of havoc which at one time was heard throughout the country about the breakdown of law and order in one particular Region—to be specific, the Western Region. For this, the Prime Minister deserves high praise and commendation for his unequivocal statement on the fact that there was not sufficient evidence to show that there was a breakdown of law and order in any part of the Federation. This shows that the Government is sincere in its utterance here that everything will be done to promote a favourable investment climate in Nigeria, so that investment may be further encouraged in the country by not crying havoc, and by not trying to show people that our country is in disorder, when there is perfect order.

The President : Order ! Order ! Point of Interruption. The Minister of Health.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That the Senate do now adjourn—(The Minister of Health).

TRIBUTE TO HONOURED SENATORS

Senators Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku :

I only want to place on record our appreciation of the recognition accorded to certain Members of the Senate since we last met. Particularly, I have in mind the hon. the Oba of Lagos, Senator Adeniji Adele II, who was knighted, Senator Dahlton O. Asemota, who received the O.B.E., and Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba, who received the M.B.E.

I think, as Senators, we should feel very proud of the honours conferred on these great sons of this country, and we want to remind

them that the honour is conferred on them because of the industry which they have shown in the past, and it is an incentive for them to continue to be more industrious, and being more industrious, they can be assured of greater honours in the future.

But in this connection, I want to invite once again the attention of the Government to the fact that the time is now opportune for us to have Nigerian honours. There is nothing which would make us feel happier than when we come here and we feel that this is our own country. At the moment these are, in fact, foreign honours; it is just somebody from afar giving recognition to what has been done. Being a sovereign country and an independent country ourselves, we want to feel that our country recognises our activities, and when there is any honour to be conferred on anybody, let it be an honour conferred by the country, and we will feel very proud of it. I trust Government will take notice of this and perhaps at some not-too-distant date we will find the hon. President of the Senate, the hon. number one man in the Senate, and several other senators being conferred with great honours by the country.

Mr President, we wish to congratulate these great sons who have been honoured by the Queen of England.

11.50. a.m.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : In supporting the last speaker to congratulate our friends who had been elevated to these high positions of honour, I have to say that this shows their sincerity of purpose, and it is an honour particularly to this hon. House—I mean this Upper House—for having such industrious sons of Nigeria among us who had been thus elevated.

I should also like to support the last speaker in his view that the time has come now when the President of this hon. House should form a Committee of this House to consider this question of awarding honours in our own way as is being done in some other countries, and the position of foreign honours like "Sir", "O.B.E.", "M.B.E.", *et cetera*, should be reviewed. In their places, we should advocate and adopt the awarding of honours in our own native way and use our own language.

[SENATOR CHIEF WUSU]

I am sure some of our hon. Senators here who are Alhajis know what they did and how far they went before they were called Alhajis. This shows that if people are being honoured, naturally they must have done some remarkable things in the service of the country as a whole. Therefore, we are in a position, as the fathers of this country, to make useful suggestion to the Government through the President of this hon. House that the time has come when the awards of these foreign honours should be stopped, although some people are in the habit of being very happy in receiving these honours from foreign countries. I must say again, Mr President, that the time has come when the Government should consider the question of awarding honours in our own native way and custom as is being done all over the world.

TRIBUTE TO PROFESSOR ENI NJOKU

Senator J. K. Nzerem : Mr President, when I came here and looked round, I missed one whose presence has always adorned this hon. House. I am referring to no other than our much respected countryman, Professor Eni Njoku. When I learnt of his resignation from the Senate, I almost shedded tears because I realised the circumstances that made it necessary for him to resign his membership of this hon. House must be regretted and I would like it to be placed on record that we his fellow Senators do appreciate what great contributions he had made in this House, and we are looking forward to some time in the future when it will be possible for him to come back as one of the Legislators of this country.

On the other hand, we are very pleased to welcome one of the substitutes of those who resigned in the person of our friend who was sworn in yesterday, Alhaji Ahmed Metteden. We are very fortunate to have a man of his calibre and we are looking forward to the great contribution which he is going to make in this hon. House.

BOYS' QUARTERS AT IKOYI ISLAND CLUB

Senator J. K. Nzerem : There is one other thing, Mr President, which I would like to call your attention to and this concerns particularly the Minister of Health. I want something to be done about the boys' quarters in the Ikoyi Island Club. The boys' quarters are just uninhabitable. They had been reduced to such

a state that any decent person cannot get near there. I would like something to be done to see that those houses are made habitable. Necessary steps should be taken either to get them locked up or get them cleaned. I do hope that something will be done, not necessarily during this sitting, but before we come back here next time.

Alhaji Salahu Fulani : In supporting the Motion on the honour done to few of us here as proposed by Chief Beyioku, I wish to place it on record that we the people of the North really cherish and admire the work done by His Highness Oba Adeniji Adele II of Lagos, in particular as that word "Oba" is the greatest honour that can be bestowed on any Chief in this country. We wish him the best of time and we wish him a very long life and happiness.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : In support of Senator Chief Beyioku and Senator Wusu, I should like also to congratulate His Highness the Oba of Lagos for the honour done him, which shows that he has had national as well as international fame.

What I really want to emphasise in support of other speakers is that when such a time will come that we shall have a Committee to recommend the conferment of national honours on our people, the Senate should be the body to have a say on the conferment of these national titles. This one should not be a matter for the Council of Ministers and the House of Representatives and its Members. These people have had enough of their share of these Committees and we should always remember that they are subordinate to this hon. House. We have always had Committees by influential people and by intelligent people. This Committee should be by people who are learned in African culture and ideas. The Senate must play a great part in this Committee. It should consider titles which have connections with local cultures.

For instance, in the Northern, Eastern and the Western Regions, these titles should reflect the people's ways of life in their respective Regions. These titles should also reflect the national achievements of the people who receive them. I suggest therefore that a sub-committee of this House be formed. If, for instance, it is decided that a title should be conferred on anybody from any of the Regions,

[SENATOR OGUNDIPE]

the matter should first come to a Committee of this House where a final decision will be taken. This is the highest legislative body in the country and it should be a final voice in any major issue. It should be our duty to see that this suggestion is implemented by the Government as quickly as possible.

With these few remarks, Mr President, I beg to support.

Senator Chief Z. C. Obi : Mr President, I associate myself with chief Beyioku in his Motion congratulating those who have just received honours from the Queen of Nigeria.

There is one divergent view I would like to express at the same time and that is this. I have always regarded as unreasonable people's clamour for the total abolition of titles conferred by the Queen. We cannot eliminate without substitution. Until such a time that Nigeria is able to find something to take the place of foreign honours, I think our people would be well advised to make hasten slowly. After all, I think there are so many things that we have yet to discard. For some centuries to come we shall have to continue to employ those things that have been established by other civilisations. For instance, I know that for some time to come Nigeria will continue to use the English system of law, and things

like that. I think in a House like this, we should be careful how we criticise foreign honours. By this, I mean we should not destroy foreign honours without substituting them with our own.

Senator Adeniji Adele II : I am really grateful to all Senators in this House, for congratulating me on the honour that Her Majesty the Queen conferred on me. The conferring of honour is not a thing that comes to one annually. It might be a thing that comes to one in one's lifetime. It is certainly a source of great pleasure to me that I have been selected to be honoured in that way.

When people congratulate me, I feel that I should congratulate them too; because the honour has been conferred on me not on account of anything that I have been able to do outside this House, but on account of anything that it has pleased this House to put me through. Furthermore, I congratulate the country because, as a whole, they have done something which made me worthy to receive that honour. I am very grateful to the hon. Senators and also to the President for permitting me to speak. Thank you.

And it being 12.05 p.m., President adjourned the Senate without question put, pursuant to Standing Order 4 (7).

Adjourned at five minutes past twelve o'clock.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Saturday, 24th March, 1962

The Senate met at 9 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

NOTICE OF MOTION

Business of the House

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : I beg to move :

That the Proceedings on Government Business other than the Proceedings on the Adjourned Governor-General's Speech (23rd March), be exempted at this day's sitting from the provisions of Standing Order 4 (Sittings of the House) provided that at 1 p.m. the President shall suspend the sitting until 3 p.m.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Education (hon. Aja Nwachuku) : Sir, I beg to second.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : Is the Minister suggesting that after 1 o'clock, we shall come back here at 3 o'clock ?

The President : That is the suggestion.

Senator Ukattah : If that is the suggestion, I do not know why. After all, we are going to sit here for a long time—until May. What is the necessity for an afternoon session on a Saturday when we should be enjoying our week-end ? We want an explanation about that from the Minister.

The Minister of Health (Senator the hon. Chief M. A. Majekodunmi) : I wish to crave the indulgence of the Senate that there will be a Message coming to this House later on to-day, and we would like the Senate to sit here and receive the Message. That is why we are asking hon. Senators to come back in the afternoon.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : "That the Proceedings on Government Business other than the Proceedings on the Adjourned Governor-General's Speech (23rd March), be exempted at this day's sitting from the provisions of Standing Order 4 (Sitting of the House) provided that at 1 p.m. the President shall suspend the sitting until 3 p.m."

ORDERS OF THE DAY

NIGERIAN COLLEGE OF ARTS, SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY (TRANSFER) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Education (Hon. Aja Nwachuku) : Mr President, Sir, It may be recalled that this Bill was presented to the Senate at the last session. The Bill was enthusiastically received by the House of Representatives and was sent to the Senate after it was supposed to have been passed. In fact, the Bill was passed in accordance with the normal procedure of the House.

Then it transpired that, because the Bill sought to amend the Constitution, votes should have been taken on the Second and Third Readings of the Bill so that the provisions of section 42 of the Constitution should have been satisfied. In fact, the Bill seeks to amend the Constitution by abolishing the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology and in consequence deleting the reference to it in paragraph 17 of the Exclusive List, and hence it should be subject to the procedure set out in the proviso to section 41 of the Constitution.

The purpose of this Bill is to make possible the transfer of the three branches of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Enugu, Ibadan and Zaria to the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, the University of Ife and the University of Northern Nigeria (soon to be formerly known as the Ahmadu Bello University) respectively. On the passing of the Act, the property of the Council of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at each branch will be transferred to the Regional University concerned.

Questions regarding the future of the staff of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology are under active and urgent consideration. The governing Council met at Zaria on the 16th of this month. Moreover, there are constant consultations between the Chairman of the Council and my Ministry, and I am most optimistic that the solutions of all the problems that may arise out of the transfer exercise will be satisfactory. There are the cases of contract staff, expatriate and Nigerian. Moreover, there are non-pensionable members of the staff. In all cases, the appropriate conditions laid down in the Pensions Ordinance will apply. In case of the contract officers,

the appropriate conditions of contract will apply. The matter is well in hand.

Steps are also being taken to ensure the continuation of the existing Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology courses at each of the three branches. In this connection, the Federal Government will bear in mind the existing Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology courses in making allocations to the Regional Universities.

Once more, I wish to thank the Chairman and members of the Council of the College for the able way in which they have carried out their duties. The College Ordinance will be reviewed after every necessary action has been completed to wind up the affairs of the College in a most satisfactory manner.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

The President : Hon. Senators, you have passed the Second Reading of this Bill *Nemine Dissentiente*, but in view of the requirements of section 4 of the Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria, I direct that the Senate proceed to a Division.

The Senate divided.

Ayes 34, Noes Nil, Abstentions Nil.

AYES

Seat No.	Name of Members
1	Senator Shettima Kashim
2	Senator Asemota
4	Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku
5	Senator Bawa
6	Senator Chukwubike
8	Senator Alhaji Metteden
9	Senator Abaagu
10	Senator Chief Ugwuocha
11	Senator Chief Ojon
12	Senator Adele II, Oba of Lagos
13	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale
14	Senator Chief Ndu
15	Senator Chief Olayeye
16	Senator Mrs Esan
17	Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi
18	Senator Nzerem
19	Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu
20	Senator Chief Acholonu
21	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba
22	Senator Chief Obi
23	Senator Olamijulo
25	Senator Fulani
27	Senator Chief Esangbedo
29	Senator Hassan Rafin Dadi

Seat No.	Name of Members
30	Senator Chief Nakoku
32	Senator Idrisu-Tafidan Adamawa
33	Senator Udoh
34	Senator Eyitayo
35	Senator Yesufu
36	Senator Ukattah
37	Senator Ogundipe
38	Senator Zanna Sheriff
39	Senator Chief Umoh
40	Senator Lagunju
41	Senator Alhaji Ungogo
42	Senator Alhaji Abudu

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

NIGERIAN COLLEGE OF ARTS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (TRANSFER) BILL : CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

Clause 1 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 2—(INTERPRETATION, ETC.)

The Minister of Education : I beg to move, That in Clause 2, page C587, line 22, at the end add subsection 4—

(4) Where before the transfer date (and either before or after the commencement of this Act) any Provisional Council or university mentioned in this Act has changed its name, or any other body is functioning in the place or as the successor of such a Provisional Council, the provisions of this Act relating to the Provisional Council or university in question shall have effect as if the name had not changed or, as the case may be, as if the other body were the Provisional Council.

This Amendment is necessary because the Provisional Council of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, has become the Council of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. It has also been proposed that the University of Northern Nigeria shall formally assume the name of Ahmadu Bello University. This Amendment takes care of any changes effected or contemplated.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I want to be clear about this Amendment. The Minister read out—

“... the provisions of this Act relating to the Provisional Council or university in question.....”

[CHIEF FAGBENRO-BEYIOKU]

What we have in the copies given to us is—

“.....the provisions of this Act relating to the Provisional Council or university shall have.....”

There is no—“in question”.

The Minister of Education : Senators should please add the words—“in question” after “university” before “shall have”.

Clause 2, as amended, ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clauses 3-6 ordered to stand part of the Bill. Bill reported, with Amendment.

Motion made and Question proposed, That the Bill be now read the Third time.—(The Minister of Education).

The President : Once more, in view of the requirements of section 4 of the Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria, I direct that the Senate proceed to a Division.

The Senate divided.

Ayes—32; Noes—Nil; Abstentions—Nil.

AYES

Seat No.	Name of Members
1	Senator Shettima Kashim
3	Senator Asemota
4	Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku
5	Senator Bawa
6	Senator Chukwubike
9	Senator Abaagu
10	Senator Chief Ugwuocha
11	Senator Chief Ojon
12	Senator Adele II, Oba of Lagos
13	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale
14	Senator Chief Ndu
16	Senator Mrs Esan
17	Senator Muhamadu Sani Dingyadi
18	Senator Nzerem
19	Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu
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21	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba
22	Senator Chief Obi
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27	Senator Chief Esangbedo
29	Senator Hassan Rafin Dadi
32	Senator Idirisu-Tafidan Adamawa
33	Senator Udoh
35	Senator Yesufu
36	Senator Ukattah
37	Senator Ogundipe
38	Senator Zanna Sheriff
39	Senator Chief Umoh
40	Senator Lagunju
41	Senator Alhaji Ungogo
42	Senator Alhaji Abudu Minister of Health

Bill accordingly read the Third time and passed.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS)

Adjourned Debate on Question (23rd March).

Question again proposed, 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 Houses of Parliament.”

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale rose—

Senator E. A. Lagunju : Point of order. Senator Ogundipe was speaking yesterday when the Debate was adjourned. He has not finished his speech.

The President : Yes, you are right. The hon. Senator has fifteen minutes more to finish. Will hon. Alhaji Bale wait for him to finish. He did not exhaust fifteen minutes yesterday.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : Thank you, Mr President for allowing me to continue to speak on the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency for his Speech from the Throne. I thank you also for telling me that I have fifteen more minutes. That was because I called a Senator to order yesterday.

I have just few points more to make. One has to do with the repatriation of Nigerian-owned overseas assets which are held officially and semi-officially by foreign countries, in order to be used for our own economic development. The Government has promised to pursue this matter with the utmost vigour. I know that during the last Budget Session several Members in the Lower House and a few in this august House including myself referred to the necessity of repatriating the country's assets from foreign countries where they will have rates of interest lower than those at which we borrow from the same foreign countries. The speakers then felt that, economically it was not good enough for somebody to be in need and yet lend his own money at a low rate of interest while borrowing at very high rate of interest. It appeared then that the Government did not see to the suggestion.

One of the vehement and vociferous speakers on this point in the Lower House at that time was Dr Chike Obi. With your permission, I shall refer to the very valuable contribution he made at that time but which was not favourably received. In his Debate of 4th April, 1960, Dr Chike Obi said among other things: "Is it not exasperating to all sincere nationalists to know that Nigeria's investment overseas in so-called gilt-edged securities is £250 million, bearing interest at 2½ per cent per annum, and that our Minister of Finance as the spokesman of a feeble Government goes about borrowing £10 million this day; £12 million another day, and this at 8 per cent to 10 per cent interest per annum? The Government as it were lends £250 million of Nigerian money to the international money-lenders at 2½ per cent interest and then borrows £10 million or £12 million from the same people at 8 per cent to 10 per cent interest. Surely the common people will recoil at parliamentary democracy if, as it now appears, it gives immunity to highway-men."

Let us thank God that our Government, like the biblical stubborn and obdurate child who was sent by his father to do something and who said that he would not do it but later found sense in it and finally did it, has now repented and has promised to recall our £250 million from abroad for our capital development at home. With wise spending coupled with profit-making investments, we may be sure of great progress in our five-year development scheme.

The second point is this. The Speech referred to the past year as one of great significance for the growth of co-ordination and consultation among the various Governments of the country in fiscal and monetary matters. This is very gratifying to note. This House felt as much as the Lower House that the time had come when there should be greater co-ordination in fiscal and monetary matters among the various Governments of the Federation in order to avoid waste of money by duplication.

Hon. Senators will remember the criticism of Members of the Opposition in the Lower House and that of some of us here against the several and separate economic tours of the separate Regional Governments as well as the

competing television sets of the different Regions. We have to thank God that our Governments are setting politics aside in consideration of the overall interest of their people.

What the electorates want is not each Government setting up more industries than the others whether or not the industries are mere window-dressing and may not be lucrative. The electorates want the industries to provide the longed-for amenities as well as employment for the population. This is the kind of thing that the electorates want. They want to see that the industries set up have come to stay and would not be scrapped as a result of losses and lack of foresight before they were set up.

The last point I am making is about the country-wide comprehensive agricultural survey by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations to be sponsored by the Federal Government in order to enable the country to undertake greater agricultural production projects. This is a very welcome arrangement and we hope that it will be taken up with seriousness and expediency.

All of us in this House know the vagaries of our climate at the present time. For example, last year it ceased to rain in October in some parts of Nigeria, the Western Region for instance, and the first rains did not come until last week. This shows that many parts of the country are becoming arid. The geographers probably know the reason for this. If the Federal Government would undertake a general survey of the country for agricultural projects, it would be possible to know the causes of the drought which could have serious consequences such as the failure of crops. We should then be able to stop them at once.

We know that the price of our cash crops particularly cocoa and palm oil has fallen. At the same time the production of our food crops is falling. The result is that food becomes more expensive and there is little money to buy it. There are now very few hands on the farm. Many people are not willing to return to the old type of peasant farming to which our fathers were accustomed, which is usually exerting and equally unremunerating but which is nevertheless still in vogue. The country will be a much better

[SENATOR OGUNDIPE]

place to live in if the Government will pursue very vigorously an extensive agricultural project after a close survey of the country.

With these and other remarks I have previously made, I beg to support the Motion of Thanks.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale : I rise to support with a few observations the Motion of Thanks for the Governor-General's Address which was delivered at the opening of the present Parliament on 21st March, 1962.

This time last year when the first Speech was read from the Throne by His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, many hon. Senators criticised the uniform the Governor-General wore for the occasion. The criticism was made, in fact, by both Houses. This year, however, one hon. Senator who has seen the uniform His Excellency the Governor-General wore on the same occasion this year has not made any criticism. Perhaps he has left that to me or has just left it. (I am not referring to my friend Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku.)

This year His Excellency the Governor-General appeared in a most graceful customary uniform which is the most suiting of all the uniforms he has worn. But I suggest to the hon. Prime Minister that His Excellency the Governor-General should, in addition to what he wore that day, wear a cloak embroidered in silver on a velvet material of green, black or red and that His Excellency should make this the ceremonial uniform whenever there is presentation.

The speech itself is an excellent one, and has shown to the outside world how right this country is at this very moment, and how able her leaders are to shoulder their own affairs. In this respect, I congratulate the hon. Prime Minister, our God-fearing leader, with his Cabinet, the Council of Ministers, because the development of this country lies with the unity of its leaders, and the more they co-operate the better it will be. The speech is so impressive, and it includes a lot of improvements to be made by the Government, and also the future programme.

I have to point out that in reading through the papers, one now and again hears that so much has been lost at Apapa Wharf to-day; tomorrow one hears this, and the next day one hears that. All this wealth is being lost by

the Government, and nobody knows where they go, they disappear here and disappear there. This should now be remedied as quickly as possible, because if people will lose their properties in such a manner, it will not give us a good name.

I can remember last year—about nine months ago—we ordered some electric light fittings. I was here for 30 days waiting for the goods to be delivered. They said that they had unloaded the ship and that the people who ordered the goods did not claim them; that they had waited for a fortnight, and nobody claimed them. Well, who is to claim them? Nobody knows. Who is to pay the customs duty? Nobody knows. I think this sort of thing should be looked into and remedied.

I am glad to hear of the improvements in water navigation in Baro Port. In this respect, I beg the Railway Corporation to do something now to Minna-Baro line. At the moment it is being run by steam engine. I hope that the rail will be improved and replaced as soon as possible so as to be able to take the diesel engine, and thus facilitate the transport of the pyramids of groundnuts that are lying in Kano, and the delivery of goods from the port to the North.

The Government should take steps to improve this congestion which we have always been complaining about in this House. If the Railway in this country continues in this way, it will look shameful to foreigners who come to this country, to see how people fight to get into the train. Local trains should run more frequently.

Again, I shall draw the attention of the Government again to the complaints about the telephone operators. I do not know whether our youngsters are incapable of shouldering responsibility. Let me quote one instance. The day before yesterday, at eight o'clock, I booked a call just to Bida, but unfortunately up till eleven o'clock I could not get Bida. I gave reminder after reminder, but always I was told that the line was engaged. After a few minutes I put up a reminder again, and I was asked "What is your number?" I quoted my number again, and I was told, "All right, replace the receiver; we will call you soon". After half an hour, on ringing again, somebody asked the same questions.

A large amount of money has been voted for this purpose every year, but there is no improvement yet in the service. The Government should train youngsters—able people, who know the government of the country, who know the value of service, who will attend to people. I am sure that these ladies are unable to do this job. Whenever we take the telephone we hear them chatting, perhaps they are chatting to their boy friends or something like that. Well, that will do us no good.

I pray the Minister of Communications to look into this. There are inspectors—it is their fault. It is the fault of the inspectors because they are there to check, but they will not. Well, we are working for the development of this country, and if we want to succeed, those who shoulder responsibilities should use their ability.

About the Niger Dam, to which the Governor-General's Speech has given first priority—it is for the development of the country in navigation and in agriculture. I know that there is vast land north of Jebba Bridge—wasted, undeveloped, with very few people living there. I wonder why there should be such difficulty in doing research work in that area where land is being wasted. I do not think there should be any difficulty for the Government to see that this land is developed and in doing so, Government should see that those people whose homes have been taken over for the purpose of developing the land are compensated and provided with alternative dwellings.

There is a great expanse of land which should be put to good use and there is nothing in this country which we lack. Agriculture should be developed. We should look into this. Agriculture is very important and we have agricultural land being wasted at the moment. When we travel by road from Lagos to the North, we see vast areas of land not cultivated and lying waste for years. There is nothing better we can do than to ask the Minister responsible to see that these areas of land which are still uncultivated should be cultivated. This will be to the benefit of the country. The more we produce the better we live and from this we can export our crops to other countries and be able to cut our food imports. If the Government would do this, it would be rendering a great service to the country.

I understand that we have in the country a great variety of rice—more than 200 varieties—which are being grown experimentally, especially at Bida Stations from where I come. I would like to see in addition to this experiment on rice, trial made of other crops because we shall reap the benefit in the future if not at this moment. Plenty of irrigation work is being done now for rice cultivation and as a result we are producing too much rice than is necessary for local consumption. I think it is up to Government now to start looking for world market where we can sell our rice. Before doing that however the quality of our rice should be improved as I know that our rice is not quite good enough to compete in the world market. In this way, we shall reap the full benefit of the irrigation scheme now being carried out in the country.

I am glad to hear that good work is going to be started here in Lagos, to improve the condition of this important city. I think the hon. Chief Beyioku said that as we are now in Lagos we should do something about the improvement of Lagos. Lagos is very bad. There are many bad places in Lagos for people to see, even strangers. This is the most important city in this country and this is where strangers see the country. It is essential that this place should be improved more and more. We should not leave any loop-hole for strangers to criticise us.

With these few observations I beg to support.

Senator D. O. Asemota : I associate myself with the very fine remarks made by various Senators in connection with the Speech from the Throne, but I am very much disappointed that the Governor-General's speech did not make any reference to the new wave of crime going on now in the country, that is child stealing and slave dealing.

To-day in this country, there is no parent who is happy with the news that children are stolen from all parts of the country. Here in the heart of Lagos we read at one time that up to about fourteen children were stolen and up till now there has not been any publication that those children have been discovered. In the Provinces this practice has reached the stage where the parents have to accompany their children to school. I remember in my home town a woman sent her nine-year-old son on an errand and that was the end of that child. And so it is everywhere.

[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

Taxi drivers put women in their cars and disappear with them. We read that some time ago a woman went to one of the markets in Lagos, a pregnant woman at that. She made all her purchases in the market and later called a taxi and instead of being taken to her destination by the taxi driver, she found herself near Otta, in the bush. This is getting so much because of the inability of the Government to check these people.

I thought that when His Excellency made that memorable Speech he would refer to this and tell us what line of action the Government will be adopting to stop this practice. It has come to the stage now, that unless Government do something about it it will be very difficult indeed for anybody without a car to send his child to school without accompanying that child. The situation is so grave, that Government should look into it very seriously with a view to finding ways and means of stopping the crime.

We do not know who are behind this disgraceful business. It may be the people who should do something about it. I remember sometime ago I read in the papers that a Policeman sold somebody for £500 in the Eastern Region. That is most disturbing indeed. Slave dealing I think should be all over now. Some years ago I think, before the intervention of the British Government we were dealing in slavery. It is back now. I do hope that Government will do something to mitigate slave dealing and child stealing which is now very rampant in the country.

Senator Zanna Medalla Sheriff : I rise to support the Motion so ably moved by the hon. Senator Shettima Kashim. I appreciate greatly and entirely share the views and high sentiments expressed by the hon. mover of the Motion and the tributes paid to our Governor-General, Dr the hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the hon. Prime Minister of the Federation, Alhaji the Rt. hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and his Ministers.

The mover of the Motion and several hon. Senators who were privileged to speak earlier have favourably and satisfactorily covered all the things I had in mind to comment on. There is no doubt that the Speech from the Throne is progressive, comprehensive and bold and

outlines clearly the intentions of the Government in the best interests of the people of Nigeria as a whole.

We are now entering the second year of our Independence. The progress and achievements made by all the Federal Ministries are highly commendable; there is no doubt about that. But I have to add a point or two. Mention has been made in the Speech about Internal security. Well, it is greatly welcomed; it is a very good idea, to set up more Police posts in the Federation. But we, the people of Bornu Provinces, Adamawa and the Saradauna Provinces, we have three countries—the Niger Republic, the Tchad, and the Cameroons bordering us. So, when such a scheme is started, I would think it should be acceptable to give priority to the bordering countries I have just mentioned. Anything may happen at any moment. I wish you do not think that what I am saying is nonsense as there is no war. It is very important that the Government should consider the setting up of strong Police posts.

The second point mentioned in the Speech is about modernising our transport. I think the modernising of transport means the making of more roads. That is how I take it; and I do not think that it would be out of place if I say this in view of the several motor accidents on the highways in particular. Of course, there are many road safety committees in many parts of the Federation and these are doing very well. Still, I would suggest that lorry owners should be advised to form companies to run special passenger lorries rather than having passengers carried by lorries already overloaded with cargo. I think other hon. Senators will agree with me that this happens more often than not. Of course, accidents occur due to mechanical faults and due to negligent driving, but more often accidents occur by loads falling over the passengers after an accident. So I think big businessmen should be given loans to run special passenger services rather than having passengers travelling in heavily-loaded lorries.

I am not saying that this should be done on all roads all over Nigeria but on the highways. It is only a suggestion but I think that it is worth mentioning now. Of course, what I am saying is not a new thing in Nigeria. I am suggesting that businessmen should form a company and make special passenger services

similar to those of the Lagos Municipal Transport in order to modernise all our transport systems.

The other thing is about the Bornu Railway Extension scheme which is vigorously pursued. The progress is commendable. No more work however is being done on feeder roads. Efforts should be made to speed up construction of feeder roads to Bauchi and Bornu. In the Address of the Governor-General, mention is made about immigration. With the permission of Mr President, I would read from page eight of the Speech :

“My Government considers that the existing legislation dealing with immigration and with the restriction and deportation of aliens is in many respects out-of-date and does not now reflect the status of Nigeria as an independent country.”

This is the part I am referring to. Well, I do not think that it will be out of place if I mention this here. Of course, I understand that something has been done about it already, but I am not satisfied. The latest information from an authority is that we have about two million Nigerians stranded in the Sudan, in Saudi Arabia. These pilgrims went under cover of pilgrimage, but for one reason or the other have settled there. They are considered undesirable there. Two million people living outside Nigeria, I think, is a considerable number. I wonder if it would be appropriate to take some measures for the repatriation of these people in the shortest possible time. Of course, something has to be done either by the Regional Governments or by the Federal Government. I think that some effort should be made to have them repatriated because they are considered undesirable by the government of Saudi Arabia and the government of Sudan.

The next point is on page 9 :

“A Bill will be introduced to provide for a single Electoral Act to replace the various Electoral Regulations, and to incorporate such changes as are considered appropriate.”

Here again, there is nothing to be afraid of. But before such measures are taken or executed I want to sound a note of warning—my personal view, of course—that the North is predominantly Moslem and as such, the wishes of the people and the Regional House, I think, should be given due respect. I do not want

to go farther than this. I think hon. Senators will agree with me that the North is still predominantly Moslem and if there is any move to examine or to implement or to delete any of the existing Regulations, I think that due consideration should be given to the self-determination and the wishes of the masses in the North.

During the last Speech from the Throne, mention was made, under Public Health, of having artisan water supply in the Chad basin. Well, excellent work has already been done, and still continues ; but to my surprise, no mention of that has been made in the present Address. It may be an oversight, or that it has been transferred to the Regional Government, I do not know. Therefore, I will be very pleased if I may be informed about the position by the Federal Minister of Health some time later on. It is, I think, a very great omission because they keep our herdsmen and the livestock intact in Nigeria instead of turning into the Niger Republic. It is worth-while pursuing this vigorously so that our herdsmen and the cattle stay in Nigeria, because I have had information that along the border, the Niger Republic and the Chad (I do not know what is happening in the Cameroons), they are similarly constructing wells and boring holes to attract indigenous Northerners on the border to migrate. We should also compete in giving them more water supply so that this small population will not migrate from the Federation of Nigeria into the neighbouring States.

As I said earlier on, when Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku and Senator Dr Orizu have the privilege to speak, I do not think they leave anything for anybody to say.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : You have spoken for thirty minutes.

Senator Sheriff : Therefore, to give chance to other hon. Senators, I have, finally, to congratulate the Prime Minister and all the Ministers on bringing forward such very comprehensive plans for the development of our country, and I wish that all these plans may be implemented.

With these few remarks, I support.

10.19 a.m.

Senator H. N. Udoh : This Speech from the Throne, as a hand-book, tells what has been done and what has been attempted to be done.

[SENATOR UDOH]

I wish to refer to page 4 paragraph 1 of the Speech from the Throne :

“...The new station at Enugu will be opened during the year and work on the replacement of steam engines by diesels will continue.”

This statement from the Government gives one mixed feelings. I understand that the Railway Corporation are not going to use our coal again. They want to be using diesel engines. The mining of coal gave employment to many of our people. May I ask, what will happen to our coal? When the Railway Corporation has decided not to use our coal again, what will become of the miners since there is not much hope of exporting our coal? On one or two occasions, we heard of heaps of coal getting ablaze. This means a double loss to the country: the coal is wasted, the money paid to the workers for mining the coal and the money used in transporting it to where it was stocked was wasted.

I feel that the Government should have found out other uses for our coal before deciding to allow the Nigerian Railway Corporation to use diesel engines. Much as we appreciate that the use of diesel engines will improve our railway services, we should also think of what alternative job we can offer to the miners that will be displaced and what we are going to do with our coal.

The next point I want to raise is about our roads. First of all, I will refer to the now famous Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin road. That road is long overdue for completion. One wonders whether the work has been suspended or whether the contractor is unable to continue with the work. We are tired of hearing these Government phrases: “work is in progress” or “the road will be completed as soon as possible”. I am not trying to stand in anybody’s way, but it seems to me that the contractor has been paid his money but that he is not willing to do the work.

I do not know whether our Governments include time limit in their agreements with these contractors. All contracts given out by our Governments should include time limits. For example, the contract for the tarring of a portion of a road in my area was given to a contractor. For the past two years he has been dancing round the job, but imme-

diately we threatened that we would impose a time limit, he almost slept on the road and finished the job quickly.

The Ijebu-Ode-Benin road is very important. If the Federal Government is not prepared to continue with the work, or if they think that it is no more useful, they should abandon it. Many Senators had reckoned how they would leave Aba in the morning and get to Lagos the same day without having to sleep on the way and travel *via* Ibadan.

Still on the question of roads. The road between Ife and Ibadan does not befit this country. One finds on the road big trees growing on both sides. When travelling through this road even at mid-day with the sun shining, one finds certain parts of the road very dark owing to the big trees growing on both sides of the road. I do not know whether the Forestry Department does not want these trees cut down or the timber companies have an agreement with the Government to allow these trees to become big before they are cut. Apart from the darkness on this road during the day, those who have travelled on it will see that it is even too narrow. It is not better than a feeder road.

I now come to the question of housing in Lagos. When an officer is going to be transferred to Lagos the first question he asks is, “How many months will it take me to get a house in Lagos?” Again, he has to pay exorbitant rent. To minimise this difficulty, the Federal Government started the Surulere Housing Scheme and many people in the country thought that at last the housing problem in Lagos would be solved. But a careful observer will notice now that there is little or no improvement. And it appears some people know how to go about the business—they secure a piece of land on which they build their own house and then have a spare land on which they build a house to sublet. Anybody who points out his anomaly is called a noise-maker. The Federal Government should please look into this housing problem again.

The Governor-General mentioned many things in his Speech, and one of them was the improvement of health services in Lagos. After listening to the Speech from the Throne, we always feel happy that the Government has

many good things for the people. But when implementing the proposed improvements the Government becomes careless. I think it was Dr Orizu who mentioned some examples of this yesterday. I am in support of what an hon. Senator said, that doctors are sometimes responsible for the negligent way in which nurses treat patients. I will illustrate this by citing a personal experience.

My child was once awfully ill and I took him to the hospital. When I reached the hospital, I found that the nurse-in-charge was not available to attend to the child. When the nurse turned up, the doctor-in-charge asked her where she had been. She answered in the girlish way of always saying, "I was there," whereas she was only just coming from her house. That was the end of it, as far as the doctor was concerned. He treated the child and had him admitted. He later went away and I was left at the mercy of the nurse who insisted that the child would be transferred to another ward. In the long run, I had to take the child back. In the circumstance, if the doctor had talked sharply to the lady, she would have realised her responsibility and would have carried out the instruction given her by the doctor. But the doctor failed to rebuke her and to make her aware of the need for her to do her duty.

Just this time last year, we spoke of the sense of responsibility which is lacking in most, if not all, of the Government departments. Our Post Offices show up very badly in this respect. There is gross negligence of duty in our Post Offices. One could stand on the counter of any of our Post Offices for hours on end without receiving any attention. I think that the heads of the departments should see to it that the clerks work for the money they are paid by the Government.

The next point is agriculture. Agriculture is of vital importance in Nigeria. In the past, agriculture was only mentioned just by the way. But now that the Governments of the Federation have realised its importance, the Federal Government and the other Regional Governments are all talking of agriculture. If we are to get anything done, and we wish to, our agricultural departments must have to work more vigorously. All we now have are experimental departments of agriculture. These departments have experimented for long enough,

and that is not the aim of all of us as far as agriculture is concerned. We want practical things and the more serious we are and the more we pursue agriculture in the real sense of it, I think the more would the country be better off.

We have the land and, in this respect, Nigeria is very rich. In former days, we felt that agriculture was for immediate and local consumption, but now most of the agricultural products are exported to other countries. This includes yams which are sent to millions of our people abroad. Most of us now think that the vast areas of land we have can be cultivated with modern machinery to help us to be, not as poor as we were before but, better off.

There is another point which perhaps the Federal Government has not struck at. It is the question of smugglers and contraband goods. We once mentioned the checking of smugglers, but what becomes of the contraband goods when they are caught? In the past, they were burnt and destroyed; but during the war, they were flown to the battle fields to feed our people. Smuggled tobacco could be put to the same use. Destroying it is a sort of wasted labour. Tobacco in all its states and forms could be used. The Government could devise a means of utilising these seized goods in one way or the other instead of burning them or throwing them into water. There are Preventive Officers in areas traversed by smugglers. Launches are maintained on the waters of such areas but instead of making use of the smuggled goods that have been seized, the Government burns or destroys them. In short, the Government is working at a loss. It is high time that the Federal Government realised that smugglers are composed of people of experience and intelligence, and that it should think again about its principle of destroying contraband goods.

With these few remarks, I support the Motion.

Senator T. Olamijulo : I am really very grateful for being called upon at this time to make my humble contribution to the Motion of Thanks for the Speech from the Throne. The first point I have to deal with is on disarmament and world peace. I have to thank God for being among able men who are not politicians but who are here to state facts and to

[SENATOR OLAMIJULO]

state them usefully. The hon. Senators who have spoken have spoken facts and not being politicians they argued less and contradicted less.

What I have to say about disarmament and world peace may be a bit different from what others have been saying. Human beings are never the same. Our thoughts are not the same so we look differently. My view of disarmament and world peace is quite different. The ancient Egyptians have proved that Africa is the cradle of civilisation and there are still many wonders which science has failed to explain. Human nature being what it is we are bound to fail in our search for disarmament and world peace. I am not here to preach as a Christian or to say anything as a man of God. We are all men of God. Whatever we worship, the supreme head is God. People who perform wonders are human beings, but they practice other things which very many people do not practice. We call them wonders because we are not able to perform them.

People regard science as strange because of its nature. I want us as Africans and as part of this Government to tell our Prime Minister that when next he goes to a disarmament conference he should say something about the other side of man. Many of us have turned away from the right side, and we are looking only at the wrong side of things. If our knowledge is on the right side we are going to succeed. Human beings as we have learnt fail because they do not go near God.

Senator Salahu Fulani : Point of order. The hon. Senator is preaching.

The President : Will the hon. Senator take note.

Senator Olamijulo : I really feel that is my argument. Human beings will never be saved by their own knowledge but by drawing nearer to God. If a man from this part of the world goes to a disarmament conference it is only by trying to know the other side of our nature that he can succeed; not by going after worldly things which cause ruin. The statement that the higher we go the cooler it becomes does not apply to us as human beings. The older we become the more complex our lives become so that the only thing we have to do is to turn to God.

Regarding our diplomatic relations I have to say that I am not here to discredit those who are being sent abroad, rather, I want to point out that those who are sent abroad should be those who are capable of representing us abroad. We ought to give them what they want before they go. I am not saying that we should send spies, nevertheless our representatives should know the difference between Nigeria and the places they are sent and be able to represent us properly.

When we sent diplomats abroad we should also ensure that they are selected because of their political leanings: we should send people suitable for the offices they are to hold abroad. They should be people capable of discharging their duties.

I now come to the question of safety on our roads. We continue to hear of death on our roads and I think it is very necessary for our Government to be particular about the state of those who are driving, those who have not only their own lives but the lives of others in their hands. If a man carries only goods and the goods perish, well, that is the end of it. But not so with human beings.

It is very necessary to do something with regard to drivers. Drivers when drunk feel sleepy and instead of going at the normal speed race to death. Very many people think that we do ourselves a lot of good by being drunk. I do not know of anybody who has benefited from being a drunkard. What of their children? Therefore, to allow drunkards to be drivers will only keep the death rate and accident rate mounting. Therefore, we of this Upper House should do something about that by seeing to it that drivers drink less, and even abstain from drinking, at any rate during the time they are driving.

Meteorological services. As this is an agricultural country, as one of the Senators has already mentioned, the farmers need to know the time of rain, the time of sun, and all other things about the weather. I feel that it would be of very great advantage if these such information could be made available in vernacular; it would be a real guide and of real help.

With regard to exploitation of mineral resources—in the language used in the Address—but I would not call it exploitation, because I feel we ought to remind ourselves that when

the Europeans came we were barbarians, and at the same time when we come to an age of reason—(Interruptions).

The President : Order ! We were civilised before then.

Senator Olamijulo : But at the same time, there was a time we went back, degenerated and became slave traders—

An hon. Senator : The Europeans brought it.

Senator Olamijulo : Yes, that is true, but at the same time if we were wise, we would not fall into the error—

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : Point of Order ! The hon. Senator should address the President.

Senator Olamijulo : I speak about these Europeans and exploitation because if we had the money, we ought to have secured the services of our own men to look into the farms of their fathers and the areas in their own towns, and see what minerals are available. I do not say that we should leave it entirely to the Europeans to exploit us, but I think that we should hasten slowly and not prevent the full examination of our mineral resources now.

The eradication of malaria throughout the whole of the Federation is, I think, a laudable aim. Although it was malaria that saved this part of the world from the avarice of the early European imperialists, still, I think that the time has come for the total eradication of these pests. As such, if there is anything that the Government can do, the sooner it is done the better. I appeal to the Ministry of Health to do all that lies in its power, and not merely to leave the plan on paper.

My next point is about the proposal to produce a Single Electoral Act to replace the various Electoral Regulations. It is not uncommon that one says one thing and one does quite another thing. One goes to the right when one means to go to the left. How many electoral regulations have been made but not put into practice ? If an Electoral Law to unite Nigeria can be made and kept, what a blessing it would be to us ! We have adopted the policy of the Europeans in choosing our representatives, but are we putting into practice what the laws provide ? I think that

Nigeria should not only make the law, but should try to practise it. We are here as able statesmen, and the sooner we come out in our true colours and try to do our best with conscientiousness, and see to-day that what is put into the law, especially with regard to these electoral regulations, is put into practice, the better it will be for Nigeria.

Agricultural, industrial and technical education. It is a long time that people have been discussing agriculture. A lot of money has been wasted during the time when the Europeans were our overlords. Now we have come to our own. If we are true to ourselves, then it is high time we did something in order to be able to achieve something on agriculture. We are improving in education ; we are learning daily ; but as black people, have we been improving our knowledge ? If we have not the brains to originate, can we not go on copying and trying to improve from that ? It is high time something was done to improve our agricultural technique.

Industry is also very essential to us in this country, especially as we are still growing in population, and as we are still growing daily in knowledge. The sooner we developed our industries the better. As one hon. Senator has pointed out, if, as we borrow money from outside, we are able to use this money in developing our basic industries, I am sure that the lot of the people of Nigeria will be much better.

In his Speech from the Throne, His Excellency said :

“My Government has arranged with the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations to carry out a country-wide comprehensive Agricultural Survey”.

It is very essential that we should learn from abroad and know what agricultural products are suitable for certain areas. From this knowledge, we should try to know which areas are suitable for rice and which areas are suitable for yams and so on. If this system is followed, I think much will be done and better results will be achieved.

In supporting the Estimates of expenditure it is our duty at this juncture—(Interruptions).

The President : Order, Order. We have not come to the Estimates yet.

An hon. Senator : On point of Order. I think the hon. Senator is irrelevant.

The President : The point is that I am not sure that the hon. Senator is irrelevant.

Senator Olamijulo : Thank you very much, Mr President. I think I have the right to speak in this House and it is an abusive language to say that I am irrelevant. While I speak about this monetary matter, Mr Speaker, it would be logical—

The President : Mr President it should be, not Mr Speaker.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : On point of Order. I would like the hon. Senator to bear in mind the dignity of this hon. House. This is the Senate and we have Mr President in the Chair, and not "Mr Speaker" who is in the House of Representatives.

Senator Olamijulo : No, I am quoting. With your permission, Sir, I read :

"Mr Speaker, Members of the House of Representatives, your principal business at this meeting will be to consider the Appropriation Bill with its supporting Estimates of Recurrent and Capital Expenditure for 1962-63 in the context of the inaugural year of the National Development Plan. All my Government's economic, fiscal and monetary policies will be geared to the needs and requirements of this Plan in order that the nation may effectively meet the challenging problems which will undoubtedly arise during its execution".

I think we are part and parcel with this paragraph. (*Interruptions*).

The President : Order, order. I do not see how we are part and parcel with the paragraph.

Senator Olamijulo : With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Senator Salahu Fulani : It affords me a great honour to be allowed to say a few words on the Speech from the Throne. First of all, I should like to say that no amount of praise or encomium will suffice for the sacrifice that our beloved Governor-General was making before the independence of this country. He is a great man with a great ambition, with a

great purpose, and it is a source of joy for everyone of us here to see that his labour is rewarded during his life-time.

This was the first time that I watched His Excellency deliver his Speech from the Throne, and I have one important observation which I would like the President of the House to carry to the Rt. Honourable Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe.

Before the Governor-General entered the Chamber, I thought I would see him with a gorgeous African dress, with jewels and with all sorts of other ceremonial things. Now, this is Africa and I think that it will not only augur well for the dignity of the Governor-General but will also portray the personality of an African leader. The white suit he wore, well, was a bit laudable, but it was a common thing that any common man at least could wear on any occasion.

On important occasions in the North, one can see the Emirs wearing dresses that give them dignity and respect. This is the sort of thing which I believe this House should try to persuade our Governor-General to wear during such important occasions. I hope Mr President will bear that in mind.

Coming to the main Speech itself, I would like to touch very briefly on a few points in His Excellency's Speech. The first point is about the Conference of African and Malagasy Heads of State which I think was a very good augury for the welfare of Nigeria and Africa at large. But there is one point which I would like to mention, and that is the absence of people from what we call the Cassablanca Group or Bloc. I do not know what the Governor-General and the people who worked for the Conference would do to ensure that whenever there is such a Conference again, the people from this Cassablanca Bloc are not absent, and that the differences between them and the Monrovia Group are ironed out. We should like to see that all the people concerned are reconciled. It will augur well for the unity of Africa. I believe these States have some sort of inferiority complex and that was why they did not attend.

I would like to put on record my congratulations to the people of Lagos who did a lot of work during the Keep Lagos Clean week. There were reports in the papers that the people of Lagos would co-operate with the Police to see that the visitors did enjoy their time here and we read in the papers that there

was not a single incident during the stay of those Heads of States. It gladdens our hearts and I wish to congratulate the people of Lagos for that spirit.

On disarmament I have to say that Nigeria's role in the Conference now going on in Geneva is very significant. We have a word of thanks for those who are representing Nigeria. The amount of money being spent on satellites and all sorts of dangerous weapons could have been utilised in helping the suffering millions of people.

I now come to internal and external security. A lot has been said about the leakage of our official secrets. No country can progress without a very strict security measures. As an hon. Senator said, we are all responsible people, especially Members of the Cabinet. The destiny of this country is in their hands. It is their duty to ensure that no secret leaks. If secrets leak, one might suspect that there are spies among them and I do not think that sort of thing will ever be said about the Members of the Cabinet.

It is said : To avoid war, you must prepare for war. We have just attained our Independence and we do not expect there will be a Third World War. But if one breaks out, as an hon. Senator has stated, Nigeria will be in a very awkward position. It is no use saying we are strong. We are not strong at all in the sense of the word. Not a single weapon is manufactured in this country. All that we need for our defence comes from outside. We depend almost entirely on outside help. Members of the Cabinet should see that our defence is strong by sending our people not only to England and U.S.A. but also to other places like Russia. I do not want people to think that I want the country to go behind the iron curtain. Not at all. People say that, before we knew the Russians the English were the people with whom we were moving. We have been under the English. We know their likes and dislikes. But as far as defence is concerned, if this country is going to achieve true sovereignty we must have a very good system of defence. It is up to the people who are responsible for the preparation of our defence system, to see that people who are trained to defend us are really first-class.

I wish to say that no mention has been made about submarines, mine-sweepers and

destroyers for our Navy. I followed the Speech from the Throne and although the Governor-General spoke a lot about the Navy, those three things were left out. I hope that the Ministers of the Cabinet rank would note that the Navy should buy a fleet of submarines and mine-sweepers sufficient to keep our coasts quite clear in the event of war.

The people of the Iron Curtain may well be the people in the Iron Paradise. Very few Nigerians have been to Russia, to places like China or Japan, or to any part of Eastern Europe I do hope that as we are now independent, we are not going to train our people in one country only. We should send our men for training in countries like China, Czechoslovakia, Japan and Burma. And I wish the people responsible for these matters will bear this in mind.

The safety of any Government lies in the first place in its judiciary ; in the second place, in its Police Force ; in the third place in its Army, and in the fourth place in, the Police system. In any country, the Judicial Department is very important. The people who keep law and order are the Police and whereas the Army protects the nation. When the Military Academy which is going to be established is set up efforts should be made so that our soldiers compare favourably with soldiers in other places. We should employ experienced teachers who will give them first-class training.

A lot has been said about Communications. I would like the Federal Government to note that people who live in Lagos here rarely have the opportunity of seeing bad roads. People who go out into tiny rural areas like ourselves see much of these things.

An hon. Senator has spoken about feeder roads. These are very important. From the feeder roads, we could evacuate our produce but without good feeder roads, it will be impossible to get to many areas. Any-one who travels from Ilorin to Kaduna will find many good roads but beyond that it is all bumps. A lot of money has been wasted on the labourers who work on the roads, and these labourers cannot cope with the repairs. It is up to the Federal Government to see that these roads are well looked after. Nigeria still has a long way to go as far as feeder roads and communications are concerned.

[SENATOR FULANI]

I would like to say a few words on the importance of Education. Dr Orizu (I wish he were here now) mentioned a few things when he spoke on this Motion yesterday. He told the House that he noted that the North was lacking in education. That is true.

The Ashby Commission has recommended all sorts of things. It recommended that Lagos should have a University and that the Eastern Region, the Western Region and the Northern Region should each have a university too. But the universities cannot function without a sufficient number of primary schools being built. I think that it is the duty of the Federal Government to try to subsidise the Regional Governments who are trying to implement what is called the Universal Primary Education scheme.

I suggest that the Federal Government should consult UNESCO in order to obtain money with which it could build schools which would be run with UNESCO funds. That will go a long way towards easing and bringing up to date the educational system in Northern Nigeria.

I am going to suggest that one single university for the whole of the North is woefully insufficient. Anybody who has been to Jos would have seen that Jos is a very large place. One university at Kano is quite sufficient for the area, and I am appealing to the President of the Senate to take this up with the authority so that, at least, UNESCO could be asked to provide funds for the establishment of a university at Jos to be known as the Jos University. It is quite a worth while thing.

The reasons why the North has been lacking in education cannot be blamed on the people. The potentialities are there. The experts came and recommended that the North should be educated. That was a very good foresight.

Another thing that I would like to talk about is the establishment of more Borstal Institutions and Remand Homes. In the North, there are many places such as Minna, Maiduguri, Jos and Kano where one can find hooligans and small homeless children walking aimlessly about the streets. The establishment of such Borstal Institutions and Remand Homes is a necessity in order to minimise the temptation of children becoming delinquent. I am, therefore, appealing to the Federal Government to make room

for more Borstal Institutions and Remand Homes for the sake of the countless homeless children who have become what I call "hooligans," at Jos, Kano, Maiduguri and other towns on the railway lines.

I would like to touch another point. Somebody from Bornu has said that there are countless millions of heads of cattle in the North. Anybody who has been to Vom or Adamawa or Maiduguri or even Ilorin would have seen that this is so. These cattle are brought to Lagos for slaughter. A lot of research work has been done before in Vom, but more research work must be done into the production of local milk from these cattle, so that not only will the citizens of the country benefit but also that the economy of the country may be increased. It is for this reason that the Federal Government should take steps to speed up the production of local milk for the consumption of the people of this country and, in so doing, to reduce the quantity imported from overseas.

Before I sit down, I will talk about Labour. (I am sorry that Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku is not here to hear what I have to say.) I would like to point out that any encouragement of strikes in this country will do a hell of things that would be detrimental to our progress. Strikes are like the wind that blows nobody any good. There has been a lot of cry for more pay and less work. How can the economy of this country be enhanced if people always cry just for money and are not prepared to give equal output of work in return. If the trade union leaders could co-operate with the Government, I am sure that the economy of the country would be greatly increased.

Another point in the Governor-General's Address which I want to speak on is about Co-operative Thrift. It is very important, particularly in rural places where people grow such an amount of cocoa and farm produce, cotton and groundnuts which could still be improved and increased. The farmers are poor, but if the Federal and the Regional Governments could try to inculcate in them a spirit of saving and give them money on co-operative basis, it would go a very long way towards helping to enhance the economy of this country. I appeal very strongly to the President of the Senate to pass on to the people the fact that any amount spent on the State will be money well spent indeed.

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

Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu : In supporting the Motion on the Speech from the Throne, I have to thank hon. Senator Shettima Kashim, the Waziri of Bornu, for the able way in which he moved the Motion. Any further addition to what he and the Seconder of the Motion said about the Governor-General, as well as what was said by many other hon. Senators in this hon. House, will be mere repetition.

At any rate, if one goes through the Speech from the Throne, one will find that the able way in which the Speech was prepared and delivered is an indication of the Governor-General's experience in the affairs of the whole of this Federation. The Governor-General has travelled far and wide in this country. He knows every town, village and hamlet in this country. He knows all the Emirs, the Alkalis, the Amanyanabos, the Obis and all the Obas. Therefore, there is nothing in this Federation that he does not know. That is why I have always said that the Governor-General is the right man in the right place. He has a wealth of experience. No amount of praise showered on the Governor-General can be too much. He deserves the highest degree of praise and commendation.

As I said earlier, hon. Senators who have spoken before me have covered many grounds and any attempt to touch the points they have raised would be a repetition. At any rate, I have some observations to make.

The first one is about reclamation of land in Lagos which Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku spoke about. Whatever may be the arrangements about the allocation of land in Lagos, the indigenes of Lagos should not be forgotten. During last year's Budget Session, mention was made in the Speech from the Throne about reclamation of land in Lagos. During the debate on the Address last year, some hon. Senators expressed the fear that when the Government begins its reclamation project, fishing which is one of the occupations of the people of Lagos will be affected. Parts of the Lagos Lagoon which are being used now for fishing will be reclaimed. In reply, the Minister assured the Senators that every effort will be made to see that the people of Lagos do not suffer as a result of the reclam-

ation. Whatever may be the decision of the Federal Government on the reclamation of land in Lagos, I will suggest that the Federal Government should make sure that the people of Lagos do not suffer; they should see that they are not deprived of the right of inheriting the things left for them by their forefathers.

The other point I would like to speak about is our Police Force. In the Federation at the moment, the activities of our policemen are not good enough. I am saying this from personal experience because it is we, the chiefs, who have the opportunity of working with these policemen.

Nowadays, one finds that reports given by policemen when they investigate cases are not as good as they used to be. For some time now, I have been trying to find out what has necessitated this fall in efficiency. One finds that in the past policemen even go to the extent of offering money to the people who can help them get the required information; but nowadays the policemen expect even the criminals to give them money. Once they are given the money they even tell the criminal how to escape.

The next reason is that policemen do not take their job seriously; all they are interested in now is to take their General Certificate of Education examination, or other examinations, so that they can become A.S.P.s or leave the Police Force and get better employment elsewhere. What necessitates this is that they know that once one passes one's examination, whether one is good at the job or not, one will be promoted while the man who sits at the job all his life trying to be conscientious is not promoted.

I am appealing to the Minister of Health to pass this information on to the Minister concerned so that the Federal Government may know how to handle this matter, because it is very important. Most of the criminal cases happening in this country are not investigated properly. Policemen prefer now to go to the criminal and say, "Give me some money and you can go where you like"—because they know that nowadays the law does not prevail but the technicalities of law. The Federal Government should see to it that both the Judiciary and the Police do their work very well because they are the life-wire of the nation.

[SENATOR ACHOLONU]

The next point I would like to talk about is age limit in the Police Force. I have discovered of late that elderly men are very reluctant to stay in the Police Force after the age of 45. When I investigated the matter, I was told that there is a certain law which forbids people over 50 years of age being promoted. This law must be revised. We find that if this law is not revised, when young police men are sent to catch a thief and the thief runs into the bush, unless there is an elderly man to tell them to run after the thief, the policemen will only allow the thief to run away. That is why the Government should take every necessary precaution to see that all these elderly men, both in the Army and in the Police Force, are not made to retire because of this question of age limit. Most of us here are in that age group and we know how active we still are. I am myself a farmer and I know that I can still do about the same amount of work as any young man can do in my own town. I can do the work that young men of twenty-five or thirty do. I, in fact, keep my compound very clean, cleaner than that of any young man living near me. Therefore, it is very important that necessary consideration must be given to the members of the Police Force who have advanced in age. The Government should take note of this because the security of the State is in their hands. They must, therefore, be encouraged.

According to the information I have, people in the Police Force who should be given promotion are not having it because of their age. Instead, these promotions go to the men who have just come into the Army or the Police Force. These are either former Headmasters of schools, or students who had obtained the Cambridge School Leaving Certificate or the Class IV Certificate, or undergraduates from the University College. Promotions should be properly organised and awarded according to the services of each individual because it will encourage them to render their services with a competitive spirit.

If hon. Senators go through the Speech or Address of His Excellency the Governor-General, they will find that the Prime Minister who handed over the book to His Excellency to read is commended in the Address. Even the hon. Members of the Council of Ministers

have words of commendation there for their achievements during the past year.

The Niger Dam project, the new Auxiliary services and the construction of the Apapa Quay were mentioned in the Address. These (*interruption*).

The President : Order, order. Moment of interruption.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That the Senate do now adjourn—(The Minister of Health).

PUBLICITY TO THE SENATE

Senator E. A. Lagunju : May I take this Motion to mean that the former instruction given by the hon. Minister is now cancelled—I mean the Motion on the Business of the House?

The Minister of Health : Yes.

Senator Lagunju : Well, if that be the case, I would like to know, Mr President, whether we have pressmen up there in the Gallery? We used to have them over there.

Mr President : They are up there.

Senator Lagunju : I was actually trying to find out whether we are having enough publicity given to the meetings of this House because we have always complained of that. But since the pressmen are there, I hope that they are doing so. I am happy that they are there.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusifu : I really support the last speaker because the press has been very quiet since the resumption of this Senate. Nothing has been said or written about the Senate either by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation or the papers. If they are not very much interested in us, then I am surprised why they are not.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : On this question of publicity, I really, under normal circumstances, would not have bothered because it is unnecessary to draw a goat and write under it, "This is a goat."

Those of us who have been Members of the Lower House know exactly the contribution of this Upper House. Indeed we do not bother about publicity. But one prominent man told me in the Eastern Region that it was only during the debate about the Grand Khadi that he

heard about the Senate. He said that he thought that we had been sleeping all along here in the Senate. That is why it is important and reasonable that if every other paper fails to report what is happening here, the *Nigerian Morning Post*, the Government Paper, should not fail to do so.

The other day, we passed the Motion about the Mid-West. Not a word was said about our doing so. Throughout yesterday, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation was all the time talking about the Mid-West Motion and the Federal House of Representatives. Only the Lower House was mentioned in this connection. That House alone cannot make Parliament without us, and it is very unfair that we should come here and say something about what is happening currently and which is in the interests of the nation and nobody ever says anything about what we have said. That is most unfair. Is it because we do not get up to quarrel like the people in the Lower House that we are being so treated? We do not do so because we know our status in life. We know that we belong to the Upper House. We do not have to come here and quarrel and heckle merely because nothing is said about what we are doing here. We know that nothing passed in the Lower House can ever be law if it is not ratified here by us.

Tours Abroad

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : I am afraid we are just being treated like boys. We are not heard. If you go through the Speech from the Throne you will find the Governor-General made mention of the President of the Senate, the Senators, and then all others.

Maybe our Ministers are lazy, I do not know. We are Senators, and apart from that we have Ministers. We want our voices to be heard. I think it is high time our Ministers told their brother Ministers that we are Members of the Upper House but are not allowed to go anywhere. We do not go to America. We are confined here nearly always.

Business of the Senate

Chief P. C. Ndu : It is really a surprise how we are being treated. In the first place the Governor-General was once a Senator, and it was from here that he was elevated to that post. At the same time the President

of the Senate who used to act for the Governor-General went from the Senate. The Oba of Lagos has recently received a very high honour.

It appears that when somebody is not very rough in this country in his speeches he will not be heard. We are elderly statesmen, and we are cultured people. We came in this morning, and a Bill was passed without any delay. Strangely, we were asked to go at one o'clock and come back at three o'clock thus showing that we might object to the Bill. But nobody said anything against it since we did not find it necessary to do so. Now, somebody has come in to say that we should go and come back on Monday. This shows that we are able statesmen.

I think it is high time the Senate, the Upper House, which represents the House of Lords, was heard and respected.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : It is most surprising that after all we have got our Government paper which is the *Morning Post*. If all other papers cannot publish what is happening for the good of Nigeria in their papers or in their reports, I fail completely to understand why our Ministers in the Senate who are really concerned have been so lenient and quiet that they cannot even approach their own Minister of Information who perhaps controls the *Morning Post* which is our own paper.

I am sorry I see the Minister of Health is going away, I think I shall ask his permission to stay, because I want him to be here.

The President : Will the hon. Senator continue. This is something with a collective responsibility, and there is another Minister here.

The National Press

Senator Hunponu-Wusu : Thank you, Sir. It is getting so much that we have had to complain that we are being considered as a rubber stamp. I think the time has come that we must call a spade a spade. We know our value, and according to one hon. Senator here, because we do not come here to make noise and shout we find that some of our Ministers simply look down on us saying that we should be left to say anything and that they can simply hush us down and then put things in our mouth.

[SENATOR CHIEF HUNPONU-WUSU]

I am sure all other Senators will agree with me that if the *Daily Times* or *Pilot* or any other newspaper cannot say something in connection with the Parliaments of Nigeria, the *Morning Post* which is a Government paper is supposed to do something for the good of this country. If the *Morning Post* equally fails, I think it would be better we dissolve such a newspaper, because it does not exist in the interest of the people. What is the use spending thousands of pounds to establish a business of your own, your own paper which is supposed to project your views and reasons and activities to the whole world?

Very few people read the *Gazette* so that when the *Morning Post* was launched it was thought that everybody would be able to see what was going on in the Government Departments. Here we are to-day. What do we see since they came here? Nothing whatsoever. I think it is a shame on the Ministers concerned. Let them tell the Council of Ministers that we are here and we are not going to tolerate it any longer.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : I rise to join the hon. Senators in their strong and violent protests against all the indignities which this House has suffered. No amount of complaint we make to-day can solve this problem unless the Government has a change of attitude to our political status. There is no gainsaying the fact that we have people here qualified in all respects. We have qualified people in the Lower House and we have qualified people in the Upper House. In this House we have lawyers, doctors, educationists, chiefs, merchants and unlike the Federal House of Representatives, a woman Senator.

The Government should stop making toys of us. You will remember that some Bills have been amended here and returned to the Lower House. If we have no brains we shall not be able to do that. I think because we are serving the nation in the Upper House we should not be turbulent and ruthless. If I happen to stand for election to the Lower House I have my tongue. I can change my way of speech and be turbulent and ruthless and appear on the headline of newspapers by the way I am fighting. Since we said here that we should not act as politicians but as statesmen we all try to cool

down and only say what is worth doing and try to forget all political differences and such things, and say things that statesmen will say for the unity and progress of the Federation.

What is our reward? The only time we had publicity was when we debated the Grand Khadi issue and the Sheria court, and it was only then that the Pressmen knew us. We did that because we felt it should be done, and when we felt that we should lay down our arms we did so. If the Pressmen should feel that we only need to be turbulent, well, I think we shall prefer to resign our posts, because our House is not to be turbulent and troublesome. Then there will be no Upper House again. I feel that we should join in putting this very seriously to the Government and the Press—that there should be certain space allocated to this House. Our picture should appear in the papers and our proceedings should also be reported. We do not hear about our constructive criticism to improve legislation; there is much of what we do here which should be recorded. Therefore, I heartily join in the protest. If we were given the time, I know every hon. Senator in this House to-day would like to speak on it, but what the few of us have said is just sufficient to impress on the Government to know the voice of the Senate.

Senator Chief S. O. Esangbedo : I think the Senators should stand together. Some of our people are complaining that they are not properly treated. I think we are here now precisely because we are sincere and able statesmen. We are not doing politics. If we were doing politics, I think we are more or less N.P.C. here. What happens if N.C.N.C. has its own view, Action Group has its own view, N.P.C. has its own view, and we try to drag on points and the Minister says we should go? We are not playing politics. Let them laugh at us if they can, but we should try to attack anything that is said about us. We will let them see that we are not playing politics.

Senator Salahu Fulani : It is lamentable, that this Motion should have come at this juncture. As I said earlier, this House is a responsible and august one and I wish to hammer into the mind of the Minister or the Leader of this House the fact that we are just not like tools that can be picked up and put down at will. We are all very responsible

people. We were told at the beginning of the sitting that we should come back here at 3 p.m., and we all decide on that; then in the course of a moment, that idea has been changed. I think the whole House would demand an explanation from the Minister in charge.

Senator Mrs Wuraola A. Esan : My own complaint is different from those of the men Senators. My own is that the majority group of the people of Nigeria is being relegated to the background, by the negligence of the Minister to publicise the only woman senator. If women do not vote, there will not be any Parliament and there will not be any Lower House. Because we women are willing to help the nation, we go and cast our votes. By voting me into this House, the Government or the nation is proving to the other nations of the world that it does respect the status of women. And being the only woman here, I would like my picture to appear.

Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu : In fact the Members of this august and honourable House are somehow slighted. But the purpose is known. We have several times laid this our complaint before our hon. Minister. I have often shared the sympathy of hon. Senators because I have seen their predicament.

The President : Will the hon. Senator please make this kind of speech short?

Senator Acholonu : Yes, Sir. I remember that by this time last year we complained of being treated with indignity. To-day there is the same thing again. Last year we protested against our having to go to the Lower House for a joint sitting, because it is Members of the Lower House that should come to us. Even here there are no spectators in our Gallery. School children used to come here to watch our debates; but now they prefer to go to the Lower House where blows are exchanged! We are calling on the hon. President and the Minister to see that the Government does something about this. This is my contribution to what my other colleagues have said.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : In the first instance, I do not think that we should expose ourselves as having some sort of complex, because some Senators have been trying to say that we oppose this and oppose that. I think the nation knows our worth.

In our own case it is the question of the superior element of Parliament, and I think we are doing everything we can to maintain our position. Not even the Government can force the Press to publish its own opinion, and those of us who know more about the Press of this country—

An hon. Senator : Is the Senator talking about the *Morning Post*, which is a Government Press?

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I am talking about the Press, whether Government or private. I want to tell the hon. Senator that the *Morning Post* as such does not regard itself as a Government paper. One may regard it as Government Press because the Government has given it the charter to function on a commercial basis, but then they are responsible for the news that is published.

I am not speaking in defence of Government—I am only making my own contribution on this. We deal with the Press in this country; we come into contact with them in every sphere of life, and we know the disappointments we have, so that as far as we are concerned, we are going to leave them to do whatever they like. When they are given materials, they only publish what they want. If there is trouble in that material, they publish it; if there is no trouble, they will not publish it. In politics, if we send material to them, even materials that are real constructive material, if it is not going to spread trouble in the country, they will have no interest in it; but if it is material which will make one part of the country to rise against the other, they will publish it. The only thing we say is that we feel that the proceedings of the Senate must be known to the nation, so that the nation may be able to assess the importance of the Senate.

The only appeal that we should make is this. Every ten o'clock we hear proceedings in Parliament—House of Representatives. Well, if the hon. Minister should have a word with the hon. Minister of Information that either nine o'clock or eleven o'clock, they should report the proceedings in Senate too, well I think that would go far in letting people outside the country know what is going on. As far as the newspapers are concerned, they will say that it is their prerogative to publish what they like.

Senator the Hon. Dr E. A. Esin (Minister of State): I think the complaints of hon. Senators are very, very legitimate but, on the other hand, they seem to put all the trouble on the Minister which should not be the case at all. I am glad, however, that Chief Beyioku has come to our rescue.

We have a free press in this country. They can publish anything they like or discard anything they do not like. Again, the press and the members of the public seem to regard us as people who do not matter at all because we do not cause trouble like the Lower House.

Another thing is that our press is not in the real sense non-partisan. They have their own party and they would like to publicise their own party. You will find that they have people whom they want to publicise and talk about. So, we are in dilemma and we cannot do anything about this. We cannot control them. We have a free press and they publish what they like.

On the other hand, we have a paper which is owned by this Government and a radio which is our own which can publicise the Senate and the proceedings in the Senate. All I can say is that the Minister of Information does not go about gathering information himself. He sends men out to collect this information, give it to the people who sort things out and publicise them. What we can do and nothing more, is to bring this matter to the awareness of the Minister concerned so that he can send people regularly to this House to report on us.

If one tries to sound the feelings of the country it will be found that there are a lot of people in this country who do not think that this Upper House, the Senate, is necessary at all. But they make a great mistake. Without the Senate this country could go wrong at any time. We must have the Senate with mature people and people with the outlook to cater for the unity of this country. So that I would ask you to continue in your quiet dignity until this matter is brought to the attention of the Minister of Information.

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): I would not

like to add any more to what my hon. colleague has already said. He has given the assurances I was going to give but I think that I would very much like to remind hon. Senators that Government has always taken very careful note of all the views expressed here.

At one time, an hon. Senator said something about this question of Senators going out to the House of Representatives. In the Cabinet we decided that on each occasion when there is going to be a joint sitting of Parliament, the House of Representatives will on that occasion be the Senate and if hon. Senators observed the arrangements which were made during the joint sitting they would have found that the President was presiding over the Senate and then the House of Representatives only joined the Senate. For reasons of space and convenience to get all the Members of the Lower House to this Senate we made this arrangement and I thought that was acceptable to hon. Senators.

At this moment we have the Motion concerning Standing Orders of the House and a Member asked why it was found necessary to do so and I explained that we were expecting a message from the other place. Well, unfortunately as the message we expected could not arrive we, therefore, decided that instead of sitting here to waste time, we should go home and meet again on Monday. We disclosed this to hon. Senators. As human beings, we make our plans. We expected that this message would arrive before we close this morning. But the message did not arrive and that is why we have decided to adjourn till Monday.

The President: Order, order. I think I have one thing to add for the benefit of those who are not conversant with procedure in Parliament. It is usual for the Ministerial Bench to get up first thing in the morning and move that Standing Orders be suspended in so far as closing hours are concerned. That is just to give them a safety valve for bringing in any business if that business must be transacted before the closing hour. In the Western House of Assembly it was almost always done by Tony Enahoro who was then the Minister of Home Affairs,

First thing in the morning, we move that we are going to close at one o'clock and sometimes we find that the work finishes before eleven o'clock and we go home. The thing is to give the Government room to manoeuvre for purposes of getting some work done on a particular date. If we are lucky and they do

not work up to the number of hours they want, I think we should be at peace.

And it being 12.20 p.m. the President adjourned the Senate without question put, pursuant to Standing Order 4 (7).

Adjourned at twenty minutes past twelve o'clock.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Monday, 26th March, 1962

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : I am sorry about my position in this hon. House. This is the third time my speeches have been printed under the wrong name. Each time I speak, my speech has been printed in the name of hon. Senator H. N. Udoh. This happened in 1960 and in 1961. (*Interruptions*).

The Minister of Health (Senator the hon. Chief M. A. Majekodunmi) : According to the Order Paper, it is time for Question.

The President : The hon. Senator can raise this at the appropriate moment, in that if you would look at your Standing Order, you would know when to raise what you are raising.

Senator Chief Ndu : But I think it is (*Interruptions*).

The President : Order. Order. After all, it is not the Senate that records what you are saying ; so that what you are saying can very well be settled by seeing those people sitting there.

Senator Chief Ndu : But since it is (*Interruptions*).

The President : Order. Order. None of us writes shorthand. It is the people over there ; and I always name the Senators. Before you spoke, I called "Senator Ndu". Well, it is quite pardonable if somebody thinks 'Senator Udoh' is 'Senator Ndu'. It is quite possible. You should not be so hurt about this. See those people writing there and tell them you are Ndu and not Udoh.

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Vehicle Permits

*O.1. **Senator Dahlton O. Asemota** asked the Government of the Federation, what are the criteria in terms of gross vehicle weights, axle loadings, overall vehicle widths and lengths and trailer designs above which a road vehicle operator, wishing to operate a heavy

vehicle, must obtain specific permits issuable by Federal or Regional Governments, what freedom of operation do these permits allow and what are the criteria beyond which permits would not be obtainable.

The Minister of Health : The criteria regarding the issue of vehicle permits to road vehicles in the Federation are ; first, the need to protect the capital investment which has been put into roads and bridges, and damaged by vehicles and loads which are beyond the designed capacity of those roads to carry them ; secondly, to ensure the safety of the public and the road vehicle operators by restricting the passage of heavy vehicles on inadequate carriage ways and bridges.

There is no restriction on Trunk Road A of vehicles to the gross weights of up to 8 tons and axle loads of 4 tons and vehicle width of 8 ft. But vehicles with specifications in a set of these figures require heavy vehicle permits. The limits of heavy vehicle permits vary according to the standard of individual roads up to a maximum of 10 tons in the Eastern Region, 20 tons in the Northern Region, and 20 tons in the Western Region, with a possible variation of up to 25 tons where twin rear axles are used.

In addition to the issue of heavy vehicle permits, special permits may be issued at the discretion of the Federal and Regional Directors of Public Works for specific journeys on specific roads. These are intended to permit the Departments for special construction equipment or special vehicles such as oil exploration vehicles which do not normally use the roads for commercial purposes. In these cases, the necessity for each journey must be assessed against the possible damage to the roads and the general safety of the public.

Consideration is being given to a review of the maximum vehicle and axle weight as roads, bridges and vehicles are improved and to simplify the Regulations between the Regions. The protection of the roads in order to ensure its maximum effective life and the general safety of the public will however continue to be the criteria used in deciding what maximum vehicle as to weight shall be permitted.

Road Traffic Ordinance

*O.2. **Senator Dahlton O. Asemota** asked the Government of the Federation, what steps

are being taken to bring up-to-date the existing Road Traffic Ordinance.

The Minister of State (Hon. M. A. O. Olarewaju): The Amendments to the Road Traffic Act are under active consideration.

Recommendations of Stanford University

***O.3. Senator Dahlton O. Asemota** asked the Government of the Federation, what action is being taken in the light of the recommendations of the study group from Stanford University, and of the Nigerian Road Federation to reorganise the structure of responsibility for roads and road transportation.

The Minister of Health: The recommendations of the Stanford Research Institute including those relating to the responsibilities for road matters are receiving the attention of Government. No change is contemplated, however, for the time being at least, in the assignment as between the Ministers concerned for responsibility for road and transport matters.

ORDER OF THE DAY

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS)

Adjourned Debate on Question (23rd March).

Question again proposed, 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 Houses of Parliament.”

Senator Mrs Wuraola A. Esan: I rise to congratulate His Excellency the Governor-General, on the Speech from the Throne. At the same time, I have very few observations to make. No one would quarrel with the Speech from the Throne. For one thing, it is more comprehensive than the former one and there are concrete proposals raised therein. For this we have to congratulate not only His Excellency the Governor-General but all those who have helped in the preparation of this Speech.

I would like to proceed by congratulating the Minister of Health for his plans to give improved health to the people of the Federal

Territory. The Ministry proposes to create more health centres, to build a mental hospital, and to start on the work of the University Hospital almost immediately. For all these we are very grateful. It seems the future looks very rosy indeed, but I would like to suggest that this does not go far enough. Although we want hospitals in order to cure diseases, we want concrete plans to prevent the diseases as well.

Some foreign diseases have recently been transplanted into the soil of Nigeria. These diseases are alien to us and we want to hear the measures that will be put forward to prevent these diseases from spreading.

One particular disease is that which results in people dying gradually due to some substance in the blood. I do not know the name the doctors have for it but this is a disease that no one can say for certain existed in the days of our forefathers.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku: High blood pressure?

Senator Mrs Esan: It is not high blood pressure, but people die prematurely by this disease, and we have not been told what measures are being taken to prevent such a disease from coming to thrive on the soil of Nigeria.

The other point I would touch is about centres where our native food could be studied closely as to the mixture; to appropriate mixture to give us healthy diet. Many people here are not ashamed to tell us that they take a lot of tea, milk, egg, tinned tomatoes, tinned food and the like, because they think these would contribute to the building up of their good health. We have plenty of food, plenty foodstuffs, but it is the mixture and the preparation that we lack. I would like to see centres all over Nigeria especially the Federal Capital, where not only educated women but also illiterate women would go to see for themselves how some of our meals could be prepared to make it not only palatable, but rich in vitamin as well.

I do not know what Ministry is responsible but I think if the co-operation of the Ministries of Health, Economic Development, Agriculture and the Police is combined it would be possible to rid the Federal territory of Lagos of the

[SENATOR MRS ESAN]

havoc of so many beggars. It is true we must have beggars, because even if everything is divided among all people, there would still be people who would spend their own lavishly and beg, but we do not want people who go about begging as a kind of job. I think that the Minister of Health would help us greatly if he would suggest to the Government that something should be done to relieve us of these slightly incapable people who roam about begging. Not only the blind people, but people who are only a bit lame or have only minor things troubling them. These people are a sort of nuisance to the public.

Another thing I would like to suggest to this Ministry also is that more Health Visitors be engaged to go to the backward parts of the Federal territory to see that we do not have women abandoning their children on the streets. There must be causes for the abandonment of children in the streets. We all know that women in Africa are very fond of their children and when there are cases of women abandoning their children in our country, it must be due to lack of proper care, husbands neglecting their wives and failing to maintain them. If our men can only take care of their wives and give them enough for themselves and their children we will have less cases of abandoned children in this country.

The next point I would like to touch on is about text-books in our schools. The Federal Ministry of Education and the Regional Ministries of Education should get together and see that the text-books used in our schools are standardised. It is very discouraging for a parent who, after sending his children to school in one of our Regions, through transfer comes to another Region and finds that he has to buy a new set of text-books for his children. I think if the Ministries of Education in the country can get together and get the text-books used in our schools standardised, parents will be saved the embarrassment of having to buy new text-books whenever they move from one Region to another.

His Excellency the Governor-General also mentioned in the Speech from the Throne that more foreign languages will be taught in our secondary grammar schools. Already, some of the students in our secondary grammar schools are studying French. This is very encouraging

and we hope all the secondary schools in the country will be made to teach more foreign languages. But I will sound a note of warning that dead foreign languages should not be taught in our schools. The Russians are one of the great powers in the world and their progress in the scientific field within the last few years has been very encouraging. I am sure that if the Russian language is introduced in our grammar schools, it will be a step towards progress, not only in the scientific field, but also in getting to know the people who are prepared to help us with the development of our country.

The Governor-General also mentioned in the Speech from the Throne the question of alcohol and benefits to be derived from it. I think it is high time our Governments decided to give recognition to home-made alcoholic drinks. Research if carried out carefully into these home-made drinks will yield good results. The country will save a lot of money which now goes out of the country in the form of the money we waste importing these drinks into our country. We all know that there are some men who will never be happy at functions unless there is alcohol for them to drink.

A Senator : Women are worse.

Senator Mrs Esan : I have never seen women who drink as much as men do. I do not like alcohol but I would suggest that the Government should see to it that people who want to waste their money on alcoholic drinks waste it within the country.

I want to say a few words about Pan-Africanism. We all agree with our Prime Minister that we must make haste slowly but we should remember that sometimes when people are too careful they suffer because of their carefulness. Nigeria must take the lead in African affairs. We have been taking the lead through the peaceful way we have been managing our affairs but we must be more dynamic in our approach to African affairs. We may have differences but we have been moving together. It is true we have no territorial ambition but how can we prevent people who have territorial ambitions from attacking us? Let us pursue our policy on Pan-Africanism vigorously because if we do not, we must remember that not only aggressors suffer but those who are not aggressive suffer too. Our Government should use all the forces within its power to see that the Monrovia

and the Casablanca group of states are united. We shall be happy when we hear that the two blocs are united in future Conferences.

I now go to the complaints about telephone operators. I am not trying to defend the indefensible but it seems to me that men do not realise there are men telephone operators too. They have always been putting all the blame on women. As far as I know I have had the worst rudeness from men telephone operators. The men have been complaining that women telephone operators use all the time putting on their cosmetics and forget to answer them when they call or put their calls through. I think the men are exaggerating the whole affair. I quite agree we should teach our telephone operators how to answer the telephone but the whole blame should not be shifted on women telephone operators; after all, if the women do not dress well the right men will not come forward. The men will always criticise women who are not well dressed. If we can teach our telephone operators how to answer the telephone courteously and politely it will go a long to improve our telephone services. The men ought to learn not to molest women or to salute them too much.

I now go to my next subject—the taxation of women. I do not want to defend this matter by saying now that women should not be taxed. What I say is that only those women earning an income of over £300 should be taxed. In fact, all women earning reasonable incomes should be taxed. I want to point out, however, that the women must be correctly assessed for taxation. A good woman trader who comes here to tell us that she earns only £200 a year would be strictly incorrect because she certainly earns more than that. This set of women could be assessed correctly by ascertaining from the firms who give them merchandise to sell or by calling at the shops of these women and assessing the goods contained in them. Therefore, there should be fairplay in assessing their income

But there is another set of women—the ones who go about carrying one roll of material or a few plates and pans for sale. These women hawkers go out mainly because they do not want to be called lazy stay-at-home women. They, therefore, walk the streets from morning till night not earning anything and not gaining anything much. If these

women are sent back to their own homes, they will not stay at home because they have not been properly educated enough to realise that their homes are their kingdoms. These women must be kept outside to do their petty trading. But if the Government starts to tax the women who earn practically nothing, and in any case something under £300, it would be looking for trouble. The trouble will not be the getting of the money, because Government officers could get hold of some of them and make them pay. The trouble will be that those who cannot pay will stay at home and stop their petty trading, and the devil will find work for their idle hands. Evil will come out of it.

About two days ago, some women came to tell me that many women had stopped selling at the Ereko market and chosen to stay at home because they could not pay the tax if and when called upon to do so.

A Senator : But there are always women there.

Senator Chief Mrs Esan : Yes, there are always women there, but one cannot know of those who are missing if one does not stay there with them.

Therefore, if we must tax women, let us correctly assess the women we must tax. If we start on people earning from £300 and upwards, we shall be on the safe side. By the austerity measures some husbands will have to lose part of the salaries and these women will have to come to their aid. But if we tax women earning below £300, we shall not be tackling the problem realistically because they would no longer be able to help their husbands and the austerity measure might not be beneficial to the country after all. The Government should sit down and find other ways of taxing women. Many of us pay tax indirectly already. We buy many things which we shall continue to buy even if taxation is imposed on us.

A Senator : Why do you buy them ?

Senator Chief Mrs Esan : So that we could appear decent.

I am therefore appealing to the Government to see that if women are to be taxed at all, they should be assessed correctly.

[SENATOR MRS ESAN]

Reading through the Speech of His Excellency the Governor-General, anybody who has the interest of the country at heart would exclaim, Oh! What a splendid thing that we are going to have so many things done." But we have read former Speeches containing most of the things that have been written into this one. We want to tell the Government not to keep repeating itself and making us rejoice unnecessarily when reading through the Speeches only to find out at the end of the financial year that not many of the things have been implemented. Let the Government implement all that they have put down here. That is what we want, and if we are all still alive next year, we will read a Speech containing fresh, and not stale statements.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : We shall all be alive.

The President : Has Senator Chief Mrs Esan any reason to think that we will not all be alive?

Senator Chief Mrs Esan : I am not saying that we shall die, but nothing is certain in this world. By the grace of God, we shall still be alive but I have put "if" because God has made us more doubtful than hopeful, otherwise we should all be kings and call ourselves gods. He has put that doubting spirit in us so that we will not be very sure of the future. I pray that all of us may be here next year, but whether our President will be here then is yet to be seen.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : He will be Mid-West President.

Senator Chief Mrs Esan : I think we ought to move with the times. Writing many things down and debating them does not help much. If we move with the time, every one of us would be happy. We do not come here only to criticise the Government and make suggestions. We will be happy if the Government will fulfil all it has proposed to do even if it does not listen to the suggestions we make.

An instance of this is the case of the road from Lagos to Shagamu. The Government promised us that this road would be completed as soon as possible. One national paper even described it as the most beautiful road in Nigeria. The fact is that the work done on it was not as satisfactory as anticipated, and the

road is far from beautiful or completed. If anyone travels on the road in my own car, and not in a Pontiac or an Oldsmobile, he would easily find out that the road is not as smooth and straight as the Kontangora road which I prefer. We are not here to talk about the making of roads—I am not competent enough to do that—But what I am talking about is that if the Government wants to give us roads, it should give us good ones and do so in time. After all, we are all getting younger and we would like to use the roads for sometime (*Interruption.*)

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : Before we die.

Senator Chief Mrs Esan : Yes, before we die.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : The joint meeting of the Federal Parliament has again been treated to a fascinating and soul-stirring Speech from His Excellency the Governor-General. We have all learnt to expect from this great architect of Nigerian independence constructive plans which make for economic and social progress of Nigeria. No greater tribute can be paid to the Speech than the fact that the Nigerian Press throughout the country and the enlightened Nigerian public opinion have acclaimed it as worthy of the great Zik of Africa.

One can scarcely discuss the Governor-General's Speech from the Throne without referring to the recent Conference of Heads of African and Malagasy States. Nigeria by successfully playing host to this great assembly of African nations has earned for herself a very enviable name. It is, therefore, no surprise that she should be maligned by one of her vociferous neighbours which all the time is trying to impose her leadership on Africa.

We do not mind what they have said about the failure of the Conference. Those who are competent to judge have described the Conference as a very great success, and we believe that our great country led by such great personalities as our Governor-General, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, and our hon. Prime Minister, Sir, Abubakar, cannot be out-manoeuvred by those vociferous but nonetheless insignificant States.

The acceptance in principle of a Charter of the Inter-African and Malagasy States Organisation augurs well for the future stability and solidarity of Africa, and we are looking forward to the day when the provisions which are going to be set forth in the White Paper which we anticipate will tell us exactly what the future of Africa will be. We are looking forward that the provisions in this White Paper will be implemented at no distant date.

It gladdens the heart of every true, patriotic Nigerian that our country is playing her full role as a sovereign, independent State in international assemblies. As a Member of the eighteen Nation Committee on disarmament Nigeria, through her indefatigable Foreign Minister, hon. Jaja Wachuku, is making her voice heard in circles which matter. We pray that Nigeria's work for world peace may bear abundant fruit.

In so short a time, following her independence, Nigeria has made very notable progress in her Army and Navy.

While it is desirable to Nigerianise the Army, Navy, and the Air Force when inaugurated, great care must be taken not to sacrifice efficiency in the name of Nigerianisation. We all would like to see a Nigerian as the Head of the Army, or the Navy, or the Air Force, but we must sound a note of warning. The Army or the Navy without a competent Head is unworthy of its important duties to the nation. You know what has happened in the Congo where a Sergeant was made the Head of the Army. We do not want an Army like that in Nigeria. Thank God our leaders are able to see far, and are making commendable preparations to train our Army and Navy personnel. We very much look forward to seeing our Army and Navy personnel very well trained.

There is a proposal to have a military academy locally. I think it is a very sound idea indeed. But in selecting the men to man the academy very great care must be taken. The Government will be well advised to consider seriously the warning which that great orator, Dr the hon. Orizu, gave the other day. The Government must launch far into the deep. They must go to various parts of Europe, to England, France, America, and even Eastern Europe. They must also go to India and China and look

for suitable materials. They must not in any way limit the venue of their recruitment if we are to get a military academy worthy of Nigeria.

Also in selecting the personnel for training very great care must be taken. Young Nigerian men and women with the requisite academic qualifications as well as physical fitness should be chosen. There should be no nepotism in the choice, because if we do that we shall only have ourselves to blame.

What appears to be an imaginative road re-construction programme of the Federal Government has not been fully implemented. My hon. Friend Senator Asemota will no doubt share my disappointment and indignation that we are still talking of work being in progress on the Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin Road. Well, we are fed up to hear that this work is in progress. When will this work stop being in progress so that we can begin to use the road? This is what the Minister has to tell us. We who come from the East suffer very much. We want to shorten the journey to Lagos and lessen the Government expense. If the road is shortened we shall claim less by way of mileage allowance. I would like to know when we shall stop talking about this road being in progress and when it will be put into use.

The same goes for the Niger Bridge Project. I hope we will not hear ten years to-day that the work is in progress. If a few miles of road is taking the Government so many months to construct I do not know how many years it will take them to complete the Niger Bridge. I hope many of us will be alive by the time it is finished.

The second Mainland Bridge for Lagos is no doubt very much desired. I would like the Government to place it on very high priority. I sympathise with those who have to drive about to do their normal business in Lagos. When sometime ago I went to transact a business in the African Continental Bank on the Mainland it took me about 45 minutes to cross the Carter Bridge. I reached my destination at the nick of time. But if the congestion had lasted five minutes more, I would have arrived late at the House. I really sympathise with those who transact their normal business in Lagos, and that is the more reason why this second

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bridge which will break the bottleneck is so much desired. I hope the Government will give this matter very urgent consideration.

Now about Lagos Water Supply, I think the Government deserves the gratitude of the people for what has already been achieved. Further improvement is necessary, but I think when the Government have done well in anything it is good to praise them. I think the Government have made a terrific effort to improve the Water Supply in Lagos. We are very grateful, because I knew when it was difficult in Lagos to get water by twelve noon when all the pipes were dry. Now pipes are flowing continuously, and with the increase in population I hope the Government will not rest on its oars.

Previous speakers have emphasised the inefficiency of our tele-communications system. It would appear that the more we pay for tele-communications, the less efficient the service tends to become. In my opinion, something appears to be fundamentally wrong, and it is up to the Minister in charge of that portfolio to try to find out what is wrong. I think the time has come for a high-powered Commission of Enquiry to be appointed to look into the cause of this inefficiency. We have been complaining about this. It is not an empty complaint. Everybody talks about it. I have been trying to get my brother in Benin City over the telephone. I do not know how my friend, hon. Asemota, manages to get him—they know him, they know his voice, and they know the name. The telephone operator does not reply to my request. I think that there is something fundamentally wrong; I really do not know what it is. This is a very serious matter and it needs looking into.

About our Coal Corporation—the Coal Corporation is a very large employer of labour. As hon. Senators no doubt know, the Coal Corporation has had a very chequered history. Now that its able Chairman is making an all-out effort to place it on a sound financial footing, this hon. House should support the Government in its bid to boost the Corporation's financial position by legislation.

It is disappointing to note that Japan, from which we buy millions of pounds worth of cotton and other goods, has failed to buy some of our coal in order to correct to some degree our imbalance of trade with her. We heard

some time ago that negotiations were going on between this country and Japan with a view to that country buying some of our coal, but nothing came of it. The Federal Government should bring pressure to bear upon Japan to buy our coal in return for so much that we buy from her. As an independent nation, we should no longer tolerate one-way traffic with any country. "Do me: I do you" should be in future our economic slogan—"Do me I do you"—"If you buy from me, I will buy from you; if you do not buy from me, I go elsewhere".. I think we should try to have that policy with Japan.

About our educational advance, it is a sign of academic growth that within a few years of our national independence a number of universities are springing up—the University of Nigeria at Nsukka, the University of Ife, the University of the North, and, very soon, the University of Lagos. Perhaps, as Dr Orizu said the other day, private individuals may be establishing more universities.

We must not lose sight of the fact that university education can act as a two-edged sword. Unplanned, uncontrolled university expansion can be a very dangerous thing indeed. It is dreadful to think of a day when there will be so many university graduates in Nigeria that some of them will have to fall back on the selling of newspapers in the streets to earn a livelihood. This happened in India at one stage. Therefore, we must be very careful now, with the present competition: with the Regions competing against each other and with the Federal Government trying to come into the show. We must be very careful to see that the thing is planned, that the degrees which these universities offer will be of a high standard, so that they can be recognised in all parts of the world, because the time will come when Nigerian graduates will have to go out to look for employment in other parts of the world. I think it is because of this that the Government is planning the National University Commission and an All Nigeria Academic Council. I think it is a good thing that the Government is thinking of this problem, otherwise we may find ourselves in trouble.

Now, with so many seats of learning envisaged, the necessity of increased awards in scholarships will soon become apparent. We still have to admit that our country is a poor one—at least, our potentialities have not yet

been fully developed. There are many good scholars who, for lack of support, do not get university education. The fund from which Government gives scholarships is not inexhaustible. It is desirable that Government should give more scholarships, but, as I say, Government has not all the funds available for that purpose. However, I would like to see the Governments of the Federation, particularly the Federal Government, making most of its awards of scholarships loan scholarships. If loan scholarships are given, the money for the scholarships can go round to many more people, and then the tendency of those who have no aptitude for academic work trying to get scholarships will stop, when they know that when the money is given to them, they are going to pay it back. I think the Government should think seriously about the advisability of doing this.

Now, there are exceptions to this rule. You know there are some callings which generally do not attract young Nigerians, but which are necessary for our development. I refer to such callings as veterinary, agricultural and meteorological work. Scholarships for such courses could be given free as at present. But if we have to give the number of scholarships necessary to man all our new universities fully, it is necessary that we should increase the number, and make the scholarships loan scholarships.

Then, I should like to say something about the Ministry of Health, but I would have liked the Minister of Health to be here. The Government has now realised more than ever before that the greatest asset of any nation is the health of its citizens. I think it is for this reason that the Government is now trying to bring in all these improvements in Lagos. The Government is now making plans for modernising the General Hospital in Lagos, for establishing a mental hospital and a child health institute. These are all very good in themselves and I think the people of Lagos in particular, and Nigeria in general, owe the Government of the Federation a very great debt of gratitude for these much desired improvements.

There is no doubt that a master-brain is at work in the Ministry of Health. We see in this the hand work of our capable Minister of Health, Dr Majekodunmi, and I would like to

assure him that this House gives him one hundred *per cent* support in his desire to improve the health of the people of Lagos.

But, while thinking of establishing these various medical and health institutions, equal attention must be given to the training of staff, because it is not the big building that makes a good hospital. The buildings can be grand; they can be majestic, but unless those who are to work in those buildings have humanitarian spirit, all the big buildings will be for nothing. Therefore, while we are thinking of putting up all these grandiloquent buildings, we must at the same time think of training the staff who will have the sympathy of the patients and be prepared to do their work as trained men and women.

I think I should say a few words about the much talked of Development Plan for 1962-68, which will cost the country not less than £670,000,000 in capital expenditure alone. I think it is a move in the right direction. Care must, however, be taken that in executing the plan, the rural areas are not neglected as they had comparatively been in the past.

It will be encouraging to us if the Government will say how the Niger Dam project and the Afam plan will affect the lives of the poor people in the rural areas. If, as before, the good things of 1962-68 plan will be confined to such centres as Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, Port Harcourt, *et cetera*, Nigeria will still remain an undeveloped country.

His Excellency's Speech from the Throne laid great stress on sacrifice by the people of Nigeria if the plan is to be a success. With your permission, Mr President, I quote from page 10 a sub-paragraph of His Excellency's Speech:

"The ultimate success of the Plan will, among other things, depend on the willingness of the people to make sacrifices in order to finance the Plan which, when completed, will ensure a better life for our people".

