



CLERK OF THE
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FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

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SECOND SESSION

1961-62

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PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY S. F. Nwika, Esq., M.P.

Ministry of Lagos Affairs

MINISTER OF LAGOS AFFAIRS The hon. Musa Yar'Adua, M.P.
PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY E. T. Orodu, Esq., M.P.

Ministry of Economic Development

MINISTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT The hon. Jaja Wachuku, M.P.
PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY F. U. Mbakogu, Esq., M.P.

Ministry of Justice

ATTORNEY-GENERAL AND MINISTER OF JUSTICE Dr the hon. T. O. Elias
PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY R. B. K. Okafor, Esq., M.P.

WHIPS

GOVERNMENT CHIEF WHIP	..	..	..	Alhaji Bello Dandago, M.P.
DEPUTY GOVERNMENT CHIEF WHIP	..	..	..	Mallam Aminu Kano, M.P.
GOVERNMENT WHIPS	..	..	..	Mallam Muhtari Sarkin Bai, M.P. D. N. Abbi, Esq., M.P.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**PRINCIPAL OFFICERS AND OFFICIALS**

THE SPEAKER	..	..	..	..	The hon. Ibrahim Jalo Waziri, M.P.
THE DEPUTY SPEAKER	..	..	..	..	E. C. Akwiwu, Esq, M.P.
CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS	..	..	..	..	B. A. Manuwa
CLERKS ASSISTANT	..	..	..	..	E. E. Nsefik J. O. Adeigbo M. A. Tahir
SECOND CLERK ASSISTANT	..	..	..	..	O. A. Coker
PARLIAMENTARY CLERKS	..	..	..	..	A. J. Nzeribe A. O. Salu R. I. Amaefula

OFFICIAL REPORT OF DEBATES—(HANSARD)

EDITOR	..	..	..	..	..	W. Lee
ASSISTANT EDITORS	..	..	..	..	..	C. I. Offodile H. O. Nwokoye
OFFICIAL REPORTERS	..	..	..	..	..	N. B. A. Okoh E. O. Elendu V. N. Chibundu L. O. Antonio Miss I. Ogedegbe Mrs P. A. Graham-Jones O. Onamuti D. O. Eneanye

OFFICE OF THE SERJEANT-AT-ARMS

SERJEANT-AT-ARMS	..	..	..	..	E. A. Mensah, M.B.E.
DEPUTY SERJEANT-AT-ARMS	..	..	..	..	M. I. Onyeje

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

Wednesday, 29th March, 1961

Parliament met at 10 a.m. pursuant to a Proclamation by the Governor-General in the Official Gazette Extraordinary of 24th March, 1961, 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 purposes 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 29th day of March, 1961, 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 22nd day of March, 1961.

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.

I consider it a great privilege to address you to-day, this being the first occasion that a Nigerian will deliver the Speech from the Throne as Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria.

The past twelve months have been epoch-making in the history of our great country. It was during the last session of Parliament that Nigeria came to the end of a long arduous road to Independence, and became a Sovereign State. Since Independence my Ministers have addressed themselves with courage and determination to the great responsibility which rests on our shoulders as an independent Nation.

Throughout the coming session my Government will continue to give resolute support to the work of the United Nations and will exert all their influence to give effect to the spirit of the purpose for which that organisation was formed. My Ministers are proud that Nigeria should have been associated so conspicuously with the work of the Congo conciliation committee and with the efforts to restore law and order in the Congo during which units of the Royal Nigerian Army and the Nigeria Police Force have distinguished themselves by their devotion to duty in most difficult circumstances. (Applause).

The improvement of the situation in Africa will be one of the main objectives of my Ministers and they intend to continue to pursue the Government's declared aims of not identifying itself with any bloc or group, but of being at all times guided by a sense of realism and support for the truth, and of maintaining and fostering good relations with all countries which recognise and respect Nigeria's sovereignty and wish to maintain friendly relations with us. Nigeria will continue to be opposed to all forms of aggression and coercion and will continue to respect the territorial integrity of all countries large or small. My Government will give all possible moral support to the legitimate aspirations of dependent peoples seeking their freedom from colonial status and will continue to oppose most strenuously apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination and human indignities.

My Government intends to continue to build, for the country, a defence system which will not only ensure internal security but will also serve as a deterrent to any would-be aggressor. Proposals will be laid before you for meeting the cost

[GOVERNOR-GENERAL]

of our defence forces so that they may discharge adequately the responsibilities of an independent Nigeria. Foremost among them is our contribution to the United Nations force in the Congo where, I am informed, our troops have, by their conduct and courage, brought honour both to themselves and to our Nation. Provision will also be made for the second phase of the Army's re-organisation and re-equipment programme and for the start of a major programme involving the construction of new barracks for the soldiers. My Government proposes, with regard to the Navy, to provide for bringing into commission later this year a seaward defence boat now being built in the United Kingdom, and for constructional work on shore facilities and accommodation at Apapa and Calabar where an Eastern Base is planned.

In the modern world, no country can consider its defence complete without an air force. In this regard, my Government intends to seek expert advice on how to establish a Nigerian Air Force.

In the field of internal security, legislation will be presented to you for an Emergency Powers Act to take the place of the former United Kingdom Emergency Powers Order in Council, which ceases to have effect as part of the laws of Nigeria as from the end of this month.

The expansion of the Nigeria Police Force will continue at the maximum speed consistent with our financial resources, and particular attention will be paid to the establishment of a chain of police posts to guard the Eastern frontier. Additional facilities will be provided for the training of Nigerian officers for the higher command of the Force.

My Ministers propose to lay before you, during the course of the session, comprehensive proposals for improving and modernising our transport system. Now that Nigeria is an independent maritime Nation with a merchant navy of its own, it is essential that its ships should be controlled and protected by appropriate merchant shipping legislation more comprehensive than the existing Shipping and Navigation and the Wrecks and Savage Ordinances. My Government proposes to place such legislation before you during the coming year. The Marine Division of the Ministry of Transport and Aviation will be expanded and, as qualified staff become available, officers will be opened outside Lagos.

My Government's policy of improving port and harbour facilities will be vigorously pursued as

will be the programme of the improvement of navigation of the Niger and Benue Rivers. Work on the Escravos Bar Training Works is proceeding. A study will be carried out of the ports facilities that will be required in the Western Delta after the Escravos Bar has been cleared. My Government proposes to undertake further improvements to the Port of Koko and the Port Harcourt Wharf Extension will be completed and vested in the Nigerian Ports Authority. A survey of the Port of Baro will be carried out with a view to its development, and the completion of the Nedeco survey of the Eastern Delta will enable planning to go ahead for the development of ports of inland waterways in the Eastern Region.

Legislation will be introduced to amend the Ports Ordinance, and one of its main provisions will be to allow a Nigerian to be appointed Chairman of the Nigerian Ports Authority.

Work on the Borno Railway Extension is making satisfactory progress and it is expected that the one hundred and six mile stretch of line between Kuru and Bauchi will be opened to traffic by the middle of the year. The re-laying of the line between Lagos and Ibadan and between Enugu and Makurdi will be continued.

My Government will take urgent steps to implement the recommendations in the Report of the Elias Commission of Enquiry, instituted last year, into the Railway administration. Legislation will be introduced to amend the Nigerian Railway Corporation Ordinance.

My Government will give every encouragement to the Flying Training School and measures will be introduced for the training of Nigerians in all branches of aviation. It is proposed to make further improvements to the aerodromes at Kaduna, Enugu and Ibadan and designs will be drawn up for major improvements at Lagos Airport.

My Government will press on vigorously with the work on the Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin road and work is expected to start shortly upon the Niger Bridge project. (Hear, hear).

My Government will lay before you, in the course of the current year, proposals for a review of the organisation of the Posts and Telegraphs Division of the Ministry of Communications. The Posts and Telegraphs Division will continue to expand and improve its postal and telecommunication services throughout the Federation in accordance with its approved programme under the Development Plan for 1955-1962.

Ten new Post Offices will replace existing buildings and five new Post Offices will be constructed in place of Postal agencies.

A Bill will be introduced to provide for the many developments in the field of wireless telecommunications that have taken place since the existing law was enacted.

The first anniversary of Independence will be commemorated by a special issue of stamps.

Automatic telephone exchanges will replace manually operated exchanges in fourteen important centres. The number of telephone trunk circuits will be increased, and their efficiency improved, by the provision of direct dialling facilities at automatic exchanges.

My Government will seek to develop to the maximum the international telephone and telegraph service and, in particular, the international Telex system will be developed in order that the Federation may participate to the full in world trade.

My Government attaches great importance to the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country and, to this end, it proposes to carry out a minerals survey before the end of the next five-year Economic Programme.

Impressive results have been gained in the exploration of the underground water resources in the Chad Basin. About one hundred Artesian Boreholes have been completed and drilling will continue there during the coming year, as also will the investigation of underground water resources in other parts of the country.

The most encouraging feature of mineral production is the increasing quantity of oil which is exported from Nigeria. The facilities for the loading of tankers have been considerably improved and it is expected that export will not be less than 12 million barrels during 1961, which is nearly double last year's production.

My Government intends to encourage those companies which are prospecting for oil.

Now that agreement has been reached between my Government and the B.P. Shell Refinery Company, plans will go forward for an erection of a refinery near Port Harcourt, with financial participation by my Government and such of the Regional Governments as so desire.

The preliminary investigations into the establishment of the proposed hydro-electric project on the Niger River will be carried out as soon as

possible so that a final feasibility report can be produced to form a basis for considering methods of financing the project.

My Government proposes to utilise the natural gas going to waste in the Afam/Bomu fields for generating electricity in a new E.C.N. Power Station at Afam.

My Ministers are determined to expedite the re-organising and expansion of our educational facilities. To this end a White Paper, setting out the policy of my government on the recommendations of the Ashby Commission and their plans for a long term re-organisation of our educational system, will be laid before you during this session.

The improvement of the health conditions of our people has been a genuine concern of my Ministers. The first hospital in Lagos to be entirely devoted to the care of children will be opened in June this year. The paramount importance of the care of children will be emphasised by the establishment of an Institute of Child Health at the University College Hospital, Ibadan, to carry out research in this field.

The first phase of the building of the new Mainland General Hospital will be completed in June and it is hoped that the new hospital will be ready to admit its first patients in October. (Hear, hear).