What form of sacrifices will the people be called upon to make? The Speech did not tell us.

May I humbly suggest, Sir, that the Government should take the lead by cutting down the number of public holidays from the present number of 12 or 13 a year to about 6. Nigeria

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is the only country I know of where so much time is wasted on public holidays. New Year's Day, for instance, is no public holiday in England nor in our sister territory, Ghana. Why then should it be in Nigeria? Nigeria will save more than three quarters of a million pounds a year by cutting down the number of public holidays as I have suggested, and this will represent a considerable sacrifice. I am sure that the people will be ready to make it if the matter is well presented to them. In any case, Government, by taking such a step, will be discouraging squandermania and laziness which my hon. Friend, Senator Dr Orizu, complained of. There is no doubt that in this country there are many people who have vested interests in laziness. My hon. Friend, Senator Beyioku, who is a labour leader, should take particular note of this. Many workers in this country have vested interests in laziness, and I can prove it.

Now, talking about internal security reminds me of what happened during the Second World War. Many people do not realise that it was German money rather than her military might that caused the fall of France in so short a time. It was German money, not necessarily German military might that caused the fall of France in so short a space of time. How did it come about? The French nation had become so supine—the national life of France had become so corrupt—that it was easy for the Germans to buy over the French army officers. The army intelligence and some important personalities in France were bought over with German money and France collapsed in a few weeks. But Poland, small as it was, because it had greater determination and integrity stood the onslaught of the German mighty military machine for a good length of time.

We in Nigeria must be very careful. In the event of war, we are not safe. Many people in Nigeria are so corrupt-minded and so bribery ridden that, in the event of war, they will easily be bought over, and the fate of France will befall us.

I think it is high time that legislation was enacted in this country to make bribery and corruption punishable by a very long term of imprisonment without any option of fine. This is a very serious thing. I am not talking about people being punished without being

found guilty. Bribery and corruption should be regarded as sabotaging our national efforts. I say that when a man is found guilty of bribery and corruption, he should be punished by a very long term of imprisonment without any option of fine. You know that recently in Russia, bribery is being punished with death penalty. In Russia, when a man is guilty of bribery and corruption, he is sent to the gallows. While I do not think that we should go so far, yet, I think the matter is so serious that it should receive a more drastic punishment than is the case now, and I appeal to the Government to do something to save this country from an impending disaster.

Well, this is a year of austerity and I think we must be austere even in our words. I think I have been austere enough, yet I have not exhausted my 40 minutes. But to give example of austerity, I think I should stop and thank Mr President for giving me the opportunity to speak.

I whole-heartedly support the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency for his gracious Speech from the Throne. Thank you.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba : I was delighted to see His Excellency the Governor-General, the Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, in his usual white *agbada* suit when he delivered his second Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Budget Session of the Nigerian Parliament since Independence. But I would like to repeat my last year's suggestion that the Federal Government should design a uniform befitting an African Governor-General.

To commemorate the selfless service done to this country by the present Governor-General, the Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, in his untiring efforts to unite the country, the Government should build, as soon as possible, a secondary school here in the Federal Territory of Lagos open to the children of all races within the Federation and name it "Zik Multi-Racial School." There, the children of the diverse races of the country can prove that they can live together in harmony and that they belong to one nation.

The whole Speech can be summed up as a bold and ambitious programme of the work of the Federal Government which will give birth to a new prosperous Nigeria, if carefully implemented.

I do not propose to go through the whole Speech, as most of the major items have already been covered by other Senators, but I would like to touch upon one or two points which are of vital importance to the economy of this country. His Excellency states that—

“In co-operation with producers and consumers, my Government will continue to explore ways and means of avoiding violent fluctuations in the prices of the local primary products on which our economy so largely depends.”

The Government should be commended for its foresight if one would take the trouble to reckon and compare, up-to-date, the total payments received from exports by this country as against the total payments she has made out since Independence, with any corresponding period during the colonial rule. Figures will easily reveal our economic stride.

But the Government must set up more industries in the country with a view to processing our primary products primarily for our own consumption, thus reducing the import of manufactured goods and enhancing our balance of payments, and at the same time providing more employment for our people. I further suggest, as far as imports are concerned, that the Government should encourage our domestic industries which are already in the making and protect them from the monopolies of foreign enterprises.

The Bornu Railway Extension has already improved the traffic between Bauchi and the neighbouring provinces, and the people there have begun to feel that they have not been neglected in the way of providing them with modern amenities. With due deference to my hon. Friend, Senator Chief Ndu, I appeal to the Government to speed up replacing steam engines with diesels—diesels are quicker and more economical.

I welcome the Government's proposal to repatriate Nigeria-owned foreign assets. The sooner it is done the better for the country.

I beg to support.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : I would like to associate myself with others who have spoken on this important Motion. Hon. Senators will all agree that the Speech from the Throne is unique. It is masterly in delivery and, of course, comprehensive in what Government proposes to do.

In the first place, I am surprised that each time we meet in this House, we always discuss a lot about the Governor-General's dress and appearance. Left with me, I think the coat does not make the man. I think that our Governor-General appearing in anything will always appear dignified. He is a man of that personality.

There are certain aspects of the Speech from the Throne that are very gratifying indeed. For instance, there is the question of All-Nigeria Academic Council which I think will possibly bring together standards of certificates and possibly examinations and some other things, so that education will be identical in all parts of the country.

Along with that, we have this question of National University Council to ensure the orderly development and maintenance of our universities. All these are really gratifying indeed.

I am sure that the Government will take the warning about this question of university expansion, so that we make haste slowly and ensure that any degree obtained in Nigeria will be as good as the degree got from other well-advanced countries of the world.

Then there is the question of repatriation of Nigerian assets overseas for internal development. This is equally gratifying, and as a lot has already been said about this, I am not prepared to belabour the point.

Then comes the development of small-scale, locally-owned businesses. I think here we must think of the question of retail trade. The last time we met in this House, the Minister of Economic Development said a lot about this, and I am sure it will not be only a question of merely speaking on the Floor of the House: I hope that the Government will do all in her power to see that foreigners stop competing with the local traders in retail trade because this is very embarrassing indeed. After all, they are the manufacturers and wholesalers. I think that what obtains in other parts of the world should obtain in Nigeria.

Then something is said about the International Trade Fair which is likely to come up sometime between October and November. I am very happy about this and I sincerely hope that the Government will do all in her power to see that most of our Nigerian articles,

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not only cocoa and palm products, but most of our raw materials, are popularised so that we get more markets for them. If cassava is properly examined it may contain very good diet. There may be other things for which we may get overseas market. Our pepper for instance, is more spicy than some peppers in other parts of the world. We should try as much as possible to popularise our articles. I am sure Government will give this some thought.

A lot has been said about Mental Hospital. I am not prepared to talk about that except to make some important observations. On page 3 of the Speech from the Throne the Governor-General spoke of our transport system. When we are developing a country like ours, it is better we develop the country with either internal or external loans from whatever sources. However, most of the money for development will be borrowed. This means that we are passing on to the future generations part of the burden of the present because they are coming to enjoy some of the things we are building. The whole nation will be called upon to pay for all these things and not just a section of the country.

One finds in the Speech from the Throne that efforts are being made to improve the Port of Baro, to set up at least six new piers in Eastern Nigeria, and to improve possibly the Escravos Bar, Bornu Railway Extension and some other projects. These projects to me are all laudable and are worth undertaking but then they are confined to certain sections of the country. Personally, I would have liked to see mention made of ports like Sapele, Epe and some other places in the Western Region. After all they are ports and they could be developed to any size because eventually if the whole country will have to pay for whatever developments we undertake regardless of Region (for all the children of the country will have to be called upon to pay), then, of course, development should not be sectional. I have not seen any industry sited in the Western Region by the Federal Government. I am open to correction on that point. I am not sectional in outlook, but what concerns all should be approved by all. So much about that.

The other point I would touch is about the Royal Nigerian Navy. I am happy a lot has been said about this. If the Officer Commanding the Army, Major General Foster, is retiring, I wonder why we have to go to Britain to look for a substitute. After all, in the history of war, Britain has never produced a first-class army. She has always produced a first-class Navy, and she has always been the mistress of the ocean. In the field of war, the Germans have always produced the best hands; even with the onslaught when the whole world was against them. Why can we not go to America? Why can we not go to Germany, to get somebody to take the place of General Foster? When it comes to the Navy, we have Britain as the mistress of the ocean. It is then we should look for our Naval officers from Britain. I am very happy a lot has been said about this by Senator Dr A. A. N. Orizu and Senator J. K. Nzerem. We must go deep and be sure of what we are doing.

I now come to the Army and here I have another suggestion. I think we should concentrate more on Naval development and the development of our Air Force than on this question of ground forces because after all this is the age of guided missiles, atomic weapons and sputniks. So in an age like this, we need mobile forces, forces that are really competent, possibly to deal with local or internal problems. When it comes to something like a global war, no matter how large an Army may be, the sputnik or the satellite or the guided missile, can easily make prey of the Army. But even with a mobile army, we need a really trained army.

Time was in Britain when there was what was called the National Service. Although I know our boys may frown on this idea I feel there is nothing wrong in embarking on it in order to reduce the expenditure on the Army. In other words, boys who are above 18 years of age could go for about six months National Service training and then prepare for any eventuality. That will reduce the amount of money spent on the Army instead of trying to build up a large Army that will be of little or no service in case of global war. That is my own personal suggestion.

I am not prepared to say more about Telecommunications. Several Senators have complained about the inefficiency of this service. But they should thank their stars that they have at least post offices, telephones and some other

amenities. What of many other places where there are no telephones? I think we should do what we can to speed up the opening of more post offices. I was present when the Minister of Communications was opening one post office. He said then that telecommunication is the live-wire of the country. In other words we are developing our commerce rapidly and we want rapid means of communication. So the more post offices and rural call offices or whatever they are we could set up the better it would be for the nation interest.

I will now talk about our national economy. I know that something has been said about the Coal Corporation and the coal industry, but I do not know what the Government proposes to do either to subsidise the coal industry or find alternative uses for our coal. Some people are mentioning the use of diesel engines, but people who use railway services constantly have told me that some of these diesel engines brought to this country have broken down and there are no engineers to repair them. Consequently they are laid off. Perhaps engineers will have to be flown from Britain and some other parts of the world to come and repair them. If we have not got engineers to man the diesel engines, why rush to dieselise? This may be regarded as reactionary but I think we should use our coal until such a time that we can train some of our men who can handle the diesel engines with care and do the necessary repairs. There is no point in bringing diesel engines at prohibitive costs and eventually laying most of them off because there are no engineers to repair them. Surely this is ridiculous. I think something should be done about them.

I am happy a lot has been said about the Development Plan which will cost us a gigantic sum of money. As regards research into agriculture, veterinary and forestry those of us who have been to Moor Plantation for some rural science training will realise the amount of money spent on research in that part of the Ministry. For years and years is all research; the results have never been handed over to the farmers to make use of. I remember at one time it was said that a particular type of cassava had been discovered which had some resistance. Those of us who were then Rural Science teachers were asked to cultivate that type of cassava. Surprisingly, it had the least resistance of all cassavas. This resistance was of no

use when it was tried. That had been the result of experiments carried on for years. I think the less we wait on experiments the better.

All we have to concentrate upon is how to mechanise our agriculture because of the boys leaving schools these days are not prepared to take the hoe as the native farmers normally do. They are not prepared to do anything like that at all and no amount of preaching will make them go back to the land. It is only when agriculture is mechanised so that it can pay that we can get boys going back to the land. If there are some farmers indulging in mixed farming, growing crops and at same time rearing poultry or some other animals, we should encourage them by trying to subsidise such farmers.

I think that if we embark on things like this and waste less money on research work, then we shall have gone a long way in helping our farmers.

A lot has been said about the meeting of the African Heads of State. We should congratulate the Government on making the Conference a success. If the members of the Casablanca bloc failed to turn up, it was not the fault of our Government. I sincerely hope that since Nigeria is prepared to take the lead in Pan-Africanism, she would continue to press forward and make sure that members of the Casablanca group come to the next meeting of African and Malagasy Heads of State, otherwise we shall have in Africa two separate blocs, and it will be a house divided against itself.

I hope that our Prime Minister and all concerned will do their best to make sure that all the African States in the Casablanca and Monrovia groups come together as States in Africa with a common destiny and a common objective.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Sitting suspended : 11.30 a.m.

Sitting resumed : 11.55 a.m.

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : Mr President, Sir, I rise to congratulate His Excellency the Governor-General on his Speech from the Throne. The Speech from the Throne has many good qualities. It is impressive, progressive and, in fact, it contains all the relevant

[SENATOR CHIEF NDU]
 pictorial aspects of Nigeria. It portrays what the Government has done during the past twelve months and what the Government has in stock for a progressive Nigeria in the future.

I heard His Excellency say something about our internal security. With your permission, Mr President, I quote : Page 1, paragraph 4—

“In the field of Internal Security, my Government will ensure that steps are taken to strengthen the security of the nation. Additional Police Posts will be opened along our borders. A Pilot Dog Section is to be started during the year to assist the Police in tracking down criminals and suspected persons. Our Security Forces in the Congo Republic have maintained and will continue to maintain the very high reputation they achieved soon after their arrival in that country, and the House will be glad to know that my Government has received many expressions of praise for our Police and the Army in that country”.

This reminds me of the plight of our junior Police Officers and Warders. I understand that when junior Police Officers are engaged, they are paid a salary of £13 to £15 a month and that if some of them are not fortunate enough to be promoted to a higher rank, they will remain for about seven years—as you know, before the expiration of seven years some of them will be married and have children. It is apparent that such a salary will not suffice for these junior Police Officers and their families, and that is why some of them resign and some resort to corrupt practices. What I am getting at is that because of the poor salaries paid to junior Police Officers, they are not doing their work efficiently.

For instance, if a criminal case is to be investigated, they will do it in a slipshod manner ; even some of them will choose to help the culprit or the suspected person if they are given money ; but if the criminal or suspect has nothing to offer, he is prosecuted to the last and perhaps jailed. If he has something to offer, he is set free.

I need not tell Mr President and hon. Senators the news about child stealing and the constant big crimes that are being committed in this country without any check. I am advising the Government to look properly and think seriously about our internal security.

I also heard in the Speech from the Throne that the Nigerian Railway Corporation will continue replacing some of its steam engines with diesel engines. This reminds me of the unemployment situation in this country. If the coal miners lose their jobs, they will only increase the already long list of unemployed people in this country. I am advising the Government, before replacing all the steam engines with diesel engines, to make sure that they find a new market where they will export our coal so that the coal miners will not be thrown out of job.

Hon. Senators who spoke before me have covered many of the points I wanted to speak on. Nevertheless, I have one or two things to say about our roads and road safety. Our roads are too narrow and, when some of the road workers are asked to repair a dilapidated road, when they come to a pothole, all they do is to pour a little quantity of laterite into the hole, put up a red flag and then go to hide under a shade. When they see a car similar to that of their boss, they rush out to watch the car and when it has speed past, they go back to the shade. The result is that the roads remain as they were before work on it began. The workers choose to do the work in such a way that it will never get finished. Consequently, the work is never satisfactorily done and we are always having accidents because some parts of the roads are so narrow that they cannot allow two vehicles to pass conveniently without causing an accident.

Therefore, I am advising the Government to see to it that the road workers have somebody to supervise them more seriously than before. Some hon. Senators, of course, have said that some of our men are not prepared to work even though they are well paid. Such men must be replaced by others who are ready to do the work.

I would like to say a few words about agriculture and forestry with which the Federal Government is more concerned at present. These are the things that can absorb some of our school-leavers. If these are taken on on a large scale with modern machinery and all other equipments, our young school-leavers, who on coming out of school are desirous of working in the town, could be induced to go to the farm when they know that they have prospects there and something to lay their hands upon. I am therefore advising the

Federal Government to help expand agriculture and forestry so as to absorb into them our young school-leavers and provide employment for them in this way.

I would like to say a word or two about education. It is equally true that we are being blessed with universities in Nigeria—the University College at Ibadan, the University of Ife, the University of Nigeria at Nsukka, the Ahmadu Bello University, and the University of Lagos. But we must think ahead to five or six years' time when some of these universities will begin to produce graduates. Some of these graduates will do the work of Senior Cambridge certificate holders and the Senior Cambridge holders will descend to do the work of Standard VI certificate holders. What work will the displaced Standard VI boys do? Except we have many industries that will absorb these young people, we are going to have more unemployed men and women, and this will introduce more trouble in the country and more work for the Police—since they will turn to burglary and things like that.

Sometime ago, I raised on the Floor of this House, the point about the tarring of roads. It is high time that the road connecting the North and the East should be tarred. The Trunk B road connecting the North and the East has about 199 miles untarred. This makes communication and travel by road very difficult.

When I was coming down to Lagos on the 18th of this month, the axle of my Oldsmobile kept touching the ground each time I had a little bump. My car was strong enough and there was nothing wrong with it. I thought I was driving on a good road, but I found out that I was not. I was most uncomfortable during the journey and I regretted that I did not know this earlier and travelled by air.

The President : Order, order. The hon. Senator Chief Ndu never listens to anything else when he speaks. One hon. Senator has just said that you should have travelled in a smaller car.

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : Well, my former car was a kit car. Some of the hon. Members at that time said to me: "Oh! Chief Ndu, you drive to this House in a kit car and yet it is said that when you were in Jos our present Governor-General then resided in your house

for sometime. You do not show that you are such a big man by riding this small car." I thought of this and decided to get a big car.

In any case, it is high time that the Government built good roads on which one can travel in comfort to the capital of Nigeria.

I support the Motion.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : I support the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne on the 21st of March, 1962.

The Speech is very impressive, excellent and reasonable, and I think His Excellency has done his best. The only snag is whether or not the Speech will be put into effect. Many hon. Senators have covered almost all the points that I wanted to raise in the Speech, and it would be a repetition and also a waste of the time of this hon. House to dwell on those points which have been well dealt with. Therefore, I will confine myself to some points which I am bothered about.

The recent Conference of Heads of African and Malagasy States held in Lagos and presided over by His Excellency is worthy of note and excellent.

The other thing which I just want to talk about is the Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin road. Many Senators have said something about this road, but as an Okitipupa man who will benefit from it, I desire to say something. The road, when completed, will be 150 miles from Lagos to Okitipupa whereas, using the present longer road, the distance from Okitipupa to Lagos is 240 miles. Therefore, it is important that I should say something about the road. In fact my people at home have given me a definite instruction that I should say something about it.

The work is very slow. Of course, the government is always in the habit of saying that this work is in progress time and again, but that would not help us. I request a definite statement from the Minister of Works and Surveys giving a definite time when this road will be completed. It is not sufficient for the Government to just sit down and tell the public that the construction of the road will be completed as soon as possible, whilst the Minister concerned will not do anything or perhaps the contractor in charge of this work will not bother to hasten its progress. That

[SENATOR OLAYEYE]

will not help the country. All I would like to know is whether or not this road will be completed at the end of this year, so that I can take back a definite message to my people. This road when completed will bring us nearer to Lagos, Benin, and the East, because it will be the shortest way in this connection. I must add also that this road will serve as a shorter link between the North and Lagos, the Capital of the Federation.

Another thing that I want to speak about is Communications. It is gratifying to hear that fifteen new Post Offices will be established and that, in addition, telephone, telegraph and telex services will be expanded to the maximum within the capacity of the national telecommunications system. This is interesting.

But I have a grave complaint to lay before this hon. House. It takes a letter more than one week from Okitipupa, a distance of 150 miles, to reach Lagos. I would like the Minister of Communications (although he is my townsman) to make some improvements in the Post Office services with a view to quickening the sending of letters to and from Okitipupa.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : Point of Order! The hon. Minister of Communications comes from Okitipupa.

Senator Chief Olayeye : Another thing is telegram.

The President : The hon. Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku has pointed out that the hon. Minister of Communications comes from Okitipupa.

Senator Chief Olayeye : Yes. The other thing I want to speak about, as I said earlier, is telegrams. Last year when I was to attend one of the Sessions of this hon. House, I sent a telegram to my people in Lagos that I would arrive here on a Tuesday, but that telegram was delivered to my people in my presence the following Thursday after my arrival. This is very annoying. Formerly, about three years ago, it took a telegram three to four minutes to reach Lagos. I do not know what is wrong. It is the wish of the people at Okitipupa to see that a great change is made to improve this system.

When I came to Lagos this year, two of my daughters died at home and a telegram was sent to me about their death. I did not

receive that telegram, and I had no idea of anything until I returned home a week later. I mention these cases in order to make this hon. House understand that we are suffering greatly in Okitipupa Division, and I wish the Government to take immediate steps to improve the system.

It is important to note that the Government should take immediate steps in helping the people affected by reclamation of land in Lagos, especially those whose houses have been affected by the slum clearance scheme. Government should try and help the people by not imposing exorbitant amount on the lands.

I have a brother chief in Lagos in whose house I used to put up before. His house was demolished and he had no place to stay. All he got on this house was £3,500. I went to see him yesterday, and he told me that another plot of land had been allocated to him and that he had been asked by the Government to pay £9,000 for that particular plot of land. The Government should realise that this is a very sorry position indeed. I therefore pray the Government to help these people of Lagos. The town is on an island and they have no other place to go to or put up other buildings in which they could live.

An hon. Senator : He can go to Okitipupa !

Senator Olayeye : Yes—he can go to Okitipupa, but what of the amenities that he has been enjoying in Lagos, which are not obtainable in Okitipupa? These people prefer to remain here.

The Federal Government should take a very serious view of our people's complaint. It is serious when a man receives £3,500 for his house that has been demolished and the Government demands £9,000 from him for another plot. How can he get the money to pay? The Government should try its best to see that these people are helped.

Another thing that I would like to mention in my speech is the Electricity Corporation. The discussion on this is becoming very confusing, and the matter has been causing a lot of confusion among the people. The Federal Minister of Mines and Power came to Okitipupa some time ago and told the people that the introduction of electricity to the town was not the concern of the Federal Government, and not that of the Regional Government. The posi-

tion is so confusing that we do not know where we are, as the Speech from the Throne says something different. I would like to draw your attention to a portion of the last paragraph on page 5 of the Speech from the Throne :

"The Electricity Corporation Act will be amended to enable the Corporation to meet the challenge offered by the Niger Dam Scheme"—I do not bother about that; that is all right, but it continues—" and the Nation's demand for electrical power, and in particular to provide a more effective means of consultation with Regional and local interests".

It appears that His Excellency's statement is contradicted by the Federal Minister of Mines and Power. Therefore, all I want is that a categorical statement be made by the Minister of Mines and Power to clarify this position, in order that we in Okitipupa Division will be able to know who is responsible.

I remember, about 1955, having an interview with the then Minister of Mines and Power about introducing electricity supply to Okitipupa. I had a long discussion with him, and I was told that it was the concern of the Western Region Government, who were going to finance the project. After all the talking on the whole thing, we found that what the Minister was talking about was like a toy—It was a plant that would give light only to a two-mile area.

While I am speaking on this particular subject, I would like to ask that a statement be made by the Minister of Mines and Power clarifying who is responsible for bringing electricity supply to Okitipupa: is it the Region's concern or the Federal Government's? If this is clarified, my people in Okitipupa will send a telegram of congratulation to the President of this House for allowing me to voice their wishes on this particular subject.

I beg to support the Motion.

Senator Chief T. A. Odutola : Members have said so much about the very fine things contained in the Speech from the Throne delivered last Wednesday by His Excellency the Governor-General. But in supporting this vote of thanks, I would like to make a few observations.

Before doing so, I would like to appeal to the Government to stop treating us as school-

children. When we come to this hon. House to debate any matters, we do so with the hope that our advice to the Government on such matters will be heeded. On many occasions Members only come here to talk to a more or less empty House, if I may be allowed to say so, since none of the Ministers responsible for matters being discussed will be present here to listen to what we are saying. It may be said that the Ministers are otherwise engaged somewhere else. We do not doubt that; but I think it would be much better, in our own interests and in the interests of the people of this country, if the Government would make such an arrangement whereby we would be called here to debate matters when Ministers would be able to come here to listen to us. I do not think that the Government is fair to us in asking us to travel some 200 or 500 miles to come only to talk to the air—because there is nobody to listen to what we are saying.

I agree, Mr President, that you are here to listen to us; but you only listen to us—I do not think you are in a position to look into our complaints. How many of them would you be able to look into? It is the Ministers responsible for matter being discussed by us that would be able to look into the matters. Members have complained several times on the Floor of this House about this sort of attitude, and nothing has since been done. I think the time has come when, Mr President, you would have to help us in this matter.

I now turn to His Excellency's Speech from the Throne. His Excellency made reference to our relationship with other African States and also to the recent Conference in Lagos which promises a big future for the continent of Africa and its teeming people. It is my belief that we in this House will co-operate with Government in its declared policy of working for the unity and inter-dependence of Africa. Nigeria, I am happy to say, as many hon. Senators have already stated, is pulling her weight in international relations and is striving to lend support for the search for peace and world order.

The Speech further contains Government's vigorous efforts to improve and intensify the development of the Federation in many ways. Mention was made of its efforts in the field of internal security, defence system and rail and road communications. All this is a source of hope and satisfaction.

[SENATOR ODUTOLA]

As regards the promise of the Government to improve and modernise our transport system, I cannot proceed without touching on the point which many Members of this House have already dealt with and that is the road from Shagamu to Ijebu-Ode and Benin. As several Members have already said, on many occasions we have been told on the Floor of this House that work is in progress. I agree that as young as I am, I may still live into another century or so, but I clearly share the fears expressed by my hon. Friend, Senator Wuraola Esan that if the road is not completed in time, it may be that many Members here will not live to use it, and this would be unfortunate. The Federal Government started this road about 1947, I remember quite well, and yet we are still on the construction of the road. If it takes a mad man three years to become insane, I wonder how many years he would have to live in his state of insanity.

I think something should be done about accelerating the work on this road. I agree that the people working on this road are doing their best and are working very hard, but even then, the experience that we have had in the past is sufficient reason why we should continue to hammer that the work should be carried out with every reasonable speed.

Speaking about industries, there are visible tapped signs that the resources so far are beginning to give encouragement but increased efforts should be made by Government at ascertaining the potential wealth of the country so that the continuously growing population may find an equal growing means of livelihood. Coupled with this of course, is the need for increasing training facilities for Nigerians to obtain expert knowledge and methods in the various industries. The proposal by Government therefore to establish the inter-Regional Man-Power Development Board to determine the nation's man-power needs throughout the Federation is a welcome move.

As regards coal industry to which many Members have made reference, Government in my view should not only protect the finances of the Coal Corporation and indeed all other Corporations, but should also help them to find suitable markets for their products. It has been said on the Floor of this House that we are importing quite a large quantity of

Japanese goods into this country while Japanese on the other hand are buying coal from other countries. If we are importing these goods from Japan and they in turn do not buy our coal which probably is the only thing they can buy from us, why should we not give up buying from them? The world market is free now to us. This is not the time when we were only made to buy from the markets to which our past colonial masters directed us. I do not think we have anything to lose if we do not buy from Japan.

The demand for electricity continues to grow but the cost to consumers at present is very high which no doubt is affecting the growth of the few industries that we have in the country. When Government introduced a Bill to turn the electricity undertaking which was at that time a branch of the Public Works Department into a Corporation, an assurance was given that the aim was to make the cost of electricity to the average consumer cheaper, but no sooner it became a Corporation than this promise was proved to be an opposite experience.

I do not believe that even now the Corporation cannot reduce the present cost without any loss to it. I would, for this reason, urge Government to institute a commission of inquiry into the running of the Electricity Corporation with a view to ascertaining whether it is not still unnecessarily over-staffed and also whether every worker there is justifying his remaining in the Corporation by contributing his maximum output of work. I agree that sometime ago, a drastic step was taken by which a lot of expatriates were laid off because of over-staffing, but I still have the belief that if further steps are taken, the finances of the Corporation will be improved and the cost of the supply of electricity to the people of this country will still be reduced.

His Excellency's speech in regard to labour raises the current unhappy experience on the problem facing the young school leavers of this country. With careful planning, there should be no reason why our young school-leavers should fall victims of unemployment for some years to come, because apart from asking Governments to take active step to provide industries, Nigeria still has vast areas of land which have not been cultivated and all we need is for the Governments of the Federation to rise up to their responsibilities by making farming an attractive vocation.

I do appreciate the fact that at the moment certain Regional Governments are doing all they can at making farming an avenue of employment for some of the school-leavers, but this can only be pursued more vigorously if the Federal Government will encourage such Regional Governments by affording them reasonable financial assistance to cope with the volume of developments involved. It is then that this country can be spared the evils of unemployment which have descended on some other countries with its wild ramifications.

In the field of sports our performances on the national as well as international level still leave much to be desired. The promise of the Government to establish a National Sports Council so as to improve and raise the standard of our performances throughout the Federation is at no other time more suitable and desirable than now.

One note-worthy portion of His Excellency's speech is the proposal of Government to introduce legislation for the effective revenue control of the distillation of alcohol and related industries. I am sure my friends from the Ijaw Areas will be very happy at this. But this is as should be desired, Government should take simultaneous steps to initiate research into the quality and taste of alcohol distilled locally so that the harmful nature of it can be eliminated, and that it may eventually compete favourably with imported stuff.

It is not sufficient to urge that when this legislation is introduced, we would be able to stop importing alcoholic drinks. If we are going to distil and have good quality drinks in this country, it should be of first quality and nothing else.

The Government's ultimate decision to repatriate the Nigerian-owned overseas assets gives one a relief, for when the affairs of this country were being administered by a foreign nation, many of us raised hues and cries often-times for the withdrawal of our assets overseas but to no avail. I cannot see what wisdom there was in lending money out while the lender had not sufficient means to keep soul and body together. I would like Government to implement its decision to recall all our assets as soon as possible, and when this is done, to devote them to the most urgent development needs of the country.

Sir, I beg to support.

Senator Chief S. J. Hunponu-Wusu : I rise to support the various hon. Senators who spoke at length on the Speech of His Excellency the Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria in the House of Representatives of Nigeria.

I think I must go straight to the Speech and you will excuse me, I will go as from page 1 of the Governor-General's Speech. I start with paragraph 3 and I will proceed paragraph by paragraph. I deal first with page 1. Regarding the question of Police and the security of life, the security of property, all these lie mostly in the hands of our Police. So as other hon. Senators have said, I am not going to waste more time on it for this department ought to be encouraged. Sufficient facilities, accommodation and privileges should be granted the policemen and if all that is done, the question of bribery and corruption that we hear is so prevalent in the Police Department will be wiped off completely from Nigeria. Unless drastic measures are taken by the Government to ensure the safety of life and property in Nigeria as a whole, we cannot even come here to speak of Nigeria. So I would ask the Minister responsible to look into the possibility of giving the Police Department sufficient encouragement. Once a man is well paid in his profession there is nothing to attract him outside; but when he is underpaid, there may be the temptation. Therefore, I am not going to waste more time on it, but to ask our Government to see that the security of the whole country is in the hands of the Police and the Police should do their best.

The Royal Navy and Army are other departments. Majority of our Senators have spoken on that. We should start a school right now, as what happened in Germany, immediately after the First World War. Before the First World War, they had just only a few minutes to prepare. But immediately after the war, both male and female enrolled. Their school curriculum contained military instructions. Therefore, if we want to plan for security, we should make the policy of how Nigeria will at the same time train our Navy, Military Forces, and put in our school curriculum the question of trying to train them from now.

[SENATOR CHIEF HUNPONU-WUSU]

I expect that the Minister concerned looks into this case. And according to some hon. Senators we can go to Rome, we can go to Germany, we can go to France, we can go to Denmark, or any other place. If we are invaded to-day, where are we going to get the people? Are we going to conscript them and send them to war. They will ask you, "Where have you been? All the time, you knew you would be hungry but you did not buy your foodstuffs until all the shops closed during the holidays. Well, where were you? Were you deaf? Were you blind? Did you not read notices that the shops would be closed as there was public holiday. You wait until you are hungry before you start to look out for food." Then you have yourself to blame. The population of Nigeria is 36 million and it will be a shame on the part of hon. Members in the Senate if we cannot bring something great to our Federal Government that they can embark upon. As regards our Army, Navy, Air Forces, the men in these Forces now are getting old.

I come back now to the question of roads and bridges. I am not going to waste much time on that but on page 5 of the Governor-General's Speech, with your permission, Sir, I read:

"In addition to the major work already in progress on the Niger Bridge, Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin and Tegina-Daura roads, other new road re-construction programmes will be initiated. Plans are already well advanced on the second Mainland Bridge for Lagos together with further improvements in Lagos Water Supply."

I want to prove the necessity to construct the second bridge for Lagos. Let us not deceive ourselves. Under the bridge we have the water we drink in Lagos to-day; the whole light we use in Lagos to-day passes under the Carter Bridge. The telephone that we use in Lagos to-day comes through Carter Bridge, and three-quarters of the food we eat in Lagos also come through Carter Bridge. If anything strikes Carter Bridge to-day, Lagos is finished, no more capital of Nigeria. No more food to come, no more water no more light, no more telephone. The whole country will be paralysed completely. I said it here early in 1960, before our independence, and I am happy our Governor-General to-day invited

the Minister of Works to come and answer me. He confirmed in his statement here that it was a fact that I had made mention of it.

When you read of any bottle-neck it was the language I used in telling our Minister of Works that there is a bottle-neck at Iddo because of the other diversion from Apapa. When you come to Iddo you come to a bottle-neck. I spent two good days in a ship on River Thames. I know how many bridges that cross River Thames. I know how many overhead bridges and tunnels in Hamburg.

Our Minister of Works had said that it is true that his experts advised him that it would cost Nigeria £7 million. Is it because of £7 million pounds that we want to lose our capital? We lend money at a low rate of interest and go to borrow at a high rate of interest. Where is the wisdom? We should consider this ourselves. I want the President of Senate to look into this because it is taking too much time. The Carter Bridge can collapse any day.

I was there when the second tunnel was built in Hamburg by the great Dr Paul Tully. I knew him and discussed it with them because I went in the car of the son of a millionaire in Hamburg Port. They do nothing else in their lives, they just construct tunnels and bridges. Why can we not go and bring them? When I was in London taking courses, some of my German friends invited me to Hamburg to see wonders, because they were not impressed at all. People complain that we want the Shagamu-Benin Road, we want this and that. How can people come to Lagos if the Bridge which is the only gate-way to Lagos is not cared for?

The President: The hon. Senator asks by what means will you come to Lagos after travelling from your Shagamu-Benin Road if Carter Bridge collapses.

Several hon. Senators: We shall stop at Ebute-Metta.

Senator Hunponu-Wusu: Before I finish my comments on the second bridge for Lagos, the Minister of Works should be invited to come to the Senate. It is getting too long. They say Government is on it, Government is making plans. According to the last speaker, Senator the hon. Chief Odutola, if it takes somebody three years to be mad how many years will it take him to be cured?

Do we want to wait till we are invaded or when anything happens before we start to shout? We are fathers. If we see that the house of our children is going to collapse, naturally we should advise them to rebuild or demolish it. Therefore, I am appealing through the President that the Minister concerned should come very early and answer the question. If not when we come to the Budget, I shall be very bitter. The safety of the capital of Nigeria is at stake.

I will now talk about telephone. There are a lot of defects in this particular Department and I am happy that the Minister concerned the hon. Olu Akinfosile sometime ago discussed it personally with me. He said: "Is your telephone in order now?" Since last Friday my telephone has not been functioning. I did not know until somebody said:

"Look here, I have been trying to get you on the telephone but your telephone is always engaged." I replied: "I am at home, my wife is at home and our child is at home."

I will prove one of the defects of the Department to you now. In December 1961, I got a telephone bill dated 31st December from P. & T. for my telephone for £36. This money was paid early this year. To my greatest surprise, last week I got another bill and they mentioned October to December 1961. This week again, I got another bill for £38-16s-6d and it read "October to December". I paid the money this morning on protest. This is the sort of thing that is going on. If this is happening in the Federal territory of Nigeria, I wonder what will happen outside Nigeria. These things should be looked into.

I agree with Senator the hon. Chief Odutola who said that we are not talking here to the waste paper basket. I am bitter about it. I cannot get people who are concerned to give me words of advice. We are being treated as small boys. I discussed this with a few Senators during our recess. I will not be a party to agreeing that we come here and cannot get any of our Ministers. Admitted that they read the *Hansard*, how many of them do read the *Hansard* of the Lower House and the Upper House equally?

I thank the President very much but I would say that it is an insult, sheer insult on this competent body that the Ministers con-

cerned are not here to listen to us in order to know our feelings. We are here as statesmen; we are not politicians. I would like the Ministers concerned or whoever is here to take note of the question.

I now come to the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria. Five and half years ago, this Department put up a scheme called E.C.N. headquarters which contains two boilers to supply light to Lagos, Port Harcourt, Ibadan, Shagamu and even to the North. It will interest everybody present here that those boilers, according to the report in the papers, had broken down. It is a shame on the part of the Corporation. They are now importing some experts to come and look into them.

Three weeks ago I was at the site and I discovered that the same experts who were invited five and half years ago were there to repair the damage. According to Senator the hon. Chief Odutola, the more electricity is used the less will it cost the consumers and any industry to be carried out because that will bring in more money. Everybody will be happy to have electricity. To-day electricity breaks down, tomorrow it fails. I think it is high time we scrapped the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria and put any set of people there. I have suffered similar things and I am still on it. I have taken this up with the Electrical Engineer and I am ready to take it up with anybody. I am also ready to take it up with the Governor-General; even with the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3 p.m.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : With due respect to Mr President and other hon. Senators present here this afternoon, it is most deplorable that some sense of responsibility has not been put into practice by some hon. Members of this Upper House this afternoon. Hon. Senators can see how empty our Chamber is this afternoon. I am sure no Company Director or Proprietor of a business would like to come to the office at any time of the day during office hours to find the whole office deserted. I think it is high time our President and the Council of Ministers did something about this. We all knew the number of Senators that were present in this House this morning. Where have they gone to? If Senator

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A or Senator B has spoken, is that the reason why he should not be present in the House in the afternoon to hear other Senators speak? If that is so, we may find that on some days, we will have only the President and the Clerks in the Chamber to listen to speeches of other hon. Senators. If an hon. Senator is scheduled to appear before a Magistrate in a court of law, I am sure he will not be absent because he knows quite well that if he fails to present himself when his case comes up the Magistrate will issue a bench warrant to arrest him. If hon. Senators attach importance to the job they are paid for, I think they should be here this afternoon. It does not speak well of Senators to be here in the morning and after making their speech they will not be seen again for the next two or three days. Before I carry on with my speech on the Motion for an Address, I will like the President to make a categorical statement and tell hon. Senators to be alive to their duties.

Coming back to His Excellency's Speech, with your permission, Mr President, I read from page 10 of the Speech where His Excellency said—

"My Government attaches first priority to the success of the Plan of which the total Capital Expenditure of £670 million is envisaged. . . ."

The Governor-General continued—

"The first priority of the Plan will be the Niger Dam Project which at a cost of about £70 million will provide considerable amount of electricity for our industries, all-year-round navigable water-way up to the Niger Republic, irrigation of some thousands of acres of land, alternate crossing over the Niger and about 10,000 tons of fish a year."

Last year, the Minister of Commerce and Industry told us the amount of money we waste on importing stock-fish every year. In Norway and Sweden the fishing industry is carried on in a big way. We have large families living on nothing but fishing. About three years ago, a friend of mine with his son visited me from Amsterdam in Holland. The father has a Bachelor of Arts degree and the son has a Master of Arts degree and they are all fishermen. I asked them why they have decided to make fishing their life job, and he told me that fishing was the best paying business in their country.

For the past seven to eight years, the Federal Fisheries Department has been on research only. One wonders for how many years they will research. As our hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry said last year, we import about £7 to £8 million worth of stock-fish into this country every year. But what do we get back from Norway and Sweden for importing their stock-fish? Nothing.

If the Federal Government can follow the example of the Western Regional Government, I am sure that they will make good progress with the Federal Fisheries Department. In the Western Region, the Western Regional Government has good fishing boats; one of them was named after Chief Akin Deko, the former Western Nigeria Minister of Agriculture. At the moment, fishing in the Western Region is done on a commercial basis. Still the Federal Government is on research; and the lowest salary paid to any of the Europeans in the Fisheries Department is from £1,000 to £1,500 a year, I am open to correction. I asked one of the officers in the Fisheries Department how many times he was at sea throughout the whole of last year and he said—only three times. They have all been at the Victoria Beach for the past seven years doing research—and our children are suffering.

I suggest that the time has come when the Federal Government should take a bold step and re-orientate our fishing industry. Why should we send £7 to £8 million every year to Denmark, Norway and Sweden for stock-fish when we can get fish around us here? As Dr Orizu said in his speech last week, we all know the amount of protein we can get from fish. Why then should we be starving in the midst of plenty?

The same thing is happening with our dairy products. Why should we import milk from Sweden and New Zealand, when we have cows in the Northern Region? Our Government is still researching into how to produce milk in a commercial quantity at Vom! For how long will the research go on? It was understandable when we were under the colonial powers. But now that we are free to go anywhere we like and do whatever we like, our Government should start producing these things locally for our consumption. If these industries are developed—the fishing industry in Lagos and the dairy industry in the

North—according to Senator Orizu, they will go a long way to solve our unemployment problem.

Coming back to agriculture and research work, I have a very bitter complaint against the Government on this score. There are in South America, Germany, Holland and other places people who are ready to sell tractors and bull-dozers to Government approved farmers on hirer purchases basis. Once the Government can take a bold step and conduct surveys and research of the soil of the acres of land belonging to, say, some Senators here, they would be able to find out which particular food crop—whether groundnuts, banana, cashew seeds, yams, maize or millet—would grow well on the soil. Then it could buy machinery from abroad on rent basis for the use of the owners of these lands. This rent basis is very similar to what obtains when one rents a bicycle from a cycle-repairer. For only six pence, one could rent a bicycle and send his son on an errand with it. After all, not everybody could afford a bicycle, but by renting one, the same purpose could be achieved.

The firm of Costains are doing something very similar for some of our farmers to-day. They rent them their bull-dozers to clear bushes. Tests are made of the soil and the most suitable crops that will grow well on the soil are sown on it. Whatever is harvested from the land is disposed of on the terms of hire purchase agreement entered into by both parties.

There are some people who are ready to sell these machineries to the Government on a 15-18 years rent basis and to give us experts to train our own people on how to run this kind of business. In this way, there would be no need for our farmers to use the hoe any longer for farming, and our people will no longer die from starvation in the midst of plenty, which is the direct result of exhaustion.

Senator Salahu Fulani : The hon Senator seems to be very knowledgeable on this matter, and I suggest that he be appointed Government Planner.

The President : Senator Salahu Fulani has just suggested that you be appointed the Government's Planner.

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : I am not asking Government to appoint me as a planner, but as I told you this morning, there are some

people who have the gift to formulate plans. There are some people who are born teachers ; there are some who are born lecturers ; there are others who are born writers and others who are born to execute. We are not all equal.

In ten or fifteen years' time it will be difficult for anyone in the Western Region or in the Eastern Region to find palm oil or palm kernels in these regions. This is because, by the time the children who are now being educated in our primary and grammar schools have finished with schooling, their fathers who have been working on the farm to pay their school fees would have grown older by about fifteen to eighteen years and would not be as active as they are now, while their educated sons would not be willing to take their place and tie ropes around their waists to climb the palm trees and cut down the palm fruits. I do not know where we would be getting our palm oil from then unless our Government puts into operation right now what is done in Zanzibar by planting fruits and cultivating them so that they never grow to more than the height of six feet, which is just high enough for the average man to cut without climbing the tree. I think that our Government should copy this system which has proved successful in Lome and in Badagry where the Roman Catholics have planted cocoa-nuts along the beach of the river. Unless we do this, Mr President, in fifteen to eighteen year's time there would no longer be palm oil or palm kernels in the Eastern or the Western Region. Those who are doing the work now would be too old by then, and their children would be ashamed to tie ropes on their waists and climb palm trees to cut the fruits. I wonder what will then be done. I leave you to consider that as time goes on.

Going now to medical and health services, I agree with other hon. Senators that it is very disappointing and bad that doctors are not doing their work satisfactorily. I agree that it is an insult. But I put it to hon. Senators that the reason for this is because the doctors are not being well paid. Having spent seven to eight years to learn their profession, these doctors come back home only to receive a mere pittance of £762 per annum, whilst nurses and caterers who spent only about three years to learn their trade earn £860. Think of this hon. Senators. Is it fair of our Government? I

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want us to put ourselves in their places and think whether we would not react in the same way as they are doing now.

Many doctors in Nigeria, even in Lagos here now, say that their children will never study medicine. It is a natural attitude after they have seen the treatment meted out to them. Those people who are very well paid sit down in their homes not thinking of the low wages that the doctors are being paid. But when a child falls sick and we have to visit the doctor, we begin to complain when the child is not satisfactorily treated by the doctor. Try first of all to understand why precisely the doctors are not doing their work satisfactorily. Let us not play politics; rather, let us face realities and realise that the doctors cannot kill themselves working night and day for the mere salary of £760.

We are fathers. We should not do something which will ruin our homes in the future. If the whole country is bad and the health of the country is ruined it is from you here, and I think the time has come now for our Ministers to make suitable recommendations to the Government.

A chemist whom I have just engaged in one of my firms is being paid £860 per annum whilst a doctor who spends eight years training receives £762.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : Point of order. According to the revised scales medical officers start not on £762 but on £1,116.

Senator Hunponu-Wusu : Although we are not on that now, I would like the hon. Senator to refer to the same place in course of time. He will see it there. It is definitely stated there.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : The hon. Senator is referring to the copy of the Estimates.

The President : The point of order is well taken. The Senator should not anticipate the Debate on the Estimates. Shall we leave the Estimates for the time being.

Senator Hunponu-Wusu : Very good. I thank you very much. I am only calling the attention of this hon. House to some defects. I am also saying that some services are not being carried out as they should in Nigeria. Unless we try to face this fact ourselves in

this House, there will be no end to these difficulties. I am not discussing the Budget yet. I am only telling you that this is what has been going on, and if that has been going on, why can we not start now to see how we can remedy it for the future? It is one thing for the Government to say this and another to put it into effect as some Senators who raised points of order have said. They asked when what the Government put down is going to be implemented? When is it going to be started? The Government is in the habit of saying that they propose to do this and that. To say so is good in theory, but when is it going to be in practice?

The question of our doctors' salaries must be reviewed immediately if we want Nigeria to be in a pure, unpolluted, sound and healthy position so that you and I can come here with healthy brains to do our work in this hon. House.

Senator Malachias Bawa : Point of order. The hon. Senator is speaking under Medical Services. To my best knowledge, he is becoming personal in his points, because the hon. Senator has some of his children in some medical schools and he expects they will be coming out sooner or later.

The President : Will Senator Hunponu-Wusu remember that he has got only five minutes more.

Senator Hunponu-Wusu : Thank you very much. I am not pleading for my children or for the children of others, but this is what I am going to tell you. Even some qualified doctors have told me that they have diverted their children from taking this profession. If this is so is it not time that we must think of the future? I am not asking for suitable facilities for doctors because of my children or my family. I am asking for suitable facilities for these doctors for the good of Nigeria. I leave that to the discretion of the President.

In conclusion I would say that there is not much left for me to touch upon. However I would like to speak on the Ministry of Lagos Affairs in connection with the giving out of lands to the owners as is now the case in Lagos. I am sorry to mention names, but according to Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku here this morning, when land measuring 50' x 100' was acquired from him he was paid £6,000.

The L.F.D.B. Official promised that the land would not be taken from him after it had been developed. Later on, when this land was improved and Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku applied for it he was given another measuring 50' x 100'. But then they demand £11,000 from him. It does not stop there. Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku having paid this £11,000 will be faced with another condition that the house to be built on the land must be nothing less than a four-storey building, which will cost him probably £16,000 to £18,000. Where is he going to get the money? Assuming he has deposited what was paid him when the land was acquired from him, what of the balance? Our Government has not yet started any building investment company whereby such things could be done as in other civilised countries. In a civilised country where there is a building investment company, it is possible for people to request the company to help them build a house, the man having entitlement to one-fifth of the rent collected and using the rest to pay rates and reduce his indebtedness to the company. They did that in the case of some land at Yaba got from the Government on hire-purchase for £10, or £15, or £20 per month. That made things easy for the people. It appears that our Government is trying to deprive Lagos people, the original owners of Lagos, of their land by putting conditions which they know very well the people cannot fulfil.

Why do we come here to blind-fold ourselves? Let us call a spade a spade. If this were practised in other Regions I wonder who would remain there. The whole land is getting into the hands of aliens, and we do not want that to happen. That is why we now have shortage of houses.

The £6,000 that was paid to the hon. Senator is being spent gradually until the whole thing dwindles and goes away from his hand. He has no more money. He cannot get any land, and he can build no house.

I want this hon. House to consider this matter seriously and put it before the Minister of Lagos Affairs in particular. There is no need for him to come here now and talk about borrowing so much money. We have all seen that so much loan is required for this reclamation project from the Federal Government. Is this money to be used in a manner detri-

mental to the interest of the people. I say this in a strong term, because I want you to bear this in mind. It is no use trying to deprive anybody of his land.

With these few remarks, I wish to take my seat at the moment.

Senator Chief Ezeogo Ugwuocha : I am very grateful that you recognised me in order to associate myself with the contributions being made on the Speech from the Throne.

I must first of all praise the work of the Federal Government during the past years. As we all know very well honesty, reliability, loyalty, dependability, and decency, are the essence of sincere leadership, and to this extent our Head of State, the Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria, has come to the limelight.

In fact, the Speech from the Throne is remarkable, both for its brilliance and for its precision. It is, by any test, the greatest and most moving Speech from the Throne. The programmes outlined in the Speech are not only progressive but also largely designed to cater for the welfare of the common man.

I feel that our telecommunication service will be greatly developed and placed on priority list so that the ideals and activities of our Leaders and Governments are more widely pronounced and publicised abroad, especially in the continent of Africa.

I feel that Nigeria is being grossly misunderstood, particularly in some parts of Africa and in some European countries, because the utterances and activities of our Government and leaders on international matters are not given the publicity they require. If we must hold our own, we should make other people in Africa and Europe realise and appreciate the good principles for which we stand and the good work we continue to do from day to day for the betterment of this country and Africa as a whole and for the prestige of man in Africa.

I still have to congratulate the Government on their building scheme, because when one looks round Lagos one will be very happy to see some of those imposing buildings springing up at all corners. I appreciate too the reclamation scheme embodied in the Speech from the Throne.

[SENATOR UCWUOCHA]

I noted, with pleasure, in the Speech that a better system of runway lighting will be installed at Enugu, Lagos and Calabar, and that the one at Ibadan and Kaduna will be improved. When the project is completed I think it will help the economic security of this country.

I noted with cheer the Government's future programme of development. But I have not noticed any mention of the creation of a Ministry of Food. The creation of this Ministry, I am sure, is in the mind of the Government. Hon. Senators will all agree with me that the importance of this Ministry in a rapidly-developing country like Nigeria cannot be over-emphasised. My only humble request to the Government is that it should create the Ministry of Food now and saddle it with the responsibility of the science of food. Nigeria is at present self-supporting in food crops and food productions. On good food depends good health, and good economy of a nation. Healthy child-birth is wholly and naturally dependent on good feeding.

In the expected Charter in connection with the Conference of the African and Malagasy Heads of State which met in Lagos recently, I may say, in connection with the lecture delivered by our Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe in Friends Hall, London, on the 12th of August, 1961 entitled "Pan-Africanism", that Nigeria is expected to be in the forefront on all matters affecting Africa. It is true that we do not want to assume the role of self-appointed leader of Africa, but I will say that we are qualified in all respects to play a leading role and to influence the trend of events in Africa. I think that the Government should take steps immediately to work towards the unification of Africa. We need to develop special services in Africa, such as transportation, postal administration, harbour, and universities among the states.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : Point of Order! I would refer the hon. Senator to Standing Orders, No. 26 (1): "A Senator shall not read his speech, but he may read short extracts from books or papers in support of his argument. . . ."

Senator Chief Ezeogo Ugwuocha : There is also the question of tariffs, currency and passport, which should be properly settled.

Finally, I appeal to the Minister of Communications to complete the telegraphic posts from Unwana, *via* Ebounwana, Owutu, Uguzu, Edda and Ohafia which the Government started last year and made a stop at Unwana. It is unfortunate that such a teeming population lacks telecommunication. I hope that the Minister of Communications will consider, when opening new post offices, to convert the Owutu Edda postal agency into a main Post Office, and to place under the priority list this vital demand of a teeming population of some 42,000 inhabitants.

With these remarks, I am very much in support of the Motion on the Speech from the Throne.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : First of all, I want to refer straightaway to the point raised by Senator Chief Olayeye, and which was commented upon by Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu, about land in Lagos. If it is true that Senator A in Lagos has land, and the L.E.D.B. comes up and takes that land for £100, and gives him another plot of land perhaps of the same acreage and for £500, that is very unbearable—that is an indirect way of stealing land. In a case like that, I think the first thing to be done is to go to the Ministry of Lagos Affairs so that they may intervene at once before it is too late.

I come to the Speech from the Throne, and the procession that preceded it. Everybody who was there on the day that the Governor-General delivered his Speech would not fail to be impressed by the procession which led our Governor-General into the Chamber. But I feel that the procession was not complete, especially the religious side of it. I am not trying to bring some element of religious politics here, but I feel that if the Bishop of Lagos, who is in charge of the Anglican denomination is there, the Chief Imam of Lagos should be there, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Lagos should also be there.

An hon. Senator : What about the African Church?

Senator Abaagu : As many as the procession can accommodate! I think this question of giving particular patronage to one particular denomination was the making of the expatriates, because automatically the Church of England happens to be the State Church of England, and therefore the State

was patronising it. Now that Nigeria has become independent, I would suggest that since Nigeria is a multi-religious country, we should try to encourage the other churches.

I was very much impressed by the references made by the Governor-General to the Army. In fact, the live-wire of any nation is the Army. I am suggesting that if we would have effective defence, we should start straightaway now by getting every female or male to become military-conscious; and we should start right from school. They should be given military training especially in the shooting exercises while they are in school, right from primary to the university level, so that in the end, the whole nation will be military conscious and prepared at any time for any eventuality.

Anybody who has read the history of some older nations of the world will know that certain ancient nations, some of the nations which existed a very long time ago, always provided all their citizens with military training. A child would be taken from the parents at, say, the age of six and trained in military operations up to about the age of 17 before being handed over to the parents. Later the child would be recalled when it was necessary for the real enlistment in the army. So in those days these people were the greatest warriors on earth. I think Nigeria should adopt a thing like that because it will be very good for the country.

Another reason why we should try to encourage our boys and girls to become military conscious is that people who are looking for a chance to colonise others are always on the watch for any weak nation. Take the white South Africans for example. A minority race in South Africa is trying to rule a majority almost for ever. I think there will be a time when these white South Africans will launch an attack not only on the black South Africans but also on others. If a thing like this happens I think Nigeria should be in a position to send volunteers to South Africa to fight and help our black brothers. We cannot do this if our young men and women are not well equipped in military knowledge.

The other thing is the Nigerianisation of the higher ranks in the Army. I need not lay any emphasis on this because the reasons are too obvious. Nigeria is a big country and other

countries are very envious of the potentialities of this country. Who knows if there will not be a time when we shall take arms against another country? If we happen to take arms against a nation like Britain and we have expatriates from Britain holding important positions in our armed forces, we shall not be very sure of the control of our military operations because, from the indication given elsewhere British officers who are in the rank and file of our military forces are far more than the indigenous officers. This is one of the reasons why we should try to Nigerianise all the higher ranks in our Army, in the Navy and in the Police Force.

Another thing is this question of the Air Force. If we have a good Army, a good Navy, but without an Air Force, I do not think our defence will be complete because the Air Force is a supporting force in the defence of any nation. We must establish our Air Force at once and make it as strong as any other force in the country.

Other speakers have already made mention of this Shagamu-Ijebu Ode-Benin Road. I do not want to do more here than remind the Government of its undertaking sometime last year. I think just about the last meeting of this House there was a Ministerial Statement on this particular point. A Minister said that the road would be opened to traffic in the early part of this year, that is, I think before the end of this financial year, that is before April. There was a Ministerial Statement to this effect and, in fact, I have mislaid my *Hansard*, otherwise I could have shown where a Minister made a statement that early this year that road will be open to traffic. I think Government has something to hide about this.

Another thing, is the good news about this Council of Legal Education and Law school. This is a very welcome move, but I would be very pleased if the Government could begin to think of trying to effect some changes in the back-ground of our laws. All our laws here, at least a majority of them, are based on English custom. This I think has been doing havoc in our society. So if we are thinking of establishing an institution of this nature, I think it is high time we began to think of trying to adapt our laws in accordance with the back-ground of the Nigerian society or Nigerian custom and tradition.

[SENATOR ABAAGU]

Another thing is this Federal television service. The Federal television service in my opinion is a luxury at the present time. When we have no money to build a second bridge for Lagos; when we have no money to tar our roads; when we have no money to improve the health of our people—I am sure these are our immediate needs—I see no reason why the Government should embark on a project like television which is already in existence, because the Western Regional Government's television is serving Lagos territory as well and I think there is television in the Eastern Region and there is another in the North too. The Federal television service I understand, when brought into operation, will not serve any towns other than Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna and perhaps very few other places. So why the waste of money on such a project which will only benefit very few people? I do not think this money will be money well spent and I think the Government will do well, if they still insist on running this television service, at least, to curtail the expenditure and put part of the money into services which can be enjoyed by at least a very good proportion of Nigerian citizens.

I think these are only the points which I would like to mention. Yesterday and to-day many Members spoke at length on the Speech from the Throne. Anybody trying to say any more is just wasting the time of the Senate. So I think the Ministers concerned especially with this Shagamu to Ijebu-Ode and Benin road will look into this matter. The Government has already committed itself by promising us that this road will be open to traffic this year. I would like a further statement confirming or denying this.

I beg to support.

Senator Malachias Bawa : In associating myself with the debate on the Speech from the Throne, I have to start by congratulating the hon. Senator Albaji Sani for the able manner in which he spoke on the Speech from the Throne. In fact, the Governor-General, the Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, needs no introduction anywhere in Africa. Everybody knows that. We all realise that he has shown the way and now the people of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general have found their way, and that way has led them to the present state.

I would also extend my gratitude to the Rt. hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister of the Federation, and the Council of Ministers.

We have listened to the Speech from the Throne which outlined the development programme prepared by this Government. In fact, that Plan cannot be carried out unless everyone of us—Legislators and civil servants all over the country—plays his or her full part, and plays it well. It is not the money that will do the work. It is the duty of the people to dedicate themselves voluntarily—when I say voluntarily, I do not mean working without pay, but our workmen and every section of the community should participate.

The major item that I want to speak on is one which some hon. Senators have already touched upon. That is, that Nigeria has a long way to go. Yesterday one could say that he would work for some 30 or 40 years and retire with his pension and gratuity. But to-day things are quite different. We cannot desert the service because it is our own. If we retire to-day, our sons and grandsons are the people to take over from where we left off.

Nigeria has a great future. People are clamouring to know more and more about Nigeria—not because of our ability, not because of our education, not because of our knowledge or academic attainments—but, I think, because this land is where we can enjoy and will continue to enjoy ourselves.

Internal security was also mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. On the Floor of this House, and even in the House of Representatives—both the Government and the Opposition—we say, “Oh, do away with the Europeans, foreigners; give the top posts to our people”. But to-day, with our own people in charge of security, what is happening? When the Government decides anything in the Cabinet to-day, tomorrow even the market woman hears about it. This is very bad indeed. It means that Nigeria is not safe at all. It means that even a man from Yaounde or from the neighbouring territory of the Southern Cameroons will be able to say about Nigerians in responsible positions, “Oh, I know the people of Nigeria quite all right, just go and buy them with money and you will hear every secret of their Government. Who is that high-ranking man in that office? Oh, I know how

to deal with him; just go and buy him for money and he will give you all the information." Something should be done about this. Every Nigerian should be made to realise the importance of our internal security.

As we hear, money has been set aside for the development of this vast country between 1962 and 1968. In all this, it is very important that the Federal Government should work hand in hand with the Regional Governments and see to it that the rural areas are well provided for in the execution of this programme.

The Niger Dam Project which the Government is proposing to build will go a long way to help navigation on the River Niger, give employment to our people and give us the necessary electrical power needed for the development of our industries.

If our finances and resources are well planned, Nigeria will be economically self-sufficient. Also if our agriculture is not well planned we may find that in the next few years there may not be enough groundnuts, cotton goods and crops to send down to the South. The Federal Government should see to it that all these things are looked into.

I would also like to speak on the austerity measures which are now being introduced in the country. I send my congratulations to the Premier of the North, Sir Ahmadu Bello, for introducing austerity measures in the North. In his own time, he realised the sufferings of the masses of the people of the North and has dedicated his life to looking after their welfare.

I appeal through this House for such a project to be introduced by the other Governments of the Federation.

With these observations, I beg to support.

Senator Alhaji Y. M. Abudu : In supporting this Motion for a humble Address of thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General, the Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, P.C., I will not take up the time of the House by repeating the deserving tributes that have been paid to His Excellency. But I would like to congratulate the Prime Minister and the Federal Government on the way they have been handling the affairs of this Federation since we achieved independence.

The Speech from the Throne contains a number of programmes which the Government

intends to embark upon during the current year 1962-63. I am particularly impressed by the 1962-68 Development Plan which the Government will introduce as from April, which we are told will cost as much as £670m. This is a gigantic plan, the kind of which has never been contemplated in this country before and it deserves all the encouragement and personal sacrifices of all Nigerians.

Although the details of the Plan are not known, I am happy to note that it will lay emphasis on agriculture which we all know is the mainstay of our economy. I would like to warn—and this has been stressed by many Senators who have spoken before me and I do not think that in view of the importance of agriculture in our economy, this can be over-emphasised—that the plan should not concentrate on agricultural research alone. Mechanisation and modern method of farming should be pursued so that we can produce modern farmers who can compete with their counterparts in other civilised countries.

On telecommunications, many Members have spoken on this subject and they have made all the points that I had intended to speak on. I would like to call the attention of the Minister of Communications to the persistent demand of Abeokuta people for the provision of automatic telephone exchange. This demand has been on since five years ago and I think the Government will be fair to the people if this scheme could be included in the programme for this year, 1962-63. After all, many towns with less numbers of subscribers have been provided with automatic telephone exchange.

The Governor-General said—with your permission, I refer to page 1—

"A Pilot Dog Section is to be started during the year to assist the Police in tracking down criminals and suspected persons."

This is a very good idea and there is no time when this service is more needed than now. The wave of crime is mounting in this country. There is no need getting our freedom when our personal liberty is not safeguarded.

Cases have happened which make one think whether we are progressing or retrogressing. There was a case recently when a man in Abeokuta was invited and lured into the bush, duped. The matter was reported to the Police, the culprits were found but the Police

[SENATOR ABUDU]

said that they could not do anything because they had no sufficient evidence to charge for murder or child-stealing. Up to the moment, the whereabouts of this man is still a mystery. If this can happen at Abeokuta, one wonders how safe the people in the rural areas are.

The last point that I would like to make refers to the suggestion made by Senator Abaagu on the Governor-General's procession the day Parliament was opened. The procession should have included the Chief Imam of Lagos. After all, the Christian religion was represented by the Bishop of Lagos. If it is because the number of people would be too much, other denominations should not be included. The Moslem religion should be respected and provision should be made so that the Chief Imam be included in the procession.

I beg to support.

Senator Hassan Rafin Dadi : In supporting the Motion of thanks for His Excellency's Speech from the Throne, I wish to join previous speakers in offering my heartiest congratulations to His Excellency and to the Federal Government for a most successful post-independent year. It has indeed been a year of great fame and success in the consolidation of our newly won independence both at home and abroad and in the Federal Government's ceaseless efforts to better the social and economic condition of our own people. The Speech is comprehensive in that it covers all aspects of the Government's activities of a rapidly developing independent nation marching confidently forward in what appears to be a promising future.

The task of nation-building is fraught with all kinds of problems and the determination of our Federal Government to discharge this wondrous responsibility is indeed highly commendable. Since independence, the role of the Federal Government in international affairs has truly projected Nigeria's personality abroad, and to-day, Nigeria has enjoyed world-wide recognition in international politics. The wisdom and foresight of our Prime Minister have no doubt been the main factors. The political philosophy of our Government since independence of non-alignment with any power bloc, non-intervention in the affairs of other African states, co-operation on the basis of absolute equality and mutual respect for

the sovereignty of all African countries, has sincerely won respect and admiration for our country. This, again, must be attributed to the distinguished leadership of our revered Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who is now reckoned amongst the distinguished statesmen of the world.

There is no better testimony to the role that Nigeria is determined to play in world politics than its election to the 18 nation Committee on Disarmament. This is considered one of the most important assignments that any country can be called upon to undertake. It is also an eloquent tribute to Nigeria's distinguished representation at last year's 16th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Heading Nigeria's Delegation was our Foreign Minister the hon. Jaja Wachuku. He is a faithful servant of his Government and a very able orator by any world standard. I had the opportunity of listening to as many of the delegates as possible and that was the conclusion I got. The success of the Nigeria's mission in the United Nations could not have been achieved without the loyal co-operation and faithful service of the entire staff of our own Foreign Office and, we members of the Delegation are very grateful indeed to them and to their staff at the Nigeria Embassy in New York who looked after our welfare with meticulous care.

The greatest highlight in His Excellency's Speech is the new six-year National Development Plan which is about to be launched. In the words of His Excellency the plan is by far the most ambitious exercise which this country has ever undertaken. So, 1962 is a singular year which will see the beginning of complete mobilisation of all our resources both human and material in an all out effort to achieve economic independence which alone will give meaning and substance to our economic aspirations. It is, therefore a supreme call to sacrifice by the whole nation. I would, therefore, implore the Federal Government in collaboration with other Governments of the Federation to give the launching of this gigantic plan the greatest possible publicity thereby securing the co-operation and willing participation of all Nigerians to contribute their quota, be they working in the field, in factories, in hospitals, in schools, in the market, *et cetera*. It is on the success of this plan that our life as an

independent nation will ultimately depend. It is, therefore, a duty and an obligation of all of us Nigerians to play our worthy part whatever our feelings may be. In this connection, I will recall the statement made by the Premier of the Northern Region in connection with the austerity measure he was taking and I quote—

“We must take these unpleasant measures for self-discipline. . . .”

Self-discipline, Mr President. We must be made to develop self-discipline for it is one of the most important human virtues upon which our success as a nation will ultimately depend.

Economic Development, we have been made to understand, is the effective utilisation of the human and material resources of any country. I therefore contend that the development of education in any economic development is principally the backbone of the overall plan. Some economists have even assessed that education in any economic planning contributes as much as fifty per cent. The proposal to set up an Inter-Regional Manpower Development Board is a step in the right direction as it will assist in the assessment of our manpower needs at all levels.

We are all aware that each Government in the Federation is deeply concerned with the provision of Universal Primary Education in its own area in order to supply the necessary skill; but it appears that no adequate preparation for post-primary institutions has been made to absorb as many of these primary school leavers as possible or even adequate arrangements to rehabilitate those of them that cannot possibly go on for any vocational training. In terms of the whole Federation, there are hundreds of thousands of these primary school leavers with no jobs and they annually increase by thousands. This is a trend which will even complicate the problem of urbanisation if no steps are taken to check the exodus of these half-educated children into towns and cities. I warn that they are a danger to any Government. However, with the provision of more vocational training institutions in a properly co-ordinated plan, many of these young school leavers could be turned into useful and productive citizens.

The emphasis in the new plan had been laid on agricultural industry and technical education and coupled with the establishment of an

Inter-Regional Manpower Development Board, I am confident that the Federal Government will give all possible consideration to the problem of primary school leavers. The proposal of the Government for a long-term reorganisation of our educational system is long overdue. The independent status of Nigeria calls for a drastic change in the content and curriculum of the whole educational system of our country.

There is every necessity to decolonise it and it should be designed and reorientated to reflect the needs of an independent Nigerian society. The days of education for only white-collar jobs are over.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Senator Chief S. O. Esangbedo : I rise to support the Motion on the Speech by His Excellency the Governor-General. It was very unfortunate that I did not have the opportunity to contribute my quota to last week's debate on the subject but I have no need to regret because it is still not too late to do so.

One hon. Senator said that policemen are poorly paid and gave this as the reason why there is so much bribery and corruption in the Police Force. He said that policemen join the Police Force on a salary of about £10 to £15 per month and that most of them do not get any chance of promotion so that they resort to taking bribes to augment their poor salaries. Another hon. Senator spoke in the same vein but both Senators failed to give specific suggestions as to how policemen should be encouraged.

I do not think that the reason they gave is the cause of bribery and corruption in the Police Force. After all, before the last war, we had two sets of people in the Force, the people who held the highest posts—the Inspectors of Police, and the ordinary police men. Then there was hardly any mention of bribery and corruption.

What I think is chiefly responsible for bribery and corruption and its continuity is the fact that culprits and offenders are not sufficiently punished. In the Statistics for January to December 1959, about 530 bribery cases were dealt with. Of this number 39 were acquitted, about 57 were convicted and the large number of 436 were put on trial—

[SENATOR ESANGBEDO]

put just on trial and not punished. All bribery and corruption offenders should be severely punished and not just put on trial. Only in this way can we lessen the number of offenders and probably wipe out this evil from our country. But I would like to point out that bribery and corruption is just as common in Nigeria as it is in other countries of the world.

I will now touch upon the Governor-General's Speech. The point I have to make is a brief remark on the Speech from the Throne. His Excellency said: "In order to produce a variety of suitably qualified personnel for the services of the Federation, my Government will continue its policy of offering scholarships for undergraduate and post-graduate studies in Nigerian educational institutions as well as in universities and colleges abroad. It would be a very good thing if all the various arrangements set out in the programme are extended to rural areas in the whole of the Federation especially Ishan in Benin Province.

With these few remarks, I support the Motion.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusufu : I rise to support the Motion on the Speech from the Throne but before I proceed I would like to make some remarks about the furniture in this Senate and that in the House of Representatives.

I have observed that there is a sharp difference between the furniture in the Upper House and that in the Lower House. It appears that more attention is paid for comfort in the Lower House than in the Upper House. Whenever I go to the Lower House I find the seats there so comfortable and so soothing that I feel reluctant to leave the place. The seats cannot be compared with those here which are very inferior and shabby. I hope that they will be improved in the near future.

The other day an hon. Senator was speaking about the African and Malagasy States and the Casablanca States and he went to the extent of mentioning its relationship with the President of Ghana. I rose to call the speaker to order but the President hailed me down. My intention then was to try and champion the status of this Senate. I was then going to say that if in a Senate of this nature someone can stand up and criticise a Head of State in this way the repercussions might harm us if the matter happened

to reach the ears of the party concerned. No one could blame them if they retaliate. That being so, I hope that the Senate would try to preserve its integrity by not trying to say anything against any nation.

I want now to say something in connection with the Speech of His Excellency the Governor-General. Hon. Senators have debated the Motion. In their remarks, views were expressed by every Member of the Senate. Some were of the opinion that the Speech was excellent and complete and others had the view that the Speech was lacking and inaccurate in some aspects.

I will say it again. I said views were expressed. Some were of the opinion that the Speech was excellent and complete, and others thought that the Speech was lacking in some aspects.

Senator : Nobody is possessed of that thought in this hon. House.

Senator Yusufu : Anyway, whatever the case may be there is a general conclusion that the Speech has served the aspiration of the nation.

I wish to express my opinion in this way. That because of its unassailability I associate myself with my Colleagues to give Thanks to His Excellency the Rt. hon. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Member of Her Majesty's Privy Council, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria, for the Speech from the Throne. In this case, therefore, I am going to dilate on the subject. It is surely, now evident from our progressive advancement that we made no mistake in the date we fixed for our independence. This is precisely because we were not impetuous of the target date.

The monstrous amount of £670 million for the various development projects, as envisaged by the Government, is highly welcomed, and I hope when this amount is sustained it will be evenly and properly distributed.

Finally, I wholeheartedly congratulate the Prime Minister for his championship and ability of moving forward with Nigeria without sustaining any harm to the nation.

With these few remarks I support the Motion.

Minister of State (Senator the hon. Dr E. A. Esin) : Before I ask that the Question be put, I would like to take this opportunity to

thank the hon. Senators for their comments on the Speech from the Throne. It has been well put, ably gone into, by the matured statesmen in this hon. House, and Government is very happy indeed. We have listened to all the criticisms that you have made, and we will certainly put this before the different Ministries concerned.

But there are certain points which you repeatedly hammer on, and it will be unfair on my own part if I do not make some comments to clear the position.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : Point of order ! The complaints I have made should be answered by the Minister of Communications.

The President : Order, order. I think it is right to point out that there is what is known as the principle of collective Ministerial responsibility. One Minister is as good as another in so far as any question is concerned, because his answer is the answer of the whole Cabinet. But if an hon. Member expresses that he wants a particular Minister to be present, that desire will be communicated to the Council of Ministers.

Senator Dr Esin : As you remarked, Mr President, the activities of the Government of Nigeria come from collective responsibility. Later on, when hon. Senators return to this House they will have to debate the Budget, and it will be then that the Ministers will come to answer in detail on certain matters.

With regard to the Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin road to which many speakers in this House referred particularly Chief Olayeye, it is only fair for me to point out that this job was given to one company which did it unsatisfactorily and in consequence the work was taken from that company and given to a new company. I am sure the progress being made now is good enough.

Senators : Since 1947 ?

Senator Dr Esin : Yes. When the Minister of Works spoke sometime ago he told hon. Senators that the road will be ready in 1964, because it was given to a new contractor, and the job is enormous involving the clearance of thick forests. So, if Senators want to have a really up-to-date road I am afraid they have got to wait.

I have travelled myself on this road from Benin to Ondo and Akure. Hon. Senators can do that themselves, even though the road is not yet good enough. But we are equally anxious, especially those of us who come from the East who like to shorten our travels and avoid blind alleys and corners, but then the House will understand that it was recently given to a different company. That is the reason why the job continues, and this provision can be seen in the Estimates. If the Government had stopped the job then Senators could have complained. But it is continually going on. The Government is determined that the job should be done, and it must be done. That is the most important thing. Nevertheless the complaints of hon. Senators will be properly gone into.

The other point on the Niger Dam is well taken. The Niger Dam will benefit the rural areas. Well, if Senators read the Report on this Project they will find that the intention of the Government is to harness the Niger to serve the whole country. It is a gigantic project by the Government which will cost £70 million. We need water to irrigate the land. We have got to have our fish and stop all importation of stock-fish from Norway. We shall also have navigation right into the middle areas and so on and so forth, because river transport is cheaper than any other means of transport.

Senator Chief T. A. Odotola : Is the hon. Minister assuring us that we are going to have stock-fish of our own in this country ? No, that is not what I am saying. I am saying that this lake, when it is created, will provide us with thousands of tons of fish every year, and that it may no longer be necessary to import stock-fish into this country. That is what I am saying.

Chief Olayeye, on the other hand, says that he wants to know whether the supply of electricity is the responsibility of the Federal Government or the Regional Government. It is the duty of the Federal Government to generate electricity and to put it to the service of everybody who wants it. In the past it had not always been doing that. For example, the Western Government gave an enormous loan of almost £2 million to the Federal Government and Benin City was supplied with

[SENATOR ODUTOLA]

electricity which they wanted as soon as possible. It will also be seen that Akure and other towns have also had electricity.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : Point of Order! I wanted to know whether the project is being financed by the Western Regional Government.

Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin : I said that it was a loan, over the years. If it is a loan, it is paid back, so that ultimately it is the Federal Government who financed the project. The Western Regional Government provided the loan to enable the Federal Government to supply this and other towns with electricity, and the Federal Government refunds the money after a number of years; that is what it amounts to. The provision of electricity is the responsibility of the Federal Government.

The President : Is the hon. Senator, Chief Olayeye, satisfied?

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : The hon. Minister is talking about a particular area—I do not know which he means.

Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin : The Western Government, for political reasons, would like to supply certain areas with electricity. The Federal Government is not prepared to do that at that particular time, so the Government of Western Nigeria says "All right, I have got this money; can you take this loan from me and supply my people with electricity and refund my money after some years?" The E.C.N. says, "All right, thank you very much"; it takes the money and supplies the electricity.

The President : Is that clear, Senator Olayeye?

Senator Chief Olayeye : Yes, thank you.

Senator Dr the hon. Esin : Then, others talked about the proposed institution of the All Nigeria Academic Council and the National Universities Commission. These two bodies will serve two different purposes. The first one—the All Nigeria Academic Council—will be responsible for the maintenance of standards. We do not intend to have certificates or degrees which are not recognised in other countries; Nigerians never like things like that at all. That is why I can say that the University College, Ibadan, is as good as, if not

better than, others which I have seen. We are very proud of our institutions because in buildings, in staffing and in the standard which our boys have achieved, I am sure we will be proud to see an analysis of our record. Some of these boys are atomic physicists; there is a project going on in this country called "Mercury Project" and it is a Nigerian who has helped the American authorities and reported to the Government as to what is going on there. So we have these good institutions like the University College, Ibadan, and we hope that our other universities will be as good. This All Nigerian Council will be responsible for the standards.

The National Universities Commission will be responsible for development and maintenance. Every year the Government gets a sum of money, say a million pounds, five million pounds, fifteen or twenty millions pounds, and hands it over to this Commission, and it will be the duty of this Commission to look into the needs of every University with regard to staff, buildings, and so on, and distribute this money according to the needs of each of the five universities, so that the Government has got nothing to do at all. This specially constituted body is responsible for the maintenance and proper development of the Universities, and I am glad that hon. Senators have accepted the Government's idea and welcome it.

Dr Orizu warned that it would be wrong for us to go to only one source to get people to train our personnel in our Armed Forces; that we should go all over the world recruit good teachers to this country to train our Armed Forces. The Government is looking into it just now.

There was a complaint about a recent appointment, but the devil that we know is better than the devil we do not know. We want the Nigerian Army to be Nigerianised, but we must not forget that we became independent only very recently—barely about 18 months now, and we would do better to make haste slowly. We want to be sure of every step that we take. Whatever step that the Government of this country is taking is intended ultimately for our good.

The suggestion is very welcome and we will look round. We propose to train our children in all aspects of defence, and offence if possible, because the world is not safe at all until there is

complete disarmament. We have got to train our men; we have got to provide our own munition factories; we have got to manufacture our own guns, and so on; otherwise we are not safe. Supposing a war broke out now! Provision has been made in His Excellency's Speech, and mention was made of the steps we are taking to provide our Armed Forces and have them properly trained. It is a matter of time and money. Personnel is also involved in this matter, and we can ill afford all of them at a time, so we have got to plan step by step for whatever we intend doing, and of course, it will be brought before you to enable hon. Senators to criticise and to point out to the Government what they like and what they do not like.

This brings me to the question of the gigantic issue of economic planning. The details are not before hon. Senators yet, but I am sure before they come back, every detail of how that money is going to be spent year by year, will be before them, and they will have the opportunity to look into them and tell the Government whether we are in the right direction or in the wrong direction, so it is a matter of a few weeks before the detailed White Paper is placed before you. I am sure hon. Senators will welcome it, because it has taken a long time for the National Economic Committee of the nation to look into it. The East, the West and the North have all combined their efforts and thoughts and ideas in an endeavour to hammer out something which, I am sure, they will not regret.

The next point, that I would mention concerns agriculture, and I want to connect that with the school leavers and unemployment. Hitherto, if we look at the Constitution, the sole responsibility of the Federal Government was based on research. It had to finance research, employ the staff, and put the wisdom and knowledge gained from research at the disposal of our farmers. The question is whether this research has brought in any result at all; if it has brought in results, whether these results have been passed on to the farmers who look after the soil. There are lots of handicaps involved in that. For example, everyone knows that farmers all over the world are very very conservative people—very conservative. They say that their agricultural methods have been used for years past, that things have always been done like that,

that they know all about these things, so why bother about new ways of doing things? Apart from the fact that they are not educated, it is very very difficult to pass on the benefits of research to the farmers in the field.

The Governments—the Federal Government and the Regional Governments—are thinking of whether the Federal Government should take an active part in actual agriculture, establishing agricultural plantations. That is not our job according to the Constitution, but the Government has a very able man like Sir Abubakar at its head, who always gives thought to things like that.

Mechanisation of agriculture—would cost an enormous sum of money—we need to train children, and I am happy to record, and I am sure you have observed, that the Western and Eastern Governments are doing a lot in founding bases where our children will go to work. Unfortunately, our attitude towards farming over the years has left a very poor impression in the minds of our youths. People have been told that it is useless to go spoiling their hands with farming; they are urged to put on a white collar, and find a better job than farming. But in countries like Britain—where Mr President and myself, and many hon. Senators have been—the British people work hard; the British man does not like to be regarded as lazy at all; he wants to lead a useful life through hard work; we can see so many of them working in the fields. Here in our country, I do not think that the right people are doing the right jobs—and that is not our fault. That is not what we are here for. Even if we are here for that, there is little we can do about it. We can only do our best and no more. These things had been so from the time of the British.

As I had said on several occasions, when the British were here, they could only get the people to work in order that they might get as much as possible out of the country. They were not prepared to train our people to be able to take over from them in due course. The Englishman or the Britisher could only do things which were of benefit to him.

Our children were trained in this awful way and they grew up to have special regard only for the white-collar job. I can only say here that the Federal Government is giving careful thought to these things.

Senator Chief T. A. Odotola : The point to be stressed here is actually to foster the agricultural projects. We would like the Federal Government to assist the people of this country financially. I think this is the point that every Member stressed in this particular regard, and I do not know whether the hon. Senator Dr Esin is giving us an assurance on this point on behalf of the Federal Government.

Senator Dr Esin : I think that was the point, and we shall see if the Federal Government can assist in this direction. We shall see also if the Government will be able to help the people concerned. But then the Federal Government can only try to get the Regional Governments to consider these things which are mainly their own responsibility. The Federal Government will do its best to bring these points to the attention of the Regional Governments. We shall look into these matters.

Somebody spoke about the doctors being responsible for the state of our hospitals and of the nurses not being human enough to pay attention to the sufferings of patients. I do not know about that; I do not think so. I have been a doctor for very many years and I do not think that my colleagues could do things like that. It might be that in one or two cases some doctors had disregarded their duties; but doctors, by and large, are people who have been properly brought up to have high regard for life and to do everything for it. Any doctor who deviates from this principle must be very stupid indeed and must not have been made to be a doctor at all. It might be perhaps that his father had a lot of money and he had the brain to receive the training and was consequently called a doctor. But a real doctor does not care for money at the moment when he is concerned with the saving of life. This is the quality of a good doctor.

If a patient cannot be treated, there is nothing that can be done in such a case, so that we should not put any blame on the doctors at all.

One thing to which I must call the attention of this hon. House, as Chief Wosu has said, is that very few in this class of people are bound to have their social professional way of life peculiar to this branch of learning, and I am sure that this should be regarded as a golden age, as far as our health Service is concerned. Doctors spend many years in

their training. When I went for medicine, I spent more than six years. When one has spent these six years in training and has done really hard work, I am sure that that person is bound to come out and carry out his or her duties in the proper way. After spending these years and working very hard day and night, morning and afternoon, in summer, winter, and so on, one would naturally expect a very high reward. When a young man qualifies as a doctor and comes out to work for the Government, he starts with a thousand pounds or so. Some find that it is not enough because they will want to get married and settle down in life.

Senator Chief T. A. Odotola : Why did the Government not give them a lot more money?

Senator Dr Esin : This makes the medical profession to become a special institution. In any case, the hopes of the nation are on our new Minister of Health who is looking into every detailed aspect of the health of the people of the Federation.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I want to be assured that the hon. Minister is expressing the mind of the Government so that we may have that down somewhere, and is not speaking as a Senator because we want to take anything he is saying as the real mind of the Government on this particular point.

Senator Dr Esin : Well, I say that our Minister of Health is here and he is looking into every bit or every aspect of the health services of the Federation. It may be in due course he will make better provision for the country's health services.

Then I come to this question of coal. Some people spoke about Japan with regard to our trade in balance. This Government has done everything and I personally have done everything I can together with the Minister of Commerce and Industry to see that the Japanese take up some of our coal. They agreed sometime ago that they would. These people are at times very clever indeed. If we say we shall not have any trade relations with them to-day, what will happen? There are lots of Nigerians who are dealing directly with the Japanese traders and manufacturers and who import a lot of these cheap textiles into the country and sell them to our poor

people. If we say that because the Japanese do not import our coal and that for that reason we would not buy from them, we would be acting against ourselves in various ways. A lot of our people import a lot of these Japanese goods into the country. This is the reason. The Government has gone into all these things.

It is found that there are other countries who produce coal which are perhaps better in quality than our coal, or maybe nearer to Japan than we are. Maybe the Japanese feel that Nigeria is too far from them and they can easily buy coal from those countries which are nearer to them. However, the Government is still thinking of what to do with Japan. I do not know whether we shall have any answer except for us to be able to manufacture locally, cheaply and of the same quality, textiles which are imported from Japan, otherwise I do not see any way we can get away from it.

In other places, people are not tied to grammar schools and modern schools. People do go into factories to manufacture things both for their local consumption and for export. I have been there and I have seen enough of them. Until we are able to help ourselves, and until we have all these factories and be able to manufacture things in our country, we shall yet continue to have this adverse balance of trade with Japan.

Then we said that we would set up a Commission to look into our trade deficit or something like that. But we must understand that as a developing country—and we are developing at a tremendous speed all over the country—we are able to establish a cement industry—we have to continue importing into the country, without which we cannot develop the industries we are thinking about. We have to continue to import and pay out our money to get those things which are still necessary for our existence. It is not, therefore, that the Government is not aware of these things. We are aware of these things and we are doing everything about them, but until we are able to manufacture things locally and in sufficient quantities, we shall continue to import and there will always be an adverse trade balance against this country. These are the reasons why, for some years, we will have to be as we are.

Somebody is quarrelling over the production of graduates; but if you think of their industry and their technical know-how, I am sure that for some years to come, we will need these men. A body has been set up to take care of it, so that there would be no overproduction of the people earning what the Standard Six boys are earning to-day. We can introduce a bill for the supply of manpower and so on. As you know, the Ashby Commission and some others shall meet to discuss matters for development and to carry on with the rest of the work. We have a lot of people to train, and that is the reason why we are having five universities

Incidentally, you will have read about the Immigration Bill, which more or less appears to be a great shock, in which the British Government has got power to repatriate those people they think have not the capacity, either financially or mentally, to benefit from higher education in Britain. If such is the case, we have to make provision for our students right in our land here.

The Prime Minister has said that we do not want to impose our leadership on any nation. We regard all free nations as equal, no matter how small and no matter how big they are.

Mr President, I do not propose to go into every detail of things which I have put down here, but I am sure that hon. Senators would appreciate that we are giving our very sensible old men and young men a lot for the benefit of this country. Whatever we do will be intended for the good of us all. We will, from time to time, look to hon. Senators for co-operation and advice in whatever difficulties and problems might arise in our task of nation-building. I must express the Federal Government's gratitude to hon. Senators for their co-operation. Thank you very much.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : The Minister has not said anything about compensation for those who are displaced by the slum clearance scheme. What assurance can he give that the Government will look into the question of the displaced landlords being asked to pay fantastic amounts for alternative plots offered to them?

Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin) : The hon. Senator should direct that question to the Minister of Lagos Affairs. You cannot eat your cake and have it. Have a beautiful capital well laid out with water system and

[SENATOR DR ESIN]

sewage system—that is all we all want.—Is that not so? and Lagos is our capital city. It is the city of everyone of us. To make Lagos an ideal capital city, we have got to clear the slums. That is why we say to the owner of the land, “remove the slums,” and if he fails to do so, we acquire it for a hundred pounds. After it has been rebuilt he can go and get it back if he decides, for four hundreds pounds. We want the capital to look good. The Government has therefore gone to the trouble to acquire these slum areas, and lay out new sites and build houses with beautiful furnishings. They are there, and you can get for them for so much a month. These lands or buildings are not sold to any alien at all.

An hon. Senator : Is that so?

Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin) : Yes, that is quite true. What the Government does is to give out the land to those who are able to build them and demand from them a sum of money for the rent or the price of the land.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : On this question of Lagos, I think I differ from the Minister of State in telling us now that because he wants to make our street as decent and make it a capital... (*Interruption*).

The President : Order, order! Obviously, this is out of order. I have granted a lot of indulgence. We must guard against this question-and-cross-question. If you want to ask the Minister questions, put down such questions for the Minister for Lagos Affairs to come here and answer them. That is the best way of doing it.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : The question is that I would like the Minister to put it before the Minister of Lagos Affairs. These are the views of the people of Lagos.

The President : I want to say again that if you want to make it more effective, give notice of a Motion on a Tuesday. That will force the Minister of Lagos Affairs to come down here, instead of a general thing like this. If you put down a particular question which touches his portfolio, he is bound to come here and answer, just as hon. Senator Asemota put a question this morning. You noticed what happened. For instance, the Minister

for Police Affairs has never been here since I became the President of the Senate, but he was here this morning to answer that question. If a Senator had not put a question which affects the Police, he would not have come here. You know your right; you know exactly what to do to bring these people here. If a question touches a man's portfolio, he is bound to come.

Senator H. N. Udoh : The Speech from the Throne mentioned many things and I will lay emphasis on one or two things. Before that I wish to refer to the attendance of the Senate—

The President ; Order, order. Will the Senator raise the question on Adjournment, when the Minister moves the Adjournment of this House. Let us bring the Speech from the Throne to a close. We have really finished it. I do not like ending with anti-climax.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : 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 Houses of Parliament.”

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That the House do now adjourn till Friday, 30th March, 1962 (Minister of State (Dr the hon. E. A. Esin)).

Senator A. E. Ukattah : I would like to make an appeal and I hope the President and the Minister of State present will take note of it. Many Senators have complained about their speeches not being accurately taken down. I am not happy about the position because during the last meeting my speeches were distorted. I discovered that it was not the fault of the Reporters because they had all the time been working under great difficulties. The difficulties arise from the fact that they are using the most obsolete equipment in reporting.

This matter was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister six months ago. The Prime Minister approved money for new equipment. The new equipment has been bought, the engineers are here to install it,

but alas, nothing has been done. What is the reason? The moment the Senate adjourns this place becomes the place for all sorts of conferences and meetings. The engineers require three or four months to install the new equipment.

The equipment now being used is bad with the result that when you say 'pool' the Verbatim Reporters will write 'put'; when you say 'Ndu' they write 'Udoh', and so on. So my appeal—and that is the voice of the Senators—we are making it now through the President of the Senate is that as soon as the Senate rises at the end of the Budget Meeting there will be time for installing the new equipment between the first week of May and August when we shall reassemble here. This place should not be used for any conference during that period so that the job can be carried out. If not, we shall continue with this sort of reporting the proceedings of the Senate.

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : When I wanted to make my complaint in the morning, I was hushed down.

The President : Order, order. You were not hushed down, you were called to order.

Senator Chief Ndu : When I make a speech, my speeches are always credited to another Senator, Senator H. N. Udoh, I would like the President to call me Chief P. C. Ndu specifically so that the Reporters will know that there is a great difference between P. C. and H. N. The word 'Ndu' means life and 'Udoh' means peace. So there is a great difference. I would also like the Reporters to make more use of their ears.

I raised it during the Adjournment in 1960 but it was not corrected. I put it in writing to the President but it was not corrected. The same thing happened in 1961 and now we are in 1962, it still continues.

Mr President, I would like my speeches to be credited to me and not to another Senator.

The President : Will it be right if the President says "Senator life" and "Senator peace"
(Laughter).

Senator H. N. Udoh : Several Senators have been hammering the point about attendance in this Senate. I do not think Senators will be required to attend if the business we will be called upon to deal with is not ready.

We have been criticising civil servants in various spheres of life in the Federation, not only in the Coal Corporation but in all Boards, for accumulation of work. Here we are guilty of the same accumulation of work. If the attendance had been what it should be, probably we might have done something more specifically to-day, rather than continuing to Debate the Speech from the Throne. I would like the President and the Minister of State present to note that. Nobody is born wicked or bad but circumstances and environment sometimes make one so. We are old men that is true and we come here to advise and encourage the Government. But when we come we want to see that the work we are expected to do is properly done before we go away.

Thank you Mr President.

Senator Chief T. A. Odutola : I made a point sometime ago but it looks as if the point was not made at the appropriate time. The point I would like to make is the attendance of the Ministers at our meetings. Since this Senate was established, we have always complained that when we are here no Minister is here or probably one Minister of State is here who probably has nothing to do with the particular portfolio which is being discussed. I do appreciate that members of the Cabinet have what we call collective responsibility but it is easier for a substantive holder of an office to deal with a particular matter than for somebody who is deputising for him.

When the hon. Minister of State was speaking a few minutes ago, my hon. Friend Chief Beyioku asked him whether he was speaking the mind of the Government. I quickly said that he could not have been doing because I know quite well, I may be wrong, that if all the Ministers responsible for matters which have been criticised in this House had been here, the position would have been a bit different. We do not want people to take us for fun, that we just come here, sit down, get our salaries and allowances and go away. It is not so. I have been a Legislature for at least about seventeen years. This is not the time to waste our time. If we have not got anything to do, we can as well stay in our houses or in our towns and do some other honest job.

It would be very nice if Mr President would kindly appeal to Government and tell the Ministers to come here and listen to us. We

[SENATOR ODUTOLA]

shall then have the satisfaction that when we give our advice or when we make a complaint on any particular issue they will look into it. In the colonial days, when a member got up in the House and complained about something you would find that within five days something was done to correct the error. It is not so now, and one of the reasons why it is not so is that the Minister concerned will not be here. He does not know what is going on here and he does not care to do anything about it. So I appeal through you, Mr President, to the Government that something should be done.

We do not want to come here, talk, talk, talk and go away without any effect. It is no use to come here, earn salaries, talk all the time and go back home. What is the use of the money we get? It is just like receiving money under false pretences which we do not want to do.

I appeal through you, Sir, to the Government.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : I think we have got to be perhaps a bit more reasonable towards Ministers. The House of Representatives is also in session. As long as the two Houses are sitting together we shall continue to complain. If arrangements could be so that immediately Parliament is opened we adjourn and leave the House of Representatives to finish and then we come back and Debate the Speech from the Throne all the Ministers will be here and we can go on with our Budget Debate.

If that does not happen, I think the Ministers feel that they have more responsibility to the elected representatives of the people who are working in the House of Representatives and we cannot blame them for feeling so. I think if we want to get the matter cleared arrangement should be made so that we go home immediately after the Speech from the Throne and allow the Ministers to continue with the House of Representatives and finish everything. We then come back and the Ministers will be here. But as long as we have the House of Representatives and the Senate sitting simultaneously, I do not think we can blame the Ministers for sitting in the House of Representatives. I think it is unreasonable for us to expect them to be here. They are not ubiquitous.

Mr President, that is my contribution on this matter.

Senator Chief A. O. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I think Senator Nzerem has tried to clear the air. As a matter of fact, we are in sympathy with our Ministers and it is not our intention to ride willing horses to death. I know very well that we have always hammered this point. During the last sitting there was an improvement because we were able to force most of the Ministers to be in attendance.

I think this situation should not have arisen at this particular meeting. It should not have arisen at all but for the fact that some of us have complained as to why the Government should bring us here for a day and tell us to go. I want to be frank. The Budget Session opened with all its pageantry on the 21st of March. Some members of the Senate had spoken to the Ministers and others particularly our able Ministers of State, Dr Esin and Dr Majekodunmi. They had stressed the point that Senators are not happy being brought here for a day and then told to go home. They would rather be busy here for some time. I think that a programme was drawn up as a result of this consultation. The best thing, it appeared would be to keep Senators here for some time and let them feel that their presence here is important.