My Government will endeavour to strengthen the judiciary and improve the administration of justice. A programme for revising the laws of the Federation will be instituted. Special Committees will be appointed to examine and make recommendations for the enactment of a new Companies' Act, for the promulgation of legislation pertaining to partnership and sale of goods, and the revision of the Criminal Law of the Federation.

Legislation will be introduced to enable persons who have claims against the Federal Government to sue that Government in the same way as any subject.

A Bill will be introduced to enable representatives of a deceased person, whose death was caused by the wrongful act of any person, to institute proceedings against the wrong-doer in order to claim such damages as may have been maintained against the wrong-doer by the deceased. Another Bill will be introduced to provide for the survival of certain claims which might be expected to lapse with the death of the wrong-doer after the institution of a civil action

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

against him ; legislation will be introduced to enable appeals to lie to the Federal Supreme Court in cases of Habeas Corpus.

A Bill will be introduced to provide legal aid to persons who would normally be unable to pursue their rights in a Court of Law because of their inability to meet the high cost of litigation.

In its endeavour to strengthen the Judiciary, my Government will appoint two additional High Court Judges and two Chief Magistrates and erect more Magistrate Courts in Lagos. My Government will appoint a full-time Deputy Sheriff for Lagos, and will improve conditions of service of Baliffs so as to increase efficiency. Better library facilities will be provided for the various Magistrates' Courts in Lagos.

In keeping with the provisions of the Constitution, the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions has been created, the holder of the Office will be responsible for the initiating, continuance and dis-continuance of criminal prosecutions.

My Government will continue to pursue its policy of advancing the social and industrial welfare of our people.

Having regard to the concurrent nature of labour, my Government will continue to place the greatest emphasis on the effective co-operation with the Regional Governments for the purpose of inserting uniformity of labour policies and practice throughout the Federation.

Legislation will be introduced to enable workers throughout the Federation to provide for their old age. In the field of social welfare, it is proposed to develop an adult probation service in the Federal territory of Lagos. Additional remand homes will be built, community centres, in the new residential districts will be developed and provision will be made for increasing camping facilities for the welfare of youth.

My Government will continue to give financial assistance to the encouragement of sports and recreation and a grant will be made towards the further development of the National Stadium.

A Bill will be introduced to increase the pensions of those Government Officers who retired before the 1st of September, 1959, that is to say, before the effective date of the Mbanefo revision of salaries.

Legislation will be introduced to provide for an electoral law which will replace the existing Electoral Regulations. Legislation will also be proposed to make comprehensive provision for the

operations of the Niger Delta Development Board. Proposals have been included in the Capital Estimates to make sufficient funds available to that Board in the coming year to enable their work to get under way on a broad front. My Government has every confidence that the Board will make a significant contribution to the physical and economic development of the Delta area.

In order to give proper publicity to the activities of the Federal Government it is proposed to establish an External Broadcasting Service as well as a Federal Television Service. In addition, my Government proposes to establish a Printing Organisation to produce daily and weekly popular newspapers, giving full coverage to the views and policies of the Government, and a series of periodicals aimed at projecting Nigeria abroad. (Applause).

My Ministers believe that our political Independence will have no meaning unless it is firmly based on a vigorous expanding economy which will ensure a steadily rising living standard to all our people. Therefore my Government will continue to attach first priority to the task of increasing the pace of the economic development of the country and, to this end, the Ministry of Economic Development will be strengthened so as to enable additional surveys to be made and to ensure even closer co-operation in planning between all Governments in Nigeria. The investigation of the proposed multi-purpose dam on the River Niger will be carried to the stage when it will be possible to make a definite decision on the future of this major project of development. Every effort will be made, in consultation and co-operation with the other Governments of the Federation, to co-ordinate and increase the research activities in the agricultural sector of the economy. In regard to research in its wider aspect my Government will continue to give its full support to the activities of the various inter-territorial research institutes which provide such an excellent example of practical co-operation between the four West African countries concerned.

In the field of international trade, my Government will continue to seek to mitigate the effects of the tariffs of the Common Market countries of Europe, and will examine the possibility of closer economic co-operation with African States and association between Nigeria and the European Economic Community. New selling arrangements for Nigeria's produce are being considered and the possibility of establishing a terminal market

in Nigeria is being examined. In addition, it is the intention of my Government to seek to negotiate bilateral trading agreements in those cases where it is in our interest to do so.

Legislation is being prepared to regulate the activities of Insurance Companies, including their activities in connection with marine Insurance. A Bill seeking to replace the existing legislation for the regulation and the registration of business names will also be presented to you in due course.

My Government has no plans for the nationalisation of industry to any greater extent than the public utilities of this country are already nationalised.

Mr Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives, your principal business at the present meeting will be to consider the Appropriation Bill with its supporting estimates for the public services. In addition, the final Supplementary Bill for 1959-1960 and a Supplementary Bill for the financial year, 1960-61, covering a few urgent items of inescapable expenditure, will be submitted for your approval.

My Government proposes to implement, in concert with the Governments of the Regions, the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission regarding the assessment for taxation of Africans and non-Africans in the Federation. To this end, my Government will introduce a new Income Tax Management Bill.

A Bill will be introduced to replace the Exchange Control Ordinance of 1950. Legislation will also be laid before you to regulate the activities of the Discount Companies which, in their issue of Letters of Credit to overseas firms, have sometimes brought into ill-repute the otherwise good name of Nigeria in international trade.

My Government proposes to accelerate the mobilization of all possible financial resources, both internal and external for the completion of the current Economic Programme and for the achievement of the impressive development which is being planned for the next five years. My Government attaches the greatest importance to the success of the forthcoming Federal-wide Economic Mission which it is hoped will quicken the rate of foreign investment in Nigeria.

My Government intends to encourage the development of local market in stocks and shares and, to this end, it will introduce legislation

to regulate dealings in stocks and shares and other securities quoted on the new Lagos Stock Exchange.

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. (Loud applause).

His Excellency retired from the Chamber.

PAPERS—(ADJOURNMENT)

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

(1) Fourth Annual Report of the Nigeria Central Marketing Board, 1958.

(2) Annual Report of the Posts and Telegraphs Department for the year 1957-58.

(3) University College Hospital, Ibadan Annual Report and Financial Accounts for the year ended March 31st, 1960.

(4) Nigerian Coal Corporation—Tenth Annual Report for the year 1959-60 [by Ordinance]

(5) Minutes of Evidence of the Public Accounts Committee, House of Representatives, Session 1960-61

(6) Report of the Director of Federal Audit on the Accounts of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria for the year ended 31st March, 1960.

(7) Annual Report of the National Archives of Nigeria, 1958-59.

(8) Annual Report of the National Archives of Nigeria, 1959-60.

(9) Annual Report of the Department of Forest Research, 1959-60.

(10) Annual Report of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1959-60.

(11) Annual Report of the Federal Department of Labour for the year, 1958-59.

(12) Nigerian Railway Corporation—Report and Accounts for the year ended 31st March, 1960 [by Ordinance].

(13) Electricity Corporation of Nigeria—Annual Report, 1959-60 [by Ordinance].

(14) Draft Estimates of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria, 1961-62 (Recurrent) [by Ordinance].

4. Parliamentary Papers (Recess).—Papers distributed to Members after Prorogation of Parliament on 22nd March, 1961, and deemed to have been laid on the Table :—

(1) Report of the Accountant-General of the Federation with Financial Statements for the year ended 31st March, 1960.

(2) Draft Estimates of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria, 1961-62 (Capital [by Ordinance]).

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn—(The Minister of Defence).

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : That this House do now adjourn.

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

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Thursday, 30th March, 1961
The House met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

OATHS

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

* M. Ibrahim Gusau .. Sokoto West Central

RESIGNATION OF A MEMBER

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I have to inform the House that I have received a letter from Alhaji Muhammadu Bello, Turakin Argungu, Member for Argungu East, announcing his resignation from the House as from the 1st of March, 1961.

STATEMENTS BY MEMBERS OF
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to make the following business statement for the week ending Saturday the 1st of April. Tomorrow, Friday, Sir, will be a public holiday and there will be no sitting. Saturday, 1st April will be the second day of the debate on the Speech from the Throne. Mr Speaker, I shall make a further business statement on Saturday.

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION (1959-60)
BILL

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): *Second Reading*—Saturday, 22nd of April.

TREASURY BILLS (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Finance: *Second Reading*—Friday, 7th of April.

LAGOS STOCK EXCHANGE BILL

The Minister of Finance: *Second Reading*—Friday, 7th of April.

EMERGENCY POWERS BILL

The Minister of Defence (Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Ribadu): *Second Reading*—this day.

MOTIONS

ADJOURNMENT

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that this House at its rising this day do adjourn till Saturday.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Zanna the hon. Bukar Dipcharima): Sir, I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved: That this House at its rising this day do adjourn till Saturday.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION: ELECTION
OF MEMBERS

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the following Members be elected Members of the Committee of Selection:

Alhaji Bello Dandago
Mr D. N. Abii
Chief O. B. Akin-Olugbade.

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

Question put and agreed to.

Ordered: That Alhaji Bello Dandago, Mr D. N. Abii and Chief O. B. Akin-Olugbade be members of the Committee of Selection.

ORDER OF THE DAY

EMERGENCY POWERS BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Defence (Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Ribadu): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill for an Act for the maintenance and securing of peace, order and good Government during periods of emergency, be read the second time.

Emergency Regulations are at present made under the authority of the Emergency Powers Orders in Council of the United Kingdom, 1939 to 1959, whereby the Governor-General may make such Regulations as appear to him to be necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of the territory, the maintenance of public order and the suppression of mutiny, rebellion and riot, and for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community.

[MINISTER OF DEFENCE]

Hon. Members will recall that at the 1958 Constitutional Conference, it was agreed that "after Independence the Federal Government must possess adequate powers to ensure the safety of the Nation against internal and external threats". The Conference accordingly agreed to recommend that the Constitution for independence should provide that the Emergency Powers Order in Council should cease to have effect in Nigeria within six months after Independence, that is on the 30th of March, 1961, or such earlier date as may be prescribed by the Parliament of the Federation of Nigeria. This provision was made under section 6 of the Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960.

The Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960 in pursuance of the Conference's conclusions gives under Section 65 special powers to Parliament to make such laws for Nigeria or any part thereof with respect to matters not included in the Legislative Lists as may appear to Parliament to be necessary or expedient "for the purpose of maintaining or securing peace, order and good government during any period of emergency". The provision so enacted is to have effect only during a period of emergency, and "period of emergency" is defined in that section as any period during which: (a) the Federation is at war; (b) there is in force a resolution passed by each House of Parliament declaring that a state of public emergency exists; or (c) there is in force a resolution of each House of Parliament supported by the votes of not less than two-thirds of all the members of the House declaring that democratic institutions in Nigeria are threatened by subversion.

Clause 1 of the Bill deals with the short title, application and commencement of the Bill. Clause 2 contains the interpretation of the various terms used in the Bill. Clause 3 provides powers for the Government to make Regulations during a period of emergency, as defined in the Constitution, for the purpose there envisaged. In particular, Regulations may be made for the detention and deportation of persons, the requisition of property or undertakings, the entering and search of premises, the payment of compensation and remuneration to affected persons, the maintaining of such supplies and services essential to the life of the community, the amending or

suspension of any law and the punishment of persons offending against the Regulations.

Clause 4 empowers authorities or persons as may be specified in the Regulations made under Clause 3, to make orders and rules for any of the purposes for which the Regulations are authorised to be made. Clause 5 provides that such Regulations, orders and rules made under this Bill, although operative in themselves, are subject to resolution passed by both Houses of Parliament within a period of two months. Section 2 of this Clause also provides that such regulation, order or rule may at any time be amended or revoked by resolutions passed by both Houses of Parliament.

This provision, hon. Members will agree, is to ensure that even in any emergency regulations, orders or rules, which may affect practically every phase of national life are carried out under the general superintendence of the representative assemblies of the nation, to which assemblies themselves the emergency powers have by general agreement been assigned under the Constitution.

Hon. Members will appreciate the inescapable need for necessary powers to be available in cases of attack from without as well as in cases of threats to internal security from within. Emergency laws are necessary and inevitable in circumstances such as these if the security of the Federation is to be safeguarded. This Bill which provides such powers for the Federal Government was circulated to Regional Governments and it incorporates most of the drafting amendments proposed by them.

The purpose of this Bill is to fill the lacuna which will otherwise exist when under Section 6 of the Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council 1960, the Emergency Powers Orders in Council 1939 to 1959 cease to have effect on the 30th of March, 1961. It does not contain any provision inconsistent with it. Indeed it is an improvement on the former in that it provides that regulations, orders and rules made under this Bill must be submitted to Parliament for approval within a period of two months of their making.

Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Zanna the hon. Bukar Dipcharima): Sir, I beg to second the Motion.

Question proposed.

Mr J. S. Tarka (Jemgbar): Mr Speaker, Sir, there is nothing new in this Bill. It is covered in black and white by the constitutional provisions. However, I would like to ask the Minister of Defence to take this opportunity to address this House on the incidence of the recent deportation of three supporters of the B.Y.M./Action Group Alliance in Bornu Province to the Chad Republic. I feel, Sir, that there is a provision in the Constitution under the law of Nigerian Citizenship which prohibits the deportation of Nigerian citizens. Of these three people who were deported two were known to have stayed in Nigeria for over 40 years and one of them was, in fact, born in Nigeria and under the law he is known to be a Nigerian citizen.

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

Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Ijebu Remo): Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to say on behalf of the Opposition that we fully support this Bill. (*Hear, hear*). I am saying on behalf of the Opposition that we fully support this Bill. (*Applause*)

The Government will find itself in an impossible position if after the automatic abrogation of the existing Emergency Powers Ordinance it does not take steps to replace such a law. Besides, the law, as it stands, is in perfect accord with the provisions of our Constitution.

Sir, with these remarks I support the Bill. It is non-contentious but when the time comes for a contentious Bill we will be ready for it.

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1 and 2, agreed to.

Clause 3.

Mr R. O. A. Akinjide (Ibadan South East): Mr Chairman, Sir, in moving the amendment standing in my name on the Order Paper I am not unmindful of the provision of subsection 1 of section 3 which gives the Governor-General powers to make further regulations. But even then, I think land should not be

excluded from the provision of subsection (ii) of 3 (2) (b). Now, this question of land has two aspects. One is land belonging to indigenous members of this country, that is Nigeria; and the second is land owned by foreigners. It is a fact that in this country to-day foreign companies and aliens do own land. Whether this ownership relates to freehold or leasehold is another matter. If the land belongs to a Nigerian and is acquired the provisions are covered in that full compensation will be paid to the owner. So there is no question of the fundamental human rights being infringed.

But let us take an instance where the owner of the property is, say, Cappa & D'Alberto or Lebanese. The Government ties its own hands because it can acquire any property, but not land. What if this country is at war with the country of origin of one of these foreign companies or these aliens who own property in this country? I think it will place the Government in a predicament, I mean in jeopardy and it may make it virtually impossible for the operation of war or for the emergency regulation to be carried out in full. So I submit, Sir, that the Government should give due consideration to this particular amendment and have power to acquire any property including land. I beg to move.

Amendment put and negatived.

Clause 3 agreed to.

Clauses 4 to 7 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

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

STAMP DUTIES

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I have it in command from His Excellency the Governor-General, in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order No. 17 of this House, to move the adoption of the Resolution standing in my name on the Order Paper in regard to the replacement of the Schedule to the Stamp Duty Ordinance.

We have decided, in concert with the Regions to raise the rates of Stamp Duty. In general the proposed increase is fifty per cent, but ther

[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

are a few exceptions to which I will refer. It has been necessary to act in concert with the Regions because several of the items subject to Stamp Duty relate to matters for which the Regional Governments are competent to legislate and from which, incidentally, they are the revenue beneficiaries.

My aim in consulting the Regions has been to ensure that the revised rates would be uniform throughout the country and that they would come into effect simultaneously. Different rates of stamp duties in different parts of the country would be confusing to the public, especially as some of the items subject to duty may be either Federal or Regional, depending on the nature of the transaction. It was not difficult to reach agreement on these two points. All Governments agreed that, with a few exceptions, the rates of stamp duty should be raised by fifty per cent, and that the new rates should come into effect on the 1st of April, 1961. The present rates have been unchanged since 1939 and it was felt that an increase of fifty per cent was eminently reasonable when compared with the general increase in prices since 1939.

Although we quickly reached agreement about the need for the increase, how to effect the increase presented some difficulty. I will not bother the House with details, but as I have explained, the competence of the Federal or Regional Governments to legislate on some items in the schedule of stamp duties depended on the nature of the individual documents. The most obvious solution was for the Federal Government to legislate for the whole of the Federation on behalf of the Regional Governments but some Regional Governments were opposed to this procedure. In the event, it was agreed that a Resolution should be put to the Federal Parliament, replacing the Schedule of stamp duties *in toto*, and, but the application of the formula at the end of this Resolution, the new Schedule would apply in its entirety to Lagos, but also throughout the Federation insofar as the Government of the Federation was competent.

At the same time the Regional Governments have agreed to invite their Legislative Houses to pass Resolutions which will revise the rates of stamp duties on those items for which Regional Governments are responsible, in the same way as does the Federal Resolution.

The North, indeed, have already passed the necessary Resolution to become effective on the 1st of April.

I now turn to consider those items on which the rates of stamp duties have not been increased. These are the item for Admission as a Barrister, where the present rate is £25; that for Admission as a Notary, where it is £10 and that for Notary Public on being Sworn, where it is £2-10s. I consider that these duties are high enough, and do not call for any increase at the present time. In addition, the duty of two pence for a receipt given for, or on payment of, money amounting to two pounds or upwards has not been increased. Finally, I have considered it wise to leave all duties on Bills of Exchange, including cheques, unchanged, in view of my policy to establish and develop as rapidly as possible a money and capital market in Nigeria and to encourage the banking habit.

I shall have more to say next week about the development of bill finance in Nigeria, including commercial bills of exchange. There is, however, already one financial house in Lagos specialising in this type of business and it is a development I welcome. An increase in the duties on bills of exchange would tend to discourage the use of bill finance and I therefore believe it is right for the stamp duties on bills of exchange to be left unchanged. For similar reasons the Federal Government proposes to exempt from the payment of Stamp Duty documents relating to the transfer of stocks and shares. This is designed to encourage the people of this country to participate on as wide a scale as possible in the market in stocks and shares. It is the policy of this Government to promote investment by Nigerians in the industrial future of Nigeria and it is certainly the experience elsewhere that duties on the transfer of stocks and shares deter the man in the street from this form of investment. I feel sure Members will welcome this proposal for stimulating domestic savings.

The general increase in stamp duties is part of the Federal Government's efforts to raise revenue within Nigeria for the financing of the great tasks before us. I estimate that the net effect of the changes, to which I have referred, will be to increase revenue by one hundred thousand pounds per annum.

Sir, before I close, I would like to draw the attention of the House to page 17 of the Bill relating to the Schedule. I shall ask, Sir, that the last three lines be ignored as they were put there in error. With this correction, Sir, I beg to move.

Mr Speaker : Before I call the Seconder, I would like to ask the Minister whether he has made any corrections to the rates in the Schedule, and, if so, I would like to know.

The Minister of Finance : With your permission, Sir, I wish to draw hon. Members' attention to two mysteries which appeared in the Schedule as printed in the Order Paper. First, if Members will turn to page 9, they will see that the duties shown against LEASE, item 3, "of any other kind whatsoever not hereinbefore described" is £1-0s-10d. Secondly, at page 13, the duties shown against policy of the Insurance against Accident et cetera should be 9d not 7d as printed. Lastly, at page 17 as I have said the final sentence, "This Resolution shall so far as the context permits" should be deleted as it does not conform with the resolution which the House is asked to adopt.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Zanna the hon. Bukar Dipcharima): Sir, I beg to second.

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South): The Minister of Finance should apologise in the proper way than he is doing. (*Prolonged interruption.*)

Mr Speaker : This is certainly not a point of order and the hon. Member should not have made that statement. But even then I do not

think that the Minister has done something so serious as to make the hon. Member demand an apology from him.

Question proposed.