They could debate the Speech from the Throne and adjourn until the 30th of April by which time the Lower House would have finished with the Budget Speech. They would then come for the Budget Session when all the Ministers would be available to take note of their points.

I think that was the arrangement otherwise immediately after the Speech from the Throne hon. Senators could have gone. That is just the point. I am just saying this as somebody ahead who perhaps have been forging with the Ministers.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : I just want to emphasise what Senator Chief *Fagbenro-Beyioku* has just said. I think the present arrangement is very good. I see no reason why hon. Senators should complain. After all, I think it was Mr President who made us to understand that the Ministers have what is called collective responsibility. Since we are lucky to have one of the Ministers with us here, I think we should take what he says as the mind of the Government. I think it will be too much if we continue to complain every now and then about our Ministers. I think we must sympathise with our Ministers sometimes.

Minister of State (Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin) : Senator Chief Beyioku has come to my rescue. The fact is that when something important happens during the year, the presence of hon. Senators is essential. This is one of such occasion—the end of a financial year and the opening of a new Session of Parliament. That is why we have all come here to the Upper House, and since the opening of this Session we have passed two or three urgent and important Bills concerning the Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria and on which the Government wanted hon. Senators' opinion. That opinion has been given. Hon. Senators have also been brought here so that they could listen to the Speech of His Excellency the Governor-General from the Throne and to debate it. Naturally, all that the Lower House has been able to do will be ready for this House to finalise in a month's time.

Hon. Senators should not think that the Ministers disregard this House. They are very busy piloting various Bills. Hon. Senators know that the Ministers have got a very strong Opposition which they must satisfy. That is the ideal of federal democracy. When the Opposition come all out wanting to know what is going on in the country, the Ministers of the Government must be there to tell them why they did something and did not do some other thing. That is the reason why they have to be there. Hon. Senators should not say that they are brought here and not given enough work to do, dismissed and asked to come back again in a month. Hon. Senators have done the work they have had to do and would be coming back to pass other important Bills, which are not yet ready.

Some hon. Senators complained that some other Senators had gone home because they felt that there was no work for them to do. Surely, hon. Senators have had work to do since this Session began. Hon. Senators are here because it is necessary for them to confirm or do whatever they like with the Bills. That is why they are here. They are not being slighted or looked down upon by the Ministers at all.

Hon. Senators must realise that the Cabinet Ministers have been meeting almost everyday and it is very exerting for them to discharge the functions and responsibilities which are placed on their heads. I hope that you accept my explanation.

Senator Ukattah said that the Rt. hon. Prime Minister had given out about £17,000 for some purchases and wanted to know more about it. It is true that the Prime Minister gave out this money; it is also true that the things have been bought. But they are not yet in this country and are expected to arrive soon.

The President : Order, order. I want to remind hon. Senators that those Ministers are not really Senators. Those Ministers you are referring are not Members of this House. They are Members of the other House. The Ministers who are Members of this House are always here—they are Dr Esin, Dr Maje-kodunmi and Hon. Nuhu Bamali. You are entitled to send for these Ministers and, as I said earlier on, the best way for sending for them is to file something for a particular Minister and he will be compelled to come here. Otherwise, he would like to keep to his own seat because he is elected into the Lower House and not sent into this House as ourselves. He, therefore, stays in his own House until he knows that the other House wants him. The best way to get a Minister who is not a Senator into the Upper House is to file a question that concerns his portfolio, as happened to Hon. Olarewaju this morning. He came to answer this question and went away to his own House after giving his answer.

This House should have been adjourned till tomorrow but, as the hon. Senators know, tomorrow is a Private Members Day and no private Member has filed anything for tomorrow. Why then do you wonder why you have not been given work to do when none of us has filed a Motion which we can discuss tomorrow? In view of this, Government says : "Well, you can go on holidays until we get ready enough work for you to do on Friday". I want you to understand these things and you will know that you are entitled to ask a number of questions, as Senator Asemota did this morning. He did one fine thing. He brought a Minister here who has never been here since I have been President of the Senate. The best thing is to file a lot of questions and a lot of Motions before Friday and then you will find these Hon. Gentlemen coming here to answer them. But that is not saying that they should not be here. When the time comes for the Budget, they will have to come and answer. You know too that during the debate

[THE PRESIDENT]

on the Speech from the Throne, general things are said and that while we sit here in our own House, the Ministers are also sitting in their own House discussing the Speech.

Thank you very much. Any other point? Senator Yusufu.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusufu : We thank you very much for your explanation. As we shall have to-day until Friday during which period we shall be idle, may I know whether it will be possible for the Government to arrange local visits to institutes and other important places in the Federal Capital for us?

The President : Can I help the hon. Senator? Senator Salahu Fulani has done better than yourself. He came to me two days ago and he brought a paper on which he has, at my request, made a list of Senators who on Wednesday would be going to see the Nigerian Ports Authority installation, the Iju Water Works, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation and one other place. It is up to the Senators to ask for these things. They will be officially arranged for them, but nobody will bother to do so if you do not ask.

When I was in the Western House of Assembly—and Senator Odutola will remember this—we usually put it to the Government and the Government always arranged some excursion for us during the time when we were not sitting. The same thing will be done for you if you ask for it. Senator Fulani has already asked for it and my Secretary is getting in touch with all the various authorities concerned. Therefore if you contact my Secretary later on, you may be able to join the group.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : I do not think that we were silent in the past about this. I remember mentioning it here once that arrangements should be made for us to visit important places of interest in the Federal territory of Lagos. I remember saying it myself here. If there is anything being arranged, those of us who were not included would like to ask now that we be included.

The President : The arrangement is being made for you to visit these places as from 9 o'clock on Wednesday. You will probably have to come here and see the Secretary.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : My point of Order is that this matter should have been discussed with the President in his Chambers and that this sort of thing should not be brought into the Hansard of the Senate. People reading it will frown at this type of thing being discussed in the Senate.

The President : Quite right, Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : That the Senate do now adjourn until 9 a.m. on Friday, 30th March, 1962.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty minutes to six o'clock.

CORRIGENDUM

The speech beginning in the last paragraph of Column 103 of the Official Report for Saturday, 24th March was made by SENATOR CHIEF P. C. NDU, and not by Senator H. N. Udoh as published in error.

The Editor regrets any embarrassment caused to Senators.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA*Friday, 30th March, 1962**The Senate met at 9 a.m.*

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME 1962-68

9.10 a.m.

The Minister of Economic Development (Alhaji the hon. Waziri Ibrahim): Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1962, a copy of which I hope all hon. Senators have by now received, contains the Federal Government's 1962-68 Economic Development Programme.

In 1945, when we were under colonial rule, the first attempt to produce a development plan for Nigeria was made, at the request of the Colonial Office in London, who sought to guide the allocation of the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds granted to Nigeria. The Ten-year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria, 1946, was the result of that attempt. The revised Plan covering the period 1951-56 followed.

All those were not Plans in the true sense of the word. They constituted a series of projects which have not been co-ordinated or related to any overall economic target. Many of the individual schemes aimed at not more than an expansion of existing normal departmental activities which were mainly building up of social services and just a little of the economic sector. Little provision was made for industrial and agricultural development or for technical education. In addition to that lack of proper planning, one major error of frequently permitting entirely new and unrelated projects for the original ones was committed. The net effect was that by the end of the Plan period the results had little, if any, relationship to the original Programmes.

The next major effort to produce a planned Economic Programme was made in 1953. The result of that attempt was the 1955-60 Economic Programme, consideration of which coincided with the Constitutional changes under which each Region became autonomous in its own sphere. That meant that although

much work had been done in formulating the 1955-60 Economic Programme, it could not be said to be a truly and well co-ordinated Economic Programme.

Furthermore, even though ministerial system of Government was in existence at the time the 1955-60 Programme was prepared, the country's leaders, amongst whom were many of you hon. Senators, were still very much engaged in strengthening the constitutional foundation upon which prosperity and stability of the country had to be built.

For this reason, in spite of the fact that we had able Ministers and Leaders at the time the 1955-60 Programme was prepared, we could not still say that it had received the considered examination of the Leaders. Thanks to the wisdom and foresight of those Nigerian leaders who succeeded in making the constitutional changes practicable, we are now able to produce a greatly improved, well co-ordinated and bold Economic Development Programme, the first of its type in Nigeria.

Much has been heard about this Economic Programme both at home and abroad. One of the questions which some people have been asking must be, "what are the over-all objectives which the Plan seeks to achieve?" The answers are: First, acceleration of the rapid economic growth and the rate at which the level of living of our people can be raised. Secondly, it seeks by having a series of such economic programmes, to give Nigeria an increasing measure of control over her own destiny within a reasonable period of time. This means that we aim to take Nigeria to an economic position in which she can generate, from a diversified economy, sufficient income and savings of our own to finance a steady rate of economic growth without great dependence upon external sources for capital or manpower than is usual to obtain from natural incentives and international commerce.

The third object of the Programme is to seek to establish at optimum efficiency the institutions, basic facilities and essential industries which will make such economic growth possible. Fourthly, we seek to make Nigeria less dependent upon foreign financial and technical assistance. Fifthly, we seek to make Nigeria capable of resisting the dangers of any sudden changes in the prices of her primary export products. The sixth object is to establish a measure of economic independence commensurate with our political independence.

[MINISTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT]

The second question which may be asked is, "How can this Plan assist in bringing about the targets or the aims I have just enumerated, and what are the priority projects in the Plan"? These are the answers: First, modern agricultural methods must be introduced. We depend to a very, very large extent on the export of our agricultural products for our export earnings. Secondly, we seek to maintain and, if possible, surpass the rate of economic growth of 4 *per cent* per annum which has been achieved over the past few years. In order to achieve this aim, it will be necessary to invest at the rate of not less than 15 per cent of the gross national product and at the same time to endeavour to raise the *per capita* consumption at a modest but reasonable rate, and then domestic savings ratio must be increased and it should sustain the bulk of domestic investment.

Thirdly, wider opportunities in education and employment must be created and made available for all citizens. Fourthly, increased health facilities must be provided. The fifth is that advisory and training services for Nigerian businessmen must be provided to enable them to compete more effectively both at home and abroad. Sixthly, agricultural credits must be introduced. Seventh, credit facilities for big private businessmen must be provided.

Eighth, increased electricity generation must be supplied in order to cope with the increased number of industries in the country. The ninth is that communications systems must be expanded. And the tenth is that Dock and Harbour facilities must be increased to cope with the increased exports and imports of goods.

The eleventh is that industries must be set up. The twelfth, internal security must be maintained. And the thirteenth is that social justice must be done and external defence maintained to meet with any eventuality.

All these measures will be found in the Sessional Paper. In other words, we have recognized our problems. We have recognized also some of the answers to our problems. The Sessional Paper seeks to put clearly what those problems are and what some of those measures are.

The third question must be, "what is the size of the amount involved in the Programme and

where are we going to get the money? The Federal Government's own programme which includes those of Statutory Corporations and the two Government-owned Companies of the Nigerian Airways and the Nigerian National Shipping Line will be above £412 million capital during the six-year plan period.

The question is where are we going to get this big sum of money. After the most careful examination of all our resources, we have come to the conclusion that we shall be in a position to cover from our own resources during the next six years all our recurrent expenditure commitments together with nearly one half of the cost of the capital programme. We therefore expect to meet from loans or grants a little over fifty *per cent* of the total capital programme. Details of the expected revenue over the next years planning period will be found in the tables shown in the White Paper. That is the best we can provide and we hope that our assumptions are correct.

It may be asked also, why not assume a larger amount of aid from overseas countries and thus prepare a bigger programme? The answer is that it would not be in our interest to be over-dependent upon aid as that would permit a position whereby the day-to-day running of our business in the country can be influenced by the decisions of foreign powers who give the aids. We all know how a money lender can control the borrower. For this reason, even though we think that bigger amounts will be forthcoming by way of loans and grants, we think that we should limit the extent of them. That is why we hope that most of the aid which will come to us will be by way of loans and not grants. If it is loan we will accept the loan and do what we like with it. The lender is only concerned in seeing that we repay the capital loan and the interest. If it is aid and we are encouraged to be lazy, and we become a beggar country, there will be no incentive, and if we are to maintain the pride of being a sovereign and independent state, we should do away with grants.

It should also be remembered that the annual payment of capital and interest will amount to a considerable proportion of the value of our annual exports. This fact also limits the amount of foreign aid which can be accepted even if it were forthcoming in bigger size. There are certain principles that we

recognize as extremely important and must be kept in mind if the first six-year plan and all other future plans are to succeed.

The first principle to be remembered is that we recognize that merely spending money does not constitute development unless the money is wisely spent in being put to encourage projects which will yield good returns. In other words, the size of this programme contained in Sessional Paper No. 1 should not be judged by the amount of money contained in it but by the number of projects which we think will yield the best economic returns.

The second important principle we have to remember now and always is that the people for whom the plan has been prepared, that is, we Nigerians without any exception must be prepared to make sacrifice and work hard. This sacrifice and hard work will be for ever; it is not a question of the next five, six or even fifteen years but for from now and forever if we are to bring real economic independence and prosperity to Nigeria.

Then the third point we have to remember is that no spectacular and quick results could be expected. That is to say, because we have got this bold economic development programme, we must not expect good results in the next five or even ten years. Therefore, the self-discipline and the sacrifices which will have to be faced in the coming years will be for many years and not for just a few if the future of this country is to be built properly.

It is relevant to quote this very well known saying, "Rome was not built in a day." It is a very very wise saying and we in the Federal Government constantly keep this in mind in spite of the agitations of certain sections of the community to move faster. We do not believe in this. Of course, you hon. Senators being the elders in this country know this fact much more than we in the Cabinet do, that quick and spectacular results are not everlasting. So we hope to build slowly. There will be no anxiety, we shall keep a cool head.

Fourthly, we must be confident, in seeing that we succeed. Self-confidence is very important even though the programme is extremely big and may even make one think as to whether we can do the important things

envisaged. If the will is there, we shall succeed.

Fifthly, we have to remember that the great demand for our raw materials and the favourable prices which were obtained for them are declining since some of the countries who imported our raw materials are themselves becoming exporters of raw materials. It is important to remember this point because we know that what we shall get for our produce will not be as big as what we got in the past. Therefore, only increased production will thus fill the gap. The markets for our raw materials are becoming more and more competitive.

Sixthly, we must adhere to the projects contained in the Programme even though we realise that the plan itself must be flexible. Now, this is very important. It is all very well to plan ahead. The difficulty is not in the planning. It is very easy to plan and end in confusion by not adhering to what you have planned.

For this reason, we realise that it is important to adhere to the projects contained in the Programme. At the same time we say the Programme must be flexible but flexibility cannot be equated with arbitrariness.

The raising of the level of living and the acceleration of the growth of our economy can be achieved only if the overall planned priorities are observed. Particular projects may be discarded or curtailed later. This is not important and, in fact, we recognise that there must be changes. It will be disastrous to adhere rigidly to all details of the Plan. In the light of changing circumstances, some projects now properly included may later on be found not to be contributing to the achievement of rapid economic growth, in which case, we shall very quickly shift. We recognise the very important fact that for a long time to come agriculture will continue to be the main source of our external earnings and that, therefore, while industries must be established, there is much room for improvement in our agricultural methods.

When I made a statement in this hon. Senate during the last Session, I mentioned about our agricultural research which I said has not been practical. I have said that if success could be made of agriculture in Kenya, Tanganyika, Congo, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and other places, there should be no reason why we should not make

[MINISTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT]
greater success of modern agriculture in Nigeria. So hon. Senators will find that the Federal Government will be assisting the Regions by an amount of £25,000,000 during the next six years in the expansion of regional agricultural projects.

We also recognise that we must make a proper study of the marketing of our export crops and we must find new markets. This is very important. A farmer who sells in a market cannot do very well unless he knows the extent of his market, who his competitors are, what each competitor will produce next week and who else will come into the same market. These facts are not known to us at the moment.

We say we depend on our export crops for our external earnings and yet we do not know if next year only half the groundnut or cocoa which we will produce will be bought. I think this is very alarming and we have realised that we must now know exactly the extent of our market and the extent of our competitors so that we may be able to forecast accurately what the country may expect from external earnings in the next ten, fifteen or twenty years.

Hon. Senators will see two major projects in the Programme. The first is the Kainji Dam which will be built on the Niger River. This Dam, when completed, will produce not only the requirement of electricity for our industries for many years to come but will also provide navigation along the Niger River up to twelve months of the year, right up to the border between Nigeria and Niger, and up to six months of the year right up to Niamey. This is extremely important because it means that we shall have internal water system which will assist in carrying the increased production of our produce.

The other thing which the Dam will provide will be an alternate crossing over the Niger River. We now have one at Jebba and another one will be at Onitsha. Therefore, another bye-product of the Dam will be another alternate crossing which will be like a bridge.

Another product of this project will be that some thousands of acres of land will be irrigated; the Dam will facilitate the irrigation of some thousands of acres of land.

The next thing is that by storing the water and having reservoirs, about 10,000 tons of fish will be obtained annually. So, hon. Senators will see that the Niger Dam is a multi-purpose project which will cost us about £70 million. This amount is not big for such a multi-purpose project.

The second major project which will be found in the Programme is the Iron and Steel Industry for which the sum of £30 million has been set aside.

Hon. Senators will also see the provision of £3 million for agricultural credit facilities. We have talked about the importance of agriculture and so we are now taking the necessary steps to encourage it, the intention being to provide for medium and large scale projects to complement the activities of the smaller farmer for whom credit facilities are already provided in Regional Programmes.

We have also provided for the setting up of an insurance company with a capital of £1 million. This is a very important change in our economic policy. Government now realises that the size of our export crops is so large that if we set up a state-owned insurance company, it will be able to do not only useful services to the country but also make some profits. So, this is a very important change but this insurance company will not be exclusively for our export crops. We shall definitely look into the possibility of the Company undertaking other forms of insurance.

We find that there is no reason why we should not do that. We have been misled in the past to believe that Government must not take part in commercial enterprises. We find there is no reason why this should not be done. We find that in India, Pakistan, Egypt, Ethiopia, Sudan and many other countries, Governments have successfully put large sums of money into commercial projects, industries, *et cetera*, and have succeeded. So, we have not been convinced by any economist who says that Government must not do this or that. Private capital in this country is very limited and, therefore, Government must come in to undertake some of these businesses in industries.

Now, the next important item in the Programme is the Development Bank for which the sum of £4 million has been noted. This

again is very important. In this country, one of our difficulties is to finance indigenous businessmen to participate in the establishment of industries and in the export of capital goods, and so on. This Programme will involve the import of some millions of pounds of capital goods. It is important for us to say, "Who is going to make the profit which will be made as a result of bringing and selling some of the capital goods. This is very important but it has been overlooked and yet it is as important as any of the economic factors about which we have been talking.

Last time, I talked in this House about the importance we attach to the retail and wholesale trade in the country. Millions of pounds come as profit from these and these distributive trades include the distribution of capital goods. The Development Bank with a token sum of £4 million will assist our businessmen in building up private capital.

I am not going to take more time of hon. Senators. I hope that I have given roughly the outline of what our line of thinking has been in preparing this Programme and I shall be able to come and answer when hon. Senators come to debate this Programme, any points on which hon. Senators may like clarification will be dealt with.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn—(The Minister of Health).

Senator J. K. Nzerem : I thank the Minister of Health for proposing that the Senate do now adjourn but I think he should tell us to adjourn till a certain time. Is it till tomorrow?

The Minister of Health (Senator the hon. Chief M. A. Majekodunmi) : To adjourn till tomorrow, 9 o'clock.

FOREIGN HONOURS

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : I rise to take this opportunity to thank the hon. Senators who have congratulated us on the award of honours which we received last January. What I particularly want to refer to is the comments made by some hon. Senators that they consider that the time has come when we should do away with foreign honours and substitute them with our own Nigerian honours.

I think there is hardly any time in this country that we can really say that we should do away with foreign honours. It carries no obligation, it is an honour that is conferred on individuals for special duties performed to the State and it is an honour which is dignifying to the individual himself. Our Governor-General, for instance, a man in that position should not have been prevented from accepting a foreign honour, it is a very sad thing indeed. I do not know what is responsible for that because I have here in my hand a Paper about our Governor-General which states :

"Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, has conferred on him the Knighthood of the Order of St. John—a conferment which does not necessarily entitle him to be addressed as a 'Sir' and does not entitle Her Excellency, Mrs Flora Azikiwe be addressed as a 'Lady'. It is a conferment to enable him join the leadership of a philanthropic and humanitarian order."

What does that mean? If we allow a man to accept an honour of that nature, why is he not allowed to be known or addressed as 'Sir'? When His Excellency was honoured sometime ago by being a Member of the Privy Council, everybody rejoiced and since then, he has been addressed as the Right Honourable. What would stop this illustrious son of Africa being knighted and addressed as 'Sir Nnamdi Azikiwe'? That is the point that really worries me because our Premiers who should be dignified by the word 'Sir', unfortunately, have been prevented from accepting these honours except the Premier of the North who has a very broad idea on this issue. We want the President of the Senate to be 'Sir Osadebay', we want to see 'Sir Awolowo' and several other illustrious sons of this country who are really deserving of that great honour.

I think that people who say that foreign honours should be discarded and our native ones substituted should think twice. A man like our great financier should be 'Sir Okotie-Eboh'! If Dr. Azikiwe had been allowed to accept the knighthood and be known as 'Sir' since we achieved our independence, I think, there is every possibility that a higher honour could have been bestowed on him. He might have been made a Baron. A Baron is entitled to sit in the House of Lords. I think that it

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will be a great glory to this country to see that our Governor-General is made a Peer and sit among the nobilities in the House of Lords in England.

To-day, he has been called upon to take part in the moulding of the Empire as a Privy Councillor. There is nothing to stop him from going to London to sit with the Queen and all her dignitaries moulding the destinies of the Commonwealth as a Privy Councillor. That reflects great credit on Nigeria. So, I wish that those people who think ill of foreign honours should review their own political ideology that stop people from accepting foreign honours. Let us take a leaf from the Northern Region.

On the point that native honours should be substituted for foreign honours I want to know if there is one native honour that is higher than the chieftaincy title conferred upon people. Chieftaincy is not a thing that can be given to any man in the street, one must be a man of valour, a man of considerable wealth, a man that takes part in the affairs of the country in such a way that he is deserving of reward. Any native made and called a chief is dignified. I do not think there is any Nigerian honour that is higher than chieftaincy.

In the East, before one can become *Ogbuefi* and *Eze*, he must be a man of considerable wealth, who has sufficient money to be able to pay for the expenses of becoming a titled man. There could not be a better honour.

I was coming from Hamilton to Edinburgh last October in company of fifteen people. There were four Africans, myself and my wife, two other men and other English people, two of them, Knights. When we got to Glasgow, we wanted to have a cruise on the Clyde. We came down and the arrangements were made but the very first person asked to sit down was the Chief for there was one Chief among us. A Chief is universally known as a person of eminence. He is a person recognised as an important person within the realm, within his own people. The chief was the first person to be given a seat. But there were two Knights there. So I do not see why people should raise a hue and cry that because we are now independent we should discard foreign honours and substitute our local ones. Those are the two important points I want to make.

The next one is about our quarters at the Victoria Island. Although I am a member of the Housing Committee I think that that does not prevent me from discussing anything referring to the quarters.

I would like to invite the Minister of Health and the Clerk of Parliament to visit the quarters that are allocated to us at the Victoria Island.

The Minister of Health : Will you entertain us ?

Senator Asemota : I will entertain you. It is such a thing that you really want to see for yourself. As you enter you can see the food that we are cooking. The soup is just in front of you as you enter. Everything there you just can see. What we ask for is just a screen.

When you sit in the chair the cushion rolls away and you roll along with it. And the one that is supposed to be at the back falls off. I had to buy one chair for myself before I could do something. One cannot just do anything sitting uncomfortably in these chairs.

Then the glass doors that are there. Woe betide you if the sun happens to be in that direction. There is no protection ; no curtain of any kind. Some of us have to provide curtains for ourselves.

Then the wardrobes. There are massive wardrobes with only one shelf so that if you come with your wife you have to leave most of your clothes in the box.

Now about the ground. As I said some of us had to buy floor coverings. I think it is a thing that you certainly want to go and see for yourself.

Definitely a Senator is supposed to be a person that has attained a reasonable stage in life and he can claim some sort of decency. And if the Government thinks that people will grumble, why not put all Senators in one block and call it Senators' Block. Put all the Senators in, say Block 'A' where majority of us are living at the moment. That block can be reserved for Senators and special attention paid to it. I am sure that there will be very little or no grumbling from the people because they know that Senators are elderly people and they are certainly entitled to some type of privilege.

I now come to say something about the telephone arrangement there, which is shocking. At present after 8 o'clock in the night we are all locked in. You can never communicate with anybody outside, even in Lagos. The girls who operate the telephones close at 8 o'clock and soon after go away. And they will not open until 8 o'clock the following day. If a person is in trouble and he wants to contact the hospital for medical attention, or if a person is arriving by air or by rail and you want to check to know when to go to meet him you are cut off completely after 8 o'clock. The girls go away and they do not care whatever may happen to you.

I think that the situation should be improved. It is much for us to sacrifice. I do hope that these matters will receive the attention of the President, the Leader of the Senate and the Clerk of the Parliaments. Above all, as God will have it, the Minister of Finance himself is here.

The Minister of Economic Development (Alhaji the hon. Waziri Ibrahim) : I only would like to give a personal view on the honours ; I will leave the rest to the hon. Senator Majekodunmi. As regards foreign honours, I think the hon. Senator has mentioned that the rest of the Regions should copy the North. I think there should be no misunderstanding as regards what we Northerners think about foreign honours.

In my personal view, we in the North regard British honours just as we regard, say, the honour which the Prime Minister has just recently received from Sierra Leone or the Niger Republic. Our view is that no British honour really is more important than any of our local honours. We are independent now and honestly in Northern Nigeria to-day, for example, the high position of the Sultan of Sokoto or the position of the Shehu of Bornu, cannot be compared with that of any sovereign in any part of the world. That is how we look at it.

In the same way, the title of the Sardauna of Sokoto, the Waziri of Bornu, or the Madawaki of Sokoto or Kano—all these to us are very important. They are more important to us than anybody else's in any part of the world. Therefore, we definitely think that British titles mean something more to the British man than to a Nigerian—absolutely. So, even though we

in the North accept British honours, it does not mean that we regard them as more important, in any way whatever, than the local honour.

Senator Asemota rose—

The President : Allow the Minister to finish first. There is plenty of time yet.

The Minister of Economic Development : I am very happy that the hon. Senator and I are in the same boat. We do not normally disagree. For this reason, therefore, I think that we should not quarrel with the statement of Senators who think that we should have our local honours created.

Speaking for myself—now, this is my personal views and it does not represent the views of the Government, and happily enough I can give my personal views in this hon. Senate, I think that whether we like it or not, in say fifteen or twenty years, as other formerly dependent countries have done, Nigeria would even ask the Queen of England to graciously not award any honour to any Nigerian. I am sure it will come. Whether we like it or not it is going to come. This is the fact. And then British honours will only be accepted when we are in a position to have England respect our local honours as we respect their honours. For this reason I would like to have the position of the Northerners clearly understood. Because we do the courtesy of accepting British honours, it does not mean that we give any more values to them than our Southern brothers do.

I have even gone further to say that we in the North regard our local titles, just as in the East or West, as of more importance than any foreign ones. For example, Senator Majekodunmi is a Chief. As far as I am concerned the chieftaincy title which he holds, and which I understand is a very important one, cannot be compared with any of the British Lords titles. Therefore, I respect his title more than any foreign honour. And I would rather have an honour conferred on me by the Alake of Abeokuta or the Sultan of Sokoto or the Shehu of Bornu rather than any foreign sovereign, including the Queen of England.

Senator Asemota : On point of explanation, I think the hon. Minister of Economic Development has misunderstood me.

[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

What I was trying to say is that we have already got institutions, chieftancy institutions, which cannot be surpassed by anyone and therefore should not be substituted by anything else. Our chieftancy honour is a respectable one; a very highly respected and dignified one. You will see a chief in his full regalia, and you will certainly know that you have met someone of importance. We saw, when we went to the other House to hear the Speech from the Throne, my hon. Friend, Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku in his chieftancy regalia, resplendent robes and beads. And you saw Chief Acholonu with his plumes and all. It was all very dignified.

There is nothing we really need at the moment to substitute that type of traditional right. It is given to people of importance and not just anybody in the street. I am not suggesting that foreign honours should substitute our own chieftancy. There is no reason for us to be bothered about having some sort of honour other than the chieftancy which we now have.

The hon. Minister said that foreign honours would cease in Nigeria, but I can tell him that, in the last Honours List that I saw several people had been Knighted, some given O.B.E.'s, and some M.B.E.'s, in India. The King of Japan is a Knight of the Garter; the King of Sweden—

The Minister of Economic Development : He is not called 'Sir'.

Senator Asemota : But he is a Knight of the Garter, it is an honour which he has accepted. We should not substitute our chieftancy for any other honour; our chieftancy is good enough as it is and therefore there should be no other honour which we can confer on anybody other than our chieftancy. There was a European in my home town, Benin, who did very well indeed and he was made a Chief; he was respected as a Chief. We do not need to devise any sort of means of making an honour which will be higher and more respected than our chieftancy.

The Minister of Economic Development : Point of Order, Sir. I am not saying we should design new honours to be superior to our existing ones; I do not mean that at all. Our present chieftancy and other traditional titles are like the Lords. The Queen of

England does not confer upon you Nigerians the Lordship, the traditional one, such as the one inherited; you may be Knighted, you can be made a Peer, but it is not the same. In the same way any new honour which we shall have in this country will be below the traditional ones.

For example, would the hon. Senator object to our having a Member of the Most Distinguished Order of Egbaland? What is wrong in that? Then we can have a Member of the Most Distinguished Order of any province, a Member of the Order of El Kanemi. If we have this, we can then give it to foreigners as well, and also to individuals who distinguish themselves in the Service. This is something quite different from the traditional titles. For example, that of Senator Majekodunmi is a family one; it is a traditional one; Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku is another and, I think, most of the hon. Senators here also have traditional titles. We respect them, and their titles are not to be compared with anything new that we may design.

But then let us also think that when somebody comes, all right, when the President of the Niger Republic conferred honour on the Prime Minister, what did we confer on him? Nothing, we could not. However much you may respect our foreign visitors, you cannot take the honour of Senator Majekodunmi and confer it on him, that is exclusive. I think that what other people, and also some of the hon. Senators, want is to have our own local honours so that when people like Mr Macmillan, the Prime Minister of England, comes here we can give him one of the honours which we have designed.

I can tell you that if we give to the Prime Minister of England, an honour which we have designed, say a Member of the Most Distinguished Order of El Kanemi, he will accept it, but when he goes to England he will not put this title after his British or his own titles. For this reason people are saying that we should have a local honour so that if Senator Asemota is given the title of a Member of the Grand Order of Egbaland then, instead of writing his name and quoting 'O.B.E.' he will quote the Nigerian one.

Hon. Senators, the elderly and important people like you will have to be brought into the matter and you will sit down with other leaders

and decide what should be the titles : it can be in our native languages ; it can be in English. It will then be designed and considered whether we can confer it on foreign visitors.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I do not think we need deal at great length with this matter. I think Senator Asemota is only trying to keep us busy.

Apart from anything else, what could have contributed to our not at this moment viewing with absolute faith any foreign honours ? I am asking you the history behind such honours. What is the real history behind such honours ?

The majority of us are aware of the fact that, right from the beginning when they started to be awarded to Nigerians, the Nigerians who enjoyed them were those whom we in the active field then considered as reactionaries. The bias has been created since then, because then the British Government would not create, would not honour anybody who was known to be a nationalist and a fighter in the field ; they would not give them any honour. The people who enjoyed the honour then were the people whom we considered as saboteurs, the people who were really sabotaging the national aspirations of the country.

When such honours were conferred on these people, it made us look at them with even great disfavour and we could not accept them as men of honour. That is the real history behind this thing. And these things continued.

Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe had been in the field and since he returned from Ghana he had been working actively, but nobody tried during that time to give him an honour. People were being Knighted, people were being given O.B.E., Certificates of Honour, people were given M.B.E. But at that time to the British Government Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe was considered an obstructionist and a disruptive element ; he was not deserving of any honour.

The hon. President of this House had been in the field when he was in the Nigerian Youth Movement ; he had been speaking, leading delegations, leading demonstrations. The British Government would not give him an honour because he was considered anti-British and to be fighting for the liberation of Nigeria. All sorts of people who received the honours then were people whom the country regarded as

reactionaries and that was why people from the West, people from the East and even people from the North. They wanted the O.B.E. they wanted to be an M.B.E. they wanted to be Knighted and, for that matter, would not associate themselves with their own brothers who were really fighting to see through the national aspirations of the country.

Things are changing now. Now that we are a free people, they may like to give Dr the hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe honour, simply because Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe had been stubborn and he refused to be tempted into giving up the battle. People may not think of giving honour to Chief Obafemi Awolowo. At the time Chief Awolowo started when we had not got independence they never thought of giving him one because he was considered an obstructionist. People may now think of giving Alhaji the Rt. hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa one, but originally they were not thinking of him as deserving of honour. If Nigeria had not been free they would never have thought of him as deserving of Knighthood.

Now, we do not want anything ; we do not want to look out because when we start to look out. If we want now to be knighted, to be M.B.E., to be O.B.E., that we consider will draw back our great determination to work for the country. Instead of looking out, there are those of us, who, according to the Minister of Economic Development, to-day by our birth and by heritage are chiefs. I stand in the same position as a Lord in England who rated his blood a thousand pounds, because after all if to-day I should die someone will step into it and it goes on from generation to generation. But not all of us belong to that group, Mr President.

There are people who really worked but who may not belong to that group and who are really deserving of honour, deserving of mention. If the honourable title of the Great Commander of Nigeria is conferred on the hon. Omo-Osagie and then he is given the insignia, he uses the insignia. When the other time the Governor-General used his uniform, it would have meant nothing to us if he had British Medals on. That would have meant nothing. We would want to see on his breast a long string of Nigerian honours, and then all the children, the future generation would be looking and saying, oh this man is a

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big man who has been working for the country. When they see Chief Omo-Osagie given the insignia of the Great Commander of Nigeria they will say, yes, this is the Mid-West man—that is the thing.

That is what we mean. If we want to be looking up to England, to Great Britain for our honour, for our knighthood, for our M.B.E., for our O.B.E., for our Certificate of Honour and for all these sorts of things it means we have nothing in the country to offer to our men who are working for us. They should have a title so that they might be recognised. They must be recognised and you must do something before you are recognised. Human nature being what it is all over the world if you are doing something you want to be recognised. We want this generation to recognise people who are really fighting so that this generation will have something to look for within Nigeria and not outside Nigeria. Those who like M.B.E.S., O.B.E.S., and Knights, could get them. But we all know very well that in this country, to this very generation, they mean nothing.

If you read in the paper that someone is knighted now, in Nigeria it means nothing. My good Friend Hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh any time he wants to use his C.M.G., he uses it with caution. To him, himself, it means nothing. His own chieftaincy title from his own land is a greater honour to him than the C.M.G. He only uses C.M.G. for other people. So it is time we started thinking of our own honours to give encouragement to our people and to give inspiration to the coming generation. The sooner this was started the better for this country and that is what we mean, Mr President.

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): I think we have had a long debate on this question of foreign honours. I think my hon. Colleague has given a very clear position of the way all modern thought is shaping on this question of foreign honours and I must say that the Federal Government is itself not unaware of the feeling of the country in this respect and attaches very great importance to it and is in fact considering the whole problem. But when we talk about instituting national honours we have all agreed that in every area of this country people attach great importance to the

traditional chieftaincies and the titles which are normally conferred for services rendered or which go with the functions of the Governments in the area.

But when we talk of national honour we are thinking in the context of modern Nigeria in which the customs and usages in Lagos differ from those in Bornu and from those in Benin. And naturally we would like to have a system of recognising merits and public service which will be appreciated and valued throughout the whole of the Federation.

We cannot create such a system over night. It will indeed be very difficult. But I would like to suggest that it is not necessary for us to be heated in this debate because there are some of our people who have been honoured by Britain. Some of them have done very great service to the country. Some of the people who have done a lot of service and have weaned a lot of people towards the idea of independence have been offered British honour in those days. It would not have been politic for them to have accepted such an honour because it would have diminished their value to those progressive people whom they were trying to mobilise.

So we cannot really say that because people have been honoured they have been traitors to the cause of this country. Many of them have been people who were teachers and who devoted their lives to service. Some of them were doctors who have worked for many years. Some, too, have been missionaries and we must recognise that in those days those were the only available methods of recognition. As polite people when they were offered honours by foreign governments they had to accept them or reject depending on the circumstances at that moment.

As my hon. Colleague has said, we too would like to be in a position where we would be able to offer foreign dignitaries coming to this country, national honours of Nigeria which they will take home and which they will value.

I do not wish to be very long on this and also on the unfortunate task of having to answer all the questions about electricity, housing and telephones. I wish to assure hon. Senators that I will bring the question of quarters of Senators to the notice of my

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hon. Colleague, the Minister of Works. If hon. Senators would, please write me a letter about this kind of thing it is not easy during the debate on Adjournment like this to make this point and get administrative action taken. It is essential if you want a screen somewhere in your block to write a note to me which I will pass on to the Minister of Works to carry out. And if it is not carried out and if it is a matter of policy, if you want Government to change their policy then I think it will be better to raise this on Adjournment then we shall abide by your wishes. But I think we should try administrative methods before we bring this matter to the House.

With regard to telephone, I think you have already written a note to me and I wish to

assure hon. Senators that we shall pass the information to the Minister of Communications and I have every confidence that he will look into it. I am in complete agreement with you that if you have service there is no reason why the service should close down at 8 o'clock at night and not open until 8 o'clock the following morning. I wish to assure the House that we shall certainly look into this and I am sure they will attend to them promptly.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : That the Senate do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty minutes past ten o'clock.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA*Saturday, 31st March, 1962**The Senate met at 9 a.m.*

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

9.07 a.m.

The Prime Minister (Alhaji the Rt. hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa): I rise to move—

That a Bill for an Act to regulate any referendum required in pursuance of paragraph (b) of subsection (5) of section four of the Constitution of the Federation; and for purposes connected therewith, be now read a Second time.

There is no need for me to go into the detailed history of this Bill, but hon. Senators are aware that I am embarking upon the exercise as provided for by the Nigerian Constitution. This Bill is of general application and if, and I say if, there is a desire to create a new region or carve a territory out of any of the existing regions, this Bill seeks to establish an administrative machinery by which to do so. Sir, that is the only purpose of the Bill.

When I moved this Bill in the House of Representatives yesterday, I observed in the press that they were saying that the Bill was designed for the Mid-West Region. But as far as I am concerned, the exercise of the Mid-West Region has not yet been completed. I must emphasise again that this Bill is only of general application and it should apply to any new region or any portion of the existing regions if it is decided to be carved out. As I say, it is of general application and I commend it to the Senate.

Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): Sir, I beg to second.**Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku**: I feel that this Bill is not controversial in any way and is consistent with the provisions of our Constitution.

But there is one thing on which I would like the Prime Minister to give us an explanation. It is part of the referendum itself but it may not be part of this Bill, and that is that in the matter of any referendum the percentage of votes required is 60 and that 60 is based on the number of voters registered according to the Voters' List in that area. My own fears are these: the Voters' List in any region or any area where it might be necessary to conduct a referendum might contain the names of some people who might have died, some people who might have removed from that area and some people whose whereabouts nobody can even trace, and yet all these people constitute the aggregate number on which the 60 per cent has got to be worked. Perhaps with the death of about three or four people in that area, the percentage of the referendum may be adversely affected. I do not know what new consideration the Government has given to this particular aspect of such a situation. It may be said that it is unlikely because the last Voters' List that we used in the Federal Territory and throughout the Federation, I think, was the one used for the Federal elections in 1959. But between 1959 and 1962, or 1968 or so, the whole picture might have changed completely. I wonder if the Government will take this matter into consideration.

The Bill itself is quite good, but the other point I want to mention in it is that in the regulations which may follow I would request Government to give very serious consideration to the question of thuggery and hooliganism because in the case of such a referendum, there is a temptation for political parties or individuals to resort to hooliganism and then make the result of the referendum not what it should be. In this country, either at an election or at a referendum, the people of Nigeria should be free to exercise their conscience without any form of molestation, intimidation or deprivation of their right to exercise such votes. I should bring that to the notice of the Government so that, in making the final arrangement, they will have to take that into consideration.

The other point that I want to touch upon is the question of the right of anybody, either a political organisation or an individual, to carry the result of the referendum to a court.

We have accepted the rule of law in this country and we are not running away from it. But at the same time, we shall not be happy in this country if, simply because we have accepted the rule of law, people will always like to ridicule our Government or embarrass our Government by taking the Government to court on very flimsy matters, whether they know that they will win or lose. Their intention is just to embarrass our Government and make people feel that perhaps they are more confident than our own Government. I feel that it is part of our right to be able to do such a thing as to test the result of the referendum in the court, but at the same time I am appealing to the Government that while they are making the final regulations, they will have to look into this particular aspect with a view to ensuring that even though a person may put to test the validity of the referendum in a law court, at the same time there should be proper safeguards to ensure that such a test or trial would not be conducted with an ulterior motive of just embarrassing the Government and nothing else.

I feel happy that the Prime Minister himself will have to exercise his powers on the question of the appointment of people, with some advice. In this country, I think every section of the community has an implicit confidence in the present Prime Minister we have, and whether it is something for now or something for the future, the present Prime Minister has established a tradition, and as long as we have the confidence that he is going to stay there for many years yet to come, I do not think we have any cause to be apprehensive about that. But at the same time, I feel that in the appointment of such supervisor, the Prime Minister, duly advised by his immediate advisers, would ensure that the people who are appointed are people who will discharge the duties in the most honourable way.

I would like to say that in the conduct of any referendum, there should be a safeguard to ensure that there is no exodus of people from one territory to the particular territory where the referendum is to be conducted. We must be able to play fair in this country and it is going to defeat the aim if, because we are going to conduct a referendum in Lagos, people from Ikorodu, Shagamu and other places who are not affected, three days or a week to the date

of the referendum, will be finding their way here and looking into the voters' lists and be christening or giving themselves new names so that they might be able to prejudice the result of the referendum. That is a very serious thing and I am sure our Government will like to take this into consideration with a view to ensuring that sufficient safeguards are provided in the regulations so as to keep away these mischief-makers.

Sir, as far as this House is concerned, it is a most welcome Bill. I am quite sure it is going to receive the full support of this House.

I support the Bill.

Senator Salahu Fulani : I very much welcome this Bill. The last speaker has just said words which we all in this House ought to give our support.

In fact, there is one particular thing and that is about the 60 *per cent* of the voters list. Now, if, say, a hundred people registered and only fifty actually voted, how is the Government going to reckon that 60 *per cent* on the people who did register? If there are a hundred people in that particular area at the time of registration and some of these people move away before the referendum, how does the Government wish to get this 60 *per cent* required to make the plebiscite a success? This is a particular question which I think the hon. Prime Minister should take into consideration.

Another point is the question of importing people into the area of referendum. It is possible that when the referendum is going to take place, there are some unscrupulous individuals who may import people into that particular area in order to meet their own desire. What safeguards are there to ensure that such would not happen?

Now, there is another point on which I really see with Senator Beyioku. There has been a lot of court going recently. Whenever an important decision is taken in this hon. House, and if it is in favour of one party or the other, the ultimate result is to take the matter to court. What safeguard has the Government made to see that such mischievous things do not take place? It is very important because that will augur well for the future of this country. Care

[SENATOR SALAHU FULANI]

must be taken and every loophole looked into before such an Act is made, and it is up to the Government to see that they do not put us to shame again.

Before I resume my seat, I would warn the Government that there are people who are always looking for the weak points of the Government. It is up to the Government to make every safeguard to ensure its stability.

I beg to support the Bill.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : I would want to give my support for the points that have already been made by my two able Senators. There is only one point which I will like to make and that concerns publicity.

The success of a referendum depends on the arrangements made before the referendum is conducted, and one of the most important aspects of the arrangements to be made before the referendum is held is the question of publicity. What is going to be done should be made known to every citizen within the area affected. With your permission, I would quote clause 2 (1) :—

“Subject to the following provision of this Act, the referendum shall be held on a day appointed by the Prime Minister by notice published in not less than two issues of the Gazette of the Federation.”

This is just the point that I will like to touch on. If the date is published 101 times in the *Official Gazette*, it would not go anywhere at all towards achieving the publicity desired. How many of the people in that area read the *Gazette*, even the Regional ones, let alone the *Federal Gazette* ?

I am suggesting that for the necessary and adequate publicity to be given, other more effective media of publicity should be used : by the local newspapers, circular letters to local government bodies and notices that should be displayed in very conspicuous places throughout the area affected. This is indeed a point that strikes me forcibly, and I will be very grateful if the Prime Minister will take special notice of this to see that the publicity to be given should not be the publication in the *Gazette* : well, according to the law, they say in “two issues.” That is not enough.

The next point is the one which I would like to mention for the sake of emphasis and that is the question of the appointment of supervisors. There is no doubting the fact that if suitable persons are not appointed as supervisors, the referendum cannot be properly conducted, and I hammer hard on this that whenever such an appointment is going to be made, care should be exercised that a non-partisan individual, somebody very disinterested, should be appointed and all the other people who would work with him should be people connected along his own pattern. If that is not done, you can always be sure that the referendum is going to be conducted in an atmosphere that may not be conducive to success.

With these, I like to say that since the Prime Minister is here, I hope he will take note of my remarks. I beg to support the Bill.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : On the question of 60 per cent, I would suggest that the percentage should be based on the number of people actually voting. I do not know whether it is the Constitution or someone else who is responsible for this 60 per cent requirement. I am, however, happy that the Prime Minister is here and perhaps he will explain. If somebody can win election with one vote on top of others, I see no reason why, in a matter of referendum, we should demand a percentage as high as 60 per cent. I should have thought that a simple majority would suffice. I wonder if we can obtain 55 per cent from the people actually resident in that particular area.

There is one thing I would like the Government to consider. In a referendum, there may be the tendency for one party trying to sabotage it by asking its supporters not to vote. I will suggest that silence is consent. If anybody does not vote, I think the Government should take this as “yes”.

The Bill is a very welcome one and I think it should receive support readily. But it will be better if the Government will try to consider that the 60 per cent is too high. A simple majority will be all right and if anybody does not vote, he or she should be taken as having said “yes”.

I beg to support.

Senator M. B. Chukwubike : Mr President, I notice that you recognized Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku's chance to speak first and

after he had spoken, it looked as if there was nothing for the rest of hon. Senators to debate upon. This happens almost each time. We listen to him as if we are listening to a recitation.

This is a very simple Bill. The creation of States is a national commitment which will first of all be applied to the Mid-West area. I am therefore appealing to political parties in the Mid-West area to sink their differences and help to make the forthcoming referendum a success. After all, this country attained her independence without bloodshed, and I see no reason why the creation of a State should bring all this bitterness among the political parties in the Region. The leaders of the political parties in that area must warn their supporters so that there may be sane and free voting during the referendum.

I support the Bill.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale : I congratulate the hon. Prime Minister for appearing this morning in this august House of the Federation of Nigeria and for presenting this proposed Bill personally to this House. I believe that this personal appearance will enable him to see the hon. Senators at work.

I am of the opinion that this Bill is not controversial. I think and hope that the hon. Prime Minister will take into account the points raised in connection with the percentage and publicity when the voting takes place.

Of course, it is not easy in this country to get people to know what they ought to know especially those in very remote areas. They do not know what is taking place in the headquarters and I think the more time and allowance given for the publicity before the actual appointed day the better.

With these, I beg to support the Bill.

Senator T. Olamijulo : In supporting the Bill, I have to thank the Mover immensely, especially because he is the Leader of the whole of Nigeria. He is an able man and at the same time, I want us to be sure that we are not going to continue to have men of his type to be our Leader.

The President : Would the hon. Senator say that again ?

Senator Olamijulo : Why I say that is that he is exemplary in his character.

The President : I hope that the hon. Senator knows what he has said.

Senator Olamijulo : What I mean to say is that we may not be fortunate to have exactly a man of his own exemplary character to be the Leader at all times.

Senator Chief T. A. Odutola : I think that we should pray that we should have people of his type for ever.

Senator Olamijulo : We may like it but it is not going to be quite possible at all times.

Senator Chief Odutola : May God make it possible for us.

Senator Olamijulo : Thank you. May he live long to continue to do this work.

What I would like us to think about now is the question of taking Government to court. That is part of what I mean by saying that future leaders may not be the type of man we have got now and as such, at this initial stage of our experience, to say that Government should not be taken to court is premature. We are not yet ripe for such a situation.

The other point I want to mention is about hooliganism.

Senator Salahu Fulani : The hon. Senator is trying to advocate that Government should be taken to court for every minute thing.

The President : That is not really a point of order. He may answer that question.

Senator Olamijulo : I do not mean that for every flimsy matter the Government should be taken to court but at the same time, I feel that we should not rule it out that Government should not be taken to court. If we say that the Government should not be taken to court and we find that in one Region or the other, some functions are not properly carried out, we would like to be able to do something about it. I think that we should not allow the Government to take such measures that will rule out Government being taken to court.

I want us to think seriously about this question of hooliganism during the referendum and especially when we are voting. Therefore, it is very necessary that Government should take drastic measures about hooliganism whenever we are voting.

With these few remarks, I support.

Senator S. Eyitayo : I rise to support the Bill. As has been said by the various Senators who have spoken, the Bill is non-contentious and there is no doubt that it will meet with the approval of all the Members of the Senate.

Personally, I do not see why some of us should quarrel about the sixty per cent that is needed for this referendum. Here is a group of people who want to be carved into a separate state. I think it is their future that is affected and as such, the majority of these people should be given a chance to express their opinion. So I would not consider sixty per cent to be too much, rather, I would even suggest that the percentage be raised because what is going to happen to them is a thing that will affect the majority of the people. I think that the sooner we leave the question of sixty per cent, the better.

I would like to support Senator Ukattah about publicity. I think that the Prime Minister has heard our views on this and would take note that publicising this in the *Official Gazette* is not enough. Other media of information should be used. According to what Senator Ukattah has suggested, the Press, Radio and all other media that can be used should be used.

In the second place, about the time limit. If the President permits, I will read. In Clause 5, sub-paragraph 3c, it is stated :

"requiring the supervisor, not later than the beginning of the period of seven days ending with the appointed day, to publish in the Gazette of the Federation a notice stating the location of each polling and counting station ;"

I do not know whether this seven-day period will be sufficient. I think that if anything can be done to amend that portion so that the people will be given ample time to know their various polling stations, it will be better.

Senator Dalhton O. Asemota : I do not like to be unduly critical about Government's actions about one or two things. We saw this Bill for the first time when we collected it this morning. I think that sufficient time should have been given to us to read the Bill and make our comments. The explanation from the

Government is that these Bills are published in the *Official Gazette*. But since I came to Lagos on the 19th of this month, I have not seen any *Gazette*, and I believe that they must have been sent to my station. Therefore, I am seeing this Bill for the first time to-day, and it is a question of just running through it in such a hurried manner that one may not be able to express opinion as fully as one would have liked to do.

In his opening speech, the Rt. hon. Prime Minister said that people must have read in the papers that this Bill refers to the Mid-West. That was my impression when I read it in the papers myself. I do hope that the Government will make it come through as quickly as possible. Since we come from the Mid-West area, we are looking forward eagerly to this Bill, that the referendum is going to be arranged and that we will soon be called upon to vote.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : On a point of correction, we are not from the Mid-West area ; Senator Asemota is from the Mid-West.

Senator Asemota : If the hon. Senator (*Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku*) revises his history books and traces his genealogy properly he will find that his ancestors came from the Mid-West area.

As hon. Senators already know, there is already trouble in the Mid-West area. This trouble is caused by members of the political parties there. It is so grave and so intensified that gun shooting, looting of houses and causing of various forms of damages are rampant. It is caused by nobody else than members of political parties who go about saying that when the Mid-West State is created they will direct the affairs of all the sections of the community.

I raise that point because I want the hon. Prime Minister to make sufficient arrangements at the time of referendum to appoint supervisors who are impartial, people who are not in any way connected with that part of the country. If he can go to Fernando Po and get some, the better. All we want is the people who will not take the trouble or the time to find out which political party is this or which is that. If partial supervisors are appointed, the result will be the opposite of what we in the Mid-West area want, and the troubles and the whole

effort put in will be a flop. I am anxious for the success of that referendum because it is an opportunity which we want to seize. I do hope that the Prime Minister will bear in mind when arranging for supervisors to get men who are not connected with any part of that area, and who will not be inquisitive enough to find out which political party is this and which is that. Let the people be free to do their referendum, and immediately after that they can either remain as they have been or form the new Mid-West State.

One of my hon. Friends said that people should not ridicule government by taking them to court. If anybody takes government to court, it should be remembered that it is the government that will judge itself. I remember that from the Speech from the Throne of last year His Excellency the Governor-General made a categorical statement that if there is anybody who is aggrieved with government policy in whatever manner it may be, any action taken by him is welcome. I am sure that our Prime Minister shares in that view because he was behind that Speech. If government do not want themselves to be taken to court and ridiculed, they should get the right man to do the right thing.

In supporting the Bill, I do hope that the question of the Mid-West Area should receive the attention of the government as early as possible.

Senator Chief T. A. Oduola : We are very pleased this morning to have the Rt. hon. Prime Minister with us to introduce this Bill himself.

I do not think that there is anything more to be said about this Bill. It is very straightforward. There is nobody here that has any reason to oppose it. But the points that I would like to mention are just one or two.

First of all, I will say something about this question of hooliganism. I think that we in this country are getting a very bad name abroad on account of hooliganism. And something must be done about it. Arrangements should be made whereby this will be checked.

Another thing is about this question of taking Government to Court. The Federal Government is known and commended as

one of the best democratic governments in Africa, if not in the world. It has gained that world-wide reputation because of its tolerance. But if the Government should take a decision that even if it makes any mistake questionable in the law court, nobody should do so, then it means that the Government is getting out of the way. I think that our Prime Minister is a man of long experience and somebody who listens to what happens in other parts of the world. There is no country where government should make a law whereby it should not be taken to court if the need arises. If it does, there will be chaos.

Senator : What of Ghana ?

Senator Chief Oduola : Nobody is praising or commending Ghana for what is happenign there. The hon. Senator will not like to live in Ghana.

The day such a law is introduced in this country, the result will be that either we leave the country or refrain from politics entirely, or refrain from having anything to do with the affairs of the country.

I think we should commend the attitude of our Government, especially the Leader of the Government for the stand he is taking in allowing people to express their minds and go anywhere they like as long as government work is not affected. I do not think that government's work can be affected in any way. The Prime Minister will not be put in the box. That will never happen. The President of this Senate will not be put in the box. It is only the Attorney-General that will go and defend the government and that will be the end of it. The government is not going to spend any money that is not the people's money, whereas whoever takes government to court is going to spend his own money. If he makes a mistake, he will find it there. I think that we should be thankful to God for giving us this type of government that we have at the moment, and we pray that we should continue to have this type of government.

Another thing that I want to talk about is the 60 per cent mark required of the referendum. I do not think we need say anything on the contrary. My hon. Friend, Senator Eyitayo, has just said that this is a thing that affects the destiny of the people of that area. If we

[SENATOR CHIEF ODUTOLA]

cannot get the 60 per cent of the people to vote for it, or to vote against it, it means either that they do not want it or that they want it. If 60 per cent of the people vote for it, I think that should be considered as the minimum.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : 60 per cent of the people who voted—

Senator Chief Odutola : Of course, if 60 per cent of the people do not vote for it, it means that they do not want it. If we say that we should reduce it, it is possible that it goes either way and that Government will not know exactly what the position is. I think that the 60 per cent arrangement is very good indeed.

Some hon. Senators have spoken about publicity. Many a time, Government has rushed to do things without taking into consideration that this is a very big country where people live far from one another, and, at times, from places where certain things are taking place. It is out of place if Government should publish announcements in the *Official Gazette* and probably local newspapers only. How many people in this country read newspapers? What percentage of our people are literate? Very very small, indeed.

Apart from putting it in the *Gazette* and in the newspapers, I would ask that arrangements be made whereby the heads of towns would ring bells as we used to do in this country in the past, and make all the necessary arrangements to let people know what is happening.

Another thing, if I may be allowed to say so, concerns the time factor. Seven days is too short. Even though we may know where the polling stations were for the parliamentary elections three or five years ago, many people will not remember; most of them have forgotten about them. So it is necessary that the arrangements about polling stations will be made well in advance in order that the people will know where to go.

I do not think that anybody in this House is quarrelling about the creation of a Mid-West State. We have a very democratic Government and everybody in this country is free and entitled to go where he wishes and to have a say in how the people wish to be administered.

Finally, I would like to ask Government to look into the question of hooliganism in this

country. As has been said, we are getting a very bad name abroad because of such hooliganism and I think the Government should do something about it; I think it should be stopped.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : This is a very short and straight forward Bill before this House and I have only a few words to add to what all other Senators have said. I want to speak in connection with the publicity.

Nowadays we know the value of publicity by the press, by broadcasting and so on and so forth. But, with a matter of such vital importance which is going to affect a certain section of the people, I appeal to the Government that sufficient publicity should be given to that particular work to be carried out by the Government.

In this connection, our Prime Minister has mentioned that it will be publicised in the *Government Gazette*. The *Government Gazette* paper reaches only Government Departments and, perhaps, a few mercantile houses buy it. But it is intended only for the senior officials of those Departments; very few second or third-class clerks in the Departments will have the facility or audacity to ask to see the *Gazette* that will be allocated to their Department.

On the face of that, much as we agree with the Prime Minister that this is a democratic country, publicity should be given in such a way that the people will be enlightened by way of posters, publications in our local papers, and, as Senator Chief Acholonu has just mentioned, we can not cast away our old methods of publicity whereby the heads of the country, the Obas and the Chiefs of the area inform the people. The Government should send them notices whereby they can learn all about it and thus inform the people concerned that this thing will be held at such and such a time and such and such a place.

On the question of 60 per cent, I think this is a normal thing. It is on that that the fate of the people concerned should be considered, so I will not argue on that.

I would like to say something about this question of hooliganism. As some other hon. Senators have mentioned, it is a thing that has been going on. Nigeria has earned a very good name abroad. I am therefore appealing to the President and to the Prime Minister to examine

the possibility of making a law whereby such hooligans will be brought before the courts and reprimanded.

With these few remarks I beg to support.

The Prime Minister (Alhaji the Rt. hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa): I am sorry if some of the hon. Senators did not have a copy of my Bill in time. But it appears from the contributions which the hon. Senator Asemota has made that he has really in fact studied the Bill. Many hon. Senators have made quite a number of very interesting points.

I want to make it quite clear, right from the start, that this Bill is of general application. It is not designed for a Mid-West State, it is not designed for a middle-east or central-west, it is for any states which Nigeria desired to create out of any of the existing Regions. It is designed to meet the wishes of a particular group in any given area which the country decides to take from one of the Regions. So it has a general application.

I can understand, naturally of course, how hon. Senators will link the provisions of this Bill with the Mid-West State which we talk about so much these days.

The whole idea of creating States was discussed at great length at different Constitutional conferences in London and in Nigeria. This idea resulted in the appointment of a commission, which was called the Minorities Commission which made certain recommendations and they did not recommend in favour of creating any new state in Nigeria apart from the three we had. Obeying the wish which was expressed in Parliament that the Mid-West should be created, I made it very clear to the House of Representatives that we in the Federal Government are not interested in the creation of more states but if that is the wish of Parliament and if that is the wish of the people concerned, of course we will go out and support them. That, is the whole reason why we are having this exercise.

Members have mentioned the 60 per cent of registered voters. I entirely agree with my hon. Friend, Senator Odotola, if the people in the area are interested and they genuinely desire to have the state created, it does not matter if we make it even 80 per cent, they will vote for it. But I think to make it less, as Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku said under

60 per cent, or as Senator Abaagu said, 60 per cent of those who vote, I think it would appear as if we were forcing these people to accept the State and I do not think it would be to the advantage of anybody. I think that this idea of having 60 per cent of the registered votes is a very good idea.

I remember that some people had tried to convince me that we should amend the Constitution in such a way that the Referendum should be 60 per cent of those who actually vote. I refused to accept the idea because I thought that if the people in the area are really anxious and interested in having a separate State of their own, you can make it even one hundred per cent and they will all come out to vote. But if they are not interested, how do we force them by Constitutional means? Such a thing will fail of course.

All the hon. Senators have discussed the question of publicity. This should not be the work of the Government, it should be the work of the political parties concerned. Take for example the area we call Mid-West now.

If we are to hold a referendum in the Mid-West, there are two parties concerned, the N.C.N.C. and the Action Group. If they want to campaign for the creation of the Mid-West State they are to make the necessary publicity themselves, not the Federal Government. If we are to embark on publicity arrangements on the Mid-West, first of all, there is the Western Regional Government. Are we going to go against the Western Regional Government by organising publicity campaign, or are we to go against the Regional Governments?

If we are campaigning, it means that instead of the people themselves campaigning, Governments will be against each other. There is bound to be a clash. It is the duty of the political parties to organise themselves and tell the people, "This is right for you, vote yes, we want the State", and for the other parties to say, "Do not vote for the State". But I think it is wrong for us in the Federal Government once we have set up the machinery, to be directly interested one way or the other. Our position should be the position of those who are out to see that the provisions of the Constitution are carried out and also to see that law and order is maintained.

[PRIME MINISTER]

This brings me to the question of hooliganism and the introduction of thugs into the area. It is true that whenever elections are going on in this country some parties organise hooligans to be attacking rival parties and sometimes our police officers are involved—they are attacked too. I hope political parties will realise that attack does not pay at all and that a stop should be put to this.

I entirely agree with Senator Chief Beyioku that we should see to it that just before the referendum is held, undesirable people are not imported from outside and I agree that we were having quite a lot of such cases in the Mid-West already. I do not like to blame any political party. I think when such occasions arise all the political parties are to blame, but I want to assure hon. Senators that Government would do what it can to see that this is stopped.

Some Members have very kindly showed pleasure at my being in the Senate this morning to introduce my Bill. Well, this is my responsibility and honestly if I have my way, I would like always to be with you here (*Applause*). This is more peaceful than the House over there, but I would, of course, definitely try to be with you as much as I can.

You will realise, however, that our House is taking quite a lot of time. We go into divisions almost after every five minutes.

I associate myself with most of the points that have been raised and one Member had made a point that the creation of the Mid-West State is a national issue. I do not know what that is. One political party made a mistake in 1955, moved a Motion in its House of Assembly and got it unanimously approved and they went far by sending the text of the Motion to the Secretary of State who said it was noted. It was unanimously approved by the House of Assembly but the House of Chiefs did not consider it. They got themselves committed but instead of going back in all honesty to correct their mistake, they insisted on saying create the C.O.R. State, in the Eastern Region, create the Middle Belt State in the Northern Region. Then of course the confusion arose and the people of the Mid-West picked it up and said, "Well, we want this State which you cut for us". This is the whole trouble now.

I do not know, Mr President, Sir, you are in a different capacity. I think you will seize the opportunity as we have this matter in our hands now. Whether the people will still be prepared to vote, 'yes' and get the necessary 60 per cent of the registered voters, whether they will not, nobody can tell. The constitutional provisions are there. We are beginning the exercise which was started by a Private Member's Motion. This Parliament has accepted it, it is the responsibility of the Government now to go through it.

Mention was made of the Government being dragged to Court. This is a democracy, this is a free country and if individuals or organisations feel that the Government is trying to trample over their rights, they have every right to take the Government to Court. (*Applause*).

Of course, we will try to do our best to see that Government is not ridiculed by being taken to court on all its actions, but I hope also that Nigerians will be reasonable in the way they take their Government to Court because the events in other countries happen to be what they are because their Governments were provoked. If you continue to provoke the Government and Government has the powers—members of the Government are human beings—they will be quite prepared to use the powers which they have.

This is where the danger is, and hon. Senators would realise how very painful it is sometimes for those of us in the Government to try to control ourselves against acting on provocation from other quarters. It is very difficult. But I hope, whatever happens, Nigeria will continue to enjoy the rule of law which we have now and also to abide by the provision of our Constitutions. I hope Nigerians would not abuse the freedom which they have.

I am glad my Bill got the support of honourable Senators and I want to say again that we will do our best, in spite of being accused of taking sides, to see that the provisions of Bill are complied with.

As far as the time limit is concerned, I think it is all right, and if political parties are going to do their work, they can get it through. They are already working. Those of you who I might say, live far away and are connected with

those political parties, you know what is going on now. I do not mean that hon. Senators are members of political parties. But as the fathers of those parties, you know what they are thinking about; you know they are already active and so whether it is one month or one week it is all the same. They are already very active in the place and are campaigning, but I hope when the campaigning is intensified there should be peace and order in the area because it will be of no use for you to create a new State and find that half of the people were killed in trying to create it.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill read a Second time; immediately considered in Committee; reported, without Amendment; read the Third time and passed.

UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): I beg to move, That the Bill be now read a Second time.

Hon. Senators will recall that during the Budget Session last year, Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961 was tabled in this House. That Sessional Paper contained proposals of the Federal Government in relation to the recommendations of the Ashby Commission on Higher Education.

Among these proposals is the proposal to establish a university in Lagos in 1962. This Bill seeks to give effect to that proposal and to make provision for the establishment of the university authorities so that they could begin to make active plans and to engage staff to enable the university to start in October this year.

Hon. Senators will see that clause 1 of this Bill provides for the establishment of faculties of arts, law, medicine, science, education, commerce and business administration, engineering and, indeed, other faculties which it may be found necessary to establish in the future.

In drafting this Bill the Federal Government has been guided by its experience with the University College, Ibadan, and it has also utilised the experience of other universities throughout the world.

Hon. Senators will see that we have decided, in this Bill, to give the Medical School of the University of Lagos a very large measure of

autonomy. This is in keeping with accepted practice throughout the world, and we believe that this arrangement will ensure maximum efficiency and the full utilisation of the resources available to the University.

We have sought to avoid the pattern which was set up in the Colonial days in the University College at Ibadan, because we believe that this pattern does not contain the elements of decentralisation which would make for efficiency and economy. The pattern which we have had at the University College, Ibadan, was such that although the College set out to train fifty doctors every year, and the first medical students were admitted to that College fourteen years ago, the highest number of doctors that has so far been turned out in any single year is under thirty. Indeed, the average is less than twelve per year, although the level of expenditure on both the University and the Faculty of Medicine at Ibadan has averaged well over a million pounds every year. This, I hasten to assure hon. Senators, is not to be blamed on the academic staff of the University. Indeed, I myself know many members of the staff and I can truly say that they are held in high esteem in the academic world. The Principal of the College, a distinguished scholar and a man of great charm and personality is an African of whom this country can be truly proud.

The state of affairs in Ibadan is, to my mind, the result of faulty organisation, and when an organisation is faulty it militates against efficiency and, under such circumstances, it takes geniuses to produce worthwhile results and geniuses are very hard to come by. Hence it has been the case that although the standard of the medical graduates of the University College at Ibadan is as high as in any university in the world, the number of those graduates produced since the inception of the University has been particularly low and it has been completely unrelated to our national needs and to the huge expenditure of public funds which the institution consumes. Hence we have decided to provide a different type of university government for the University of Lagos.

It might be argued that the faculty of medicine has been singled out for special treatment. One could say, for instance, why should not there be a school council for the faculty of law or for the faculty of engineering

[MINISTER OF HEALTH]

Those who are conversant with universities and their organisations will readily admit that wherever there is a faculty of medicine in any university, the faculty of medicine is so expensive and so complex in its administration that it absorbs more than seventy per cent of the budget of the entire university, and special provisions, such as we have made in this Bill, are usually made to ensure a large degree of autonomy and thus ensure efficiency and economy.

In fact, according to the 1961-62 Estimates of the University College, Ibadan, the expenditure on the faculty of medicine is responsible for more than 80 per cent of the whole Estimates of the University. In addition to this, the Federal Government's subvention to the University College Hospital is in the order of £1.08 million. Therefore we have devised this new government for the University of Lagos to ensure that we get value for the money which we are going to spend on the University, and this is not an unusual device which we have introduced in this Bill.

Some schools of medicine in many parts of the world are not connected with universities at all. We have a medical college which sets out specifically to train medical students within the pattern of such universities throughout the world; but this pattern is much more common in the Soviet Union. However, examples of the type of government which we have devised for the University of Lagos would be found both in Europe and America, and the type of arrangement that we have introduced here is widely practised everywhere. In the University of London, for instance, from which we have sought to pattern our own University here at Ibadan, there are 12 medical schools or colleges as constituent units of the University of London. Each of these has its own medical school council; each enjoys varying degrees of autonomy and possesses powers similar to those which we have given to the Medical School Council of the University of Lagos.

Therefore, hon. Senators will see that all that we have done here is not an unusual thing. It is, in fact, the normal pattern of university government in many parts of the world. I feel it is necessary that I should deal at great length on this subject so as to avoid any misgiving from any quarters, and

I want to make it absolutely clear that what we have introduced here is not meant as lack of confidence in the administration of the academic staff of the University College, Ibadan, which for so many years has been well handled. I feel that it is my duty to emphasise this because, as the Minister of Health, I am directly concerned with the efficient management of the new Medical School and I am anxious, as all my Colleagues, to see an increasing number of doctors produced as rapidly as possible.

Other clauses of this Bill make provision for the power of the Councils of the University to enter into contract and to employ staff, to receive and borrow money and to operate banking accounts. They also provide for the auditing of accounts by a competent firm of auditors. These are provisions which are necessary to enable any statutory body to operate smoothly and effectively and I have no doubt that hon. Senators will have very little to criticise in these clauses.

The Bill itself is a progressive one. It seeks to lay the foundation for the provision of facilities for our young men and women. We are now embarking on a gigantic development programme and, as this programme gets going, we shall require highly trained men and women to man the projects which we hope to establish during this planning period. I have no doubt that the Bill will commend itself to the acceptance of this Senate.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Economic Development (Hon. Waziri Ibrahim) : I beg to second.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : One cannot praise too highly the wisdom and foresight of the Federal Government in planning to set up a university of Lagos. In each of the three existing Regions of Nigeria there is already or about to start, a university, and so it will look rather out of place if the Capital City of Nigeria—the Federal Territory of Lagos—were to be left behind in this regard.

But, in setting up these universities, there should not be such competition that the standards will automatically be lowered. These universities should be complementary one to another rather than being set up in competition to each other. What I mean is

that in a place like Lagos the faculty of medicine, the faculty of business management and the faculty of engineering, will be very suitable, whereas in a rural university the faculty of forestry, the faculty of animal health, and the faculty of agriculture will be most desirable. I think this is being looked after in this Bill.

There is one thing that makes me particularly happy about the proposals in this University. The University Council is going to be autonomous: it is not going to be dictated to by any Minister or any Government official. In a country where a government has direct influence on the university, where ideas in the university are regimented, we have the sort of thing that happens in some parts of Europe today. Sometimes we find university graduates and under-graduates getting fed up with that state of affairs and then seizing power. I am happy that the universities are going to be autonomous and allowed to expand in their own way. As a seat of learning, a University is the place where the leaders of the nation are modelled. If they are modelled in an atmosphere of tolerance and of learning, then the country will benefit by the experience which the students get from the university.

It is a pity that I collected this Bill only this morning, and as such, I had no time to read all the provisions and, therefore, we can only make sketchy remarks. But I think that on the whole, judging by what the Minister of Health has told us in introducing this Bill, it is going to be a great success, and I can assure him that this hon. House will support the Government in its endeavour to bring education to the people of Lagos.

I have seen that provisions will be made for making people to have the opportunity to take evening classes so as to acquire higher education. This is very laudable because there are many people in this country who have neither the means nor the opportunity to get higher education but who have the necessary aptitude. By way of evening classes many such people who have not the means to become regular undergraduates in a university can acquire higher education. The Government is to be congratulated on its foresight in deciding this.

I think, if one reads the Ashby Commission Report on Higher Education, that valuable document which is known as the "Investment in Education," one will find that at page 120

it is stated that the university, according to our picture, will have as a beginning two main constituent schools—commerce and business administration and economic and social science. They went further on to say that they envisaged that the law school would be established.

Hon. Senators know that already Nigerians have such a partiality to legal studies. We have a number of lawyers in this country who are altogether out of the national need for educated people. We have very few engineers; we have very few doctors; we have very few educationists; we have very few agriculturists, but we have thousands of lawyers, and if we establish a law school in Nigeria, I think that very easily eighty *per cent* of those seeking education will go in for law and then we will have a generation of lawyers.

Lawyers are very necessary in our society but, and it is a big *but*, we have to get equal number of people who are interested in other spheres of life. For instance, I consider that doctors, with due deference to our President, are more important to our society than lawyers. But that does not mean that lawyers are not important, but comparatively speaking, I think that we need more doctors than lawyers. I think also that we need more agriculturists than lawyers; we need very many engineers. But if we establish a law school in Nigeria, my fears are that many people will not go in for medicine, agriculture and forestry, and a great many will go in for law. Even now when we have no law school in Nigeria and our people have to go to England to acquire legal knowledge, they are going in thousands. I do not know why.

I had some boys who surprised me last year when they said that they wanted to study law. A boy I had all the time thought was going to be a teacher or an engineer said that he was going to do law, and when I asked him why, he was going to do law, he replied that it was a noble profession. But I think that medicine is a nobler profession and teaching is nobler still.

But here we are, we have all our young Nigerians wanting to do legal studies. Therefore, we must be very careful not to give them further encouragement by establishing a law school here. If things were left to me, I should say that the faculty of law should be the last thing to be started in this University

[SENATOR NZEREM]

of Lagos, but with preference being given to the medical school, the school of engineering and the school of business and commerce.

This is a welcome Bill and I do not see much in it that anybody can quarrel with. I support the Bill.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : Reading through the list of faculties, I fail to see the faculty of African studies. I do not know whether this has been included in the faculty of arts and science. I feel that an important faculty as that should be a separate one. We are aspiring towards Pan-Africanism, and it is by studying historical backgrounds of these African States that we will be able to come nearer to this goal. I would suggest that the faculty of African studies should be a necessity in any university in Nigeria.

I would also suggest that in our universities, the teaching of French should be of paramount importance because, if we should have Pan-Africanism at all, it is time we speak to one another in the language all of us understand. It will be a very good thing if Africans in the African States, either in the English-speaking States or the French-speaking States, are able to communicate with one another. If we encourage the teaching of French in our universities, we will be doing the right thing which will bring us to understanding ourselves.

I should like to suggest that when this university is established, the Senate or the University Council, or whichever body is responsible for the recruitment of staff, should go more within Africa than outside Africa to recruit teachers, more especially French teachers from these French-speaking African States. I think that this will be an effective means of trying to get on to understanding ourselves.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : This is a welcome Bill. It is going to be a university established here in Lagos and we people of Lagos feel proud and are looking forward eagerly to its establishment. There is the University of Nigeria at Nsukka; there is going to be the Ahmadu Bello University; there is going to be the Ife University; there is the University College, Ibadan, and there is this University of Lagos. I am only appealing to the Government or the management of the university that when the university

is established—although it is admitted that Lagos is a Federal territory and that all the Regional Governments combine to build it up, that does not establish the fact that Lagos is a no man's land; there are people who are indigenous natives of Lagos, and even people from Ijebu-Ode supply the Lagos people with *gari* and everything else and we are grateful to them—we would like to see that some priorities are given to Lagosians. I am not necessarily asking that undue priority be given to the people of Lagos; but in the general state of things now, people who are natives of Lagos are being ousted out. A man who is hundred *per cent* a native of Lagos cannot go to the East, West or North. (*Interruptions*). If my child applies to the North now to the Northern Region Scholarship Board, will he be accommodated? (*Several hon. Senators : Yes*). It is not usual in the East, in the North or even in the West. They have tried and they have failed. Therefore, when this University of Lagos is established here, we the natives of Lagos want to see that we are not relegated to the rear and that in the general application of things, some consideration will be given to us. That is my observation.

As for the Bill itself, it is a welcome one. But in the faculties, I am hundred *per cent* in agreement that law should be there, because we have not got sufficient lawyers. After all, how many lawyers do we have in this country? We should take a look at the Regions and ask ourselves: "How many lawyers have we in the East, in the West and in the North?" We cannot just think of the little concentration of lawyers in Lagos and start to think that we have got sufficient lawyers.

In other parts of the world, certain jobs which are done now are done by the law experts. In fact, we have very few experts. We have constitutional lawyers, we have industrial lawyers, we have all forms of lawyers in other parts of the world. But what we have in Nigeria to-day are just what I call, with apology to my hon. President, general lawyers. We do not differentiate between solicitors and advocates. Therefore, I am still insisting that law should be there.

There is another part of the commendation which deals with sociology. It is very important that we should have a faculty for the study

of social science. We must have it because it is very important. And there, I agree with my hon. Friend, Senator Abaagu, that in that faculty, the emphasis should be on African sociology and not necessarily on the British Constitution, the English Constitution, the European Constitution, on which we are training all our hands, as if to say that we are people without any background. There are lots of rich aspects in our history as people of Africa, and now that we have come back to our own, it is for us to go back and unravel all these rich aspects wherever they were buried, and then to put them again into circulation so that our children may start to feel proud that they belong to a race which has a welcome tradition behind them.

I think last year, when we were discussing one of these Bills to establish one of these things, I have emphasised the importance of our making sure that at the time the products of these universities will be ready, there will be job for them to do. This is very important. I know that with our 1962-68 Development Programme, care will be taken of these chaps, but there is no harm in our having to emphasise this from time to time because what leads to national revolutions is when the labour market is overflowed, particularly when that labour market is overflowed with either intelligent men or university graduates. That is what leads to national revolutions in most places. We must try to take care of these. We must develop our national educational programme along with it. With development of industries and commerce in this country, opportunities will be made for these men to be absorbed as soon as they finish their courses.

I notice a certain aspect of this Bill which I would like the hon. Minister to explain. I refer to part II, clause 6 (1) (f), line 15 :—

“the permanent secretary of the Federal Ministry of Education ex-officio or in his absence any fit person authorised by him and on his behalf”

The same thing appears again under part III, clause 8 (2) (g). I think there is also another place. I cannot understand it. Is it then that the principle of substitution is accepted? If a man is appointed the permanent secretary, should he have that original right, the right to say “Well I will not be there, therefore I appoint somebody to sit on my behalf”? He

should not have that original right. He is there by the nature of his post as permanent secretary. All we should say is, “the permanent secretary or any other person acting in that office”. But if we appoint the permanent secretary and at the same time give him the right to delegate another person, he can call on anybody to represent him. I do not know how the Government could think of conceding to the permanent secretary such original rights. In my opinion, I do not think it is right and I do not think it is to the best interest of this country either.

The school of medicine is really welcome, but I want to say now, as I have been saying from time to time, that we are having several schools of medicine. I know there has been a very strong bias in the past, but we must not allow this bias to becloud our sense of responsibility and our sense of duty. I will now refer to clause 10 (1) :

“The medical school council shall have and may exercise all or any of the following powers that is to say,...

(b) the control of medical research and post-graduate work ;”

I am not happy if this medical research is restricted to things foreign : for example, British medical research or German medical research. We should not lose sight of those valuable properties, things of Nigerian and African origin, left for us by our forefathers which could be modernised to suit present day Western world ideas. After all, even though the old medical faculty did not originate from England, but according to history, by the time it came through research, they started to make research on those properties which were obtainable in their own area and developed them and put them into modern use which, perhaps in their own primitive stages, they have been making use of in their primitive way. The Germans and the Russians are all experts and they are making research based on their national properties. But in this country, the tendency is for us just to have that bias against anything which has to do with our own property. If you just tell them of a tree, a bird, or an animal where they can make research and extract useful medicine, the next thing these medical practitioners and our

[SENATOR CHIEF FAGBENRO-BEYIOKU]

people who call themselves Western people do is that they say it is *juju*, because the white man has put that idea into people's head that anything African is *juju*.

Now that we are going back on our own, we must go back into research. What prevents us from making our own medicines here and supplying our own hospitals with them and even exporting them? But our people, through certain bias, are not interested in that; they prefer to aid others and to keep importing, whereas everything is here with us.

I am appealing strongly that when the Lagos medical school is established, not only the medical school at Lagos but all the medical schools in Nigeria should please remove that bias and research into African medicines, and pharmaceuticals should be encouraged.

If one tells them that if they extract one thing from another, they will get something else, they will say it is *juju*. If we get our 'Ewe Iwo', a leaf which contains a lot of quinine and take it to the laboratory we will see how much quinine we can extract from it and we will stop ordering quinine from England. Instead of taking these things to see what they can get out of them our medical men will say it is *juju*. We have to stop that if we want to be original.

There is no quarrel in the Medical School Bill as it stands because after all, we want 100 per cent success from the Medical School and we are sure that the Minister of Health himself is showing direct interest in it. Although he is not going to guide or govern it, whatever happens, he must show interest and with his showing interest in the School, I know that we will make a success of that School.

The other point is discipline. When we were in school, our teachers used to teach us that education without manners is useless. Every morning when we got to the class room they put it into our heads that education without manners is useless. But now, a tendency is growing in this country where our boys are having the education quite all right but are losing manners. Let us face facts. Such a situation is not helpful to us as a nation. They are becoming highly indisciplined. We must see that we enforce discipline in all our universities because after all, these people are going to be the leaders of tomorrow. We shall all pass

away and these seats will have to be taken by them tomorrow. But if they are indisciplined people, how can they rule?

I do not say that university graduates and undergraduates should be deprived of their rights to criticise the Government or to make their views known on public matters or even to demonstrate or to do things like that. No. Nobody says that they should be deprived of such rights but even then, if these things are done and overdone, they become dangerous to the existence of any nation.

One thing for which we Nigerians have a very high reputation is our respect for elderly people, for Constitution and for tradition. Our young men who are coming up now, are losing respect for elderly people, they are losing respect for Constitution and for tradition and the whole thing is reaching a state of anarchy which, if allowed to develop, will not be to the best interest of this country.

When these universities are set up, please, let moral education go side by side with secular education. Moral education is highly important. Once we lose our morals we are finished. Anybody seeing the face of our national society in this country would not feel happy, because we are losing morals. Our children are losing morals and if one corrects them, they say, "You are out of date." Our women drink like anything. If one goes to any society and finds that the people who drink more are the women. In England where women smoke, they smoke because of the cold—to keep them warm. But with our women, if one finds them in societies, and one does not serve them with 'Craven A' cigarettes, whisky, brandy, they say one is not a gentleman. Yet, we are building a nation and those are the mothers-to-be.

Most of these women are young women, some of them are university undergraduates, some are secondary school girls, some are college girls, young married women and young girls. If anyone wants to find out for himself let him take a walk round particularly in Lagos, and he will see the table where the women are—bottles of brandy, whisky, beer, stout, and they keep dictating. If one offers them mineral waters they will say, "Who is this man? Where does he come from?"

This sort of thing is a cankerworm which is eating deep into and which shall destroy our

society. We can become M.A., LL.B., M.D., PH.D., but where the morals of a nation are in danger, the nation is in danger.

I support this Bill and hope that care will be taken on this points I have made.

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): I am very grateful for the reception which the Senate has given to this progressive Bill. I would like to take this opportunity in winding up the debate on the Second Reading to answer a few of the points which have been made by the Senators who have contributed to this debate.

I would like to assure Senator Nzerem that academic standard will not be lowered because we are establishing more universities. Indeed, if he had read White Paper to which I referred when I was introducing this Second Reading, he would have found that it is proposed to establish an all-Nigerian Academic Board to ensure that a high standard is maintained in all the universities which we are going to establish.

Of course, there will be no competition between the universities being established because practically all these universities will depend on the Federal Government for financial support and we propose to establish a University Grants Committee which will look into the needs of these universities and will apportion the resources available between them so that wherever we want any university to emphasise certain faculties, it will be indicated to them that if they develop that particular faculty which are best suited to develop economically, funds will be made available to them. This is the means whereby competition and unnecessary wastage and duplication is avoided where we have many universities in the country.

Coming to the question of law schools, I must say that I disagree with the hon. Senator who said that we have too many lawyers. I think that we are a law abiding people and the law affects everyone of us intimately in all our daily life. It is a mistake to think that if we established a law school a great many of our boys will flock to the law school to the exclusion of other faculties. We need more lawyers in this country because the discipline of law is useful not only for people who will practise the profession of law in the courts but also for a

great many of our administrators, chairmen of corporations, business directors. They require a knowledge of law to enable them to function properly and to make the most effective use of the resources which are available to them. That is why we should not quarrel with the establishment of a law school at all. In fact, we should encourage it. I think that the lawyers, if we look round, have contributed very greatly to the advancement of this country and I would not subscribe to the view that they are any less useful to society than an engineer or a medical man for that matter.

Admittedly, we need all these as well and if we are to advance at all in this country, we must advance on all fronts. We must produce more engineers to be able to build our roads and bridges, we need to produce more doctors because our people are now beginning to appreciate the advantages of modern medicine and the education which we are giving them is gradually winning them from what my hon. Friend, Chief Beyioku referred to as *juju* but of which he is a great advocate.

Senator Abaagu has advocated more faculties in the University of Lagos. Of course, the Bill provides for the establishment of more faculties from time to time.

Clause 1 of the Bill says,

"There shall be in the Federal territory a university to be known as the University of Lagos... to provide courses of instruction and learning in the faculties of arts, law, medicine, science, education, commerce and business administration, engineering, and any other faculties which may from time to time be approved under this Act",

so that the question of neglecting sociology or African studies does not arise. We do not intend to neglect any field of study. As I have indicated earlier, as our resources allow, we shall establish more faculties. But we must start with those faculties which are directly related to our advancement and our resources. These are the ones for which we have now made provision. But the Bill does not exclude the establishment of more faculties.

Of course, Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku has appealed to us to consider the people of Lagos. I wish to assure him that this university which is being established in Lagos—and

[MINISTER OF HEALTH]

wherever a university is established, it is axiomatic that the people of that area invariably benefit from the existence of that university—Lagos will be a university town, or university city if you like, and it certainly cannot fail to be affected by the academic activities which will be going on in the university and with the activities of the professors and the students who will be attracted from all over the country to attend this university here in Lagos.

Another point which Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku raised (which I thought should have come during the Committee Stage, but it is just as well because it probably shortens the Committee Stage of the Bill)—is the question of Permanent Secretary appointing a Deputy to attend the meetings of the Council. Well, I cannot see anything wrong with it. We all know that Permanent Secretaries have series of commitments and the reason why we put Permanent Secretary there is to ensure that at least Government view is made known to the councils or the academic bodies of this university. It does not matter whether these views are conveyed directly or personally by the Permanent Secretary himself or by his Deputy or by the Senior Assistant Secretary of the Ministry. The thing is that whenever there is any university and there is any Ministry dealing with that university, or with any subject for that matter, the schedule of that Ministry is divided, and there is always somebody who will deal with the schedule of the university. It may not be the Permanent Secretary himself, but this person, be he the Deputy or the Senior Assistant Secretary, works towards the Permanent Secretary who, in turn, works towards the Minister in matters of policy. Therefore, the person who is dealing directly with the council of the university will probably be the person designated by the Permanent Secretary to represent him. Quite often, the person designated is conversant with the Ministry's views and the Government's policy on the matter which might be discussed by the council of the university. That is why that provision is made. The Permanent Secretary cannot divide himself in order to perform his duties. He may also have to be represented on the Board of, say, Broadcasting Corporation; he may be represented at some other academic councils, and these bodies may be meeting simulta-

neously, in which case, he will have to delegate his authority to some other person in his Ministry.

With regard to medical research, I think we have heard quite a lot about it, and I wish to assure hon. Senators that the Government is not unaware of the wishes of this country in regard to medical research. We have spent a large sum of money on this during the past three years. In Ibadan, we have been giving a substantial sum of £3,500 per annum to finance an investigation into African medicinal herbs, and we have at the moment spent just £10,000 on this research. Therefore, we are not unaware of the fact that there may be some useful properties in this country.

But I would like hon. Senators to appreciate that modern medicine is a universal one. It is not the medicine of, say, Great Britain or America. It is the sum total of world knowledge on this science. All the scientists who have to deal with modern medicine and bring it about have had to collect knowledge from all over the world, and pick them and ensure that what we use now is the best and most effective and the cheapest to produce. Otherwise, you may find that you have produced medicine which is very good, very useful and life-saving, but if it is not within the reach of the common man, what is the use of it?

That is what we are doing. We cannot say that because some leaves contain quinine, therefore, we must throw our resources into the development of those leaves when we know that we have some drugs which are by far better than quinine. Whoever uses quinine nowadays? Nobody.

Quinine is an old remedy for malaria, and it was discovered not in America or Britain or any other part of Europe, but in Peru. The natives of Peru boiled the bark of chincona and used the extract from it to treat fever. As a result of this, people realised that it was good for the treatment of fever, and scientists looked into it and then found that the effective element of this plant is an alkaloid called quinine. That was how quinine was discovered.

Quinine had been used all over the world, and it had saved a lot of lives. But during the last world war, when the sources of supply of the raw ingredients of quinine were not available, it was necessary to discover something

just as effective. Then the medical scientists got to work and they discovered other more effective remedies for malaria. Nowadays, what we have can be produced much more cheaply and they are much more effective for the treatment of malaria than quinine.

I would like hon. Senators to appreciate that Government is not asleep to this matter. We have our own Nigerian expert advising us all the time; we do not just enter into these things blindly. We are doing our best to ensure that we make the best use of the resources available to us in this country.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill read a Second time; immediately considered in Committee; reported, without Amendment; read the Third time and passed.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn till Monday, 30th April, 1962.—(THE MINISTER OF HEALTH).

THE PRESIDENT'S QUARTERS

Senator M. B. Chukwubike: I want to make two or three points on this Motion of Adjournment.

The first is about the house at present occupied by the President. I want to make a very serious observation on this. Hon. Senators must clearly understand that the present abode of our President is outmoded and not befitting the dignity of the President of the Senate. It is a great honour to be a Senator; much more so the President of the Senate. Why the President of this august House should be treated like this I do not know.

When the former President of the Senate was with us, he had a house befitting his dignity and we were all happy because the house was worthy of the high honour. But, immediately he left us to become the Governor-General and, of course, moved into the State House, this house which we all believed to be the House of our President was given to a Minister, and our President, Chief Osadebay, for that matter was given this out-moded house. I do not know whether the Government feels that the post of a Minister is more honourable and more important than that of the President—of the highest legislature in the

country. It is ridiculous, indeed. Hon. Senators, if you could see the house yourselves, believe me you would speak as I am doing now; the house was only good enough for junior expatriate officers in 1920.

I would like the Government to make a statement on this. I have learned that recently, the Government made allocations of new quarters to several Ministers, but failed to allocate a house to our President. I cannot understand this, and I am happy to see that the Minister of Lagos Affairs is here to answer this question. I would like to see our President in better quarters and I want all of us here to take this matter very seriously.

NIGERIAN LABOURERS IN FERNANDO PO

The second point is about the fate of our unfortunate brothers on the island of Fernando Po; they are there to obtain their livelihood because they cannot get employment here—if they could they would be here to enjoy the freedom of this country with us.

There have been several confusing publications on the fate of our young men there. Also the statement made by the Minister of Labour gets one confused. I do not doubt the sincerity of our respected Minister of Labour, but I do feel that something is wrong somewhere. The stories appearing in our local newspapers do the Government of the country no good.

After reading an article contained in the *Sunday Times* of 25th March, 1962, credited to one Sunday O. Briggs, one would be inclined to believe that the allegations are true. The boy Sunday made a bold and convincing statement about the ill-treatment being meted to our men at Fernando Po. I know very well that the visit of the Minister of Labour to the island would shake the over-lords there; I have no doubt they would show their good sides and try as much as possible to hide their bad ones—just as a school teacher would show an education officer who visits his school; he would hide all badly written work by his pupils and only present the good ones.

If you will permit me, Sir, I will quote from Sunday Briggs' article:

"If ever God made hell on earth, it was Fernando Po. This is what happens when a Government delegation is coming to the

[SENATOR CHUKWUBIKE]

island. Word is passed round to the farms and business houses about the impending visit. The Spaniards who are no fools certainly do not choose this time to be brutal. Special labourers would be selected to represent the workers. The Ibo State Union was still not allowed at the..."

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): Is the hon. Senator basing his argument on this newspaper article?

Senator Chukwubike: No, I am only trying to substantiate the views of Sunday Briggs.

The President: I think the hon. Minister is right; you can refer briefly to the newspaper.

Senator Chukwubike: Sir, press controversy will not solve this problem, but Sunday made his allegations and he made it clear that these labourers are being ill-treated.

I am suggesting that a more serious investigation be considered, for it is very undesirable at this stage of our independence to see young Nigerians being driven like slaves from dark Africa. Such treatment amounts to a bitter renewal of the old wound and I call upon this House to view it very seriously.

May I thank the President for the comfortable arrangement he made for us during the two days' tour of Lagos. I also thank his Private Secretary who played more active part in the arrangement. We toured General Hospital, Iju Waterworks, N.B.C. and Ports Authority.

The tour was honourable and educative. It was honourable in the sense that everywhere we visited we were highly received and entertained. It was educative because we learnt much by the tour. We saw the workings of our institutions, and saw the difficulties of their work and now know when to criticise and when not to criticise. In general, we were impressed by the amount of work being done by each institution. Each of the places we visited was as busy as a bee-hive. As the Government denies us oversea delegation I would appreciate it if the President will make this type of tour, even extending to the Regions.

Senator Salihu Fulani: I would like to contribute to the speech made by the last speaker about the house in which our respected

President lives. Although I have not been to this house. I feel that he should be housed next to the Governor-General. It is most surprising the President of the Senate an Upper House like this, should be housed in a remote corner of this Island.

I hope the Minister concerned would reconsider and act at once, and see that the President of the Senate is given a house suitable to his status. I think that the whole House feel with very great respect that the mistake should be corrected at once.

Now, talking about the visit which the last speaker touched, I think I was the initiator of this visit and I have every joy and happiness to see that the visit was a very great success. Everywhere we went we were given very great welcome and the heads of the departments, not only accepted us as august visitors, but also took the pains to show us round.

It is most fitting that we should extend our gratitude not only to the President and his able Private Secretary, Mr Ugbade, who did everything for us, but also to the people of the N.B.C., N.P.A., Iju Waterworks, General Hospital, and Island Maternity. We were given every consideration, and the way and manner we were received was commendable, and I thought that it should be placed on record that the President should write to the heads of each of those departments that we are very grateful.

I do hope this will not be the end, and whenever there is going to be any such visits the President will extend his warm hands to other parts of institutions in this part of the country so that we may go and see them and be able to learn what other people are doing in their institutions.

Lastly, I would like to ask the President, in the name of those who made the visit, to specially congratulate his Private Secretary. He gave us what was our due. He honoured us. And he gave us every respect that should be given to hon. Senators.

Senator T. Olamijulo: I have to thank the President for calling me at this stage. The first thing I would like to mention is the fact that we shall be having census very soon and not very many of us have been acquainted with the type of particulars that statisticians of the Federation will require and I feel that many

of us will be asked about this. It will not be fitting that we are ignorant of this sort of thing.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : I must associate myself with those Senators who have spoken on the visits we had the other day. In fact, the visits went on for two days—Wednesday and Thursday. It was indeed very gratifying to note that everywhere we went we were very cordially received. And the various heads of the establishments we visited expressed how very much honoured they felt. As some hon. Senators have said earlier, I hope that this kind of thing will continue so that we can have an opportunity of seeing for ourselves what work is going on in the various departments.

This is a more serious point. Some of us are members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. I am a life member and I pay my membership due of five guineas. We have never had the opportunity of going to do the parliamentary course which some members of the Lower House have had. Already I hear that some people have been selected from the Lower House. I want to go myself. There is no point in being a member if I am not given the opportunity of seeing things.