Mr Ayo Rosiji (Egba East): Mr Speaker, Sir, it is obvious that since 1939 the stamp duties about to be increased have not been increased and we should make the increase. Indeed, we know that within less than seven years the cost of living has risen very steeply and as a consequence, the Ministers have increased their salaries and that of the Members of the House. (*Interruption.*)

Now those of us who deal in instruments especially legal instruments and other instruments on which stamp duties are paid know that this Bill has been overdue for sometime, and we hope that as the Government have started with this Bill, they will continue to bring non-contentious bills.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved :

That, as from the First day of April, Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-one, pursuant to subsection (1) of section one hundred and fourteen of the Stamp Duties Ordinance (Cap. 191), the duties chargeable under the Schedule to the Stamp Duties Ordinance shall be increased to the extent that the several duties specified in the heads in the Schedule hereto shall be the duties chargeable under the Schedule to the Stamp Duties Ordinance and that Schedule is varied accordingly.

SCHEDULE

	£	s	d
ADMISSION as a barrister or solicitor	25	0	0

Exemption :

Rules of
Court 5 of
1942.

Admission as a military advocate under the provisions of the Military Advocates Rules, 1942. (*Added by Resolution and Order 2 of 1942*).

As a notary public	10	0	0
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See Licence and sections 24 and 26.

AFFIDAVIT, AFFIRMATION AND STATUTORY DECLARATION

Except where express provision is made as to the manner in which it is to be taken	0	4	6
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Exemptions :

- (1) Affidavit or affirmation made for the immediate purpose of being filed, read, or used in any court in Nigeria, or before any judge or officer of any such court.
- (2) Affidavit, affirmation or declaration made upon a requisition of a commissioner under this Ordinance, or a commissioner of any public board of revenue in Nigeria or in England or any of the officers acting under them, or required by any law of Nigeria.
- (3) Affidavit, affirmation or declaration which may be required by the Bank of England to prove the death of any proprietor of any stock transferable there, or to identify the person of any such proprietor, or to remove any other impediment to the transfer of any such stock.

AGREEMENT or CONTRACT, accompanied with a deposit. *See* Mortgage and sections 28 and 79.

AGREEMENT for a lease or for any letting. *See* Lease and section 67.

AGREEMENT for Sale of Property. *See* Conveyance on Sale and section 57.

AGREEMENT or any MEMORANDUM of an AGREEMENT under hand only and not otherwise specifically charged with any duty, whether the same be only evidence of a contract or obligatory upon the parties from its being a written instrument ..	0	1	6
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Exemptions :

- (1) Agreement or Memorandum the matter whereof is not of the value of £5.

SCHEDULE—continued

- | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2) Agreement or Memorandum for the hire of any labourer, artificer, manufacturer or menial servant. | | | |
| (3) Agreement, Letter or Memorandum made for or relating to the sale of any goods, wares, or merchandise. | | | |

See sections 27, 28 and 29.

AGREEMENT, HIRE PURCHASE

If under hand only	0	1	6
If under seal	1	10	0

See section 29.

ALLOTMENT. See Letter of Allotment.

ANNUITY, conveyance in consideration of. See Conveyance on Sale, and section 53.

Purchase of. See Conveyance on Sale, and section 59.

Creation of, by way of security. See Mortgage, and section 80.

Instruments relating to, upon any other occasion. See Bond, Covenant, or Instrument of any kind whatsoever.

APPOINTMENT of a new trustee, and APPOINTMENT in execution of a power of any property, or of any use, share, or interest in any property, by any instrument not being a will	0	15	0
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See section 64.

APPOINTMENT of commissioner for taking affidavits and declarations under any Ordinance or Law and of a justice of the peace under the provisions of any Ordinance or Law relating to magistrates' courts	4	10	0
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(Substituted by L.N. 47 of 1955)

APPRaisalMENT or VALUATION of any property, or of any interest therein, or of the annual value thereof, or of any dilapidations, or of any repairs wanted, or of the materials and labour used or to be used in any building, or of any artificers' work whatsoever. Where the amount of the appraisalment or valuation—does not exceed £100, for every £25 or fractional part thereof ..	0	3	9
exceeds £100, for every £100 or fractional part thereof ..	1	10	0

Exemptions :

- (1) Appraisalment or valuation made for, and for the information of, one party only, and not being in any manner obligatory as between parties either by agreement or operation of any law of Nigeria.
- (2) Appraisalment or valuation made in pursuance of the order of a court in the exercise of its Admiralty Jurisdiction.

(Amended by L.N. 47 of 1955)

- (3) Appraisalment or valuation of property of a deceased person made for the information of an executor or other person required to deliver an affidavit of the estate of such deceased person.

SCHEDULE—continued

	£	s	d
(4) Appraisalment or valuation of any property of a deceased person made for the purpose of ascertaining any duty payable thereon.			
(5) Appraisalment or valuation made by or on behalf of a local authority and in connection with the raising of the revenues of a local authority.			
APPRENTICESHIP, instrument of	0	3	9
<i>See section 32.</i>			
ASSIGNMENT.			
By way of security, or of any security. <i>See Mortgage.</i>			
Upon a sale, or otherwise. <i>See Conveyance.</i>			
ASSURANCE. <i>See Policy.</i>			
ATTORNEY, LETTER or Power of. <i>See Letter of Attorney.</i>			
WARRANT of. <i>See Warrant of Attorney.</i>			
AWARD.			
(1) Where the amount or value of the matter in dispute does not exceed £100, for every £25 or fractional part of £25 thereof	0	3	9
(2) Where the amount or value exceeds £100, for every £100 or fractional part of £100 thereof	1	10	0
BILLS OF EXCHANGE.			
BILL OF EXCHANGE payable on demand or at sight or on presentation or within three days after date or sight	0	0	2
BILL OF EXCHANGE of any other kind whatsoever (except a bank note) and PROMISSORY NOTE of any kind whatsoever (except a bank note) drawn, or expressed to be payable, or actually paid, or endorsed, or in any manner negotiated in Nigeria.			
Where the amount or value of the money for which the bill or note is drawn or made does not exceed £10	0	0	2
exceeds £10 but does not exceed £25	0	0	6
exceeds £25 but does not exceed £50	0	1	0
exceeds £50 but does not exceed £75	0	1	6
exceeds £75 but does not exceed £100	0	2	0
exceeds £100, for every £25 and also for any fractional part of £25 of such amount or value	0	0	6
BILL OF EXCHANGE of any other kind whatsoever (except a bank note) drawn and expressed to be payable out of Nigeria when paid, or endorsed, or in any manner negotiated in Nigeria. Where the amount or value of the money for which the bill or note is drawn or made does not exceed £10			
exceeds £10 but does not exceed £25	0	0	2
exceeds £25 but does not exceed £50	0	0	6
exceeds £50 but does not exceed £100	0	2	0
exceeds £100, for every £25 and also for any fractional part of £25 of such amount or value	0	0	6

SCHEDULE—continued

£ s d

Exemptions :

- (1) Letter of credit granted in Nigeria authorising drafts to be drawn in Nigeria for payment out of Nigeria.
- (2) West African currency notes.
- (3) Bill or note issued by the Bank of England.
- (4) Letter written by a firm carrying on the business of banking in Nigeria to any other such person directing the payment of any sum of money, the same not being payable to bearer or to order, and such letter not being sent or delivered to the person to whom payment is to be made or to any person on his behalf.
- (5) Coupon or warrant for interest attached to and issued with any security, or with an agreement or memorandum for the renewal or extension of time for payment of a security, or issued in a sheet, either with the security or subsequently.

See sections 35-37 and 39-42.

- (6) An order for the payment of money weekly, monthly or at any other stated periods to the British Red Cross Society.
- ((6) added by 2 of 1945.)

BILL OF LADING of or for any goods, merchandise, or effects to be exported

0 0 9

See section 43

Exemption :

The master's copy.

BILL OF SALE.

Absolute. See Conveyance on Sale.

By way of security. See Mortgage. See section 44.

BONDS.

BOND for securing the payment or repayment of money or the transfer or re-transfer of stock. See Mortgage, and Marketable Security.

BOND in relation to any annuity upon the original creation and sale thereof. See Conveyance on Sale and section 59.

BOND, COVENANT, or INSTRUMENT of any kind whatsoever.

- (1) Being the only or principal or primary security for any annuity (except upon the original creation thereof by way of sale or security, and except a superannuation annuity), or for any sum or sums of money at stated periods, not being interest for any principal sum secured by a duly stamped instrument, nor rent reserved by a lease.

For a definite and certain period, { The same *ad valorem* duty so that the total amount to be ultimately payable can be ascertained. } as a mortgage or a bond for such total amount.

For the time of life or any other indefinite period :—

For every £5, and also for any fractional part of £5, of the annuity or sum periodically payable 0 7 6

- (2) Being a collateral or auxiliary or additional or substituted security for any of the above-mentioned purposes where the principal or primary instrument is duly stamped.

SCHEDULE—continued

Where the total amount to be ultimately payable can be ascertained.	}	The same <i>ad valorem</i> duty as a mortgage or a bond of the same kind for such total amount.	
In any other case :—			£ s d
For every £5, and also for any fractional part of £5, of the annuity or sum periodically payable			0 1 6
(3) Being a grant or contract for payment of a superannuation annuity, that is to say a deferred life annuity granted or secured to any person in consideration of annual premiums payable until he attains a specified age and so as to commence on his attaining that age.			
For every £5 and also for any fractional part of £5 of the annuity			0 1 6
BOND given pursuant to the directions of any Ordinance or of a commissioner, or of the Accountant-General, or any of their officers, for or in respect of any of the duties or revenue of Nigeria or for preventing frauds or evasions thereof, or for any other matter or thing relating thereto.			
Where the penalty of the bond does not exceed £100			0 7 6
In any other case			0 15 0

(Substituted by Resolution and Order 1 of 1951)

Exemptions :

BOND given as aforesaid upon, or in relation to, the receiving or obtaining, or for entitling any person to receive or obtain, any drawback of any duty or revenue, for or in respect of any goods, wares or merchandise exported from Nigeria and bonds given in respect of the removal, transshipment, exportation or shipment as stores of any goods.

BOND on obtaining letters of administration or on the sealing of a probate or letters of administration under the Probates (Re-sealing) Ordinance 0 7 6

Exemption :

BOND given by any person where the estate to be administered does not exceed one hundred pounds in value.

BOND of any kind whatsoever not specifically charged with any duty.

Where the amount limited to be recoverable does not exceed £300.	}	The same <i>ad valorem</i> duty as a mortgage or a bond for the amount limited.	
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In any other case 1 10 0

BOND, accompanied with a deposit of title deeds, for making a mortgage or other security on any estate or property therein comprised. See Mortgage, and section 79.

BOND, DECLARATION, or other DEED or WRITING for making redeemable any disposition apparently absolute, but intended only as a security. See Mortgage, and sections 28 and 79.

SCHEDULE—continued

£ s d

CAPITAL DUTY.

On the nominal share capital or any increase thereof:—
 Limited liability companies registered under the Companies Ordinance, and corporations or companies with limited liability otherwise than under the Companies Ordinance—

Cap. 37.

For every £100, and also for any fractional part of £100 of such nominal share capital 0 15 0

See sections 98, 99, 102 and 103.

On loan capital:—

For every £100, and also for any fractional part of £100 of the amount proposed to be secured 0 3 9

See sections 100-103

CERTIFICATE from the Minister or other officer to the effect that there is no consular representative of any particular country or nation mentioned in the certificate 0 15 0

CERTIFICATE from a commissioner:—

For denoting under section 14, or that the full and proper duty has been paid upon the original of any document under section 65 0 3 9

That an instrument is not chargeable with duty, or that it is duly stamped or the amount of duty with which it is chargeable in pursuance of sections 15, 102 or 103 0 7 6

Exemptions:

Any certificates relating to any instruments the subject of general exemption (3) or (4). (Added by No. 28 of 1941.)

See section 57.

CHARTER-PARTY, or any agreement for or relating to the freight or conveyance of any goods or effects on board a ship 0 0 9

CHEQUE. See Bill of Exchange.

CONTRACT. See Agreement.

CONTRACT NOTES.

CONTRACT NOTE for or relating to the sale or purchase of any stock or marketable security:—

Where the value of the stock or marketable security is less than £5 0 0 3

Where the value of the stock or marketable security is £5 and does not exceed £100 0 1 6

exceeds £100, for every £100 or part thereof 0 1 6

See sections 48, 49 and 50.

CONTINUATION NOTES. See section 48 (2).

OPTION NOTES. See section 50 (1).

CONTRACT NOTE following a duly stamped Option Note. See section 50 (2).

CONVEYANCE OR TRANSFER ON SALE, of any property. For every £25, and also for every fractional part of £25, of the amount or value of the consideration for the sale 0 7 6

See sections 51-63.

SCHEDULE—continued

£ s d

CONVEYANCE or Transfer by way of security of any property or of any security. <i>See</i> Mortgage and sections 2 and 75-77.	
CONVEYANCES or Transfers operating as voluntary dispositions <i>inter vivos</i> . <i>See</i> sections 22 and 62.	
CONVEYANCE or Transfer of any kind not hereinbefore described	1 10 0
<i>See</i> section 64.	
COUNTERPART. <i>See</i> Duplicate.	
COVENANT for securing the payment or repayment of money, or the transfer or re-transfer of stock. <i>See</i> Mortgage.	
COVENANT in relation to any annuity upon the original creation and sale thereof. <i>See</i> Conveyance on Sale, and section 59.	
COVENANT in relation to any annuity (except upon the original creation and sale thereof) or to other periodical payments. <i>See</i> Bond, Covenant.	
COVENANT. Any separate deed of covenant (not being an instrument chargeable with <i>ad valorem</i> duty as a conveyance on sale or mortgage) made on the sale or mortgage of any property, and relating solely to the conveyance or enjoyment of, or the title to, the property sold or mortgaged, or to the production of the muniments of title relating thereto, or to all or any of the matters aforesaid :—	
Where the <i>ad valorem</i> duty in respect of the consideration or mortgage money does not exceed £1.	} A duty equal to the amount of such <i>ad valorem</i> duty.
In any other case .. .. .		£ s d 1 10 0
DEBENTURE for securing the payment or repayment of money or the transfer or re-transfer of stock. <i>See</i> Mortgage, and Marketable Security.	
DECLARATION of any use of trust of or concerning any property by any writing, not being a will, or an instrument chargeable with <i>ad valorem</i> duty as a settlement	1 10 0
DECLARATION (Statutory). <i>See</i> Affidavit.	
DEED of any kind whatsoever, not described in this Schedule ..	1 10 0
DEFEASANCE. Instrument of defeasance of any conveyance, transfer apparently absolute but intended only as a security for money or stock. <i>See</i> Mortgage and section 79.	
In respect of Marketable Securities under hand only, <i>see</i> Agreement and section 28.	
DEMISE. <i>See</i> Lease.	
DEPOSIT of title deeds. <i>See</i> Mortgage and section 79.	
DRAFT for money. <i>See</i> Bill of Exchange.	
DUPLICATE or COUNTERPART of any instrument chargeable with any duty :—	
Where such duty does not amount to 7s-6d	} The same duty as the original instrument.
In any other case .. .. .		0 7 6
<i>See</i> section 65.	
EQUITABLE MORTGAGE. <i>See</i> Mortgage and sections 28 and 79.	

SCHEDULE—continued

	£	s	d
EXCHANGE, Instruments effecting. In the case specified in section 66 <i>see</i> that section.			
In any other case	1	10	0

(Amended by 28 of 1941.)

FIDELITY BOND. Where the amount limited to be recoverable does not exceed £300.	}	The same <i>ad valorem</i> duty as a bond for the amount limited.	
In any other case .. .. .				1	10	0

FURTHER CHARGE or FURTHER SECURITY. *See* Mortgage and section 79.

GUARANTEE. Other than a Fidelity Bond *see* Agreement and Bond.

HIRE PURCHASE AGREEMENT. *See* Agreement, Hire Purchase and section 29.

INSURANCE. *See* Policy.

LEASE.

(1) For any definite term less than a year—

(a) where the rent does not exceed the rate of £25 a year	0	0	9
(b) where the rent exceeds the rate of £25 a year ..	0	3	9

(2) For any other definite term or for any indefinite term—

(a) for every £25 and also for every fractional part of £25 of the rent for the year—			
(i) if the term is definite and does not exceed seven years	0	3	9
exceeds seven years and does not exceed twenty-one years	0	15	0
exceeds twenty-one years	1	10	0
(ii) if the term is indefinite	1	10	0

(iii) where the consideration, or any part of the consideration, moving either to the lessor or to any other person, consists of any money, stock, or security :

in respect of such consideration.	}	The same duty as a conveyance on a sale for the same consideration.	

(3) Of any other kind whatsoever not hereinbefore described 1 10 0

(4) A lease by the Government of Crown Lands shall be assessed as if there was no revision clause and the initial rent was the rent payable throughout the term.

See also sections 67-70.

Exemptions :

A temporary occupation licence granted under section 4 of the Crown Lands Ordinance.

(Amended by 28 of 1941 and 17 of 1942.)

SCHEDULE—continued

£ s d

LETTER OF ALLOTMENT and LETTER OR RENUNCIATION, or any other document having the effect of a letter of allotment:—

(9 Edw. 7, c. 43, s. 9.)

- (1) Of any share or any fractional part thereof of any company or proposed company.
- (2) In respect of any loan raised or proposed to be raised, by any company or proposed company, or by any municipal body or corporation.
- (3) Issued or delivered in Nigeria, of any share or any fractional part thereof of any Imperial, foreign or colonial company or proposed company.

If the amount allotted or to which the letter of renunciation relates—

is less than £5	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	0	3
is £5 or over	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	1	6

AND SCRIP CERTIFICATE, SCRIP, or other document:—

- (1) entitling any person to become the proprietor of any share or any fractional part thereof of any company or proposed company 0 0 3
- (2) issued or delivered in Nigeria, and entitling any person to become the proprietor of any share or any fractional part thereof of any foreign or colonial company or proposed company 0 0 3
- (3) denoting, or intended to denote, the right of any person as a subscriber in respect of any loan raised or proposed to be raised by any company or proposed company, or by any municipal body or corporation 0 0 3

See sections 71 and 72.

LETTER OF CREDIT. See Bill of Exchange.

LETTER or POWER OF ATTORNEY, and COMMISSION, FACTORY, MANDATE, or other instrument in the nature thereof:—

- (1) For the sole purpose of appointing or authorising a proxy to vote at any one meeting at which votes may be given by proxy, whether the number of persons named in such instrument be one or more 0 0 3
- (2) by any petty officer, seaman, marine, or soldier, serving as a marine, or his representatives, for receiving prize money or wages 0 3 0
- (3) For the receipt of the dividends or interest of any stock:—

Where made for the receipt of one payment only	..	0	3	0
In any other case	.. .. .	0	15	0
- (4) For the receipt of any sum of money, or any bill of exchange or promissory note for any sum of money, not exceeding £20, or any periodical payments not exceeding the annual sum of £10 (not being hereinbefore charged).. 0 15 0
- (5) Of any kind whatsoever not hereinbefore described .. 1 10 0

SCHEDULE—continued

£ s d

Exemptions :

- (1) Letter or power of attorney for the receipt of dividends of any definite and certain share of the Imperial Government or Parliamentary stocks or funds producing a yearly dividend less than £3.
- (2) Letter or power of attorney or proxy filed in a High Court in connection with Probate Jurisdiction of the Court.

(Amended by L.N. 47 of 1955).

- (3) Order, request, or direction under hand only from the proprietor of any stock to any company or to any officer of any company or to any banker to pay the dividends or interest arising from the stock to any person therein named.
- (4) Letter or power of attorney for the sale, transfer or acceptance of any of the Imperial Government or Parliamentary stocks or funds.
- (5) Power of attorney given exclusively for the purpose of authorising the receipt of money payable on the redemption of Government stock.
- (6) Power of attorney or authority given to any person to receive from the Treasury any moneys payable to any person in the service of the Government.

(7 and 8
Geo. 5, c. 31,
s. 30 (1).)

See sections 73 and 74.

(a) Letter of Hypothecation	0	3	9
(b) Letter of Trust	0	3	9

(Inserted by Resolution and Order 4 of 1939.)

LICENCE to act temporarily as a Solicitor, and on every renewal of such licence 5 5 0

LICENCE coupled with a grant. See section 63.

LICENCE under the Piers Ordinance 0 7 6 Cap. 153.

MARKETABLE SECURITY :—

- (1) Marketable Security being a security not transferable by delivery :—

For or in respect of the money thereby secured.	}	The same <i>ad valorem</i> duty according to the nature of the security as upon a mortgage.