Wherever possible, I would want it to be put on record that we are not happy. Those of us who are members are not happy. We do not even know when they hold their meetings here. They are trying to render our membership of that association ineffective. So I would like the Minister concerned to take note of this and say that some Members of the Senate who are members of the Parliamentary Association want to be given an opportunity of doing overseas tour, particularly to study parliamentary procedure.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : If it is true that the President of the Senate has not got quarters which is fitting to his status, I think all of us should be ashamed of it. I think the Government is too slow about providing quarters for its people. This, to me, I think is mainly due to the size of the houses which are built for the Ministers. If you look at the present design of the houses built for the Ministers, you will agree that the money spent is too much for one house. One man lives in a house of £30,000 to £40,000. I

think it is too much. If one wants to work for the country one does not need to live in paradise at all before one can serve effectively.

Of course we cannot demolish these houses and build portable ones, those ones already built should stand. But I am suggesting that the Government should change the design and build houses worth £15,000 to £20,000. That should be sufficient.

I am not trying to say that there are junior and senior Ministers but there are Ministers who have served the Government for five or ten years and they should be allowed to continue to occupy those quarters and any Minister appointed thereafter should be given a portable house in town.

It is just my suggestion.

Senator Chief T. A. Odutola : I have not very much to say but I would like to thank the President for the way he has conducted the business of this House, especially the indulgence he has given to hon. Members of this House in their speeches on debates or on matters that came before this House.

But I would like that indulgence to be continued. This morning when we were discussing this Lagos University Bill the debate was cut short. Lagos, as has been said by my hon. Friend Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku, is a place that belongs to every member of the Nigerian community. It belongs to every one of us and when any matter comes forward for discussion on Lagos, everybody would like to say what he thinks about it, especially when the subject is one like the University for Lagos. It was cut short—(Interruptions).

I would wish in future, when an important Bill like this is affecting Lagos, which is a place that belongs to everyone of us, the debate should not be cut short.

I could remind hon. Friend, Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku that I am after all a Yoruba. He claimed to be Yoruba.

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : He said you were his subject.

Senator Odutola : No. No. He said I am a Yoruba. So that I am also concerned, that in future an arrangement is made in which our hon. Friend will be a little bit more lenient with us and give us time to debate. He

[SENATOR ODUTOLA]

is a very capable man and we are not quarrelling with his right to get up and close the debate but he has been given this indulgence and this too, should be given to us.

Senator Chief Z. C. Obi : The deposition I want to make is short but it goes to support the opinion expressed by the hon. Senator Chukwubuike here a while ago on the working conditions of Nigerian labourers in Fernando Po.

It has been said that there is never fire without smoke. I believe that enough has not been done to improve the working conditions of Nigerian labourers in Fernando Po. We know that the Government has sent I think about three Commissions to investigate their working conditions but I happen to be in a position to know, from personal contacts, that these Commissions have not yet done enough to make our people there feel that Nigeria is now a free country.

It is true that there are people who come back from Fernando Po and want to go back. That is not an argument convincing enough to show that they are being well-fed there. So what I want to ask you, Sir, is that although Government has since completed a Commission of Inquiry, it should continue in its efforts until we cease to hear of the oppression of our people there.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : Just one little word. We have complained on the Floor of this House that the N.B.C. was not giving sufficient coverage to the activities of the Senate. After the visit to which my hon. Friends have referred, the N.B.C. have gone all out to report the news in the Senate and I am sure everyone is satisfied now and we should place it on record that the head of that institution, the N.B.C., has treated us with great respect. When we protested that we were not being heard, he said he was going to do his best. I am sure you will all agree with me that he *has* done his best and we hope he will continue to do his best like that and report the proceedings in the Senate.

I thank you very much.

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : I do not wish to embarrass Mr President about this but the question of housing which has been raised here is one which has come to me as a big surprise.

I think everybody knows in what high esteem the President is held in this country, both before he became the President of the Senate and since. He is one of the people who have contributed greatly towards the advancement of this country and I know that the President is a great man and these men are noted for their humility. He will not normally complain about the type of quarters which are given to him and I am very grateful indeed to the hon. Senators who drew attention to the President's quarters.

I have not been privileged, myself, to have been invited to his house, otherwise I would probably have noticed it, but I want to assure the Senate that this matter will be taken up. Mr President, I am sure, will appreciate this and he knows that once we have undertaken to do something, we will not fail.

Now, on the question of Fernando Po, I must say, with great regret, that this subject has been raised in this House simply from the reports that have appeared in the Press. The hon. Senator who raised it said, of course, he does not doubt the sincerity of the Minister of Labour, who has already made the pronouncement.

The Senator who raised it said, of course, he does not doubt the sincerity of the Minister of Labour who already made a pronouncement on the subject but I think he went on to say that he is confused. Really if he has no confidence in the Minister of Labour I would like him to say so but his reference to the Minister of Labour's pronouncement is a supreme example of double-talk. The Minister of Labour recently gave a press release and expressed the Federal Government's views on this matter of the labourers in Fernando Po.

The Minister of Labour himself was there recently, accompanied by Senator Beyioku and by all the labour leaders here, as well as in the East, including the hon. Eyo, who is a Member of the Opposition in the Eastern House of Assembly. They went to Fernando Po and they came back and produced a report and they appeared satisfied with the conditions of the people who are working there. I would like to assure this Senate that the Government have nothing whatsoever to hide on the question of recruitment of labourers working in Fernando Po.

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We have no law to force labourers or anybody to go to Fernando Po. It is not the Federal Government's "Devil's Island" to which we send our convicts and the people who are there are not convicts. They can come home any time they wish to and there is a lot of work now for them to do in Nigeria. There is a lot of labour required for the exploration of the mineral resources of the East and the Nkalagu Cement Factory and the other projects which have been established in this country.

So I am completely unconvinced by these newspaper reports and I would prefer to believe the Minister of Labour when he says that these fears are not justified. I think hon. Senators will agree that it is unbecoming that we should doubt the work of the Minister of Labour in this respect because his first duty is to protect the interests of the citizens of this country and if it were found that they were being ill-treated, certainly machinery would be set up to rectify the situation.

An hon. Senator raised the question of the census. Well, I have been assured by my hon. Colleague, the Minister of Economic Development, that adequate publicity will be given to those measures which are to be taken during the census, so that everybody will be given information of what to do and what information to give when the time comes.

I think this disposes of all the points which have been raised. The remaining points are those which were given to you, Mr President, in order to thank the people who have been very generous in receiving the Members of the Senate.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That the Senate do now adjourn until the 30th of April, 1962.

Adjourned accordingly at fifteen minutes to twelve o'clock.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Monday, 30th April, 1962

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

OATHS

Oath of Allegiance was administered to the following new Member :

Mr A. Nwoke.. Nominated Senator

BUSINESS STATEMENT

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): I ask the indulgence of the Senate to make the following Business Statement. The Business for the day will be found on the Order Paper.

Tuesday, 1st of May, Appropriation Bill, Third Reading. Second Reading and remaining stages of the following Bills :

Mid-West Region Bill
Legal Education Bill
Parliamentary Disqualification (Northern Provincial Councils) Removal Bill
Diseases of Animals Bill
Public Order (Lagos) Bill

Wednesday, May 2nd, Second Reading and remaining stages of the following Bills :

Treasury Bills Bill
External Loans Bill
Internal Loans Bill
Trustee Investments Bill
Companies Income Tax (Appeal Commissioners) Bill

Thursday, 3rd May, Second Reading and remaining stages of the following Bills :

Exchange Control Bill
Central Bank of Nigeria (Amendment) Bill
Savings Bonds and Certificates Bill
Pool Betting Tax Bill
Banking (Amendment) Bill

I propose that the Senate adjourn on Thursday 3rd of May, *sine die*.

ORDER OF THE DAY

APPROPRIATION (1962-63) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : On Thursday, March 29th, I had the honour to introduce my Budget for the 1962-63 fiscal year before the House of Representatives.

I have come to the Senate this morning to tell you, Mr President, about what I chose to call *The Mobilisation Budget*. I have given it this name in order to emphasise the central theme of my budget address, and that is, the sacrifice and preparation we have to make in setting up the national machinery, as well as the harnessing of all our efforts—financial, physical and moral—to achieve our desired objective.

And now for some of the specific points I raised in my budget address. I started by trying to impress upon hon. Members the fact that development does not produce benefits without some sacrifice. Our own Six-Year Development Plan is not a slavish imitation of other countries : even though we have drawn from the experiences of other countries, yet we had adapted these to our own needs. It is a fully co-ordinated nation-wide Plan which is intended to be only one of a series of such Plans leading to the take-off point of self-sustained economic growth.

Planning for growth pre-supposes utilisation of our resources in such a way that in the end the total resources of our nation will be increased. The size of our investment programme is important, but what is more important is the direction given to the investment. Even to stand still we require substantial investment. But standing still is not development, hence our National Plan envisages an economy growing significantly faster than the increase in population, and to this end we plan to invest for the future at the rate of fifteen *per cent* of our total national income.

The details of the Plan, as Senators are aware, are the special field of my colleague, the Minister of Economic Development. I shall, therefore, turn to my own particular spheres of responsibility, which are, preparing the financing and monetary machinery of the nation and the mobilisation of all our resources for financing the Development Programme.

Monetary stability is essential to the success of the Development Plan. Consideration of our financial and monetary policies falls logically into two parts: internal and external. Internal policies are concerned with such matters as Government's budgetary policies, effective control of the money supply, the mobilisation of internal savings and a reasonable wages policy. External policies are concerned with such matters as the overall balance of payments position, import policies, the diversification of exports and the broad field of external capital.

Standing behind both our internal and external policies is the need to establish, and to arm with the necessary powers, the financial machinery and apparatus appropriate to a modern sovereign state which is required to give tangible effect to those policies. In this, the Central Bank, that corner-stone of Nigeria's financial machinery, will play a leading role.

This institution, which is now firmly and effectively established in its banking functions, will expand its activities to provide short-term credit to the economy, particularly to finance Marketing Board crops of up to £40 million. It will foster the establishment of the Development Bank and agricultural credit institutions. It will also provide up to £40 million to Government for long-term development finance, so that the "Nigerianisation" of our credit base will enable our economy to expand or contract according to our own needs and so lessen our dependence upon overseas markets.

Our external reserves currency backing, which now stands at a level of 80 per cent of the Central Bank's liabilities, will progressively be reduced to 40 per cent, and the minimum level of external reserves to be equal to four months' import bill. We now hold ten per cent of our external reserves in dollars and ten per cent in gold, and the gold will be stored in the vaults of the Central Bank as soon as arrangements for this are completed.

We are making a realistic attempt to centralise all foreign exchange reserves in the Central Bank so that, by the repatriation of our overseas investments, monies now invested overseas will be released for the development of Nigeria. Monetary stability requires effective co-ordination between all authorities whose activities affect the supply of money and

credit; it is particularly important that Marketing Board price policies be co-ordinated with the over-all Federal monetary policy.

The Central Bank has built up a close relationship with the commercial banking system. Hitherto, control over the commercial banks has been largely to protect depositors, but now the emphasis is shifting to the use of traditional monetary weapons, such as by varying the liquidity ratio and by controlling the interest rate structure.

The Nigerian pound is at present linked directly by Act of Parliament to the pound sterling. I intend that in future the parity shall be expressed in terms of gold. This change is to enable Nigeria herself to decide what adjustments, if any, should from time to time be made in the official exchange rates between the Nigerian pound and any other currency. By any other currency, I mean any currency, whether the United Kingdom currency or not, because we are no more a colony or an appendage of the United Kingdom and, therefore, our monetary policy must be basically *ours*.

In order to remove a weakness in some of the small banks, I intend to provide that, over a period of seven years, all such banks must increase their capital to at least £250,000. No new bank will be allowed to commence operations unless it has an initial capital of at least this amount. Also, all foreign-controlled banks which operate in Nigeria will be required not merely to hold assets to at least this amount, but also to maintain them in Nigeria at all times.

I have rightly dealt with the Central Bank at some length, because this institution lies at the very heart of the machinery which will give effect to Government's financial and monetary policy, and its role in the successful execution of the National Development Plan is a vital one.

May I now turn to a slightly different topic? It is Government's intention that a security printing works, to undertake all forms of security printing, including bank notes, should be established in Nigeria at the earliest practicable date. The Government is also considering the possibility of setting up a mint. Again, I have appointed a Committee to study and report to me on the question of decimal currency. Such a study is timely, partly because there is a general move to a decimal

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currency by countries which have not yet adopted it, and partly because it is in accord with the trend of political development in Africa.

I now turn to another subject which is of direct interest to all sections of our community, and that is savings. I intend, in the next few months, with the full support of my colleagues in the Regions, to launch an intensive national savings campaign on a nation-wide scale. Savings certificates and premium bonds will be available and, for the very small savers, stamp books which, when completed, can be exchanged for savings certificates. Savings are required for investment in the private sector as well as the Government sector, but the greater emphasis will be on productive enterprise. Similarly, I propose to take powers to provide that at least one half of all the monies available to insurance companies on or after the first of April this year from all classes of business shall be invested in Nigeria, either in the public or private sector.

I would now like to invite the attention of Senators to the vexed question of wages. All the measures I am proposing to introduce will be largely defeated if there is to be a rise in wages without a corresponding increase in productivity. This will lead to inflation with all the consequences thereof. For the same reason there is also need for price restraint. There are difficulties in price control, but despite this, controls and excess profits tax will be imposed if warranted.

I now come to the much discussed subject of balance of payments. Our visible trade deficit was reduced to £40 million in 1961, and our external reserves position is strong, this being equal to twice the minimum of four months' imports. While the value of our exports had increased in 1961, the terms of trade continue to move against us. In order to strengthen our over-all balance of payments position we propose to pursue the following five policies :—

(i) To diversify our exports. In this a start will be made in the processing of our raw materials so that we increasingly export finished products.

(ii) Developing new markets and strengthening existing ones. As an example of this there are the recent bilateral trade agreements with Czechoslovakia and Poland ;

Nigerian produce is being sold f.o.b. Lagos, and new companies have joined in petroleum exploration.

(iii) To secure stable prices for our exports at a fair and reasonable level.

(iv) To reduce our dependence upon imported goods, particularly consumer goods.

(v) To reduce the drain of invisible transactions.

The matter of commodity prices is an international problem and no one national government can effect a solution, for only international effort and co-operation can produce effective and lasting results. The Tin Stabilisation Scheme has been successful, but there has been only limited progress in the case of cocoa and groundnuts. Nigeria has already played a leading part in the discussions leading to the establishment of a Cocoa Producers' Alliance and a similar arrangement for groundnut products. We shall, however, continue to press for international action jointly by producers and consumers, but we will also continue to take part in schemes devised only by producers.

Rising levels of living demand increased supply of consumer goods, which must be met by imports until Nigerian industry can supply them. It is thus important to develop consumer goods industries in Nigeria. Government will assist both financially and in other ways. We are also launching a campaign to popularise visits to our country and so open up a tourist trade.

The Common Market is very much in the air to-day. Our trade with the Common Market countries is large and increasing and, as such, we cannot shut our eyes to the existence of this body. What we have to accept is that Nigeria is faced with discrimination from that body whether the United Kingdom joins it or not. We do not rule out the possibility of some formal relationship which will be in keeping with our sovereign status, but we shall not contemplate any association which will reduce us to a colonial or neo-colonial status. As a counter-move, we have put forward the suggestion to all the Governments of West Africa that we should all bargain jointly from a position of greater strength than is possible when individual countries have to face the Common Market.

Our goal of the future is a West African Common Market. This cannot be achieved overnight. Increased industrialisation and trade between the African states is necessary, and in this progress has already been made, notably in Customs.

The National Development Plan fully takes into account our balance of payments position. Projections of imports and exports reveal that a deficit of the order of £500 million is to be expected. This is almost exactly equal to expected capital inflows. Hence no major balance of payments difficulty is anticipated in the implementation of the Plan. If balance of payments difficulties arise, they will be contained by fiscal and monetary means, selective tariff increases, the tempo of domestic savings, over-all budget policies and by the use of Central Bank monetary weapons. Only if these measures fail will the Government resort to fiscal controls. However, in order to make physical controls effective I intend to introduce a new Exchange Control law, and to set up the nucleus of an administrative machine, so that when the necessity arises, controls could be imposed without chaos.

I shall now turn to another subject which receives a good deal of publicity, and that is foreign aid. May I say right from the outset that Nigeria is not a beggar country. We seek external finance to help us achieve economic growth more quickly than we could, unaided, since there are few countries in modern times which have financed their own development. Our record of domestic savings is very high indeed, and we are ready to make even greater efforts and sacrifices.

We have taken the stand that we will accept help from East or West provided there are no unacceptable strings attached. We will accept aid tied to projects and to the purchase of capital goods. In the private sector we will accept foreign investment which is seeking profits. Further conditions we do not accept. Owing to the implications of debt-servicing, our need is in the direction of very long-term soft loans or outright grants for the bulk of our projects which do not contribute directly to foreign exchange earnings.

Given reasonably long-term loans, our external debt will not exceed normally accepted levels. In the Plan our total external finance requirement is £300 million for Government's

programmes and £200 million for the private sector. We ourselves, however, intend to raise £1,500 million over the same period. The whole of Government's recurrent expenditure and half the capital expenditure will be financed from Nigerian resources.

I wish to put on record Nigeria's gratitude to the United States for the aid which we were offered even before our plans had been finalised, and before the U.S.A. had actually known what sacrifices we Nigerians would impose upon ourselves.

The World Bank is seeking to form a consultative group of countries which will be interested in providing external aid to Nigeria. Internally we are again making arrangements to co-ordinate external aid.

Before I leave this subject, may I appeal for a popular campaign for new inventions and new methods both by research scientists and by the common man. It seems to me that a society which cannot only organise professional research, but can also give every encouragement to individual initiative and experiments, would be fully in keeping with the pioneering spirit needed in the Nigeria of to-day.

And now for the Estimates themselves. The results for the 1960-61 recurrent estimates were excellent; there was no sign of financial crisis. The fiscal year 1961-62 had similarly excellent results. Again I can see no sign of financial mismanagement or crisis. The draft estimates provide for effective surplus of ordinary revenues over recurrent expenditure of about £4½ million, even allowing for £3 million additional provision in the Supplementary Estimates. The level of recurrent expenditure is under continuous review by the Government, and subsidies at the expense of the general taxpayer will increasingly be limited to those dictated on grounds of social justice and this, in practice, means largely medical, health and educational facilities.

May I now turn to a subject which has featured in every Budget Speech that I have delivered, that is to say, the evil of smuggling? Dramatic seizures have been made. Smuggling takes place all along our frontier, but the bulk of the smuggling into Nigeria takes place in a few well-known areas. One of these is Calabar. There, contraband originating mainly in Fernando Po enters Nigeria and is

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conveyed by various means to markets and middlemen for sale to the public. This is an old-established trade which is to be found even in the records of the year 1890 !

The main responsibility for preventing smuggling is laid upon the Preventive Service of the Board of Customs and Excise, and in this task they are assisted by the Navy and the Police. There is need for increased public awareness of this problem, and I am appealing to public opinion to eschew smuggled goods wherever and whenever such are offered to them. We also need the co-operation of adjacent territories to combat this menace by the formation of joint frontier stations.

I turn again to another delicate subject, and that is the taxation of women—with apologies to Senator Mrs Wuraola Esan. I can see no justification for discrimination in taxation which is merely based on sex. Man or woman, it is the income that counts and where there is no income, there will be no tax. In order to dispel all false allegations that are being made, I emphasise, as I have done in the past, that the Federal Government does not intend to tax a non-existent income.

Before leaving this question of tax, I would like to refer to the prevalence of tax evasion by companies as well as individuals. Last year I spoke of my determination to create an effective Investigation Branch in the Federal Board of Inland Revenue. The nucleus of such a branch is already in existence and I am hereby serving due warning that, from now on, they will seek out and prosecute with the full rigours of the law, those who have been guilty of tax evasion.

The total estimated recurrent expenditure for the year at £59.5 million is a little over £6 million higher than the Approved Estimates for the year 1961-62. This is a very substantial increase but the increase has only been held down to this figure by the most rigid scrutiny of all Ministerial and Departmental expenditure proposals.

The increase under Public Debt charges should be seen against the fact that a substantial part of this is on account of loans raised by the Federal Government but on-lent to the Regions and to the Railway Corporation, so that payments of interest and principal which the Federal Government makes to the lenders are matched on the revenue side by equivalent

receipts. Nevertheless it is inevitable that the next few years will see a sharp rise in the Public Debt Charges as the very substantial borrowing, both internal and external, is reflected in the Estimates. Similarly, the other large increase in the provision for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations is a reflection of the increasing part which Nigeria is playing in world affairs.

The first and paramount responsibility of the Federal Government is the defence and security of Nigeria. The provision for the Army is virtually unchanged, while that of the Navy shows a substantial increase. Again, there is an entirely new Head for a Nigerian Air Force. The expenditure for the Police also shows substantial increase.

The Ministry of Education, on the other hand, shows a largely illustory savings of over £.5 million. The subvention for the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology has been drastically reduced owing to the absorption of its various branches into the Regional universities. Again, the provision for scholarships has been transferred to the Capital section of our Estimates.

In the preparation of these Estimates, it has been my endeavour to avoid extravagance and waste, whilst ensuring that legitimate claims are properly met. I have been able to achieve this and still make a contribution from ordinary revenues of over £4.5 million for finance capital development.

And now for the Federal Government's Development Programme and to the Draft Capital Estimates for 1962-63. The Development Programme envisages total capital expenditure of approximately £412 million, of which £243 million represents the Government programme proper, and £169 million represents the capital expenditure programme of the various statutory corporations and companies controlled by the Federal Government. On the assumption that half the capital cost of the Development Programme will be met out of external finance in one form or another, there will be a balance of some £206 million to be found from our own domestic resources.

The balance in the Development Fund at the close of 1961-62 year amounted to about £4 million. We propose to increase this to about £18 million by various transfers from other

funds. As the Central Bank is now operating effectively, there is no reason to retain a Reserve Fund. This amounts to some £5 million and this will thus become available to finance capital expenditure. Again, as the Federal Government has ceased to make car advances direct to its staff, it is possible to reduce the Personal Advance Fund by £.5 million. By the abolition of the Nigerian Government's Clearance Fund, £3/4 million shall be realised.

Thus I estimate the balance available in the Development Fund on the 1st April, 1962, to be of the order of £18 million. To this is to be added £4 million of external loans already negotiated; £80 million will be raised by the various Corporations and Companies during the six-year period; some £73 million from internal borrowings. The total domestic resources in sight thus amount to about £175 million.

The total domestic resources available are thus some £31 million less than the sum required. The Federal Government intends to meet this situation both by reducing costs and by increasing the resources available. Substantial contribution from recurrent budget to finance capital expenditure is anticipated. The present draft Recurrent Estimates reflect contribution from ordinary revenues of just over £4.5 million. If this position could be maintained throughout the six years of the Development Plan, the gap between available resources and planned expenditure would be all but bridges.

In addition to the voluntary sacrifices which the leaders of this nation have freely offered as a sign of their determination to play their full part in making possible the success of the Development Plan, other taxation is inevitable. The Regional Governments also require additional revenues to finance their own Development Programmes. Since a large part of their revenues is derived from their shares of taxation imposed initially by the Federal Government, the Regions have all requested increases in Federal taxation in order to increase the resources available to them. We are concerned to use the fiscal weapon of taxation not simply to raise additional revenues, but also actively to further our declared aim of social justice and to facilitate the execution of the Development Plan.

I have already mentioned our intention to seek to contain pressures on our overall balance of payments position by selective fiscal measures, and of my concern at the increasing inflow of luxury consumer goods. In order to encourage the growth of consumer goods industries in Nigeria, protection must be provided in the form of increased duties on comparable imported goods. Equally I think that those who benefit from the services provided by Government should increasingly contribute to their cost.

Here I particularly have in mind road transport. It is right that those who use our roads should bear a greater share of the costs of maintaining and extending the road network. This measure will be of particular benefit to the Regional Governments, who also face ever-increasing expenditure on their road systems.

As with every other facet of the Development Plan, these various considerations are consistent. Against this background, we have framed a large number of changes in import, excise and export duties, details of which have already been published in an *Extraordinary Official Gazette*.

First foodstuffs. We have increased the duty on a variety of luxury foods, such as fresh meat, poultry and fish, fruit, jams, preserves, fruit squashes, coffee and tea, from the present 20 per cent to 50 per cent *ad valorem*. There are relatively small general increases on edible fats from 1s-0d to 1s-3d per pound, and on other imported foodstuffs from 20 per cent to 25 per cent *ad valorem*. I should mention that we have not proposed any increase on cocoa and chocolate products generally, for it is clearly in our interests to encourage the consumption of these foodstuffs to the maximum extent possible.

The import duty on spirits, brandy, gin, whisky and the like—has been increased from £7 to £10-10s-0d per gallon. The duty on imported beer has been increased by 2s-4d per gallon, whilst the excise duty on beer brewed in Nigeria by only 1s-2d per gallon. Duty on wines has been increased by one-third and on non-alcoholic beverages from 25 per cent to 50 per cent *ad valorem*.

I have already referred to the evil of smuggling in which smuggled cigarettes play a major role. Any significant increase in the duty on imported cigarettes would merely aggravate

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the present smuggling problem. We therefore proposed only a relatively small increase in duty on imported cigarettes, but we have increased the duty on imported manufactured tobacco and on cigars and cheroots by 50 per cent.

In order to ensure that road users contribute a fairer share to the cost of the country's road network, the duties on both petrol and diesel oil have been increased by 4d per gallon only, which is only one-half the amount recommended by the Report on Transport Co-ordination in Nigeria.

Except for velvets, where the former duty had been increased by a half for cheaper types and doubled for the more expensive, baft and plain cotton cloth, the rate of duty on which remains unchanged, and knitted fabrics on which there was no increase, the duty on all textile piece goods has been increased by one-third.

The duty on motor tyres and tubes has been increased from twenty per cent to thirty-three and one-third per cent a similar range of increase for pottery, mats and carpets, while the duty on blankets, bed linen and towels has been increased from twenty-five per cent to thirty-three and one-third per cent. The duty on jewellery has been increased from thirty-three and one-third per cent to seventy-five per cent.

In the case of machinery and transport equipment, we have introduced a differential duty whereby the duty on passenger cars has been increased to rates varying from twenty-five per cent on the smallest cars to seventy-five per cent on the largest. The duty on commercial vehicles, motor cycles and spare parts has been increased only from twenty per cent to twenty-five per cent. No change has been made in the duty on bicycles. These new rates have superseded the previous arrangement whereby, unless specifically exempted, all motor vehicles were dutied at twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

The duty on radio and television sets has been increased from twenty per cent to thirty-three and one-third per cent while that on radiograms has been raised to fifty per cent. Also, the exemption on radio sets under five pounds value has been lifted. The duty on other electrical appliances, such as vacuum cleaners, washing machines, electric cookers,

air conditioners, refrigerators and batteries has been raised from twenty per cent to thirty-three and one-third per cent and on typewriters and other office machinery from twenty per cent to twenty-five per cent.

The duty has been raised from twenty per cent to thirty-three and one-third per cent on a number of miscellaneous goods such as portable lamps, furniture, mattresses, travel goods, watches, clocks, sports goods, toys, fountain pens; to fifty per cent in the case of wooden furniture, gramophones and records; and to sixty-six and two-thirds per cent on cameras and photographic equipment. In the case of matches, the import duty has been raised to nineteen shillings per gross boxes to provide a measure of protection for the Nigerian match factory. There is an excise duty of six shillings and ninepence only per gross boxes on Nigerian made matches.

Increases have been imposed on the export duty on hides and skins and on timber.

It is not possible for me, in the course of a speech like this, to mention every change in duty which has been made, but it will be clear from this summary that the changes are directed primarily at consumer goods, and at other goods which, by any reasonable standard, can be classed as non-essentials.

The effect of these new duties will be mainly felt by the small proportion of the population that is able to afford a very much higher level of living than the rest of the community. We have done our best to avoid measures which would jeopardise the already precarious living of the very poor and none of the increases imposed are on the real necessities of life.

In view of the basic part which motor transport plays in the economic life of our society, and also because excuses have been found to effect increases in certain commodities such as local foodstuffs, I would like to say something about road transport costs. The increased running cost of a five-ton lorry, taking into account the new licence fees, the increases now imposed on fuel, tyres, batteries, spare parts and new vehicles themselves, amounts to just over two pence per vehicle mile. Put in another way, the increased cost of moving one hundredweight of goods from Ibadan to Lagos in a five-ton lorry will be rather less than two pence, and that only in a new vehicle.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to estimate with any degree of certainty the additional revenues which these measures will bring in. There may well be reductions in the import and consumption of consumer goods, including alcoholic drinks. I feel it reasonable to assume, however, that the measures will result in a total increase in revenues of about twelve million pounds. Of this, rather more than seven and a half million pounds would be retained by the Federal Government, rather more than one and a half million pounds would be allocated to the North, and rather less than one and a half million pounds each to the East and West. If on the other hand, the increased revenues do not come up to these figures, it will only be because the level of our imports of consumer goods has been very drastically reduced and that will bring welcome relief to our overall balance of payments position.

I think I have been able, in a nutshell, to abridge my Mobilisation Budget Speech and I commend it, with all seriousness, to this elderly legislature and trust that, by the time you finish the debate covering all the points that I have made, you will agree with me that we have now moved from the colonial days into full sovereignty and that, in order to perform our duties for the forthcoming generations to live better than we have lived in our own days, it is essential that we must make this sacrifice. To make our savings, to refuse to make use of some of the luxurious goods that we make use of in this country and to enable us to pursue this development programme that is combined by all the Regional Governments and the Federal Government, in order that we may be able to usher in a new era for posterity to cherish.

Mr President, Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Health (Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : Sir, I beg to second.

The President : Hon. Senators, before I propose the question, may I ask you to alter your Order Paper slightly? In the line, "Appropriation (1962-63) Bill" please omit "(1962-63)". It is a matter of a new form of drafting. It does not go to the root of the Bill.

10.45 a.m.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I do not propose to make any long speech on this Mobilisation Budget as ably proposed by our

Federal Minister of Finance whom, in the first instance, I would like to commend very highly for the Estimates and for the very able way he has presented the Budget to this very honourable House.

The hon. Minister of Finance is a great personality in Nigerian affairs to-day and he has won for himself a name which generations yet unborn will continue to cherish.

I do not want to go into departmental functions, as is usual in the Lower House, or as we have been tempted to do in the past ourselves, but, in commencing, I would like to touch on the question of wages as part of our policy.

I have looked through the Estimates and find that, by and large, we have not decided to make a change of heart in the matter of wages paid to our civil servants. I am not very much concerned about civil servants who are on the super-scale and who are placed in a position to fend for themselves and to keep body and soul together. But I am very much worried, and since I have taken my seat in this honourable House, I have been making a pointer to this very vexed question.

I am very happy the able Minister agrees that we have now moved far away from Colonial status to a Sovereign status and, that being so, we do expect that we shall be able to assure for our people a very reasonable standard of living. We cannot pretend that we are raising the standard of living of our people by unconsciously creating a *class*. What I mean by that is placing some people at an undue advantage over others. If we are a free people, we expect that at least the labourers should continue to be able to have the same standard of food as other workers; they must have the normal standard of food to eat.

If any one travels to the United Kingdom or the United States as I have done and goes to the table in the morning, it will be seen that the labourers take the same food as the rich man, except when it comes to superfluity, when the rich man would like to display his wealth. But there is a standard below which their living has not fallen.

What is the standard in Nigeria? We know very well that the standard of living of our people is very low. We know very well that our standard is giving us much concern in this country. It gives us a great deal of concern because when a man dies, say, at the

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age of fifty, we say he is an old man and then there is a big funeral ceremony, while in other parts of the world people live up to about eighty and are still active—active in business, active in politics and active in public life. In Nigeria, by the time we are fifty, sixty or seventy we are very old, we have lost all stamina and we have no accumulation of stamina for our old age. That which God had given us, the first natural stamina which God had given us had been exhausted in the prime of youth.

I wonder whether this situation is giving our Government any concern. I wonder whether our Government is seriously thinking of this situation and whether we can continue to feel that an average man in Nigeria, in a sovereign Nigeria of to-day, can live on a wage of about £6 or £7 a month.

The Minister of Finance : It is my feeling that the hon. Senator can live up to a hundred years and over.

Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku : Well, to be able to do that I think I have got to attain and accumulate a good stamina now. I am therefore appealing very seriously to our Government to review the wages of labourers. If even we are not going to touch on the salaries of people who are far ahead—Chief Clerks and others like that—what about the labourers and the other low income workers? They are men and they are entitled to receive the good things of life. Let us give consideration to them with a view to placing them in a position in which they will be able to afford a better standard of living for themselves.

Now we are talking of this saving certificate which will come and which we shall very much welcome. Many people would like to have a share in it because it is an investment. We would like to have a share in it because, apart from any other consideration, apart from being a way of our helping the nation, it is an investment. But wages are very poor, particularly the wages of labourers and the other low income workers. So, I am appealing to the Government that the time has come when it should please re-study the position with a view to reviewing the present wage structure in the country.

I have to thank the hon. Minister of Finance for introducing this saving scheme. I know very well that during the 1939-45 war a

situation arose where Great Britain, then in conflict with Germany, needed money and all countries, all colonial countries under Britain then had to find a way of contributing to the war fund. We then had what was called a war winning fund; we had a saving certificate and we helped to win the war for Great Britain.

This saving scheme is a measure aimed at establishing Nigeria's economy and I am sure it will be welcomed by every working class in this country. I am sure also that apart from the big businessmen who would like to invest in thousands and, perhaps, millions, the majority of the people who will contribute more to this saving scheme will be the working class. I am sure, that every effort will be made by those of us who are connected with the working class to get them properly educated in order that they may realise the importance of helping the nation by their patronising the savings scheme.

I again have to refer to this preventive service. The preventive service is a service which is highly welcome. We want to check smuggling, we all agree, but one thing is that we must not leave room for any form of embezzlement which, perhaps, may be worse than smuggling.

In this country, particularly on the part of our Government, we still have at the back of our minds the standard set down by Great Britain when they were ruling Nigeria, that is, that the average Nigerian is not entitled to much and that just what the Nigerian wants is a title—a name: Chief Clerk, chief everything. Just give him any money and then he carries that title.

If we really want to make the people in the preventive service do the work well, I would say that the hon. Minister of Finance, as this is a matter which is very dear to his heart, must go all out for it. I know many cases where some Valuers in the preventive service are still in a grade lower than those of sergeants. If we want to evaluate the real work they are doing, it is for them to be up-graded to senior posts so that they might be able to determine their responsibility.

A man has to travel throughout the Federation and to evaluate any seized goods with a view to taxing those seized goods, and yet he is below the rank of a sergeant; in some cases,

below the rank of a corporal. The goods involved may yield up to £50,000 and throughout the year the total amount involved may be up to £500,000. Then these are the people who are to do the job; they travel throughout the country and yet their grades are not higher than those of sergeants or corporals. Mr President, we are ourselves inviting these people to be tempted and placing temptation in their way and then when the smugglers who would be just around the corner make them good offers, considering the very poor salaries we pay them, they yield to temptations. There are other examples. We have to place them in a position where they will have to resist temptations and then do the correct thing.

I feel that if we want to get a really effective preventive service established, we must get men of integrity to be on the job and we have to see that they are properly trained and paid so that they will be completely removed from anything which makes for any form of temptation.

We are very happy that the hon. Minister of Finance places great importance on this subject. Perhaps, this suggestion will appeal to him and perhaps he would like some sort of investigation to be made into the gradings of those in the preventive section with a view to effecting any improvements he might consider desirable.

I come to the question of scholarships as provided for in our Capital Estimates. I am sorry for once I must have to speak as somebody who comes from somewhere, that is Lagos which is my home. The people of Lagos just do not know how they stand in matters of this nature. It has really come to the stage where the hon. Minister of Education or any other person connected with the allocation of Government bursaries will have to make a statement on this matter.

The Eastern Scholarship Board is there and the people of Eastern origin enjoy it. The Western Scholarship Board is there, the people of Western origin enjoy it. The Northern Scholarship Board is there and the people of Northern origin enjoy it. Then we have the Federal Scholarship Board and awards by this Federal Scholarship Board are now open to the people of the North, East,

West and everybody and Lagos is not anywhere.

Senator Salahu Fulani : On a point of order, I think Lagos should cater not only for the people of Lagos, but for the people of the whole of the Federation.

Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku : If Lagos caters for the people, I wonder what the hon. Senator would feel if to-day, simply because the headquarters of the Federation of Nigeria seem to be in Ilorin, Ilorin is placed on the second rung, or even the third rung. I wonder if he would feel happy about the general status of Ilorin. And that is why we are complaining: If there is a Scholarship Board for the East to take care of the children of the Eastern Region, and the same for the Western Region and the same for the North, then there should be one in the first instance to take care of the children of the people of Lagos, and then we all come to the common kitty after everybody has sucked from his mother's breast. So I feel this is a serious situation, and I feel it is time we looked into it with a view to evolving a condition which will make the people of Lagos feel really happy.

Now I come to another point I want to be taken into consideration—it comes under the discussion of these estimates because it provides for the money with which we shall execute our Economic Programme. I submit my own interpretation or definition of the austerity measures and that is security of the nation; by security of the nation I mean assured employment, assured jobs, continuity of employment. It is only when our people have jobs that they can play their part. We are going to establish several industries, we are going to export, but even so we must depend more upon home trade, *home trade*. One of the reasons why the economic position of the United States is assured to-day is that they depend more upon home trade than export trade, and they make sure that more of their people have jobs and are in a position to buy what they produce. It would be a very funny programme if we were to have our plans to introduce industry and our main objective was to export. Supposing there comes a time when the market is flooded—the outside market is flooded and then the people say, "Please reduce our order from 50,000 to 10,000" and other people say, "Please reduce our order

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from 10,000 to 1,000." That is going to be a calamity. We must make sure, therefore, that in building up our economic programme we are thinking more of home trade and home consumption, for the more our people are in a position to buy, the better it is. We produce all these foodstuffs in the first instance for home consumption and then when we are consuming these things at home, we have money to buy and the money is circulating in the country, while the export trade, even though it is coming in bulk, is not our mainstay. I feel very strongly and our Government will have to take this into consideration, and the only answer is to assure jobs for our people.

I am very happy to see that our Government have made provision for the development of agriculture predominantly. Without question, Nigeria is an agricultural country and if Nigeria is to prosper, the prosperity will come from our agricultural pursuits and our agricultural developments. In this matter, with our agriculture properly developed, we can never have any difficulty in providing the jobs for our people. At a later stage when the time comes for our Constitution to be reviewed. I feel that agriculture should cease to be a regional subject, because if Nigeria is predominantly agricultural and if the prosperity of Nigeria depends upon the agricultural development of the country, and the overall management and the overall government of the country is in the hands of the Federal Government, and agriculture is the key to the wealth of the country, that key must be in the hands of the Federal Government. I feel that the time has come when the Federal Government should show more concern—the Regional Governments can be acting as agents—but the bulk of the money to develop agriculture, and the supervision of agriculture and policy-making relating to agriculture should emanate from the Federal Government, of course, in consultation with Regional Governments. Thus there would be no embarrassment, there would be no slow-down, and we would know that we were pursuing the policy of the work we are doing.

Provision has been made for our civil service. I want us, in this House, as elder statesmen to stamp out one thing which is now prevalent in this country in the civil service, to focus more on those things which unite us,

and not on those things which divide us. I am referring to the idea of introducing regionalism into the Federal Civil Service. Some people say that the North has not got its share in the civil service, that the East has not got its share, or that the Western Region should be allocated so much. We hear that in the Medical Department the North must have so many officers, the East must have this number, the West must have that number; then when the Mid-West State is created, the Mid-West must have that number. By this we tend to forget that we are united.

Are we trying to bring to mind that we are one people, working for one objective, the building of the nation? It is high time our people forgot this idea of introducing anything which stinks of regionalism or federalism into the civil service. Rather we should want to know how many trained men we have to go into our civil service. We should not care to know whether a man comes from Maiduguri or Bornu, Agege or Enugu, but whether he has the qualifications and the ability to carry out his duties; whether he is a first-class man and whether he can do the job properly. This problem is becoming bigger every day, and I know if we do not check it now it will lead to a stage where people will be saying "Let us have allocation", and by that I feel the civil service would be greatly impaired. We have voted the money, so let us train the men; let us train Nigerians, and let us see that we put Nigerians on the job. Please, for goodness' sake, let us forget this spirit of regionalism—we are Nigerians, we are sitting here in this Senate as Nigerians—never mind from what region a man comes—

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): What about the Lagos Scholarship Board?

Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku: That is a different thing—when we want to train we must have some division of work. There must be some division, but the over-riding thing is to scrap all the Regional Boards and have one Central Board, and then let us think of ourselves as Nigerians. We have won our independence, but this regional feeling is becoming so predominant these days that if it is not taken care of now it will have an evil effect in the future.

There is one thing I want to point out, and that relates to the Medical Department.

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I now come to our Medical Department. I mentioned this point the other time and I want to mention it again. It is a pity that the hon. Minister of Health is not here.

The Minister of Finance : Never mind, his Colleagues are here.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : Young Nigerians who are doctors must choose whether they want to serve this country or whether they are just after money and no more. We vote money for the establishment of teaching hospitals, money to build dispensaries and money to award scholarships for the training of doctors. But believe me, these young men have not the spirit of St. Luke, the patron of their profession. Most of these doctors are making our hospitals unpopular. What they want is just to be rich in a day. If a patient is not on their private treatment list and he goes to the hospital, he will lose his life and nobody cares about it. It is a very bad situation.

As I said the other time, a doctor's own time is not his. A doctor has no time of his own. He should see that people are well. But our doctors want to work according to scheduled time. They say, "My official hours are eight to twelve o'clock; after twelve o'clock, I have done the day's job". That is not a good doctor who, when a sick person is carried to the hospital at ten minutes to twelve, will say, "Oh ! my friend, you have to wait for the doctor who is going to relieve me ; I am closing now. The doctor relieving me will take care of you". Within ten minutes anything can set in and that citizen of ours can lose his life. That is what happens in our hospitals all over the country with these young doctors.

If they do not want to work, we should look for doctors from other countries who will be prepared to work to save the lives of our people. We must do something about it. In fact, it may come to a stage where we have to introduce some sort of Medical Insurance Scheme whereby people can go to doctors, have themselves treated and the doctors will be paid according to the number of patients they treat a month and according to the success of such treatments. Unless some drastic steps are taken, these youngmen just believe in riding cars about and yet we say that we must forget all about our native medicine, forget

about our native treatment, whereas the people we trained for this jobs are giving us no encouragement.

I cannot sit down without touching labour. I have with me the report of the I.L.O. Conference held last year in Geneva. Before this report was received here, I had seen and read it through some other sources, although it may not be in the same way as it is presented here because labour has representation on this particular body.

What I want to know is whether we are really serious about this body on which we spend thousands of pounds every year. We must make sure that, as much as possible, we encourage the other nations. I attended this Conference in 1957 when the hon. Minister of Finance was the Minister of Labour. I was under his leadership at that particular Convention. It was found out that some countries go to I.L.O. year in year out, introduce conventions, adopt the conventions, introduce resolutions, adopt the resolutions, and no action is taken. I think it is high time Nigeria should call on these member nations to say whether they are really serious about these conventions. We find that when some conventions are introduced and adopted, some member nations may not take action on them for twenty or thirty years. I do not think this is fair. We Africans do not believe in that way of life. Most of these European nations must be told if the I.L.O. is going to be an Organisation which is going to fulfil the mission for which it was established. Member nations must be prepared to take action on conventions when they are introduced and adopted.

The other point that I want to stress while discussing the Appropriation Bill is our security measures. In the Governor-General's Speech from the Throne and in the Estimates, we are told that more money is being voted to ensure that there is security in the country. I feel that the Security Section of our Police Force for which we have voted money must be made to work. We must make sure that the Nigerians who will take charge of that section are people who are serious about their job. If at this stage the Security Section will continue to give false information and not do their job, I will continue to say it in this House everytime that if we are not very careful, there is a wave in this country now which may land us

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 where we do not want to land ourselves. I am very serious because I will never dream of the day when Nigeria will become a totalitarian state. I will never pray for that day. But, a lot of our young men are becoming indoctrinated and are having schemes and plans which ultimately may not prove to be to the benefit, advantage and development of this country. It may even affect the stability of this country and, unless our security section do their job to help us curb the ambition of these people, I am afraid very soon there will be a move in this country which, if we are not very careful, will land us where we do not want to land ourselves.

The Minister of Finance : Imoudu and the bearded men.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I do not know who they are ; the security men should be able to tell us who they are and what their ambitions are. Whether they grow beards or not, I do not know, but I know that there is something going on.

There is nothing to challenge in these Estimates as presented because our trade has been increasing almost every year, and I am very happy that some of the observations that we have made in this House are now being taken care of.

We have always made the observation that things that can be produced in Nigeria should not be imported, and that if they are imported, they should not be allowed to prejudice the sale of goods produced in this country. I am very happy that we shall be producing most of these things in this country to-day. I am sure the hon. Minister of Finance means well, but we have got to take into consideration the psychological reaction of the ordinary man in the street.

The President : The hon. Senator has two more minutes.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : Thank you Mr President.

The psychological reaction of the people when we increase the duty on goods, particularly foodstuffs, should be taken into consideration. Out of good intentions the Government made slight increases, but out of other intentions, if you go to the market, almost everything has gone up. Out of good intentions the

Government made slight increases on new vehicles, but if you go to the market to-day, the *Bolekaja* men will say "Oh ! the price of motor vehicles and spare parts have gone up ; you have to pay two shillings now for the goods we have been carrying for one shilling before." I will appeal to the Government to please look into this so that the cost of living may not be unduly inflated.

I support the Bill so ably moved by the hon. Minister of Finance.

11.20 a.m.

Senator M. B. Chukwubike : I rise to support the Second Reading of the 1962-63 Mobilisation Budget ably presented by the Federal Minister of Finance, Chief Okotie-Eboh. Chief Okotie-Eboh is an able Minister and deserves all the praises which are being showered on him inside and outside this Parliament. We all know fully well that no human work can be perfect, but yet the hon. Minister has done all that is humanly possible to place this country in a better financial position. Comparing this *Mobilisation* Budget with the *Stability* and *Sovereignty* Budgets, one would discover that the country is advancing rapidly and steadily. This reflects credit on the Government.

I have a few observations to make on the abrogation of the Defence Pact. The abrogation of our Defence Agreement with Britain is another proof that the Federal Government respects the wishes of the people of the Federation. According to the statement of the Defence Minister, the Defence Pact was in no way committing this country, and all the cries against it were motivated by some people. I praise the Government for abrogating it, and it shows respect for the people as well as honesty in duty.

The Budget Speech reveals that there is still a heavy loss of revenue from import and export duties due to smuggling. While I praise the untiring efforts of the hon. Minister of Finance, the Police and the Customs Authorities, I feel that much still has to be done to stop this evil practice. I would therefore suggest a stronger Police Force along our borders and a longer term of imprisonment for the smugglers. The recent increases in our duties will no doubt kindle the heart of calamity mongers, and only a stronger force will conquer their reserved energy and tricks.

The long proposed aerodrome for Onitsha is becoming a day-dream proposal. Even though the hon. Minister of Transport and Aviation is not told, he should for obvious reasons know that Onitsha needs an aerodrome very badly. Onitsha has one of the biggest markets in the whole of West Africa, and hon. Senators here know that time means a lot to a good trader. I need not talk about the hundreds of educational institutions in Onitsha which make it possible for many students to go overseas. I would like the Minister responsible to make a statement on this.

That Nigerians hold top senior appointments in our Civil Service is a welcome news. I praise the Government for its steady progress in its efforts in our Nigerianisation policy. I do not, however, agree with a policy that would mean sacrificing efficiency at the altar of having our own men in important positions without its due merit. Although we all know that Nigeria must run her own affairs, yet I wish to remind the Federal Government that Rome was not built in a day.

I want to make some observations on the recent announcement by the hon. Minister of Finance as regards the increases in customs duties, mainly on drinks, petroleum products, cars, and lorries. Increases on imported beer, brandy, gin, rum, and long American cars are very commendable. But why should there be increase at all on our locally brewed beer—the “Star”? The Government, I am afraid, has not much reason for making this increase. The increases on petrol, commercial lorries, and motor-cars have an adverse effect on the common man in the street. By this increase the Government has indirectly increased motor transport rates, because lorry owners, who now pay more for their new lorries and spend more on petrol, increase their transport charges, and the traders who now pay more for transporting their consumer goods from one place to another are justified for an increase on their former price. It, therefore, boils down to this that the cost of living rises and makes room for workers to ask for more pay. These increases should be reviewed.

The International Trade Fair which is scheduled to take place between the 27th of October and the 18th of November, 1962, is a praise-worthy move by the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry. This would be

a practical way of advertising our export crops. While I know that our imported and exported goods are free from control, it is equally well that our trade with the outside world should be a two-way traffic, that is, we should buy only from those countries who actually buy from us.

This country is richly blessed by nature in all mineral oils. This, no doubt, adds much to the revenue of this country. The companies prospecting for oil in this country should be praised for their untiring efforts which have at last brought blessings not only to such companies but to this country at large. But the question is, if our share of profits on mineral oil is one or ten *per cent*, do we know actually how much oil is being produced annually? This is for the Minister to enlighten the House.

The aim of the Federal Government to develop major roads in the Regions is wise, because without good roads our agricultural scheme will not be carried out successfully. Ministers of Works throughout the Federation want to carry out their development plans. At this juncture, I have to thank the Federal Government for re-tarring a portion of the road between Ibadan and Lagos, and I pray, at the same time, that such should continue to Asaba.

The necessity for more mental homes throughout the Federation cannot be over-emphasised. We all know that mental cases are increasing greatly throughout the Federation and that if most of these cases are not immediately taken care of, they will not only harass men and women, but will present an awful and pitiable spectacle. I am appealing to the Federal Government to help the Regional Governments to build more mental homes. I am speaking out of experience when I said that we have few mental homes in this country. I have few cases in my own area which I have been trying to get admitted into mental homes, but because there is lack of accommodation they are all still there.

The result of our Ministers overseas tours is immense and very advantageous. Such tours should in future be encouraged. I want to add here that our Ministers should tour rural areas of this country to see the kind of life which is existing in these areas, so that if a Member in the Upper House or in the Lower

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House requests anything, Ministers will know exactly what the people look like. It is indeed very unfortunate that many of our Ministers can easily locate the position of Italy, or Asia, without even knowing the big town in the Regions such as Awgu, or Okigwi. They should go and know these places so as to acquaint themselves with the needs of the people. The Government seems to concentrate in developing already developed areas.

At this juncture, I would like to place on record that our Ministers should weigh all their public speeches before making them. We know that speeches are just like bullets; one cannot fire them, even safely, without leaving an indelible mark, either good or bad. I, therefore, feel that our Ministers should weigh their speeches before making them either in this country or outside.

The Army. We must always place the security of this country above any other thing. To-day, one hears one day of total disarmament and hears of the resumption of nuclear testing the day after. Where does this country stand in case of eventuality? Nobody prays for war, but we must be prepared at any time. This country needs a stronger Army, an Army with modern ammunitions.

We have young men passing out every year from our schools who are roaming about the country. They should be absorbed into our Army in order that we may have a stronger and more efficient Force.

I have just a few words to say about the Federal Government scholarship award. I must say that provincial people in the Regions feel that the Federal scholarship award is just a State award or that it is meant for people in the township. I say this because people in the rural areas do not enjoy the awards. In my area, many people applied for scholarship award in 1960, in 1961 and again this year, and none of them has got it.

In the Eastern Region, we have a very good method of making Regional scholarship awards. This is done on divisional basis, and no district has ever complained about it. I am, therefore, suggesting that the Federal Government scholarship awards should be made on provincial basis so that people of the rural areas can enjoy these scholarships.

The Federal Government Development Plan is indeed a good programme. It is a programme which looks to the future and which is to be accompanied by great sacrifice. It is therefore an adequate answer to our full independence. It can also be interpreted to be our Government's determination to bring amenities home to the people of this Federation, I congratulate the Minister of Economic Development on the plan which covers almost all phases of amenities.

Planning for the future is a difficult thing; it is very difficult for private individuals as well as for the State. It involves great headache, restlessness and great thinking. The Plan aims at providing more jobs for thousands of Nigerians, higher earnings for the traders, more food production and life more abundant. It is, therefore, a solid foundation for future prosperity. If all the proposals are implemented, this country would be lessening the heavy burden of financial difficulty which it is now facing.

The creation of a Development Bank and Insurance Company is very much commendable. In due course, I must say, this will be known as the Farmers' Bank as I know that it will help many honest and serious farmers. By creating an Insurance Company, the Government is, once again, demonstrating its policy of respecting the wishes of the people, for many hon. Members, both in this august House and in the Lower House, from time to time appealed to the Government to undertake banking because it is a State concern. I am happy that the Government has now considered it, but I must say that the Government should not fight shy of this undertaking by limiting it only to export crops. Every other type of banking should be undertaken.

I now go on to industry—

The President: I think that this is a convenient moment for break. The House will now go on break.

Sitting suspended : 11.40 a.m.

Sitting resumed : 12 noon.

Senator Chukwubike: I was trying to make some points on our industries. We all know that industries will help greatly in the development of this country. I only want to appeal to the Government to help our indigenous industrialists financially. We have

many of them in the country at the moment but they cannot do much because of lack of funds. I also want to appeal to the Government to see to it that industries and amenities are spread all over the country. People in the suburbs are human beings and need all that the people in the towns need.

Speaking on agricultural survey I say that the intention of the Federal Government to give the Regional Governments about £25 million for agriculture is good and encouraging but at the same time I must say that spending well over a million pounds again for further agricultural survey is very fantastic. This sum of money can be used for more practical purposes because this type of survey does not take us anywhere. Why should the Federal Government not own some farm settlements in the Regions? This sum can be used for that purpose.

The Niger Dam Project is the soul of the Development Programme so that any priority given to it is welcome and any money spent on it is money well spent. This project, when completed, will add very fabulously to the viability of this great country. This elaborate project will only be complete and successful if every corner of the Federation feels and enjoys its fruit. I have often said, as hon. Senators have always said, that rural areas should not be left out of the Programme.

Once more I congratulate the Minister of Finance for the able Budget and I support the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

12.04 p.m.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : I rise to speak about the Appropriation Bill. In the first place, I have to join others in commending the Minister of Finance for the fitting title—Mobilisation Budget.

We all realise that we have attained independence and that independence will be meaningless without some measure of economic stability. Therefore, it is necessary for us to mobilise all our forces, our human resources as well as our mineral and agricultural resources, to make possible the economic stability.

Similarly, it is gratifying to note that the Government is prepared to spend a large amount of money on geological survey because we are convinced that, like all other countries

of the world, Nigeria is full of mineral resources and other potentialities that go to make a country great. I sincerely hope that in this line the Government will make every effort to encourage brilliant Nigerians to become geologists because it is then that we will be able to get the suitable material to explore every corner of the country in our best interest.

In going through the whole Budget Speech one sees that what I personally call the surplus is about three and a half million pounds. I remember that last year when we went over the Appropriation Bill there was a surplus of about that amount—three and a half million pounds. During subsequent meetings we were called upon to approve Supplementary Appropriation Bills amounting to over £6 million. I do realise that this is just the initial stage in our national development and that we may come across ups and downs at one time or the other, but it seems that most of the things we are budgeting for are primarily in the form of buildings, wages, *et cetera*, as distinct from economic development. I sincerely hope that when we budget like that whatever surplus we have should be sufficient to tide us over whatever supplementary appropriation bills we have to propose since we have to get the money from one source to make up for the deficit.

I do realise that we have to do a lot of borrowing for a national economic development and that is understandable particularly when the money is to be invested on capital projects that will eventually yield revenue. But when it comes to the question of possibly passing supplementary appropriation bills to make up for wages and such things, I think we have to exercise more restraint to be sure that we are really building a great nation. That is my view about that.

The Minister of Finance said something plausible about the recent increases in duties on certain articles. The authentic purpose of the Government is, of course, to reduce the consumption of some of these things and thereby produce a more favourable balance of trade. That aim is praiseworthy, laudable and admissible to any sincere citizen of this great country. At the same time, I wonder what the Government thinks in respect of some other articles. In the colonial days duties were not imposed on articles like milk and refrigerators because they were regarded as necessities and

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in any case necessary for the Europeans. To-day we are imposing duties on these articles. In this country we regard a refrigerator as a luxury. In a hot country like this I personally do not think that a refrigerator is a luxury. If people can afford it, it is a necessity because it helps one to preserve one's food especially as our climate is so salubrious to the growth of insect life. Unless one gets somewhere else where meat can be preserved the meat soon gets rotten. Therefore, to regard a refrigerator as a luxury is far from the truth.

Similarly we think of petrol as a luxury. I do not know, of course, what we think of that, whether petrol is in actual fact a luxury. But when duties are imposed, they are in themselves indirect taxes. The question is, where does the incidence of taxation fall? Who in the final analysis does pay the tax? We impose duty on petrol with the ultimate hope of getting more money, but it is unfortunate that the main source of our revenue is from customs duties. Consequently, we must look for more money from here and there. Therefore, we try to justify the taxation imposed by the excuse that we want to produce a favourable balance of trade. That is the usual argument. That is all right.

Here is petrol and Government imposed duty on it. Do they think that only 'big men' like the Ministers of State or the President of the Senate will use cars and the ordinary men will not? The Government did not impose any duty on bicycle, but then, the ordinary man will not keep on riding bicycle from here to Benin. He must travel in a lorry and, of course, lorry owners are no fools. No matter how small the tax we impose, they transfer it to the ultimate consumers, the road users. They are the people to pay in the final analysis. When they pay like that, they begin to grumble because a journey that normally cost four shillings before may now cost five shillings or five shillings and sixpence.

Consequently, the ordinary labourer begins to grumble. We may say that he still earns the nominal wage. But the fact is that his real wage has been reduced because his money can no longer buy him the same quantity of articles as before. When there is a decrease in the real wage of a person, he becomes disgruntled and is no longer satisfied. Therefore, we must think of the incidence of taxation.

I say that when we want to impose duties on certain articles, I am sure the Minister does consult some experts, but I think that he should not rely only on expatriate experts. He should try to consult some other people, our own local men who will be able to realise, or at least feel the pulse of the people and know where the shoe pinches.

A lot has been said about the Six-Year Development Programme. I think that we shall have more to say on this when it comes to the question of borrowing. Well, it is worthwhile undertaking a six-year development programme, but as I have always said, it appears that in the field of development, the Government is always sectional. I am sorry that I have to say this. This applies to the Minister of Transport and Aviation. We want to develop our water transport system, but then we concentrate only on certain areas. We are going to get berths for Port Harcourt, get something for Calabar, get something in this or that place, etc. But what about places like Sapele, Epe and Badagry? They could be developed for water transport system as well. That is my personal opinion about it.

A lot has been said about the question of agriculture. I do not want to dwell too much on this, but it seems as if we are too complacent. We are easily satisfied with researches that never yield any tangible result. I am very happy that the hon. Senator who spoke before me mentioned a lot about this. We must spend less on researches and do more to help farmers in many ways possible or, as was suggested by the former speaker, set up farm settlements in the Regions that will reduce unemployment and, in addition to that, give the farmers subsidies to encourage poultry farming, mixed farming and whatever we want to encourage. We can give them subsidies as they do in all civilised countries of the world where farmers who are really very good at their work are given subsidies. In other words, farmers are told specifically what to do to maintain the fertility of the soil, and if a farmer is seen working to this standard, he should be encouraged in every way possible instead of wasting the whole revenue on researches alone.

We are very happy about what goes on in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly the Ivory Coast incident. It only shows that

we are in a democratic country and that Nigerians are free to move about as long as they do not contravene certain regulations. What is more, we are very happy that we are doing all that we can to project Nigeria in different parts of Africa. I sincerely hope that we will do all we can to step up this question of setting up embassies. We look forward to the time when we shall have embassies in India, Japan and Russia, at least, for economic and cultural exchanges. I think that this is very necessary.

An hon. Senator said a mighty lot about the question of higher education and post-graduate scholarship awards. I am very happy that a lot has been said about this. Here again, I feel that certain areas have been given prominence over other areas. When it comes to the question of either post-secondary or post-graduate scholarships, we hear of Niger Delta and the Northern Region. That is all, no more, and probably one or two in some other places. Every Region has her own policy of training the personnel but when it comes to what concerns us, it should be approved by all because anything that is federal is federal and cannot be interpreted otherwise. When it comes to the question of awards at the Federal level, we must think more of national interest because we are awarding the scholarships at post-graduate level. Therefore, we are thinking of the best, and only the best is good for Nigeria. But the moment we start getting very sectional in this way, I am afraid that we will not get the best material which we require for our economic development. When we award scholarships at the post-graduate level, we should think of really suitable materials regardless of places of origin. As long as he is a Nigerian and a deserving son of Nigeria, we should award him the scholarship.

Some people said a mighty lot about the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. I am not holding brief for any doctor, but I think that we concentrate more on this particularly because we think more of health. We should think of other places as well. Do the people really put in their best into what they do in other Ministries? It is good for people to agitate for more pay and to keep on pressing, but are our people really efficient? When we met here last time, we were discussing the Ministry of Communications and the telephone

operators, and so on. But if we go into most of the Ministries, we will see the measure of inefficiency. We pay a mighty lot for inefficiency in this country. I think that possibly we may have to go into our schools and be sure that a lot of emphasis is laid on some measure of moral training, because we must think of the moral background of the people who are really employed in most of these offices. It is not only doctors who are affected, other workers too are affected. It seems to me that the more most of these people earn, the less they put into the job. I sincerely hope that we will do all we can to be sure that right from school children inculcate in their minds the idea of national service. It is true that we have our civic rights which we must fight for. All the same, we have our civic duties and responsibilities which we are equally required to shoulder. Until a person realises that he has civic duties and responsibilities side by side with his civic rights, that person has not gone the right way. Therefore, I sincerely hope that we shall do all we can to be sure that what obtains in other civilised parts of the world does obtain here. I am sure that most hon. Senators have been to Britain and other civilised places and have also seen telephone operators, post office workers, street sweepers and other workers at work. Those people are all proud of their work and they do it sufficiently well. If we want this country to grow, if we are not rearing a country of bobots, then people in all works of life must be made to realise that they owe their duty to the nation.

I beg to support the Appropriation Bill.

12.25 p.m.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : I have no intention of making a long speech on this, as most of the points that I would have touched have been made already when I spoke on the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne.

What have prompted me to speak now are two in number.

It is clearly seen that in the Budget Speech the Six-Year Development Plan figures very prominently. Everyone of us wants to see that the Development Plan is successfully carried through. For that to be done, I think two factors are essentially involved : the money that will be used and the qualified staff required for the implementation of the scheme. However, from the various economy measures that have

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been embodied in the Speech, I am fairly certain that the money for this gigantic Plan will be found. It is on the other factor, that is the qualified staff, that I wish to say something very briefly.

We know that for some time, and especially during the Plan period, we shall require technical and professional men who will execute the Six-year Development Plan. We also know that we have not got these men in Nigeria to-day. We have not been able to produce the qualified staff. It means that we have got to look overseas for these men. It is clear that the qualified staff, especially the specialist type, are not easily available. They are as much required by their home governments as we require them here. But because of our desire to Nigerianise the Public Service, we find that we are not prepared to engage the expatriate qualified staff except perhaps on contract basis. Well, it is this that has actually struck me forcibly.

We know that the existing contract terms for the employment of expatriate officers are no longer useful to us. I know this because in the Report of the Public Service Commission, the difficulty of recruiting expatriate qualified staff was emphasised. Now, it has become imperative that the Government should review the contract terms of these expatriate qualified staff. I have two reasons for advising or rather suggesting that the Government should review the contract terms. One is that since the drawing up of the present contract terms, many other African countries have become independent. Those countries also look for qualified staff overseas. There is thus a very keen competition. If we are to succeed in that competition, we have got to do something to attract the people that several countries are trying to get.

Secondly, we know too that in their own countries these experts are required and are easily employed. If we engage them on contract terms, they will have to consider the terms offered because no sane man will give up his appointment to take up another job overseas, a job that is temporary, less lucrative and which offers neither prospect for promotion nor pension. I think that this is really a very serious point and all I am saying is that since we all want to see the Development Plan carried through, and successfully too, and since the second of the two important factors that we require for the implementation of that

programme is qualified experts whom we have not got here and whom we have to look for overseas, and since these men are engaged more on contract terms than otherwise, the terms offered should be made more attractive. This brings in the urgent need to revise the present contract terms so that we can get the men we require to implement the Development Plan because we know that it is one of the ways whereby we can promote the economy of this country.

When I was going through the speech of the honourable Minister of Finance, I came to a section of it that struck me forcibly, and that is, on page 18. Mr President, with your permission, I shall read—

"Equally, there is scope, very considerable scope, for providing deterrents against slackness and inefficiency."

The hon. Senator who has just spoken has touched on this—inefficiency. We know that there is much inefficiency in the Public Service of this country. There are, however, certain departments that do their work very well. But if Mr President will allow me, I will refer to the most recent Report of the Public Service Commission which hammers very hard on inefficiency and has it on record here that a very huge sum of money was involved as a loss and the loss was classified into three heads: loss by fire, loss by theft and loss by inefficiency. It says—

"The largest number of cases due to inefficiency is shared fairly equally between the Works Division of the Ministry of Works and Surveys and the Posts and Telegraphs Division of the Ministry of Communications."

What are the Ministers concerned trying to do about these things? To my own mind, there are three forces that ought to be examined in this connection. The first is our hurried effort to Nigerianise the Public Service. I have always felt that it is wrong to Nigerianise at all costs, and I want this point to be carefully examined again. Another cause of inefficiency might be the unwillingness of the remaining expatriate heads of departments to do their work efficiently and get their subordinates to do the same. And a third possible source may be the acquisition of a sense of responsibility on the part of the workers.

I would like the Minister to give us an idea of how the Government is to deal with this question of inefficiency in our Departments. Perhaps the Minister of State, or the Minister of Finance can give me an answer to what the Government is doing to fight against inefficiency.

These are just the two points that I wish to touch upon. I can only add that the Budget as presented by the Minister in his usual able way commends itself to the approval of the Senators.

I beg to support.

Senator H. N. Udoh : We have often stressed that Ministers should be present in the House during the debate on the Bills they present, but I see that the Minister who gave us this creditable Budget is not here to follow up and hear what this House has to say about certain items, and to throw additional light on certain items as touched upon by the hon. Senators.

I would like to touch upon the question of savings. You may recall that last year we talked on this very subject. Savings is a very good habit; it sounds so nice on paper, but what matters most is the implementation. A Member of this House mentioned what happened after the World War II: how savings certificates were issued and how profitable they were to all concerned. There is no doubt that if savings certificates are introduced now into Nigeria they will help us. We are already trying to help ourselves, to see what we can do. We all agree that this is a sacrifice Budget. People should be told what to do and how to do it. People who have used the savings certificates know that it is not oppression, but that it is for the benefit of themselves, their countrymen and their children.

I am very concerned about the introduction of these savings certificates, and also about the provision of Post Office Saving Bank Accounts, not only in the urban areas, but also in the rural districts. It is not only those in the towns that must save; we should not despise the widow's mite from the country. I remember that at that time the Government was prepared to allow people an advance of one month's salary in order to purchase these certificates—I am sure the President will bear me out in this.

Referring now to wages, somebody has already spoken on this question and has pointed

out the sacrifices which we are all called upon to make. But these sacrifices if not properly handled, will mean punishment to a certain class of people. One shilling now buys only five cups of *gari* instead of eight, nine or ten cups previously. I repeat we now pay 1s-0d for five cups of *gari*! There is no Customs duty on this, but we are told that increased transport costs are responsible for the rise in prices. In these and other ways people are suffering. The able Minister of Finance has made a statement about this matter and he promised that he would keep it under review and find out what is really responsible for these increasing costs. I hope that the Minister of Finance will succeed in what he has set out to do. The price of food is the most important thing in the life of the people. Other things like building materials may increase in price but food is the prime necessity of life and should not be made so difficult to obtain by any class of people.

Somebody has mentioned the increased tax on petrol. Personally I do not think that we should increase its cost: if anything, it should be reduced. There is no reason for it—(Applause). There is no person in the country who does not enjoy a ride in a car: if one has no car then one can use a passenger lorry or a bus. If the price of petrol goes up, people cannot so easily afford to journey about. People are always moving about the country: they do not stay in one place.

The same thing applies to diesel fuel. Although we have given people employment and wages, we must not reduce the standard of living which they normally expect.

Even if people are self-supporting in their own areas, they still need some assistance from outside. There are, for instance, certain foods which are not produced in one's own area. Ibo people are great consumers of yams, they cannot get enough in their own areas and their supply must therefore come from somewhere else. We transport fish from the North, and if the cost of petrol is increased the price of fish will soar. I hope the Government will bear this in mind and reconsider their decision to increase the cost of petrol.

Turning to smuggling, it is a pity that it so rife. I agree with what was said previously, that our Customs Officers must be exemplary because the temptations which they face are

[SENATOR UDOH]

so many that it requires a special strength of character to defeat them. When smugglers are caught, they will do anything to escape. They will even offer half their goods as bribe. We in this House are always stressing the need for civil servants of character who can rise above these temptations. In some countries I believe smuggling is a capital offence. Be that as it may, it merits severe punishment. Men in our Customs force should be specially selected and given every encouragement.

Also, I would like to say that we should not destroy contraband goods when they are seized, for by so doing we lose both ways. And the reason why they say they are no use is because they come into our country without customs duty and, that way, we lose, as the Minister of Finance has just stated. So many millions of pounds are being wasted, and there is no harm in people paying to put something into our purse.

When we discuss Inland Waterways, some people do not feel that it is something that should be discussed. The Inland Waterways serve the country as roads and railways serve other countries of the world. I read here on page 14 of the Annual Report of the Inland Waterways Department for 1960 that before work ceased on the 14th February, 1960 the following areas had been cleared.

Enyong, the river from Arochuku Road to Itu—11 miles. With your permission, Mr President, I say "No!" The work is still in hand and, beyond a certain point on the Creek only amphibians can do the job because the Government put it to many people who were in any way concerned to do communal labour to the extent that it becomes necessary and, as such, only a certain class of people in Nigeria will do it. The owners cannot do it.

I do not know whether the authorities are concerned here. They say they are levying a charge on them, but seeing is believing. By making contact either with the Commissioner for Umuahia Province or the Commissioner for Uyo Province, they will be able to tell the Minister that that work had not been completed or was even half completed for the period 1959-60 and we are now in the period 1962-63 and the work has not been completed!

Some of these things, as they are mentioned, are all very good except for the implementation of them. I think one of the speakers last session

said it would pay if the Ministers would take the trouble to tour some areas then they would be able to see some of these things for themselves and there would be no delay. What happens? Paper work goes into these projects at each stage. To-day, we are in the line of practical light. Seeing is believing and if the Ministers toured some areas they would be in a position to know what to do and how to approach these problems. Nigeria is such a wide country with various characteristics and what obtains in one area may not obtain in another. So it would pay to tour these areas and give a report at first hand then we would be in a position to know whether such a report is genuine or mere paper work.

With these remarks I support the Bill and the Budget and I stress the question of engaging experts in any job wherever necessary, in this country, in order to give us a time limit, which would help us.

12.45 p.m.

Senator M. G. Ejaike : I would like to join in paying tribute to our able Minister of Finance for his very lucid delivery and also for his various efforts to tidy up our financial problems. I also congratulate the Federal Government and the Regional Governments for their concerted effort in drawing up the comprehensive Development Programme against which we view the present Budget Speech and the present budget proposals.

I commend the Minister of Finance also for his courage in standing out where many people would tremble, namely, in the taxation of women. I think that the taxation of women has been involved in politics in the past. People have been trying to escape from telling their women to pay taxes and I think it requires a bold Minister of Finance to be able to say what is realistic. We ought to know that we are to base our taxation, not on sex, not on sentiment, but on income and this is what the Minister has told us. I think it is very true indeed.

I support him in maintaining the point that there is no reason why we should discriminate between one sex and another merely because one person is of one sex and another is of the other. After a certain level, I think an individual ought to be willing to contribute to the

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national coffer. I think the question of taxation of women should be removed from the realm of politics.

An hon. Member of this House touched on a note which I would like to follow up a little. The only thing is that he did not call a spade a spade. He was talking about a national minimum wage. I think one of the sources of trouble, as I have tried to point out before in this House, is not so much that some people are earning so much, as that certain classes of people have been earning too little.

Senator Salahu Fulani : Point of order. He should address the Chair.

The President : Would the Senator address the Chair ?

Senator Ejaife : Thank you, Mr President, I have been addressing the Chair and the House.

I would like to refer Senators to the fact that I have raised this point before, that we would like to bridge the great gap between the lower income group people and the higher income groups. I am not so keen on levelling down as levelling up. An hon. Senator here certainly analysed the position when he said that certain people find it difficult to have a square meal and that the majority of Nigerians have not been able to live up to the usual expectation of life in this country and that their stamina has been undermined by the fact that they have not been sufficiently maintained by the kind of food which they eat in this country.

I would like to comment and suggest to the Government that the time is now due when there should be such a thing as a minimum national wage policy so that people should not be allowed to earn less than a certain minimum amount. Thereby, we will be able to narrow the gap which exists now between people who are earning very low incomes and those who are earning fairly high salaries.

I also notice, from what the Minister said, that the vote this year for education has been reduced owing to certain things. One of the things he referred to is that the three branches of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology have now been transferred to the Regional universities and, in that respect, the Federal Government is no longer responsible

for the financing of the running costs of those establishments. He also said that, in other respects, the vote for education has also been reduced.

What I would have liked to see is a reflection of that reduction in an increase in another respect, namely, in the award of scholarships for students in the universities. I think it is a pity that a large number of under-graduates were turned out from the University College, Ibadan, for failing to pay their fees. To say the least, I think this is a national shame. These young men and women had been able to pass their examinations and had been able to gain admission into the university and now we are crying for high level man power in order to implement the recommendations of the Ashby Report on education. I think it will be a shame if we cannot get these boys and girls back to universities.

I should like here to make a suggestion that in the cases of those who have been unable to complete their courses of education in the universities, I should ask the Government to effect an increase in our vote for scholarships in order to enable these young people to complete their education.

I think that there is still room for improvement in our taxation policy. In civilised countries there is such a thing as surtax. The duties which are imposed recently as a result of increases in taxation are affecting people who are rather poor because when the cost of petrol rises so high, the transport owners increase their charges and then the cost of foodstuffs rises very steeply. In this way, indirectly, these increases in duties on petrol fall as a dead weight more upon the poor than upon the rich.

I think in civilised countries, I understand that there is such a thing as surtax and already in this country certain people are qualified for the payment of this type of tax. I must say that there are many people in this country who should pay this type of tax. I may not say that rich people are too many, but I think there are many who are already very rich at present and who have enough money to pay surtax. I do not know any reason why such people should not willingly pay this surtax and I think that it is the duty of the Government to devise a way of getting these people

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to pay the proper tax to the Government so as to enable the common people to enjoy better amenities.

Also I am not quite sure that taxation in this country is sufficiently progressive. I think it will be a good thing if taxation is increasingly progressive so that those who earn up to a certain level will pay a reasonable rate of tax and those whose incomes are very high will pay greatly higher taxes since they would not even feel it very much.

I would like to know what the eventual result is of these new measures of taxation. I can just give an instance of this very steep rise in the prices of commodities. One example is the rise in the prices of spirits and liquors. I do not know what is the reason for this; perhaps, this increase is partly on moral grounds and partly on fiscal grounds. When the cost of a bottle of schnapps rises from £1-10s to I think £2-2s and the cost of a bottle of whisky from £1-15s to £2-6s, the increase becomes a deterrent.

A knowledge of economics proves this. When an increase is so steep it tends to scare away potential buyers. I wonder as a result of these steep increases whether in the long run the Government will be able to collect as much revenue as it would if these increases were not imposed. It would interest me very much to know in effect what the Government is going to gain or is gaining as a result of these increases.

I am not going to deal with individual departments, but it might be profitable at this time to say a few words about the Police. What has been said several times about the doctors borders on corruption. I do not know whether something cannot be done and we must call a spade a spade now. In this country I do not think we ought to be victims of one or two of this class of people in this country. For ages men have been over-scared by the Police, especially in the villages. I think most of us who are here have suffered at one time or the other in the hands of the Police. Why should people, especially those in the villages, have to live in fear of the Police in spite of our status and in spite of our education?

Because of this fear, people do not co-operate with the Police as they should and I must say that one of the reasons why people

do not co-operate with the Police is that the Police themselves aggravate matters. I think that we must be apprehensive of these things. Every good citizen should co-operate with the Police and report when they know about certain things going wrong, but when things happen especially in the villages, people will be scared of the Police and nothing is done about it. I think it is about time that our Police should develop integrity and good behaviour in their dealings with the people so that the people in turn will co-operate with the Police.

Now, coming to Benin and Delta Provinces, I notice no provisions being made both in the Speech from the Throne and in the Budget Speech, no provision is made, for any Federal road in these areas. No provision for aerodromes, no provision for the expansion of the aerodrome in Benin City and no provision is made for the extension of the railway line to Benin Province. Since the Federal Government is so kind as to realise the right of the people of that area and to consider the granting of a Region to them, the Federal Government should also give consideration to the desirability of giving them all the amenities enjoyed by the various parts of the Federation. We would like the Federal Government to consider the extension of some Federal roads to these areas.

I must say again that the aerodrome in Benin should be improved. I do not think there will be much scope for building aerodromes everywhere, but even the one in Benin is not considered at all. I think the Federal Government should give more thought to the Delta and Benin Provinces in the distribution of amenities.

I think also that the Federal Government has considered special projects through the Niger Development Board, and I should have thought that in drawing up a development programme as comprehensive as this they should also be given some consideration to the Delta Province.

Now coming to communications, I do not think we are achieving much as a result of out-moded regulations. I will give an instance of this. The most outstanding example is the regulation about Postal Agencies. The questions do not seem to matter as to how many people are in a certain area, how many letters are being posted, how many businessmen there

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are, and so on. The mere fact that a certain area is poor should not be taken as an excuse for depriving the people of certain amenities. For years I have been trying to press for a postal agency and other postal facilities in an area but I have been cited some regulations which were drawn up since 1920 or perhaps earlier. I think the Federal Government should look into these out-moded regulations—things which happened when very few people were educated.

I think now that there is universal free primary education in the West, in the East, in the Federal territory; now that education is spreading like wild fire in the North and business is also growing, it is high time that we should have more and more postal agencies so as to make postal facilities available to people in all parts of the Federation.

Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3 p.m.

The President : Senator Ejaife has 25 more minutes.

Senator M. G. Ejaife : I would like to say a few words about prisons. I had the honour to be a Member of the Visiting Committee, and I would not say that I saw many reasons for congratulating the Government for the provisions made for prisoners, but I think there is plenty of room still left for improvement in the prisons of this country. For instance, the appearance is very drab, there are hardly any flowers in the prison yards, and opportunities for recreation are very few.

It is true that the prisons are places for punishment, but for the punishment of Nigerians, and the fact that a man is convicted and has gone to prison does not wipe out his status as a Nigerian. I think therefore that as a Nigerian he should be given some opportunity of enjoying himself after hours of servitude.

Also I think there is plenty of room for improvement in the diet; the diet appeared to me to be very monotonous and drab. I tasted some of the food and I was not over-satisfied. It would appear that the pooriness of the diet is often due probably to the stinginess of contractors for I doubt whether the provision made by Government is so small that they cannot do better than they do at the moment.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : Is the Senator talking about Warri Prison?

Senator Ejaife : Warri Prisons—yes; I am talking from experience—not from imagination.

Senator Ogundipe : The Senator's own experience?

Senator Ejaife : The experience which I had; I have told this House that I had the honour to be a Member of the Visiting Committee, and that I not only saw what was there, but I tasted the food, and we were not very happy about the taste of the food and the drab surroundings. Although we are punishing the people, they should not be so punished that they become incurable, and so I think there is plenty of room for improvement in various aspects—games, flowers and better food.

Also, in the same way that we are trying to give many of our policemen better quarters, so I think our prison warders ought to be considered for much better buildings. In some cases, better quarters have been proposed, but I think in many prisons in this country warders still live in the old drab and dreary sort of small buildings, and I think it is about time that the Prison Service Commission tried to encourage young men to look to the Prison Service for a career; at the moment I do not think that young men consider the prisons a good field for exercising their talents.

Transport. I think one of the things that show the greatness and organisation of a country is its roads. In some parts of the country some of the roads are quite good, but I think that others are still very poor. The Federal road from Ibadan to Benin has plenty of faults, there are many bumps, there is much unevenness, and the road is far too crooked. I wonder why we cannot set up a Roads Committee to review the whole question of roads in this country.

The present poor state of the roads is very expensive in lives, and it is very expensive in money. If we want to travel from A to B we find that there are so many windings, which increase the cost not only in petrol but also in time, and the toll of lives lost because the roads are so winding is very great. We should

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consider straightening the roads, taking short cuts and so avoiding all the nooks and corners which are the curse of many of our roads to-day.

Also, the completion of the projected road from Benin to Ijebu-Ode is long overdue; year after year we are told that it is to be completed "shortly" or "as soon as possible", but it looks to me as if we are going to hear the same thing in 1970 that we heard in 1960—that it is to be completed "as soon as possible". I therefore appeal to the Government to apply its mind to the completion of this very important road, not merely in our own interests but in the interests of the country as a whole, so that this road from Benin to Ijebu-Ode can be completed and so save miles of journeying.

I would like to remind the House also that this is the upper House of the highest Parliament in the land, and that we should try to think very seriously. This morning our attention was drawn to the attitude of our doctors who put money first, money second and money last it would appear, and that the lives of their patients mean almost nothing to them; at least, that is the impression I get, the impression I get from reports here and there. I would like to support the present proposal that something should be done about it so that doctors will, while considering their own fortune, at the same time place the fortunes and lives of their patients first.

I cannot help thinking that this is only an instance of the widespread evil prevalent in this country. I think that the conscience needs to be re-educated in this country, because it would appear that to-day almost everybody puts money first; just so soon as they have so much, they want to have more and more and more, and the doctors are only just an example of the widespread propensity for amassing more and more at the expense of those who have not. Or is it that the Biblical saying is going to be fulfilled, that "To whom that hath shall be given, and from whom that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath"?

I was not very happy, from what I read in the last page of the *Sunday Times*, with the list of names of beneficiaries from the land allocations. It would appear that those who were lucky enough to win the ballot were those who are already sufficiently well placed. I think Ministers and—

The President : I think the Senator should get his facts correct. The list published yesterday was not the balloted list. If the Senator read through the list he would see that the balloted list was not included.

Senator Ejaife : I am very grateful, Mr President, for that correction because I would have gone away with the impression that that was the balloted list. I am very happy indeed because if that was so it would have been a very serious indictment because I think if land allocations have to be made everyone poor or rich should be equally able to win a plot.

Agriculture is a subject which cannot be overemphasised and in concluding, I would like to tell the Government that this is a challenge which ought to be faced from several angles. At least, one of them would be to award scholarships to every undergraduate that happens to win a place in a university to study agriculture. I think already in our various universities many students have gained admission and if we are really serious in placing agriculture very high on our priority list it is a challenge to the Federal Government to ensure that every undergraduate who is now not enjoying a scholarship should do so provided he is not financially well-off.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba : I rise to associate myself with Senators who spoke before me in support of the Second Reading of the 1962-63 Appropriation Bill, and to congratulate the Minister of Finance on the able way he presented the Bill to this Senate. I would also like to congratulate the Prime Minister and his Cabinet for piloting the ship of the state successfully during the nineteen months of our independence.

Now, to the Mobilisation Budget which calls for our co-operation. Let us mobilise all our mobilisable resources so as to implement those comprehensive proposals. In my view, however, civil servants should not be called upon to take on more burden as they have already been contributing more than their fair share. They have been terribly hit by the present increases on foodstuffs and on the articles in joint demand, cars and lorries.

I am happy that the Ministry of Works and Surveys attaches great importance to the provision of good water. I hope this should not be the preserve of Lagos. I know that

water supply is a regional matter but it is my contention that the Mobilisation Budget and the National Development Plan are identical. In the rural areas of the Northern Region there are many places where one has to go several miles to fetch water.

I will now speak on insurance. As the Insurance Companies contribute very little to our loan stock and Treasury Bill issues, the proposal to have fifty per cent of the monies available to all insurance companies in the country invested locally is welcome. But it is the wish of the people of this country to go further than this, they want the Federal Government to establish a National Insurance Company and take control of all motor vehicle insurance, life insurance, fire, accident and endowment assurance schemes.

We cannot improve our economy nor maintain the respect and honour of our country with the people who give us financial help unless we come forward to help ourselves more than the outsiders do and accord respect to our local products. I am not advocating the boycott of foreign goods. Far from it; but we are too British in our homes, our dress, at table and in our naming and wedding ceremonies. We should take pride in being Nigerians all-round and thus help our economy.

A Senator asked this morning what Government would get by increasing the duty on tobacco, alcoholic drinks and cigarettes. I would say the Government would get healthier and more morally minded people which is far better than any material gain. Morally speaking, the increase in the duties on alcoholic drinks, tobacco and cigarettes is welcome. I am asking the Government to double or even triple the duties on these commodities. This may serve as a deterrent to those habitual drunkards and smokers or may force them to reduce the rate of consumption to a bearable point.

The next point I want to speak on is the Development Programme. To the envy of our enemies, to the admiration of our friends at home and abroad and, to the pride of our people the four Governments of the Federation, putting aside their political differences, gathered together and worked as a team for the interest of the whole country and produced what is now known as the six-year Development Programme. This shows clearly that Nigeria is politically stable and will soon be economically sound.

It is very gratifying to observe that the 1955-61 Development Programme devoted the greatest amount of its resources to those subjects which are the exclusive responsibilities of the Federal Government; but the present Programme goes beyond all these. In many places it combines its efforts with some of the Regional Governments'.

When one studies the Federal Government's Development Programme in conjunction with the programmes of the three Regional Governments added to those of Local Authorities, one soon realises that our leaders are alive to their responsibilities.

The present austerity measures initiated by the Federal Government and acclaimed by all people of goodwill save this country, Nigeria, not only from financial collapse but also teach us three things. Firstly, the value of money; secondly, how to adjust our day to day Budget; and thirdly, above all, the price of independence.

The Minister said a little over fifty per cent of the capital programme will be financed from foreign aid. Yes, we badly need foreign aid at this stage of our development, but we must not rely wholly on foreign aid. I know some countries will respond generously and some, among our real friends, have already contributed enormously. But, still, I have the view that there is no pride for one who is always dependent on one's friends' aid.

I am happy to see that over three million pounds will be given as grant to the Northern Region towards achieving its target in its Primary School Education. As the Northern Region is lagging far behind educationally, any sum, however small, given to help it develop its education programme is highly appreciated.

We appreciate also that our key professional, technical and administrative posts in the regular establishments are gradually being held by Nigerians, but we also like to see young enthusiastic Nigerians taking up all sorts of careers. It is now more than ever before that we need to build a strong reliable man-power. So, among the five million pounds scholarship awards which the Government will provide in our ambitious programme here and abroad, besides the training of doctors, engineers, agriculturists, technicians and artisans, such

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faculties which will produce archaeologists, botanists, geologists and also seamen and airmen should be given top priority.

Everyone is happy to see that our Governments have laid great emphasis upon agriculture which is one of the productive sectors of our economy. I am particularly referring to the grant of £25 million to assist Regional Governments in the expansion of their agricultural programmes. I hope individual farmers in the rural areas should have their fair share. Hitherto nearly all the modern amenities are being supplied exclusively to the urban areas. The rural areas who obediently pay almost the whole cost of the projects are being neglected.

I am so interested in the welfare of rural areas that I propose to move a Motion in this House asking the Federal Government to create as soon as possible a new Ministry for Rural Areas. (*Hear, hear*).

The Minister of Finance : I would apply for it.

Senator Garba : The new Minister should be a sort of liaison officer between the Federal and Regional Governments charged with the responsibility for the affairs of rural areas.

I beg to support.

3.25 p.m.

Senator Chief Wuraola Esan : I rise to congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance for the able way he has presented this Budget to this House this morning. I would like, at the same time, to congratulate our ever vigilant watch-dog, the Opposition in the Federal Parliament, because they are able at last to sell some of their progressive ideas to the Government. I would like also to congratulate the Government for being so wide awake to their responsibilities.

This is the first Budget that has mobilised if nothing else the spirit of the poor and the rich, because in it everybody has found, or ought to find, something to do in order to help towards the rapid development of the country.

I do not want to belabour the points already made by the former speakers. I would like to start my own contributions with the question of the taxation of women. Women are human-beings. We all must realise that. Not one of the men can boast here that whenever their assessment papers for the payment of tax are

presented to them that they just have to call a drummer and dance. No one is willing to pay tax. It is a duty we all do because we must do it. On this point of taxation, therefore, women are not equal to men in Nigeria, and for Senators to come here and say that men and women are equal is just a declaration that a woman is equal to any of you.

The President : Will the Senator address the Chair.

Senator Esan : I am sorry, Sir. In this case I am including the President ! We all keep on hammering on the equality of men and women in Nigeria, but a woman in Nigeria works not because she is in duty bound to maintain a family. A woman in Nigeria works because she wants to help somehow. No woman is complaining of paying tax on her own income if she has that income fairly and justly assessed. What women are complaining about is the arbitrary assessment which is the practice in the Federal Territory. After people have filled the assessment forms which they are given, they are asked to pay at least £3. £3 on what? On £200, or on £300 or on £100? Naturally the women complain and they will always complain whatever hon. Senators say. They are human beings. But they do not complain because they do not want to pay and they should not be looked at in the light of people who always take and never give. Women have been giving. Hon. Senators can bear me out that a woman will always give where she gets. I would like the Government to think seriously about this. If assessment is done justly and fairly, there would be no hue and cry by women about the payment of tax.

About the recent increases, I do not think that it takes an economist like hon. Senator Ejaife to point out that the Government is not going to gain much by the steep rise in the cost of some condiments. Whenever increases are made by the Government, although these increases are made in an attempt to get money with which to promote the welfare of the people, there are always exploiters who will use the opportunity to further their own means. They are doing so now. The cost of living has been rising and it has now risen sharply just because the hon. Minister of Finance announced increases on certain commodities in the House of Representatives.

Some people have, however, gone about increasing the cost of every goods, even milk, sugar, Star Beer, Miranda and all sorts of things not because they too want to increase the price but because of the increased cost of transportation of their goods. For this reason, they have felt that they ought to increase the price of every goods a little in order to make up the difference.

If we have to increase the price of commodities because they are imported goods and if we want to stop the importation, I think that we should take time to educate the sellers concerned. According to what the hon. Minister of Finance said this morning, the increase and the rise in the cost of living are meant primarily for the rich so that they could pay more into the pocket of the Government in order to develop the country. But these rich people are not the ones suffering now. The poor people are suffering because they have to pay more for most of the goods. A rich person can, for instance, buy just two gallons of petrol into his car and manage to get around in it. He can control spendings. But the lorry owner who chooses to buy ten gallons of petrol when he can manage with less will charge his passengers both for the maintenance of his lorry and for the increase in the price of petrol. As it is now this cost of living will soar up to such a point that if we are not careful, trouble will be the result.

The Government must teach the people that we do not need much luxury at this particular stage of our development and that it is not the intention of the Government that the rich shall continue to enjoy luxuries at the expense of the poor. If the Government takes the trouble to do that and to teach the people to buy things only at the rate they should be sold it will help greatly because apart from the people who go to buy with their money, there are people who buy on I.O.U. basis and these people are being exploited much more than those rich people whom this Bill is trying to teach to be less luxurious.

Petrol and some other articles are not luxuries. Somebody mentioned this morning that the frigidaire is not a luxury and I agree with him. During the rainy season, we have lots and lots of fruits and vegetables and other condiments which must be kept if we are to reduce the cost of living. There is no other way of keeping them except by keeping them in the frigidaire since we have very few canning

factories and the Government has not thought it fit to introduce more.

Because agriculture is a regional matter, the Government thinks that anything connected with agriculture should be done by the Regional Governments and that it should only concern itself with research. This attitude, as somebody said this morning, must be changed very soon.

If we have to stop what our hon. Minister of Finance has put under Head 4 to reduce our dependence upon imported goods, then we have to do something to preserve our own foodstuffs. Many times, we depend on imported goods because at the time we want the goods, our own goods are spoilt because of lack of means of preservation. Milk which contains almost every vitamin necessary for body-building is sold in quantities because it is tinned. These tinned cans of milk are imported into the country and because of this importation of milk our own locally produced milk is not as popular as the imported one.

I am happy that the hon. Minister of Finance mentioned that he would do something to stop the importation of milk and other foodstuffs into this country. I think that our Government should look into this and find ways and means of preserving our own foodstuffs in order to achieve its aim. Our milk should be distributed to the remote areas of the country. There is plenty of milk in the North and arrangements are being made for the production of milk for the consumption of the people in the South. This milk should be preserved and distributed and only the Federal Government can do so because to do it requires a lot of money.

I now go on to talk about poultry. Eggs are now being produced in large quantities in the South. We used to have our eggs in bags from the North. These included the eggs of hens and the eggs of guinea fowls. Eggs are now produced in poultry farms in the East and in the South. In Ibadan fresh eggs are produced locally. What is going to happen to the egg trade from the North now?

The presence of these eggs from the North is causing a lot of trouble among the sellers because no one will leave fresh eggs to buy eggs that have been collected from where nobody knows. We cannot allow those who collect these eggs to suffer because they have no

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markets to sell the eggs. It is time the Government did something about replacing all these eggs with other useful articles which can be brought to the West, the East and Lagos for sale. This will help small industries and at the same time give us more food in the country and thereby stop the importation of foodstuffs into the country.

While speaking on the question of smuggling earlier on an hon. Senator mentioned that the security officers should be upgraded. I agree with that view and would add that we have to send really qualified and contented officers to deal with these experts because only experts can do smuggling business efficiently. If we send poorly paid officers to deal with these expert smugglers we can be sure that they will certainly be corrupted one way or the other. As I have said if we send well paid officers to tackle the smuggling business it will soon be stopped.

Someone said this morning that the foreign policy of the Government is now being looked after very well. I think since we became an independent nation not very long ago we have been trying to blunder through. It is hard for any government to know exactly what to do until it tries and makes some mistakes. I am happy that although we have made mistakes anyone who follows the trend of events and listens attentively to how things are said and discussed nowadays will admire our Government for trying to move forward. Still we must be very careful as to what our representatives abroad say sometimes. To avoid being committed we must appoint people who will take advice and discuss points with the home Government in Nigeria to represent us abroad. If we do this and even if a mistake is made it will be the mistake of all of us. The result of this precaution is that we will not be made to suffer for the mistake of a single individual who thinks that he knows best.

An hon. Senator also mentioned the fact that our Ministers toured foreign countries more than they toured our country. I know it is difficult for Ministers to go about in their own country; after all no prophet has the sort of honour he should have in his own home. Despite this fact and to be able to assess the thoughts and wishes of the people our Ministers must know them and until they do that they certainly will not know what to give them.

Our Ministers should make efforts to tour all the different parts of the country thoroughly. They should not be satisfied with the arranged tours during which they can only see what they are supposed to see. If possible there should be a committee which will take care of this because it is necessary to know the requirements of all the areas in view of the projects contained in the Six-Year Development Programme. It will be unwise to set up a weaving industry in Ibadan where there is no raw cotton material; similarly it will be unwise to set up a jewellery factory in a backward area because such a factory will only be useful in a city. Our Ministers must go about in the country and study the needs of our people so that they will know which projects should be situated in a particular area so that the country as a whole will be benefited.