- (2) Marketable Security being a security transferable by delivery :—

For every £10, and also for any fractional part of £10 of the money thereby secured	0	4	6
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- (3) Marketable Security being such security as last aforesaid given in substitution for a like security duly stamped in conformity with the law in force when it became subject to duty :—

For every £20, and also for any fractional part of £20 of the money thereby secured	0	0	9
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- (4) Transfer, Assignment or Disposition of a marketable security of any description :—

SCHEDULE—continued

	£	s	d
Upon a sale thereof. <i>See</i> Conveyance or Transfer on Sale.			
Upon a mortgage thereof. <i>See</i> Mortgage of Stock or Marketable Security.			
In other case than a sale or Mortgage	0	15	0
<i>See sections 2 and 75-77.</i>			
<i>(Amended by 28 of 1941 and 17 of 1942.)</i>			
MORTGAGE, BOND, DEBENTURE, COVENANT (except a marketable security, otherwise specially charged with duty), and WARRANT OF ATTORNEY to confess and enter up judgment. . .			
(1) Being the only or principal or primary security (other than an equitable mortgage) for the payment or repayment of money, for every £100, and also for every fractional part of £100, of the amount secured	0	7	6
(2) Being a collateral, or auxiliary, or additional or substituted security, or by way of further assurance for the above-mentioned purpose, where the principal or primary security is duly stamped : for every £100, and also for every fractional part of £100, of the amount secured	0	1	6
(3) Being an equitable mortgage, for every £100, and also for every fractional part of £100 of the amount secured	0	3	0
(4) TRANSFER, ASSIGNMENT or DISPOSITION of any mortgage, bond, debenture, or covenant (except a marketable security) or of any money or stock secured by any such instrument, or by any warrant of attorney to enter up judgment, or by any judgment :— For every £100, and also for any fractional part of £100, of the amount transferred, assigned, or disposed, exclusive of interest which is not in arrear			0 1 6
And also where any further money } is added to the money already } security for such further money. secured.			
(5) RECONVEYANCE, RELEASE, DISCHARGE, SURRENDER, RESURRENDER, WARRANT TO VACATE, or RENUNCIATION of any such security as aforesaid, or of the benefit thereof, or of the money thereby secured :— For every £100, and also for any fractional part of £100, of the total amount or value of the money at any time secured	0	1	6
<i>See sections 79-81.</i>			
MORTGAGE OF STOCK or Marketable Security :— Under had only. <i>See</i> Agreement and section 28. By deed. <i>See</i> Mortgage, and section 79.			
MUTUAL DISPOSITION. <i>See</i> Exchange.			
NOTARIAL ACT of any king whatsoever (except a protest of a bill of exchange or promissory note)	0	1	6
<i>See</i> Protest and section 82			

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[Stamp Duties]

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[Stamp Duties]

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SCHEDULE—continued

£ s d

NOTARY PUBLIC, on being sworn	2 10 0
ORDER for the payment of money. <i>See</i> Bill of Exchange.	
PARTITION or DIVISION, Instruments effecting :—	
In the case specified in section 66. <i>See</i> that section	
In any other case	1 10 0

POLICY OF INSURANCE :—

Policy of Life Insurance—

Where the sum insured does not exceed £500; for every £50, and also for any fractional part of £50, of the amount insured	0 0 9
Exceeds £500 but does not exceed £1,000; for every £100 and also for any fractional part of £100, of the amount insured	0 1 6
Exceeds £1,000, for every £1,000 and also for any fractional part of £1,000, of the amount insured	0 15 0

See sections 83, 85 and 86.

Policy of Insurance against Accident and Policy of Insurance for any payment agreed to be made during the sickness of any person, or his incapacity from personal injury, or by way of indemnity against or damage of or to any property	0 0 9
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See sections 83-85.

Policy of Insurance of any kind not hereinbefore specifically mentioned :—

The same *ad valorem* duty as is payable under the heading "Policy of Life Insurance" in this Schedule.

Exemption :

Policies of Sea Insurance.

POWER OF ATTORNEY. <i>See</i> Letter of Attorney.	
PROCURATION, deed or other instrument of	0 15 0
PROTEST of any bill of exchange or promissory note :—	
Where the duty on the bill or note does not exceed 1s. } The same duty as the bill or note.	
In any other case	0 1 6

See section 82.

PROMISSORY NOTE. *See* Bill of Exchange.

(Amended by 28 of 1941.)

RECEIPT given for or upon the payment of money amounting to £2 or upwards	0 0 2
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Exemptions :

- (1) Receipt given by any person or his representative for or on account of any salary, pay or wages or for or on account of any other like payment made to or for the account or benefit of any person being the holder of any office or an employée, in respect of his office or employment, or for or on account of money paid in respect of any pension, superannuation allowance, compassionate allowance or other like allowance.

SCHEDULE—*continued*

- (2) Receipt endorsed or otherwise written upon or contained in any instrument liable to stamp duty and duly stamped, acknowledging the receipt of the consideration money therein expressed, or the receipt of any principal money, interest or annuity thereby secured or therein mentioned.
- (3) Acknowledgment by any banker of the receipt of any bill of exchange or promissory note for the purpose of being presented for acceptance or payment.
- (4) Receipt given for money deposited in any bank, or with any banker, to be accounted for and expressed to be received of the person to whom the same is to be accounted for, or for money withdrawn from a savings bank account.
- (5) Receipt given by the payee of a money order.
- (6) Receipt given for or upon the payment of any Government duties or taxes or of money to or for the use of Her Majesty or the Government.
- (7) The duplicate of any receipt required by Government to be given in duplicate, the original receipt being duly stamped.
- (8) Receipt given by an officer of a public department of the Government of Nigeria or a Region for money paid by way of imprest or advance, or in adjustment of account, where he derives no personal benefit therefrom, or for the refund of out-of-pocket expenses due from Government.

(Amended by Ordinance 2 of 1953).

- (9) Receipt given for drawback or bounty upon the exportation of any goods or merchandise.
- (10) Receipt given for the return of any duties of Customs upon certificates of over-entry, or upon reimportation certificates.
- Cap. 121. (11) Receipt given for the refund of any sums deposited with the Treasury under the provisions of the Minerals Ordinance.
- (12) Receipt given for the return of any moneys over-collected by Government.
- (13) Receipt given by a prisoner on discharge, for money placed on deposit in the Treasury, or otherwise retained, during the term of his imprisonment.
- (14) Receipt given by an accused person for money or other property taken from him on his arrest.
- (15) Receipt given for money given or subscribed to the British Red Cross Society.

((15) added by 2 of 1945).

See sections 87-90.

SCHEDULE—continued

RECONVEYANCE, RELEASE OF RENUNCIATION of any security. £ s d
 See Mortgage.

RELEASE OF RENUNCIATION of any property, or of any right or interest in any property :—

Upon a sale. See Conveyance on Sale.

By way of security. See Mortgage.

In any other case 1 10 0

RENUNCIATION. See Reconveyance and Release.

RENUNCIATION, LETTER OF. See Letter of Allotment.

REVOCATION of any use or trust of any property by a writing, not being a will 0 15 0

SCRIP CERTIFICATE or SCRIP. See Letter of Allotment.

SETTLEMENT. Any instrument, whether voluntary or upon any good or valuable consideration other than a *bona fide* pecuniary consideration whereby any definite and certain principal sum of money (whether charged or chargeable on lands or other hereditaments or not, or to be laid out in the purchase of lands or other hereditaments or not) or any definite and certain amount of stock, or any security is settled or agreed to be settled in any manner whatsoever :—

For every £100, and also for any fractional part of £100 of the amount or value of the property settled or agreed to be settled 0 7 6

Exemption :

Instrument of appointment relating to any property in favour of persons specially named or described as the object of a power of appointment, where duty has been duly paid in respect of the same property upon the settlement creating the power or the grant of representation of any will or testamentary instrument creating the power. See sections 91-93.

SHARE WARRANT OR STOCK CERTIFICATE TO BEARER—

(i) Issued under the provisions of the Companies Ordinance or any instrument to bearer issued by or on behalf of any company or body of persons formed or established in Nigeria and having a like effect as a share warrant and stock certificate to bearer. { A duty of an amount equal to three times the amount of the *ad valorem* duty which would be chargeable on a deed transferring the share or shares or stock specified in warrant or certificate if the consideration for the transfer were the nominal value of such share or shares or stock.

Cap. 37.
 (62 and 63
 Vict. c. 9.
 s. 5 (1) in
 part.)

(ii) Issued by any company or body of persons formed or established out of Nigeria, for every £10 or fraction thereof of the nominal value of the share or stock to which the warrant or certificate relates £ s d
 0 1 6

See section 76, 94, 95 and 96.
 (Substituted by 28 of 1941)

SCHEDULE—*continued*

	£	s	d
SUPERANNUATION ANNUITY. <i>See</i> Bond, Covenant.			
SURRENDER—			
Cap. 96. Of any kind whatsoever not chargeable with duty as a conveyance on sale or a mortgage and not being a surrender of a certificate of occupancy under the Land and Native Rights Ordinance, or of a mining lease or water right under the Minerals Ordinance			
Cap. 121. the Minerals Ordinance	0	15	0
(<i>Amended by 17 of 1942.</i>)			
TRANSFER. <i>See</i> Conveyance or Transfer.			
VOTING PAPER. Any instrument for the purpose of voting by any person entitled to vote at any meeting of any body exercising a public trust, or of the shareholders, or members, or contributors to the funds of any company, society or institution	0	0	3
<i>See</i> section 73.			
WARRANT OF ATTORNEY to confess and enter up a judgment given as a security for the payment or repayment of money, or for the transfer or re-transfer of stock. <i>See</i> Mortgage.			
WARRANT OF ATTORNEY of any other kind	1	10	0
WARRANT FOR GOODS	0	0	9

Exemptions :

- (1) Any document or writing given by an inland carrier acknowledging the receipt of goods conveyed by such carrier.
- (2) A weight note issued together with a duly stamped warrant, and relating solely to the same goods, wares, or merchandise.

See section 97.

GENERAL EXEMPTIONS FROM ALL STAMP DUTIES :—

- (1) Transfers of shares in the Government or Parliamentary stocks or funds or Great Britain.
- (2) Instruments for the sale, transfer or other disposition, either absolutely, or by way of mortgage, or otherwise, of any ship or vessel or any part, interest, share or property of or in any ship or vessel.
- (3) All instruments on which the duty would be payable by Government.
- (4) All instruments on which the duty would be payable locally by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom or any of the departments thereof. (*Inserted as (3A) by 28 of 1941.*)
- (5) Agreements made with the Nigerian Railway Corporation relating to the receipt and carriage of passengers, goods or animals.
- (6) Indemnity bonds given to the Nigerian Railway Corporation by consignees (when the railway receipt is not produced) in respect of the delivery of consignments of fresh fish fruit and vegetables, and other perishable articles.

SCHEDULE—continued

- (7) An instrument of apprenticeship to which the Government is a party.
- (8) Bond given by public officer for the execution of his duties.
- * (9) All instruments on which the duty would be payable by any Consular Officer arising out of his official functions where the foreign government he represents grants the like exemption to British Consular Officers. 38 of 1950.
- (10) Instruments relating to the alienation of land or any interest therein which are approved by Native Authorities of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria in accordance with rules made by them under paragraph (xxvii) (a) of subsection (1) of section 25 of the Native Authority Ordinance. *Resolution* 6 of 1951.
Cap. 140 of the 1948 edition.
Cap. 38.
- (11) All instruments relating to the alienation of land or any interest therein which are approved by any local government council under any by-law made under either section 101 of the Eastern Region Local Government Ordinance or section 77 of the Western Region Local Government Law, 1953. L.N. 64 of 1954.
16 of 1950.
1 of 1953.
- * (12) All instruments regarding which the Government of the Federation is competent to make laws executed by or on behalf of any co-operative society registered under any Ordinance or Law or by any officer or member of such a society relating to the business of such society. L.N. 90 of 1956.
- (13) All documents relating to the transfer of stocks and shares.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS

Dr Kalu Ezera (Bende East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move the motion standing in my name, "that an humble address be presented to his Excellency Governor-General as follows :

"Your Excellency, we, the Members of the House of Representatives of the Federation of Nigeria, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to your Excellency for the speech which Your Excellency has been pleased to address to both Houses of Parliament."

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a great privilege to move this Motion on this momentous and historic occasion. The momentousness of the occasion arises from two reasons. First, as is generally known this is the first Budget Session of an Independent Nigeria since this country attained sovereign status almost six months ago. Secondly, and this is a more important reason, this is the first time a Nigerian has delivered the Speech from the Throne as Governor-General of a free and Independent Federation of Nigeria.

Sir, the Speech from the Throne is remarkable both for its brilliance and for its precision. It is, by any test, the greatest and the most moving Speech from the Throne that this august House and even its predecessors have listened to since the inception of constitutional and parliamentary Government in this country (*Hear, hear*). In form as well as in content, the Speech provides a commanding and comprehensive survey of all the urgent and vexing problems facing this new nation both internally and externally. The legislative programmes outlined in the Speech are not only progressive, bold and imaginative, but are also largely designed to cater for the welfare of the common man (*Hear, hear*) ; to cater for the utilitarian principles of the greatest happiness of the greatest number of our teeming population.

Sir, I shall attempt very briefly to deal with this Motion in two parts—the domestic policies and the external policies as reflected in the Legislative programmes outlined. Perhaps it might be right to say that on the external front the most laudable achievement of the Abubakar Government of this country has been its stand on the South African issue (*Hear, hear*). I think, Sir, that this Government deserves the unanimous tribute of all sections of this House and, indeed, of the whole nation, for its courageous stand and iron determination on the South African question during the recent Prime Ministers' Conference in London (*Hear, hear*). The forced withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth is a clear vindication of, and an eloquent testimony to, the uncompromising stand of this Government in opposing racial inequality in any part of the world.

I recall, Sir, that during the Independence celebrations this Government dedicated itself in unity and faith to revive the stature of man in Africa and to restore the dignity of man in the world. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the issue of South Africa, which is now a credit to all black peoples irrespective of partisanship, is a great credit to the Government of this country.

Mr Speaker : I notice that more than two hon. Members are standing while the Mover of the Motion is speaking. Well, that is clearly out of order.

Dr Ezera : Sir, we would like to urge the Government to carry on the fight of anti-apartheid and not to allow South Africa to go scot-free even though it is now out of the Commonwealth. This doctrine of apartheid is an evil and we think, with the exit of South Africa, that the Commonwealth will grow from strength to strength and that Nigeria will always be a very gallant ally to all other members of the Commonwealth.

Similarly, Sir, we would like to urge the Government to continue to give moral support to the legitimate aspirations of dependent African peoples seeking their freedom from

colonial status. We note with joy that this is contained again in the Speech from the Throne and we hope that this is not only going to be on paper but that there is going to be specific action; whether it be in Fernando Po or in Kenya or in Rhodesia, Nigeria must always take the frontline. To merit the leadership of other African peoples we must save them from colonial status, and we hope and trust that our Government will do it.

In this regard, we are happy to note that by its voting on the Angola resolution in the United Nations the present Kennedy Administration of the United States has given its indication on the right lines; that it is willing perhaps to break, if possible, with its traditional allies of the Atlantic Community and to support unflinchingly the anti-colonial crusade. We must be grateful for this gesture and Nigeria should continue to make friends and to exploit this opportunity.

This Government has equally acquitted itself creditably in the United Nations. Nigerians everywhere are proud of the worthy performance of the units of our Royal Nigerian Army and the Nigeria Police Force in the Congo. We are equally proud that Nigeria has played such a conspicuous part in the work of the Congo Conciliation Committee and with several other efforts to bring law and order in that unhappy, strife-torn country.

Individually, however, we have had occasions to be critical of the way the United Nations has handled the Congo question, which has led to the murder of the Republic's first Prime Minister, Monsieur Patrice Lumumba. It is perhaps needless here to cry over spilt milk but we do hope that our Government as a member state of the United Nations will always assert its claim and its right to express the yearnings and aspirations of our people and positively to declare to the world where we stand. It has done so but we want it to do more so that we can give it the moral support that it deserves. (*Hear, hear*).

We remember, Sir, that our Prime Minister, during his maiden speech at the United Nations, made very excellent suggestions on the Congo situation. I am sure that if these suggestions were accepted and implemented the situation in the Congo to-day would have been different. This is precisely what we are saying. The Prime Minister made excellent suggestions. Among other things, he suggested

the holding of fresh elections and whoever was elected, whether we liked it or not, should be accepted. And he suggested that Africa should avoid attracting ideological warfare. If these suggestions had been taken by the U.N.O. I am sure we could have saved ourselves the trouble of the Congo situation (*Hear, hear*).

Sir, I would like to ask the Federal Government to thank the Northern Regional Government for its role in spear-heading and winning the Northern Cameroons plebiscite (*Hear, hear*.) I must say, Sir, that every effort should be made to present our case forcefully at the United Nations, where we understand, the Ahidjo Government of the Cameroons Republic is contesting the validity of that plebiscite. We should not leave it alone to the Northern Government; it is a Nigerian affair, and we want to thank the Federal Government and the Regional Governments for the success.

Finally, Sir, on the issue of Foreign Policy, this Government should be congratulated for the realistic manner in which it has carried out its declared policy of non-alignment with any bloc or group. No doubt there have been temptations, there have been waverings because we are new in the rough and tumble of international politics, but I think we must say, in frankness, that this Government has more often than not allowed its realistic policy to be its guiding principle. This realistic approach, Sir, defined in certain terms has imposed the most intellectual discipline upon the Nigerian masses. We want the Government to do more. This is really a grand occasion for us to project our personality, the Nigerian personality in order that we may be able to live in the world and in fact, in Africa in peace.

I am going to be very brief, Sir, about our domestic affairs. This Government is introducing legislation in various fields but perhaps the most commendable is in the field of social welfare. Throughout the Federation, the workers would be encouraged to provide for their old age, additional remand homes and community centres will be built in the Federal territory. And above all, legal aid would be provided by the Government for persons who would normally be unable to pursue their right in a court of law because of their inability to pay litigation costs. There is no doubt that these are trends towards a welfare state. These are trends towards the welfare state that I called earlier the utilitarian principle of

[DR EZERA]

the greatest happiness of the greatest number of our people. Because of this, we would still urge the Government to consider seriously the question of a national minimum wage of at least £3 a week to our workers all over the country indeed a reputable amount could be arrived at in consultation with the Regional Governments.

The other issues are about the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. It is a great pity to say, Sir, that the Board of Management of this Corporation has not been effective and therefore, we want the Government to dissolve the Board and new appointments made in view of the great responsibility which will result from external broadcasting. External broadcasting is one of the most effective methods of projecting Nigerian personality abroad, and I would further suggest, Sir, that the staff of the N.B.C. be carefully selected and rigorously trained for their onerous duty so that when people in Ghana, Brazaville or South Africa tune to Radio Nigeria, they will hear and understand the message of truth coming from us.

On the issue of Judicial Service Commission, Sir, we also urge the Government to amend the Constitution to enable certain aspects of the judiciary to be federalised. We believe it is only right and proper for High Court Judges in Lagos and in the Federal territory to be appointed after due consultations with the Prime Minister and not only by the Judicial Service Commission (*Hear, hear*). Sir, we have regarded ourselves in this country as the model of parliamentary democracy. We have regarded ourselves in this country as the greatest advocate of the rule of law especially among emergent nations all over the world. But a young democracy cannot survive, unless it is competent to defend itself not only against external aggression but also against internal enemies who would hide under the cloak of democracy to destroy it. What is vital is that the Government should carry out a review of our newspapers not with a view to curbing the freedom of the press but with a view to curbing the reckless use of the press to destroy democracy.

Sir I would add that the Federal Government should take steps to establish a Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Ministry of Justice along the lines of Great Britain's Scotland Yard or United States FBI. This office will be charged with the double function of safe-

guarding our internal security against subversion and of checking widespread wave of crime and corruption that has eaten into the body politic of this country. (*Hear, hear*). Furthermore, Sir, Government should be thanked for nationalising the Nigerian Airways. We want further that the Shipping Line should be duly nationalised. (*Hear, hear*). The nature of this Nigerianisation, which is in conformity with Government policy of public utilities, should mean that Nigerians should play a major part in the control and policy-making of those Corporations.