Mention was made this morning that the Civil Service was getting more regionalised. We are suffering from lack of efficient and capable manpower and not every village in Nigeria is going to produce a genius. A genius is a rare article and whenever we find one, whether he is in the East, the West or in the North, we must use him properly. Let us use all the manpower we can get. Scholarships need not be awarded only because certain areas of the country have not yet had sufficient awards of scholarship but because we have efficient and qualified Nigerians who will be of great use to the country. These state-sponsored Nigerians are coming to serve Nigeria as a whole and not just places like Ibadan, Oyo and Ilesha. So long as they are coming back to serve the whole of the Federation we need not worry about their places of origin.

At the same time, there are scholarships that must be given to different areas of the country if we want the development of all parts of the country to be simultaneous. We cannot neglect any certain area because it has not produced somebody good enough to be awarded a post graduate scholarship. All the people in such an area deserve to be encouraged somehow by inducing them to get more scholarships through their own ability.

I do not agree with people who complain that enough scholarships are not awarded to the people of Lagos. If there are people in Lagos who are qualified to get these scholarships they

will get them but if there are people in Onitsha better qualified there is no point in giving the scholarships to the people of Lagos just because they belong to Lagos.

I do not want to take much time because there are some other Senators who will like to say something. I would like to support some of the statements made by Senator Lagunju that care must be taken to see that the Public Service is not regionalised or centralised and that everybody is given employment according to qualifications and ability.

I beg to support.

3.50 p.m.

Senator Oba Adeniji Adele II of Lagos :

I do not propose to say much because all that I had the intention of saying had been said by the hon. Senators.

I have to thank the Minister of Finance for all that he has said. The sole female Senator just touched on a point which I feel I must refute. The position is not clear to many who are here but it is those of us in Lagos who know exactly what is happening here. For a very long time now, we have been at a very great disadvantage over the question of education. People may not know it. When I say that we have been at a great disadvantage, I mean that we have not got the same advantage of secondary and post secondary education as the Regions have.

For many years past, I have laboured under great disadvantages with the Principal of the King's College and the Director of Education for direct allocation to be made to Lagos and for us to be given our own secondary school with a section for post-secondary education so that our children, after leaving the secondary school may proceed further so that when the time comes for them to take competitive scholarship examinations they may be in a good position as people from the Regions. I was promised on several occasions, from the time of Governor Macpherson, and even before then, that something would be done for us but it is rather unfortunate that nothing has been done. I continued to hammer but up till now, nothing has been done, I have to go on complaining. I can only complain but I cannot act. We cannot compare a boy who leaves a secondary school with one who leaves a post-secondary school when they come to compete for scholarship awards.

I am a Nigerian in the true sense of the word. I have worked in the North, in the East and in particular I knew what was happening in the East. In the East when a boy or girl leaves school he or she goes to the post-secondary school. There are lots of such schools in the Eastern Region. There is one at Calabar that I know of one at Umuahia and in several places ; and in many of these schools Lagos boys are not admitted. I am sorry to say that at Umuahia when they advertise for admission into Umuahia College they say "Only children whose parents belong to the Eastern Region need apply". In the Western Region they say "Only children who belong to the Western Region need apply."

Recently I wanted to send some girls to the Ibadan Grammar School but from all enquiries, these girls could not be admitted because the Western Region, as I was told, wanted all the vacancies for their own girls. I cannot blame them because, charity begins at home. Mrs Esan said that if we cannot get Lagos people who are qualified, we must be very anxious to find other people who are qualified. She is absolutely right but my claim is that we must be given the facilities ; we must be given the same opportunity as people in the Regions. We have not got the opportunity in Lagos. I have been saying this for years and I am asking you, Mr President, and all hon. Senators, to please help us in Lagos. We are suffering. I have spoken to Mr Aja Nwachuku. He is one of the best of the Ministers of Education we have had in Lagos. I have spoken to every Chief Adviser on Education and every Director of Education in Lagos. I have done all I could to make them give us our own secondary school in Lagos. We had the C.M.S. Grammar School, but it has been shifted to Hariga which is in the Western Region. We say that it belongs to Lagos, but it is being managed by the Western Region. They feel it is their own.

We are really suffering for secondary and post secondary education. I am appealing to you. I will not say that Senator Mrs Wuraola Esan is not correct, she is perfectly correct. I have been shouting and crying everyday for our children to do their best to see that they compete with children from the Regions but where will they go to learn ? Should they learn in their rooms ?

[SENATOR OBA ADENIJI ADELE II]

The other day, I met some children from King's College and I asked one from where he came and he said 'Warri', and another said, 'Ibadan'. I asked them all and not a single one of the boys came from Lagos. The only one that came from Lagos is not a Lagosian. He merely came to study in Lagos. That is our dilemma. I do not know what to do. We are in a fix. I hope that the Minister of Finance will see to it that the Government does something for us. I am appealing to you. (*Laughter*). This is not a joke. We do not know what to do. When we speak of education, we are not speaking of to-day alone but of tomorrow. We said that the North has been backward but it is not backward now. They are moving very fast.

When I went to England I knew what I saw of the North, East and the West but I saw nothing of Lagos. I was very much dejected.

I pray, Mr President, help us.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : Thank you very much indeed, Mr President. I have read with interest the contents of the 1962-68 Development Plan. A lot of work has been done in the production of this Plan and certainly a lot of time has been taken in the collection of the substance of it. But it was presented in such a bulky form that it is not an easy thing to follow. There are no details through which one can know exactly the allocations of each Region. I am not happy that it has been produced in such a bulky manner which makes it difficult for us to follow the Programme.

But I am happy that the Delta area has been specifically mentioned. We all agree that the Delta area is certainly a special area. We have been told this by one or two commissions whose reports have supported the constitution which we now have. But when I said that I was not too sure that the planners gave sufficient attention to all parts of the Federation, I was in fact referring to those parts of the country that have not been specifically mentioned.

Take the whole Mid-West area for instance. Although the Government of Western Nigeria is doing all in its power to achieve a certain amount of economic awakening, but, like any other Regional Government, there is a limit to what it can do. That limit is set by financial considerations. Yet there are favourable circumstances in the Mid-West that the

Government should really have paid more attention to than it has done. I am referring particularly to the siting of the iron and steel industry. In the Mid-West we have lignite at Asaba; we have the substance for making cement at Okula; we have coal in the Auchi area, and we have several other resources in the other parts of the Mid-West region. But in the case of lignite, I understand that instead of the Government to have Asaba as the place of production, a place where lignite was actually found, the iron and steel industry is going to be sited at Ilorin.

Senator Salahu Fulani : On a point of order, Ilorin is an entrepot for lignite and I think that if a survey is conducted, it will be found that the siting of the industry at Ilorin is economically viable.

The President : That is not a point of Order.

Senator Asemota : In a case like this where we find the mineral being within our area, I think it is a good thing that that area is given the benefit of siting an important industry that will be able to absorb the people of that area and provide work for them. In this particular way, we are sure that the Mid-West area should get a fair share of the industrial development taking place in the Federation. It is important that the people do not cry themselves hoarse in the matter of political independence of the Mid-West and then remain silent and dumb when it comes to the important issue of economic awakening.

In the Development Plan which the Government has set up, there is nothing said about the various minerals found in the Mid-West area. What is the Government doing about them? The Government should be made to understand that we the people of the Mid-West area know where these things are, and what we want is that the Government should examine them. It is not a question of the people of the Mid-West keeping quiet. We want the Government to come in.

The Minister of Economic Development (Hon. Waziri Ibrahim) : As far as we know, at the moment there is no Mid-West State or Region. Therefore, in the programme of the Western Region, the hon. Senator will find details relating to the Mid-West area. I think—

The President : The hon. Senator will be guided accordingly.

Senator Asemota : That is what I was saying. We have not got details attached to the cover of the plan. If there had been details, they would have saved us from this trouble. The hon. Minister promised you last year, Mr President, that details would be made available to us.

The Minister of Economic Development : In the Western Region's Programme and in the Federal's, if there is anything that will be set up, we certainly will take it. But as far as we are concerned, hon. Senators know that at the moment the Mid-West area is still part of the Western Region. That is what I was saying. If the hon. Senator refers to the Western Region's Programme, or if he refers to the Federal Government's Programme and he finds anything concerning the Western Region, then he will be sure that that thing will be taken as a whole.

The Minister of Finance : I think that the hon. Minister means that the Mid-West Region is in the Western Region.

The President : I was going to say so too. I think that the hon. Minister means that there is no Mid-West Region, but certainly there is a Mid-West area.

Senator Asemota : Secondly, not only concerning iron and steel, but there is also the question of the oil field at Ughelli about which there appears to be a mysterious concept of silence and we all in the Mid-West are left entirely in ignorance as to how much oil there is there. Is the oil now being tapped? Is it going to be tapped? Through where is it going to be tapped? There is the fantastic idea that the oil at Ughelli will be evacuated at Port Harcourt through a pipeline from Ughelli to Port Harcourt.

Here again the Mid-West area is being denied the opportunity of enjoying the results of its natural economic potentiality. Why tap oil at Ughelli and then through a pipeline convey it all the way to Port Harcourt? This sort of thing is most disturbing.

The Minister of Health : One Nigeria !

Senator Asemota : That is not one Nigeria. Are we going to be assured in the Mid-West

that a reasonable proportion of the business there will be reserved for the people of that area?

The Minister of Finance : As long as the oil pipeline can go from the Mid-West to the Eastern Region, there should be no quarrel about it. After all this is one Nigeria !

Senator Asemota : That is true, but the Government should recollect that they are spending enormous sums of money in dredging the Escravos bar. The Escravos bar makes it shorter and quicker. And there is no reason why the pipeline should not be laid from Ughelli to Escravos bar. Why go all the way to Port Harcourt? Why not even build an oil refinery at Ughelli? It probably will be cheaper.

The cost of building a refinery at Ughelli will probably be cheaper than the cost of laying a pipeline from Ughelli to Port Harcourt. If the Government supports the idea of laying a pipeline from Ughelli to Port Harcourt, it means that the Government is wasting money in dredging the Escravos bar.

There are lots of other things to be found in the Mid-West Region. But there it is. If that is going to be the arrangement of the Government to just lay pipeline, it obviously augurs that the Government themselves are defeating their own objectives. Why spend money to dredge the Escravos bar? Why spend money to dredge Koko? Why spend money to dredge Warri, if all the minerals found in the Mid-West Region are going to be pipelined to Port Harcourt?

Senator P. A. Ogunlape : The hon. Senator continues to speak of the Mid-West Region !

Senator Asemota : And then again, there also is the gas at Ughelli. Nothing seems to happen about the gas at Ughelli. Well, if some people did not know, there is gas at Ughelli. There is nothing said about it, and we keep on importing Nidogas. Why can that gas not be developed and made use of in the country instead of importing Nidogas?

As I have said before, it is really most disturbing and discouraging that the people in the Mid-West are not given an opportunity of employment—employment to be gained by the siting of industries which are natural to the place deriving from the various oil and gas fields in the area which are not being developed.

The Minister of Economic Development (Hon. Waziri Ibrahim) : I do not think that the hon. Senator is being fair to the Western Region. The Western Region has obviously done everything possible to develop the whole of the Western Region and I regard it as derogatory to say that the Mid-West area has been neglected.

Senator Asemota : I am not suggesting any such thing at all, that the Mid-West is neglected. But this is a federal subject and if the Federal Government take the Mid-West State into consideration, they should be able to attach details to the Estimates showing the relevant expenditure so that we will be able to find out how we stand in relation to any Region to which we are attached. We are merely asking for our own share of development to which we are entitled.

Another thing about this Programme is the importation of furniture. To-day you find that we get gramophones, radiograms, television sets—all imported furniture. I think the time has come when the Government should encourage the manufacture of furniture within Nigeria. In Lagos, between here and the Airport road, you have the Fawehinmi Furniture Works, you have C.F.C. as well as other furniture companies. We have got the timber in the country. This is why I said that I would attack the Minister of Finance. Will he please stop the importation of furniture and encourage the furniture industry in the country.

I will now turn to the most delicate part of the debate this afternoon, and that this the austerity measures. One of the greatest things of our time, to which our children will point with pride, is that when, at a certain stage in our economic development, the difficulties of the country demanded it, both the Prime Minister and his hon. Colleagues, as well as Ministers of State and Legislators, including the Senators, did not hesitate to forego a share of their annual emoluments. Our children will be proud of this sacrifice for this is the kind of thing that makes Indians proud when they think of Ghandi. But it seems to me that, in that very proud moment, they will be struck by one omission in Nigeria, and that is that the Father of the Federation and the Fathers of the Regions did not find themselves able to share in these austerity measures, for this is the only way that history will judge her sons. It is to be regretted that the annual emoluments of our Governor-General and the Governors of each Region—

The Minister of Finance : The hon. Senator is to be reminded that the Governor-General and the Governors, under our Standing Orders, are not to be debated in this House.

The President : The point is well taken. Hon. Senators should take note that the Governor-General and the Governors should not be dragged into any debate.

Senator Asemota : I have to refer you to the Standing Orders of the Senate : Standing Order 26—Rules of Debate :—

“No Senator shall impute improper motive to any other Senators”—

Minister of State (Chief the hon. H. Omo-Osagie) : Is the Senator challenging the ruling of the Chair ?

The President : The point of order is well taken. As a matter of fact the President's decision as to Standing Orders is final. Will the hon. Senator now continue.

Senator Asemota : But I would like to quote Standing Order 26 (7) for future reference :—

“Her Majesty's or the Governor-General's name shall not be used to influence the Senate”.

I was not going to use the Governor-General's name, only the Office and not the Governor-General himself. May I have your permission to continue ?

The President : Certainly, but leave out the Governor-General.

Senator Asemota : We talk about austerity measures and the dearth of doctors to-day—one doctor to 68,000 people ! Yet we find in the Estimates that one physician, on Group 4 (A), is set aside to look after a very small group of people. I think that is too much. It is a pity that such a physician should look after such a small amount of people. I think that he could be used elsewhere. I would certainly like the Government to take notice of this and—

The Minister of Health (Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi) : The doctor in question does not only spend his time in looking after the State House but also gives his services voluntarily to certain hospitals.

Senator Asemota : That is not clear from the Estimates. We want the true state of affairs of this country reflected. If we see

something written down in the Estimates we take that to be the true state of affairs. There is nothing here to indicate that this is a part-time job, and that is the substance of my argument.

If you will permit me, I will now turn to the Cabinet Office. I see here under sub-head (9)—one Economic Adviser, £3,000. I understand that the present person for whom this post was created has already been absorbed into the Federal Government, and I want the Minister of Finance to tell us if this is a redundant position.

The Minister of Economic Development : He is on loan from the World Bank and his salary is paid by the World Bank.

Senator Asemota : I think he is redundant. If the man has been absorbed, it means that somebody else will come along to fill the vacancy for an Economic Adviser, and this is just an accommodating appointment.

The Ministry of Justice : I find that in the Estimates there is £3,000 put down under Head 49, sub-head (4)—Expenses in connection with Crown Cases. This is an item which I consider to be nothing less than a luxury. If you look at the Ministry of Justice estimates you have in all about 40 lawyers, and the present cost is £87,210, and this does not include any other staff. These expenses in connection with Crown cases, what are they for? What kind of cases? This is definitely too much. For what purpose has this £3,000 been earmarked? Does it mean that the 40 lawyers in the Ministry of Justice have got to bring in special lawyers from outside to assist? This is something which should be looked into.

Minister of State (Chief the hon. H. Omo-Osagie): On a point of information, referring to what the hon. Senator says, I do not know whether our Government is wasting money at all because I know of a Region which has an Attorney-General who has to hire another Q.C. to take his cases for him in the court.

Senator Asemota : Are we going to take a leaf from that Region? Does it mean that if the Regions are hiring lawyers, the Federal Government should also do so? Does it also mean that the Federal Government should follow the actions of the Regional Governments? If a Regional Government

is going to occupy a precipice, well, let them get on with it, but that does not make sufficient justification for the Federal Government to follow the same way as the Regional Governments.

Chief the hon. H. Omo-Osagie : But I said that it was *not* wasted.

Senator Asemota : The point that I would like to refer to is the Security Section of the Police Department. We have heard a lot about the Police already and, I think, the new wave of crime that is spreading through this country to-day, that is, child stealing and slave trading. Again, this is such that the Government will really have to look into it.

I was reading the Police Report for 1959 which has just been published. (There again, you see, we are handicapped. We do not know what is actually happening about the issuing of Police Reports.) They stated in section 37 of the Report, and I quote—

“Thirty-six more cases of child stealing were reported in 1959, but the number of convictions obtained for this offence rose from five to fifteen; at the end of the year there were eighty-seven cases pending. A special section of Force C.I.D. Headquarters has been formed to deal with missing persons, including children, and while it is a little early to assess its success, it is hoped that it will prove of value in the locating of persons reported missing.”

And this is admitted in their Report. And since there have been daily occurrences of child stealing from all parts of the country, people are afraid to send their children about unaccompanied. Parents are afraid to send their children to school unaccompanied because they could be stolen. And yet we have a big Police Force for which we are spending enormous sums of money, as could be seen in the Estimates, and only a report of thirty-six cases out of which only five to fifteen have been caught. I think it is a matter that is very serious and we would like the Government to make a special note of this so as to be able to make the country safe for children to move about with freedom.

Slave dealing is also a common thing in the country to-day. A taxi driver goes to the market and picks up a woman with the intention of delivering her to where she wants to go. The next thing you hear is that she is missing. And yet the Police are silent on the matter!

An hon. Senator : They are not silent ; they are working.

Senator Asemota : *Telephone services.* I do not think there is a time that this House does not refer to telephone services. What worries me most about telephone services is that however much we complain about the rudeness and about the inefficiency of the telephone services, it still continues the same. There does not seem to be any improvement at all. I have been trying to get a call to Benin since yesterday. They tell me that the line is bad. Since yesterday ! Well, what sort of service do we get as a result of that sort of thing ? That is another point that I would like the Government to investigate.

Now I come to the question of roads. I think that everybody will first of all expect me to mention the Shagamu-Benin Road. It is really becoming such an issue now that, with your permission, Sir, I think the Minister of Finance should make a categorical statement as to the time and date that this road will be ready to go into operation. I will not go into details of all the times when we have raised the point and the answer that we have been getting. We know that there has always been a ready-made answer and I do hope that, before I go, the Minister—

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : I am making one.

Senator Asemota : Thank you very much. Well, make one, and we will be able to use the road. But I understand that the bridges are very narrow. In this present-day life when we want to construct a first-class road costing millions of pounds, at least the Government should see that the money is well spent and not give us a death trap.

On the question of roads, I would also like the Government to re-examine their position in connection with the widening of roads, particularly between Benin and Asaba, and the bridges which we pass there. The people from the East will testify to what I am saying. The bridges are nothing but death traps. If a lorry is coming from one direction and a car from the other direction and one happens to have a weak brake, that is the end of the people concerned, because the bridge is so narrow, the road is so bad and the cars are so many that I think if the Government really want to do a good job and make a first-class road, that is one of the things they should take into consideration.

Now there is allegation I think one hon. Senator made about the allocation of plots in Lagos. We in the Provinces really feel that we should be allowed to have a share in some of the good things that are happening in Lagos. We saw the names of many people to whom plots were allocated published in the newspapers yesterday. One hon. Senator has said here that none of us was allocated a plot except Dr Esin. Many of us happened to have filled the forms and yet not one of us was considered ; I did not see the name of any other Senator myself. The Minister of Health should kindly tell the Minister of Lagos Affairs that we register a very strong protest against the way in which these allocations are made.

I come to the Ministry of Transport and Aviation.

The Minister of Economic Development (Hon. Mallam Waziri Ibrahim) : On a point of information, I think about six of us here got some plots allocated to us, so I think the Senate is well taken care of.

Senator Asemota : Well, we do not grudge the people who are lucky to have had some plots allocated to them, but one thing is that things should not be given only to the people who are always available in Lagos. We also would like to benefit from the allocation of these plots.

The President : The hon. Minister of Health has said that the hon. the Oni of Ife was allocated a plot and he is not resident in Lagos.

Senator Asemota : It means, therefore, that the man is lucky and that they know the people to whom the plots will be distributed. But in future the Government should have the Senators' names in mind.

Minister of State (Chief the hon. H. Omo-Osagie) : The hon. Senator has said that no Senator has got a plot with the exception of Dr Esin. Well, I want to tell him that His Highness the Oba of Lagos has also got a plot.

Senator Asemota : With the exception of the Oba of Lagos, I think no other Senator has got a plot. All the other Senators have not been lucky enough to get a plot, but some people got at least three plots. The President of the Senate, by virtue of his position should get at least three. The Government should please bear this in mind that we Senators would like to benefit also.

I should like to refer to the Sapele ferry. The intention of Government was to put up that ferry to relieve congestion. Although it has relieved the congestion a little, it is not working as smoothly as we expected. The ferry is so big and the distance it travels is so short that people practically spend more time now in crossing with the new ferry. It drags on and on with no one because the ferry is so big and carries about 20 vehicles at a time and sometimes it breaks down before it gets through. I hope the Government will look into that.

The other thing I would like to mention is the drowning in the River Niger about which we read daily in the newspapers. We read in the newspapers a few days ago that so many people drowned in the River Niger mainly due to faulty engines. Some of these passenger canoes have faulty engines and when they get to the middle of the river, the engines become inoperative and as a result the tide comes and takes them away and the unfortunate passengers get drowned. The time has come, therefore, for the Government to institute some rules and regulations and also to see that the boats are river-worthy before approving licences for each and everyone of these people owning these engine canoes. Death is so constant that the Government should not keep quiet. I am asking, that the Government should look into that. It is very, very dangerous indeed.

We heard sometime ago that the intention of Government is to increase international airports in Nigeria. If I should say so, Benin is the proper centre for this. I think all hon. Senators will agree with that. As it is now, we understand that additional airports will be provided for Enugu and Port Harcourt. I would not be surprised because the Minister of Transport and Aviation comes from that area, but the fact is this that Benin is more central and more suitable for one of these international airports if the Government is willing to do things according to how they should be done. So, I am appealing to you, to pass this remark to the Minister of Transport and Aviation to consider Benin for an international airport.

I now come back to the austerity measures introduced by the Minister of Finance. It is all well and good that prices have been increased, but we want an assurance from the

Minister that within the next year or so there will be no further commission of inquiry to deal with this issue. The trouble in this country to-day is caused by the Government doing things without reason whatsoever. They increase prices and when the trade unions start crying for salary increases, the Government institute a commission of inquiry. And the cost of these commissions of inquiries will be more than what we can get as a result of the increases in prices. And then the recommendation will be that people should get five *per cent* here, ten *per cent* there, and so on and so forth. It will be found in the end that the increases in prices do not worth anything.

If the Government want to increase prices of commodities as they have done now, they should please remember that there will be protests from trade union leaders. This is what the trade union leaders will be doing. They will remind the Government that the low income workers buy from the same markets as everybody else, which is absolutely true particularly when the elections are near, the trade unions will start to push forward their claims and they will be quite entitled to do so. The Government will then start to set up all sorts of commissions of inquiry. These commissions of inquiry will be asked to study the position and when the result of this study is published, it is seen that increases are recommended and the recommendation is put into force. This will virtually carry away all the increases which were made in the prices of commodities. I do hope that the Minister of Finance will bear in mind that if we are alive to see the next few years, we hope we shall not see any further commission of inquiry to review wages which the present increases in prices have brought about.

The next thing is scholarships. Many Senators have spoken about scholarships. I have always said in this Senate that for the Government to be able to allay the fears of the people outside Lagos it should say which part of the Regions the people who receive scholarships come from. It is perfectly simple for the Government to say that these people come from, say, the Eastern Region; it is only right for the Government to say that these people come from the West, these people come from the North. That will make everybody realise that we are really being cared for.

[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

People will be able to know how many scholarships have gone to the people in Lagos and how many to the people in Benin or the Mid-West and so on and so forth.

We heard the Oba of Lagos say a short time ago that people in the Regions have better facilities for post-secondary education than the people in Lagos, which is perfectly correct. We in the Provinces say that the people in Lagos receive all the scholarships. To whom then has the Government given the scholarships? The people in Lagos are not satisfied with the awards of scholarships. We in the Regions are not satisfied with the awards of scholarships. Will the Government please make a statement and give us details of the scholarships they awarded recently, where the people have come from and so on. In the West they do that.

I would like to refer to the various comments made by hon. Senators in connection with doctors. It is true that most of our doctors spend more time looking after themselves. But can that be the only reason? Have they got sufficient medicines in the hospitals? There are cases for instance where a person goes to the hospital in the morning, not only that he remains there till the afternoon before he returns, but he will also be given a paper to go and get medicine from a chemist. Why should the Government not be able to supply adequate medicine to the hospitals? I think if there are sufficient medicines in the hospitals the hew and cry about lack of medical attention in Lagos in particular for which the Federal Government is responsible will be reduced. So I do hope that the Minister of Health who is here with us will re-examine that position. We know that there is a dearth of doctors and that sometimes the nurses are mischievous, but if the Minister can assure us that that side of the business will be taken care of, all will be well.

With these few remarks I beg to support the Bill.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : Sir, I would not waste the time of the House. I am very happy that the hon. Minister of Finance came back to this question of taxing women. I have been talking about this for a long time. The Government has now realised the importance of raising revenue through this source of

income. I think that the Government has not gone so far enough. Tax from the unmarried women is a source of income that Government should try to look into.

I think that most of these unmarried women are prostitutes and I should like to suggest that the Government should look into the possibility of taxing this class of women. I have to prove this. In the first place, for economic reasons; the women flock into towns and they do nothing but create some impediment in the way of progressive young men. I believe that if they are taxed the Government will realise a lot of money because they are very many in the towns. At least this will serve as a deterrent against prostitution.

Again, this is a great social evil. Nigeria is becoming too unhealthy as far as this social evil is concerned. In certain places, the native authorities are trying to tax these unmarried women simply to keep them at home.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Sir, I do not know whether the hon. Senator would like to tell us by what sources of income these women are going to be taxed?

Senator Abaagu : I think they make money through unpopular means, and I would not like to go into the details of how they make their money, but anybody who knows the evil practices which abound in the towns will support the idea that they should be taxed. In certain places the N.As. try to enforce tax on these women simply to keep them at home. When they are young some of them go to school, and then they break off their schooling and the next thing we hear is that they are in Lagos, in Kano or in Onitsha. I think that as a country of very high morals we should look into this question of prostitution.

The second point is the salaries in the civil service. I always understand the plight of the civil servant, especially the lower income group. These people are really living below the level of subsistence. Take for example somebody who is earning about £8 per month, at the best we can say that he has 7s-6d per day to spend, and now the Minister is making a bottle of beer to cost 5s, so that one bottle of beer has taken two-thirds of his daily bread—leaving little for the other necessities. I cannot see how such a person can live.

The Minister of Finance : Why should a man on 7s-6d a day drink beer—why not palm wine ?

Senator Abaagu : Well, beer-drinking is becoming part of the staple food of certain people, and since it is one of the necessities I see no reason why there should be such a high import duty on this beer. I am not suggesting that Nigeria should go the way of the Congo where I understand the people have their breakfast in beer, their lunch in beer and their dinner in beer, but since a very great number of people live by drinking, drinking has become at best a necessity, and for that reason I would suggest that the tax on beer should be reduced.

The Minister of Finance : Declare your interests in drinking.

Senator Abaagu : I do not drink much myself, but I am thinking of the people who have developed the habit of taking beer as part of their diet.

I want to make mention of salaries of senior civil servants. I always feel that the salaries paid to these people in the top ranks of the civil servants are too high for a country which is passing through an austerity period, as Nigeria is. I am referring to salaries over £2,000 a year. As far as the expatriates who are drawing such high salaries are concerned, well, of course, an expatriate is not expected to live on a very low salary because of the way he has been brought up. But in Nigeria I see no reason why a person needs to spend more than 10s per day on food ; he can do so if he likes—or even less. I would therefore suggest that a salary of £2,000 is adequate for our top-ranking civil servants.

If we want to give more because perhaps a certain top-ranking civil servant happens to have some sort of world-wide connection, or perhaps he may be known within and beyond the confines of Nigeria, so that he has many overseas visitors, in addition to his salary of £2,000, such a man could receive say £200 or £300 entertainment allowance, and that would bring his pay to about £2,300. I think that would be sufficient, but £3,000 a year is too much. I would suggest therefore that the top salary for any top-ranking civil servant should be £2,000 and nothing more. A politician can take more because, of course, he does not stay always in office, and of course

he must entertain, so I would not mind if politicians take more than £2,000.

The other point is Nigerianisation. We have recently heard welcome news about Nigerianisation of top ranks in the Army and in the Police Force. This news is very welcome, but I would suggest that after the Nigerianisation of these top ranks, the Government should pursue the policy of Nigerianisation of certain posts with great care and caution. I say this because we should be grateful to some expatriate members of the Civil Service whom we appreciate have held some responsible positions and some of them have performed duties which we as indigenous servants cannot do. For this reason I would suggest that the Nigerianisation of certain posts should be pursued with great care and caution.

If we look into the question, say, of the Police Force we will recognise that if an expatriate T.I.O. passes a driver, that driver must be a competent driver ; but when the expatriate officer goes away and is replaced by a Nigerian there is the chance that a driver will be said to have passed the driving test even though he is incompetent, because perhaps he may be related to the officer in question, or he may find that an African is more approachable to go and drink some beer with him. So I would suggest that we should not send these people away and then Nigerianise such posts. We should not Nigerianise certain posts at the expense of the tax-payers.

The other thing I want to mention is the epidemic diseases which occurred recently in the North. There are certain Provinces in the North, Provinces like Katsina and Kano and I think Adamawa, where cerebral spinal meningitis takes a heavy toll of lives every year. I do not know whether it is within the competence of the Federal Government to look into the ways of trying to check the menace of this dreadful disease. There are cases of smallpox too in certain areas in the North. If it is not the responsibility of the Federal Government to find out how these diseases can be checked, I would suggest that the Government should devise a way of helping the Northern Regional Government to stem this dreadful disease. We read in the papers recently that very many lives were lost through these diseases in the Provinces I have just mentioned.

[SENATOR ABAAGU]

I think the Government deserve congratulations for what they are trying to do to improve the progress and welfare of the common man. For this reason, I will pray that this Government remains in office after the 1964 Federal Elections.

I support the Bill

4.50 p.m.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : I would like to explain to this hon. House that my intervention in the Debate at this time does not mean the closing of the Debate, but I am doing this because I have another engagement. Without any intention at all to disrespect this House, I would like to say that I have another engagement which, I am sure, hon. Senators will agree with me is an essential one.

As hon. Senators are aware, the Vice-President of the World Bank has been in Nigeria and he should be leaving shortly after six o'clock this evening. I am therefore duty bound to be at the airport to see him off. That is why I want to reply to some of the points that hon. Senators have kindly made. Other speakers may speak after me.

I would like to express my appreciation to hon. Senators who have been very generous in expressing appreciation to the Government and my humble self for what we have been doing for this country. I must say this, that this country has every reason to thank God for giving us somebody in the person of our respected Prime Minister, because his wisdom, his statesmanship, his respectability, his comportsment and the way he deals with human-beings—maybe out of his background or religion—has done a lot to bring this country together, whether in Government or in Opposition. And I am sure that we shall all pray for long life for him so that he may continue to lead this country because this country is a difficult one with over 200 dialects, if I may say so, and different people, everybody speaking for his own microscopic unit, Region, area—Ilorin, the Mid-West, Bornu or Adama-wa. I must say it is a difficult country to rule. We must thank God for giving us this great son of Africa, if I may say so, at this particular time.

With the introduction of the 1962-68 Development Programme, we are entering a new era entirely, and what we are building now is not being built for ourselves but for generations yet unborn, because it is this Economic Programme, prepared by the Federal Government and all the Regional Governments that will lay the foundation on which the future economic prosperity of this great country will be built. If we fail that will be the end of everything that is dearest to our hearts, and by the grace of God and with the co-operation of Mr President and hon. Senators I am sure we will succeed. (*Hear, hear*).

I would like also to say that this Programme has been drawn up with the national interest at heart and that is why it has a national character. I am sure that both Ministers, civil servants, statutory corporations and those in the private sector, when trying to discharge their duties in this Development Programme will have nothing exercising their minds but the interest of Nigeria as a whole. But Nigeria, as some Senators have said, cannot be satisfied by pouring money or industries into one section of the country. But this is a very big country and I am sure that both the Federal Government and the Regional Governments will do their best.

There is one thing that this Federal Government has put forward and that is sizeable money. The sum of £25 million has been set aside in the Development Programme for the development of agriculture so it is not the question of research that the Federal Government has been doing hitherto. We are now pouring money into agriculture because Nigeria is an agricultural country and unless we develop our agriculture, there is nothing we can offer. When we have developed our agriculture, the basic industries, the setting up of an iron and steel industry, the Niger Dam Project which will give electricity to about three-quarters of the country and then provide irrigation, navigability and fisheries; we shall have all these industries and projects on which any country's development must survive or perish. If we have cheap electricity, all the people will benefit from it. In Japan for instance, most of the factory owners do not just work in their factories. What they do if they want to

produce say bicycles is this : they have village industries. Some of these village industries produce bicycle spokes, others produce tyres even in their village homes. When they produce certain quantities they take them to the factory for assembly. So, we can do in this country.

In the Eastern Region for instance, we have the people in Awka Division who naturally are ingenious in trying to work on iron and a lot of things. I am sure that if we can give them electricity and give them the technical know-how they will be able to produce a lot of things. In Benin City, in Bornu, in all parts of this country people have the latent intelligence, all that is required is the necessary finance and that is why the Central Bank, as I said, will be coming in a big way to give finance to people even for buying export crops. We know that in most cases many who are traders find difficulty in finding money to buy produce and the commercial banks are not able to subsidize them. Sometimes, people query that they give to Syrians and Lebanese loans and money for this purpose and not indigenous traders. The time has come for us to break that and we can only break that by using the Central Bank as the Bank of issue to give some money to support the indigenous banks that are properly run as well as expatriate banks so that they can give credit facilities to our businessmen.

The people of Nigeria are shrewd businessmen. There are honest businessmen among us, the trouble is that we lack the finance. By my position I am able to know that nearly every important expatriate company is living on overdraft from the Banks, but Nigerian businessmen are not given the same opportunity. What have we done? Have we failed to the extent that people cannot have confidence in us? We want our people to co-operate, to join together so that Government can allow the Central Bank to finance the Commercial Banks and the Commercial banks to finance our businessmen.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku, he is not here this evening, made fuss about scholarships for Lagos and the question maybe by implication of amenities for Lagos which our respected Oba, Senator Sir Adeniji Adele II also spoke about. I want to say that the people of Lagos have every reason to thank God and their stars because if what is being done in Lagos by the

Federal Government can be shifted to any area without giving scholarships to the people I am sure every Senator here will like it. Is it not so?

Several hon. Senators : Yes.

The Minister of Finance : Let us carry it to Bornu, and I am sure that the respected Senator Shettima Kashim will say, "Bring it to Bornu and do not give us scholarship".

Therefore, the less we hear about this demand in Lagos the better. What more can the Federal Government do? Just go round Lagos and see. What of the education? Look at the University of Lagos and the Teaching Hospital in Lagos. For what population? Look at the Northern Region where there is only Sir Ahmadu Bello's University, the Western Region with only the Ife University, and the Eastern Region with the University of Nigeria at Nsukka. All these universities are not for the regional indigenous people alone. They are for the whole country. Lagos being the Federal Capital must present a true picture of our country, and we are all proud of Lagos. We are sure that with the new system of scholarship allocation which the Federal Government is initiating now, I can assure His Highness that Lagos will have her full share.

The hon. Senator Chief Beyioku also spoke about the regionalisation of the civil service and tribal sentiments. We hope that the time will come when it will be possible to federalise the civil service. That time is very remote, indeed, because if there are Regional Governments, there must be Regional civil service and, the Regional service must draw its staff from the Regional students leaving school. But where it is possible that a post must be awarded on merit, or where a specialised civil service job is to be filled, not only will we be able to draw people from the Regions but also outside Nigeria.

He also spoke about the I.L.O. and conventions. Conventions are conventions. The I.L.O. is not a sanctioning body which can force any Government to ratify any convention. If a convention is passed it is expected that all member countries will ratify it. If they do not, there is nothing we can do about it.

Senator Chukwubike spoke about the abrogation of the Defence Pact and so on and attributed it to progressive Government. I

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think that too much fuss has been made of the Defence Pact. It was not a unilateral pact, but thank God that we have a Government like the Federal Government that is able to listen to criticism and take the right action at the right time. I think that we have every reason to praise the Federal Government.

He also spoke about aerodrome for Onitsha and asked for other amenities for certain parts of the Eastern Region. In the Development Programme he will find that an aerodrome for Onitsha has been provided.

I am grateful to all Members who spoke about the evil of smuggling, especially to Senator Asemota who spoke about the smuggling of boys—he said that people have been taking away children and so on. There is a great danger that if we can stop smuggling completely and stop night marauders completely, then we must be afraid of our children too and even of our own lives, because it is true that there is unemployment in the country, and when people have nothing to do, and we cannot give them something to do to earn a living, they have to resort to all sorts of things, so, if they see children they will catch them and sell them. Therefore, we have to be careful with our children. At the same time, we hope that when this Development Programme has taken full shape we shall be able to provide enough work for our people. It is very disheartening that in Nigeria many people want to live just by the word of mouth or so. There is enough room for people to till the ground in the provinces, but everybody is coming to the cosmopolitan townships in order to try to live by hook or crook. We want our people to go back to the Regions to till the ground, and with the programme for agriculture, I think that people will have enough to do.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba said rightly that civil servants are already indirectly contributing their quota to the Development Programme, and that it is unnecessary to tax them excessively. I must agree with him that civil servants are human-beings like ourselves, and obviously no Minister can succeed without an efficient and contented civil service. Therefore, the hon. Member who said that civil servants earn too much must remember that civil servants are not allowed to undertake any other kind of enterprise. In the mercantile world a storekeeper can do a lot of things to

earn more money, and if we want an incorruptible yet efficient civil service, it must be a contented one. Therefore, when we tax whisky, beer, and all these things, these people are also paying indirectly. I think that it will be killing the goose that lays the golden egg if we reduce their salaries drastically and make them dissatisfied.

He also mentioned something about the stability of Nigeria and the distribution of amenities in the rural areas. There again I agree with him. But I cannot agree with him when he advocates that the increase of duty on liquor should be doubled or trebled. Surely, I think that just because the hon. Alhaji does not take whisky, brandy, or beer, he would like us to tax Abaagu who takes fancy in drinking beer excessively!

Mrs Wuraola Esan has praised the Opposition Leader that he has sold ideas to us. As a matter of fact, I do not know one person who in this world can claim to be a custodian of ideas. Surely, the Leader of the Opposition must have got his ideas from somewhere, and since he cannot be the only custodian of such ideas, naturally other people too might have other sources of getting their ideas. But if we have taken anything from the criticism of the Opposition, it is a credit to this Government. I must say that the Opposition in the Federal Legislature is quite critical, and it is an able Opposition, but we the Government certainly do not carbon copy any Opposition policy which may be a political policy. If there is any constructive criticism from the Opposition, it is our duty to take it into serious consideration when formulating our programme, because both the Opposition and ourselves belong to this country, and the country is ours. If we, for political reasons, reject good advice or suggestion from the Opposition, we will not be doing credit to ourselves and to this country.

Much has been said about the taxation of women. I do not want to flog a dead horse. I agree completely with those who express the view that taxation should know no sex. But somebody has said that taxation in Lagos is arbitrary. I take very serious objection to that. Taxation in Lagos is not arbitrary. On the contrary, it is the lowest in the country. As I said, in Lagos anyone who has no income pays no tax.

Mrs Wuraola Esan said that when tax assessment forms are given to the people they are assessed arbitrarily. I know some places in this country where assessment forms are not given to people but they just look at their faces and ask them to pay so much. But in Lagos it is not so. When the assessment form is given to you, you are expected on your own to declare your income, and if you say that you have no income, nobody can assess you. I would like a case to be reported to me as the Minister responsible for the Board of Inland Revenue that somebody who has no income is being assessed. We say that anyone on an income of a hundred pounds a year, that is, a salary of £8-6s-8d a month should pay only ten shillings. If one earns £300 he pays £3. That is the tax on an income of £300. Hon. Senators will agree with me that £3 on a salary of £300 is a very reasonable tax to pay in the Nigerian circumstance. What is even more, we allow them to pay on the P.A.Y.E. system so that if one is assessed ten shillings a year, one has twelve months in which to pay at the rate of ten pence a month. Hon. Senators will agree with me that this is quite a generous assessment indeed.

Senator Chief Mrs Wuraola Esan said this morning that fridaire is not a luxury because fruits and other things like that are kept in it. How many people in the rural areas can buy a fridaire? I remember that in my youth, and other older hon. Senators will remember that, in the olden days our mothers in the villages knew how to get cold water by putting water in a clean pot, covering it up and burying it in the soil. After sometime, this water becomes as cool as ice. That was how we were brought up. Some of the hon. Senators must have seen the huge refrigerators on sale at the Kingsway. If a young man just out of school puts a big radiogram and that kind of huge refrigerator packed full with bottles of beer in his room so that his girl friends can say that he is a big man, is he not living luxuriously? That is the point. We must tax such things and I think that nobody should quarrel with the Government, saying that the people are suffering when such things are taxed.

As a matter of fact, there is no rich man in Nigeria. A man who is in debt is not a rich man. A rich man is a man who is not in debt. If a poor man is not in debt, if he

cuts his coat according to his size and he is not worried by his creditors, he is surely a rich man. The rich man who builds storey houses on credit or on overdrafts from banks is surely not a rich man. The poor man is even better than he. We do not want false big men or false rich man who ride big cars and who at night think about the debts which they owe the banks.

We should make the sacrifice that we are called upon to make at this particular time towards the development of Nigeria because we happen to be living in the transitional stage. This is like the stage in America or in the United Kingdom when the people who built the economy had to make sacrifice and had to plan for the future. That is why I say that the economists of to-day are too theoretical. The people—our fore-fathers—who built this nation—Nigeria—never had a B.Sc. degree, and yet they knew how to trade and they made more money than we are making now. It was so in the United Kingdom and in America. The builders were pragmatists. They were people who were not theoreticians. They believed in working with their hands; they made mistakes, rectified their mistakes, and made progress. I think that that is what we want in Nigeria. In other words, we want practical men.

I am sure that a lot of the Senators here are rich men because I know a lot about their background. They are people who worked hard. They made mistakes and learned from their mistakes. The young men of to-day, on leaving school, at once look around them saying that hon. Senator Obi has got four houses and that he must therefore quickly build himself one or two. He does not realise how long it took hon. Senator Obi to build his financial strength.

We must discourage this false life in Nigeria. I call it "false life" because our young men are fond of showing off. They think that because they have had university education and are civil servants or managers they must ride in big cars. We must discourage that.

Hon. Senator Abaagu spoke about beer and so on. I think that the hon. Senator must realise that a bottle of palm wine, cooled in ice or cold water, is sold at 4d a bottle and that if one contents oneself with drinking that or Fanta, or Ginger Ale as I do, then one will

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be better off. But if somebody is interested in drinking whisky, brandy and imported beer, that person must be able to pay for it. That is what we say. Those who are interested in taking luxurious things should pay for them.

Hon. Senators will be surprised to hear what I said in the Lower House, that even during the groundnut season Nigerians could be found buying coconut and groundnut at Kingsway. Instead of going to Jankara market to look for groundnuts and coconuts, they go to the Kingsway to buy all these things, and they take pride in doing so. These are the people who buy raw corn taken from our own farms at the Kingsway. That is the type of thing we must discourage in this country. We produce corned beef in Kano, but this type of Nigerians prefer to buy Exeter corned beef. The Star beer is brewed in Nigeria, but we find our men asking for Heineken's beer as if Heineken's beer is made in his father's home. Star beer is the Nigerian beer and every Nigerian who wants to drink beer should drink it. But if they choose to drink brandy or whisky or Heineken's, should they not pay for it?

The Senators : They should. We agree with you.

The Minister of Finance : They must pay for it.

The hon. Senator Asemota spoke about the allocation of plots. I want to say that the list which was published in one newspaper yesterday was not the full list. Although I have had no means of checking on this, I know that that list did not contain the total number of plots which has been allocated in Lagos for some years now. All that the newspaperman wanted to do was to spotlight the prominent figures in Nigeria to whom lands were allocated. That newspaperman should know that the lands were balloted for. Mr President himself will be surprised to know that at that time it was found out that most of the lands in Lagos were in the hands of Syrian and Lebanese. It was then thought that the lands should be given to the indigenous people. They were balloted for and a lot of people won. Others who did not even apply won. But what did we see? Little by little, they kept selling the lands and transferring them to the very Syrians and Lebanese. Is that what hon. Senators want to have going on in this country?

Hon. Senators : No, no.

The Minister of Finance : Somebody was talking about civil servants. Are all these Senators, Ministers, and Parliamentarians not Nigerians? Why should we begin to draw a difference between Ministers, Senators, Parliamentarians and civil servants who are all Nigerians and are indigenous people of this country? After all, Ministers are birds of passage; they come and they go.

We do not like people to use their position to acquire these things. That is what we do not like. I am sure, however, that nobody is doing so because most of us, before entering into public life, owned properties of our own. We did not use influence to get them.

People should realise that fingers are not equal and people who are not so successful in life should not impute improper motives to people who made success of their lives before they became Ministers, or Senators, or Parliamentarians.

I want to say that I have implicit confidence in my Colleague the hon. Minister of Lagos Affairs. I know that in the allocation of plots nothing better can be done than by balloting for them and giving some to people who are able to build houses on them rather than giving them to people who will only sell them to people who are not indigenous citizens of Nigeria.

I think the other points made by hon. Senators will be carefully considered by the Government because the Government is always very careful in treating the debate of this honourable House because they always contain a lot of advice and good suggestions which will enable the Government to carry out its duties successfully.

But there is one point which hon. Senator Asemota made about wiping away the wells of the Mid-West. The oil industry is a very new one in Nigeria and we expect oil to be found in all parts of Nigeria. In this country if one mineral is found in one place, it is generally found in another place.

As a matter of fact, during this year some people came to my office and told me that they were here to prospect for diamond. I hear that in the Ilorin area there is a possibility of getting diamond. Therefore, one sees that Nigeria cannot be incapacitated. Already, we have gold, tin, iron ore, oil and all sorts of

minerals. If we get diamond, I hope Ilorin people will not be selfish and say that it belongs to them alone because it will belong to all of us.

Therefore, any oil that is found in the Mid-West or in Port Harcourt or elsewhere in the country belongs to Nigeria. At the same time, whatever mineral is found in any part of the country belongs to Nigeria. That is the essence of one Nigeria. We hope that these oil wells will produce and refineries will be built in this country so that it will help to redress the imbalance of our trade position.

Once again, I am deeply touched by the appreciation by hon. Senators of my stewardship, and I assure them that if it pleases the Prime Minister to entrust me with this responsibility, I shall always put before me the interest of Nigeria and above all see that I discharge my duties in a way that will always win the praise of all of you.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to comment on one other point before I sit down. Senator Asemota referred to the sum of £3,000 under Cabinet Office and said that the person there was usurped, *et cetera*. I would like to refer the hon. Senator to page 276 of the printed Estimates. If hon. Senators will look at page 276 under Head 22—Cabinet Office—paragraph 19 sub-head 1 (9), they will see that it is explained there that—

“This is a new post which is expected to be filled by a suitable Nigerian Economist who will understudy the present Economic Adviser so that when the latter’s secondment expires, there will be no vacuum.”

I am sure that hon. Senators will agree that this is a wise move. While we have here an Indian Economist who is working as an Economic Adviser to the Federal Government, we must have a Nigerian Economist to understudy him, and he has to be paid, so that when he goes away this Nigerian will be a square peg in a square hole.

Senator T. Olamijulo : I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to play my part.

First of all, I have to make mention of the work of the Police. Much has been said with regards to the Police Force in this country. It forms a very important part of the whole and a lot of money has been spent for this Department. These policemen are capable

of making us happy as well as making us unhappy. They are very necessary officers, and as such we need to cater for them as we have always done. We should always inform them of what things to do and they should do them properly.

The first point that I would like to draw attention to is their relationship with drivers. I would like to recall a fact which I had once made mention of here, and that is allowing drivers to get drunk. A lot of lives have been lost because of driving when drunk. The Police Force should now be called upon to check these drivers from drinking a lot of beer, palm wine and other spirits.

My next point is about policemen receiving money from drivers. This behaviour is impairing their duties. I feel that the sooner the policemen stopped receiving money from drivers, the better for us and they will be doing a lot of good work for the country. Offending drivers should be punished.

I would like to make a comment on the state of our commerce and industry. We all realise to what extent the country is going with regard to education. It seems that we are going to have educated folks who will have to go back to the land if they have nothing else to do. Many a time many children who have never worked on farms have been asked to go back to the land with ordinary hoes, spades, *et cetera*. It is very good to hear from the Minister now that a lot of preparation is being made to use mechanised machinery in these farm settlements. If our children are taught to be able to use better implements for farming, I think that going back to the land will always be a joyous thing for them. Therefore, the sooner the Ministries realised their duty and did it as quickly as possible the better for the country. Unless these industries are established quickly, we shall have a very bad state where the community will be full of unemployed liars.

I would like to make a comment on the Ministry of Communications. I think that it is not too much for us to say a few words about those working in this Ministry. There is a saying in our language that if we find a blacksmith hammering the same point when he puts his iron in the fire, it means that that point has a fault. It is good for us to say something about all the members of the staff and to ask them to do all that lies in their power to see that the causes of the blame given them are eradicated.

[SENATOR OLAMIJULO]

They are paid for their services and much is expected from them. At the same time, the Minister responsible should do all that lies in his power to see that offenders are punished.

I come now to the point of education. Many have spoken as regards scholarships.

What is good for the goose is good for the gander. I think it is quite right that all Regions should have a good share of scholarships. The chief reason is because we all contribute to the common purse and it is not very good if we all contribute and only some people reap the benefits. It is only right and proper for Lagos people to complain, but the fact remains that when we realise that a lot of people from different places live together in Lagos and we compare the indigenes of Lagos with all others, we shall see how very few in number are the real indigenes of Lagos. Unless scholarship awards are going to be allowed for Lagos alone as was mentioned categorically, I think that competition of this sort will ever remain.

Not only must we think about scholarships and education, I want us to feel that we have a lot to think about as a people with a culture. People at time think about ethics only with regards to character. Many do not realise the mischief that we do to ourselves as well as others by way of bad character. If we only know, learn and we are capable of realising what mischief do to others and ourselves by bad character then we shall be able to realise how important it is for people to be taught to acquire good morals.

I therefore feel that we should ask the Minister of Education to see to it that good character and morals are taught in schools. A lot of lives will also be saved if we are men of good character. I also want us to realise that a good education should teach us something about diseases and their causes and how to avoid them without necessarily going to doctors many a time.

I am very sorry that the Minister of Finance has gone, but I feel that it is better for the Minister standing in for him to let him know that he is not doing very well for the country by imposing a tax on petrol. A lot has been said to-day to support the view that the sooner he takes off the taxation on petrol, the better it will be. Licence fees have gone up recently and the

police too, as I mentioned before, receive their own. I think that all these should be considered and that we should realise that we are burning our candles at both ends. The sooner he is able to abrogate this increase, the better the service he will be doing to the country.

With regard to taxes on whisky, gin, tobacco and other things, as somebody has said, I feel that the moral side of our life should always be taken into consideration. Many would not like to know that those that are at the head of affairs can never be drunkards. I am very surprised to hear from the Minister of Finance that he takes to soft drinks and not whisky and all other drinks. I feel that those who give us electricity and other things must not be drunkards. Therefore, if these are heavily taxed, we will be doing good work to the country and I therefore praise him for taxing all these, irrespective of what many other people might think about it.

I have little to say about the Ministry of Works but at the same time, it is only right that a judicious distribution of these amenities is done in all the Regions.

I associate myself with all that the others have said and support the Appropriation Bill.

Whereupon the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance Chief H. Omo-Osagie rose in his place and claimed to move That the Question be now put ; but the President withheld his assent and declined then to put that Question.

Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi : I rise to support the Appropriation Bill for the year 1962-63 now before this House. In doing so I wish to express my deep appreciation for the good work done by the hon. Minister of Finance in compiling his so-called *Mobilisation Budget*. In preparing the Budget the Minister has used great foresight and employed great wisdom and accumulated experience. I am sure that every reasonable citizen will support the policies of the Minister and will support most of, if not all, his proposals.

The Minister's policy is that all our resources, within and outside, should be mobilised in order to bring a marked increase in the wealth and prosperity of this nation. Indeed, this is what is required from any budget.

A year ago I ventured to tell this Government that the independence we achieved in October 1960 could not be fully enjoyed by us unless

and until the economy of this country was improved. I am glad that this Government is sensitive and that it has responded. In the present Budget now under discussion, the Government has made every effort to bring about a real improvement in the economy of the country. I have to congratulate the Minister and the Government for that.

The Minister is aware that this country is largely dependent on exporting our raw materials and, at the same time, importing goods manufactured from our own materials. He has realised that such a state of affairs will never lead us anywhere and this Government is now planning to manufacture our raw materials for our use and, for use by the rest of the world. In other words, the Government is all out to industrialise this country. I welcome such a move. I notice that the Government is contemplating to do everything possible to create an atmosphere of thrift among all classes of people in this country by encouraging them to save in one way or the other. I welcome this.

It is the Government's intention to invite foreign investors to this country in such a way that our liberty will not be endangered. In other words, our freedom will not be enslaved. Such a move is necessary and welcome.

In its austerity measures this Government made a plan leading the citizens of this country on to further sacrifices which entail cuts in the salaries and the abandonment of privileges. I am sure that any reasonable citizen will face such a call with true determination. In the history of every nation in the world there will be a time when they will be called upon to sacrifice in order to save their honour or to hasten their development. For Nigeria that call is justified and timely.

The hon. Minister of Finance mentioned that he planned for the increase of import duties at the request of the Regional Governments. This is required to increase the revenue of the Regional Governments and to bring the sacrifices upon every individual in the country. Here I am rather inclined to say that the Government is bringing the sacrifices to bear a little too heavy on the civil servants; they have to save; to receive less and to pay more for things very essential in the carrying out of their duties.

In this respect I am further inclined to say that the import duty on vehicles is rather exorbitant with a minimum increase of 25 per cent and the highest increase up to 75 per cent. That is, a vehicle costing £800 will rise to £1,000 or, at most, £1,400. The cost of petrol, spare parts, licences and insurance have also risen. Transport is very essential for civil servants and so the cars owned by them should not be included among luxuries but rather they should be classed among the necessities. I therefore feel that this Government should reconsider its decision insofar as the cost of vehicles are concerned, or make a special arrangement to ease the difficulties that lie ahead of the poor civil servant.

With these few general remarks, I support the Appropriation Bill for the year 1962-63.

Whereupon Minister of State (Chief the hon. H. Omo-Osagie) again rose in his place and claimed to move, That the Question be now put.

Question, That the Question be now put, put and agreed to.

Main Question put accordingly and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time.

Minister of State (Chief the hon. H. Omo-Osagie): I beg to move that the Bill be now read the Third time.

The Minister of Health: I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time and passed.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn—(THE MINISTER OF HEALTH).

CLOSURE OF DEBATE ON APPROPRIATION BILL

Senator P. A. Ogunjipe: The way the Question has been put and the whole Appropriation Bill has been settled seems to baffle many Members of the House. The Budget Session is the most important Session in the year and there is no doubt that the Appropriation Bill took four or five days to be debated in the Lower House. But here in the Upper House it has taken one day. No doubt the Senators around me, and even some of those who have gone, thought that the debate would

[SENATOR OGUNDIPE]

continue tomorrow. I know that there are not less than 15 people who are still anxious to contribute to the debate.

It also appears that, and we often mention it, the Ministers are always prepared beforehand and they are already preoccupied with what they have to do and they always call us together after fixing a number of days that we have to stay, irrespective of what business is before this House in cases like this. It is a pity that it appears that the Government is trying to force us in this House into a powerless body.

Why I say this is that, if it were in the Lower House the Opposition would have brought pressure to bear on the Government and from four to six days would have been set aside for business such as this. But because we form an integral whole here we all speak in the same voice and try to compromise with each other. We do not wish to—

The President : I do not wish to interrupt unnecessarily, but I want to remind the Senator that the Standing Orders of the Lower House differ very much from the Standing Orders of the Senate insofar as Money Bills are concerned. In the Standing Orders of the Lower House a certain minimum time is allotted to the debate.

If the Senator will refer to Standing Order 49 of the Senate and if he will read it in conjunction with the Standing Order on Closure, Standing Order 31, he will find that we have done every thing constitutionally, legitimately and according to the Standing Orders.

It was of course for the Members of the Senate to say 'No' at the closure. But the closure was carried. That is Standing Order 31. When the closure was carried under Standing Order 31 the Question had to be put under Standing Order 49. I am afraid I will not accept any further debate on this point.

The Minister of Health : I would not like Senators to think that the Government deliberately want to cut short the debate on the Appropriation Bill and, following the same argument which the Senator used in this debate—that it took five days in the Lower House—I might point out that the Lower House contains 312 Members and, on the basis of that, in a House of 44 Members such as the Senate I think the Government has been very considerate in allotting a whole day to this debate.

As Senators know, the right of the Senate on the Appropriation Bill is very limited by the Constitution. We do not go into Committee of Supply. We examine the broad policies of the Government during the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill and I think we have had adequate opportunity of examining these broad policies during this debate.

I think that Senators themselves will appreciate that the Government has followed the correct method in presenting this Bill to the House.

SHAW ROAD RESTAURANT

Senator Abdul Salami Yusifu : I am very sorry to bring this matter to your notice, Mr President, that the hotel at Shaw Road which was open to Members has been closed down. I am sure that not only myself but also some other Members here, particularly those who are staying at the Ikoyi Shaw Road flats, will be inconvenienced by the closure of that hotel.

We did not come with our cooks or boys to prepare food for us. Yesterday I went down to the Ikoyi Hotel and interviewed the Manager there. According to him no information reached him that the Senate was reassembling. So, although the time for our stay here is rather short, I still think that something should be done about this.

ATTENDANCE OF MINISTERS

Senator T. Olamijulo : I feel that it is a duty of Senators to congratulate at this stage the Government for considering us worthy of the presence of many Ministers here. From time to time we have been deprived of the attendance of Ministers here who would hear our views and take appropriate action if need be. I feel that if we are to be treated like this we will have less to complain of.

MEMBERS' FLATS

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : I want to open again the question of the flats of the hon. Senators with regard to both the lack of amenities and the difficulties entailed by the kind of furniture and other equipment there. To be specific, I wanted to pay a compliment to an hon. Member yesterday. I knocked at his door, he wanted to open it for me, but he found that the key would not open the door from inside and, after some attempt to open

the door, he had to pass the key through the bottom of the door for me to open it from outside! I think he had only discovered that it was only by that way that the door could be opened.

I hope that the hon. Minister will be able to clear that anomaly. This is one of the several complaints which Members of the Senate at the Victoria Beach flats have made.

There are many others, such as the fact that, immediately Members enter the flat they find themselves in the kitchen and it is the smell of soup that welcomes one and all the mess in the kitchen can be seen. Among other things it was suggested that a screen be provided to cover the eye-sore of the kitchen since the construction of the building could not be altered.

Another thing is the mess of litter which is left lying around at the back of the flats where a Senator might wish to relax in the evenings. You will find that it is piled up with litter and rubbish which the caretakers were expected to remove and burn. I am just mentioning a few of the things which several Members have complained about in the past, but it seems that we come here to voice a genuine complaint which is never attended to. After a whole year or more these things ought to have been attended to.

CONVENING OF MEETINGS

Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu: I wish to touch upon the subject which my colleagues have mentioned in regard to the announcement of arrival of Members of the Senate. This thing has always been said in this House. I

think the Broadcasting Corporation staff regard this House too insignificant for such an announcement.

For example on the eve of the Meeting of the Regional Houses of Chiefs, announcements are widely made and the public is made aware of the arrival of the Chiefs. And these are merely Regional Houses! But when we come to the Federal House, the Senate, nothing is heard about the Meeting. If any announcement had been made about the arrival of Senators, the cooks in the hotels would have known that we would be requiring their services.

However, most of us here do not live in the Ikoyi flats and when we come here we bring along our cooks. But those who live in the Ikoyi flats are expected to take their meals there.

I want all these things brought to the attention of the Minister concerned through our President, particularly the problem of advertising ourselves often and often through the Broadcasting Corporation. Apparently the Government of the Federation and its employees do not take the elderly men of this House, the Senate, seriously. There is a parable that says that "One should say *I am*, before any man says *Thou art*."

If the hon. President will let me I should like to mention that—

The President: It is now 6 o'clock and the Senate stands adjourned until tomorrow at 10 a.m.

Adjourned accordingly at three minutes past six o'clock.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Tuesday, 1st May, 1962

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

MESSAGE FROM THE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The President reported His Excellency's Answer to the Address (26th March) as follows:—

"I have received with great satisfaction the expression of your thanks for the speech with which I opened the present session of Parliament."

ORDERS OF THE DAY

MID-WESTERN REGION BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Prime Minister : I beg to move—

That a Bill for an Act to establish a fourth Region of the Federation of Nigeria and for purposes connected therewith, be read a Second time.

This is a Bill, the history of which all Senators are very well aware of and I do not think that it requires any speech from me to introduce it to the Senate. However, I will merely read the explanatory memorandum, which says that the purpose of the Bill is to establish a Mid-Western Region consisting of the area mentioned in the Schedule to the Bill.

This was debated in the other House and it received the approval of that House. This should enable us to go ahead with the exercises provided in the Nigerian Constitution.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to second.

Senator Dahlton Asemota : This is a very welcome Bill indeed and I support it wholeheartedly. It is a momentous Bill, and the issues involved are straight-forward and quite simple. The Bill is a historic one, because future generations, in the reading of history, will pass the verdict that at the turn of the 20th century, the builders of the Nigerian nation laid an important stone in the edifice of the nation.

There is a different sense in which the Bill is also historic: the pages of history abound with examples of peoples determining their own

governmental being. A study of the various examples in history testify that none of the instances of the re-grouping of the peoples ever worked itself into a suitable pattern until the issue was settled right.

The Bill we now debate is grave. The challenge it throws to us is that this House should rise above the foibles of politics, should rise above normal human prejudices, that we should on this occasion, above all others, be true statesmen and fathers of the nation in order to ensure that the decision which we take on this Bill is the right decision and that this matter will be settled right. The saying goes that nothing is settled until it is settled right. In the nature of the Bill we debate we shall only be piling up troubles and confusion for our children and our children's children unless, in humility and honesty, in truth and self-sacrifice, in the spirit of charity and brotherly love, we take a decision which each one of us believes to be right.

What are the issues involved? The Bill is plain and that is, that the area known as the Mid-West in what is defined as Western Nigeria, be carved out and made into a separate State which should then become the fourth State in the Federation. The intentions of the Bill are quite clear, namely that henceforth, there shall be the Federal territory of Lagos and the following States or Regions: the Northern Region, the Eastern Region, the Western Region and the Mid-Western Region.

It is important to emphasise that an essential ingredient of this Bill is that, with effect from the creation of the Mid-West into a State, there shall be automatically four Regions. I do not think that this statement can be repeated too many times. The Bill must be understood to imply that, with effect from the creation of the Mid-West State, no other processes will be necessary concerning the constitutional recognition as a State of what is left of the present Western Region. This is the first point in this Bill which, in my view, Senators ought to bear in mind.

Secondly, the Bill intends to create a State and I consider that I ought to make it abundantly clear that we in the Mid-West are looking forward to this State with all eagerness. And the import of the second point I am making is that, upon the creation or the carving out of the Mid-West portion, a saving clause ought

to be added that if a period of transition became necessary with a view to setting up governmental, fiscal and administrative institutions for the new State, then that period of transition, when there will be a dependence either on the Federal Government or on the Western Region, ought to be a clearly-defined and stipulated period—a period, to my mind, which ought not to exceed six months.

The people of the Mid-West area have not asked to be carved into a separate State because they hate the other people in the rest of the Western Region and because they love more the people of the Federal territory; nor have the people asked to be carved out of the Western Region into a State because they hate the Action Group Government of the Western Region and love more the coalition Government at the centre.

Senator Chief T. A. Doherty : Is the Senator reading his speech ?

The President : He is entitled to refresh his memory from his notes.

Senator Asemota : I am actually refreshing my memory from my notes. This issue is so grave that I should like to take every precaution to see that what I say is said in the right place. That is why, with your permission, Sir, I should like to continue to refer to my notes to refresh my memory.

The President : But the Senator is not allowed to read his speech.

Senator Asemota : No, Sir. Not that I will be reading my speech, but I will be refreshing my memory from my notes.

Now, what I was saying is that the people of the Mid-West have not asked to be carved into a separate State because they hate the other people in the Western Region and because they love the people of the Federal territory; nor have the people asked to be carved out of the Western Region because they hate the Action Group Government of the Western Region and love the coalition Government at the centre.

If it should happen that the complexion of the Federal Government alters or that the complexion of the Western Region Government of to-day alters, the people of the Mid-West will still ask for a separate State. There is no going back from the fact that we should continue to press for a separate State for which we have the right to ask.

The crux of what I say is that if the people of the Mid-West are asking to be set up into a separate State merely because they hate the Action Group as a Government Party or because they are in love with the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. coalition Government at the centre, then I must urge this House with all the forces at my command to be of the opinion and so to state that the grounds on which the people of the Mid-West are asking for a Mid-West State are unsound and flimsy.

It is my firm belief, and I speak both as a Mid-Westerner and as an elder statesman, that the desire of the people of the Mid-West to ask for a Mid-West Region is not flimsy; it is sound and it is based upon their conviction. It is not a flimsy one and it is not based on the pass-words of politics. It is actuated by the burning desire of the people to be given the opportunity for them to develop social equality and the right to mould their own destiny.

Unfortunately, since the passing of the Referendum Bill, the issue of the creation of the fourth Region has sparked off a lot of comments at all levels within the Federation and I would like to take this opportunity of saying that the Mid-Westerners have every reason to be grateful to the Action Group Government in that no sooner they realised the passion of the people to create the new State in 1958 than they set up a preparatory method of educating the people on the governmental basis by setting up the Mid-West Advisory Council.

The Council consists of twenty-four Mid-Westerners drawn from every corner of the Mid-West area. The provision is fifty per cent N.C.N.C. and fifty per cent Action Group. The terms of reference of the Mid-West Advisory Council are. With your permission, Sir, I quote :

“(1) to meet from time to time for the interchange of views and information on development in the social, economic and cultural fields in Benin and Delta Provinces.

(2) to ensure that the Government is adequately informed of the needs of the area and of the impact of Government's policies and activities on the general life of the people of Benin and Delta Provinces”.

Those were the two terms of reference of the Mid-West Advisory Council when it was set up.

[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

I would like to take this opportunity also of naming the members of the Mid-West Advisory Council from which Senators can make up their minds so as to know where they come from, which part they belong to. The first one is my humble self who owe no allegiance to any political party. I represented Commerce. Chief J. W. Amu, who was to represent Culture; Mr J. Asaboro, who was to represent Industry; Mr E. A. Ekeruche, who represented Professions; Dr F. O. Esiri, who was to represent Health; Archdeacon Agori Iwe, represented Education; Mr D. U. Obusoh represented Labour; Mr E. E. Omere represented Forestry; Mrs P. O. Oviasu represented Women; Mr L. N. Ratcliffe represented Employers; Chief Usifo II, the Onogie of Ekpon, represented Agriculture; and Chief Eluoherio II, the Onogie of Igueben, represented the Chiefs.

Now, the Local Government representatives were: Mr P. E. Adonri, Mr T. G. Akoty, Mr S. Y. Eke, Mr S. O. Erume, Mr D. E. Mordi, Mr J. O. Odigie, Mr A. O. Okonji, Mr R. B. Onyebdise, Chief J. O. Bozimo, Chief F. G. Ojehomon, Chief M. M. Igbodaga, the Oliola of South Imeme.

I have the good fortune of being appointed to be the first chairman of this Advisory Council and we meet from time to time and submit reports to the Western Government. The first report submitted was in 1960 and it was sent to the Regional Government and it was tabled in the Regional House of Assembly as Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1960. What I should like to do exactly here is to refer to the remark that was made on page 3 of that report. If you excuse me, Mr President, I will just refer to that.

Now, the first report was tabled in the Western House of Assembly as Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1960. On page 2, paragraph 6 of that report I said, and with your permission, Sir, I quote:

"We are happy to report that the present co-operation had been established between the Council and all the Ministries in the Western Regional Government. I, accompanied by the Secretary, paid a visit to Ibadan in order to acquaint the Ministries with the work of the Council and to establish both social and economic contacts so essential to success."

Now, that Council worked well when another report was forwarded to Government

and the copy of the report was laid on the table of the House as Sessional Paper No. 11 of 1959. And on that report, I also wrote to Government, and with your permission, Sir, I quote page 19, paragraph 98:

"While concluding this Memorandum, news was received that the Ministry of Mid-West Affairs has now been reorganised into an independent Ministry, at the head of which the hon. Premier has been pleased to place another Mid-Westerner, Mr J. E. Otobo, with two other Mid-Westerners as Junior Ministers. It is with great pleasure that Council has received this news, being as it is, at once a verdict that the Mid-West Advisory Council is succeeding in its purpose of bringing the Mid-West area more and more to Government notice, and an encouragement that Government is fully prepared to devote the utmost time and attention to matters affecting the area".

This is to say that the news that goes about that the people of the Mid-West area asked to be separated from the Western Region simply because they were neglected is unfounded. We were not neglected at all. We had ample opportunity of pressing forward our case and all the time we received a reasonable share of the amenities from the Western Regional Government. At one time, I even said that we were having a little more than we should normally be entitled to.

Whatever happened, however, even if the Western Regional Government gave us more than two-thirds of whatever amenities they have, we will still have to be separated from the Western Region.

Those should not be any reasons why we should not be separated from the Western Region. We want to become an independent unit, so that no encouragement or anything else will interfere with our desire to form ourselves into a separate unit, because, as everyone knows, the history of the people of the Mid-West is so widely known that there is no time when we would be happy to be appended to any Region.

Before the advent of the European civilisation, the Mid-Westerners controlled Nigeria up to Zuru in the North—

Senator Salahu Fulani: On a point of order, may I ask when that was?

The President : That is not a point of order.

Senator Asemota : And we also controlled the Eastern Region up to Arochuku ; we had a boundary between Ife and the Mid-West, and Lagos of course, as everyone knows, was a farmland belonging to the people of Benin—

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : On a point of order, Lagos has never been a farmland. These silly people claim to have planted the sovereignty.

The President : That is not a point of order.

Senator Asemota : So that is just to show that all along we have been on our own ; we have never been subjected to any Region or any clan or any class of people, and I want Senators to bear in mind that no intimidation, no encouragement, nothing at all will stop us from asking to be separated from the Western Government.

I would also like to refer to the comments made recently by the Premier of the Western Region in answer to a letter written to him by Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh on this Mid-West issue. With your permission, Sir, I will sum up the salient points in the letter, and those are :—

(1) that the indigenous people of the Mid-West be given an opportunity in the management of their own affairs from the very first day the Region is separated from the Western Region ;

(2) that the people of the Mid-West be accorded the right to nominate the composition of the members who will run the proposed six months' interim Government, to appoint and to install the Governor and the Deputy Governor of the proposed State ;

(3) to be given opportunity to discuss and argue their own constitution among themselves, the constitution they would like to vote for and finally arrive at a compromise generally acceptable to us all before the plebiscite.

I consider these three points to be very essential and I would appeal through you, Mr President, to the Prime Minister to clarify this position as soon as possible. The clarification of these three points is very important and essential.

The other point is that the Mid-West Region should be created simultaneously with other Regions, but that is not the desire of Mid-Westerners. The demand for the creation of the Mid-West State was never conditional. It does not worry us at all whether other Regions are created or not. It should not be an impediment, it should not interfere with our demand for the creation of the Mid-West State. But I have the personal feeling myself that, no sooner than the Mid-West State is created—I repeat, no sooner than the Mid-West State is created—than every other part of the country will certainly fight their way out. I will explain what I mean by that.

Before the regionalisation of this country Nigeria was budgetting for about £20 million for the whole of the Federation. They were running at a deficit, and at one time the then Governor-General, I think it was Lord Cameron, found that things were so bad and the situation was becoming so grim that he kept on preaching "Go back to the land". He said "Go back to the land" but no sooner was the country regionalised than the budget went up by 300 per cent with four Governments, and then we were running at a profit. I think the West had about £4½ million, the East the same and so on, so that shows the effect of regionalisation.

Therefore, if the Mid-West State is created and we shall be reckoning on £20 million budget every year, there will be nothing to stop other people from agitating for the creation of more States. I have a strong feeling that the next group of people to go, after the Mid-West, will be those from the Bornu Emirate—they would certainly like to go, and the Emirate is so big, and with their Premier working side by side—

Senator Abdul Salami Yusufu : On a point of order, I think the hon. Senator has gone beyond the scope of the Bill.

The President : No, he has not gone beyond the ambit of the Bill.

Senator Asemota : It is my opinion that by the time the Mid-West issue has been settled, it will be found that the people of several other areas will have expressed the desire to have their own regions. So that is what I want to make clear.

[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

The gravest point that I believe has sparked off trouble is the publication recently made by the *London Times* to the effect that the Mid-West issue is designed as a stepping-stone to destroy the Action Group as a political party and also the Western Region Government. I would like to say that we deplore this very, very much indeed and it will certainly not be the wish of the Mid-Westerners to see that the status of the West Regional Government and of the Action Group is interfered with simply because we want to get a separate state. I would humbly ask that our Prime Minister, who is broad-minded and God-fearing, should step into this and clear the air as I hate victimisation in any shape or form and the Mid-West should not be converted into an area for political intrigue nor should the issue be used to achieve an unholy end.

As I said earlier, nothing is settled until it is settled right, and I would also like to take this opportunity to make it clear that the demand for the creation of the Mid-West State by Mid-Westerners has never been conditional upon whether or not other states should be created. I am asking this honourable House to bear in mind that we are asking to be separated from the Western Region simply because we want to form our own Government, we want to be a separate entity, we want to be on our own where we shall be able to mould our own destiny in the way we want.

I beg to support the Bill.

10.38 a.m.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : I beg to oppose this Bill, which seeks to establish a fourth Region of the Federation of Nigeria, to be known as the Mid-West Region.

The creation of States was a thing that was most desired by leaders of two important political parties of this country at one time, but as time went on the whole matter of the creation of States seemed to become the concern of a particular political party, and the other political party which was in favour of the creation of States, because of a desire to please certain other parties which perhaps helped to form the Government, has played the role of a "black leg." I oppose the creation of the Mid-West State, not because—

Senator Zanna Medalla Sheriff : On a point of order—how can he explain what he has just said ?

The President : That is not a point of order. Will Senators please leave these Standing Orders to me. Will Senator Ogundipe clarify what he means by "black leg" ? Even so, I think it is my duty to point out that the term "black leg" is unparliamentary.

Senator Ogundipe : I was trying to say that many of the citizens of this country are in favour of the creation of states in order to make the Government of the Federation both a reality and a possibility.

As I said, there are many people who are not sure of their stand because they want something, and if they stand by their conviction, they will not get what they want. I oppose the creation of the new State, the so-called fourth Region, because of the iniquity of creating a fourth Region out of the smallest Region of the Federation. Some people have tried to show that in some parts of the world, there are Regions which are not even up to half or one-quarter of the present Western Region but they have not always given us the whole facts. It is not possible to make Rhodes Island which is an island and cannot be merged with another part of North America part of a state. It should be a separate state. We all know that the Western Region is the smallest Region both in size and population.

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : On a point of order, the Western Region is not the smallest Region in size.

The President : Senator Ndu is right.

Senator Ogundipe : It is the smallest in population, and population and manpower is what matters. So, it is really iniquitous that it is the smallest Region in population that should be split into two. I should refer the Minister of Finance to the statement made by the Leader of Opposition—

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : The hon. Senator should address the President not the Minister of Finance.

The President : Will the hon. Senator please address me ?

Senator Ogundipe : Thank you Mr President. The Minister of Finance tried to interrupt me and I want to explain before I go on.

My second reason for not supporting the creation of the Mid-West State is the suggestion made by the Leader of the Opposition to the Federal Government about preliminary measures to be taken before creating the new state. The facts of the memo which made very constructive suggestions to the Prime Minister on this matter before the Bill was presented to the House of Representatives are very well known to all of us here. I am not going to repeat that but it is clear that the Prime Minister probably advised by his political colleagues did not welcome these very constructive suggestions by not trying to compromise with them. If these constructive suggestions had been taken and looked into by the Prime Minister, I know the creation of the Mid-West State would have been easier than it is now.

The third point I am going to make is about the role of the Prime Minister in the creation of this so-called Mid-West Region. The role of the Prime Minister particularly in this matter has been, to my mind, far from that of the God-fearing leader he is reputed to be, in that he sponsored the Motion especially when he himself has no faith in the creation of states. We of the Christian world if we have no faith in anything we do not ask people to do it.

Senator Salahu Fulani : On a point of order, the original Motion was moved in the Western House of Assembly in 1955.

Senator Ogundipe : I was saying that if a man has no faith—

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I would like Senator Ogundipe to tell us what he means. I hope he is not trying to give a portrait of the Prime Minister as an irresponsible person. He said he introduced a Bill in which he has no faith. I think that is a reckless statement and I do not think such statements should be made in this House. It is far-reaching to say that our own Prime Minister is irresponsible, and I would like the Senator to think of it, perhaps he would like to coin his words in another form.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : I think we are not here to impute motives. The Senator may have used the wrong word in the statement he made but he never said the Prime Minister has no faith in the Motion. He said the Prime Minister has no faith in the creation of states.

The President : Will the Senator proceed.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : When the Senator says that the Prime Minister has no faith in the creation of states he should remember that last week when the press confronted the Prime Minister about the creation of states, he said, "If the people demand it and ask for it what can I do?" If the people want it what can the Prime Minister do? We of the Mid-West say we want it.

Senator Lagunju : I am wondering why so many Senators should be interested in trying to defend the Prime Minister or speak for him especially when he is here himself. I think Senators should leave the Prime Minister alone to tell me if I have said anything wrong. I said the Prime Minister said he has no faith in the creation of states and that has nothing to do with imputing motives or saying—

The President : Order. I thought I said the Senator should proceed. That means that the point of order was not well taken.

Senator Ogundipe : Thank you, Mr President. The second reason why I said I do not consider the role played by the Prime Minister in the matter as that of a statesman but as that of a politician trying to toe the line of some parties—

The President : I am afraid the Senator is now imputing motives. He is now saying that the Prime Minister is toeing somebody's party line.

Senator Ogundipe : The Prime Minister, however after moving the Motion for the creation of the Mid-West State said that he would no longer endorse the creation of more States in Nigeria. This, as I said before, is not a complimentary role to be played by a head of a family. He is playing the role of head of a family who takes keen interest in dividing another family while he wishes to retain his own intact.

At the same time he strongly refused that the father of the other family should take part in seeing to the interest of his family which is likely to be separated. I say this because the Prime Minister refused originally to say what would become of the rest of the Western Region when the Mid-West State is created. At the same time, he refused to make a statement on what should be the interim Government of the new State if created. All these things, to my mind, do not show that the Prime

[SENATOR LAGUNJU]

That sounds well in theory and naturally we all could have been happy to see more states created in this country. There is only one point of consolation in the whole Bill and it is under (a) in Clause 1 where it is said that there shall be four Regions in Nigeria—Northern Nigeria, Western Nigeria, Eastern Nigeria and Mid-Western Nigeria. That sounds consoling up to a point. But when we come to speak about the creation of states, as has been stated, there are minority groups in every part of this country. In the Northern Region, we have the Tivs; in the Eastern Region, we have the Efiks in Calabar; we have the people of Ogoja and other tribes.

Senator H. O. Aباagu : The Tivs are not in the minority in the Northern Region.

Senator Lagunju : I am yet to be convinced that the Tivs are more numerous than the Hausas and the Fulanis. In any case, the Senator is entitled to his own opinion. What I am driving at is that in every Region of the Federation there are minority groups and these minority groups have their fears and doubts. Left to themselves these minority groups would, of course, press for more states or regions. But unfortunately in some sections of the country they have been silenced; they have been in one way or the other cajoled and by one form of encouragement or another their efforts have been thwarted, consequently one does not hear much of them.

Every time this question of the creation of more states is mentioned, I have said that God and history will judge. I am still repeating that. To-day, we may jubilate over the creation of the Mid-West state, but what follows tomorrow? When the Motion was tabled in the Lower House the Prime Minister said that he would not allow the carving out of the country into smaller units. He said that he would not like it. In any case, one may liken that statement to the speech made by Sir Winston Churchill some years ago when he said that he would not preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. The British Empire has been liquidated and Sir Winston Churchill is still alive. So I pray, most sincerely, that in the lifetime of our Prime Minister there will be more states created in this country. There are certain snags in the Bill. We want to allay

the fears of minority groups and a special area has been demarcated for the proposed plebiscite. In other words, in the Schedule they mentioned Benin Province including Akoko-Edo District in Afenmai Division and Delta Province including Warri Division and Warri Urban and Township Area. If we are going to be sincere with ourselves, we will agree that this demarcation is rather too arbitrary. If we are going to follow what happened in the case of the Cameroons, we will leave the people of this area to vote either *Yes* or *No*. Those who vote *Yes* should be allowed to join the Mid-West Region, and those who vote *No* should at the same time be allowed to join some other regions.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : It is my duty to direct your attention to the fact that the Senator is misleading the Senate because the plebiscite held in the Cameroons did not stipulate that those who voted *No* should go out of the Cameroons, otherwise Endeley's and Mbile's constituencies would have joined Nigeria.

The President : The hon. Minister is right. Will the hon. Senator be guided accordingly?

Senator Lagunju : I think I am entitled to my own opinion. The clear cut division, I think, is purely arbitrary.

I come to the other point. In the Lower House it was mentioned that the State of Delaware existed side by side with the State of New York. I quite agree that possibly the State of New York is about four times the State of Delaware, but the United States of America has fifty states to-day and New York is definitely not equal to half of the whole of the United States. Even New York may be equal to one tenth or one twelfth, and nobody argues about that, but it is definitely not equal to one half of the United States. Here is a country where one particular Region is more than the other two Regions put together. The Northern Region—

The Minister of Finance : Argentina !

Senator Lagunju : I appeal for your protection, Mr President.

The President : Order, order !

Senator Lagunju : That is the position in the United States. As I have said, New York

may be four times the size of the State of Delaware, but it is definitely not equal to half of the whole of the United States.

I cannot think of any particular place in the world where one particular section or part of the Federation equals half of the whole Federation or even greater than half. In this case, there is the Northern Region—

Senator Salahu Fulani : If the hon. Senator will like to get away from his own Region and come to the Northern Region, he will be welcome.

Senator Lagunju : I am free to move in any part of the Federation. I am a Nigerian. I shall go there to work because I am a Nigerian.

I feel that if we leave a particular area to be so big then, of course, we are merely aggravating the imbalance of the whole Federation. I am sure that the Senate will agree with me that the creation of states in general is a welcome thing, but this particular Bill seeking the creation of the Mid-West Region is opposed at least by me, because of the explanations that I have given. There are, of course, other points which have been mentioned in some other places and, consequently, I am not prepared to mention them again.

In any case, with your permission, I beg to oppose and press for a division on this important Bill.

The President : I want to point out that this is not the point when Senators press for a division. Senators will press for a division when I put the Question.

11.05 a.m.

Senator M. G. Ejaife : I would like to make it abundantly clear that I would like the Mid-West Region created. I would also like to remind Senators that I did say so when last we met. In the Lower House I was quoted as supporting the creation of the Mid-West Region, but I was quoted out of context because I did mention certain reservations which were not quoted along side my wish that the Region be created.

I also would like to reaffirm my faith in the Prime Minister. I think he is an excellent Prime Minister for guiding this nation in its

initial years of independence. I think we are very fortunate in his appointment as the Prime Minister.

But I do not think that I am among those who think that the State should be created at all costs. There is a difference between wanting a thing created and wanting the thing created at all costs. I may very much like to acquire a house, but the cost of acquiring it may be such that I may think again and consider deferring the acquisition of such a building. I am going to appeal to the Federal Government to consider deferring the passing of this Bill.

I shall give my reasons. Between early last year when the first Bill concerning the Mid-West Region was supposedly passed and this year when we have had to go over the ground again, there was plenty of opportunity for ironing out differences between leaders in the Mid-West, differences which stand out very conspicuously, differences which were the subject of discussions at certain levels, and differences which have not been ironed out even to-day. I would like to remind the Senate once more that even a Senator here, as he has said earlier on, was instrumental in summoning leaders of various shades of opinion in Benin City with a view to ironing out these differences. I will make bold to repeat that it was Senator Asemota himself. He thought that there were certain loose ends that needed tidying up—things on which success or failure of the new Region might well depend. He thought that all leaders, no matter to which political party they belong and to whatever shade of opinion they belong, should come together and air their views and come to some amicable settlement and reach a compromise so that in the event of the Region being created, there should be no second Congo. I think that was the purpose of summoning that meeting.

Since then, efforts have been made here and there to bring together various leaders of thought and to reach definite conclusions which must be put in a concrete form in order that the fears of certain sections in the Mid-West might be allayed. It will be bare repetition to say that one of the purposes for creating states was to allay the fears of the minority. If, in trying to do that, we are awakening other fears, fears more potent, then we shall be cutting our own throats.

[SENATOR EJAIFFE]

I have to appeal to the Government to go slow and to defer the passing of the Bill now before us. The mere fact that on the eve of the Session of the House of Representatives efforts to get the leaders to reach the desired compromise proved abortive, I think, was a sign that we have not, up till now, tidied up our loose ends at home in the Mid-West. I happen to be one of the leaders in the Mid-West, so I am speaking from first-hand experience.

One of the strong forms of evidence to show that we have not yet tidied up our loose ends is this that even now it is still necessary for strong campaigns to be conducted in the Mid-West area. Campaign vans have been ordered out from various places, barking out the desire that people should vote for the forthcoming referendum, that people should note that it is a good thing, etc. Campaign teams still go out to cajole, threaten, beg or ask the people to vote for the creation of the State, because there are several people who are reluctant because their fears have not been allayed.

Those of us who are leaders and who try to say that it is a good thing and that the State should be created have sometimes been daubed traitors by members of our own political parties because they have been threatened from various quarters, and up till now they have real fears. We told them that we would try to reach a compromise and that once this compromise was reached, the State could very well be created and there would be no fear at all. But up till now, nothing like that has happened. Instead, we have been preached to; we have been told from house tops that nothing will happen. The way we are being told that nothing will happen is precisely the way in which a boy is told, "If you do this, nothing will happen".

After all, we are all leaders and I think that we should be taken into confidence. We have not been sufficiently taken into confidence by the leaders of thought in the Government, which is contrary to what we expected when the issue was raised in the House.

It has been said by certain members in the party which sponsored the immediate creation of the State that it is better to reign in hell than to serve in heaven. Some have actually told me that. But the picture which has been drawn here in this House by Senator Asemota

is the picture of anything but hell. In any case, I would not like to be in hell, whether as a ruler or as a servant, and yet, there, we are being threatened with conditions of hell for members of my own political party.

Although this House ought to be sacrosanct and insulated from party politics, it has been swept into the vortex of politics now and again, and in this particular issue I think that there is more political tint to it than we admit.

I know many benefits that we will derive from the creation of a State for any minority group, whether in Bornu, or Middle Belt, or in the C.O.R. As far as we are concerned, we know several benefits that would be derived because the Federal Government would concede certain things to the area as a Region—things which they are not very willing to do for us now.

Since the clarion cry for the Mid-West Region, all sorts of things have been happening because certain people believe that it ought to be done at all costs. I believe that it ought to be done, but not at all costs. Gangsterism has started to reign in the Mid-West. We have not forgotten the evils that were perpetrated in Benin Province, particularly in Ishan and Afenmai Division. The smoke from the gun fire has not vanished. And as I stand here, I recall a note which was addressed to me from Sapele warning me to leave my house. I took this letter and tore it up because when there is trouble outside, one runs to one's home. Why should I leave my house, my wife and children at home alone? Many people are being advised to buy firearms and double-barrelled short guns, all connected with the creation of the Mid-West State!

If the leaders of the N.C.N.C. and Action Group got together and resolved their issues so that we reached a concrete agreement, signed and sealed and, if possible, give it statutory recognition—

The Minister of Finance : On a point of information, I just want to remind my hon. Brother and Friend that I expect to see him in Benin on Saturday where the N.C.N.C. and the Action Group Mid-West leaders would meet. I am sure he will be there.

Senator EjaiFFE : Thank you very much. That is the first time that I am notified about that. This is a measure of the way that I am

taken into confidence ! We are now being told to meet after the creation of the State instead of before. If we defer this Bill now and the leaders meet and a compromise is reached, nothing will rejoice my heart better than that. What I am saying is that this should have been done before. We should not put the cart before the horse. We should clear the air and make the position suitable and congenial. We should create a good climate for a successful referendum. I think that these are reasonable requests. This has not been done, and now we are being asked to sign a blank cheque.

We also have been threatened very seriously with the importation of thugs in special vans from Eastern Nigeria. I am not imagining this. I am now saying what we have been told and what we have been threatened with when the campaigns warmed up.

Now, the point is that there should be compromises, or there ought to have been compromises. I think that there is still room for that. After all, if the Mid-West should be created for good, I cannot see why we should not take time and allow ourselves to clear the air before doing so. If all our pleadings cannot be heeded, then there must be something underneath it. Many suggestions have been made, suggestions such as that this State is being created out of spite for the Action Group Government. Unless assurances are given and compromises reached, then we will tend to believe more those things which we did not believe before, namely, that the State is being created, not because of the good of the Mid-West people as such, but because of the interest of certain political parties. If one considers the catalogue of things, for instance, the threat to extend the Lagos boundary at the expense of the Western Region, the law and order scare, the threat to ban the Action Group symbol, (and this has already been banned in the North where the "palm tree" has been reduced to "broom") the National Bank issue, and so on—all these things seem to be a systematic plan against one political party. I think that we ought to be generous enough as comrades in arms and tolerate one another. I should have no fear in expressing resentments of these measures. I think that we ought to give the other man a chance of standing and living side by side, that is to say, living and letting him live.

Then, I think, there has been political bargaining. This State is being created not solely because the Federal Government, the Northern Government or the Eastern Government love the Mid-West area very much. They probably do. But it cannot be solely for that reason. There is this political bargaining—the conditions for the coalition. I do not know. We were told the other day to agree quickly to the passing of the Grand Khadi Bill so that the N.P.C. men might quickly vote for the Mid-West Bill in return.

Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi : On a point of order, it seems to me that the hon. Senator is introducing politics into this House while we are not supposed to do so as Senators.

The President : Will the hon. Senator speak like a Senator ?

Senator Ejaife : I will try to speak like a Senator. Even if I do not speak like a politician, I like very much to call a spade a spade.

A point has been made that in the United States, for instance, there are many states. But I am sure that out of these states, not one of them can swamp many or all of the others put together.

Senator Dr Orizu : On a point of information, I want to clarify the point which has just been made by Senator Ejaife. At the time when America was founded there were 4½ million people there and there were about thirty States, and New York which was one of these States was more than half of the whole.

Senator Ejaife : I did read history and I still remember the bit referred to by Senator Dr Orizu. But the present case is one where we are now trying to split a Region which is not the largest.

The Rt. hon. Prime Minister whom I respect very much has said that he would not tolerate any more splitting of this country. However, he has on a second thought tried to climb down and said that if a certain part of the country tried to make trouble for themselves that would be their own look out.

Senator Salihu Fulani : On a point of order, is the Senator supporting or opposing the creation of the Mid-West Region ?

The President : In the first place, the Senator's point of Order is not in Order because the Senator, Mr Ejaife, has not exhausted his time. The clock is exactly opposite the President. But it is true to ask the Senator whether he is opposing or supporting the Bill.

Senator Ejaife : I am asking that the passing of this Bill be deferred until our house has been put in order, and that it is better to have a good Mid-West rather than having a Congo sort of Mid-West Region.

Senator Chief Acholonu : On a point of order, the Senator should not continue making that statement which he has already over-laboured.

The President : That is not a point of order, Chief Acholonu. Will Senator Ejaife please proceed. But he has two more minutes.

Senator Ejaife : The point is noted that the Federal Government, the Northern Government and the Eastern Government are the sponsors of this Bill. Could it then be that these Governments are more interested in the Mid-West Region ?

Senator Zanna Medalla Sheriff : On a point of Order, there is a question I want to ask hon. Senator. Who initiated the demand for the creation of the Mid-West State ?

The President : It is not a point of Order.

Senator Ejaife : Mr President, my time is being wasted. May I then ask for the extension of time to make up for the undue interruptions ?

The President : I am sorry, but it is not allowed for by the Standing Orders.

Senator Ejaife : The fact that the Western Region Government has rejected this move should be a pointer to the Federal Government, and as that Government to the Federal Government is like a comrade in arms, it is entitled to consideration. But if this House refuses to compromise and to reconsider matters so that this Bill be deferred until matters mature, and until there is an assurance of peace and concord among the rulers, then there must be some other motive in it than the love of the Mid-West.

The President : I did warn the Senator that he had two minutes. Will he please round up then ?

Senator Ejaife : For these reasons, I do not, at the moment, support the Bill.

Several Senators rose.

The Prime Minister : I am sorry. It appears that I am trying to wind up while so many Senators are on their feet wanting to speak.

Thank you very much, Mr President, for giving us wide latitude on the Second Reading of this Bill. But I think that many of the speeches made this morning have gone quite outside it. I think that many Senators were debating this Bill with the one which was moved in this House sometime ago by the hon. Senator Majekodunmi, that is the question of the creation of the new State.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : On a point of Order, I wonder if the Rt. hon. Prime Minister would please speak louder because we cannot hear him.

The Prime Minister : I think that the speeches of Senator Ogundipe and Senator Ejaife easily refer to the speech made by somebody in the other House, that is, the Leader of the Opposition. They could have safely referred me to read the *Hansard* containing that speech instead of taking a lot of our time.

Certain points were made as to the safety of the Yoruba race, the safety of the remaining part of the Western Region. Surely, of course, I like to have four Regions in Nigeria : Northern Nigeria, Eastern Nigeria, Western Nigeria and the Mid-West. They are four Regions.

It is quite clear that in my House, the other place, we make a lot of troubles, we say all sorts of things and try to cover up. But I did not at all think that the Senators here would do that kind of thing.

I have been asked to make categorical statements about what would happen to the main Western Region, what would be the constitution of the Mid-West ; what will be this, what will be that. Our Constitution does not provide for any conditions at all. We cannot agree that the Mid-West will be created subject to those conditions ; we cannot lay down any

conditions. The Constitution lays down the method to be followed, and that is exactly what we are doing. There is no question of the Prime Minister agreeing to any conditions. All I am doing is discharging my responsibilities as demanded of me by the Nigerian Constitution.

This Motion came as a Private Member's Motion to Parliament. It was passed. When it was passed it was no longer Private Members' business, so I had to take it up and that is why I am, putting before the Senate this Bill.

As I have indicated, I can refer Senators to the *Hansard* of the House of Representatives for any other points. But I would like to refer several Senators to the speech I made in connection with this Bill (and in connection with the Motion) in our House of Representatives. I made very clear our views and our stand: why it is necessary for the N.C.N.C. and the Action Group to come together and discuss so that there will not be any problems in that Region; so that there will not be unnecessary unhappiness in the creation of the Mid-West State; so that, if the State is created, it will be created with the blessing of all.

The contention is that the Yorubas have made a mistake. They are in the majority in the Western Region House of Assembly, and they have brought trouble upon themselves because they think they know everything, they thought that they were all right. They said, "You give them the Mid-West; if you want the Mid-West State you can have it". Then somebody brought a Motion to the House. What happened? Anything could have happened, and the people of the Mid-West jumped at it, "Ah good!" See what is happening now! Because we are associated with the Federal Government I am being accused of trying to destroy the Yoruba people because I am moving a Motion in the Senate here. I belong to the House of Representatives, but I am being accused by some people as the man who is against the Yorubas. Nothing is farther from the truth. There is no question of the Yorubas trying to be forced out. The Yorubas themselves in the majority discussed this Motion and said "Look! We give you your State." That is what they did—so very generously. And the people of the area said, "Thank you". That is exactly what Senator Asemota said this morning.

They did not stop at that, but they went out of their way to create a Mid-West Council. And they went out of their way to appoint a Minister for Mid-West Affairs—a man from the Mid-West—and they gave him headquarters in the Mid-West area. He was not stationed in Ibadan, they gave him headquarters in Benin, I saw him when I was there. So they have already created the State themselves and now they want to blame us for giving a hand. I find it very difficult to understand. I do not believe in these articles which they write in the newspapers. I have seen what the London *Times* says, but they wrote from here to the London *Times* and I know they paid a lot of money. They paid money to the London *Times* and they thought "Ah! The London *Times* does not like it". So they wrote from here and paid money to the London *Times* to put it in their newspaper.

I do not like to make such a speech in this Senate because it is the Upper House and debate must be in keeping with its dignity.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : We do not hear the Prime Minister very much.

The Prime Minister : I am sorry, I think I can remember when Senator Olayeye was in the House of Representatives, he was always invited forward, Sir.

I was saying that I do not like to make such a speech as the one I am making—you can see how restricted I am. If I were in the House of Representatives I would be very free to kick about, but in this Senate I cannot. This Senate is fast making a name for itself; it is true, it is establishing a very good name for itself and a very good tradition and I hope it is the wish of Senators to see that the good start which the Senate has made is maintained. We have very great respect for this Senate.

Senator Asemota : On a point of information, I would say that what we particularly the Mid-Westerners who after all play an important part really want is that the Region be blessed in such a way that—

The President : I do not like to interrupt you, but I thought you were going to make an explanation not a contribution.

Senator Asemota : What we want is that we should get the blessing—

The President : Order, order.

The Prime Minister : The Senator was just trying to get in a few points. The Senator's view I think is that he would like the Federal Government to give its blessing to the State and he would like the Federal Government to call a meeting of all the people concerned in the area, he would like the people to be fully informed of the steps being taken and, after the referendum, the people of the area should be associated with the Government of the new Region. Well, all this will come. The Mid-West has not yet been created. It is for Senators concerned now to go on campaigns. But I must say too that, if the other party (the Action Group) feels that they should campaign against it, then they will campaign against. I do not like bitterness in these campaigns because I have got a responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. It is a responsibility which I cannot shed at all.

In my view, all the Members welcome the Bill with the exception of a few whose objections I can very well understand. I think that my Friend, Senator Salihu Fulani has made a point which he made before, during the last meeting, about our being dragged again to court. We were dragged to court on the Bank inquiry and now we are being dragged to court on the Mid-West. Well, if our courts will allow themselves to be used in the way they are being used on any minor thing, I am afraid people will make a mockery of our courts. It will be very sad for the country if every Tom, Dick and Harry does something wrong and then goes to court to stop a Government action. I do not know what will happen. If a man who steals finds himself in difficulty, he goes to court to complain!

However, as I said last time, I think it will be good for Nigerians to have the chance to go to court. Personally I think it is wrong for every small constitutional matter to go to court; people will soon come to laugh at the courts. Truly, they will come to have no true regard for the courts as they have now. It is not for me, or Government or Parliament, it is for the courts to decide whether they want their names to be dragged into these small things. People are very wise, they know very well they can use some people who are more

or less or almost thieves. They have done something, they go through other means to cook up a lot of trouble and somehow they get away with it. People are sensible, they see these things.

If this matter was raised in the House of Representatives, then I would be free to speak. There is no question of the Prime Minister or the Federal Government being in the Yoruba cult—there is no question of that. As Senator Dr Orizu said, as Prime Minister I have to be Ibo, I have to be Yoruba, I have to be Hausa, I have to be everything. I have no sides at all. (*Applause*). It should not come at all into my dealings in the affairs of the country as a whole, and if a Prime Minister does his work with some justice, he has to do that. I think, these are most of the points made.

I think Senator Ogundipe spoke about the protection of minorities. The minorities should be protected but if they are a minority under the system, they are a minority. You cannot help it. If they are a minority, they are a minority. Because we cannot say every little minority in this country will have to have a State of its own; we will end with God knows how many states. In fact, you will find, even within one tribe, you get minorities. The Yorubas are supposed to be a majority but among them there are minorities. The same with the Ibos, the same with the Hausas, the same with the Fulanis, the same with everything. You get somebody calling himself a Western Ibo. This is the same with the Ibos, you get different clans, the same with the Hausas, you get them all over, these minorities, so you have to define what you mean by minorities. I think, Sir, these are the answers to most of the points.

I would like to say that I will, of course, do all I can to see that the leaders in the area concerned are consulted and are brought together, but I must say also that the Federal Government has got its own responsibilities towards this thing. At the same time too, the Western Regional Government, from whose area we are carving out this State, have got more responsibility. Therefore we will take the Western Region Government into full consideration; we will take the parties concerned into consideration and, I hope that those who campaign for or against the Mid-West Region will do so with all sense of responsibility.

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Whereupon Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin), rose in his place and claimed to move, That the Question be now put.

Question, That the Question be now put, put and agreed to.

Main Question put, and the Senate divided.

Ayes 28 ; Noes 9 ; Abstentions 2.

AYES

Seat No.	Name of Member
1	Senator Shittima Kashim
2	Senator Nwoke
3	Senator Asemota
4	Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku
5	Senator Mallam Chias Bawa
6	Senator Chukwubike
8	Senator Alhaji Matteden
9	Senator Abaagu
10	Senator Chief Uguocha
12	Senator Ade II, Oba of Lagos
14	Senator Chief Ndu
17	Senator Muhammadu Sami Dingyadi
18	Senator Nzerem
20	Senator Chief Acholonu
21	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba
22	Senator Chief Obi
25	Senator Salahu Fulani
26	Senator Dr Orizu
30	Senator Chief Nakoku
32	Senator Idirisu-Tafidan Adamawa
33	Senator Udo
35	Senator Yesufu
36	Senator Ukattah
38	Senator Zanna Sheriff
39	Senator Chief Umoh
41	Senator Alhaji Sanni Ungogo
	Minister of Health
	Minister of State, Dr E. A. Esin

NOES

Seat No.	Name of Member
7	Senator Ejaife
15	Senator Chief Olayeye
16	Senator Chief Mrs Wuraola Esan
19	Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu
23	Senator Olamijulo
34	Senator Eytayo
37	Senator Ogundipe
40	Senator Lagunju
42	Senator Alhaji Abudu

ABSTENTIONS

27	Senator Chief Esangbedo
28	Senator Chief Doherty

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

Senator Chief S. O. Esangbedo : I ask to change my vote. I am now abstaining. (Laughter).

The President : Order. Order.

Several Senators : A point of order.

The President : I have not recognised this Senator. The Minister of Finance.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : I just want to ask Senator, Chief Esangbedo, to give his reason for abstaining.

Senator Chief Esangbedo : I have a reason for abstaining. Last time, when I wanted to make my speech on the creation of the Mid-West State, I remember the President hushed me down whereas he never knew what I was about to say. That is why I decided to oppose the Bill but, after thinking it over, I have decided to abstain. (Laughter).

The President : Order. I will ask the Senator to withdraw the words that the President "hushed him down" because the Senator last time voted "Yes".

Senator Esangbedo : I voted "Yes" but, first of all, when I wanted to say something, you definitely hushed me down.

The President : We are trying to understand you. This morning you will notice that there were so many Senators who wanted to speak but you will notice that the closure was moved. I was bound, in duty, to put the closure. And will all those Senators say that the President hushed them down ?

Several Senators : No !

The President : Will you withdraw that please ? Will you withdraw that the President hushed you down ?

Senator Esangbedo : I withdraw it, Sir.

The President : Thank you.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : I would certainly like to plead on behalf of Senator Esangbedo, because this English language is such that sometimes when you speak one does not catch the actual meaning.

Several Senators : No !

MID-WEST REGION BILL—CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

Clause 1—(ESTABLISHMENT OF FOURTH REGION) ordered to stand part of the Schedule. (SHORT TITLE, EXTENT AND COMMENCEMENT)

Clause 2—ordered to stand part of the Schedule.

(Mr President resumed the Chair)

Bill reported without Amendment.

Motion made and Question proposed, That the Bill be now read the Third time—(THE PRIME MINISTER).

Bill accordingly read the Third time and passed.

The President: I think that this is a convenient moment for break. The House will now go on break, for fifteen minutes.

Sitting suspended : 11.55 a.m.

Sitting resumed : 12.16 p.m.

LEGAL EDUCATION BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku): I beg to move, That a Bill for an Act to make further provision with respect to the legal profession by establishing a Council of Legal Education, and by restricting to suitably qualified persons the right to practise that profession and for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid, be read a Second time.

The Bill that I am dealing with now is the Legal Education Bill as amended by the House of Representatives.

Hon. Senators will remember that in 1959 the Federal Government appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of the then Attorney-General of the Federation, which consisted of all the Attorneys-General of the Federation and Members of the Nigerian Bar Association. The Committee's task was to make recommendations on the future of the Nigerian Legal Profession. The Committee reported in 1959.

The provisions of this Bill emerged mainly from the recommendations of the Unsworth Report, that was a report of this special Committee, followed by deliberations of ano-

ther Committee set up by the Prime Minister last November to go into the problem of establishing a Law School for the Federation in Lagos. Members of the Bar have also been consulted on the provisions of this Bill, as indeed were all the Chief Justices of the Federation. The Bill, therefore, represents the sum total of the thinking of everybody concerned on this important subject.

The aims of the Bill are two-fold. The first is to establish a Council of Legal Education, whose duties Senators will find clearly defined in Clause 4 of this Bill. The second object is also the establishment of a Law School—a Federal Law School—which is also provided for in Clause 4 of the Bill.

It is the consensus of opinion amongst the Committee, the Members of the Nigerian Bar Association and the Judiciary, that the Law School should be commenced on the 31st October this year. It is our aim to make it compulsory for all future lawyers in Nigeria to be properly trained to undertake the practice of the profession. To that end we intend that they must all first attend recognised courses in law in one of our own universities or in recognised universities overseas and graduate in law in such universities.

For some years, we shall allow those who have been called to the English Bar to register as barristers in Nigeria, but that is those who have not done any previous degree course at any university. These people will be allowed to qualify for the purpose of attending the Federal Law School, when it is established, but in no case shall the Council of Legal Education allow anyone to walk straight from the university or the Bar in England into the legal profession here, that is when the Act comes into force.

There is, of course, as Senators will see, provision allowing certain exceptions to be granted in very very rare cases, but we cannot spell out all these cases now.

For the moment, we shall require that all those who return to Nigeria between now and the 15th of August, shall be exempted from attendance at this Law School. All those who return here after the 15th of October will undergo a three months' course at the Law School from October to December. Those who return later will undergo a three months' course lasting from January to the end of March and another from April to June, 1963.

The subjects to be taught at the Law School are practical subjects that are intended to be of special help to the new lawyers. These include the Nigerian Legal System which they—these new lawyers—would not have had the chance of studying anywhere before attending in Nigeria. Emphasis will naturally be laid on the Nigerian Constitution, because we feel that it is essential that those who are going to practise law in Nigeria should at least have a nodding acquaintance with the rather complicated but interesting Constitution. These young people who are coming back would not have had the chance of studying our Constitution in the United Kingdom, or indeed in any other part of the world, as I do not know of a law syllabus in any other part of the world in which provision is made for studying the Nigerian Constitution.

Secondly, we expect them—that is, the newly-arrived lawyers—to study also Nigerian Criminal Procedure and Civil Proceedings, because as any lawyer-Members of this House will very well realise, in many aspects these procedures are not necessarily the same as those involved in England. It is essential that we should give the new lawyers a chance of getting additional knowledge of these procedures which they will find very useful in the day-to-day practice in our courts.

The third subject on which emphasis will be laid will be Professional Ethics. This subject cannot be over-emphasised because I am quite convinced that it is of the utmost importance that Barristers, as members of an honourable profession, must practise that profession to the highest possible degree of morality and integrity, and the school is going to pay special attention to this aspect of training of our future lawyers. That is why we feel that Professional Ethics should form an important part of the syllabus of the Law School. This again is a subject which perhaps many would not have had the opportunity of studying in any great detail in the universities overseas.

These are the main objects of the Bill, and some of the conditions which I have explained, in addition to what Senators will find in the Bill itself, and which I hope that they will be able to comment upon when the Question is proposed.

Then there is one other aspect, that is the right which the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice will have to make regulations under section 2 (3). Already work is proceeding on the phrasing of these regulations, but it seems to me that it is imperative that these regulations should be presented before Parliament before they come into force. It is therefore a part of our legislation as well. I feel that whatever regulations are made on this important subject should be subject to parliamentary scrutiny and that they should be subject to debate by both Houses of Parliament before they become law.

It is also important to emphasise that the existing members of the profession will not be affected at all by this Bill, and that the profession will continue to be "fused", that is to say, that people who qualify as barristers will practise also as solicitors. The provisions of the Bill are meant for people who are going to qualify in education.

Then there is the question of the financing of the Law School. As Senators will already have noticed from the Bill, the expenses of setting up a new School and of running it will be borne by the Federal Government. I would like them also to note that we are very much in earnest about starting a Law School. I think one has already been started in Tanganyika. It is quite necessary that an independent country should have its own Law School, while those of us who were trained in the United Kingdom will continue to cherish the tradition of the English Bar.

I am therefore confident that the whole House will welcome this Bill as an advance in this field of learning which is in keeping with the sovereign status of Nigeria. I therefore commend the Bill to Senators and hope that it will receive the support of the entire House.

I beg to move.

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

Senator Chief A. O. Fagbenro-Beyioku: The Bill in itself is welcome. Anything which will project the sovereign status of Nigeria is welcome by this honourable House. This is one of those Acts of our Government which will give to the outside world the impression that we are a sovereign people and people taking all steps to protect whatever traditions

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we have behind us. We do appreciate that in the past our laws have been based mainly on the British pattern and I could remember that at one stage in this House I made the suggestion that I was looking forward to the day when our laws would be based on our traditions. The mere fact that this School of Legal Studies is going to be established now means a lot to those of us who cherish our tradition. I would not like this School to become a duplicate of the Inns of Court in England because the principles of the English Laws are quite different from those of our traditional laws and if we want to impose on our young men and women the necessity to undergo another training here there must be clear evidence that the training that we are imposing is such as would give them a grounded knowledge of our own traditional laws.

Of course, people ask what are those laws? Most of our laws, we admit, are unwritten. But what of our customs and our practices? In courts in England to-day the presiding Judge, in delivering his judgment, takes into consideration the idiosyncrasy and the characteristic usages of the people. Take the recent Indian Hemp case, for example, when Miss Kehinde Collins was tried in England. If it had been here in Nigeria, that lady could not have been freed because if we take it to law, the Indian Hemp was found in her possession. The British Judge knows and understands his customs.

One of the unfortunate things in our courts to-day is that most of our Judges and Magistrates just give judgment based on the British pattern and not on our own background. That is wrong. Therefore, these youngmen should return to study something connected with our own background. For instance, we have the Penal Code which we passed here for the Northern Region. We know very well that the Western Region have been revising their laws based on their own practices. There is also a similar move in the Federal Territory. All these things being done with our own tradition as the background are very good. But if the students are to come back to study again the same thing that they have studied before, I will say that it will not be fair.

Even then, there is one important thing that I want to point out. It is good, according

to the hon. Minister of Transport who introduced the Bill on behalf of the Government. He said that those arriving from October this year will be affected and that those arriving in January next year will also be affected. I know that one of the cardinal principles of law itself is that the condition of a man should not be worsened as a result of a new Act of Government or a new Act affecting his surroundings. Most of our boys left for the United Kingdom to study law on the conditions which prevailed at home at that time. The aim was to go to read law, pass one's examinations in three years and come back to establish a legal practice. That was the condition under which they left home, and most of them will be returning in the middle of this year and late next year. I do not think that it will be fair for us as a Government to worsen their conditions. By introducing a Bill after they had left to the effect that they must come and serve another one year term before they can get enrolled, we are ourselves running across one of the cardinal principles of law. That being so, all things are wise but not all things are expedient. The Attorney-General must take this into consideration.

Again, we know very well that the attempt is to protect the public in the matter of the services of a lawyer. At the same time, there should be another attempt to protect the public, taking into consideration that most of the families who send their children to England do it on strain. We must have to protect their pockets also. After a man has spent all he has to educate his child, and has made up his mind that after three years he will be relieved of such burden by which time, perhaps, in our own traditional way the child starts to help the family, what does the man find? The child arrives and has to go back to school to become a scholar again! I do not think that that will be quite fair.

Again, this very Law School has not been established. We are just voting the money; we have not established this Law School. We have not got the Professors. The Law School is not in existence yet, but we are making the law that those who return in October must go to this Law School. Is it going to be a rushed up business? When the Government wants to do anything, they should do it as somebody who has sympathy for our people.

I do not want to obstruct this Bill nor will this House like to do so. We know that if we want to obstruct it, we can obstruct it. But we do not want to obstruct it. We are prepared to co-operate with the Government on the understanding that all those boys who are in England now, at least those who will be arriving up to the next five years, will not be affected by this Bill. That is all we want, so that if anybody wants to send his child to England, he will know that this is the condition. Then he can decide whether he wants to do engineering or to go to England to do law or to take the course here in Nigeria. That is the right thing, in my opinion.

In certain things, for example in clause 2, the Attorney-General can make regulations. In that regulation provision is made in an indirect way to exempt certain people. I know that that may affect Q.Cs because here again, there is a highly technical point. Before a man can get enrolled to practise in our courts, he must have undergone training in this matter. What happens if one engages a Q.C. from England? Before he can practise he must have to undergo training! Or what would happen, since we belong to the Commonwealth and then we assume that we use the same principles of law? Any lawyer from any other part of the Commonwealth coming to this country on special request—must he have to get enrolled or go to this School of Legal Studies for one year before he can be engaged? All these are points which have not been made clear. We just do not want to rub Peter to pay Paul. It will be unfair if Q.Cs from other parts of the Commonwealth will come to this country and enrol without going through the course.

If any regulation is made for such exemption, it will be challenged in this House. It will be challenged because what is good for the goose is also good for the gander. If our law stipulates that before anybody can get enrolled and practise in our courts he must undergo our own training as a lawyer in our own way after qualifying in England, before any Q.C. or anybody from any Commonwealth country can represent anybody in our country, he must be equally qualified.

We have to think of these things, and I am sure that if the Attorney-General will accept our suggestions that this law should not be put into effect until five years from this day, I think the

Government will have sufficient time to think of it all over again.

12.40 p.m.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : This point that I am going to make has already been made, and my repeating it is for the sake of emphasis. This is a most useful piece of legislation if only the points mentioned were to be removed. It is quite clear from the background to this Bill, as given by the Minister of Transport, that the need for a Bill of this nature had long been felt. If in 1959 and before that year it had been necessary to set up a council of legal education, the need must be greater now that this country is sovereign and fully independent.

There is one big feature which I am interested in in this Bill, and that is that it has been prepared with the fullest co-operation of both the Nigerian Bench and Bar. Its merits cannot therefore be called to question. But this particular point of the Bill that has been referred to, that is, its becoming law immediately should be re-considered.

We are not to obstruct this Bill, as my friend Chief Beyioku has said. But I think, on this point, we are all agreed that it should be re-considered by the Government. We know that it is all made in good faith. Those of us who have seen young inexperienced lawyers attend court for the first time will actually know that this is a generous provision made to help them practise. It is something that is being done to build up some aspects of the profession to help them to face their practice. But if the Government is not prepared to re-consider the aspect of this law becoming operative immediately, it should think of an alternative that, if it must become law immediately, all the people to be affected must be admitted into that school on a non-fee paying basis. If newly qualified lawyers are to be affected, they must be allowed to undergo the course for the first five years without being charged any fees. The Government should choose one.

If the Government can consider this point and accede to it, I think really that they would have done very much to help all future lawyers, and the lawyers will always remember the Government as having done something to prepare them for their practice.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusifu : I rise to support this Bill in principle. In doing so, I wish to make a short remark on this Bill. I should not give it a long debate.

In fact, what I mean by saying that I support this Bill in principle is that the common practice of lawyers in this country is really appalling. In many cases in remote areas, lawyers are not fulfilling their obligations to their clients. They receive money and do not appear before the court to plead for their clients, and as a result of this, many people have suffered before the courts.

Therefore, I am suggesting that what the Government should do is to bring in certain laws to enhance the morality of our lawyers. The common people or the litigants should be protected by legislation from being cheated by these lawyers.

On the other hand, I think that the best way to do this is that the matter should be referred to the Attorney-General who would be able to outline all these factors which would be able to curb lawyers from this type of dishonest practice. In fact, there is another thing in the way they try to deceive these people. After they have failed to fulfil their obligations and the clients press for a refund of their money, the lawyers always remind them that in the first place they came for consultation and had received the necessary advice.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : On a point of order; is the Senator trying to say that lawyers are dishonest?

Senator Yusifu : I cannot possibly answer that question because it is left to the lawyers to say whether they are dishonest or not. What I am saying is what is actually taking place in remote areas. Therefore, it is up to lawyers to say which out of the two they are to choose.

I do not intend to have a long talk on this matter. My objective is to see that lawyers are, as I said earlier on, given a moral background for dealing with their clients.

With these few remarks, I support the Bill.

Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu : I thank Mr President for giving me the chance to speak for the first time in the House this Session.

The President : The Senator spoke yesterday.

Senator Chief Acholonu : In supporting the Legal Education Bill, I have special observations to make. I want the Minister concerned to make a categorical statement as to when the building of this school on legal education will be completed and also the time that the school will start to operate, because, in my humble opinion, bringing this Bill now and trying to enforce it immediately seems that we want to weed our barristers out from our towns when they come in.

The law should have fixed a specific time. The establishment of the school is a very good idea. It is a commendable step for the Government to do so according to our tradition. My argument is that, as this is the first time that this will become operative for everybody in the Federation, and in view of the fact that immediately this Bill is passed the law starts at once to operate, it would seem that the elders in this House do not realise the importance of our people and that we do not have feelings for them both at home and abroad. I am suggesting, therefore, that if this law must come into force, and if we know that it is a very good idea to have such a legal school in Nigeria to help our lawyers to know the tradition and custom of our country, then this Bill must be well scrutinised. Some time should be allowed before the Bill becomes effective so that, if one wishes to send one's son abroad for law studies, one will bear in mind that while making arrangements for his keep there one would also have to make arrangements for the cost of his studies at the Law School when he comes back home to Nigeria.

This Bill should not be enforced now because the people—widows and families of the students who are abroad—expect them to start providing for them immediately they come back home. When they return they run helter-skelter trying to find money because they are professional men, and because as soon as they are back home, their people begin to demand assistance from them. Are we to expect such people to go and get loans for sending them to the proposed Law School?

But if the people know beforehand that the Law School which the Government is setting up is being established in the interest and for the

benefit of the people, they will not quarrel over it. I do not, in my humble opinion, see anything bad about it. If it is properly handled and if the Government gives the assurance that it will not be a sort of imposed order or law on the people, everything will be all right.

As I said before, four or five years should pass by before the law becomes operative. Anything outside this time may bring some trouble. It will also cause discouragement to our students abroad as well as to their guardians.

Nobody is questioning the integrity of the Government, and anyone who goes through the whole Bill will find that it is for the good of the country and its people. However, the Government should take note of what we say because we say these meaningful things without favouritism or fear. The Government should realise that there can be no smoke without fire.

We are not here to quarrel with the Government; all we want is for the Government to listen to our pleas. We are praying the Government to view our case seriously. We want the Members of the Cabinet to tackle it in the way we are suggesting. Our argument with the Members of the Cabinet is just like that of a husband and wife. The husband may dish out food in plenty, but the wife reserves some for the rainy day. But the husband is the father of the home and the wife is the mother of the home, and they are both seeking the welfare of the family. We are the fathers and the hon. Ministers are the mothers. When we quarrel over our children, we are not really quarrelling but only trying to reach agreement for their betterment. And that is exactly what is happening over this question of the Legal Education Bill.

In fact, after Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku and other Senators like Senator Ukattah have spoken about this legal matter, ordinary laymen like myself cannot have much else to say—

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : On a point of order, I am not a lawyer, and neither is Senator Ukattah.

Senator Acholonu : But these Senators talk more than any lawyer can do.

The President : The two Senators are not lawyers. They are laymen too.

Senator Acholonu : We are all in the line of lawyers in this business. In making

legislation of this kind, we must first of all weigh what the outcome of it would be. The outcome must be taken into consideration before this Bill comes into operation.

As regards the amendment of the laws of Nigeria, we must be ready to welcome such an action. If we look around the town or read the newspapers or listen to the radio we will find that there is everyday a case of stealing of motor cars or of removal of spare parts from cars and of stabbing of people. And what usually follows? We hear that the police have called some people for questioning and investigations and that is the end of it.

I am saying that there should be some amendment in the laws of Nigeria to empower our policemen to take such offenders to the courts.

The President : As the Senators know, I do not like to interrupt frequently, but this is certainly irrelevant to the Bill. The Bill is about educating lawyers.

Senator Chief Acholonu : What I am concerned about is the question of an amendment of the Law. If some people are suspected and six of them are taken into custody for investigations, one finds that somehow the men do not get into court. They usually begin to make arrangements with the policemen and—

The President : I must call you to order. You have not yet said how your suggestion will assist in educating lawyers. You are still on the same point.

Senator Chief Acholonu : Yes, I am sorry, Sir.

I emphasise that our Government should reconsider this Bill so that it could be properly amended and so that it could receive the full support of the Members of this House.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : I know that we have a very short time but I must thank you very much, Mr President, for granting me this indulgence to have a say since yesterday.

The President : You have only just caught my eye.

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : I am much obliged to you, Sir. By the time I come

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here this afternoon, I will be taller so that you will surely see me.

This Bill which has been placed before us through the Minister of Transport is a very nice one but I want us as experienced fathers and experienced statesmen to consider it from two different angles.

A Senator : One of us is an experienced mother too !

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : I beg the Senator's pardon, I include our experienced mother too.

This is a very nice Bill and it is in the interests of Nigeria as a whole. However, I would like us to consider it from two other angles.

We are being asked to pass this Bill but let us suppose that a boy or a girl who qualified in England as a Lawyer this year chooses to remain there to practise for one, two, or three years before coming to Nigeria, would such a person be exempted from this Law ?

My second point is this. According to medical practitioners—and I am happy that the Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin) who studied medicine and has had some practice is here to bear me out—

Minister of State (Dr the hon. E. A. Esin) : I practised abroad for many years.

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : I am obliged to the Minister. He can bear me out that if a student qualifies as a doctor abroad and practises there for some years, he or she would not have to do the one year post-graduate period on coming back home to Nigeria.

Senator Abudu Salami Yusifu : I think that the Senator's debate should have nothing to do with doctors, or else he would be irrelevant.

The President : The Senator is at least entitled to make an analogy.

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : I was only making an analogy ; I realise that this Bill is to provide a school for law students because we also have a medical college where our boys and girls are trained. Why must this Bill which has been put before us to-day be rushed over to-day and passed immediately ? I do

not want to waste much of our time. It is wise to bring in this Bill after some time but a specific time of three or five years should be allowed before it goes into operation. It is then that all the principles and ideas suggested can be incorporated.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : On a point of order, I notice that some of the Senators who occupied the whole Floor yesterday morning did not come in the afternoon, and to-day they have already started to pack—

The President : Order ! Will Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu please go on with his speech ?

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : Thank you, Sir. I consider the passing of this Bill a bit premature at the moment because, according to this Bill, immediately we pass it here it will go into operation within the next twelve or fifteen months' time. Then, what will be the fate of the boys and girls who are on their way back home or who have just completed their courses ? I do not want us to cut our nose to spite our face.

This law school has not been started. It is said that this school should be established but we have not acquired the site or drawn up the building plans, although arrangements are being made to enrol boys and girls. The Government has not got the school building. Where are these children going to be put ? In which house are they going to be trained ?

A Senator : In the Senate !

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : Is the Government going to train them in the Senate as was just suggested or in the House of Representatives ?

I think that this law is too premature and should be deferred and given serious consideration in order that sufficient notice will be given to the boys and girls who are already there to finish within the next three or five years.

Sitting suspended : 1.00 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3.00 p.m.

Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu : Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to continue my speech on this Bill. I do not think we should waste much time on it again.

As I have said this morning, it is a very nice Bill which should receive the blessing of the Senate but, at the same time, I would like us to go through it carefully in order to make sufficient provision and security for the people who are now studying or about to complete their courses in law so that when they come back their parents and guardians will not be burdened as a result of the provisions of this Bill.

Through the President, therefore, I am asking that the Minister should look into it and make sufficient provisions in order to give sufficient notice to those concerned. The question of passing the Bill now so that it will affect everybody as from this month or next month is a bit premature. The Bill is too early to be put into operation.

I am appealing that consideration should be given to it so that it will take effect as from two, three or five years from now and thereby sufficient notice will be given to anybody who is studying law or has just completed his studies or is going to do so. Everybody will thus know what his or her fate is and accept the fact that it is an established custom in Nigeria that if a lawyer qualifies in England he has to comply with certain regulations on coming back. So, before a boy goes overseas to study law he already knows what his fate is when he returns home.

I beg that the matter be given a serious consideration.

Senator J. K. Nzerem: Senators may recall that in my speech on the Debate on the Address of thanks for the Speech of His Excellency from the Throne, I strongly criticised the idea of establishing a school of legal studies in Nigeria, considering that we have many lawyers already. I said we needed more engineers, more educationists and more doctors than lawyers now. It does not mean that the legal profession is not important or that Nigeria does not need more lawyers but, relatively speaking, I thought we needed more doctors, more engineers, more agriculturists and more teachers than we needed lawyers.

It might be a very good idea that we should have a school of legal studies.

Perhaps the intention of the Government may be to discourage young men and women from going overseas to study law. There is nothing

wrong in people going abroad to study, but when we consider the cost of education in England and the relative poverty of many of the parents who send their children abroad to study we have to thank the Government for trying to think of a way of relieving the parents of their burden.

However, if this Bill is passed in a hurry it is going to mean a very great deal of hardship to parents. Before one sends one's child abroad for education one calculates the cost and estimates when the child will be back. If all of a sudden the law is passed before the child returns one can imagine what terrible inconvenience the law is going to cause the parents or guardians of such a child.

As other Senators have said, it is not our intention to obstruct a Government Bill, but, in the interest of the nation, I think that we should require the Government to give a time limit within which the law, when enacted, will go into operation. The shortest possible time limit I can consider adequate is three years, because the law should not be made to apply to all those who have either entered a law school or those who have been accepted for entry.

Some people have suggested five years. I think it is good to put the time limit at such a time as to allow those already studying to finish. Then if they do not return they are responsible for whatever happens to them because we are not going to allow young Nigerians to go abroad and stay there unnecessarily for many years.

As some people said before, and as I am repeating, this Bill is very welcome. In fact, it is very long overdue. We know that when students go to England to study law they study against the background of English custom and culture. Any attempt on the part of the Government to make the lawyers acquire legal education with a Nigerian background is a very welcome move indeed. I suppose this will also lead to the Government insisting that doctors qualifying abroad should desist from doing their post graduation courses overseas and do them in Nigeria, so that they may work with a background of our culture, custom and tradition.

All that we pray the Government to do therefore is to consider the hardship that will be placed upon parents and guardians of law students abroad if this law comes into immediate operation.

I support the Bill in principle.

Senator A. Nwoke : The Bill, as was said in the morning by the hon. Minister, is very welcome. As the last speaker has said, it is long overdue. We have long been expecting lawyers who could study our native laws and customs to codify our native laws and customs so that they may be of help in our local areas.

As a matter of fact, I do not have much to speak on in the Bill except to make a suggestion which I think will be of use to the Minister concerned. I suggest that provision should be made in the case of students who are studying overseas and who are able to pay the cost of transport to Nigeria to come and do the one year course during their summer holidays instead of qualifying and coming out to do the extra one year in Nigeria.

In other words, if I were studying in England, and I could afford the cost of transport, I would like, during my summer holidays, to travel to Nigeria and do the course at that time instead of doing the extra one year after qualifying.

The introduction of this Bill will discourage the exodus of students who study law overseas when we have our local institution. That is quite in order. But to succeed in that, it would be improper for us to make a ruling which would embarrass people already studying law long before we started thinking about building an institution. I therefore feel that we should allow a number of years within which students who have left to study law would have returned. Such a period should be four years. If we say that the law should operate in four years, it will be proper.

In the case of Queen's Counsel from overseas, the present condition should continue to operate. There is no need for us to send them to this institution to study before practising in Nigeria. The normal process of registering remains the same. As a matter of fact, it is a sheer waste of money importing Queen's Counsel from overseas when we have our local and able Q.Cs. in Nigeria.

I do not think that I need go beyond what I have suggested and I give the Bill my support.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : As other speakers have said, I think the Bill is welcome ; but it would look like a degradation if after a student had gone to the U.K. for four to

five years and obtained his degrees and returned to Nigeria qualified he were to be asked to go back to school and be tied down by a certain institution. To the public, it would look very funny. Therefore, I do not want to waste the time of the Senate repeating what others have said.

I only want to say that the school should be established and to suggest that, when it is established, if anybody is going to the U.K. that person should first of all go to that school to learn our custom and tradition. When such a person has qualified in that, then he can go to England for further studies. That is better than for a man to go to the U.K. and come back to return to school again.

The President is himself a barrister and I am sure that he would not like that. It is a pity that the Minister is not here, I should have suggested that to him.

The President : The Minister of Transport is a lawyer and he is here.

Chief Olayeye : Yes, and I am sure he would not like it if at the time he came back, he had to go back to be a school boy again.

Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : The Minister of Communications is also a lawyer.

Chief Olayeye : And he too would not have liked to be treated that way. It would be a very difficult thing for him to have to go back to school. I support the others who said that our children should first of all receive their training here before they proceed to the U.K. and that when they came back, they would become professional people and we would reckon with them as being highly qualified. It is a degradation for them to go to the U.K. and on their return to Nigeria, to become students again. I am sure that the Minister of Health will agree with me.

The Minister of Health : I am not a lawyer.

Senator Chief Olayeye : But the hon. Minister is a doctor. Incidentally in some circles of our community even unto this day some people say that they are not used to taking English or foreign medicines. Therefore alongside the establishment of this law school, another school should be established where our native herbalists will study and become well qualified doctors.

I welcome the establishment of the school but I appeal to the hon. Minister of Justice, in all humility, that anybody who wants to study law should start here in the proposed school to study our own laws and customs before going overseas for further legal education. There is nothing humiliating in this. After all, our proposed law school will not award degrees.

What is the point if a person who studies law overseas and returns with his honours degree in law goes back to school where perhaps some lecturers may not have been to any university to study law? Our natural rulers and leaders may be invited to lecture them on native laws and customs. His Highness the Oba of Lagos could be invited to teach or to lecture on traditions or customs of Lagos. My humble suggestion is therefore that anybody who wishes to study law should start here in our law school before going overseas for a further course of studies.

I agree with the Senators who suggested that those already in law schools overseas should be exempted from the force of this Bill and that anybody going to study law from now should be bound by it. In view of the above observations I support the Bill.

3.23 p.m.

Senator Chief R. A. Umoh : This is a very good Bill and I have to congratulate the Government for bringing it up.

It is true that the Bill intends to improve the legal system of this country, but, looking at it critically, it seems to me that we are going to control drastically the rate at which lawyers qualify and are allowed to practise in this country. Senators will agree that there are certain factors, like this Bill, which debar people from taking up the study of science while we clamour for scientists. If we pass this Bill and it takes effect from now, thereby affecting those who are overseas studying law at the moment, it will certainly discourage greatly the parents who have their children overseas studying law. To the best of my knowledge, the Government is not prepared to help or sponsor students to study law overseas. Therefore, I think that this Bill will greatly discourage parents and other people who have boys and girls abroad studying law at present.

In the field of science, we want to use certain scientific discoveries; we want to apply our scientific knowledge to agriculture, and we find that science is a very important subject. Any-

body who has got any knowledge of science is highly valued by the Government. As in the field of science we find that there are many people progressing in various fields of study. This is what we want.

In addition we want to have the force of law in order to maintain law and order. The more law and order can be maintained in a country the more smoothly will the wheel of various activities run in that country. But people will not obey the law when they do not understand it. This is why we should have more lawyers. The more we encourage our boys and girls to qualify and return as lawyers the better.

If we have at least one lawyer in every village or town of this country we will be sure that people will understand the law better. When a man does anything contrary to the law, the lawyers will tell him that what he has done is against the law, and if he insists on doing that particular thing, he will find himself face to face with the law and he will have nobody to blame because there are lawyers all over the country to interpret the law. But to-day, there is not even one lawyer in many towns and villages in this country. How then can we expect our citizens to understand the law?

Why should we allow the study of science subjects to progress rapidly and then want the study of law to come to a stand still? How can we expect the people of this country to understand the law which they are expected to obey and then keep to the maintenance of law and order so that our activities will progress smoothly?

If we think for a moment about the study of law, we will find that it is not only the study of law that matters very much. Another thing which matters is also the gaining of experience of it. Experience counts highly in every field of study.

Take our national anthem, for example. We find that when our national anthem is sung we do not act as we ought to do. But if a Briton hears the British anthem sung he or she will stand up and all Africans who are there will stand up with him because he has shown them the example. But when our national anthem is being played most people will not stand up. They will even continue chatting, drinking, eating and dancing as the case may be. They will not respect it because they do not understand what it means.

[SENATOR CHIEF UMOH]

We need to have experience of things from elsewhere. A person eating his own pudding may not know that there are others which are better than his own. So, it can be seen that experience matters a lot. We must not lose sight of the fact that there are other countries that may want to copy us. There may come a time when others will want our Q.C.'s, to help them in their legal matters.

As I said, the Bill is a very good one but we should not try to discourage people who have students studying overseas. My suggestion is that this Bill should not apply in the case of students now studying, and those who have already gained admission into any law school. They should be exempted. We should do everything to encourage people who sponsor students to study law.

It can be seen that lawyers are very useful. They may practise for a while and seek employment elsewhere. They are highly respected in any department and they do their work very well. For example, if a lawyer is employed as a clerk he knows exactly what to write down.

Therefore I earnestly ask the Government to encourage students and their parents in the furtherance of their legal education.

I beg to support.

Senator Zanna Medalla Sheriff : I support the Bill and I do so wholeheartedly because it is a step in the right direction. I congratulate the Minister of Justice on the introduction of this Bill. It goes to portray his foresight and his immense sense of justice. I also appreciate the able manner in which the Minister of Transport presented it to this House.

Unfortunately it is one of those Bills that habitually come to this House without adequate notice being given so that Senators might study the implications involved with a view to making a sincere and genuine comments.

Before I go further, I should like to say that I associate myself with the Senators who have spoken on this Bill. However, I have one or two comments to make.

I would ask Senators not to be hasty because this Bill must have been put forward with the very best intentions. It is like the austerity measures which nobody wanted—they are all

necessary. If our Ministers, in the best interest of Nigeria, have the foresight to apply themselves to the welfare and the prosperity of our Nigeria, we should not—(Interruption) I think I have about forty minutes as a Senator, is that not so Mr President!

The President : You are so entitled.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : On a point of order, the Senator is addressing Members instead of the Chair.

The President : Will the Senator proceed.

Senator Zanna Sherriff : The point I want to make is that we have confidence in our Ministers and anything that is considered good for us we must allow, whether it is—(Several Senators : No.)

However, this Bill to my own mind should not perhaps be deferred for a further period because it will place the Government in a very awkward position. As a layman I have to make an alternative suggestion. This School of Law will create embarrassment and frustration. The term 'School of Law' should be amended to read 'Institute for Legal Practitioners'—an institute. By 'institute' I mean an organisation which will organise short courses from three to six months, as a Senator has just stated, to prepare people for a degree course in a recognised university. Preparatory, rather than for a man having qualified in international law to have to come back to study native laws and customs, because it will cause great frustration (Interruptions) Let me speak my mind; I am not going astray I know where I am going.

The President : The Senator should not mind the interruptions.

Senator Zanna Sheriff : Earlier on I said that I associated myself with the views expressed by Senators. But this one-year course should be reduced to a course in an institute for legal practitioners for three to six months preparatory to the persons taking proper legal education overseas or in Nigeria. That is what I am suggesting.

The first suggestion should apply only to potential legal trainees. The other suggestion is that if the existing legal practitioners are required to benefit from that course the Institute should be run in the same way as the Institute of Administration at Zaria, for

example. When a Bill similar to this was introduced in the North what happened was that all the existing Khadis, all the Scribes and all the District Officers came and attended the short courses. They got what was then required: they refreshed their minds and went back to their homes. This should apply to the new lawyers as well as the existing lawyers. Of course, I can cite something much nearer: the Extra-Mural Department of Studies at the Ibadan University. They are holding courses, one week, two weeks, or six weeks as the case may be. People from all parts of Nigeria flock in. They get what they want and then go back to their own homes to practise. So a school for lawyers who are experienced should be called an 'Institute for Legal Practitioners' with short courses of three to six months.

There are, many points that I feel other Senators will want to touch upon and so with these few remarks I beg to support the Bill.

The President: Before I call anyone else I will call the Minister of Transport to clear some questions. I am not closing the debate and I will call other Senators after the Minister of Transport.

3.47 p.m.

The Minister of Transport (Hon. R. A. Njoku): I would like to clear a few points which perhaps may satisfy some of those who have spoken and may reduce the number of speeches.

First of all I want to say that we are very appreciative of the very great interest which Senators have shown in this Bill. I think it is very satisfying and encouraging for the lawyers to feel that the country thinks so much about them and their training and their well-being. There is no doubt that we all feel that those of our boys and girls who are studying law overseas should not in any way be prejudiced by the enactment of this legislation. The Government is very much aware of that.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku and so many others spoke about doing nothing to prejudice the interest of Nigerian students at present overseas (the only place where Nigerian students qualify as lawyers to be able to practise in Nigeria is the United Kingdom and Ireland). I want to assure the House that all those students overseas and their conditions and sort

of hardships that may result from any undue haste in putting the law into force, are being taken into consideration. You will see, as I mentioned when I was moving the Second Reading, it is provided that exemptions to be made by the Attorney-General, under Section 2 of the Bill, will be subject to parliamentary approval. In other words, if there are going to be any exemptions, the people who are going to be exempted from presenting certificates here before they can be enrolled as Barristers, they and the qualifications which they are required to possess, will be the subject of scrutiny by this House.

What I want to say, first of all, is that I am glad all Senators accept the principle that we ought to have our own Law School. May I say that 'a Law School' here is different from a Faculty of Law in a University. A lawyer normally does two types of examinations. First of all he goes for a Law degree at a university and, when he gets his Law degree, that does not make him a Barrister. He may be LL.B. or LL.M. or even Ph.D. Law, but that does not make him a Barrister until he joins one of the Inns of Court and takes the Bar examinations, that is, examinations conducted by the Council of Legal Education. And this is the thing referred to, the establishing of a Council of Legal Education for Nigeria.

We feel it is necessary for us in Nigeria to have our own standard for lawyers to practise in Nigeria because we are now independent. We cannot continue for ever to send our students to qualify in the United Kingdom. We are very grateful for what we have been able to derive from the English law system but we have to work out our own legal system and the qualifications necessary for lawyers in Nigeria. That is what we are doing. So this disposes of the question whether he should be a member of the Institute or whether people should do the examinations here first of all. On the continent of Europe, for instance, you cannot become a lawyer until you do a university course. It is compulsory. In the United Kingdom and in Nigeria, it is not compulsory.

This Bill wants to make legal training a little more specialised than it has been in the past. In the first place, people who want to become lawyers and who would be eligible to practise in Nigeria will have to undertake a course of study at a recognised university, and we hope that the various universities in Nigeria

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will have their Faculties of Law where our own boys and girls will go and study Law, either at Ibadan, Nsukka, Ife, Zaria or in Lagos here, in the universities. That is purely academic. Then that will not qualify them for enrolment. When they finish that, they will have to take a course, first of all, to qualify them to practise.

In the first instance they are getting a liberal education because after taking an LL.B. or LL.M. degree, they can go into the civil service or into the firms and work. As a matter of fact in the U.K. now industry is absorbing a lot of lawyers. So that when they go into the Legal School, take the necessary courses and pass the examination, they have the certificate and are enrolled and become lawyers. That will apply to people, whether they study in the U.K. or in Nigeria.

It is only people who are qualifying now or who are almost qualified, who are the people we are going to take care of that we do not embarrass. Otherwise, in the long run, there will be no difference whether they do their course here or in the U.K. because there will be, first of all, a requirement to do a university course. They can do it in Nigeria, they can do it elsewhere, so they are on par there. There is no particular advantage, one way or the other.

When they do their degrees, if they do their Law course in the U.K. when they pass their Bar Finals (the Finals for the professional examination) they are not entitled to practise. Even now, our law students have to do a post-call course. They do it for three months. They go and learn procedure and how to conduct cases and learn legal ethics and etiquette at the Bar. They do that in the U.K. now, so if a man qualifies, he will have to do that. It is that sort of candidate that we should think about, who has qualified and done his post-call course. Is he going to do that again? Is he going to be asked to repeat it in Nigeria during the next six months? That is the thing.

The points Senators have made are very well taken. There is no question of rushing anything. This law is doing two main things. First of all, it is establishing a Council of Legal Education which will control the qualification and enrolment of lawyers.

Secondly, it is seeking the power to establish a Law School which will be the equivalent of the Council of Legal Education that is in the United Kingdom because we hope that as time goes on the majority of our lawyers will have their initial training in Nigerian universities, get their Law degrees and then come to the Law School. It is the same everywhere. It is the same in Europe, it is the same in America, it is the same in the United Kingdom. If you do a degree course you go to the professional institute and do the professional part of it which will be mainly about procedure and behaviour in the courts, and so on, and I do not think anybody will quarrel with that. That is very well taken care of.

I do not think that I need go into exact details of what everyone has said here but these are the main points and I think that every one of us should feel as disturbed as Senators who have spoken if no consideration whatever is given to Nigerians who are now studying Law in the United Kingdom or elsewhere.

Some one else, I think Senator Chief Acholonu asked when the Law School will be opened. The Law School will be opened in October this year. Therefore, if there are any students, for instance, who qualify by their examinations in September and who prefer to do a three-month post-call course here instead of remaining in England to do that, I think nobody should stop them. But we should be able to give special consideration to people who do the post-call course. The question is where to do it. That is the question. Whether they qualify in the U.K. or not they must do the post-call course. It is a question of where they do it.

My Friend Chief Olayeye, spoke about somebody qualifying or doing his course for five years and then coming back here to go back to school.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : To be a schoolboy!

The Minister of Transport : I want to say that if anybody goes to the Law School he is not a schoolboy in the sense that the Chief imagines. It is a professional course and when the Attorney-General is drafting his regulations which will provide for exemptions, certain categories of people will be exempted from doing the local courses. All these points that have been made, I can assure Senators, will be

taken into considerations. But I would like Senators to understand that it is not the intention of the Government or the Minister of Justice that anybody should suffer any hardships at all. The primary purpose is that as a sovereign nation we have got to provide now for our own legal education and I think everybody agrees with that. Therefore, we ought to have a Law School and we ought to have a council of Legal Education to control the qualification of lawyers and their enrolment.

On the question of the large number of Nigerians who are still studying abroad and who are qualifying, special consideration will be given to all the points that have been made. If, for instance, a young man goes to one of the colleges and spends three years there (some people are talking of five years—those are LL.B. Degree courses) on the question of I think it will not be wise or equitable that the student who is studying in the U.K. should have an advantage over the person who does a Degree Course here in Nigeria and, I am quite sure that nobody will raise that point.

I think Senators are quite entitled to lay as much emphasis as they can on when this Act should come into force, and when the regulations are also made, what category of people should be exempted from the initial courses. I think everybody agrees that as time goes on anybody who wants to be a lawyer in Nigeria will have to go through this course. I think it is also generally agreed that this Bill seeks to raise the standard of the legal profession in Nigeria; this is what it seeks to do: to raise the standard of legal profession and I think that it is a good thing that as Nigeria progresses, the standards of our various professions should be raised as much as possible.

I am very glad that that very aspect of the Bill has been welcomed by everybody. As a matter of fact, we are so keen on this, as I said. In Tanganyika where there is no university, they have started a law school. Immediately after their independence they started a law school and as Senators must have been aware, they have sent an S.O.S. to ask for Nigerian lawyers to help in their legal department and in their courts, and so on, so that we are quite prepared. As far as law is concerned, Nigerians have done fairly well and we would not like to do anything to retard the progress of lawyers in Nigeria or to retard the production of more lawyers.

Senator Umo was saying that the effect of this Bill will be to stop Nigerians from becoming lawyers. Nobody is doing that. They can pursue their study of law either in this country or in England. The point is, when they qualify and obtain their degree where will they do their post-call course, that course which will prepare them for the actual act of practice of the law? That is what the Bill will do.

A Senator: We should then recall our students from the United Kingdom and let them come here and do their courses here at once.

The Minister of Transport: I am sorry we cannot accept that suggestion because according to the Bill only certain people who must have had some sort of preliminary education in law will be eligible even to enter the law school. Before they are allowed to enter the law school, they must have done a reasonable course of study leading up to a degree in a recognised institution either in this country or elsewhere. So we hope that the courses to be given here will be as good as the courses in the United Kingdom. As a matter of fact, at the moment, the present Adviser on this is one of the Professors of Law in the University of London. He is very closely associated with the arrangements that we are making and both the syllabus and the courses themselves will be of the same standard as those available to our students in the United Kingdom. I think, that that point has been disposed of.

Finally, we have already got to an extent and, as I said, we want to start on the 1st of October. We have already got the premises at Igbosere Road. Government has already acquired the premises to start the law school and the people who are going to lecture there are being contacted and we really want to make a great success of it.

There is no question about the necessity to have our school of law. We have our lawyers, very well trained, and all those already qualified and who are practising now in Nigeria will not be asked to take any other courses. There is no question also of anybody taking a sort of a refresher course, that is, going back to an institution to read or to listen to lectures for three months or less or more. This measure

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does not affect those who are already in practice, but those who are not yet qualified and those who are about to qualify. All those who have already qualified will be exempted from attendance at lectures at the Council school and this question will be gone into fully by the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice and regulations will be made to that effect.

Senator Beyioku made one point about Q.C.'s. coming from overseas to conduct examinations or to invigilate examinations. That will be a matter to be dealt with in the regulations and these regulations will come before the House. Thinking of that on the spur of the moment, one would feel that, perhaps, if we were to allow a number of lawyers to come from other places, we may allow lawyers to come from other Commonwealth countries and that will be on a reciprocal basis, that is to say, if they allow our own lawyers to go to their countries, naturally a provision will be made for lawyers from such other countries to come here. We have got a lot of Nigerian lawyers to be patronised. Then also that will be provided for in the regulations.

I want to assure Senators that there is no question of any snag at all in this. It is only a progressive move which is being made to provide for the legal education of our youths and also to provide that they are properly qualified before they practise, and all those affected by this Bill will be taken into consideration before the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice decides on the date on which this Act will come into operation.

3.55 p.m.

Senator Dr A. A. N. Orizu : I am very grateful to have this opportunity to contribute my views. It appears that this House might be misunderstood. Some of us want to say a lot of things merely because we want our students to be considered. A very important Bill like this which strictly complies with everything we want should not be misunderstood because this is the era of independent Nigeria. When some of us talk about things it looks as if some of us have not followed the trend of events correctly and some of us feel that everything done by the Government is ill-motivated. That is not to be read into what this Bill is intending to do, as I am sure.

We are not opposing this Bill at all. What happens is that there are just certain conditions to be fulfilled and I think that the Federal Government has done only one thing. They have followed the universal principle of jurisprudence which says that law makes itself illegal if it does not originate in the place of its application. That is the rule of jurisprudence and I feel that once that is accepted, it will continue to be true for years here in Nigeria.

Nigeria has won independence and it must accept the challenge of independence. If we are dependent on other people to think for us then we are not truly independent. Of course, we must not do that. The Nigerian Governments are doing very marvellously well. Democracy is the best policy and they are working slowly and surely in that direction. Now, this has happened. It would be very unfair of us if by the way we talk now it appeared that we were not ready to face the challenge of independence.

We want only one thing and that is that these people should be considered. That is all; nothing more. Anybody opposing this measure, I want to say now clearly that I am not with him at all. Those opposing any part of this Bill, I want to say now that I am not among them. Nigeria is very, very free and I do not want to be associated with that type of opposition. And no one can say that as Senators we have to try to push the Government about. I am not among those who want to do that.

The only good point we have to make is that we have people in England now whom we have to consider—the students whose interests we have to safeguard—because we would not like to jeopardise their own interests. That is all. Even then I have also my own line of reasoning on what the Government did not do about this Bill—and that is just one little point—and the Minister of Transport has given us an assurance about it. He said that those who are practising now in Nigeria will not be affected by this Bill. I would not like to be quoted as having said anything in opposition to that view.

My only point about this is that we want an assurance that there will be a general ruling that all lawyers shall at one time or another attend the courses for six or twelve months to study aspects of Nigerian law. Every lawyer,

whether he is old or young must attend such a course at one time or another because even in medical practice, that is being done at all times.

A Senator : That means that it will affect even the Minister of Justice.

Senator Orizu : It will affect everybody, including even the Minister of Heaven !

Secondly, I propose that that shall be compulsory. The first point I made was that that should be a general ruling, that all lawyers should attend at one time or another. That would help our own lawyers. Then there shall be a compulsory attendance for all those leaving this country for law studies abroad after the Law School has been established. Then the establishment of the Law School, as the Minister has said, will discourage the idea of students going to any foreign country for legal studies. There would be a long-term business, which would help us to have residual thought, legal thought, which is essentially Nigerian. That will come because I have seen it in the minds of the Government.

I would very strongly oppose the deferring of the Bill. We should not defer the Bill for these reasons :

(1) people's speeches did not actually indicate deferment or amendment ;

(2) Government's action conforms to the principles of independence, if we know what it means ;

(3) deferring it would appear reactionary and be harmful to the integrity and sovereignty of Nigeria in this respect ;

(4) deferring it would mean refusing to have the Law School established in itself. We are asking the Government to establish a Law School. If we defer the Bill now, we defer the Law School.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : On a point of order, there is no Motion for deferment—Senator Dr Orizu should speak on the Bill.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : I was one of the earlier speakers on this ; we did not speak of deferring the Bill, but that the whole question of the Bill should be reconsidered so that the period of about five years—

The President : I am sorry, but you are making another speech. It is true that some Senators said "defer". Will Senator Dr Orizu continue.

Senator Dr Orizu : It seems to me that we are running away from the point on this question of deferment, and I want to clear myself about it to the country. I am opposed to this. I know that many Senators did not talk of deferment, but I am talking about those who said it. These are the points that I wanted to make.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I hope the Senator is not trying to play to the Gallery.

The President : That is imputing a motive

Senator Dr Orizu : I am not saying anything about that. I do not play to the Gallery. This is a very serious Bill, and this is the first time the Government has gone very deeply into it since independence. It has been done unawares, and one of the very first things that they have done in creating a situation which will make us—

The Minister of Transport and Aviation : On a point of explanation, may I say that we are very sure of what we are doing. I think I overheard the Senator say that the Federal Government has done something unawares, in keeping with the—

Senator Dr Orizu : No, I said that *we* appear to be unaware—not the Federal Government. I hope that I have been able to make my point, and with this I beg to oppose.

Senator Chief Z. C. Obi : I think Senators in this House will know that even in the House of Representatives this Bill received a conditional passage. If you will allow me, I will quote the summing up that was made by the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice in that House—

"The point which hon. Members have made about extending the period will be referred to the Council on Legal Education if they will help me to pass this Bill".

I do not think there is anybody here who has spoken about deferring the Bill. All that we want is that perhaps at the Committee Stage we must ask for an amendment to be made which would create a transitional period of about five years or which would make it

[SENATOR CHIEF OBI]

optional for students who are in England already studying law to take or not to take the course in Nigeria. I do not think that there is much to elaborate on the point.

I am grateful to the Minister of Transport for his explanation. But we are not all lawyers here; we followed his explanation in the first instance. I want to say that there is nobody here who is saying anything about having the Bill deferred. All that we are asking the Government to do is to consider an Amendment which we shall propose in the Committee Stage to amend the clause with regard to the period of five years. After all, I know that when this Bill was passed in the House of Representatives, the views of our sons—the future Attorneys-General and the future judges whose future we now discuss—were not consulted. I mean to say that our sons in England were not consulted because some of us have read in the *Daily Express* that they have since made a representation to the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice asking him to defer the Bill, or rather to amend it so as to create a transitional period of five years—

The President : Did the Senator say “defer” the Bill just now?

Senator Chief Obi : I am sorry—it was just a slip of the tongue if I said so. There are two certain conditions to be taken into consideration. We know that in England there are some who study law whilst engaged in partial employment. It would not be fair for us to gloss over these things and pass this Bill. It is said that extreme law is extreme justice, so I would like those on the Government Bench to stay with us and let us bring this discussion to a close.

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : This is a welcome Bill and I am grateful to the Government for introducing it. My reason for saying this is that the Legal School is a school which I believe to be a training institute to prepare well for practice in our law courts those who have just returned from England on completion of their legal studies.

Some of the points that I wish to speak on have been dealt with by previous speakers. Anybody who has had something to do with our law courts and our lawyers, especially the new arrivals, will certainly agree with the Govern-

ment that there is a great need for this Law School. It is my belief that one does not have to have a first degree before one can start studying to become a lawyer. Senators who have had cause to see or work with our lawyers will see that the new arrivals amongst them make one feel that the profession is a cheap one.

There is one other point which I want to stress, and that is that experience has shown that lawyers who do not practise for some time in England before they return home after passing their examinations do not show up very well during their first appearance in our law courts. The Nigerian—

Senator Abdul Salami Yusifu : On a point of information, Mr President—

The President : The Senator cannot make a point of information unless what he has said is being misrepresented.

Senator Yusifu : On a point of explanation, Sir, I hope Senator Chief Ndu’s speech this time will not be credited to Senator Chief Udoh.

The President : Chief Ndu.

Senator Chief Ndu : Thank you very much, Mr President. What happens is that some of the Official Reporters do not like to write words that have double consonants or words that begin with a vowel, so when they write *Ndu* in their notebooks they transcribe it as *Udoh*.

The President : Will the Senator debate the Bill.

Senator Chief Ndu : I was only trying to explain to the House what happens.

I feel that the Government has done a good job in introducing this Bill, and we hope that the Law School which is going to be established in October will develop into a post-graduate institution.

I support the Second Reading of the Bill.

Senator T. Olamijulo : Most of the points that I want to speak on have been dealt with by Dr Orizu. I think that we should all join him in congratulating the Government on bringing this Bill to this House at this time. The Government have been trying their best to improve our laws and I think that they deserve our praise for bringing this Bill.

The first point that I want to make is that the Government should consider amending the Bill to make provision for it to take effect after five years for the benefit of the people of this country.

I will now go to the question of comparing lawyers and doctors. We all know what happened during the colonial days when some of our doctors were trained at the Yaba Higher College. After qualifying, the doctors trained in Nigeria were given a lower grading than their counterparts who qualified in England. This was not in the best interest of Nigerians, and our people protested against it. We hope that when these lawyers come back and go to this school, they will not be given a lower grade after leaving the school.

By establishing this school, we shall be able to teach our lawyers our own customs and traditions, and I hope Government will take our customs and traditions into consideration when drawing up the syllabus for this school. The Government should also think of enrolling in the school students from other parts of the world who would like to come to study here.

I will also refer to a clause in the Bill. With your permission, I quote—

"After satisfying the Council as aforesaid that he has successfully completed a course of practical training which lasted for not less than one year and was conducted under arrangement made by the Council."

I would urge the Government to amend this section of the Bill. It is this one year arrangement that we are up against.

I would also suggest that there should be some exemptions for people who have been in Europe studying for a number of years. When they come back, they should be given a test and if they pass, they should be enrolled and allowed to practise; if they fail, they should be allowed to repeat the examination.

These are my few contributions to the Debate, Mr President.

4.20 p.m.

Senator Chief Ezeogo Ugwuocha : I rise to support this Bill. Many Senators who have spoken on this Bill have said a lot, but I have one or two observations to make.

Firstly, our students who have gone overseas to be trained as lawyers left this country with provisions made for them by their parents and

not by themselves. Now, when they come back, they have got to enter into a legal school. I wish to know certain things from the Minister in charge of the Legal School.

The President : There is no such Minister here.

Senator Chief Ugwuocha : Is the Minister not here? What of the Minister who has just spoken on this Bill now?

The President : There is no Minister of Legal School here. The Minister of Transport is in charge of this Bill.

Senator Chief Ugwuocha : I am speaking to the Minister of Transport then. I want to know whether there is a provision made by the Government that when these boys come back and enter this Legal School, the Government will have to pay them.

Senator M. G. Ejaife : Those who are going overseas to be trained as lawyers are not always boys and girls. They are men and women actually.

Senator Chief Ugwuocha : That is the point I am intending to drive at. Some of them are married men. Some of them have children. Some of them have two wives, if I may say so. Now, when they come back, and if the Government does not make any provision for them to be paid when they enter this legal school, there must be a sort of hardship which they will eventually experience. That is my feeling. Therefore, I would like to follow those who say that five years should be the time limit in order to clear those who are now overseas.

That is my own contribution.

Senator H. N. Udoh : I agree with the former speakers who said that we must have this legal education provided but that the time limit should be looked into very carefully. There are two points in this Bill which I do not know whether the Minister will like to explain. With your permission, I quote Clause 5 (2) :

"Any loan to the council of moneys provided by Parliament shall be made on such terms as may be determined by the Minister of the government of the Federation responsible for finance."

To whom will this loan be made? Is it to the council, or to the legal school, or to the young barristers in the legal school? The Minister of

[SENATOR UDOH] Transport who is in charge of this Bill, I am sure, will be able to tell us the minds and conditions of people who have just arrived from overseas whether they are well off financially to maintain themselves while on another training. If the Government is not going to support these lawyers, I still advocate that the effect of this Bill on the students who are now overseas training as lawyers, should be suspended for five years.

Senator M. G. Ejaife : I have no intention of making additional points, but I think that we ought to thank our Government for this very welcome Bill because it recognises the status of Nigeria as an on-coming nation.

There is one little point that I do not understand. It would appear that the only people admissible to the law school are people who have attended other courses of law elsewhere, either degree courses or law schools in the United Kingdom. If this is so, my view is that it ought to be open to all and sundry, so that anyone, even without any knowledge of law, could go there to acquire that knowledge just as it is in the United Kingdom.

According to the Minister, one can either take a law degree and afterwards qualify as a barrister in the law school, or one can, without previously acquiring a law degree, enter a law school and qualify professionally as a lawyer. I think that that ought to be possible in this country too.

I do not think that I have to say anything further apart from the fact that there was no parliamentary meeting beforehand to arrange about this Amendment. Spontaneously this Bill has come before us, and spontaneously everybody is of the opinion that it will work some hardship on our people who have gone overseas. After all, it is not the fault of our students who are now in the United Kingdom. They have gone away without being aware of this Bill. It is quite clear that in future, after this Bill had been passed, anybody going to the United Kingdom to acquire any qualification in law is doing so with his eyes open, and it would be his own fault that he will suffer the penalty. But people who had not been privy to this before they left for the United Kingdom to qualify as lawyers, I think, ought not to be subject to penalty resulting from a Bill like this.

I would like to re-affirm our confidence in our Ministers and the President. As confidence begets confidence I hope that our Minister will reciprocate with confidence by agreeing to this Amendment which, I think, is a very simple one which will be of benefit to the country as a whole: that the date of commencement of the Bill should be after two or three or four or five years.

With this proviso, I beg to support.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation : I would just explain one or two more points. Clause 6(3) provides for the date of commencement of the Bill when it is passed, that is, the date on which the Council is to be set up and the date on which the school can be established. I am quite sure that Senators are not suggesting that we should defer it for five years. We actually should start the school, or we should have a council for the institution.

Really what Senators have been saying concerns Clause 2 more than Clause 6, that is, "Restrictions on enrolment and practice without suitable qualifications." It is this Clause which provides for a sort of qualification that one ought to get before one can be enrolled to practise as a barrister in Nigeria.

I would like to draw the special attention of Senators to paragraph 3 of Clause 2 which says, with your permission, I quote—

"The Attorney-General of the Federation may by regulations provide that subsection (1) or subsection (2) of this section, or both of those subsections, shall not apply in such cases and on such conditions (if any) as may be prescribed by the regulations; and regulations under this subsection may make different provision for different circumstances, but shall not come into force until approved by a resolution of each House of Parliament."

This is really the section that covers the delay of the commencement of the Act for a year or two. I take it that Senators are saying that when regulations are made there should be a provision to cover students who are at present studying in the United Kingdom so that if they get qualified overseas they will be able to do their post-course and would not be required or be under obligation to attend a second course in Nigeria. That is really the point that is being made. It is not a question of

deferring the Bill or saying that it should not come into operation. If it does not come into operation, it means that we have to stop thinking about our Law School and about developing our own Legal system.

All that I can say here really is that Senators' points are well taken. Fortunately, the regulations have not been framed and the regulations have not come into force yet. I can also say that I shall bring it to the notice of the hon. Minister of Justice, although he surely reads the *Hansard*, that the Members of the Senate have strongly made the point that the students who are studying Law in the United Kingdom should be given time so that they may not suffer any hardship.

The regulations will specify the sort of people who will be exempted and what exemption they will get. It may be that all the students now in the United Kingdom may not have the same exemption. It may well be that the exemption may be for two or three years in some cases, but I am quite sure that nobody will press that the exemption should be for five years because in five years our own Law School will be in full swing and students could as well do their courses here.

We are worried about the more matured people who go abroad from this country more than we are worried about the young people because the young people, if they have people to pay for them, have time to do their courses overseas and to come back home to do their post-graduate course here instead of doing it over there. It is the self-made man or woman that we are really worried about. We are worried about the people who are there with their own family.

Usually when students come back home huge receptions are arranged for them. Press photographers are called in and everybody makes merry. To find the people concerned going to attend classes the following day to take more lessons before they can be registered will be quite an unusual thing. But this is a change that has to be made because it is the same in other countries. It is difficult for us now to make this change but we must realise that it is necessary and that we have to take the plunge. But we shall soften the blow as much as possible so that those immediately concerned, those students now in the United Kingdom, may not be hard hit and may not suffer undue hardship.

I would appeal to the House not to press this point because the point made by Senators has been well taken and will be considered under Clause 2 because it is not really a matter for amendment. It is a matter for the regulation which our Attorney-General is going to make.

Senator Salahu Fulani : There is one point which has been worrying me and it is this: what is going to happen to Regional Government-sponsored students? How are they to be affected?

The Minister of Transport : This Bill, when it comes into law, would be of application throughout the Federation. If the students want to practise in the Nigerian Bar, they would be affected but if they wish to work in our Legal Departments or in the Ministry of Justice and do not want to go to the courts, they will not be affected. Anybody can go abroad to a Law institution, get his degree and take a job in our legal department. Such a person will not be affected by this Bill but the person who wants to become a barrister and practise in court will be affected by it.

Senator Dr A. A. N. Orizu : We are now confused by the hon. Minister of Transport's explanation. If the matter is not for Amendment, is going to be amended in the regulations?

The President : May I draw the Senator's attention to Clause 2 (2) of the Bill.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : I would like to ask the hon. Minister about a point in Clause 1 of the Bill.

The President : In this Senate, I have normally allowed latitude because we are all elders but these points should be raised when we reach the Committee stage. Even if Senators do not get a chance to ask the questions during the Committee stage, they could do so at the Third Reading. So will Senator Ogundipe raise this point when I call Clause 1 at Committee Stage.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time.

The President : It is my intention to suspend sitting for fifteen minutes. Is it the hon. Minister's wish to commence on the Committee stage after the fifteen minutes?

The Minister of Transport : Yes.

Sitting suspended : 4.37 p.m.

Sitting resumed 4.55 p.m.

LEGAL EDUCATION BILL : CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

Clause 1—(ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNCIL OF LEGAL EDUCATION).

Senator P. A. Ogunjipe : I notice that the whole of Clause 1 deals with those who should be members of the Council of Legal Education. While going through the various names and titles of these members one finds that they are all high legal men except the two persons that are to be appointed by the Minister under section 2. All those that are to be members of the Council are the Chief Justice, the four Attorneys-General, the Chairman of the Nigerian Bar Association, two persons who hold or have held high judicial office, the principal of any law school as well as the head of faculty of law of a university in Nigeria, *et cetera*. Why should there be only two persons under section 2? According to my understanding these two persons who are laymen are to be among these members of the Council and to my mind unless I have an explanation, I think these men will just be in the Council as figure heads. I do not know what contribution they will be able to make to the discussion of these very learned professional men. I require an explanation.

The Minister of Transport : This is a body which will regulate the education and profession of people and therefore it is necessary that all of them should be well acquainted with the legal profession. It is to be assumed that the two members to be appointed by the Prime Minister will be people who have some connection with the law and its administration.

As Senators know we have a Minister of Justice in the North who is a Northerner but is not an Attorney-General. I think that a man like that perhaps may be covered by this sub-paragraph. All the Attorneys-General are coming in. They are all Nigerians in the various Regions. In the North there is no Nigerian who is an Attorney-General but we have a Nigerian who is a Minister of Justice. He is a lawyer and a man like that should be able to come into this Council. It is people like that, I think, the paragraph has in mind,

Senator Ogunjipe : Thank you. I wish to ask if that is the mind of the Attorney-General why can these two men not be men who are versed in our local laws and customs—somebody like the Grand Khadi who can interpret the Moslem Law, or customary court judges and such people who are really versed in our local laws and customs—rather than mere professional men? This is a suggestion and we hope that it will be taken into consideration and perhaps the Minister in charge of this Bill will be able to give us an assurance.

The Minister of Transport : I do not see what assurance the Senator needs. As I have said, this is a professional body and we want on the Council of that body people who know about the profession. We can trust the Prime Minister to be able to nominate people with the necessary qualifications, the right sort of people.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : We agree with the establishment of the Council of Legal Studies but at the same time I disagree completely that the entire panel should be of legal nominees. After all in this Senate we make the law and in the House of Representatives they make the law and it is the law we make that the lawyers study. They are called lawyers because they become interested in the law we make here. We are not lawyers and it does not mean that every Member of the Senate and the House of Representatives where the laws of the land are made should be a lawyer. This is going to contain the usual prejudices, but we want to put these things as much as possible and be able to reflect our personality as an independent people.

We know very well that the majority of the panel will be lawyers and people who are professors in legal studies but at the same time there should be one or two people who are not lawyers but who are versed in our customs so that in making the curriculum and the syllabus of the school they will be in a position to advise on some aspects of our natural life that can be brought into our legal code and blend into something really presentable in the name of the nation.

I would not like this panel to be composed entirely of lawyers and lawyers alone. After all, in this country, when we talk of the University College, I am sure that there are people

who are members of the Board who are not doctors. I would not subscribe to the idea that everybody must be a lawyer.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : I want to support my Friend, Senator Beyioku who has just spoken. A few months ago, we passed an order about the great learned man in the North. The man, according to the information given to us, is an expert as far as Moslem laws are concerned. The same thing applies to our court judges. Now, we said that anybody who qualifies as a lawyer must come back to the school here. If we appoint others like those in the North, it will give us an idea of what is happening. A learned man from the North and one of the highest court judges, naturally do not have to study Roman or English laws but what they have learned from either their religion or from experience in the court. If they are appointed, they will have an idea of what is being done and they will acquire more knowledge apart from their own religious section of the law. By so doing, they will help the country the more. The same thing applies to court judges who are appointed in the East or in the West. It will help the nation in the near future.

I would support Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku that we should not appoint only a panel of people who are already qualified in English Laws to be members of the Council. We should appoint some people who have the confidence of the people as the Prime Minister told us sometime ago when a law was passed. Somebody should be appointed to represent the North as far as their own religion is concerned. The Premiers of the other Regions also should be allowed to appoint anybody to be their representatives who could interpret their own laws when it comes to that. I feel that such an opportunity should be granted as we shall thereby start to learn from their experience.

The Chairman : I want to remind Senators that Clause 1, sub-clause 2 (c) does not say that they must be lawyers.

Clause 1 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 2—(RESTRICTIONS OF ENROLMENT AND PRACTICE WITHOUT SUITABLE QUALIFICATION).

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : Under Clause 2, this hon. House would like to be

assured that as soon as this Bill becomes an Act of the Government, subsection 1 of Clause 2, will not be made to apply to Nigerian students arriving from U.K. or Ireland duly qualified as barristers until the regulations under subsection 2 of the same clause shall have been brought before this Senate and this Senate is satisfied as to the necessary exemptions as we have indicated throughout the debate.

The Minister of Transport : I have already said that it is this clause that really deals with exemptions and that the date of operation and the commencement of the Act introduced a different matter—a more general matter. All I can say is that I will bring home as forcibly as I can to the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice the feelings of this House. I am sure that he will respect the feelings of this House. As I said earlier we are as concerned about the future of Nigerian students overseas as are the Senators of this House and I am quite sure that the Attorney-General will do his utmost to see that no undue hardship is caused to the students.

Senator Chief Z. C. Obi : I am not sure that the fears of this House has been allayed by the explanation made by the Minister of Transport. We said that this restriction should not apply to law students already pursuing their course of study before the commencement of this law. That is our fear and we would like to take a very definite stand about this in the interest of our sons and daughters overseas; so that the Amendment proposed there is that the restriction should not apply to law students of Nigerian origin already pursuing their course of study.

The Chairman : According to the Standing Orders if you want to propose an Amendment in Committee you will put it into writing and send it to the Table. It would be accepted. If you put your Amendment in writing, you should give me a copy and the Minister a copy. I am not stopping you from making the Amendment but you should put it into writing as you are sitting there.

The Minister of Health : To save the time of the House, I hope that the Senate will accept the Minister of Transport's explanation and assurance on this section of this Bill. Before any regulation is made, it will be

[MINISTER OF HEALTH]

brought to Parliament for ratification and the Senate will have an opportunity of deciding what time limit to impose on these exemptions. I think that I should appeal to Senator Chief Obi to let us make progress.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : I think that we have got sufficient assurance and we should therefore not press the matter further. When the time comes and the regulations are made and our wishes are not met, we shall put our feet down and then—(*Senator Chief Obi handed an Amendment notice to the Chairman.*)

The Chairman : I am in duty bound to accept your Amendment for the purpose of the Senate discussing it, but I think I am also in duty bound to say that it is not in a proper legal language. If the wordings are accepted as they are, nobody coming from outside this country will think this as a part of our Statute Book. He will certainly not have any complimentary things to say about our draftsmen. I am not, however, opposed to the idea but I am saying that it is not a lawyerly language to go into the Statute Book.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I raised this matter and I think now that I could have filed an amendment as such. But I have looked into the general implications. We do not want to give the impression that we are trying to disturb or obstruct this thing. We like it because it is going to raise our prestige in the outside world. When we consider this Bill we should think first of all of our country. It is in that regard that I got up to tell the hon. Minister of Transport who introduced this Bill to this House that we do not know the effective date which the Attorney-General will recommend. By law, if he recommends that this Bill, when passed into law, takes effect from the 1st of June and the Senate might not have met again, as it is not likely to meet before August or September, and perhaps after the 1st of June Nigerian lawyers will be arriving, definitely we shall become bound by the Act. That was why I told the Minister that we wanted an assurance of the effective date. The effective date must come early because we want to get the school established as soon as possible. Perhaps the date of the official opening of the school has been fixed and some of us have been invited to attend the party

for the opening. We want the school established quite rightly, but under section (2), what we want is for an assurance to be placed on record that students arriving before the introduction to Parliament of the regulations will not be affected by this Bill until Parliament has got sufficient opportunity to discuss the regulations.

Minister of State (Dr the hon. E. A. Esin) : I think that a provision is made under Clause 2 (2) that there will be regulations, and the regulations will be stated very clearly how this restriction will apply. It goes further to say that these regulations will not become law as such until they have been passed in this House. The last sub-paragraph says—

“ . . . and regulations under this subsection may make different provision for different circumstances, but shall not come into force until approved by a resolution of each House of Parliament”.

What I want to point out to Senators is that the regulations will be brought before us.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I am satisfied because I have now re-checked subsection (1). It says—

“Subject to subsection (3) . . .”

If it is subject to subsection (3), then the redeeming grace is there. Therefore, I am satisfied.

Senator Chief Obi : It is quite clear that the Senate has taken a stand on this very issue : that stand is that some amendment should be made to this subsection (2), and that the amendment which we require the Government to make is that our boys and girls who are overseas at the moment pursuing their courses as law students will not be affected by this regulation. I do not know whether it will be the pleasure of the Chairman to seek the opinion of the House ? I am ready to press for a Division on this.

The Chairman : The Senators have put me here to see that things are done rightly. Senators are talking about Clause 2, but it seems that their quarrel is not on Clause 2 but on Clause 3 (c). You will be satisfied that what you are talking about is not Clause 2 at all but Clause 3 (c) where you must read for twelve months or one year, I think.

Senator Chief Obi : Yes.

The Chairman : I am in duty bound to draw your attention to that because what you are talking all this time deals with Clause 3. But we have been talking on it as if it was Clause 2. It is Clause 3 which says that when one finishes studying abroad and comes here one must do some other thing for one year. Is that the Clause ?

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : The whole thing is on Clause 2 because a student may not get himself enrolled until he has got some sort of qualifying certificates. It is Clause 3 (c) which stipulates the certificates. Then Clause 4 goes on to say how he can get the certificates on certain courses of instruction or training which the Council of Legal Studies will initiate. Therefore, Clauses 2, 3, and 4 are all connected in this. But Clause 2 started by saying that a man cannot get himself enrolled unless he has got the certificates. That is the point, and that is why we are saying this. But it went further to make provision that there should be some exemption under the Regulations.

When we are debating the Second Reading we were left with the impression that our points would be taken care of, and our own point is that Nigerian students who are already enrolled in the United Kingdom or in Ireland, prior to the passing of this Bill should not be affected by Clause 2. When they bring their certificates from England or from Ireland that should be sufficient as is usual now to get them enrolled. That is our point.

Now Clause 3 which you stipulate is only part of the conditions leading to the acquisition of the qualifying certificate—

The Chairman : I have got an amendment here which reads as follows :—

“Provided that this Section shall not apply to students of Nigerian origin already pursuing their course of study in law overseas before this Act comes into operation.”

The Minister of Transport : May I say that this, even as an amendment will not fit into this Clause really. I think that the Government has given sufficient assurance to the House that the position of Nigerians now pursuing legal studies abroad will be taken into due consideration when the Attorney-General is making regulations regarding the exemption

of obtaining qualifying certificates locally here in Nigeria and I appeal to Senator Chief Obi not to press this matter.

Senator Chief Z. C. Obi : We have heard about this assurance over and over again, I do not think that this House is under the Attorney-General. We want the Attorney-General to incorporate this point. When he makes his regulations we want the views of this House as expressed in this Amendment incorporated. While I am sympathetic with the repeating of this question of assurance we are not quite sure that the assurance is enough for us.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : What we are asking is that the Amendment should be embodied in the Bill. I am not a lawyer, but the Minister of Transport is a lawyer and he fully understands the implications of the Amendment, which is simply to embody the suggested *addendum* in the Bill.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : What the Senator asks is very simple. All that we are asking is that our boys studying law in England now be exempted from the provisions of these Regulations. We agree and we sympathise with the Minister of Transport when he said that they will be taken into consideration. But that is not enough for the Senators. Before we pass this Bill we want to know what is behind the minds of the Government. Assurance to us is really not enough. Although we agree that the hon. Minister of Transport has given his assurance, it is not sufficient for us. We really want an Amendment. We want something to show that those who are now overseas will not come under these Regulations. It is not our intention to delay this Bill, but it is not assurance that we want. We can delay the Bill but we do not want to.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I think that this point of order which I want to raise relates to the general debate on our introducing the Amendment. As we pointed out, we are not delaying this Bill and we have become conscious of the fact that any Amendment effected by us now will have to delay the Bill because it will have to go back to the House of Representatives, and they will not be meeting until August. It is our desire to co-operate with the hon. Minister in charge of this Bill, that is why we are asking for this simple assurance instead of introducing it by way of an Amendment. We have never doubted the

[SENATOR CHIEF FAGBENRO-BEYIOKU]

Government's goodwill and never will I be a party to any expression that assurances received by us from the Government Bench have not been fulfilled. I would not say that. Rather, most of the points that we have made have been duly taken notice of by the Government and we do expect in this particular case that this very very important point will be so honoured. Any assurance accorded by the hon. Minister will give no cause for regret to any of us who are here.

As I have pointed out before, we do not come here just to rubber stamp the Government Bills. We come here to do justice to matters affecting the nation, and in doing that we have got to observe a form of convenience to assist both this honourable House and the Government. And it will assist the Government now if we refrain from making an Amendment which will delay the Bill and which will delay the establishment of the School for Legal Studies. Therefore, if the hon. Minister will tell us—he read the hon. Attorney-General's statement in the Lower House where the Attorney-General was quoted to have said that if the House would help him to pass the Bill that he would give due consideration to the points raised affecting Nigerian students in the United Kingdom. If the Minister of Transport will tell us that the points we have made, those affecting the position of our students—

The Chairman : This is certainly more than a point of order !

Senator Chief Obi : If I may, I want to say that if the fear is that it will take time for the Amendment to go back to the House of Representatives, I think that, in all probability, the Lower House will meet in August and this Bill does not come into operation until August or September. In any case, the Amendment is mine and I do not accept the assertion that we should accept an ordinary assurance. I am saying this with the backing of the whole House.

Senator A. E. Ukattah : The volume of this debate shows how strongly we feel about this Bill. What we are trying to say is that this point affecting students now overseas should be considered. If the Amendment is not to be accepted now—

The Chairman : The Amendment has been proposed but not put. It has been

accepted by me and proposed, but it has not been put to the vote. Therefore, you are discussing the Amendment.

Sentor Ukattah : I hope it will be acceptable to the Government. We want this point to be embodied in the Regulations.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : I do not know if it is contrary to procedure if I suggest that we leave off debate at this stage until the Minister of Transport shall have an opportunity of consulting with his Colleagues in the Cabinet, particularly with the Attorney-General, and we can take it up again tomorrow or on Thursday.

Senator Chief Mrs Wuraola A. Esan : I have not spoken on this before because other speakers had aired my views sufficiently, so there was no reason for me to say anything. But now I think that we are being given assurance sufficiently to cover us. I do not know whether it will do us good to defer the debate on this. The only thing is, if we are given the assurance that the Amendment shall be embodied into the regulations when brought before us, I think that should be sufficient.

A Senator : That is the thing. That is what we want.

Senator T. Olamijulo : I would like now to have it done and ask that it should be embodied.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation : I would like to give Senators the same assurance that the Attorney-General gave to the Lower House on this subject. A relative of mine passed his Bar Finals and he is breaking down and he is doing his Post-call Course and he has written to me asking me what he has to do. We are all affected. It is a common problem and therefore we cannot remain insensible to the wishes of our students abroad. And that is why I said earlier on that this matter is going to be given serious consideration.

Fortunately, in any case, it is the responsibility of the Attorney-General to frame the regulations which will provide for exemption, and there is no doubt that the sort of instances that have been cited by Senators during this debate will be appropriate cases for the Attorney-General to embody in his regulations.

some people who are helping us somehow, but certain circumstances have necessitated my asking that the Government should look into the question of appointing some Whips for the Senate.

new Session. In this procession we always have the Chief Justice there with all his Judges and we always have the Bishop of Lagos, who is a Member of the Anglican Faith, *et cetera*, but we fail to see other religious bodies repre-

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Also, those regulations providing for exemption will have to come before this House before they come into operation. I think that we should expect this honourable House to have confidence in the Government and in the assurance of the Government.

The Chairman : Now, if the Senator who has moved this Amendment is satisfied, it will be his duty now to ask leave of the Senate to withdraw.

Senator Chief Z. C. Obi : I am grateful to the Minister of Transport for his latest explanations. But I think what we all agreed to accept was that the Government, when framing the regulations, should embody this clause in them. I am afraid the Minister of Transport was a bit late in his assurance. What I said is that we do not accept any assurances at all. After all, this is the highest Government body in this land. We are not under any Minister or Ministry. On the contrary, it is what we decide here that any Ministry will accept in doing its work. I do not know whether we understand that clearly. We are the highest Government body in this land and what we desire is that this Amendment should be correctly embodied in the regulations under this Act and not under mere assurance.

Unless that is accepted, I am not prepared to withdraw the Amendment.

Senator Asemota : I will second the Amendment and support Senator Chief Obi in this respect because all we want now is that this Amendment should be embodied in the Bill and that when the time comes for the Government to frame the regulations, then this Amendment will be taken into consideration.

We do not doubt the integrity of the hon. Minister of Transport. We respect him. We know his value very well. But the fact is that we Senators feel that this matter should be treated in the way that we have expressed by way of this Amendment.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : As we were saying, the Amendment should be in accordance with the law. We would ask the Chairman to put it in legal language. We still maintain that.

The Chairman : Unfortunately, the President of the Senate is not a legal draftsman. (*Laughter*).

Senator Olayeye : Well, we have a Legal Adviser, Mr Chairman. If we are now able to consult lawyers and ask them to put it in proper form—

The Chairman : What I have heard now is in good form.

Senator T. Olamijulo : We still insist that it should be so modified.

Senator Oba Adeniji Adele II of Lagos : I have refrained from speaking because nearly the whole House has spoken twice. But the suggestion of Senator Mrs Esan should be taken seriously and I am sure Senator Chief Obi will accept that suggestion.

We are here to serve the best interests of our children, and if it is suggested that the Amendment as suggested should be put in the regulations and the Minister of Transport has accepted that, then I do not see why we should doubt the integrity of the Minister of Transport. And if we come to this House again without the necessary Amendment being put, then it is up to us then to refuse to pass those regulations. I am quite sure that Senators will agree to accept the suggestion of Senator Mrs Esan.

I am appealing to Senator Obi. I am appealing to all other Senators to agree with Senator Obi and with the suggestion of Senator Mrs Esan so that we can decide this matter and go, instead of wasting a lot of time over a matter on which it should never have been wasted. Some of us here have several children studying law in England, and I quite agree with Senators and am at one with them. But nevertheless, that should not delay us, particularly when the Minister of Transport has given us his assurance. We will have to wait and see what will happen. If we are not here, then the matter can be put down and then we will see what we can do then.

Senator Asemota : Now, the Oba of Lagos has said that we have wasted time. Well, I want to tell his Highness—

The Oba of Lagos : I did not mean that we have wasted time but only that we have spent too much time on this.

Senator Asemota : Well, in any case, that does not apply at all. We do not mind about it but we do not want to remain in the Senate—

[SENATOR ABAAGU]

In the Eastern Region the Bishop of the Anglican Church and the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church are both included in the procession, and I see no reason why we could not have a similar arrangement here. The arrangement which was made during our independence celebrations on the 1st of October, 1960, was very good. On that occasion the Bishop of Lagos had to say prayers on behalf of the Anglican Church, the Roman Catholic Bishop said prayers and the Chief Imam of Lagos also said prayers, I should think that we could follow that arrangement, which would be more representative of the religious denominations in this country.

I therefore earnestly implore the Government to look into the possibility of including the Chief Imam of Lagos and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Lagos in this procession.

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : I am grateful that you have allowed me to say a word or two on the Motion for adjournment, Mr President.

I would like the Federal Government, which has introduced austerity measures, to carry these measures to the full. By that I mean that these measures should be applied, leaving no stone unturned. There are various ways in this country by which we spend much money without giving a second thought to it. One of them is Public Holidays, and I would like the Federal Government to curtail the number of public holidays in the year.

If they were to be curtailed by fifty per cent, I consider that out of the £12 million being spent on holidays, half of this sum could go towards increasing the salaries paid to the junior Civil Servants, thus bridging the gap existing between the salaries of the junior Civil Servants and those of the senior Civil Servants.

I support the Motion for adjournment.

PARLIAMENTARY WHIP

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : I would like to refer to the suggestion made by a Senator earlier on that we should consider having a Whip in this Senate. I think that we are sufficiently old to do away with whips. We do not want anybody to chase after us here with a whip in the Senate ! That may be appropriate

in the lower House, but to introduce a Whip in the Senate is, I think, most degrading.

Apart from that, we have Senator Dr Majekodunmi, the Minister of Health ; he sits here with us in the Senate every day, and he is a man who is cool-headed, accommodating and co-operative in very many ways. If there is any Senator who has any problem and wishes to discuss it, all that he needs do is to go to the Minister of Health and the Senator will be accommodated.

I have on several occasions been to him for one or two things. Even this afternoon I went to him to say that the air-conditioning of this Chamber was not working, because I felt that I was getting more and more heated and angry ! I sent a note to him and he has seen to it that the plant was put right. We talk to him about quarters, and there is a letter in front of him now from many of us who are not satisfied with our quarters ; we sent a paper to him and he is looking into it.

Why have a Whip ? Whips are good for people in the Lower House, and I can tell hon. Senators that if there are any Senators here that want to be chased about by Whips, I think that they are very few in number.

PROPOSED CENSUS

Senator Fagbenro-Beyioku : I want to speak about the impending census. This is a very important thing, and no matter how great the amount of importance attached to it, it will not be too much. One Senator has been suggesting that we should curtail the number of public holidays, but I am strongly of the opinion that the census day must be declared a public holiday, if we want to ensure that everybody is counted. We all know that there is much speculation about the population of Nigeria. At times when we go out officially we start at 32 million, but at times we say 35 million, at times 40 million. The population of Lagos officially is just somewhere around 250,000, but nobody will believe that the population of Lagos is 250,000.

If the day is not declared a public holiday and men still have to go to work, it may happen that the census officials will approach a little boy or a house boy to get the necessary information concerning the occupants, and we will not receive proper information in that way. I would like due consideration to be given to this point.

Also, the census officials must realise that the whole population has to be counted—the people in the asylums or in the prisons or wherever they may be, they constitute part of our population and must be counted.

I think that the important thing is that to enable the correct figure to be arrived at, the day should be declared a public holiday.

Senator Alhaji Metteden : Just a point of information the Census starts on a Sunday, Sir.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : I wish to associate myself with the views expressed by the hon. Senator who said that the Government should consider reducing the number of public holidays in this country.

As an instance, the first day of the year—a day of resolution, a day on which we should make up our minds to work very hard—that day is a public holiday here. It is not a public holiday in Ghana, it is not a public holiday in the United Kingdom. Twelve public holidays in a relatively poor country !

The President : I think that the Senator should get his last but one sentence right ; it is not a public holiday in England—but it is in Scotland.

Senator Nzerem : Well, I am sorry—it is not a public holiday in England, it is not a public holiday either in Ghana, and I do not see why it should be a public holiday in Nigeria. It is not a public holiday in many civilised countries.

About the census, I think we have to impress upon the people, impress upon Senators in particular, that we should do everything possible to see that the people in Nigeria are counted properly. I do not share the view that the 13th of May should be declared a public holiday because the census lasts for 14 days and the 13th of May is a Sunday. If we cannot get our people counted in 14 days then we are not doing our work as leaders of the people.

I think that we should all go back to organise our people and speak to them in the churches, in the market places, in our meetings that they should all submit themselves to be counted. This is indeed very necessary.

On the other point, however, the Government should reconsider this question of public holidays. There are too many of them and they are costing the country a colossal sum of money. People who work on public holidays are paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ times their rate of wages. Boxing day is not a Christian holiday. The 25th of December is a Christian holiday and it is quite right that we should not work on such a day. But why should we not go back to work on the 26th of December ?

And it being after six o'clock, The President adjourned the Senate without Question put, pursuant to Standing Orders.

Adjourned accordingly at three minutes past six o'clock.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Wednesday, 2nd May, 1962

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

DISEASES OF ANIMALS BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Economic Development : I beg to move, That a Bill to regulate the importation of animals and animal products, things which may carry animal diseases and the importation and exportation by any means of animal vaccines, similar substances, animal semen and for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid be read a Second time.

This is a very simple Bill. It seeks to enable us to control the importation by air of animals, animal products and things which may carry animal diseases and the Bill will also make it clear that the powers of control apply, among other things, to substances used for veterinary purposes.

I do not think that this Bill requires any long debate, it is a very short and non-controversial one.

I beg to move.

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

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba : This is a very welcome Bill, indeed, in that it gives the Government the power to control the importation and exportation of diseased animals by air.

As almost half of our domestic work is derived from livestock, so, animal health is of primary importance to our economy. What I would like to know is what provision or what safeguard is provided for imported diseased animals, and what compensation or anything of the sort will be given to the importers concerned I mean the people who imported diseased animals through no fault of theirs.

I beg to support.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : With the increase of facilities for travels by air in this country, and the ease with which diseased animals can

be transported from one country to another, this Bill becomes a real necessity. My only fear about this is whether the Government has sufficient machinery to be able to discover all animals that are diseased and whether they have a number of officers capable of detecting these diseases and whether there is provision that these officers are posted at all our international airports.

I do not think there is anything in this Bill which anybody can pick a hole in, and I support it.

Senator T. Olamijulo : There is no doubt that this is a welcome Bill, but what precautions are to be taken. Are the animals to be examined individually or collectively? There is no doubt that all precautions to safeguard diseases in animals being transported are essential.

The President : Does the Senator want diseases to be safeguarded?

Senator Olamijulo : Yes. We do not want to have diseased animals, and what safeguards we can give to guard against diseases from coming to our land by air, I think, are worth taking, and as such I support the Bill.

Senator Chief Ezeogo Ugwuocha : Before the advent of the British Government this country suffered from many diseases. Now, this Bill seeks for animals to be imported to this country by air, or by sea, or by land. I am afraid that what happened with us before the advent of the British Government may happen now.

The President : We have a Government now.

Senator Chief Ugwuocha : I mean the foreign Government. The animals which are imported into this country must be thoroughly inspected by Veterinary Officers.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : On a point of information, I wish to inform the Senator that already animals are being imported into this country, and the Government is now prepared to see that when animals are imported they are not diseased animals.

The President : Will the Senator be guided by that?

Senator Chief Ugwuocha : The point is well taken. We in this country like such a Bill, and it is a commendable Bill.

I support the Bill.

Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu : This Bill is not one of the controversial Bills. It is a welcome Bill, indeed, but there is one thing that I want to put in the form of protest, because the provision in the Bill did not define the kinds of animals. When it says animals we do not know whether it is a cow or whether any other animal is included, because it will be difficult for a passenger to agree to enter any plane in which a cow may be also a passenger.

Senator Chief Faghenro-Beyioku : On a point of order, does the Senator want to have a full list of all the animals ?

Senator Chief Acholonu : By saying so I think it requires a proper clarification so as to define the sort of animals that will be imported. Inspection of animals is in order. It is very good, indeed. Before any animal will be transported from one place to another it should be properly inspected so as to ensure that it is a very good animal.

But the protest I want to make is that if an animal will be a passenger on a plane an animal like a cow should not be among.

I beg to support.

The Minister of Economic Development : I wish to refer to just one or two points. The question of diseased animals being imported unknowingly by somebody has been raised. Indeed, the Senator who raised the point asked whether any compensation will be paid to somebody who unknowingly imports a diseased animal.

I do not think that there is any question of compensation being paid. If the animal is found to be diseased then an appropriate treatment is given. If the animal recovers while it is being treated in our quarantine then the owner gets the animal. If the animal dies from a disease then it is destroyed, and there will be no compensation. The same thing applies to diseased animals which come from one part of the country to another.

We have cattle from the North. They go to the South and from there go on to Ghana. They are checked at Veterinary Control Posts, and if any of the cattle are found to be diseased

they are kept in our quarantine. They are treated, and if they recover they move forward. If they do not they are either slaughtered or destroyed. The same rule will apply to animals imported or exported by sea. So, the answer is that there will be no compensation.

The question of whether there will be a sufficient number of veterinary officers to check the importation and exportation of animals at our international airports has been raised. We have Lagos Airport and the Kano Airport which may deal with the exportation or importation of animals. At these two points, there is not any difficulty in checking or looking after animals imported into or exported out of the country. So we do not foresee any difficulty in that respect.

Senators might have observed that the control applies not only to live animals but also to vaccines, serums, toxins, anti-toxins, *et cetera*. These things can also carry diseases and so the Bill seeks to control not only live animals but also these other things.

Then as to what kind of animals this will apply to, my answer is that it will apply to all kinds of animals. Sometimes, cows are brought into the country by air and on one occasion one was brought from the United States of America. This cow—or was it a bull?—was presented to the Northern Premier by one of the American Agricultural Institutes or somebody else and it was brought for the purpose of cross-breeding. That animal was brought by air.

So as to what kind of animal will be imported or exported by air, the answer is that it can be any animal. At the moment, birds are being exported in fairly good quantities especially from Kano. So this control will be applied by the Veterinary Officers who will check the health of the birds. Sometimes, we do export monkeys and dogs are sometimes brought into or taken out of the country and even horses are sometimes transported. So it really applies to all animals because they can all be transported in or out of the country by air.

These are the few points to which I wish to reply unless any other Senator has something else to say.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusifu : Senators who have spoken on this Bill so far have done so vaguely because the Bill was not previously explained as it has just been explained by the

[SENATOR YUSIFU]

hon. Minister. It will be something of great value if we are able to protect the import and export of animals.

There is another point which I want to mention about these animals which are being imported and exported from one Region to another. It appears that some of the beef of the cows that have been slaughtered in Lagos has not the same taste as those of the Northern Region. Apparently, some of these cows have been used for something else or are too old. Therefore, I think that we should be able to—

Senator E. A. Lagunju : On point of order, the taste of cow beef is irrelevant to the question of diseases.

Senator Yusifu : If the cow is not diseased, the taste may be better. There must be something wrong with the cows—either the cows are too old to be slaughtered for human consumption or are diseased. I think that it is good for the Veterinary Inspectors to be more vigilant about these animals which are to be slaughtered for consumption.

I am now speaking about the remote areas where these animals are also imported. I think that it would be a very good thing if the Government could arrange it so that the beef of these animals be shared by all the areas in need of it so that all the parts of the country are able to have enough for consumption.

Animal diseases affect not only cows but also chickens. Sometimes, domestic chickens suffer epidemics and when these epidemics are not properly cared for, one can see that nearly fifty *per cent* of the domestic animals become victims of the diseases. This is all due to insufficient supervision or protection of the animals.

I beg to support the Bill.

Senator Salihu Fulani : I am just going to say that if we want to accept this Bill and progress quickly, there is no point in arguing and repeating those things that have been said by other Senators. We have other things to do and I am appealing to the President—

The President : I think the Senator is right. I was wondering why this Bill should take so much time when we have a very heavy list.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time, immediately considered in Committee, reported without Amendment, read the Third time and passed.

PUBLIC ORDER (LAGOS) BILL

10.30 a.m.

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Economic Development (Hon. Waziri Ibrahim) : I beg to move, that a Bill for an Act to extend to other Ministers the power to prohibit public meetings and processions conferred on the Minister responsible for public order in Lagos and for connected purposes be read a Second time.

This is a simple but very important piece of Bill. It seeks to empower other Ministers to exercise the power of prohibiting public meeting and processions in the absence from Lagos of the Minister of Lagos Affairs.

For example, the Minister of Lagos Affairs is now not in Lagos. He will soon be going to Mecca on pilgrimage and if we pass this Bill then it will be very easy for any other Minister here to exercise the power of prohibiting public meetings and processions if that becomes necessary in the interest of public order. But as the Public Order Bill for Lagos stands now, if the Minister is away it will be necessary to go to all the process of the Governor-General having to appoint one of the Ministers to act. This is rather cumbersome, and it is not necessary. For this reason this Bill is introduced so that we may make the process very simple.

I do not suppose that Senators will find much to debate on this Bill and so, I beg to move.

Minister of State (Dr the hon. E. A. Esin) : I beg to second.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : As the Minister has stated we all realise that this may be a welcome piece of legislation. I repeat 'may be' because I personally feel that if the Minister of Lagos Affairs is away, naturally he leaves behind not only the question of maintenance of public order but duties connected with Lagos Affairs. These duties are naturally transferred to one of the Ministers. If the Minister will take all the other duties, why does this Bill not specify that the power for maintenance of order be transferred to that particular Minister ?

This Bill is too wide in application. In other words, any Minister can take up the job as it appears now, it is not restricted to any particular Minister.

The Minister of Finance : It is collective responsibility.

Senator Lagunju : I do realise that it is collective responsibility but why are other Ministers not Minister of Finance? What I am driving at is that here it says "to other Ministers"; I feel that it is too general in application. Other than that, I have no quarrel with it. I think it is too general in application because the other duties of the Minister of Lagos Affairs may be transferred to somebody in his absence and similarly, the question of maintenance of public order could be transferred to that particular person as well, whoever takes up the other duties. That would have been a straightforward matter but as it stands now one may feel that there is more in the Bill than can be seen on the surface.

Senator P. A. Ogunipe : I beg to support the passage of this Bill which seeks to give power to any other Federal Minister in the absence of the Minister of Lagos Affairs to be able to prohibit any public meeting or procession which the Government considers will be dangerous to the public. It is not controversial at all and in the interest of peace and order, a Bill like this is very necessary, especially when we know that many of our Ministers are sometimes out of the country. There was a time when a newspaper reported the case of about six Ministers being out on economic tours and globe-trotting.

The Minister of Finance : I must take exception to the use of such a slang as 'globe-trotting' for Ministers who are out at the risk of their lives flying all over the world to look for economic assistance. I think that it is unbecoming of an Upper House Member like the Senator speaking to feel that Ministers who go abroad on missions are globe-trotting. I take very serious exception to it.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : The reason for his saying so is that at any time, we see that a Minister in charge of one thing or the other is not here to help us. Yesterday, we did not see the Attorney-General.

An hon. Minister : He is in Geneva.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I think the fact is that this hon. House did not share that view expressed by Senator Ogunipe.

Senator Ogunipe : The hon. House may not share the view and I probably do not share the view but when the public expressed it, sometimes, it may be necessary to mention it. But what I am trying to emphasise is that many a time more than four Ministers happen to be away on some foreign business. If the Bill is not made so general, it may be necessary to bring in new Bills each time in order to pass the duties to a new Minister.

At this point, I do not want to be personal, but I want the Minister of Finance to realise that the country appreciates his onerous duties. It is a very great duty to the country to be able to finance all our development projects and we know what it entails.

The Minister of Finance : Thank you very much.

Senator Ogunipe : I have been talking all the time and I cannot praise everybody. But definitely whatever may be said at one time or the other, the fact that the Minister of Finance and other Ministers are doing their duty satisfactorily is very well known.

As I have said, this Bill is non-controversial and it is one that should pass without much debate. Everybody knows that Lagos is the capital of this great country, Nigeria, and anything that happens there is what is known in the whole world as representing Nigeria. For this reason, order and peace should have first consideration in Lagos. In order to prevent mischievous and reactionary groups from seizing the opportunity of the absence of the Minister of Lagos Affairs from the country and organising processions that may be dangerous to the welfare and good name of this country, I say emphatically that this Bill should be passed unanimously and I give it my full support.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : I rise to support this Bill. Senator Lagunju who spoke a while ago said that the Government wants assurance and confirmation from this honourable House again. The power has already been invested in the Minister of Lagos Affairs and I feel that this Bill will be duplicating that power. I am open to correction. Once we appoint somebody to take over when

[SENATOR CHIEF HUNPONU-WUSU] the Minister is going either to Mecca, Jerusalem, Congo or to any other place, naturally it does not mean that you have got to call the Parliament and make a new law before such a Minister takes over. The power has already been established and given to such a Minister. Anybody who is taking over from him, I think is as competent as the original Minister who would be away. So this Bill appears to be a duplication of power which is already existing unless we have certain reasons, or the Government fears that if the Minister is away the other Minister who may be placed in charge of Lagos Affairs may not be competent or may not be taken seriously.

But I think that Nigeria is civilised enough. We are cultured enough to realise the importance of our Ministers. Once a Minister is away and another Minister is asked to deputise for him it is equally taken as if the original Minister is in the country. So, passing or transferring his power by statute, I think, is trying to duplicate what has already been established. There is no need wasting much more time on it. It is an established custom which must be carried out.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : Although I do not know what is in the mind of the Government I think that why the Government has thought it necessary to bring this Bill up is that it is not on all occasions a Minister is away that another Minister is appointed in his place. A Minister may go out of the country for about three days and it may not be necessary for another Minister to take his place. It may be necessary for a Parliamentary Secretary to act and since the Parliamentary Secretary is not a member of the Cabinet, he is not a member of the Government, I think he cannot be empowered to sign things for the Minister. That is why the Government have thought it necessary to transfer this power to any Minister who may be available at the time he is away.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I think that this Bill is welcome. As far as I am concerned, here in Lagos, any measure taken for the security of the nation must be supported. Things are really moving fast and if we do not make sufficient provisions in our laws to take care of things as they come, it will not be safe for us. I have nothing to quarrel with this Bill.

In the first place, anything that is done by any Minister is taken as having been done by all the Ministers because it is a question of collective responsibility. But there are certain things which according to law are specifically scheduled within the portfolio of a particular Minister.

There should be adequate laws to take care of any little thing. Now demonstrations are becoming things of normal occurrence in Lagos and if we do not look alive these demonstrations may become violent demonstrations. According to the law as it stands now the only Minister responsible for law and order in Lagos is the Minister of Lagos Affairs. It is specifically laid down. According to the hon. Minister who introduced this Bill if a Minister is appointed to act in that Ministry and unfortunately the Minister acting goes on tour or something else happens and there is an incident which requires quick action, by the time we say we are recalling the Minister from his tour or from anything, the worst could happen in the country. So I do not think that there is anything wrong with this Bill. I think that this honourable House will give it its blessing in as much as it has not threatened the rights of the ordinary people; it has not taken away the right of the Minister of Lagos Affairs; it has not threatened the right of anybody else. Rather, it is a major step to tighten the security of the nation and it should be supported. Therefore, I support this Bill.

10.45 a.m.

The Minister of Economic Development : Senators have, on the whole, helped in explaining the object of this Bill. I have only one point which requires brief explanation and that is the point raised as to the whole implication of this Bill—whether it is going to have a very wide implication, something that is not embodied here. Well, the answer is that there is nothing more than what you see in this Bill.

It is, I think, necessary briefly to explain the procedure of Ministers acting on behalf of their colleagues. If the Minister of Finance, for example, goes to England for, say, a week, it may not be necessary to have an acting Minister of Finance duly appointed by the Governor-General. The Minister of Finance

could just say, "Minister of Economic Development, I do not think that there will be anything other than routine business during the next few days that I shall be away. Would you, for this reason just look after my Ministry until I return? But I do not think that there will be any matter requiring my ministerial powers". Therefore, it may be a question of the Permanent Secretary wanting the Minister's signature on some simple matters which have already been agreed upon by the Council of Ministers. So it is only for me then to see the thing and I would remember that the matter had been agreed upon and then I would sign it.

This is different from my using the powers conferred upon the Minister of Finance to sign a virement warrant to incur expenditure which has been found to be necessary without having parliamentary approval.

So in some ways during the absence from Lagos of the Minister of Lagos Affairs I can very easily look after his Ministry. The Prime Minister could say, "While the Minister of Lagos Affairs is going away for a few days, will you Minister of Economic Development, just look after the routine business?" Well, that is simple. But as the Public Order Bill for Lagos stands now, without this proposed amendment for which we are now seeking your approval, I cannot in the event of something happening prohibit public meetings or processions, and I wonder if the Senators realise this. I can sign simple things on behalf of the Minister of Lagos Affairs just by a mere request from the Prime Minister, or the Minister himself can say, "There may be a few things, will you look after these during the ten days I shall be away." But he cannot say to me, "In the event of their being a breakdown of public order in Lagos, would you sign the necessary Orders prohibiting meetings and processions." He cannot say this to me on his own; it has to be properly legislated, that is what it means.

Therefore, as I have already mentioned, we have nothing else beside what you see here. There is no difficulty in Ministers looking after the Ministries of their colleagues in so far as it concerns routine matters; but when it seeks to exercise powers to prohibit meetings and processions, then it becomes necessary to introduce an appropriate Bill, and that is what this Bill seeks to provide.

I do not want to talk on the question of Ministers being absent from Lagos five or six at a time, because I think all Senators know that it is absolutely necessary if Ministers are to carry out their responsibilities. In this world to-day you do not sit down and expect people from all parts of the world to come and give you what you want. To explain yourself to people in other parts of the world you just cannot sit down here and expect them to come. This is obvious. I can say this: do not think that we really like going on these overseas tours. We go because it is our duty—it is not fun. We do not go for pleasure to these overseas countries, risking our lives. We hear of jet planes crashing and 103 people dying, and that at such and such a place a plane has crashed—all these things. But we feel it is our duty in the face of all these things to go abroad as often as possible when it is necessary in the interest of the country.

I can tell you not many Senators like to fly out from the country to England, or to Rome or somewhere, twice or thrice a week. I know there are some people who do not like flying. So it is quite a risk and we do not really regard as pleasure travelling or globe-trotting. On the contrary we feel it is part of the most difficult duties of a Minister. We go to these conference and meetings. We scarcely have time to do anything like private shopping, for example. We deal with the volume of documents before us: we go to meetings, and we go to parties arranged in our honour and we have to make speeches and the rest of it. I can assure you it is simply not pleasure. When somebody says to me, "How was your journey, have you enjoyed it?" I always just look at him and pause a bit before I answer him: "But", I say, "there is no question of having enjoyed the trip. It is not meant for enjoyment at all and we do not enjoy these things; rather we go and work hard."

For this reason I would like Senators not to fall into the destructive attitude, or not to accept or feel the destructive attitude of some members of our community who think that Ministers go to enjoy themselves, and complain of six or ten Ministers being away. After all, we are not officers or just clerks. We have to go abroad and from what we see and from the experience we gain in other places we come home and work out our policies. It is for the

[THE MINISTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT] Permanent Secretaries and the other officers to sit down and do the work in the offices. I think it would be a very sorry state of affairs to see all your Ministers sitting down here in Lagos. So Senators should please refrain from making comments that Ministers are globe-trotting.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time and immediately considered in Committee, reported without Amendment, read the Third time and passed.

11 a.m.

TREASURY BILLS (AMENDMENT) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): I beg to move, That a Bill for an Act to increase the limit on the sums which may be borrowed on the security of Treasury Bills be now read a Second time.

At the last Budget Session, an Act amending section 3 of the Treasury Bills Ordinance was passed into law. The object of that Bill was to increase the limit of the principal sums represented by the Treasury Bills outstanding at any time from ten to twenty *per cent* of the estimated revenue of the Federal Government for the then current year.

Two reasons were given for presenting the Bill: firstly, the Federal Government deliberately set a low level at the early stages of the Treasury Bills market to ensure that they were carefully and properly managed. The confidence which the investing public enjoyed in the field was such that it was considered desirable to regulate the volume of short-term borrowing to suit the cash requirements of Government. Secondly, there was a possibility that the Federal Government might on-lend part of the proceeds of the issues of Treasury Bills as short-term loans to Regional Governments who might wish to take advantage of this short-term borrowing in anticipation of the collection of their revenues.

I am very happy and proud to inform this honourable House that we have now established a solid market for Treasury Bills, and we have earned and maintained the full confidence of the investing public to such an extent that gives me sufficient courage to ask this honourable House to further increase the limit on the

issues of Treasury Bills from twenty *per cent* to forty *per cent* of the estimated revenue of the Federal Government.

Treasury Bills represent means whereby Government can borrow temporarily from holders of surplus funds in anticipation of the collection of revenue. The gross revenue of the Federal Government for the fiscal year which ended in March 1962 was estimated at £105 million, and the maximum amount that could be realised by way of Treasury Bills under the present law is £21 million. At the present time, the amount of Treasury Bills outstanding is £17 million; of this amount, £5½ million has been on-lent to Regional Governments as short-term loans and are repayable after ninety-one days from the date of issue.

For the fiscal year 1962-63, the gross revenue of the Federal Government has been estimated at £112 million, and the maximum amount that can be issued by way of Treasury Bills under the present law will be £22 million. This, obviously cannot meet the future cash needs of the Federal and the Regional Governments, and besides, there is every indication that the market can bear more than the present maximum.

It is in the best interest of our country to mobilize all internal resources for financing the Development Plan. In this respect, all the Governments of the Federation will require both short-term and long-term loanable funds for their services and projects.

The regular issues of Treasury Bills will enable the Governments of the Federation to devote a part of their resources, which otherwise would not have been available, towards capital purposes.

Apart from meeting the cash requirements of the Federal Government, the proposed Amendment will enable the Regional Governments to derive more benefits from the proceeds of the issues of Treasury Bills.

I am sure all Members of the House will welcome this Bill as it helps to strengthen the financial resources of the Governments of the Federation.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Economic Development (Hon. Waziri Ibrahim): I beg to second.

Senator Chief T. A. Doherty : I am not rising to oppose this Bill because it should not be opposed. But I would like to sound a note of warning to the country as a whole and to the Minister of Finance in particular. This Bill which is purported to be a Treasury Bill should have been brought conjointly with the Bills for an external loan of £300 million and internal loan of £100 million.

People do not lend one money just for the love of it, but they lend one money because they anticipate an interest. That is the first point. Secondly, people do not lend one money unless they have some sort of assurance, some sort of guarantee that the money will be repaid and paid on the due date. This Treasury Bill presented by the Minister of Finance seeks to borrow more money. Who will lend us the money? Will they be the Africans? Will they be the Nigerians? No. I say *no*. It will be the expatriate banks and the expatriate financiers. The Africans or the Nigerians have not enough money, much less to lend.

Other sources from which the Government will get money will be the Pension Funds and the Statutory Funds, which is the same as robbing Peter to pay Paul. The expatriate, the European, the whiteman, who lends one money watches every step to safeguard his money. They will tell us that there are no strings attached. Yes, there are no strings attached physically, but there are strings attached in one form or another. We want to develop this country, that is all right, but I think that we are hurrying too fast.

The Minister of Economic Development : In what respect?

Senator Chief Doherty: Will the hon. Minister please not interrupt. As I was saying, let us hasten slowly. What had taken many European countries ages to achieve, we want to achieve in one day.

The Minister of Economic Development : In what respect?

Senator Chief Doherty : Will that Minister please keep quiet. In other countries like the South American States, the whiteman goes there to invest his money because he could become a citizen of any of those countries; he could be assimilated into any of those countries. He goes to Brazil; he goes to Argentina to

invest his money, knowing that even if it takes a hundred years, he would become a citizen of Argentina. But the whiteman can never be assimilated into any African country. That is why I feel that the Minister of Finance should be very very careful, although I believe that his advisers are all Europeans.

The Minister of Economic Development : Not all.

Senator Chief Doherty : By far the vast majority of his advisers are Europeans who are watching their own interests and not the particular interests of this country. Whenever they give us their money, they watch their own interests. One thing which we must know is that this country can never be a totalitarian country. It will have to remain a democratic country and we have to be very careful.

In some outside countries (I do not want to mention names of countries because I do not want to be offensive) we know what are going on there. Whenever they find that they cannot meet their obligations, they turn it into a revolution and then they say "we pay you back your money, we pay the money back to you in sixty years." What can one do? These things are happening not very far from our border. I do not know why that should happen.

I am one of the great lovers of this country, and I would like to see my country great. I have travelled all over the world, or at least to a great part of the world, and I have seen how things are in those countries which I visited. But I personally do not think that we should hurry at the rate we are hurrying.

Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi : I rise to support the Bill. I would like to draw the attention of Senators to the motive behind this Bill. Anybody who is familiar with Treasury Bills will know what it means. It does not mean expenditure. It does not mean that the Minister of Finance is by this Bill increasing the expenditure of the Federation, nor is he decreasing the revenue of the Federation. It is just exactly like what can happen in a family. For example, I know that at the end of the month I will get thirty pounds and that my expenditure will be twenty pounds. If I have £5 in hand, there is no harm if I go out and find somebody from whom I can borrow fifteen pounds to complete my expenditure of twenty pounds and then replace what I have borrowed.

[SENATOR MUHAMMADU SANI DINGYADI]

What the Minister of Finance has been saying is that he has been empowered to make short-term borrowing, if I can well remember, after the ten *per cent* of the surplus. Now he wants it to be raised to the rate of twenty *per cent* of the accumulated surplus. This does not mean that he is trying to increase expenditure or that he is trying to decrease the revenue of the country.

For example, in any administration we find that between the months of July and, say, October, the Treasury is short of money. Although in the estimates we know the revenue is forthcoming, we find that we have not got sufficient money to go on with, so what we do is either to ask the Regional Governments to lend us, say, £100,000 until perhaps the beginning of December when we know our revenue will be falling like anything, or we ask the bank to loan us money. Well, the Regional Governments or the Federal Government will be in such need at times, and, as I understand it, the Minister has been authorised to borrow up to ten *per cent* of the proposed surplus. Now, they want that to be raised to twenty *per cent*—

A Senator : Forty *per cent*.

Senator Sani Dingyadi : Forty *per cent*. But whether it is raised to one hundred *per cent* or whatever it is, that does not mean that it is increasing the expenditure or decreasing the revenue of the Federation. It is just using the money; he will have to borrow the money while the revenue is forthcoming so that when the revenue comes, naturally he will still have to refund the loan. That is all that is required of us, Senators, to approve this. It does not mean that we are just trying to increase the expenditure of the Federation or to reduce the loan or to do this or that. It is simply the practice throughout all treasuries of the world.

I beg to support.

Senator Chief T. A. Odutola : I do not think that there is anything to quarrel about in this Bill.

If the financial standing of this country is not healthy, I do not think that anybody would be prepared to give loans to the country. It would have been quite a different thing if it was said that people who were receiving loans from the Government before at the rate of

twenty *per cent* were asking that that loan be increased to forty *per cent*, and then we would say that we are doing too much. If people are not aware that the financial standing of the Government is sound enough, they will take away their money. I do not think that anybody will give loans to the Government if it is not sure that the financial standing of the Government is healthy enough. I think that it would be a waste of time to say too much about this. If anybody is asking for a loan from me, I will make sure that he has the security, otherwise I will not lend him the money. If I have been giving somebody ten *per cent* before, and he comes to me to ask for another forty *per cent* and I know that he has not the security, I will tell him "no". But the mere fact that the Government is coming forward saying that they are asking for increase in this Treasury Bill shows that the Government is sure that it is financially strong, and if the loan is forthcoming that is an evidence of soundness.

I support the Bill.

The Minister of Finance : I am grateful to Senators who have contributed to this debate. I had thought that the Bill would have a very easy passage. In any case it will. But if I may claim one thing against Senator Doherty who says that he has travelled very much all over the world, I think I can claim that I have travelled more than Senator Doherty all over the world, so I would be in a better position to speak on these matters.

Obviously the last two speakers have cleared the point, but I would like to explain further in very, very simple terms, for Senators to know what exactly I am asking them to do.

Senator Doherty tried to direct the minds of Senators to the two Bills that I have to move this morning—the Internal Loans Bill and the External Loans Bill—and then tried to raise an alarm unnecessarily, that that would be very dangerous to the economic stability of this country. With respect to him, I must say that this Bill—the Treasury Bill—has nothing to do with the two subsequent Bills.

In this case, as the Senator said earlier, what we are seeking to do is what is known as short-term borrowing, and this market operates even in the United Kingdom until tomorrow. What does it mean? Every Government draws the estimates of revenue and expenditure for the

succeeding year in anticipation of what the Government will get, but continues to spend the money from the word "go" as it enters the new financial year. As you know, by our Constitution the Federal Government has to collect all revenues, and we all know that the department of Customs and Excise is responsible for collecting about seventy-five per cent of the total revenue of the whole country, that is to say, both the Federal and the Regional Governments. If the Federal Government collects the money, it must have statistical data at the end of three months before it can separate the revenue that is to go to the North from that which is to go to the East, and from that of the West. When that is done, then we have to pay this money *en bloc* to the Regional Government. The Federal Government cannot touch its own until it knows how much is to accrue to the Federal Government. That being so, the Government cannot start the mechanism of the day-to-day expenditure which must go on, both capital and recurrent. Therefore, the Treasury Bill is being introduced to enable the Federal Government to borrow money from those who have got surplus money, like Senator Doherty and Senator Chief Odutola, and all other Senators here—

Senator Doherty: And the Minister of Finance!

The Minister of Finance: Because we have a money market, these people who have surplus funds for which they have no use and who would like to make some money instead of leaving it idle, come to the Government who pays a very high percentage of interest on it, as much as 5 *per cent*, and it is borrowed for 90 days only. Then the money is paid back to him when the Federal Government allocates the revenue to the Regional Governments and to itself.

I am sure that Senators will agree that this is a very healthy way of financing the day-to-day running of Government business. There is nothing in it at all to show an adverse or questionable character in the running of the finances of the Government. Hitherto the Federal Government had not been lending to the Regional Governments but now it is essential that we must assist the Regional Governments to exist too. I suppose all Senators will agree that this is a very good thing that will enable the Governments to co-operate and move together, because it is one Nigeria.

The Senator also talked about moving too fast, and he quoted *festina lente*. I must say with very great respect to him that surely much as *festina lente* is a good form of advice, yet he will appreciate that in an age where people are trying to plant their feet on the moon, Nigeria cannot afford to ride on a bicycle. Can we? Certainly not! We want to move fast. Why not? As long as we move fast with caution, as long as we move fast with our resources being developed, and as long as we move fast in the right direction. What is essential in this country is that public funds must not be wasted unnecessarily either for political or for selfish motives. But as long as revenue will be collected for the purpose of developing our economy, to give other people who are unemployed something to do, and raise the standard of living of our people and industrialise our country, I am sure that Senators will agree that that is a right thing done in the right and proper way.

Senator Doherty also made the point of my advisers being Europeans. I must say with very great respect to him that that is not true to fact. The point is that in my Ministry, I have at least six indigenous economists, and, I think, just one or two expatriates; in the Central Bank, which is our financial institution, I am sure Senators will know that there are not more than four Europeans in the whole of the establishment with almost about 200 employees or above, and the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank, you will be happy to know, is now a Nigerian. Therefore, some of my advisers are sons and daughters of all of you Senators, and you can trust them that whatever advice they give to me are given in the best interests of Nigeria. After all, I myself am not an expatriate, and I can claim to have enough knowledge now, having been Minister of Finance for five years, to be able to manage the nation's affairs or to advise myself as to what measures are being taken. Measures that are being taken now are in accordance with our sovereign status and Nigeria cannot afford to shirk its responsibility in moving ahead in financial or economic matters all over the world. We must show to them that what England can do Nigeria can do.

I commend the Bill for the passage of this honourable House.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move, That the Bill be now read the Third time.

Minister of State (Hon. M. T. Mbu) : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time and passed.

EXTERNAL LOANS BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : I rise to move—

That a Bill for an Act to authorise the raising of Development Loans abroad and for connected purposes, be now read a Second time.

I would like to emphasize right at the beginning of my speech that if the aims and objectives of this Bill are clearly stated and represented without bias, this is basically a non-controversial measure.

The Federal and Regional Governments have each drawn up bold and ambitious Capital Development Programmes for strengthening the basic structures and for promoting the rapid growth of the national economy. In the financing of the capital expenditures of well over six hundred million pounds already approved by Parliament and the Regional Legislatures, the principal policy objective of the Federal Government as demonstrated in the *Mobilisation Budget* will be to harness all the domestic resources available through voluntary private savings efforts and public savings arising from economies in judicious public expenditure and taxation. Given Nigeria's generally low level of incomes, however, the total amount of savings which can be raised from these domestic sources is clearly limited. The Federal Government has therefore accepted that not more than fifty per cent of Nigeria's capital requirements in this period may be met by way of external financial assistance. The Regional Governments have also accepted this principle. We are, therefore, asking for legislative powers to borrow up to three hundred million pounds or nearly one-half of the total estimated capital expenditure of six hundred and seventy-six million pounds over the six-year period.

I should explain that the figure of three hundred million pounds is a clearly defined "ceiling". Some of the anticipated external aid will be in the form of outright grants and, besides, there is nothing to stop the Federal and Regional Governments and their Statutory Corporations from raising more than one-half of the planned total capital expenditure through increased domestic savings and "self-financing".

A borrowing programme based on a "ceiling" figure of three hundred million pounds may, on the face of it, appear alarming, but one has only to consider that it covers a period of six years and that the proceeds are for the use of four governments and their Statutory Corporations, to allay one's anxieties. Thus on an annual arithmetical average, this works out at a maximum of fifty million pounds *per* year. In my view, fifty million pounds loans raised by the Federal Government to meet its own capital requirements and those of its giant Statutory Corporations like the Nigerian Ports Authority, the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria and the Nigerian Railway Corporation, is not unrealistic, especially when the same fifty million pounds is also meant for satisfying the annual loan requirements of the three Regional Governments and their own Statutory Corporations. I am not suggesting that fifty million pounds will as a matter of course be raised each year because in the first and second years of the six-year programme, the amount of loans required will most probably be considerably less than fifty million pounds each year. I am only trying to show that the figure of three hundred million pounds in six years is not alarmingly high.

The Federal Government, in conjunction with the Regional Governments, will set up an inter-governmental Ministerial Co-ordinating Committee for considering projects to be put forward for external financing. No project will be put forward for external financing unless it is very high in the national scale of priorities. Besides, the economic and technical justification for such projects will be thoroughly examined to ensure that no loan commitments are based on unsound propositions. Most of the projects will, of course, be economically viable and revenue-producing and the terms of the loans related to such projects will be

negotiated in such ways as the incomes generated by investing the proceeds in the projects will more than suffice for servicing the loans and repaying the principals. Where projects, such as roads, are economically and technically justifiable but are not directly revenue-producing, they may be financed with the proceeds of loans raised under this Bill. The supporting argument in such cases is that the indirect benefits which the economy as a whole will derive from such projects will lead to increased production, the generation of greater incomes and the collection of more revenues through higher taxable capacities for repaying the loan concerned.

I have tried to show that the obligations to repay these loans and pay the interest charges on them will be in the minds of those who will raise them. I do not think that there are any grounds for anxiety because each viable project will normally repay itself directly or indirectly. We shall also be concerned with the effects of the debt servicing obligations on Nigeria's balance of payments. I am fully convinced that these can be fully met, given the past performances and the future potentials of the Nigerian economy and her trading position.

In order to ease any possible strains of Nigeria's balance of payments arising from servicing the loans raised under this Bill, we shall primarily be interested in offers of long-term loans of about twenty years maturity and over, especially those generally referred to these days as "soft" loans bearing nominal interest at less than 1 per cent repayable in forty to fifty years. The longer the period of repayment, the lower the rate of interest, the better for Nigeria's balance of payments. Short-term loans, however attractive the terms, usually have adverse effects on the borrower's balance of payments because the foreign exchange required for servicing such loans will not be fully earned or saved before the repayments fall due.

Two of the basic criteria usually used for determining the upper limits of the total external public debts that a country can reasonably assume are firstly, that the economy of the recipient country should have the capacity to absorb the loan, and, secondly, that its total annual debt servicing obligations in foreign currency should not exceed about ten per cent of its total annual export earnings.

I am fully convinced that these two criteria will be fully met within the proposed maximum limit of three hundred million pounds.

We hope to see a machinery set up soon for co-ordinating the activities of the major countries interested in providing financial assistance to Nigeria. The Federal Government has invited the World Bank to set up a Consultative Group of such countries along the lines of the Consortium which the Bank set up for India and Pakistan for financing their own Development Programmes on a co-ordinated and planned basis. There is every indication that most of the major industrialised countries of the Western World will be in the Group. Information on the projects in the National Development Programme will be fed to the members of the Group who would give an indication of the total size of their aid to Nigeria and some of the projects they are interested in financing. These long-term commitments will facilitate the implementation of the National Development Programme. Similar arrangements have worked very successfully for India and Pakistan. The Sino-Soviet bloc countries—Russia, China, Czechoslovakia, Poland and others—will, of course, not be in the Consultative Group as they are not members of the World Bank, but in accordance with the declared and well-established non-alignment policy of the Federal Government, any financial assistance from them or any other country on reasonable terms will be welcome and will be covered by the provisions of this Bill.

The provisions of the Bill are simple and straightforward. The Bill will empower me as the Federal Minister of Finance to borrow up to three hundred million pounds for financing projects in the Approved Development Programme set out in Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1962, and any new projects subsequently approved by Parliament in future amendments to the Development Programme. The Bill also provides that part of the proceeds of the loans may be on-lent on agreed terms to the Regional Governments for financing projects in their own approved Development Programmes since our Constitution debars them from raising loans abroad.

Finally, in inviting the Senate to approve this Bill, we are not asking for a blank cheque at all. We are only asking for the means to the

[THE MINISTER OF FINANCE]
end which Parliament has willed by endorsing the National Development Programme, 1962-68. The Federal Government was given similar external borrowing powers under the Loan Ordinance (No. 7 of 1960) which empowered me as Federal Minister of Finance to raise up to forty million pounds for financing the last Development Programme and for on-lendings to the Regional Governments. In the event we raised less than thirty million pounds for use of the Federal and Regional Governments under the 1960 Loan Ordinance which become inoperative after the 31st March, 1962, the official date of completion of the last Development Programme. This Bill seeks similar legislative authority for the 1962-68 Plan period and I commend it for the full support of all Senators.

I beg to move.

Minister of State (hon. M. T. Mbu): I beg to second.

11.32 a.m.

Senator M. G. Ejaife: When a Bill for a loan like this is being placed before people the first reaction is for the audience to be critical. But I think we have to be realistic, because we must first of all agree that we require expedient development. We must agree that we cannot afford to crawl when things are moving fast. We must agree that now is the time when we must lay a lasting foundation for generations to come—a foundation which requires long planning and a substantial amount of money which must be available from our own resources.

The Six Year Development Programme which has just been launched is the result of consultations among the various Governments of the Federation; the result of the National Economic Council and of all the Governments sitting together to plan ahead. I think no Member of the Senate and no true citizen of Nigeria would fail to be proud of such a Programme. We must also agree that the Programme should go ahead, and we must also agree that the money must be found to implement it.

I think no loan would be required if we ourselves could find the money for implementing the Programme and I think the greater the amount of external loan required the greater the sign that we have not been able to raise the money ourselves. If, for instance, we have

£600 million from our own resources and if we can borrow from our own indigenous Banks in this country it will probably be unnecessary to go abroad to take this money.

Considering Education alone, we should remember that the Ashby Commission said that a high level man-power is so greatly demanded. If we are going to invest on Education as much as is recommended by the Ashby Commission, then we shall require money which may well be outside the capacity of Nigeria itself. We should, therefore, be quite prepared to borrow from outside this country. And if we remember that various other projects have to be carried out such as the Niger Dam, Railway extension, road extensions, extensions to the airports, agriculture, industries, and projects within the various Corporations, we know that we would inevitably require as huge a loan as is now projected. I think everyone here would be prepared to support this Bill wholeheartedly. I cannot even think of any great country, possibly with the exception of America and Russia, which is not great as a result of loans.

The Minister of Finance: America is no exception. They started by borrowing from the United Kingdom.

Senator Ejaife: However, Britain is a great nation, and I think that their institutions, buildings, and so on are the result of very heavy borrowing. Also India, we know, is embarking on schemes which will be implemented with borrowed money, I think no country can really be great now unless it can borrow money. To be able to borrow money is itself a measure of greatness, and it is a measure of credit worthiness that a country should be allowed to borrow so much money, because a very poor man who is not trusted to refund money easily from his resources which are very meagre may not be accepted as a debtor. So, if other countries are prepared to lend us the money I think it is a healthy sign and a happy augury for Nigeria.

It is absolutely necessary for us to borrow this money. It has just been said that it is going to be spread over a long period and that the money when raised will be distributed among the various Governments. I would like to get an assurance that certain parts of the country which have not been remembered will be remembered now.

A Senator : Which part ?

The Minister of Finance : The Mid-West.

A Senator : And put all the money there ? Well vote for it.

Senator Ejaife : The Mid-West is a part of the Federation. I am not talking about the Mid-West Region. I am talking about the Mid-West area. I do not think talking about the development and conditions in the Mid-West area means voting for the Mid-West Region. I would like the Mid-West area to be remembered when this development project is implemented, because this area has always been neglected by the Federal Government in the way of amenities.

Senator Chief T. A. Doherty : On a point of order, I think the President allows this House to be interrupted by the Minister of Finance. This is a highly respectable House and not that boisterous, unruly Lower House. I think he should be reminded that this is not the boisterous Lower House.

The Minister of Finance : I am very sorry that Senator Doherty is really making this House boisterous, because I was speaking sitting down and he was disturbing the President.

Senator Ejaife : I would like to say that it will be a happy thing if this Bill goes through, and I think we have to commend the Ministers for being able to initiate the loan which would make a sound foundation for the future development of this country. I think it will provide plenty of employment opportunities for the unemployed. We know that one of the troubles in a country is lack of jobs for boys, and people out of jobs tend to cause disorder, rebellion, and so on because the devil finds work for the idle.

If this scheme goes through I have no doubt that unemployment will be considerably reduced. When we go to borrow money we must endeavour not to put any burden on our future generation, otherwise this future generation for whom we are planning and whose security we are trying to ensure by borrowing the money for capital projects may find things going in the opposite direction. If we want to raise our living standard and at the same time talk about a higher minimum wage we must

remember that we cannot have a high living standard with a fairly high minimum wage unless we have projects such as we are contemplating and for which we are getting this loan.

It is timely to sound a note of warning that when these schemes have been launched the Government should be careful to see that the various units are self-balancing and are made to pay their way. We should not make them such that the employees feel that we are appointing good boys and paying them salaries which are out of proportion to what they are getting because the result will be that the various units are actually a dead-weight.

I was reading through some copies of *Hansard* some time ago in which there was a statement about the Nigerian National Press where the employees were being paid money and I think the comment was that the Press was losing money. I understand that the Chairman is on a salary of £3,000 plus an allowance of £600 and that other members of the Board are also earning £600 each. Probably, that is all very well but if we have various corporations arising from the creation of projects and our criterion is the appointment of good boys who are paid fantastic salaries so that in the long run we do not make the money with which to repay the loans, I think that will be the evil day.

I hope that the Government will take that to heart and see to it that the various projects arising from these loans will not only be self-supporting but also earning enough money to repay the loans in time.

I beg to support the Bill.

Sitting suspended : 11.43 a.m.

Sitting resumed : 12.05 p.m.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : We all agree that no country of the world has become great without one form of borrowing or another. Also, we do realise the necessity for borrowing because whatever we set up now in the form of permanent buildings, structures, hospitals, roads and railways extensions, will have to be enjoyed by posterity. The motive behind borrowing is, of course, to transfer part of the burden of the present to the coming generations because they are coming to enjoy most of these things that will be left behind.

[SENATOR LAGUNJU]

They will not have to live in dirty surroundings or slum areas. They will enjoy better roads and better health. Therefore, in theory nobody will quarrel with borrowing.

Personally, I would have liked us to borrow more from inside than from outside because external borrowing has a special disadvantage. It is true that it is a sign of credit worthiness, *et cetera* but, nevertheless, we cannot rule out the fact that when we borrow from the outside we must pay interest and whatever interest we pay goes outside the country.

According to the Minister of Finance the payment of the interest will be spread over a long period. One thing that strikes me is that the Minister said that if we borrowed that way and the interest was spread over a long period we should pay a lower rate of interest. To my mind, this contradicts all theories of economics because if one borrows on a long-term basis naturally one pays more in the long run. We know of uninsurable risks and when one borrows for 20 years or more one is not going to pay the same rate of interest as when one borrows for 1 year. If a person borrows for a year the lender knows that he can repay readily.

Long-term borrowing depends on certain factors and one of the principal factors is political stability. Any outside country lending money to this country will of course, do so at the highest possible rate of interest and not at a very low rate of interest. This is why I am rather surprised to hear that if we spread it over a long period, possibly 20 years or more we will get it fairly cheap. As a matter of fact, to my mind, the longer the number of years the higher the rate of interest. That is my opinion and I stand to be corrected. We may spread the repayment but I am thinking in terms of the rate of interest.

Personally, I think if we borrow from within this country, or if the greater portion of our borrowing is from within this country then whenever we repay the capital it will remain within the country and at same time the interest, whenever we pay it, will remain within the country. We will thereby accelerate the rate of circulation—

The President : I want to remind the Senator that the next Bill we are going to discuss is Internal Loans.

Senator Lagunju : Thank you, Mr President. The only point I would like to make now is that the external one is slightly greater ; it is not even greater, it is much greater than the internal one. I would have liked to see the internal greater than the external one. That is my main point.

The other point is that since we are borrowing in the interest of the whole country, as has been stated by Senator Ejaife, I hope that when we have to use the money borrowed we will take into consideration the interest of the different sections of the country because in the final analysis generations unborn all over the country will have to bear the burden of these loans and so are all entitled to their fair share of the amenities.

12.10 p.m.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : Nigeria is on the march to progress and there is nothing to stop it. We are told that every civilised country in the world is a debtor nation, without a single exception, although, when I was a boy, I was told that a man who goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing. I think that circumstances in social life seem to nullify this. People now go a-borrowing and if a man is credit-worthy, he is a big man. Nigeria is a credit-worthy country and is a big nation. There is no getting away from the fact that Nigeria must borrow. We must. We have to develop the country and we have not got all the money to do so.

Much as I would have liked to associate myself with the views of my Friend, Senator Lagunju, I would say that the money is just not there in the country and there is nothing we can do about it. I think that with all the safeguards which our Government is taking, there is nothing to fear about external borrowing. We have said it time and time again that we do not want borrowing because of the strings that are attached. The only strings that should be attached to the money we borrow are the interest which we pay. That is quite legitimate. I think that we have to support the Minister of Finance. The very fact that he is able to attract these loans is a sign that he is doing his job and those who like to charge him with globe-trotting are just fooling about because he cannot sit down in Lagos and tell people to come from America, England and from Russia and lend us money. He has to go to them. After all the man who

is borrowing is the beggar and the beggar has to go to the lender before the lender gives him something.

While it is regrettable that Nigeria cannot afford to raise all the money she needs for development from her own resources, we have got to agree with the Government that they are doing the right thing in getting money from elsewhere to develop the country. We all are used to amenities now, the coming generations will curse us if they come to see Lagos still in slums and the rural areas undeveloped. So, I think that we should give the Minister of Finance all the encouragement he deserves in going to raise these loans. But let me point out that in the past, the Government has more or less concentrated all the development programmes in the big towns.

Senator Chief T. A. Odutola : Only in Lagos !

Senator Nzerem : I would not say only in Lagos. Port Harcourt has a good share of it; Ibadan has a good share of it; Kaduna has a good share of it, and Kano has too. But all the rural places from which the country derives its strength like Owerri, are neglected. There is nothing in Owerri at all.

Senator Chief Odutola : But Owerri has electricity.

Senator Nzerem : Electricity? A poor man in the village has to pay 15s a month for electricity, which he cannot afford.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : What is the Senator's idea about Ijebu-Ode ?

Senator Nzerem : Ijebu-Ode? Well, I do not know, the Ogbeni-Oja is there.

The Government should not neglect the rural areas. They are paying lip service to the development of the rural areas. We have not got electricity in the most rural places, we have no cinemas, we have nothing, and the tendency is for people to go and swell the population of the big cities to the detriment of our agricultural programme. I would like the Government to take to heart this warning that they should please develop the rural areas. We agree that they should take these loans but if they devote these loans to developing the already developed places or the fairly developed places, we will be very sorry indeed that we have given our blessing to this Bill.

We congratulate the Minister of Finance on his ability to attract these loans and we wish more grease to his elbows.

Senator Chief T. A. Odutola : I have not got very much to say about this Bill but what I would like to say is that apart from this, we have got the Internal Loans Bill. I should have thought that there is no need for the Internal Loans Bill because when we talk of internal loans we ask, who among us Nigerians has got the money to lend? We have not got the money. All the loans will still come from expatriates or from foreign people. I would ask the Government kindly to see to it that Nigerians are assisted so that if they cannot get the money to this country to-day, they will be able to get the money to loan other undeveloped countries when the time comes.

We are going to borrow money from outside this country. As some Senators have said, it is only because we are credit-worthy that people are willing to give us loans, otherwise, they would not give us. Nobody would give a loan to somebody who would not be able to pay the money back. Unless he knows that that somebody is going to pay the money back or that he has got the security for it he will not give the loan. I think that the time has come when this Government should do everything possible to raise the standard of living of the people of this country, provide jobs for them, put them in a position so that when the time comes, it will be possible to raise all the money internally.

I am not saying that the money should be borrowed from expatriates. At present, majority of what we call internal loans, if not everything, is borrowed from expatriates, either expatriate banks or private people because we in this country are still very backward financially. Unless the Government is prepared to develop their business, it would not be possible for the people of this country to assist other undeveloped countries in future. If we borrow from somebody now, we must be able any time to give loans to other people. Now we are approaching others for loans, similarly a time would come when others will be looking to us for loans. That is why I am appealing to Government to do everything possible to see that Nigerians have good business.

[SENATOR CHIEF ODUTOLA]

All the trades in the country at the moment are in the hands of the expatriates and when they make the money they go away with it. They do not keep the money in the country and when they do, they only use the money to develop their business and all the profits go out of the country. But if the business is in the hands of Nigerians, the money will remain in the country for ever. This is our country and we have no other place to go. The people from whom we now borrow have got their own places to go and whenever they make the money, they go home with it. I am appealing to the Government that in getting this money, everything possible should be done to put us Nigerians in a position to give loans to other people when the time comes.

I support.

The Minister of Finance : I am very grateful to Senators for their useful contribution but if anyone can anticipate one exactly, Senator Chief Odutola has taken the word from my mouth as to what I wanted to say in reply to Senator Lagunju's plea for internal loans increase. It is always nice to make statements that would be applauded, what we call 'playing to the gallery'.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : I was not at all playing to the Gallery.

The President : The hon. Minister said "with respect" and that, I think, means playing to the gallery with inverted commas !

The Minister of Finance : Quite honestly, what the Governments of this country are trying to do at the moment is to meet the need of being able to raise money internally for financing our Development Programmes. If Senators examine the present development programme, they will notice that it is expected to satisfy that situation in the future. That is why I said that we must make the sacrifice now so that our children will not be found in a position to do so.

When I was in the United States, a luncheon party was arranged in my honour. There were twenty-four people present, plus myself making twenty-five. During a discussion, I was told that all those twenty-four people were millionaires and I was the only non-millionaire there.

A Senator : As far as our country's standard is concerned, the Minister of Finance is a millionaire.

The President : The Minister should take note of that.

The Minister of Finance : If that is a prayer, then I will say "Amen".

I want to assure Senators that in the early days of the development of the United States, there was not even a single millionaire there. It was because they laid a good foundation and borrowed money from elsewhere and made good use of that money that their economy and their status were developed up to the stage that they have now reached. Now, they do not wish to borrow money from anybody else.

As Senator Odutola said, people now go to America to borrow money. That is what we are trying to do. If a man wants to start a business and he has not got the money but knows that it is a viable proposition, if he raises money to develop that business, the business will pay for the loan and there again, will begin to yield dividend. That is what we are trying to do.

For instance, we want to establish iron and steel industry, which is a basic and heavy industry. We have iron ore deposit here. But we have been buying rods, rails, locomotives made from steel and iron. We have been buying them from overseas whereas we have got the deposits here. We want £30 million to set up the industry. How many people here can subscribe to enable us to get that £30 million? We cannot get it. Therefore, if we borrow it from outside and stop the importation of iron and steel from overseas, it will be found that this £30 million will be repaid and the industry will at a later time be finding its feet and whatever money comes from it, as the Senator rightly said, will be ploughed back into Nigeria and not taken out of Nigeria. This is what we want to do.

But in the society that we have to-day, there is a lot of upstarts who do not give credit to people like Senator Chief Odutola and most of our people who are endeavouring to get the private sector of the economy to be buoyant.

Then people talk of acquisition—of taking over people's property by force. They think that we can take over business owned by foreigners and leave those owned by Nigerians

untouched. But this Government is not interested in nationalisation. On the contrary, in this development programme, we want to encourage private business and we will protect such businesses if Nigerians come forward to put in their capital. If they try, the Government will assist them.

Talking about rural areas, I think that we will all join that plea. All of us come from the rural areas. I want Warri to be developed too. My Colleague here wants something done for Owerri and so do I want for Warri. We all come from the rural areas. But I think that Ijebu is not a rural area!

Therefore, I commend the Bill to this Senate.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move, That the Bill be now read the Third time.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time and passed.

INTERNAL LOANS BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

12.26 p.m.

The Minister of Finance : I rise to move—

That the Bill for an Act to authorise the raising of Development Loans in Nigeria and for connected purposes, be read a Second time.

The raising of internal loans is governed by two distinct categories of legislation. The first category defines the method by which loans may be raised. These methods are by public issues of Federation of Nigeria Development Stock issued in accordance with the Local Loans (Registered Stock and Securities) Act or the Promissory Notes Act. Both these Acts serve to charge upon the revenues and assets of the Federal Government the interest and principal of loans raised. We do not intend to make any change in this procedural legislation.

The second category of legislation sets a limit to the amount which the Federal Government may borrow internally, and defines the purposes for which the loans may be used. This is the purpose of the present Bill.

I estimate that it should be possible during the period of the National Development Plan to raise a total of about £67 million by the issue of Federation of Nigeria Development Stocks. This figure takes into account potential subscriptions by the general public, by savings and other institutions, the Central Bank and also the proceeds of the repatriation of foreign investments which are likely to be available for long-term investment in Nigeria. This Bill on the other hand seeks to set a limit of £100 million to the Federal Government's borrowing powers. I have thought it wise to allow this margin of £33 million, partly because it might prove possible in the event to raise more in this way than I at present estimate. If it should prove possible to raise more than £66 million, we should certainly want to do so, for this would be fully in accord with our policy of mobilising domestic resources to the utmost. Furthermore, it may well be that we shall enter into deferred payment agreements in one form or another. To the extent that these arrangements are expressed in Nigerian currency, they would rank as internal borrowing and so fall to be contained within this limit of £100 million.

Clause 2 of the Bill provides that the proceeds of any loans shall be applied only to financing the Federal Government Development Programme 1962-68, or shall be on-lent to a Regional Government to assist in the financing of its own Development Programme.

These provisions are similar to those contained in the present authority for internal borrowing which was related to the Economic Programme, which has just ended. Of a total of rather more than £19 million raised by public issues of Development Loan Stock during the past three years, the Federal Government has on-lent to the Regions rather more than £10½ million. It is impossible at this stage to say what proportion of the loans to be raised in the next six years will be on-lent to the Regions, for this depends upon a variety of factors including, particularly, the needs of the various Governments and their

[THE MINISTER OF FINANCE]

ability to attract external finance. This is one of the fields where there will continue to be the closest consultation and co-ordination between all the Governments of the Federation.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation : I beg to second.

Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi : It is only right, reasonable and justified for any nation to borrow money in order to finance their development projects aimed at improving their economy. This country needs improved economy in order that we may enjoy our independence fully.

The hon. Minister of Finance is seeking the permission of this Senate to pass the Bill for Internal Loans just as he sought for the External Loans. I think that everything has been explained by the hon. Minister when he introduced the Bill for the External Loans, and I think that he is going to give us similar explanations on this, and we will have to accept them. Of course, as all the Senators will agree, we should be careful where the money is spent. We have our National Development Programme, and what we should worry about is what to carry out and what not to carry out.

However, I would just ask the Senators to be so good as to allow this Bill to pass without further debate because it will embark on the same reasons that we have had from the hon. Minister of Finance just a few minutes ago.

I beg to support.

Senator T. Olamijulo : I think that we should be very grateful to the Minister of Finance for thinking it possible to be able to raise as much as £100 million even in Nigeria. At any rate, to think that it is possible to raise up to £67 million and later on, if possible, to reach up to £100 million, I think it is wonderful. To my experience, I think it is entirely a masterpiece for one to be able to visualise to such an extent.

Another thing that I would like to mention is what many people have made mention of. We should be proud that we have the land here. I see no reason why, in years to come, Africa, and even Nigeria, should not come to play an important role in the life of the world.

A Senator : We are doing it already.

Senator Olamijulo : We already have the land at our disposal. America and other countries had the same privilege and they made use of their privileges and are what they are today. As such I feel that, if as well we think and reason rightly, we are blessed with land, land that flows with milk and honey. If we can make use of our land resources, then we have a lot to be thankful for. I feel that we should do all in our power to see that we place priority on industry. If we borrow money, whether internally or externally, we should as far as possible place pre-eminence on industry. Then we shall be really economically and otherwise free from domination. As it is at present, we are partly free and our—

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : Did I hear the Senator say that we are *partly* free?

Senator Olamijulo : I said *partly* free because we are not as sound economically as we are otherwise. The only thing that will make us economically free will be by having good industry. By having stable industries I think we shall be able to play our role, and play it very well, as I rise to play my part and thank the hon. Minister of Finance.

With these remarks, I beg to support.

Senator Chief Mrs Wuraola A. Esan : I rise to welcome this Bill. We have been debating against external loans in the past, but now I am happy that the Minister of Finance has been successful in attracting money from abroad into this country which gives some sort of result. Thus, we cannot go on fighting any more against external borrowing.

The Internal Loans Bill is very welcome, but precisely at this time there is scarcity of money in the country. The cost of living has risen with the slight increases in the cost of consumer goods and petrol, and these increases will not make it easier for the ordinary people like me to be able to participate—

The Minister of Finance : The Senator is not an ordinary person.

The President : The hon. Minister of Finance has said that Senators are not ordinary people.

Senator Chief Mrs Esan : I agree that Senators are not ordinary people, but I am an ordinary woman personally. Most of the Senators here are millionaires while I am a poor

school-teacher. Also, our Minister of Finance cannot call himself an ordinary or a common man.

The Minister of Finance : I am one of the common men.

Senator Chief Mrs Esan : I do not want all this money to be only in the hands of our expatriate friends who will get richer at the expense of our country. I want this money to go beyond that so that the common people will realise that by giving their mites to us for the development of their country, they are not only contributing their own quota, but are gaining something personally from it.

As I have said, there is scarcity of money in the country, and I am hoping that these external loans will bring money in. External borrowing will precede internal borrowing and in this way more industries can be created for people to get more work, more employment and more money in their pockets. Then everybody will share in lending something towards the development of our country. I support internal borrowing, although this is a bad time for it.

With these few remarks, I support.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : I have very few remarks to make on this Bill. Firstly, I would like to congratulate the Minister of Finance for introducing it. I remember that sometime ago we passed a similar Bill—I do not know exactly the amount—and I do not know whether the Minister was able to realise it.

The Minister of Finance : We did.

Senator Asemota : Well, that should be an encouragement now to get £100 million. This is heartily welcome. But what I want to know is this. We have so many expatriate friends who have been in this country for years, and I think that this should be one of the means for them to show their interest in the country. I would like the Minister of Finance to tell this House that they will co-operate with us very much indeed in matters of this kind because, as all Senators know, most of the indigenes of this country are so poor that if the Government is going to depend upon them to get £100 million loan, I am afraid that is going to take a very long time indeed. Since we are sure that the expatriates will also take an active part in making us some loans, free of interest, I think there is nothing to fear very

much. I say *free of interest* because we should take into consideration the heavy amount of profits which they have been making from this country for a very long time. The time has now come when they should make some sort of sacrifice. There is no reason why they should continue to be making millions of pounds profit and taking everything to their countries. The time has now come for them to be of material assistance to this country.

I think this is really something that the Minister of Finance will put across to them and to make sure that, at any rate, the rate of interest, if any is charged, will be appreciably low so that it will not be felt much whenever they will be repaid. That is what I want to say, and I support this Bill.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : This Bill which we appreciate very much is being brought in the name of the people of the Federation, that is to say, the place we all represent. I would advise the Minister of Finance to see that the good things that will be derived from these loans will be distributed to every constituency from where all the Senators come. I do not appreciate spending money on places which are already very well advanced and developed.

The Minister of Finance : Like Ibadan.

Chief Olayeye : Like Lagos. We all know that we come from the rural areas; therefore, the advantage to be obtained from all these loans should be extended to every part of the Federation. I want the Minister of Finance to see to that.

The money is loaned for the use and benefit of the Federation. Therefore, it will be appreciated if, when I get back home, I realise that the money which has been loaned is spent on developing the area I come from and also the other parts of the Federation. The money should be used to the good of everybody in the Federation.

Since we obtained our independence, a lot of places have been given amenities. I would like to see the same thing done to my area. I have nothing more to say except to bring it to the attention of the Government that people of my constituency—Okitipupa—should benefit from this loan. I would like the Minister to take note of that.

I beg to support.

Senator H. N. Udoh : If my brains serve me aright, there had been a time when we had been talking about these internal loans. I remember when the Minister of Finance travelled all over the country and all over the world trying to get something which would be of benefit to this our part of the world. Some people—those who like to talk glibly—said, “What is the use of his going out to look for loans? Has he appealed to us in this country and we cannot help?” These people did not know that it is not a question of £100 or £500. This is a question of millions of pounds which cannot be made up, even if we all put our savings together.

Now, this is the age of financial crisis. The Prime Minister has said that this is the age of sacrifice. We all agree. We can make sacrifices and put in our money just to stimulate investment which will yield interest.

I come back to this internal loan. We are passing this Bill quite all right because everybody wants it. The next thing is, as many of us often times mention here, will the people outside the four walls of this Hall know anything about this Bill? It is not everybody who owns or listens to a radio set; not everybody reads newspapers. I, therefore, appeal to the Minister of Finance to give this Bill the widest publicity possible.

Also, I beg to ask whether the Savings Bill that we have been discussing throughout this Session are also included in this Internal Loans Bill?

The President : The Savings Certificate Bill will be brought before us probably tomorrow.

Senator Udoh : That is good. The Minister of Finance in this very Senate was apprehended last year that we are getting into a financial crisis, as we have got into it now. There are very many avenues through which the Government can make money. The Government only concentrates in townships and big towns probably not knowing that in the thickest forests there are *monies* which are altogether neglected by the Government.

I would like to give an example. Diamond, for instance, is a very precious stone, but it is not got on the surface. It is a difficult job to get it. I, therefore, appeal to the Minister of

Finance to look into every corner of this country and collect the Government's missing pennies. And that can only be done with the co-operation of his Ministry.

I remember many a time when we talk about securities, securities in the Police and so on and so forth. A Senator mentioned it here that owing to wounded feelings of the people, the policemen have made themselves obnoxious to the public and consequently, when crimes are committed nobody would like to come out boldly and report the case. This same thing has repeated itself in Government Bills aiming at development.

There are many valuable pounds wasted in the various corners of the country. If I tell the Government that there are lots of my fellow Senators with radio and television sets who have not agreed to pay radio and television licences for two years, for three years, I am done for. But we want money.

The Minister of Finance : That is quite correct.

Senator Udoh : Though it might be said that it is not my concern, but somebody has to pay for what he or she is enjoying and in this way he or she would have contributed to augment the country's financial position. All other countries like America and other places do that, and that is why they are progressive.

The Minister of Finance said that he was in a group of about twenty-five or twenty-six people when he was away overseas and that he was the only poor man among them while all the others were very rich men—millionaires. The fact is that they were not born millionaires in those places. They might have started by borrowing money from rich countries and used the money to develop themselves and they afterwards pay back the money they borrowed. I trust that we will not go the way of the man who buried his talents in the ground.

Personally, I feel that with this money borrowed—and we are still borrowing—the country can become what we really mean it to be if we are also serious and feel like the man who has a debt on his head and realises that he has a debt on his head and curtails his pleasures and enjoyments in order, at last, to be able to repay the debt.

With these observations, I support the Bill.

Senator Chief Odutola : I think this is a Bill which all lovers of this country will support. I say that all lovers of this country will support it because it is more honourable for one to borrow money internally than to borrow money externally. As some Senators have said, it cannot be expected that an under-developed country should be able to finance all its development projects. Certainly, I shall look forward to the day when it will be possible for us in this country to borrow all the money we need for our development projects internally. I do not think there is anybody who will quarrel about this.

We need money now, however, and as I have said earlier during the debate on the other Bill, what I would urge the Government to ensure, is that arrangements be made whereby in times to come we shall be able to borrow all the money we need for our development projects internally, and not externally.

Whereupon Minister of State (Dr Esin) rose in his place and claimed to move, That the Question be now put.

Question, That the Question be now put, put and agreed to.

Main Question put accordingly and agreed to. Bill accordingly read a Second time.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move, That the Bill be now read the Third time.

Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin) : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time and passed.

PARLIAMENTARY DISQUALIFICATION
(NORTHERN PROVINCIAL COUNCILS)
REMOVAL BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Transport : I beg to move—

That a Bill for an Act to remove any disqualification from membership of Parliament imposed on any person by paragraph E of subsection (1) of section 40 of the Constitution of the Federation by reason of his membership of a Provincial Council in Northern Nigeria and for purposes connected therewith, be now read a Second time.

Very recently the Federal Government has received a request from the Government of Northern Nigeria asking that consideration be given to introducing a Bill in these terms to make it possible for Northern Members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate to continue to be Members, even though some of them may also be Councillors of one or the other of the Provincial Councils of the North. Senators will be aware that, already, the Constitution of the North and of the Federation permit Members to belong to the Native or Local Authorities in the West and the East, as well as being Members of this House.

Now, this Bill is simply brought to correct an omission which has been made in respect of the new Provincial Councils that have been established in the North. There is nothing at all controversial in it, and I commend it to all sides of this House.

I beg to move.

Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin) : I beg to second.

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : This Bill is a welcome Bill and is non-controversial. In my own opinion, the Bill tends to give liberty to some of the Members who hold other important national responsibilities but who, when they are asked to come to Parliament, may be prevented from doing so because they were already being paid money in those respects by the State.

There is one other thing that I would like the Government to do. I wish this Bill were not sectional. I feel that what is good for the goose is good for the gander, and it should not only be applied to the Northern Region, but should be applicable to the whole of the Federation.

This is my remark, and I support the Bill.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : There is a point which I have noted on this Bill, and which I would like to have cleared, before I start any discussion. What I actually see in the preamble is "provisional council" whereas in the Bill itself I see the words "Provincial Council" so before I start debating the Bill I want to be quite clear as to which of the two we have in mind. Is it "Provisional Council", as in the preamble or "Provincial Council" as in the Bill?

The Minister of Transport : It is "Provincial Council".

The President : In my copy of the Bill I see no preamble.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I am sorry—I mean the explanatory memorandum, not preamble.

The President : It is "Provincial", and not "Provisional".

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : This Bill I feel is welcome and it is not controversial, and I want to make the following observation. Perhaps, arising out of this, the Government could still think of correcting another omission. At the moment, a man who is a Member of the House of Representatives or who seeks to be a Member of the House of Representatives and who is a Member of a Statutory Corporation or Board, must in the first instance resign his membership of the Statutory Corporation or Board. I feel that the position regarding the Senate is the same.

A man who is an official, of course, cannot, but this now will give some officials of the Provincial Councils an advantage, whereas a Member who is a Member of the Western House of Assembly or the Eastern House of Assembly seeking to come to the House of Representatives may not necessarily resign until after the election. I feel that, arising from this, Government may like to give consideration to the possibility of introducing another Amendment to the Constitution to allow for people seeking to be Members of the House of Representatives who are members of a Statutory Corporation or otherwise, not to resign until they have actually succeeded at the election. If they succeed, let them stay.

I have in mind the position of our very revered ex-Senator, Professor Eni Njoku, whom we have missed in this House. Professor Eni Njoku has been missed in this House only because he is the Chairman of the E.C.N. His services to this House are so valuable that if the present law had not been what it is, he would have continued his membership of this House, and to give of his best experience to the service of the nation.

I would very strongly advise that perhaps Government would like to consider this with a view to modifying the law.

I have in mind also that immediately after the elections in Lagos, we had a very tricky case involving the Minister of Information. The

case had to rebound and rebound and rebound until finally the Federal Supreme Court ruled. Thus if the law allows a man to remain as a member of a Board, the minute he succeeds at a Parliamentary he will be deemed to have resigned, and not as provided at present, that he should resign first.

That is all I have to put forward. Otherwise the Bill is really welcome, and we feel that it is going to lead us to those things on which I have made my observations.

Sitting suspended : 1.00 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3.00 p.m.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusifu : Once more may I seize this opportunity, through the medium of this House, to congratulate the hon. Premier of the Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto for championing and putting together the divergent tribes of the Northern Region. I am sure all Senators will agree with me when I say that the independence of this country is successful through his effort and co-operation. It is, therefore, right and proper if I say that the entire Federation owe this great son of Africa endless gratitude.

Senator Chief Z. C. Obi : On a point of order, Mr President, I am not convinced that the point the Senator is making conforms with the provisions of this Bill. Should he not rather speak on the Bill?

The President : Will Senator Yusifu please debate the Bill?

Senator Yusifu : I think this point is relevant to the Bill because the Bill entirely concerns the Northern Region.

The Minister of Transport : On a point of order, no Senator can challenge a Ruling from the Chair.

The President : The point of order is very true. The Senator should debate the Bill.

Senator Yusifu : There is a great need for the implementation of the Bill in view of the political advancement in the Northern Region and the fact that it will speed up Nigerianisation and do away with the traces of colonialism still to be found in our laws.

There is one point which I think has been omitted from this Bill and that is, if Members

properly established. This is the law and if in it we do not have these things firmly entrenched now the regulation itself may be blind to it.

We are not quarrelling with the principle and,

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : I think the Amendment is clear and it is very necessary that those words should be there inserted. We have argued this matter sufficiently long enough and

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of the Regional Legislatures and the Federal Legislature can be members of the Provincial Council by virtue of their being Members of the Federal and Regional Legislatures, I see no reason why Senators cannot as well be members of the Provincial Councils. I think it would be advisable—

Senator E. A. Lagunju : Senators are Legislators. Nigeria has a bi-cameral Legislature and, as explained in this Bill they are entitled to be members of the Provincial Councils.

The President : Will the Senator be guided accordingly.

Senator Yusufu : Well, if we are entitled, there is no reason why Senators up to now are not members of the Provincial Councils, whereas Members of the Federal and Regional Legislatures are members of the Provincial Councils. So, if there is no error in this matter—

The President : That is purely a Regional matter. You are a Senator and you are in this House. If you are not a member of the Provincial Council in your area then take it up at Kaduna.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I think that what this Bill seeks to do is to allow Senators and Members of Parliament to be members of the Provincial Council if they are appointed. It seems to me that the Senator has not done his home work.

The President : The point is well taken.

Senator Yusufu : Well, I do not think I have any more points to raise. I welcome the Bill and whole-heartedly support it.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : I have no quarrel with this Bill at all but I want to correct the impression which was created in the Lower House when this Bill was being debated. An hon. Member mentioned that this Bill was only good for the North because there were no materials in the North and, therefore, the Bill was designed so that Members of Parliament might be members of the Provincial Councils. He went on to say that if they were debarred from being members of the Provincial Council, there would be no other materials available to man the Provincial Councils,

I want to point out to anybody who has got that impression that we who are Parliamentarians from the North are not the best available materials in the North.

There are other people who are as good as we are. Why the people of the North and the Government of the North want our services at the provincial level is because some of us are leaders of thought, and they would like us to sit together and then decide these things. I think that is the only reason why the Government has made it possible for us now to become Members of the Provincial Councils.

There are certain things which we ask here which are not really within the competence of the Federal Government. They are things which we can only get at local levels, that is through the Regional Government. That is why this Bill is a very welcome one, so that those things which we cannot get here can be fought for at local levels.

I support the Bill.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : I suggest that the debate on this Bill should close. This is not a debatable Bill. Everybody agrees that it is desirable.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : On a point of order, the Senator should move that the Question be put then.

The President : He can make the suggestion without formally moving the Motion.

Senator Nzerem : I can also move the Motion when I have finished speaking. I think this is not a Bill that should take so much of our time. Everybody sees that it is desirable that in the North people who are in the Senate, or in the House of Representatives, or such other people, should be allowed to become Members of the Provincial Councils in the North.

In the Eastern Region Members of the House of Assembly are automatically members of the Provincial Assemblies of their areas. We Senators are going to agitate that we should also become members, because we are part and parcel of the Region from which we come. I do not therefore see that anybody can have any objection to this Bill, and I consider that debating this Bill any further is just killing time.

I beg to support.

[MINISTER OF TRANSPORT]

delay Bills; we know that such powers last for a limited time. If we wanted to be aggressive on this point, we would say "All right, we give you the maximum time that you may delay the Bill" and after that we will pass the Bill. Who will suffer? Our people will suffer in the end.

I do not want to take that line but I would like Senators to remember that I, as well as my other colleagues in the Government, am as much concerned about the future of Nigerians now studying law abroad as they themselves. I think that this will go a long way to see that these are the provisions of this Bill which require lawyers that arrive in the meantime to obtain certain certificates which will necessitate their undertaking the local course, and that that portion of the Act will not be brought into operation until the regulations which will provide for necessary exemptions have been framed and have been approved by both Houses of Parliament.

I think that that undertaking goes far enough and I would like, once more, to appeal to the Mover of this Amendment and the Senators supporting him to think again about this and have the necessary confidence in the Government. I think that it is necessary for us to have this confidence and it is necessary on an occasion like this that either House of Parliament should take very seriously any undertaking given by any Minister on behalf of the Government. These undertakings are not given lightly. Yesterday, I was not in a position to give this undertaking, therefore, I did not take the risk because, as a man of honour, I must be sure that the undertaking given would be carried out. I was not in a position yesterday to give this undertaking but since yesterday's meeting, I have had the necessary consultations with the Ministry of Justice and I was assured to give the undertaking and I have given it.

I very seriously appeal to the House to take note of this undertaking and not to press this Amendment because I am very sorry that the Government cannot accept the Amendment. It means that we can do nothing more, nothing can happen as regards the establishment of the Council of our Legal Education or the establishment of our Law School. Everything will be brought to a standstill. We have made certain arrangements already which will be

completely upset unless this Bill is passed. Since I have given this assurance that there will be no hardship caused to any student now studying in the United Kingdom or overseas and that the regulation to provide for the necessary exemptions will be duly brought to this House for consideration and approval, I hope that this House will reconsider its stand and allow the Mover of the Amendment to withdraw.

Sitting suspended : 3.33 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3.45 p.m.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I want to make some observations. I keep on repeating it that I do not want the Members of the Government Bench to get us wrong. If in this land to-day there is any Legislature which seeks to co-operate one hundred *per cent* with the Government, it is this honourable Senate.

Many Bills have come to this Senate which, in the normal course of events, we could have obstructed but we want to show to the outside world that ours is a stable Government and not a Government which contradicts itself. On many occasions, we have accepted in good faith any undertaking given by the Members of the Government Bench. I want to say that as matured Legislatures, the Lords of the land and Members of the Upper House, we cannot be threatened and we cannot be frightened by somebody drawing attention to our limitations.

When we agreed to become Senators, we knew the limitations of the Senate but even then, if time and again we apply those limitations, I am sure that the reflection will not be well on both the Government and the country; and we shall never do it unless it is necessary.

I have to say—we have said it time and again—that we are very much in sympathy with the hon. Minister of Transport whom we love so well and for whom we have great affection. We want to say that we have great affection for him and he is the last man we would wish to embarrass. We know that if this had been in his own portfolio, his attitude would have been different and that is why we are in sympathy with him. The busiest Minister in this country to-day is the Minister of Finance and I think that we gave him the greatest credit for finding time to come and introduce his Bill before us. It goes to show that this is the Upper House.

increase in the membership of the Body of Appeal Commissioners. The work that six people can do, two can do. The fact is that this Board should not have so many members.

throughout Nigeria. Sometimes they have to go to Jos and if we have an appeal pending in the Eastern Region and, at the same time, we want to dispose of the one in Jos, we have to wait until the Commissioners can form a quorum

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[Legal Education

2 MAY 1962

Bill : Committee]

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If the hon. Attorney-General had been here himself since yesterday, perhaps, he would have cleared this because he was responsible for it. But unfortunately, the hon. Minister of Transport was placed in the present critical position. We want to demonstrate to the Government that it is not because we are rubber-stamp men or people who have no real thinking cap of their own, but because we want to show that up till now we have had no cause to doubt the Government. We have had no cause to doubt any assurance given us by the Government. I do believe that we shall never have any cause to doubt any assurance given by our Government.

Under the circumstances, most reluctantly, and I repeat, most reluctantly, to demonstrate our faith in our Government and to show that we have never doubted the Government and do not intend to doubt the Government, the assurance which was given by the Minister of Transport that Clause 2 of this Bill will not be put into effect until this honourable House shall have had the opportunity to examine the regulations which will be made under this Bill, will be acceptable to this honourable Senate.

But we do hope that when the regulations are made we shall not be given the trouble to start a fresh debate on this point. With due deference to the views which this honourable Senate has expressed on this matter, the regulation should in the first instance take care of our views. Under these circumstances, I beg leave of this honourable Senate to withdraw the Amendment which I had proposed.

The Minister of Health : I am glad that Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku has withdrawn his Amendment. But I would like to make a statement as to why the hon. Attorney-General and Minister of Justice is not here. I would like to assure Senators that the Minister of Justice has not slighted this House by not attending to introduce this Bill. He is away in Geneva on public business and if he had not been away he would have been here to present the Bill himself. I am sure that he would have been here to satisfy Senators on the points which they have raised.

Obviously, it was not possible for the Minister of Transport to give the undertaking which Senators wanted him to give without consulting with the Ministry of Justice. Of course, he knows the background to this Bill

and he has now been briefed and he has given the undertaking which Senators wanted. I am glad that they have accepted the assurance that was given to them.

Senator Chief Z. C. Obi : All that I want to say now is that the views expressed by Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku are the views of all Senators here.

To go further, I think I can emphasize this one fact, that if and when the regulation is drawn up and it does not reflect what we have to-day decided, the stand which we will take will be the stand which we had taken earlier to-day.

The Minister of Transport : I just want to join my Colleague the Minister of Health in saying how grateful I am to Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku for being so magnanimous to withdraw his Amendment. I know how very strongly Senators feel on this point and I wish to assure them that the Government has taken due notice of the points which they have raised.

I also want to emphasize that my learned Colleague, the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, will be the last man to give any impression whatever that he was slighting this honourable House. I am sure that he is a perfect gentleman and a man with a very high sense of responsibility. At the moment he is in Geneva performing a very important public function—representing Nigeria as one of the learned international jurists—on behalf of the United Nations. It was because it was necessary for him to go that he asked me to take the Bill on his behalf. I am quite sure that he would have been delighted to be here himself to take this Bill and answer the points which Senators have raised.

I am very grateful to Senators for the very magnanimous way in which they have treated this Bill which we have been considering since yesterday.

The President : Is it the wish of Senators that I do grant leave for this Amendment to be withdrawn ?

Several Senators : Yes.

Amendment by leave withdrawn.

Clause 3, ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clauses 4 to 6, ordered to stand part of the Bill.

[SENATOR ASEMOTA]
of the Senate Debates of Tuesday, the 1st of May, 1962. It was recorded on that page that Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku said, and with your permission, I quote:

"On a point of order, Lagos has never been a farmland".

And he went further to say:

"These silly people claim to have planted the sovereignty".

The President: He did not say that. He said, "These Benin people". My ears were very, very alert. He did not say, "This silly people". He said, "These Benin people". I am afraid that is not a correct record.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku: Thank you very much, Mr President.

Senator Asemota: May I say that that should be put on record so that people will not misunderstand.

The President: These things are acoustic, you see. *Silly* may sound like *Benin*. They have the same syllable.

Senator Asemota: I am happy about that.

Well, the next thing that I would like to say is that in my speech yesterday, I referred to one or two other important things for which I would have expected a statement from the hon. Minister of Finance. One of them is that the Government should do something to discourage the importation of furnitures, as there are sufficient timber and wood in this country and there are people who are competent enough to be able to make furnitures, and that the Government should encourage furniture industry in this country. I also referred to many furniture makers in the country. Unfortunately, the hon. Minister of Finance did not reply to these observations.

The President: I am sorry, my respected Senator, I am compelled to call you to order. The Motion on Adjournment is not an opportunity for re-opening a debate that has closed. If the hon. Minister did not reply about furniture industry, there are other heads or some other Bills probably coming up tomorrow and you can raise the question again then, but certainly not under a Motion of Adjournment. The point is that that is a debate that has closed and it cannot be re-opened under Motion on Adjournment, otherwise no matter will ever be closed.

Senator Asemota: Thank you very much, Mr President. That is all I have to say.

MEMBERS QUARTERS

Senator M. G. Ejaife: I have no intention of making a speech because as the time has gone, Senators are very eager to go. But I would like to raise just one point in connection with our accommodations. I think that in many ways they are very good, but our bed room doors have no locks and keys. May I say that arrangements should be made so that the bed rooms should have locks and keys. I think we would prefer such an arrangement to toilet rooms having locks and keys. That is all I had to say.

NIGERIAN HONOURS

Senator Chief P. I. Acholonu: I would like to congratulate the Government on the recent announcement in connection with the suggestion made by this House sometime ago. This is about the award of Nigerian honours. This shows that the Federal Government has regard for what we always say in this House.

I am however suggesting that whenever this matter will be put into effect the three Regions should be consulted so that some of the traditional rulers from our three Regions may make some contributions as to the way that the awards of these honours will be properly done because we have different traditional titles. We do not know whether the Government are going to make alternative plans or if they will consider titles like the *Emir*, the *Obi*, the *Igwe*, the *Oba*, the *Amanyano*, the *Obong*, the *Ije* among the other titles in Nigeria.

Senator Asemota: On a point of information, the names that the Senator has just mentioned are not titles. They are names of monarchs—the traditional rulers of this country. Those are not titles. Rather, it is those people who actually award titles. They may be the *Obas*, the *Obis* or the *Emirs* but the titles are the *Madawakin*, the *Sardauna*, the *Waziri*, the *Ijakeru*, the *Ologbosere*, the *Ndichi* among others. Those are the titles but not the actual natural rulers.

Senator Acholonu: Well, I might agree with you, but I am saying that the three Regions should be consulted so that the traditional rulers may make their contribution. I do not

know what is Government's plan, but before any such honour is awarded, great precaution should be taken so as to know the way and manner to handle this matter and make it effective.

Another thing is this appalling question of car theft—the stealing of motor cars, lorries and the stealing or the removing of motor car wheels and headlamps in the night. There is nowhere at all that a man can place his car or even lorry now that will be safe.

I am suggesting that the law that is guiding the Police and the courts as regards a suspect is not sufficient for them to handle such a suspect. Anybody suspected of stealing a motor car or a lorry or removing some parts should be properly dealt with. What we often hear is that one Peugeot No. so and so has been stolen and that the Police has called some people for questioning.

The President : The Senator said exactly these words during the debate on the Legal Education Bill.

Senator Chief Acholonu : Yes, that is so, but I did not conclude it at that time.

The President : I am reminding the Senator that he said exactly those words before.

Senator Chief Acholonu : Any thinking man will see that there are vigorous plans ahead now for the economic stability of this country, and before planning all these things special provision should be made by law to protect them, otherwise the property and the live of the people are in danger, especially when the stealing and kidnapping of people are everyday occurrences now. That is why I am suggesting that the Police should be allowed by law to see that if anybody is suspected of a certain crime, that person must be arrested and put into custody until the investigations are concluded, and if anybody is guilty of stealing a motor car or lorry or removing the parts, stealing of children or any kind of kidnapping the lowest penalty should be twenty years imprisonment so as to make other people to fear. If there are about ten or twenty of them who are arrested and found guilty, all of them should be sentenced to terms of imprisonment not less than twenty years. If this is done, other people may not commit such crimes any longer.

If we keep on questioning them and while questioning them they are making arrangements either to bury what they have stolen in the ground or to dispose of them somehow, we may not succeed in stamping out this evil. I am very serious in suggesting that something drastic must be done. I am making this suggestion to our Ministers whether they may convey this suggestion to the Government to know what they have in mind about these things because they are too rampant.

Thank you very much, Mr President.

PORTERS

Senator H. O. Aabaagu : There is one thing that I want the Government to look into and that is concerning the Porters in our Parliament Buildings. In some parliaments Porters are called Security Guards because they are connected with security functions. I consider that it would be advisable if the Government were to alter the designation to Security Guards instead of calling them Porters.

The President : I think I will seize this opportunity to point out that Senators ought really to give notice of their desire to raise any matter on Adjournment. I have given a lot of latitude to Senators, because this is the Upper House but you will notice that since we started two days ago matters have been raised on the Adjournment and that no Ministers have replied. They will not reply simply because they have been given no notice. If a person is really serious about a matter that he wants to raise on the Motion of Adjournment, the usual procedure is to reduce this to writing, giving a copy to the President and a copy to the Minister in charge of Government Business here, and then there will be reasonable hope that the matters raised will be answered. Otherwise, you will be talking and talking and talking, and as soon as the clock strikes the rising time, I always close the Senate without the points raised being replied to by anybody. I want Senators to know that this is the reason why some of these points are not answered—because no notice has been given.

The Senate stands adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-two minutes past four o'clock.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Thursday, 3rd May, 1962
The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
INFORMATION

"Guide to Parliament"

O.4. Senator L. T. Olamijulo asked the Minister of Information, what steps he has taken to ensure revision from time to time of the recently published "Guide to Parliament".

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): The answer to this Question will be published in the *Votes and Proceedings* of to-day.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Census

O.5. Senator Olamijulo asked the Minister of Economic Development, if he will make a statement regarding the kind of particulars that will be wanted from citizens for the coming census.

The Minister of Health: During the forthcoming census the following particulars will be recorded for every individual in Nigeria: their location at the time of the census, their name, sex, age by age groups, tribe—or in the case of non-Nigerians, nationality—occupation, religion, literacy and educational level.

Every citizen of voting age will in addition be asked whether the place where he is enumerated is the place where he usually resides within the meaning of the Electoral Law.

Immediately after the general enumeration there will be a Post-Enumeration Survey on a sample basis, during which approximately one million people will be questioned and information will be recorded relating to marital status and fertility, economic characteristics, migratory movements and disabilities.

ESTABLISHMENTS

Civil Service

O.6. Senator J. K. Nzerem asked the Minister of Establishments, if he will re-introduce Civil Service Entrance Examination

for admission of new entrants into the Public Service so as to obviate any possibility of nepotism, favouritism and corruption in the recruitment of Civil Servants.

Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh: The answer to this question will also be published in the *Votes and Proceedings* of to-day.

HEALTH

Illegal Injections

O.7. Senator Nzerem asked the Minister of Health, how many cases of deaths or serious injury resulting from illegal injections by quack doctors have been brought to the notice of his Ministry, and what step has Government taken or is taking to combat the evil practice.

Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi: No figures are available. Such cases are included in the normal Returns of Diseases and Deaths. Fatalities and serious injuries from illegal injections are not susceptible of proof as patients and relatives decline to disclose the sources of their injections.

Quackery will diminish and eventually disappear as soon as a comprehensive medical service, as is now being planned, brings medical care within the reach of every member of the community.

POLICE

Promotion in the Police Force

O.8. Senator Nzerem asked the Prime Minister, how many superior Police Officers have been promoted during the financial year 1961-62; how many of these are Northerners, Easterners, Westerners and natives of the Federal Territory of Lagos, and what is the criterion for promotion in the Force.

Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh: The answer to this question will be published in the *Votes and Proceedings* of to-day.

NOTICE OF MOTION

ADJOURNMENT (SINE DIE)

The Minister of Health: I rise to move the Motion standing in my name on the Order Paper, That the Senate, at its rising this day, do adjourn *sine die*.

The Minister of Finance: I beg to second.

Senator A. E. Ukattah: Speaking on this, I just wish to raise a point on the Oral Questions and the Answers that have just been given.

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[Adjournment Sine Die]

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[Adjournment Sine Die]

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I think that unless the Answers are long and involved, they should be given here, so as to give us—

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : On a point of order, the point that the Senator is raising is not relevant to the Motion.

The President : It is not, of course ; the Senator is out of order.

Senator Ukattah : My point has been made. I accept your ruling, Sir.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : We have to thank the Government for their efforts in summoning this meeting and the meeting before this one. Members were given adequate notice and we are all conversant with the proceedings. We would beg the Government that in future all efforts should continue to be made so that Senators have their papers at home before they come, if possible, because many Senators do complain that they do not see the Bills which are to come before the Senate until they get here.

In fact I myself, resident in Lagos, must say that I do not know what is happening to issues of the *Gazette*. I have never been getting them regularly, but yet I get the Western Region *Gazette* regularly. I feel this must be brought to the notice of the Government Printer. Something must be wrong somewhere. Otherwise, we are quite happy at the notice given and the arrangements made for Senators and particularly in keeping us informed of certain things, so that there are no lost sheep.

Senator Chief R. A. Umoh : I want to ask permission to put before the Senate some things I have in mind.

I feel that Senators, apart from touring the outside world, should also be made to tour the whole of Nigeria, and become acquainted with the country as a whole. We should not only concentrate our attention on going overseas and seeing what is happening elsewhere. It is good also to acquaint ourselves with the event around us.

As a writer has said, an astronomer was studying the sky and everything in it, and while he was looking up at the stars the man fell into a pit and began to shout. When an old woman went in and asked "What is wrong ?" he said that he was studying the stars, the old woman asked him "Why do you keep on studying the stars ? The best thing would

have been for you to go around studying the surroundings where you live, before studying the stars and other heavenly bodies." I would appeal to the Government that we should also bear this aspect in mind.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : I think it would have been advisable if the Government, in moving the Motion for Adjournment *sine die*, had indicated the date of the next meeting, either exactly or approximately.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : I would like to refer to the delay in getting the Bills and other necessary information from the Government. On our resumption this week we found that most of the papers that we should have received two weeks earlier had been bundled up again and had all been put into envelopes waiting for us. I have been very much perturbed about this, and I think that all the complaints that I have put forward every time we meet here, would have been sufficient for the Government to reconsider the distribution of these Bills.

No matter where in Nigeria a Senator is living, if a document is posted from Lagos it will be delivered within a period of two weeks. Thus if the Senate is going to adjourn for a month, any papers needed for the business of the first two weeks—particularly when the House of Representatives is sitting—should be sent to each Senator in advance. At least it should be made a regular habit to post papers, Bills, *et cetera* once a week—at least once a week. They would reach us in sufficient time, and we would be enabled to go through them, make our notes, and in this way we should certainly be more useful to the Government through our contributions, rather than receiving these papers the evening before they are to be considered.

If we happen to come here late in the evening before it means that if we do not come here to collect our papers late in the night, the very same matters for which the papers are needed will be coming up the following morning. Therefore, I hope the Government will not consider that we are being too troublesome in this request. All that we want is some arrangements which will enable us to be of real assistance to the Government as Senators.

As regards the other point made by the other Senator, I think it will be a good idea for Senators from the Eastern Region to go and

[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

visit the other Regions and see the other Houses in session. I think it would be of real help for the people of the West to see the proceedings of the Eastern House and also the Northern House, and *vice versa*. I think it would be a good idea.

Whereupon the Minister of Finance rose in his place and claimed to move, That the Question be now put.

Question, That the Question be now put, put and agreed to.

Main Question put accordingly and agreed to.

Resolved : That the Senate at its rising this day do adjourn sine die.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

EXCHANGE CONTROL BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move—

That the Bill for an Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to Exchange Control by conferring powers and imposing duties and restrictions in relation to gold, currency, payments, securities, debts and the import, export, transfer and settlement of property and for other purposes connected therewith, be read a Second time.

This is an extremely important Bill which the Federal Government is happy to introduce at this stage of our financial development. If this Bill is wrongly handled, it could give rise to a disastrous flight of money from Nigeria and I am most anxious that this should not be so.

Exchange Control was originally introduced into Nigeria as a war measure under the Defence (Finance) Regulations, 1939. These were replaced in turn by the Defence (Finance) No. 2 Regulations, 1939 and a series of other Regulations. Our present Exchange Control Ordinance came into operation on the 10th of December, 1950, thereby placing Exchange Control on a more permanent basis. Regulations have been issued from time to time since then to meet changing conditions which have occurred.

This Bill seeks to replace the 1950 Ordinance by simplifying, as far as is practicable, the existing law and practices as to the control of transactions affecting gold, foreign exchange

and securities. The draft Bill is all embracing in that it prohibits all payments into and out of Nigeria, including dealings in securities, whether on capital or current account unless authorised by the Minister of Finance. It empowers the Minister of Finance to exempt any transactions from the provisions of the Act by order made in his discretion and to grant permission for transactions, whether general or individual.

It also empowers the Minister of Finance to delegate to any person or body, subject to such restrictions and conditions as he may think fit, any or all of his powers under the Act, except the power to make an Order or to initiate a search warrant. The Bill provides a means of ensuring that payment for exports from Nigeria is actually received by Nigeria and it applies equally to Government and to the private sector.

This Bill thus fully reflects the sovereign and independent status of Nigeria in particular by providing that all currencies, other than the Nigerian pound, are regarded as foreign currencies, whereas, under the present legislation, sterling and Sterling Area currencies are not so treated.

If this Bill is passed into law, as I hope, all transactions will be prohibited unless specifically authorised by the Minister of Finance, and all persons resident outside Nigeria will be regarded as non-residents whereas at present only persons resident outside the Sterling Area are so regarded.

This Bill will bring up to date the provisions of our Exchange Control law not only in accordance with Nigeria's independent status but also in recognition of her membership of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs, the sterling Area and the Commonwealth. As soon as the Bill becomes law, it will be for the Minister of Finance to permit relaxations from the absolute prohibition it imposes in the case of exemptions by Orders, in the case of authorisations by Notice which could, of course, define conditions and limitations in minute detail and also in individual cases not already covered.

The Orders and Notices will, of course, reflect the policy ruling at the time but may clearly be amended or revoked at will should

circumstances warrant. This complete flexibility is a further advantage of the draft Bill and will enable Nigeria to meet any contingency which may arise.

A cardinal feature of the financial and economic policy of the Federal Government is to maintain both internally and overseas, that confidence in the Nigerian currency which has already been built up. I should therefore, like to make it abundantly clear to all that the Federal Government does not now or in the future, intend to apply restrictive measures, and other things being equal, it is our hope that fundamental and other *disequilibria* will be prevented by general monetary and financial policy.

Apart from the major aspect of political stability, the one factor which has contributed most to the standing of Nigeria with overseas investors, has been the liberal exchange control policies we have deliberately pursued. If there were any suspicions that we were about to change those policies materially, there would be an immediate flight of capital from Nigeria to get out of the country before exchange controls came in, and this would apply just as much to capital owned by Nigerians as that invested from overseas.

I should like to state quite categorically that with the introduction of this new Act, there may be changes in procedures, but the Federal Government does not intend to make any material changes in existing exchange control policy. The law will be administered as generously as possible, so as to facilitate trading and business relations with all countries of the world. Our record of permitting freely the repatriation of profits and of approved investments, further features of our liberal policy, is of paramount importance.

I am certain that confidence in our economy will be further strengthened when it is known that we intend to continue to follow our present liberal policy.

In order to mitigate the negative effects of Exchange Control, it is essential that also at the administrative level Nigeria conforms to the best modern practice. Thus the general public should be ensured the minimum delay in the handling of the administrative side of Exchange Control, delays which are otherwise as irksome if not more so, than the control itself.

Hitherto, my Ministry has been responsible for the day-to-day administration of Exchange Control. The commercial banks appointed as authorised dealers have powers clearly defined in a series of exchange control memoranda to approve applications to make payment overseas in what could be described as straight-forward cases.

As soon as this Bill is passed into law, I intend to appoint the Central Bank as the principal administrative agent responsible for the day-to-day administration of Exchange Control. However, responsibility for all aspects of exchange control policy will remain in my Ministry.

I do not intend to delegate my powers under the Act in respect of certain major functions which directly affect Government's economic and financial policies. Specifically these powers relate to the issue of shares and the grant of approved status to non-resident companies; both internal and external borrowings, the repatriation of capital including profits to any country outside Nigeria and dealings in securities. These are matters which have direct influence on Nigeria's external financial position, and I am most anxious to keep these matters under direct ministerial supervision.

As soon as the Bill is passed into law, we will be in a better position to have a very close watch on our balance of payments position. It has been a major objective of the Federal Government to improve that position and this Bill is designed to that end. I commend this Bill to this House and I hope it will have the full support of Senators in the interests of inspiring confidence in our economy, and establishing again that we are a sovereign and independent State.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Health : I beg to second.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : This Bill, the Exchange Control Bill is a very timely one. In Nigeria we have pursued a very liberal policy of Exchange Control and this, I think, has made some unscrupulous people try in many ways to cheat the Government and to send money out of the country. I believe that if it continues to be the order of the day it might impoverish this country.

But there is one thing about which I am not clear. This Exchange Control Bill, the provisions of which are very many, will affect

[SENATOR NZEREM] —
 very adversely our students overseas. I notice that at present it is fairly difficult to get money sent to students studying overseas, particularly in the United States and a good many people have suffered as a result of this Exchange Control. The Government should make it easier for people who are studying in America to have their remittances sent to them.

For the next half a century perhaps people will continue to go to the United States and other countries, particularly countries outside the Sterling Area, to study, and this Ordinance should not affect them adversely.

I have tried to scan through the provisions of the Bill and there is nothing that I can quarrel with. I think most of the provisions or all of them are in keeping with the sovereign status of Nigeria and we should give the Bill our blessing.

I beg to support

10.30 a.m.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : This is a very good Bill and it is welcomed in this House, because, after all, we have got to decide on strict supervision of our currency, and maintain an up-to-date knowledge of the movements of our currency.

The only point I want to get quite clear is the one relating to the ordinary man. We may still need to send away from the country just some small money. I have gone through the Bill and it covers by and large every form of currency up to coupons, travellers' cheques, and even postal orders. That being so, I am at a loss to know what will happen if, immediately this Bill comes into operation, we find that before a man can send £20 to a relative outside Nigeria he has got to get the necessary authorisation from the Minister of Finance.

Secondly, I do not know in what category we shall place the present postal order we use in this country. The postal order we use in this country up till to-day is still the British postal order, and to what effect that can be applied to our currency is still to be explained. Perhaps it comes within the real exchange in as much as the postal order is a British postal order.

I come once more to the issue of travellers' cheques, because travellers' cheques under this

law, issued in Nigerian currency, if I am correct, will really be cashed in Nigeria. But, now, what happens to travellers' cheques issued in other countries' currencies? We want to know whether in the first instance authorisation will be required, as very soon, perhaps, some Senators may be travelling to the United States, and they would like to carry some travellers' cheques, what is going to happen before they can get the money changed into United States dollars? Would it be necessary to get authorisation from the Minister of Finance?

Otherwise this is a welcome Bill, because when the hon. the Minister of Finance was introducing this Bill, he mentioned the difficulties the Government have been experiencing in the matter of incomes. Some companies have been trying to play a foul game, and we know that some classes of traders in this country, who are aliens, have a tricky way of taking money out of this country in an unauthorised way. We know that our currency is adversely affected by this practice.

That being so any power which can be conferred upon the Minister of Finance so as to exercise the strictest supervision over our currency will not be misdirected. I support this Bill, therefore, and I am sure that this House supports this Bill if the hon. Minister will be kind enough to clear those points which, perhaps, are not clear to us.

The Minister of Finance : I am very grateful to the two Senators who have spoken on the Bill, and I am also grateful to the Senators who are not anxious to speak, because it will enable us to dispose of other Bills quickly.

On the point that has been made about our students overseas, as Members are aware, the backing of our currency in gold is being stored in the Bank of England all along during our colonial days. Being a Member of the Sterling Area it is just right for Nigeria to do so. But we have taken steps as a sovereign State to bring the gold backing and other convertible currencies to the Central Bank of Nigeria.

Therefore, since the Nigerian pound is a convertible currency, that is to say, a currency which can be changed to any other currency anywhere in the world, it is essential that we

must control its exportation, otherwise unscrupulous people could carry the Nigerian pound from here to other parts of the world, and if they get to London all they have to do is to pay six pence commission and change each pound into English money just as they can do anywhere in the world. Of course, at present, if they bring one pound of English money into Nigeria they are charged six pence on one pound before they can change it into Nigerian money.

Any money which can be changed like that is a convertible currency, but there are monies which are not fully like that, and if one offers them outside their territory they are not accepted, because they are mere paper money and they are not backed by gold or any other convertible currency.

I have tried to say this so that Senators can understand exactly some of the monetary implications in this matter, and I am sure that it will interest them to know all these.

If, for instance, one talks about a postal order being sent from here to England, it is a Nigerian postal order and not an English postal order. It is true to say that at the moment they are being printed in England, but the Government has already taken steps to establish security printing in Nigeria to print our money here, as well as our postal orders. The security printing of other things necessary will be done here in Nigeria. (*Hear, hear*). We also want to establish our own minting.

Senator Chief T. A. Odotola : I hope that it will be established in Ijebu-Ode !

The Minister of Finance : I shall seek the advice of Senator Odotola as to where we are going to locate it.

When we say that this money should go out, in a simple language, if we go out with a Nigerian pound and tender it to somebody outside Nigeria the man who receives it from us believes that the Central Bank, which is the Bank of issue, when the money is sent back to Nigeria, will be able to buy in the currency of his country. I do hope all Senators follow what I am saying, that is the Central Bank of Nigeria should be able to redeem any of our money or postal order that is sent outside, because the Nigerian currency note cannot be used in Switzerland for example. But since it is a convertible currency any Swiss Bank can

accept it, but they will eventually send it back to Nigeria so that the Bank here will be able to pay it in Swiss currency. That is the convertibility of our money, and once any money is strongly backed by gold or other countries' convertible currencies, then such money is not paper money; it is solid and can be reduced into gold bars.

That is why we are proud of our money, and our assets overseas are so sizeable both in the Government and the private sectors that anybody will buy our money, as Senators may have read in the newspapers this morning.

In Fernando Po the official rate of exchange for the Nigerian pound is two hundred *pesetas*, which is their money. But if one can smuggle a Nigerian pound there, if we prohibit the practice, one will be paid four hundred *pesetas* for one Nigerian pound. That is why the smugglers are making money. They take the Nigerian pound stealthily there and they sell it and buy their currency in Fernando Po at double the rate. They then use this currency to buy goods in Fernando Po and bring the goods back to Nigeria and avoid any payment of duty in Nigeria.

Senators can now see the double profits these smugglers are making. That is why the country is losing enormous amounts of money, because the money they sell at black market prices there will eventually come back to our Central Bank here to be redeemed, whereas we did not authorise the exchange of it.

That is why now, apart from the reasons given by Senator Beyioku, people take money out of Nigeria by the back door, their profits will not be declared, and they transfer the money away, because we are in the Sterling Area. Now, we make a law and say to them that Sterling Area or no Sterling Area money will only be sent away when it is authorised.

On the question of travellers' cheques everybody in Nigeria is entitled to buy travellers' cheques from any licensed Bank, because all the powers will be delegated to these Banks through the Central Bank. So if one is going overseas one cannot take along the Nigerian pound. It will be too heavy. So, one can buy travellers' cheques. If one wishes to buy travellers' cheques up to two hundred pounds any Bank is allowed to sell that amount. Any Bank is allowed to sell travellers' cheques worth not more than two hundred pounds without

[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

referring to the Central Bank or to the Exchange Control Officer. But if one wants to take about a thousand pounds there, we want to know what such a person wants to do with it. We would ask such a person to please tell us what he or she wants to do with the amount in excess of £200.

It is his or her money. It is his or her legitimate right to take it away. We only want to know how a clerk who is earning £220 per annum can save one thousand pounds a year to go to London and do something with it. That is questionable money, and it is for the Government to protect the State from such a fraud. These are the reasons.

In reply to Senator Nzerem's question about students abroad I would say that the children are entitled to be sent money up to a certain amount and if parents can prove that school fees and such things exceed this amount we will grant them the permission to send the money. We want to organise it in such a way that all these delays will be overcome.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill read a Second time, immediately considered in Committee ; read the Third time and passed.

CENTRAL BANK OF NIGERIA (AMENDMENT) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

10.45 a.m.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move—

“That a Bill for an Act to amend the Central Bank of Nigeria Act (1958) be read a Second time.”

It is appropriate at this time when all the Governments in the Federation have formulated a national plan to cover economic development over the next six years, to review the existing financial and monetary arrangements and the part which the Central Bank plays in them.

The Central Bank exists as the apex of our financial institution and I am glad that it has lived up to our expectations and, indeed, has set a very high standard of efficiency, integrity and probity in the conduct of its affairs. With the experience gained during the past three years the Central Bank can now look into the future with confidence and can go ahead with its programme of expansion and consolidation.

It has now become necessary to bring into line with Nigeria's current status the general powers of the Central Bank, and also to clarify ambiguities which have come to light over the past three years.

The main provisions of this Bill are :—

(i) To give a new definition for the parity of the Nigerian pound relating it to gold instead of sterling as at present. As I explained in my Budget Speech this is of course in keeping with Nigeria's independent status and will enable Nigeria herself to decide what adjustments, if any, should be made in the official exchange rate between Nigeria and all other currencies.

(ii) To widen the composition of the external reserves which the Central Bank may hold (at present this is effectively limited to sterling and gold) and a change in the minimum level of external reserves which the Bank must hold. Under existing legislation the minimum level is equal to 60 per cent of the Bank's currency liabilities ; plus 35 per cent of other demand liabilities. This would be the case until June 1964 after which the minimum level would be 40 per cent of the Bank's total demand liabilities.

(iii) A change in the Central Bank's redemption arrangements to enable the Bank to redeem Nigerian currency at its discretion against currencies other than sterling.

(iv) An increase in the proportion of long term Federal Government securities which the Bank may hold, thereby increasing the funds which could, subject to consideration of inflationary circumstances at the time, be made available for development purposes.

(v) To prescribe the minimum amount of specified liquid assets which each bank operating in Nigeria under the Banking Act 1958 is required to hold, and to specify the demand liabilities of each such bank together with a percentage of the time liabilities of each such bank arising out of time and savings deposits.

These Amendments are in keeping with Nigeria's independent status and I am sure the Senate will welcome this Bill.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Health : Sir, I beg to second,

Question put and agreed to.

Bill read a Second time, immediately considered in Committee; read the Third time and passed.

SAVING BONDS AND CERTIFICATES BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

10.50 a.m.

The Minister of Finance: I have it in command from His Excellency to move,

"That a Bill for an Act to authorise the raising of loans in Nigeria by the issue of certain securities through the post office, and for purposes connected with the matter aforesaid be read a Second time."

The purpose of this Bill is to enable the Federal Government to provide additional outlets for small savings, the aims of which would be to inculcate the savings habit as widely as possible throughout the community as being both socially desirable and an essential prerequisite to self sustained growth of the economy, mobilising the maximum amount possible to finance development. I am sure, Senators will agree with me that it is more important to lay a solid foundation of thrift and build for the future, rather than to seek to raise the maximum over the next two or three years.

This scheme has been held up for a long time by the absence of anybody with the specialised knowledge necessary for setting it up. I am happy to inform the House that under the United Kingdom Technical Assistance Agreement with Nigeria we have now obtained the services of an officer who has recently arrived in Nigeria and has familiarised himself with many of the problems of savings in Nigerian circumstances and has already visited all the Regional capitals. I hope with his help to make possible issues both of ordinary Savings Certificates and of Premium Bonds.

Savings Certificates are to be sold at 10s a unit in both single unit certificates and a wide range of multiple-unit certificates. The interest will be five *per cent* if the securities are held to a five-year maturity—10s becomes 12s-6d after five years—but the rate of interest will be less if repayment is taken at any time before maturity. I can assure the House that this is the best rate one can get in Nigeria for this type of savings

and it is tax-free. Savings Certificates offer a very high degree of security to the holder because they are fully registered documents.

Premium Bonds will be on a 'bearer' basis. This will cost £1 per unit and will also be sold in single units and multiple bonds. No normal interest will be paid on Premium Bonds but an amount equal to, say, five *per cent* interest would be distributed quarterly in prize draws. Unlike a lottery, however, where if you are not the holder of a winning number, you lose your stake and the interests, with premium bonds the £1 stake will always be safe. Both interest on Savings Certificates and prizes on Premium Bonds will be free of income tax.

Because it is realised that even 10s will be beyond the reach of some people, particularly children, these securities will be supported by Saving Cards for postage stamps of 3d, 1s or 2s-6d. When the necessary amount has been saved in stamps the card will be exchanged for a certificate or accepted as a deposit in a Post Office Savings Bank Account.

As soon as the Bill becomes law, there will be facilities for virtually all classes of savers in Nigeria. This Bill will provide ample opportunities for small savers to participate in the future development of their country. I need hardly emphasise the huge task ahead of us in mounting a national savings scheme that will have a nation-wide appeal. The success of this scheme will depend upon the co-operation and assistance of Regional Governments and we have been assured of their full support for the scheme.

At the moment there is so much desire among the younger generation for quick money. A lot of interest has been developed in football pools, mainly for the purpose of keeping money in this country, but a nation cannot build its future generation on a gambling habit. It is important to reverse this trend, and this Bill seeks to achieve that objective.

The proceeds of these new forms of savings represent another form of internal borrowing and constitute a statutory charge on the revenues and assets of the Federal Government, their allocation would be considered along with the allocation of the proceeds of other internal borrowings.

Sir, I beg to move,

The Minister of Health : Sir, I beg to second.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : This is indeed a welcome piece of legislation. We are really very happy that every effort is being made to provide avenues of saving for people with small earnings. This is very nice indeed. However, I sincerely hope that every effort will be made to give the widest publicity possible to this important piece of legislation, and that in places where there are no Post Offices or where there are Postal Agencies the powers conferred on Post Offices will be conferred on these Postal Agencies so that they may be in a position to collect money from small savers.

Besides, if people invest money to insure their lives, such monies are usually exempted from taxation. I am just wondering whether it is not possible to do the same here, because the Minister has just said that only the interest will be exempted from taxation. If we are really keen on encouraging these small savers it will be a sort of inducement to exempt the money put in savings certificates from taxation. I think that if something like this is done, small savers, instead of investing all their money on pools, will be encouraged one way or the other to save because they would know that whatever they put in savings certificates, which of course, will be used for the development of the country, would be exempted from taxation. This would be a nice idea.

I support the Bill.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : This Bill, I would say, apart from being a general one, is more or less for the working class and the very poor people. The rich people, under the internal borrowing law, can help the Government. But this presents the ordinary worker, the labourer and the poor man working in the farms, with an opportunity not only to save but also to help the Government. After all, Christ commended the widow's mite. Everybody put in his wealth but when that poor widow got there and put in her mite Christ gave her very high commendation.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : Are you a Christian ?

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I was a local preacher.

I would not only associate myself with the views expressed by Senator Lagunju that maximum publicity be given to this Bill, but

would also say that the publicity should not only be done by placards and notices. I feel that for the purposes of this Bill, if the Ministry of Finance has any Public Relations Branch, it should be made to go out to workers' associations, farmers' associations, hold meetings with them, explain to them and then get them to be interested. Many people may see notices, after all, notices do not explain themselves ; but when they see a big man from the Ministry of Finance holding meetings with the executives of the Union or the general meeting of the Union and telling them of the necessity of having to do the saving and what they can gain thereby, I am sure we will get the maximum support.

Money, as we say, is in the bush. We have money here in the open cities, but the greater part of the money is in the bush because the greater part of the population of Nigeria is in the bush. The ordinary farmer and the poor people who have never seen what the city is like have their money hidden away in the bush. I have an old relative who was keeping his money in the bamboo poles. He put his money in there. He had about five bamboo poles of money. The last time I went to Isheri I talked to him and had to persuade him to take his money to the Bank.

We should go to these people and not merely pass this Bill and leave it at that. The appropriate section of the Ministry of Finance has a big work to do in seeing to it that the provisions of this Bill are put into practice. I am sure that if that is done they will get maximum support.

I want to make another suggestion. We know that we have not yet got big post offices in all parts of this country. Even the postal agencies we have are still very few. I should suggest that, for the purposes of making this a maximum success, we should have mobile post offices which will go round parts of this country at intervals. It will be necessary to have two in the Western Region, four in the Northern Region because it is such a vast area, and two in the Eastern Region. Of course, we do not need any in Lagos. We want these mobile post offices to go from one small town to another ; from one rural area to another rural area, educating the people and selling these certificates. I am sure that these services will receive the maximum support of the whole country.

As far as this Senate is concerned, we have to thank the hon. Minister of Finance for presenting this Bill and we have to congratulate him also for his untiring effort in taking every measure to promote the stability of the finances of this country. Somebody said in the Lower House that it might be very difficult to replace the present Minister of Finance. From the several Bills which have come before this House we are developing that impression ourselves, that this is a great son of Nigeria who has been doing his best to improve the state of the finances of this country.

However, we all know that the road to victory is not always a smooth one. There must be detractors; there must be people who disagree with one, and, of course, there must also be people who do appreciate the efforts of people like the Minister of Finance. So, we congratulate him for presenting these series of Bills leading to the stability of our finances in this country.

Senator Chief P. C. Ndu : This is a very welcome Bill. I have to thank the Minister of Finance for introducing this Bill which intends to help the little man and the little woman in the remote areas of this country.

Some of these people do save their money in little pots; some put them in their tins of powder, and some bury them in the ground. Some people even keep their money in places where they cannot find it at last.

If sufficient publicity is given to this Bill through the Chiefs and Councillors and some other agencies, many people will know more of these Saving Certificates. If this is done, I am sure that this Bill will work very well.

I beg to support.

Senator J. K. Nzerem : I would only say one thing which may appear to be a repetition of what some Senators have said. However, I want to say it for the purpose of emphasis. We have many postal agencies in this country. I think that, as a matter of routine, every one of them should be asked to do savings bank business.

No one will doubt that this Bill is a move in the right direction. We must do something to encourage the small man to save. After all, there are very few people in this country who have plenty of money. Many people,

including those of us here, are men with small earnings, and that the Government has thought about encouraging such people to save their money is really a commendable thing.

I would suggest that the Minister of Finance should take the necessary steps to advise his Colleague, the Minister of Communications, to see that notices are given to all postal agencies to undertake savings bank business.

The Federal Minister of Education can help to bring it to the notice of his Colleagues in the Regions to advise schools to make use of the post office savings bank so that the provisions of this Bill will be implemented fully. It will not be enough, as some Senators said, to put up notices. If posters are put up people will just look at the notices and perhaps 50 per cent of the people who will look at the notices will be unable to read them and the desired end will not be met.

I commend the Bill and I commend the Minister of Finance for bringing it up.

I beg to support.

Senator H. N. Udoh : All along I have accused the Minister of Finance in my debates on Bills introduced by him. Now it appears to me that he has dug deep to find out where our treasures in the country lie and I commend him for that.

The habit of saving is not easy to acquire. But to work out money is not as easy as to keep it. Although many people learn certain subjects at school very few assimilate the lessons and put them into practice when they leave school.

Regarding this Bill it appears that everybody will now be compelled to learn a lesson which he or she might have thought was a waste of time to learn. The country demands it and it must be done. I remember when we were in the secondary boarding school we were taught to save, beginning with biscuits. That was in Warri Government School in 1916. Many people, of course, thought that the Principal was becoming too harsh. But looking into it we found that it helped many people.

A Senator who spoke earlier referred to schools and colleges. I want to say further that apart from literary attainments in the school, there are certain other things which the country

[SENATOR UDOH]

needs. Some of those things are not in the curriculum of schools, and one of them is the habit of saving.

The Minister of Finance surprised me this morning by the way in which he delved into what is happening in Fernando Po—how people there make profits out of both our currencies and the contraband goods which they bring into this country. It shows the interest which he has in his Ministry, to delve into such things. I never did that. In all my seven and a half years' stay in the Cameroons I never knew that such things were happening. So, I praise him very much for that.

The Minister of Health : The Minister of Finance has accomplices.

The Minister of Finance : Mr President, Sir, I seek your protection, the Minister of Health has just said that I have accomplices in Fernando Po.

The President : The point is well taken : the hon. Minister of Finance has no accomplices in Fernando Po. (*Laughter*).

Senator Udoh : And not only what Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku has just said—publications here and there. We, as Senators or Parliamentarians, have certain areas in which our words are listened to much more than those on posters. And even if people are sent to lecture on this topic, not everybody will come ; and if they do come, they will not all follow the trend of the lecture. Therefore, posters and lectures are not enough to educate the people.

I am appealing to this House, we should be very serious over these saving bonds because I know that they are for our own benefit and people, we all know, are not all that poor. The Minister of Finance was saying yesterday that when he went to a certain place he found he was the only poor man. If he is a poor man in that area, well, it shows that poverty is relative—(*Interruptions*)

The President : The Senator says that *poverty* is a relative term.

Senator Udoh : As I said yesterday, we can only prosper if we are serious in educating our people and ourselves to save.

And, again, I appeal to the Minister of Finance. As I said at the outset, the saving habit is not an easy one to acquire. The Government can step in not under compulsion—and give people advances to buy saving certificates and they will find, as they initially thought when they gave advances for bicycles or motor-cars or anything of that kind, that it will help us in getting a move on in the savings of our country. The country is appealing to everyone of us to do something to cultivate the habit of saving and thus keep up the standards we desire.

Senator Chief T. A. Odutola : I associate myself with what the previous speakers have said about this Bill. But just one point I would like to mention. At present, many people who are using the post offices as a savings' bank are having a lot of difficulty in getting their money back. They do not get it back at the time they would like to have it, although in the end they get it. If we are now going to extend these facilities to the small people, it will be necessary for the Minister of Finance to assure them that when the time comes for them to get their money, they will get it at the correct time and that they will not have to wait and perhaps labour for their own money.

I support.

The Minister of Finance : I am very grateful for the generous expressions made by Senators about my stewardship. I want to say that I am deeply touched, and it is a source of great encouragement for me to continue to contribute one's quota to the advancement of our great country.

Politicians are birds of passage, and I expect that, sooner or later, other young men coming up will take our places. But I am happy that not only myself, not only my Colleagues or the Prime Minister, but all of us here—as I said sometime ago—we are all making history and history will applaud all the Senators in the future for these important Bills which they are now passing. Bills once passed cannot be passed twice in the life of a country. A country passes from a colonial status to a sovereign status once in its lifetime, except if a country goes into slavery, which I am sure we will not do in Nigeria. We are all at this time laying the foundation which our children and our children's children will remember and will say that at this crucial time, these Senators, these Ministers, these parliamentarians, they

laid the unshakeable financial foundations on which the superstructure of our economic development will be erected.

I want to assure the Senators that good publicity will be given to the saving certificates and saving bonds drive. As a matter of fact (I do not want to mention the amount) the Government has set aside in the Estimates a sizable amount of money to carry out this propaganda, but I do not expect that the Senators will require any money from us to assist them to carry out the campaign.

I propose, very soon, to set up a committee in Lagos and, in accordance with the wishes of Senators, I think we should also set up campaign committees in the different areas of the country so that we can even get vans to give to reasonable people in order, with the assistance of Senators and parliamentarians, to reach the people for the savings drive. That is my proposal.

As regards the question of postal agencies, I am sure Senators know that we lose Government funds—and even in Treasuries in the Regions—time and time again. We have to be very chary in giving the authority to very small postal agencies that keep their money in cigarette tins, without a safe in their postal agency. But if they can offer adequate security for the people's money, and if we feel that the money will be safe, then naturally we will ask them to undertake it. I think you will agree with me that we do not want to take the people's money and put it in another man's pocket overnight.

Also, Members have talked about the difficulty in saving at the post offices. This is very true and I think my Colleague, the Minister of Communications, is trying to look into this. We shall not put such difficulties in the way of people who will buy our saving certificates; we shall make it easy for them. I might add that the certificates are security printed, they are not just things that people can print. They have marks from which they can be identified and which no printer in Nigeria can do; they are being printed overseas. And, of course, if the person has the opportunity he can have them cashed even before the date of maturity, but he will not, of course, receive the interest that he would be entitled to if he had left them for the five years.

Senator Lagunju raised a point which, I think, shows that he is not conversant with our tax regulations or ordinances. Nobody taxes one's capital or savings. If one saves money over the years and puts it in a safe deposit, all that the Government will tax is the interest accruing and not the money. Who knows how much Senator Lagunju has—

Senator E. A. Lagunju : I have not anything.

The Minister of Finance : I do not believe that. For a Senator to say that he has not anything, I am afraid that is difficult to believe.

But the Senator need be afraid, both his interest and the deposited amount will be tax-free. Nobody can touch the money that he has, nobody will tax it. But in other ordinary savings, the interest accruing thereto will naturally be taxed. But in this particular case, we are saying that whatever interest one has will not be taxed.

Finally, I would like to say that the biscuits saved in 1916 can even be saved now and put away for stamps in schools, and if those stamps are saved, they can be used for buying saving certificates.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move, That the Bill be now read the Third time.

The Minister of Health : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time and passed.

POOL BETTING TAX BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move, That a Bill for an Act to make provision for a tax on certain pool betting business and for other purposes connected therewith, be now read a Second time.

This Bill represents the third stage in the Federal Government's programme for the control of pool betting which, as is well known, has become a substantial drain—to the extent of some £3 million a year—on our overseas resources. This drain was stopped last year by the prohibition of foreign football pool coupons and the banning of exchange transactions connected with them.

[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

The second stage in the Government's programme came last November in the enactment of the Pool Betting Control Act. Now, in the Bill before the Senate to-day, we seek to make legislative provision for the third stage: that is, for the taxation of pool betting. This Bill provides for a tax to be levied on all monies placed as stakes with every pool betting business, and requires the proprietor of every such business to pay a certain percentage out of the stake money he receives to the Federal Government as a tax.

The Bill provides that this tax shall be at the rate of not more than twenty *per cent* of the total stake money, nor less than ten *per cent*. Within these limits the actual rate of the tax may be varied by resolution of the House of Representatives, and until such a resolution is passed, the tax will be at the rate of ten *per cent*. Perhaps, some Senators will think this rate rather low, and some explanation may be appropriate.

As is well known, the Federal Government has been instrumental in the formation of the Nigerian Pools Company Limited as Nigeria's own football pool. The controlling interest in the Company is held by the Federal and the Eastern Region Governments, and it is very much to the Governments' advantage to ensure that Nigeripools are quickly established in the public favour. The betting public is primarily interested in the size of the prizes which can be won, and they will judge any pool by its record; they favour the pool which consistently pays the big prizes.

At the same time, it must be realised that in its early days any new company is faced with heavy expenses in establishing itself, and if the levy were at too high a rate to begin with, it could only be paid at the expense of the investor; prizes would be smaller and the pool would find less favour with the public. But once the early expenses of establishing the company on a firm footing have been met, it will be possible for Government to take a bigger share of the stake money without in any way reducing the amount available for distribution to prize winners.

Pool betting is a residual subject under the Constitution, and the present Bill can, therefore, only apply to the Federal territory unless any Region passes an enabling Bill to authorise

Parliament to legislate for that Region. So the tax will, at least to begin with, be applicable only to pools which are licensed to operate in the Federal territory. So long as this is the situation, it is reasonable that the Federal Government should retain the whole of the proceeds of the tax which, it must be remembered, will be payable not only by the Nigerian Pools Company Limited but also by all the fixed odds pools which my friend the Minister of Internal Affairs licenses to operate in the Federal territory.

However, it is the Government's intention that the revenue derived from the stakes received by the Nigerian Pools Company Limited shall be distributed to Regions in proportion to the Regions' share-holding in the Company. At present only the Eastern Region will benefit from this arrangement, as the other two Regions have so far not availed themselves of the opportunity of taking up shares in the Company. This arrangement for the allocation of revenue will, I scarcely need say, be subject to review if and when any Regional Legislature passes an enabling Bill to authorise Parliament to legislate for the Region for the control and taxation of pool betting, and in such circumstances, it might well be equitable to allocate revenue according to derivation.

This is a straight-forward Bill which will, I am confident, be supported on all sides.

I beg to move.

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

Senator M. B. Chukwubike : The introduction of this Bill has shown clearly that the Federal Government has a great interest in the people of this Federation, and I must say that the people of this country will greatly welcome the Bill. I hope that the Federal Government will bring pressure to bear on the Regional Governments and will persuade them to follow its footsteps.

Betting has brought more sorrows than blessings to many homes in this country, and many people take great pride in this kind of gambling, if I may so call it. These people keep on spending their money and hoping against hope until the worst happens. School children are the worst victims of this novel method of getting rich quick. It makes them

lazy and dishonest. They disobey their teachers; they do not help their parents in their homes; and they do not read their books.

Senator E. A. Lagunju : This Bill is about the tax to be imposed on the money from pool betting and I do not know whether the Senator is not irrelevant by discussing pool betting itself.

The President : I think he is relevant.

Senator Chukwubike : I am only trying to point out that betting has ruined the lives of many people in this country and more so the lives of young school children. If the Government cannot ban betting entirely in this country, the tax on it should be more than twenty *per cent*.

I beg to support.

Senator A. Nwoke : This Bill is most welcome and I thank the hon. Minister of Finance that he has found it necessary to present it.

As a matter of fact, if the rate had been forty *per cent* I would have preferred it to the present rate of twenty *per cent* provided in the Bill. Some of the pool houses operating this pool business in the country at present leave much to be desired as far as honest practice in business is concerned. I am afraid that if the business houses operating these pools are not reduced in number, it will be difficult to control the tax if imposed.

One sees every week-end a number of people engaged in free fights about pool dividends. Most of the pool business houses are unable to pay the winners their winnings and as a result trouble ensues. Unless the Government steps in to discourage these mushroom registrations of pools business all over the country, it will be very difficult to effect a control.

I am only afraid that a certain section of the pools industry known as the agents are omitted from payment of tax under this Bill. It is said that the agents are groups of people who collect pool coupons and money and transfer them to the pool promoters, but that is not just the only thing they do. A lot of them collect money themselves and keep them and may not include them in the coupon because they stake for private people who are mostly illiterates and they keep the money in their pockets. It is only unfortunate that the Bill

has omitted them. I think the Minister should find a way of incorporating these people because there are lots of irregular habits by this class of agents.

If one passes through certain areas where there are the registered premises of these people, one will see quite a lot of stakers with coupons which had been worked out ready to be handed to the so-called agents, together with some amounts of money. The money so collected by these agents has no bearing whatsoever on the pool promoters. It goes to the pockets of these agents.

My only emphasis is that whatever happens, the hon. Minister of Finance should find a way of taxing these agents, quite independent of the proprietors.

There is another note of warning I should like to sound and that is, so far as the hon. Minister of Finance has been doing his very best to protect our national economy, I think I should point this out that there is still a very big loophole for foreign companies to make away with our money through the pools business. That is, it is possible for anybody who has the money to perm out what we call "full cover perms", that is to say, multiple cover perms, whereby instead of making single selection of teams he selects say 8 from the 50 teams, so that if there are, for instance, 50 matches on the coupon he perms 8 out of the 50. In that particular case there is no selection and there is not likely to be any error. So long as the money is correctly paid, the payer must collect the dividends to the sum of many thousands of pounds to cover over and above what he has invested.

I mention this because in this way with the foreign firms, it is possible for money to go out of the country. I say foreign firms because it is the foreign firms that can afford this type of payment; it would be difficult for a private Nigerian individual to invest to the extent of say £10,000 or £20,000 to cover this overall problem of perms. If I were outside Nigeria in private business, I would be able to divert my attention to the pools industry and then invest some £50,000 and select perm 8 from 50. I would recover this money; whether I send it back to my home or keep it in Nigeria, it is my money. In that particular case I think a serious view should be taken of that type of

[SENATOR NWOKE]

pool business with a view to preventing such money owners from covering the whole of the teams, but cover up to say 36 out of 50, so as to make it possible for them to make a mistake and lose the money. Then, when such a heavy amount of money is lost to the country, the country recovers and we get a whole lot of business out of it.

I would like to repeat that the smaller Pool Houses should be discouraged as far as the area of this Bill is concerned, because they are doing more or less disservice to the country. We all know that pool betting has come to stay in the country. It is a very popular type of undertaking indulged in by young persons, by adults—let us say, by the whole population—but the fundamental thing is that it is not properly run at all. We could count only very few that could measure up to any heights. I am not trying to measure the heights with the heights of British pool houses; we must give allowance to beginners who just have not had sufficient experience, but there should be a moral value to be considered in the operation of such pool houses, so that before a man is registered and given a licence for this business, the officer registering him should weigh up the moral standards of the applicant.

We should try to avoid a situation whereby if I have, say, £50 or £100 I can be given a licence and authorised to open a pools house. I should be scrutinised properly to see whether I will be able to stand the strain of having to pay my clients when they actually win. Some of them are cheating so heavily that complaints are rife all over the country that the local pools houses have made it possible for clients to score 24 points, whereas with the overseas pools they find it difficult to score 24 so often.

Then the question arises: how is it possible that when we are helpless with permutations coming from overseas countries, we are able to make it easy in Nigeria for these maximum points to be scored? In some cases, instead of these people paying the dividend to the winner, they might like to divide it among, say, 10 or 20 people, and then publish imaginary names of winners.

I mention this particular point because we should take care that the system that they adopt in cheating pool stakers should not be adopted

in avoiding this type of tax which has been imposed. When we know the character of particular persons with whom we are dealing, on the average anyway, we will be able to know how to deal with them so as to be able to collect this tax.

This Bill is very necessary and important, and I am grateful to the Minister for putting it forward.

With these few points that I have made, I support the Bill wholeheartedly.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota: I only want to say a few words about this Pool Betting Tax Bill. I would like the Government to take into serious consideration that some time ago—about three years ago—there were lots of mushroom banks that were established in this country when the banking business was increasing and the Government was granting licences indiscriminately. Everywhere in the country, in the villages and in the towns, there were all sorts of banks. I remember there was one bank which asked me to open an account with 10s-0d, and at the finish they paid me back with a bottle of beer! At the end, when they could no longer afford to run the bank, I saw the situation of the bank and went to ask for my money back, but all they did was to tell me to go to a shop and take up to the amount of my money in beer, and they told me that that would be all right. That was how I got my money. It was only 10s-0d. The reason why I want to mention it is because there were people who lost thousands and thousands of pounds as a result of that.

Well, the same thing is going to happen with these Pool Houses. If one goes out of Lagos, one will see that in practically every village there are notices proclaiming Pool Houses with all sorts of names, and unless the Government is very, very careful in granting licences, it is going to turn out as it did in the case of the banks. What I am suggesting is that in this we should take a leaf from the look of the United Kingdom Pool Houses. I do not think they have got more than four of them. Those are recognised pools houses. That is the first point I wanted to make.

The second one is concerning the taxation of income. I do hope that the Government will tax the net, and not the gross, income—

The Minister of Finance : On a point of order, I only want to say that the last but one speaker should be clapped for by every Member of this House because of his personal inside knowledge of the pools business. I think we have all been very well lectured this morning. I did not know all that. I think if I need an adviser, I shall call upon him to advise me.

I move that the Question be now put.

Question, That the Question be now put, put and agreed to.

Main Question put accordingly and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a Second time.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move, That the Bill be now read the Third time.

The Minister of Health : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time and passed.

BANKING AMENDMENT BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance : I beg to move, That a Bill for an Act to amend the Banking Act, 1958, be read a Second time.

In the past five years there has been a rapid increase in the number of licensed banks and there has also been a rise in the level of deposits held by banks. These changes clearly show the economic progress that has taken place and indeed the rise in the level of our national income.

The prime responsibility of the commercial banking system should be to provide the finance needed to meet the short-term needs of Nigeria's growing industry and commerce and to ensure that the financing of the country's trade proceeds smoothly. It is of the utmost importance to this nation that the banking system should be so organised and regulated as to continue to be able to discharge this responsibility efficiently, and within the limits of Government's financial and economic policy. It is sought to ensure this principally by bringing about an increase in the already over-stretched resources available to the banking system, and by strengthening the position

of the Central Bank in such a way that it can increasingly stand behind the commercial banking system and itself provide the continued expansion of credit.

The broad object of this Bill, therefore, is to bring the Banking Act, 1958, into line with the current needs of, and developments in, Nigeria's banking system, and to make some existing provisions clearer.

I will dwell later on some of the details of the proposed amendments. For the moment I wish, for the benefit of Senators, to summarise the principal amendments. These are, first, an increase from £12,500 to £250,000 in the minimum capital requirements for new banks, and over a period of seven years for existing banks; and in the case of banks whose Head Offices are not situated in Nigeria, an undertaking to provide and retain in Nigeria funds equal to the minimum capital required.

Secondly, a provision that the commercial banks shall link their interest rates to the Central Bank re-discount rate: this will enable the Central Bank to influence the interest rate structure within Nigeria.

Thirdly, clarification of the requirements of the liquidity ratio, and empowering the Central Bank to lay down to what extent, if at all, external assets shall be included in the calculation of the liquidity ratio.

Fourthly, a widening of the assets which the banking system may hold, in order to take account of the entry into the system of banks from other than Sterling Area countries.

In ordinary circumstances, it would be essential for the Central Bank to be able to influence the movement of the interest rate structure so that it reflects the financial and economic policy of Government. In the face of our National Development Plan it becomes imperative that the Central Bank should exercise this influence and, in addition, be empowered to use the liquidity ratio as and when necessary, in containing inflationary tendencies within the economy.

It has been considered necessary to widen the assets which banks may hold as part of their specified liquid assets, partly because of the wide variety of banks which now make up our banking system. Moreover, in order

[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

to strengthen the Central Bank in its important function of exercising some control over the movement of funds to and from Nigeria, it is necessary for the Bank to have authority to prescribe to what extent funds held outside Nigeria should qualify as liquid assets. In addition, it is desirable to put external assets held in convertible currencies on the same basis as sterling assets.

Of the remaining proposed amendments, perhaps the most important are those contained in section 7 which places various restrictions on the activities of banks. The existing provisions of section 7 (1) (a) under which the 25 per cent restriction is applicable to the loans, advances or other facilities to any other person or company, have not proved sufficiently wide and it is now proposed that, in the case of a company, the 25 per cent restriction should be applicable to the aggregation of all loans, advances and other facilities extended to any subsidiaries of what kind so ever. In the light of the events already referred to it is also proposed to enlarge the existing section 7 (1) (c) to include public companies in which the bank or its directors have a controlling interest.

Some banks have found difficulty in complying with the provisions of section 7 (1) (g) which preclude the purchase or acquisition of real estate except in closely prescribed circumstances. Provision is now sought for exception in such cases where, for example, the town planning authorities require the erection of multi-storey properties and where the amount of the investment involved seems reasonable in relation to the bank's assets.

Most of the other and more detailed amendments proposed are self-explanatory and are either by way of making existing provisions clearer, or of an administrative nature designed to ensure the smooth and efficient working of the banking system and the necessary control which the Central Bank must exercise on the system. The amendments are intended to strengthen the position of our banking system, to enable it to play its proper role in a developing economy like ours, and to inspire public confidence in the banking system.

As Senators have earlier remarked here, it is essential that Government must enact laws to protect the interest of depositors in our banks

and to regulate the banking system in Nigeria. We have heard of the liquidation of banks in the past and we still know that all is not well with our banks. Some of them are very good and efficient but surely one would not like to deposit one's money in any bank and tomorrow wake up to be told that the bank has been liquidated either by withdrawal of the licence or through lack of funds and then have to fight with lawyers in court to enable one to get even a pittance out of what one had saved over many years.

I therefore commend this Amendment. £12,500 is not enough for somebody to establish: if in future we are to follow that I am sure Senator Chief Odutola will establish a million banks in Nigeria. But, we are trying to raise this to a quarter of a million pounds. One thing I might explain is that hitherto the expatriate banks here just sign a certificate or give assurance that they can make so and so available and then they have their headquarters in London, the real money is deposited there and transactions are carried on here, there and yonder without any control by me or by the Government, if I may say so. But the time has come and we feel that if a bank is operating in Nigeria the bank should be licensed to operate here and the assets should be deposited in Nigeria with our Central Bank. We cannot any longer allow our banks to play one role with us here and then play another role over there. A bank established in Nigeria should be a bank established in Nigeria whether by Nigerians or by expatriates. We do not control British banks operating in London from here. Why, then, should they control our banks in any shape or form from London?

I feel and I am happy that my Colleagues have agreed with me, and the Bill that is before this House is to remedy this situation, and I am sure Senators will all agree with me that all banks in Nigeria must be treated on equal basis.

I beg to move.

The Minister of Health : I beg to second.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : I am not opposing this Bill but my fear is that even the former amount of £12,500 was too high for any indigenous person who wants to go into the banking business. I wonder what will happen when the initial deposit is raised to the figure the Minister of Finance has just mentioned.

My contention is that if we allow Nigerians to establish banks they will be able to help the farmers in the rural areas. For example, there is only one bank in the whole of Benue Province in Northern Nigeria and some people have to travel as far as 100 miles to the provincial headquarters to withdraw or deposit their money. This gives the farmers the indulgence of keeping their money in the house.

I would like the Government to look into the possibility of trying to encourage Nigerians to open banks, or advise the existing banks to establish their branches in the rural areas.

Senator M. B. Chukwubike : I support the Bill and praise the Government for introducing it. Past experience has taught many people in this country that unless banks have a reasonable minimum capital they find it difficult to meet the demands of their customers. This, of course, leads to the liquidation of such banks. This Bill will allay the fears of customers.

I have one observation to make and that is that I share the view of the last speaker.

I am now saying that this Bill, good as it is, does not very much help people in the rural areas. The increase of minimum capital from £12,500 to £250,000 is very much welcomed for those in the big towns. In rural areas I believe that no good banker will like to increase his capital to £250,000, and if this Bill makes room for bankers to concentrate on big towns people in the rural areas will find it difficult to reach their banks. Take for example the case of most of us who have to do between twenty and forty miles to reach our banks.

I am therefore suggesting that the minimum capital should be in two classes. There should be one class which should be £250,000 as introduced by the Minister, for people in big towns, and then another which should be £30,000, for people in the rural areas.

The Bill is progressive, and with these few suggestions I support the Bill.

Senator Chief A. O. Fagbenro-Beyioku : I wonder whether Senators appreciate that banking is different from ordinary trading. As a matter of fact, banking is not established for the fun of establishing it. To establish a bank one must be sound financially. It is agreed that there is not much money flowing

in this country, but at the same time the banking business is undertaken by the few who have the money, as there must be financial security.

If one opens a bank with only £10,000 in about five years one would find that as against the £10,000 one has set aside there are deposits up to about £100,000. If these £100,000 deposits are misused, if they are given out as people like—if managers take overdraft, and if directors take overdraft, whilst the security there is £10,000—then the £100,000 will have gone one way or the other. By the time the depositors start to come with their bills to withdraw the £100,000 all they have would be £10,000.

So banking is different from any other business. It does not mean that if to-day the National Bank wants to establish a new branch at Owerri it must have to register and deposit £250,000. If the National Bank is registered in Nigeria it can establish branches at Okitipupa or anywhere in Nigeria as long as it has registered with £250,000 in one place in Nigeria. So that we have nothing to quarrel in this Bill.

From experience there are many people who still have their money tied down with several banks. There we have the Merchants Bank and the Farmers Bank to refer to in these circumstances. Their assets have not been declared up till to-day. People's monies are still hanging. So that the fewer banks we can have in the country at the moment, which we really know are banks which would raise the prestige of Nigeria anywhere in the world, the better it would be. It is no use having many banks which will be spoiling the name of Nigeria. There are some banks which actually start and end in the rooms of individuals, and these banks are the banks which issue letters of credit and later on one finds that they are no banks at all. I feel all these things must stop.

I am very happy to be in the Senate this morning. I should have been at Ibadan but because the Bills we have to discuss this morning are those Bills which actually make everybody feel that Nigerians have come to their own, I suspended my trip. And if there are people who still feel that the hon. the Minister of Finance has C.M.G. because he was pro-British or because he was not a

[SENATOR CHIEF FAOBENRO-BEYIOKU]

nationalist, I am sure if they are here in this House to see the Bills introduced by him and the way he introduced them such people will change their minds and put on record that the hon. the Minister of Finance is in the front line of nationalists in this country. (*Hear, hear.*)

The Minister of Finance : I would have liked to sit down with the cheers, but there is just one point I want to confirm. I am grateful to Senator Chief Beyioku for the point he made on the one singular point raised earlier by two Senators. When we license a bank the bank must have its headquarters in one place. Then after depositing £250,000 it can open branches anywhere in Nigeria with that same capital. The bank is not to pay anything more than this.

The Senator will therefore see that it is not proper for a bank to have its headquarters in Lagos with £12,500 only deposited here with the Central Bank, and as Chief Beyioku has said, open branches all over Nigeria, collecting people's deposits, and then the members of the Board of Directors begin to establish other businesses, limited liability companies, using the deposits of the people to establish these businesses for themselves. Sometimes to draw a cheque on the bank is

found very difficult as the people are asked to come back again the next day. Would you like to draw a cheque on such a bank ?

Several Senators : No !

The Minister of Finance : So, that is the position. As regards branches of banks to be established in the rural areas I must say that a Bank cannot just open in any area where there is no business because it would be running at a loss. So if Senators know there is enough trade in a particular area, if they contact me I will try to persuade some banks to open their branches in such areas.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill read a Second time : immediately considered in Committee ; reported, without Amendment, read the Third time and passed.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That the Senate do now adjourn sine die (THE MINISTER OF HEALTH).

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That the Senate do adjourn sine die.

Adjourned accordingly at one minute to twelve o'clock, pursuant to the Order of the Senate—This Day.

SENATE OF THE FEDERATION
OF NIGERIA

Tuesday, 29th May, 1962

The Senate met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(The President in the Chair)

MOTIONS

ADJOURNMENT (SINE DIE)

The Minister of Health (Senator Chief the hon. M. A. Majekodunmi): I beg to move, That the Senate, at its rising this day do adjourn *sine die*.

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

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That the Senate, at its rising this day do adjourn *sine die*.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

The Minister of Health: I beg to move, That at this day's sitting, the proceedings on Government Business shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 4 (Sittings of the Senate), provided that at 7 p.m. Mr President shall suspend the sitting until 9 p.m.

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

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That at this day's sitting, the proceedings on Government Business shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 4 (Sittings of the Senate), provided that at 7 p.m. Mr President shall suspend the sitting until 9 p.m.

STATE OF PUBLIC EMERGENCY

Minister of State (Senator Dr the hon. E. A. Esin): I beg to move the following Resolution standing in the name of the Rt. hon. the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria.

That in pursuance of section sixty-five of the Constitution of the Federation it is declared that a state of public emergency exists and that this resolution shall remain in force until the end of the month of December, nineteen hundred and sixty-two.

All Senators know the reasons why Parliament has reassembled to-day. For the past

week or so there has been no properly constituted Government in Western Nigeria. I would like to recapitulate briefly the events which have led to this *impasse* and, in doing so, I would like to emphasise that the Federal Government has been motivated solely by the desire to ensure that peace, order and tranquility is maintained throughout the parts of the Federation.

A political crisis developed within the Action Group which was the party in control of the Government of Western Nigeria. Following the crisis the National Executive of the Party deposed Chief Akintola as Deputy Leader and asked him to resign his appointment as Premier of Western Nigeria.

On the 20th of May the Premier advised the Governor of Western Nigeria that in view of the political crisis which had been developing in the Region and of the rival claims of the two factions for a majority support of the electorate in the Region His Excellency should exercise his powers under section 31 of Part 3 of the Constitution of Western Nigeria to dissolve the Legislative Houses of the Region. The Governor refused. On the same day the Premier asked the Speaker for the same reasons to convene the Western House of Assembly for Wednesday, May 23rd, to consider and pass the Motion for a vote of confidence in the Government of Western Nigeria but the Speaker also refused.

The following day the Governor purported to exercise the powers vested in him by section 33 (10) of the Constitution of Western Nigeria set out in the Fourth Schedule to the Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960, and purported to remove Chief Akintola from his office as Premier of Western Nigeria with effect from the 21st May, 1962.

Chief Akintola thereupon filed a motion in the High Court challenging the power of the Governor to remove him from office in the manner he did. The matter is still before the Court for determination. The Governor nevertheless proceeded to exercise the powers in normal circumstances vested in him by section 33 subsection (1) of the Constitution of Western Nigeria by purporting to appoint Chief D. S. Adegbenro to be Premier of Western Nigeria with effect from the 21st of May. A meeting of the Western House of Assembly was summoned for the 25th of May.

[SENATOR DR ESIN]

As all Senators know, two unsuccessful attempts were made on that day to hold meetings of the Western House of Assembly. The first one ended in a violent uproar and disorder. The Police had no alternative but to use tear gas to disperse all hon. Members, but before then the House had become a shamble.

The Rt. Hon. Prime Minister of the Federation was then approached by one side to the dispute to allow the Nigeria Police to guard the Chamber of the Western House—

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : On a point of order, I have sent a note to you, Mr President, but it has been intercepted. Will the Senator holding it pass it on to the President ?

The President : I have not seen any note. Will the Senator resume his seat ?

Minister of State : The Rt. Hon. Prime Minister of the Federation was then approached by one side to the dispute to allow the Nigeria Police to guard the Chamber of the Western House of Assembly so that another meeting could be held, this time in the House of Chiefs which was to be used as the House of Assembly. The other side almost immediately warned that it would be unwise and risky to allow such further meeting to be held.

Before the attempt to hold a second meeting the Prime Minister of the Federation felt impelled to issue the following release :

The two factions in the Action Group have contacted the Prime Minister regarding the holding of another meeting of the Western Nigeria House of Assembly to-day. The Prime Minister cannot stop the meeting from taking place but, because of the fight which has broken out in the House this morning, if the parties decide to hold a meeting of the House of Assembly they may do so. It must be on the strict understanding that there will be no Police protection within the Chamber. If however, any party insist on being afforded Police protection within the Chamber the Police may be so present; but the Federal Government will not accept any decision reached as a result of such proceedings in the Chamber.

If, in spite of all the efforts of the Police, there should be an outbreak of violence or any further disorder, the Police have authority to clear the Chamber and lock it up''.

Shortly after the release had been issued, the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister of the Federation received a further report from the Inspector-General of Police that an attempt had been made to hold the meeting under Nigeria Police protection, but that it had resulted in a far greater uproar and commotion than the earlier one. The Police therefore cleared the Chamber and locked it up.

In the afternoon of the same day, May 25, the Council of Ministers met to discuss the situation. The same evening, the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister made a nation-wide broadcast, explaining the position of the Federal Government in the matter ; and, in the course of his broadcast he made the following observation :

No responsible Government of the Federation could allow an explosive situation such as that which now exists in Western Nigeria to continue without taking adequate measures to ensure that there is an early return to the Region of peace, order and good government.

I said a few moments ago that, for the past week or so, there does not appear to have been any validly constituted Government in Western Nigeria. In the light of the violent incidents on May 25 which badly shattered both Houses of Assembly, it is difficult to see how the public affairs of the Western Region could possibly be carried on in an atmosphere of warring factions of a Party in power so sadly rent asunder in the old-world struggle that would ultimately do nobody any good inside and outside Western Nigeria. This is the background against which I ask Senators to assess the situation and to authorise the Government of the Federation to take appropriate measures in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution.

Allegations of conspiracy have been made against the Federal Government that it had planned the whole crisis in order to take over the Western Nigeria Government. It has also been suggested in certain quarters that this Parliament would be abusing its powers, were it to declare a state of emergency because the sad and unfortunate occurrences had not extended beyond the precincts of the Legislature.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Federal Government were surely not responsible for the chain of events that led to the party and personal wrangles, to the attempt-

ted by-passing of the Western Legislature, or to the mutual dismissal and counter-dismissal between the Governor and the Premier. The question at issue is whether in the absence of a duly constituted Government in Western Nigeria, the Federal Government have no responsibility for ensuring peace, order and good government for that part of Nigeria.

The main purpose of this Motion is to seek Parliament's approval for the measures which the Federal Government proposes to adopt in order to ensure an early return to Western Nigeria of peace, order and good government. I ask all Nigerians to co-operate and support the Federal Government at this momentous turning-point in our national history. It is not yet two years when we began the adventurous but arduous task of nation-building. The eyes of the whole world are upon us, particularly now when we, as a responsible and friendly people, are seeking to execute our development plans and so increase the happiness and prosperity of our people.

I solemnly assure you that the powers we shall soon be forced to assume will be exercised in as humane and democratic a manner as the circumstances will permit, and that, as soon as reasonably may be, the Federal Government will actively promote and encourage a situation in which an early return to the normal processes of parliamentary government could be guaranteed for all classes of the people of Western Nigeria.

I beg to move.

Minister of State (Senator the hon. Nuhu Bamali) : I beg to second.

The President : Hon. Senators, Senator Ogundipe has indicated his intention to move an Amendment. The Senator has not given the requisite notice required by the Standing Order. Under Standing Order 25, with my consent and with your general assent, he can move the Amendment, but I want to read the Amendment to you to show that it is not really an Amendment. It is merely an argument against the Motion.

He says :

Delete all the words of the Motion after 'that' and substitute 'this hon. House declares that having regard to the provision of section 65 of the Constitution of the Federation a state of emergency does not exist'.

Obviously this is not an Amendment. This is merely for the Senator to speak against the Motion. So I would withhold my consent under section 25, because it is not really an Amendment. The Senator can say exactly the words of this Amendment in arguing against the Motion.

Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi : I rise to support the Resolution proposed by the Federal Government. We have been known to be one of the most peace-loving nations of the world. Since Independence we have been setting very good examples to the whole world, not only in Africa but in the other parts of the world.

Senators have been reading newspapers and listening to the broadcast on radios, and they know that the event in the West has definitely put the hands of the clock back. What decision could the Federal Government have taken? Our honour to-day is at stake. We are not safe.

The members of the Action Group should accept the offer honourably. They know that a mistake has been made, and they know that it has got to be rectified. As far as I can see, and I am sure Senators will agree with me, the only way to rectify such a mistake is to look at the state of affairs as it is to-day and to adopt such a Resolution as proposed by the Federal Government.

This is not the time to talk and waste time. This is the time to take action—not an ordinary action, but quick action. So, I will refrain from talking at length, and I give my full support to the Resolution.

I beg to support.

Senator Dr Nwafor Orizu : One of the heritages of this Parliament is the spirit of constitution that we have got from the British masters, and this state of constitutional procedure imposes on us a sense of responsibility to be vigilant.

According to the Member who has just spoken, this morning is not the morning for long speeches, not for the exercise of orators. It is a gloomy morning. It is a morning that indicates no peace in our own country, because of the action of a section of the people. I have not come here with any pride. I have not come here with any sense of sectionalism. I am standing here with a serious sense of urgency because of the threat to the confidence

[SENATOR DR ORIZU]

which the mother country and other countries of the Anglo-Saxon world have in Nigeria and in its stability and peace. We heard what featured in the Congo. This is something that would make us humble this morning and not to speak with any sense of belonging to any party.

I think it will be a crime for anyone to say that because the Prime Minister belongs to a Party he should at all times be soft and so weak as not to carry out the powers conferred on him by this nation when an emergency arises.

It will be wrong and criminal if we in the Senate, for the sake of any partisanship, fail to face with seriousness something that has a purpose of destruction in it. I want to say this so that it will be clear to the public of Nigeria that trivial arguments would not do in a matter like this.

Eight points have been raised by those who oppose this type of thing. I just want to point them out before I sit down. They say firstly, that the affairs in the West now are a mere intra-party matter. Secondly, that this matter should be left to the court—which is a branch of the Government. Thirdly, that it is a domestic question and that the responsibility of peace making in the Legislature is in the hands of the Speaker—the Speaker who ran away from the House. That the Police was wrong—imagine that! Instead of saying that we have very good policemen they say that the policemen were wrong in stopping people from being killed: when a Minister had blood all over his body. That the violence was confined to the Floor of the Legislature: and yet this Legislature is representative of the people. That the N.P.C. is interested because Chief Akintola is its stooge: but by the very arguments of these people we find that the battle between Chief Akintola and his master was standing long before the N.P.C. was born.

It is rumoured that the N.C.N.C. conspired to take over the Government of the Western Region. But we know that it was the Governor who asked the Premier to go and the Premier asked the Governor to go. The N.C.N.C. has nothing to do with that. I, therefore, submit that the view of Senators is not based on any subjective, pre-conceived motive but on evidence of facts of the inability of the Western Region to continue as a constituted

and stable Government because the present Government in the Western Region, if there is any Government there now, has neither a Premier nor a stable Governor as everything is now in court for determination. I want to ask, if we do not act now, or if we do not allow our Prime Minister to act now, who is going to be responsible for anything that may happen in the Western Region? Is it the old Premier or the new Premier or the Governor who has been taken to court?

I wholeheartedly support this Motion that a state of public emergency exists in the Western Region.

Senator Chief O. A. Fagbenro-Beyioku : When in the past we stood on the Floor of this House to speak, we spoke on those questions which by and large did not involve any form of anxiety; but to-day by a strange hand of mischief we stand on the Floor of this House to debate a subject around which is intertwined the future existence of this great Federation of ours.

To begin with, I have to observe that it needs very great courage and decisiveness on the part of the Rt. hon. Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, to be able to take this decision and place this most trying resolution before this Senate. Again, it needs great courage and a great sense of responsibility on the part of the Cabinet to support the Prime Minister in the step he has now taken.

Nigeria to-day is one; there is a Federation of Nigeria, the Regional set-up notwithstanding and what affects one affects the other. Nigeria can go into flames with one small trouble sparking off in one small village with a population of only thirty people if that trouble is not arrested at the outset. Because if it is allowed to spread the good name of Nigeria can be soiled. I do not think that there is anyone of us here who would like to say that he belongs to Paul or Appolos, that he came to defend this or that. We did not come here for that. Rather, we came here with open minds to discuss and debate the future stability and the future unity of Nigeria.

We heard of the trouble in the Congo, but the situation in the Congo did not just start in a big way. It came to the knowledge of the world when it had assumed great proportions. It started from one little thing and I am sure no one here would wish that Congo should repeat itself here in Nigeria.

I am very sorry this morning to be the only woman Member in this august House because I am embarrassed in two ways. I am the only woman here, and I am a Westerner. I do agree that if the

House. I cannot see why I must not sleep in my house now or drink coffee at leisure because of it.

I do not say that the Prime Minister has not a duty towards the West as well as the other

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We love our brothers of Western Nigeria. We like all the Regional Governments which we have set up. We set up the Government of the North, we set up the Government of the East and we set up the Government of the West, and soon by their own decision and by their voting we will be setting up the Government of the Mid-West. When we set up these Governments, it is not our intention to destroy the very machinery and the very organs which we set up. Rather the Federal Government is solemnly committed to the keeping of Law and Order throughout the Federation of Nigeria. This is one of our main duties, that is, both the Lower House and this Senate.

The execution of that duty to a large extent rests on the Prime Minister and if he fails at any time to introduce measures to check any situation which might lead to the disunity and the instability of this country, the Prime Minister would not have been discharging his duties. What again do we want?

In the very Legislature of the land where the laws of the land are passed; where the interests of the millions of the people of the Region are decided, there is chaos, there is throwing of chairs, wounding, bleeding, dislocation and fracture, the hon. Members jumping through the windows and every available opening as if there was fire and the people were opening emergency doors. Do we have to sit here and say they could carry on because it is nothing serious yet? Are we waiting to read in the papers that two hundred or five hundred people are dead? It means that we do not love the people of the West—if we adopt that attitude. It means that we want to liquidate the people of the West, to see that their population is reduced. Anybody who advocates such a situation is the greatest enemy of the people of the Western Nigeria.

Now our Prime Minister does not want to see even one soul lost. This is the period we are taking the census and we want to be able to face the world as a great nation so that as they are talking of us as a nation of forty million people they will realise that we are not forty million people, but one hundred million people and that when we stand we stand among the giants of the nations of the world. This is what the Prime Minister is trying to do—no soul should be lost.

I am sure all Senators will agree that according to our tradition here in the Senate, we come here not to identify ourselves with any group, but to identify ourselves with Nigeria. The Prime Minister has presented this resolution before us and we are satisfied. Throughout the past two weeks or so, if there is anybody who says that his mind has been at rest, that person is telling lies. I for one my mind has not been at rest. After all, even though I am resident in Lagos, I am a Chief in the Western Region by the grace of God, and my people are residing there in the West. I am affected, any Nigerian is affected.

A man may come from the North, yet he may have a relative in the West; a man may come from the East yet he may have a relative somewhere in the West. Should we wait until those relatives of ours leave their houses and pack bag and baggage, running for dear life to tell the Prime Minister to take action?

We are not withdrawing the government of the West: I do not think that is the intention of the Prime Minister. Declare a state of emergency; suspend everything, the Prime Minister will take care of everything; he will put the house in order. As soon as the house is in order and everything returns to normal the machinery is left to function as usual. I feel that that is the proper thing to do.

I think by and large the Governor of the Western Region himself will be breathing some sense of relief now. We are not here to blame anybody. We are not here to assign any blame, we are here to support the action of the Prime Minister. History will record where the blame lies. History will record whether it was proper when the Premier of a Region asked that the Legislature be dissolved the Governor said it should not be dissolved. History will record whether it was right when the Premier asked the Speaker of the Legislature to summon a meeting of the Legislature the Speaker said the Legislature should not be summoned.

If one may ask, was there no state of emergency when the hon. Members of a Legislature were beaten up within the Chambers of the Legislature? In this connection, I should like to pay glowing tribute to our Police and I want to place on record the high commendation for the efforts of the Police. But for the intervention and the praise-worthy activities of the Nigerian Police Force, by now the whole of

[SENATOR UKATTAH]

In the last few days in the Western Region what had appeared as mere members of political differences have to be plunged into a disastrous stage of disorder and confusion by power seekers. We know that and there is no point in blaming anybody else, when in fact the people who gave rise to the trouble still exist.

If the question is asked whether there is indeed, whether it is true that there exists a state of emergency, I will say emphatically 'yes'. I say 'yes' because I cannot imagine that it is all well with a Region which has two Premiers, two Executive Councils, two rival factions of Government supporters, a Governor whose position is doubtful, a Legislature which has been turned into a cock pit and whose hon. Members have been beaten up by the Police and dispersed with the help of tear gas. The disgraceful incident will ever remain in undying shame to those who gave rise to that chaotic situation.

The Federal Government is to be congratulated on the step being taken now. That is what is expected. To wait any longer will aggravate the situation. We do not want that. It is true that this trouble exists in the Western Region only but it is part and parcel of the Federation of Nigeria. We are all citizens of one country and whatever affects the Westerner affects the Easterner and the Northerner, and the people in Lagos. The step being taken is a wise and timely one. We should all support this resolution because the measures that the Government intends to adopt are to ensure, if only the solidarity, oneness of this country, and the reputation and the good name of Nigeria will remain untarnished.

With these I beg to support.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : I do not want to go into details of what happened in the Western Region. I do not want to say that A is right or B is right. I think that is in court already. What I just want to draw the attention of this House to is the state of public emergency in Western Nigeria. There is nothing like that in the Western Region. Last week I travelled all over Ondo Province. I also went to Owo and to Ibadan as well. There is no sign of a state of public emergency anywhere.

Let us remember what happened in 1957. Then I was able to understand what is meant by a state of public emergency that was when our people refused to pay tax.

In 1957 there was a state of public emergency when people in my Division refused to pay tax. It affected everybody in the Division. The police were asked to guard the boundary between my Division and Ondo Division. Nobody was to go in or out of the town. It was so serious the police had to guard everywhere. The news spread all over Nigeria. My house was guarded by the police. The people did not want to pay tax.

I want to understand the difference between a state of public emergency and a dispute between two sections of the community. Very soon the House will rise and perhaps we will decide that there is a state of public emergency. But we must remember that the matter has been referred to the court. There is always dissension between two families. There are dissensions between the family members of which I am head and which I settle. If there is dissension in the Western Region the culprit should be taken to court. I think this matter which arose at Ibadan could be taken to the court and settled instead of declaring a state of public emergency in the Western Region.

I went to Ibadan where I went to buy certain things from the shops. I went to the garage to have my car repaired. I went to many shops in Ibadan, including Kingsway Stores, and nothing happened at all. Nobody was disturbed. The only disturbance in the place was in the Western House of Assembly. How can you say, then, that the people in Okitipupa are affected? People at Ondo, Owo and Ekiti are not affected. If a dispute arises between my wives and they are exchanging blows and I have to intervene, does such an act mean that a state of public emergency exists? If you want peace and tranquility in this country, people at the top should examine the position very carefully.

Some time ago we passed a certain Bill here as a result of which students from the University came here and demonstrated against us. You will remember the amount of trouble they created then and yet there was no state of public emergency. Few of those involved

were taken to court. I am not a lawyer but if there is a palaver between two factions this could be dealt with by the courts. I wonder how this can affect the whole of the Western Region?

Senator Salahu Fulani : On a point of order, I strongly object to those who are speaking about the state of emergency. I think the Motion says that a state of emergency has been declared and we should debate. We should not waste time at all.

The President : This should be good advice but the Senator is entitled to forty minutes and he has not spoken for twenty yet.

Senator Dr N. Orizu : On a point of order, the Senator is busy talking about a state of public emergency in the Western Region. It is not so stated.

The President : The point of order is well taken. The resolution does not say that there is an emergency in the Western Region. It says there is a state of emergency. It does not say where.

Senator Y. Abudu : In the explanation of the Minister who moved the resolution it was stated that this incident took place in the Western House of Assembly and all the references were made to what happened in the Western Region, so that we have a right to say what we know about the position in the Western Region.

The President : I have not stopped the Senator who was speaking. I told him he has twenty minutes more to say what he likes.

Senator Olayeye : Thank you very much, Mr President. This House seeks to pass a resolution about what happened at Ibadan.

Senator Dr Orizu : On a point of order, the Senator is not consistent with the issue of emergency. The statement there is not what happened at Ibadan but what happened in the Western Government.

The President : That point of order is not well taken. Will the Senator proceed?

Senator Olayeye : I am grateful to you. The Senators are attacking me but, any way, I am under your protection.

The President : You are well protected

Senator Olayeye : As I have said, since last week I have travelled all over Ondo Province, Owo, Ekiti and other parts of the Western Region and, during my travels, there was no sign of disorder. If two people have a dispute, the only thing is for them to go to Court and that does not warrant a state of public emergency. This thing has happened in the Western Region. As a Westerner, I am concerned and I am also at liberty to say anything about it. It is no use crying, 'Wolf ! Wolf !' when there is no wolf.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : On a point of explanation, I think the Senator should appreciate that a state of emergency does not necessarily mean an outbreak of violence from one street to the other, but that an outbreak of *any* violence, so as to make it impossible for the legislature of the region to be effective.

Senator Olayeye : If that is so, I think the solution is that the question of public emergency does not arise in this case and it is a matter that can be settled in the court. It is not a matter to be handled by the Federal Government. Why should we come here to deal with this Motion only, and at the same time say that in the Western Region law and order are not intact. Indeed, I say that we should think very seriously before we pass this Motion. I know that some people are looking forward eagerly to seeing it passed but no body knows what the outcome may be. It may result in wars breaking out all over Nigeria. It may result in trouble and disorder existing between husband and wife, as my brother, Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku has said.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : On a point of clarification, I have no trouble with my wife !

Senator Chief Olayeye : All I am saying is that a state of emergency should not be declared at this stage. I therefore, dissociate myself with this Motion.

Senator Chief Mrs Esan : May I appeal to you, Mr President, to tell the Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku to desist from frequent interruptions so that Senators might have liberty to say what they have on this Motion.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : It was my intention to put forward an amendment to this Motion. In doing so, I would have shown that there is no state of public emergency in any part of the Federation, particularly in the Western Nigeria.

A Senator : On a point of order, the Senator is reading his notes.

The President : The Senator should not read but he can consult his note.

Senator Ogundipe : There is no necessity for me to read since I have not much to say. I was saying that I wanted to move an amendment that there is certainly no state of public emergency in any part of the Federation, particularly in the Western Nigeria. But I cannot say how much I had tried but have been denied the chance to put forward the Amendment.

The President : Certainly the Senator is over-doing this thing. All he is saying is the negative of the proposition ; it is, therefore, not an amendment. I will tell you, Senator Ogundipe, what you can do if you wanted to amend. You should have said, "That this House has implicit confidence in the Government of the Western Region and congratulates that Government". That could have been an amendment. But what you are putting forward as an amendment is that there is no state of emergency. What you are saying is a debate on the main Motion ; it is not an amendment. You do not merely put the negative of what is on the paper and that becomes an amendment. You are merely debating it now. What you are calling an amendment is not an amendment.

Senator Ogundipe : Thank you, Mr President. As a lawyer you are in a better position to know the best way to put it. If I have not been able to do that it is because the Standing Orders do give room for Order Papers to come to us before we assemble here in the House. That has always been our trouble in this House. When we have the Order Paper distributed to us only when we have actually come to the House, it is not possible for us to consult people to enable us to put our case, for example, an amendment which requires legal terms, in the best wordings. But I am happy that I still have my chance to have a say.

I say, emphatically, that there is nothing that warrants this resolution placed before us, in any part of the Federation. In the first place, Senators who come from the West, and, of course, most Senators who came from other parts of the Federation and passed through parts of the Western Region, and, of course, through Ibadan, should be surprised to see that we have been called to this august House to spend thousands of pounds of the country's money only to debate what does not exist. No condition of emergency exists in any part of the Federation. As a Senator has humourously said, matters may go to that state in the future where husband and wife may be fighting in their chamber and it comes to the hearing of the Federal Government and a state of emergency will be declared.

It is very pleasant to remark that it was the Premier of one of the Regions of the Federation who suggested that if a Premier who was voted to power by a party in a state of party government falls into disfavour with that party, the most honourable thing for him to do is to resign. This was said by somebody who is very responsible and who speaks the truth. For us to overlook this simple fact and to gather round and try to find fault and try to make a mountain out of a molehill and say that there is a case of emergency, is not fair. Of course, I have never experienced one, but I think that this House and the other House have greater service to the country and greater things to do rather than to begin to make this trouble.

I do not know what prevents the Federal Government from waiting for the decision of the Court. I do not know what prevents the Federal Government from allowing the Police to give support to the newly constituted Government first of all and allow it to do its work and await the result of the matter that is pending in Court. Until the action of the Governor of the Western Region has been proved wrong in the court, I do not know what warrants our rushing here as if we have an enemy to crucify, or have been watching for an opportunity to get him into trouble, and come here to say, "here is a case". The incident in Tiv Division did not spread all over the country. We know it did not.

I refer again to the incident at Okitipupa where people refused to pay their taxes, and as a result blood-shed and rioting took place.

I also refer to what happened in Tiv Division. In these cases the Regions managed their affairs. Why should we, as fathers of the people to be consulted, take this measure? I am not a prophet, but we should be very wary. I do not want to make a long speech. I am of the opinion that as far as the Region from which I have come is concerned, and from where most of the Senators here have travelled to attend this meeting, is concerned, there is perfect order and peace.

It appears to me that what we are trying to do is to cry wolf where there is no wolf, just as those who share the views that there is a breakdown of law and order. If there should be a breakdown of law and order, we of this House and of the other House are really making people conscious of what does not exist. With all the emphasis that I command, I maintain that there is no breakdown of law and order, and at the Committee Stage I would like to move that there should be a division.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale : I rise to support the Resolution moved by the hon. Prime Minister. I congratulate the hon. Prime Minister at this stage on bringing up this Resolution which is apparently wise. People might think that this is not the time for it, but I think they are wrong. This is the time for it. We never thought that such a thing would happen to the Western Regional Government. But it has happened, and it means that if a quick action is not taken it may be more than expected. It might be. They think that the Resolution of Public Emergency is unwarranted. Of course, there is emergency. There had been one from the top of the Western Regional Government—the people from all over the Western Region. The thing happened there. It did not mean that Okitipupa was in full peace.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : On a point of order, the Senator Alhaji Bale has never been to Okitipupa before. He does not know what is happening there.

The President : That is not a point of order.

Senator Alhaji Bale : What has happened in Okitipupa is that they have sent their representative to the Western Legislature. That is what I am saying. The Parliament is the top of the Western Government. What

has happened there is the sole responsibility of the whole of the Western Government, so that if the Western Government fails to solve its own problem the whole Region has therefore failed.

Had it not been for the help of the Police Force giving protection on that day, nobody knows what might have happened. In my own language, Nupe, we used to say that if your coats are dirty and you take them to water to wash, what happen will be to wash away the dirt. The Western Region Parliament is dirty, and we want to take the dirt out of it. The best thing is for the Federal Government to take steps to remedy the situation there as soon as possible, as they are now intending to do.

All eyes are now turned on Nigeria to see how we will shoulder our affairs, and we want to show them that we are able. Even if this mistake comes from Western Nigeria, we want to show the world that the Federal Government is able to deal with it immediately. That is a good thing for the Federal Government. The Federal Government is not in any way undermining the Western Region by doing so. That is not the intention of the Federal Government.

I appeal to the Western Region to take this Resolution by the Prime Minister wholeheartedly, because we cannot go on like this. If such state of affairs continues, it will not be possible to develop our country. A limit must be put to it. The aim of the Prime Minister is to put a limit to what is going to happen—that is to say, the Federal Government and the Western Government should see that action is taken promptly.

Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku : I want to make it quite clear that we of this House who support the Resolution do so because we know that at the moment there is no acceptable Western Government.

Senator Alhaji Bale : We cannot gain friends from all over the world unless we respect one another and one Government respects another. The Western Regional Government, therefore, must follow the steps taken by the Federal Government.

With these few remarks, I wholeheartedly support the Resolution.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : I rise to thank God and to thank our Prime Minister for the immediate action taken to save the situation that has arisen in the Western Region of Nigeria.

The question of bringing domestic affairs of husband and wife or nephew and uncle does not arise in this case. This is a thing that concerns one of the Regions of the Federation of Nigeria, and whatever concerns any of the Regions in the Federation concerns the whole of us.

Our only lady Senator said that this is a critical time. I do not know what she meant by critical time; perhaps by the expression she meant one having a critical disease. A critical disease would need a critical cure and a critical cure needs nothing but a critical medicine.

We should not think that because there is no break down of law and order at Okitipupa or Ondo or Ilesha or Abeokuta, therefore, there is no break down of law and order in the Western Region. It was due to the immediate intervention of our Prime Minister and the able and capable hands of our Police that had helped to suppress what might have happened. We all realise that removing from the minds of the people the fear of the Police, anybody knows what might have happened. Some people might see that people are moving here and there and that there is nothing happening. It is because of the fear of the Nigeria Police, the presence of soldiers and the emergency measures taken that everything appears quite.

A state of emergency does exist in the West because at the moment we have one constituted Premier and the other one, whether we accept it or not, has been appointed as another Premier. And whether duly or unduly appointed, the question arises, has anyone of us ever heard of a place where there is one Government with two Premiers?

As a reasonable father, if anything of that nature should happen in his family, it is his duty to do something. This is why the Prime Minister of the whole Federation of Nigeria has taken the step that he has taken to save the people of Western Nigeria. This is what he is trying to do at the moment. A state of public emergency exists in the Western Region and a step must be taken immediately to arrest the situation.

I beg to support.

Senator Chief (Mrs) Wuraola A. Esan : The Senator who has just spoken quoted me as having said that this is a critical time. I did not say anything like that.

Senator H. O. Abaagu : I rise to support the Resolution brought before the Senate. Some-time ago when our Prime Minister refused to be convinced that there was a break-down of law and order somewhere in Nigeria, some of us supported his own way of thinking. In fact, I personally was also convinced that there was no break down of law and order anywhere in Nigeria. I said it was a rumour because people were complaining because they were heavily taxed or they were being molested in their normal course of duty. I was under the impression that a thing of that nature could happen anywhere in Nigeria or in the world. We could not be convinced that there was any break down of law and order anywhere in the Federation at that particular moment.

Now there is a break-down of law and order somewhere in Nigeria, particularly in the Western Region of Nigeria, where the elected representatives of the people began to exchange blows in Parliament as a result of which a Minister was critically injured. Whether it was critical or not, but for a Minister to be bleeding profusely as a result of a fight that took place on the Floor of the Legislature, I think it is a national disgrace and shame, more so when the Minister was attacked and wounded in Parliament. There is a break-down of law and order in that Region; I am convinced that law and order has actually broken in the Western Region.

Before I go further, I want to commend the stand particularly of two Senators from the Western Region of Nigeria. This shows us that here we have elderly statesmen who have mature minds. These two Senators have supported the noble step taken by the Government in bringing this Resolution before the Senate. I refer to Senator Lagunju who had earlier supported this Motion.

Senator M. G. Ejaife : On a point of explanation—

The President : The Senator cannot raise a point of explanation when what a fellow Senator said was not out of order.

Senator Abaagu : The other Senator is Senator Chief Wusu who is also from the Western Region. As an aborigine of the Western Region he knows more of what may be happening in the Western Region and we should take his remarks very seriously.

A Senator referred to a state of emergency, according to him, which existed in Okitipupa and Tiv Division. Law and order had actually broken down in Tiv Division and Tiv Division being in the Northern Region, the Government of the Northern Region dissolved the authority that was responsible and then appointed another one in its place. This was in the Northern Region and I do not know what happened in Okitipupa.

There is no question of waiting or going back, because the more time we waste the more serious the situation in the Western Region will continue to become. I understood that a deputation of Chiefs from the West met the Prime Minister a few days ago and tried to intervene. That was a move in the right direction, but I can say at the same time that these Chiefs did not take this step in time. They should have met the Prime Minister when there was a plan to depose the Premier of the Western Region. These Chiefs could have met the warring factions at that time and not the Prime Minister, and if they still wanted to do so, they should have done it earlier. I think this was medicine after death.

I am convinced that there is a breakdown of law and order in the Western Region, and I wholeheartedly support any move which the Federal Government is trying to take. But what I would want to be educated on is an indication of what course of action the Government is going to take.

The President : There is a Standing Order against anticipation.

Senator Abaagu : Thank you, Mr President. I have no quarrel with that.

I hope that the Federal Government will take appropriate course of action in order to see that law and order comes back to the Western Region as early as possible.

Senator Dahlton O. Asemota : The burden which this crisis in the Western

Region places on the Federal Government is one of immeasurable dimensions. When one looks at the whole picture—the parties who are connected with this crisis—it is a very sad thing indeed because the Action Group party on the whole has been known to be a party which consists of responsible people—men with extraordinary intellectual abilities; men who can plan ahead and forecast various things and deal with them in a sensible manner; men who are known for their disciplinary actions towards any thing that comes out from anywhere. But it is most surprising indeed that these people with these qualities, when a matter like this arises in their midst, either for lust, either for selfish ends or for any other purpose, allow themselves to be blinded and their faces to be covered up with facts which have unfortunately now placed them before the whole world as a party not competent to take the necessary steps to retrace their steps when there is a crisis in their midst. It is a very pathetic thing indeed.

Looking at it again from another angle, the Western Region, I think, has many Chiefs, if not more than the Chiefs in the other parts of the country. The Chiefs in the Western Region are reputable Chiefs. They are eminent personalities. They are people whom we described in those days as 'First-class Chiefs who were known as Kings'. They are people whose orders are regarded as laws; people who speak and people tremble; and we have it in our parable that some of the Kings used to say that they were the owners of earth and heaven. They are all in the Western Region, and this thing has happened there in the Western Region. It is a great calamity indeed that for about a week or two these eminent personalities, both the Chiefs and the actual people forming the Government of the Western Region, are not able to resolve their differences. I must say that it shocks everybody, and I congratulate the Prime Minister on his handling of this matter in the manner that he is handling it. There is no getting away from the fact that after taking into consideration the panel of people involved and that in the Western House of Assembly there was this commotion with people throwing chairs at one another, the Mace being broken, all sorts of assaults committed and people who were not qualified to go there going there and giving orders, then there

[SENATOR ASEMOTA]

cannot be any better evidence to show that there is a definite confusion and a break down of law and order in that Region.

If a situation like this had arisen outside Parliament, it could have been a different thing altogether. But the actual lawmakers, the people to whom one can appeal, those who are definitely concerned with the redemption of the people—they are responsible for it. Tell me who could go to their rescue other than the Federal Parliament. It is most unfortunate.

But I must say, however, that my appeal to Senators is that their verdict to-day should be that the Federal Government gives the Western Government three days to dissolve the House of Assembly and then to go back to the electorates. If they fail, then naturally the Federal Government should take whatever steps they consider necessary to take care of the situation.

If it comes to the point where the Federal Government has to appoint a Caretaker Government, I would also like to appeal to the President to make it perfectly clear to the Prime Minister that the position of the Mid-West must be specifically classified. We do not want this commotion to interfere with the creation of the Mid-West State. We have already passed a Resolution here and all that we are waiting for now are the few finishing touches which we want to put into it, and I am appealing to the Prime Minister that he should not allow this commotion to interfere with the immediate creation of the Mid-West State. If it is necessary to appoint a Caretaker Government for the Western Region, I suggest that a Caretaker Government should also be appointed to take care of the Mid-West Region.

I fully support the Federal Government's view, and I hope that the Prime Minister will bear my remarks in mind—that the Mid-West Region is not included.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba : We are very sorry indeed to be here to-day to debate a Resolution of this kind. It is very unfortunate indeed that we are called upon to debate it, but we cannot do otherwise.

We are not here to decide who is right and who is wrong. We are here to decide what is right for the whole Federation, and the right thing to do is to pass this Resolution.

Senator Chief (Mrs) Wuraola Esan said that she was embarrassed. But she will be more embarrassed if she has two husbands—

Senator Chief (Mrs) Wuraola Esan : Even if I have all of you Senators as husbands, I would not be embarrassed.

Senator P. A. Ogundipe : On a point of order, Senator Chief (Mrs) Esan is such an honourable—

The President : I want to be clear. Are you calling a point of order ?

Senator Ogundipe : No. I want to make a point of explanation.

The President : You cannot make a point of explanation. Nothing that you said was talked about, so you cannot explain.

Senator S. Eyitayo : I should be ashamed because of the recent happenings in the Western Region. Politics apart, I am between and betwixt because the personalities concerned in the crisis are—

A Senator : On a point of order, what Senator Eyitayo is saying has no bearing on the Motion before us.

The President : Will the Senator please proceed.

Senator Eyitayo : I was saying that I am between and betwixt because of the personalities who are connected with this crisis. The leader of our great party, Chief Obafemi Awolowo was a contemporary of mine at school, and Chief S. L. Akintola, the deposed Premier, was also a class-mate of mine at the college for four years.

The President : On a point of order, Senator Nuhu Bamali. Will the Senator please sit down. There can be only one of us standing at a time.

Minister of State (Senator the hon. Nuhu Bamali) : On a point of order, Chief S. L. Akintola has not yet been deposed.

The President : The hon. Minister said that Chief Akintola has not yet been deposed.

Senator Eyitayo : Thank you for saying so. Chief S. L. Akintola, Premier of the Western Region, was a class-mate of mine at college

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for four years, and so you will see that both of them are dear to my heart but they are not dearer to my heart than all the millions of people living in the Western Region. (Applause.)

Personally, I will object to the wording of this Motion in that it is stated that there is a state of public emergency in the Western Region. It is stated that a state of emergency exists and we all know that it is in the Western Region, although it is not so stated.

According to what some Senators have said, go anywhere in the Western Region to-day and you will not find any state of emergency. If there is any state of public emergency at all, it is only in the Government of the Western Region, but that cannot forestall the fact that there may be one in future. For instance, there are some of the Ministers who have been ousted as Ministers: they all have their followers and nobody knows what may happen. There is among the Ministers an Oba who has his followers, and nobody knows what those his followers can do. Therefore, a state of public emergency may exist in future, but as I see it at the present, there is nothing like it and that is the reason why I join the others who begged the Government to take a lenient view of the situation and not rush through things which may make other people look down on this great Federal Government. In short, I appeal to all to co-operate.

Senator Salihu Fulani : There is incidentally a breakdown of law and order in the Western Region and the Central Government is to be congratulated on the immediate steps which it has taken. I passed through Ibadan when I was coming and on the roundabout I saw a very few people. In the whole town, along the streets which I passed, there were soldiers and policemen. If those people were not there, there is no doubt that there could have been far more commotion than could have been expected. And, as many people have already said, were it not for the intervention of the Police, things would have continued to get out of control and it would have portrayed the Western Region in very bad light to the whole world. I think that every true Nigerian should do nothing else but congratulate the Federal Government for the action it has taken to remedy the situation.

I therefore very strongly support the Motion and ask Mr President to make it pass through without any delay.

Senator Alhaji Y. Abudu : I rise to oppose the Motion. I am doing so not because I come from the Western Region, but I believe that those Senators who have spoken have not kept an open mind. To say that there is a breakdown of law and order at the moment is undue exaggeration. Senators know what happened in the House of Assembly in the Western Region. I was present myself when the whole thing started. What actually happened was that a few disgruntled supporters of a certain faction and the N.C.N.C. planned to disturb the debates on the Motion which was coming before the House on that day. If, because certain people gathered themselves together, a few people, of course, in the House of Assembly or in any Parliament and disturbed the proceedings of that particular Legislature, therefore it is alleged that there is a breakdown of law and order, we are making a mistake and setting a bad precedent. What happened in the Western Region could still happen anywhere in Nigeria and I want to advise this House to be very very cautious about this matter, especially when we remember that we are all praying for the unity of Nigeria. We cannot always single out a particular Region for humiliation of the millions of people in that Region on trivial matters. I am sure that what happened in the Western Region is unpleasant, but it is not sufficient to say that law and order has broken down in that Region.

All Senators know the facts of this matter, as has been said by the Ministers who moved the Motion, and we have been told exactly what happened. I think that since the matter is still in court, we should have waited until the decision of the court is known. If the Federal Government has no interest in this matter, I am sure that this is not sufficient for it to declare that there is a state of emergency in Nigeria at the moment. I want to tell you that if we pass this Motion this morning, it will do a great damage to the good name of Nigeria abroad and it will be very disgraceful to the status of Nigeria that there is a state of emergency in Nigeria. There is no state of emergency anywhere in Nigeria at the moment.

[SENATOR CHIEF ODUTOLA]

that the Chiefs and the Obas in any part of this country still have as much power as they had in the past is absolutely wrong.

I would appeal to the Prime Minister through you, Sir, to see that instead of declaring a state of emergency in Nigeria, alternative arrangements should be made to get this matter settled. As I said before, it is something that can happen at Enugu and at Kaduna tomorrow. If this incident repeats itself in these places, for how many times in our life time will the Prime Minister be compelled to declare a state of emergency in the country? I, therefore, appeal to the Prime Minister, through you, Mr President, to try and find another way of resolving this trouble rather than declaring a state of emergency.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusifu: It is a great pity that the crisis in the Western Region has exposed us to the outside world with a wrong interpretation. In fact, one may say that what exists amongst the party in power in the Western Region is not the concern of the Federal Government and that the only concern of the Federal Government is the maintenance of law and order in the Federation of Nigeria. Therefore, considering this latter case, I have to associate myself with those Senators who have spoken in favour of this Motion. I would say that the action taken by the Federal Government is the most appropriate and the most satisfactory one.

With these few remarks, I support the Motion.

Question put and the Senate divided.

Ayes—32; Noes—7; Abstentions—2.

Seat No.	Name of Member
2	Senator Nwoke
3	Senator Asemota
4	Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku
5	Senator Mallam Chias Bawa
6	Senator Chukwubike
8	Senator Alhaji Matteden
9	Senator Abaagu
10	Senator Chief Uguocha
11	Senator Chief Ojon
12	Senator Adele II, Oba of Lagos
13	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale
14	Senator Chief Ndu
17	Senator Muhammadu Sani Dingyadi
18	Senator Nzerem
19	Senator Chief Hunponu-Wusu
20	Senator Chief Acholonu

Seat No.	Name of Member
21	Senator Alhaji Abubakar Garba
25	Senator Salahu Fulani
26	Senator Dr Orizu
29	Senator Hassan Rafin Dadi
30	Senator Chief Nakoku
32	Senator Idirisu-Tafidan Adamawa
33	Senator Udo
35	Senator Yesufu
36	Senator Ukattah
38	Senator Zanna Sheriff
39	Senator Chief Umoh
40	Senator Lagunju
41	Senator Alhaji Sanni Ungogo
	Minister of Health
	Minister of State, Dr E. A. Esin
	Minister of State, M. Nuhu Bamali

NOES

Seat No.	Name of Member
7	Senator Ejaife
15	Senator Chief Olayeye
16	Senator Chief Mrs Wuraola Esan
23	Senator Olamijulo
31	Senator Chief Odutola
37	Senator Ogundipe
42	Senator Alhaji Abudu

ABSTENTIONS

34	Senator Eytayo
28	Senator Chief Doherty

Resolved, That in pursuance of section sixty-five of the Constitution of the Federation it is declared that a state of public emergency exists and that this resolution shall remain in force until the end of the month of December, nineteen hundred and sixty-two.

The President: As Senators would remember, a Motion was moved this morning that the Senate should sit continuously till 7 p.m. But now that the present business of the Senate is concluded, I would ask Senators to have their refreshments and keep themselves ready in the refreshment room until a Message comes from the other House. Sitting is suspended until a Message is received from the other House.

Sitting suspended : 12.23 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3 p.m.

EMERGENCY POWERS JURISDICTION BILL

The President: Hon. Senators, the House of Representatives has sent to the hon. Senate the Emergency Powers Jurisdiction Bill after passing it and now desires the concurrence of the Senate. The Bill is accordingly read for the First time.

Order for Second Reading read.

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order, I hope Senators will note the difference. There is a breakdown of law and order in the

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was in charge of the flat was not there. I am saying this so that action can be taken and I

I hope that he will prove that he is indeed the right choice for this post and so justify the

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[Emergency Powers Regulations]

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Minister of State (Senator Dr E. A. Esin) : I beg to move that a Bill for an Act to confer during a period of emergency an exclusive jurisdiction on the Federal Supreme Court in respect of questions arising in connection with the validity of Emergency Powers Regulations and for purposes connected therewith to be read a Second time.

This is a simple Bill, and in the words of a layman, gives nobody the right to go to the Regional Court to question the validity of this Bill except the Supreme Court.

I have, therefore, to move the Bill.

Minister of State (Senator Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli) : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill read a Second time and immediately considered in Committee.

EMERGENCY POWERS JURISDICTION BILL—
CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE

Clause 1.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : The Minister did not give the details and sufficient description of this Emergency Bill for anybody to go through and form his opinion.

Minister of State (Senator Dr E. A. Esin) : I have said already that in the exercise of this Bill there is no Regional Court which could question the validity of this Emergency Bill except the Supreme Court. That is simple enough.

Senator Chief Olayeye : I have no objection to the passing of this Bill.

Clause 1—ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 2—ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Preamble—ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Bill reported without Amendment ; read the Third time and passed.

EMERGENCY POWERS ACT, 1961

Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin) : I beg to move, That in accordance with section 5 of the Emergency Powers Act, 1961 (No. 1 of 1961)

(1) The Emergency Powers (General) Regulations, 1962,

(2) The Emergency Powers (Essential Services) Regulations, 1962,

(3) The Emergency Powers (Retention of Services) Regulations, 1962,

(4) The Emergency Powers (Requisition) Regulations, 1962,

(5) The Emergency Powers (Billeting) Regulations, 1962,

(6) The Emergency Powers (Misleading Reports) Regulations, 1962,

(7) The Emergency Powers (Protected Places) Regulations, 1962,

(8) The Emergency Powers (Processions and Meetings) Regulations, 1962.

(9) The Emergency Powers (Control of Arms and Explosives) Regulations, 1962,

(10) The Emergency Powers (Curfew) Regulations, 1962,

(11) The Emergency Powers (Detention of Persons) Regulations, 1962,

(12) The Emergency Powers (Restriction Orders) Regulations, 1962,

(13) The Emergency Powers (Reporting of Persons) Regulations, 1962, are approved.

Minister of State (Senator Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli) : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : That in accordance with section 5 of the Emergency Powers Act, 1961 (No. 1 of 1961)—

(1) The Emergency Powers (General) Regulations, 1962,

(2) The Emergency Powers (Essential Services) Regulations, 1962,

(3) The Emergency Powers (Retention of Services) Regulations, 1962,

(4) The Emergency Powers (Requisition) Regulations, 1962,

(5) The Emergency Powers (Billeting) Regulations, 1962,

(6) The Emergency Powers (Misleading Reports) Regulations, 1962,

(7) The Emergency Powers (Protected Places) Regulations, 1962,

(8) The Emergency Powers (Processions and Meetings) Regulations, 1962,

(9) The Emergency Powers (Control of Arms and Explosives) Regulations, 1962,

(10) The Emergency Powers (Curfew) Regulations, 1962,

(11) The Emergency Powers (Detention of Persons) Regulations, 1962,

(12) The Emergency Powers (Restriction Orders) Regulations, 1962,

(13) The Emergency Powers (Reporting of Persons) Regulations, 1962, are approved.

[SENATOR CHIEF FAGBENRO-BEYIOKU
upon to face and the way you handled the proceedings of the Senate to-day adds to the great admiration which you have already won.

Before we came here, most of us were not quite sure as to what was going to happen. Most of us were not quite sure as to whether there was going to be any jumping out of the window. As Senators we have lived to maintain one tradition and that tradition is the tradition of respect and dignity. With that tradition of respect and dignity behind us, we know very well that as mature and elder statesmen of the land we would only do those things which will make the nation respect us and count on us as the arbiter to this country. But it all depends upon our sense of judgment and your sense of responsibility which is very very, rare indeed. We shall not do justice to this Senate if we do not place on record how very grateful and appreciative we are for the way you have once again demonstrated to all that this Senate of the Federation of Nigeria ranks amongst the greatest in the world.

Again, I want to thank the Prime Minister for the security measures he has taken for us. When we were coming in, we were subjected to the most scrupulous search and I am sure no one of us came here with a pistol. But whatever happens, we say that prevention is better than cure. For that we have to thank the Prime Minister very much indeed. We know very well that there has been loose talk and it should make everybody take proper precaution and we must not leave anything to chance. The Prime Minister has not left anything to chance. The security measures which he has given us have again gone very far to justify the great confidence which we have in him and his Government. It is for this that we have to thank him.

We have also to thank the members of the Police Force for the respect they have shown to the Members of this Senate. Although they were called upon to discharge a very heavy responsibility, they have discharged that duty with full sense of responsibility and at the same time maintained what I may call special dignity for this Senate. For that matter, we have to thank the Police. We can assure the Police and we can assure the Prime Minister that as far as this Federation is concerned

and as long as democratic and parliamentary procedure shall endure in the world, there will not be any deviation either during our time or in the days to come.

With these few observations, I have to come back and thank you, very much, Mr President, for giving everybody an opportunity to speak on this important occasion. Even though we differed in our views we have come to a unanimous decision here in the Senate.

Senator Alhaji Abubakar Bale, Madawakin Bida : As has already been said by the last speaker, we thank you very much, Mr President, for the way in which you conducted the business of the Senate this morning. We are very glad to see how you put us through and how we have gone smoothly through the deliberations.

We are also very appreciative of how you have been fair to everybody in seeing that we all had a chance of contributing our views. We congratulate you also for the able way in which you have stood on the rules.

I myself learnt in Kano last Saturday when I was coming back from pilgrimage that there was going to be this emergency meeting. I did not even reach my home and I had to come down to Lagos from Kano. I congratulate you once again, Mr President, on the success of this meeting and I am quite sure that everything that has happened here so successfully shows how capable your position in this Nigerian Senate has been. I sincerely hope that all your efforts in this Senate will be appreciated by all in a very favourable manner.

Senator Chief J. S. Olayeye : I really appreciate how you have conducted the business of the Senate this morning. It is a living example you have always shown to us all and we really appreciate it. The way you have been conducting this meeting is well appreciated. So also are your attempts to educate the Members of this House. It is very important that a man of experience is placed in that post and you are already on that Chair. Of course, we know you are not a new man in this business of conducting meetings. We remember that when you were in the Western Region you did a lot of good things there so that since you came here you have been setting good examples. You allow people to speak freely.

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opportunity of reopening a Debate which closed this morning. Then you would have been right, and I would have agreed with your point of order. If that is your point of order it

taken.

Senator Udo : I note that this is a point of defence. At any rate I was not strictly concerned. I was only there with the man who

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During the period 1955-59 we were being directed by an expatriate followed by our former President. Mr President I have to congratulate you.

Senator Chief S. T. Hunponu-Wusu : Mr President, on behalf of myself and my other Senators, allow me to thank God and to thank you for the way in which God has guided you and has given you wisdom, strength and courage to discharge this honourable duty you have been able to perform to this day. This is a remarkable day. It will go down in the history of Nigeria, the way you have been so guided by the wisdom from above to direct this great House of ours, this upper House of ours, whose decisions the whole nation is always looking to, to determine the destiny of Nigeria.

It is one thing to place one in this honourable Chair and another for one to be endowed with that wisdom and strength, and perhaps the courage to discharge this duty faithfully and honestly to the best of his ability. Permit me my dear President, Sir, to say that we all admire the way and manner you have conducted the affairs of this hon. House to-day. It will go down in the history of this great nation that you go not only by book knowledge, not only by acquiring wisdom outside, not only by your prestige, but also by climbing down to meet both the high and the low classes of people, people perhaps you will not consider as having sufficient intelligence, such as you have got and which you have shown in the way you directed the affairs of this House.

There are some who perhaps when exalted in office consider themselves too big to educate others, too big to be approached, too big to be consulted, and too big to take corrections. If we want our nation to grow up as I said early in this House this morning we in Nigeria, as we are to-day we must strive to look into whatever is going wrong without bias. We must not say, 'Oh, because this is mine I will take sides.' Let us face facts and call a spade a spade. My worthy President, on behalf of other Senators both those present and those who are absent, and myself, I congratulate you because the whole world is looking upon us to-day to see what decision we are going to take.

I am happy that God has granted you that wisdom and strength, and one thing, the

courage to carry it out. It is one thing to have wisdom, it is another to have the courage to execute it, to bring it out. Thank God that He has granted you that wisdom and I pray that God may endow you with more wisdom, strength and courage together with all other Senators who are here to-day and perhaps those absent, so that we will all strive to sort out and say the exact things we know not with bias.

As we have been delegated to be statesmen we must not come here as politicians trying to play politics. I appeal to fellow Senators that the time has come for us to face facts. Let us bow down, and according to our first business in this House, to call the name of God to direct and guide us and to give us wisdom and strength: that is our first object.

My hon. President I thank you and I thank all fellow Senators for the way and manner the business of this day has been discharged.

The President : Senators, I have to thank you for the kind words you said about the way I have tried to do my duty in this Chair. I can assure you that I have always put before me a light of impartiality in executing my duty and you will notice what I did this morning that even though the Closure was moved very many times, I waived it aside because I wanted every native of the Western Region who is a Senator here to have a say at this momentous time, and you will notice that we talked ourselves out and there was nobody willing to stand before I put the Question. I did that deliberately because you are all Members of a mature House.

I have to apologise on behalf of the Government that it was necessary to bring the Police and so on. We ought to have trusted you and not bring the Police at all, but you discharged yourselves in such a way that I am sure that if there is another emergency in another part or any part of the country, the Police will not surround you as they have surrounded you to-day.

I thank you very much. I will carry on with the spirit of impartiality and I am sure you will co-operate with me as you have done to-day.

Minister of State (Dr E. A. Esin) : I am sorry I am doing what I should not have done but Senator Asemota referred to this question of

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