Now, Sir, this survey cannot be complete without mentioning, and thanking the Government very warmly for, the appointment of the Ashby Commission on Higher Education, for having the foresight to appoint this Commission which was a tripartite venture of Nigerians, Americans and British. Those who have read this report, I am sure, will agree with me, Sir, that it is a monumental work that will guide the educational objectives of this country for the next decade or two. Government should accept the report in full and proceed immediately to implement its recommendations. And here I think a word must be said that we are happy to have a Nigerian as the Chief Federal Adviser on Education. (*Hear, hear*). There can be no doubt that this is a very great milestone in our progress in Nigerianisation. The man who has been appointed, Mr S. O. Awokoya, is a brilliant Nigerian whom we think this country can rely upon to give good advice to the Federal Ministry of Education. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order. Surely, we must try to make this Parliament a parliament. I shall not really tolerate too much interruption, very unnecessary interruption. There is time for reasonable interruption, when there is need to, but I think we must give up all this unnecessary shouting and interruption of a speaker. Dr Ezera.

Dr Ezera: Lastly, Sir, on this issue of Nigerianisation, on which I think there is great agreement in this House, we must thank the Federal Government for the courage to refuse the United Kingdom offer of assistance designed to subsidise expatriate civil servants in this country. (*Hear, hear*). Perhaps this House is not fully aware of the significance of this act which has not been given the publicity that it deserves. Therefore the Government deserves the undiluted thanks and compliments of the House.

But having praised the Government so far, Sir, we must ask the Government to step up the pace of Nigerianisation of all the key and policy-making posts in our Public Service. Our independence would be a sham, Sir, if our top posts other than technical ones continue to be manned and held by expatriates. Our intelligence and security services should equally receive priority in this race for Nigerianisation. And perhaps we should make it clear here, Sir, that it is to the mutual benefit of Nigeria and the United Kingdom that we do not have expatriates who are not willing to adjust to the changed atmosphere, who do not understand that we are now an independent country and that the colonial days are gone and gone forever. Loyalty therefore should be the primary duty, loyalty to the Nigerian Government and not to the United Kingdom Government or to any other Government. Where any such acts of disloyalty are found out—and that is precisely why I lay emphasis on security and intelligence services—it should be considered an act of treason against our Government. It was Lord Tennyson who said: "The old order changeth, yielding place to new, and God fulfils Himself in many ways, lest one good custom should corrupt the world". The old order of expatriate monopoly of our top policy-making posts must change and yield place to our able Nigerians, I repeat able Nigerians, lest this old practice should corrupt and weaken the super-structure of our nation-building endeavours.

Sir, I beg to move. (*Applause*).

M. Shettima Ali Monguno (Kaga Marghi): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the motion, and in doing so I would like first of all to say that there is an inborn quality in us for thanking the giver of a gift for whatever is given us and people do say that unless you are thankful for a thing given you do not own it. Although in addressing the joint Houses of Parliament His Excellency the Governor-General referred to the occasion as his privilege, it is in fact his right for there is hardly a more deserving person than His Excellency on that particular occasion. He has certainly done more than any living son of Nigeria towards the achievement of independence for this country. (*Hear, hear*). Therefore, Sir, it is his right and it is also our pride.

Just after the last Federal election, Sir, and while the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. were negotiating for a coalition Government, a phrase came into use and this phrase was

"something befitting his status". I personally wondered what sort of a thing befitting the status of Dr the hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe would be given him. Eventually, a position befitting his status was actually given him and he was thankful, for I can remember him saying on the day of his installation that he could not have hoped for anything better.

Again, Sir, the speech is a . . . (*interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order, order. If you have to confer you have to do it in an undertone. Too much loud talking must be avoided.

M. Shettima Ali Monguno: The nature of his speech, Sir, is such that we can rightly claim it to be a speech befitting the status of our nation. It is a noble speech which is expected to come from a noble being. To emphasise, Sir, that he deserves our thanks we only need to recall the cry His Excellency made perhaps as long as 15 years ago. With your permission I quote: "I believe that the freedom of Nigeria shall come to pass and Nigeria shall become a sovereign state in our lifetime in spite of the might of the oppressor."

Now, turning to the other side of his speech Sir, in other words the legislative programme as outlined in the speech, the programme is progressive, and it is only a matter of emphasis if I repeat the word even though it has been uttered by my hon. Friend, Dr Kalu Ezeru. Turning to the Government one cannot help but appreciate the efforts made by the Government during the last 12 months (*Hear, hear*) and they deserve our congratulations for their sincerity and devotion to duty and also for their determination to shoulder the responsibility especially after 1st October, so many responsibilities without which independence would not have meant a thing to this country. Just before and after 1st October there were certain individuals in this country whose prime interest or ambition was to create disunity in the country solely for personal gain. However, to the utter frustration of these individuals the Government of the Federation stood firmly and fought against them without resorting to what other countries had done,—the total destruction or elimination of the opposition without resorting to unnecessary imprisonment or persecution of the individuals (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, through the vigilance of the Federal Government and through their firmness also, and if I may add through the co-operation of the people of this country . . .

[SHETTIMA ALI MONGUNO]

(*Hear, hear*), law and order have been maintained and economic and political stability also maintained. As a result the foundation for a happier and a prosperous state has been laid. Furthermore, the Government deserves praises on other matters within barely six months of the achievement of independence, miraculous achievements have been made both at home and abroad. We only need to recall the most recent events in international affairs, and in doing so we cannot help but feel proud of ourselves especially when you remember or when we remember our representatives at the United Nations, our forces in the Congo and the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London and also our representatives who participated in international conferences held in Lagos. Those people, Sir, have undoubtedly earned us a name worthy of a nation. Nigeria is no longer a geographical expression and the word "Nigeria" is no longer mistaken for Algeria now. The word "Nigeria" is also now synonymous with goodness, friendship, respect, dignity, opposition to apartheid.

Undoubtedly, Sir, the legislative programme outlined in the Speech which I earlier called 'progressive' is good. This is simply because in a nut-shell the Government of the Federation of Nigeria promised to reorganise and expand our educational facilities; improve the health conditions of the entire nation; strengthen and improve the administration of the Judiciary and provide legal aid to the poor as we advance in the social and industrial welfare of the nation; give further financial assistance to the encouragement of sport and recreation in this country; establish a printing organisation in order to project Nigeria abroad; regulate the activities of the insurance companies; implement the recommendations in the report of the Elias Commission and amend the Nigerian Railway Corporation Ordinance; provide new post offices and improve the existing ones; oppose racial discrimination and human indignities.

Let us hope that the Government will stand by their promises and see that these promises are fulfilled within the next twelve months as they did fulfil their promises for the last twelve months. The nation would expect improvement and this is only natural and there is room for improvement. Let us face it; only the best is good for Nigeria.

Sir, may I once more congratulate the Government of the Federation on the appointment of a Nigerian in the person of Mallam Sule Katagum as the Chairman of the Public Service Commission. (*Applause*). The Federal Public Service Commission has already earned itself a good name and I hope that new appointments and promotions will continue to be made by merit only and never by favouritism or nepotism.

The Government has already indicated, as contained in the Speech, its intention to Nigerianise the post of the Chairman of the Nigerian Ports Authority. This is, in my opinion and indeed in the opinion of the entire House if I could say so, an excellent idea. But I hope that when such a person is chosen it should be such that his appointment is on merit and he himself is acceptable to the Nigerian Ports Authority.

Sir, I would like to make a few suggestions in the best interest of the nation. One of them has already been mentioned by the Mover of this Motion and it is the immediate dissolution of the Board of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. Unfortunately, the N.B.C. has not been able to maintain neutrality which should have been maintained by a corporation of its kind. Also, as the addition of television and external broadcasting is to be effected, it is time the Board was dissolved and a new one appointed to start afresh altogether. (*Applause*).

Another change I would like to recommend to the Federal Government and which, in my opinion, would do a world of good to the nation is the immediate Nigerianisation of the posts of the Chairman and the Secretary of the Electoral Commission. The simple introduction of legislation for the provision of an electoral law in order to replace the existing regulation is not enough.

Another item I would like to touch, Sir, is the attitude of the Action Group. (*Interruption*). I mean their attitude towards the West Regional Opposition Leader. In my opinion it is unfortunate, untimely and nothing short of intolerance. After all, Sir, it must have been a new thing to line up people for the introduction... (*Interruption*)

Mr M. C. K. Obi (Afenmai East): On a point of Order, Sir, the hon. Member is speaking on a matter which is not within the competence of this House.

Mr Speaker: I do hope that the hon. Member has finished his attack on the Action Group and confines his speech to the matter under discussion. (*Cries of 'Shame, shame'*)

Shettima Ali Monguno: Sir, thank you for the wise guidance.

To conclude I would like to request the Minister concerned to make a statement on the failure of His Excellency to visit the Western Region when he had had the opportunity to visit both the Northern and Eastern Regions.

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

Question proposed.

Mr S. A. Ogedengbe (Owo North): Mr Speaker, Sir, having heard the Speech from the Throne, I am going to base my observation on two points: Foreign policy of the Government of this country and the domestic activities of the Government.

On foreign policy, the Government has never been true to its conscience. It is preaching neutrality. Where is the Embassy of Russia in this country to-day? (*Interruptions*). Where is the Chinese Embassy in this country? Who is the Ambassador for Nigeria in China? You are speaking of neutrality but you have been tying yourself to the apron of the Western bloc.

Mr Speaker: Order! It is my intention to suspend the sitting for fifteen minutes; after which I shall call on Mr Ogedengbe to continue his speech.

Sitting suspended: 11.33 a.m.

Sitting resumed: 11.54 a.m.

Mr S. A. Ogedengbe: Reciprocally, we have opened our Embassy in the United States of America. Britain has a High Commissioner's Office here and we have our own High Commissioner's Office in the United Kingdom. We can agree and it can be said that the U.K. and Nigeria are sisters within the Commonwealth of Nations. But we know to-day that the world is divided into two blocs—the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc; the U.S.A. without any hesitation is leading the Western Bloc, and Russia without any hesitation leads the Eastern Bloc. If you say your policy is neutrality and you allow the United States of America to open an Embassy in this country

without considering Russia, then what is your policy? It is a belated effort. What I am saying now is, where is the Russian Embassy? (*Interruptions*). I know you will say that as soon as practicable a Russian Embassy will be opened in this country. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I think with less interruptions and the speaker speaking louder the Reporters will be able to hear the speech more clearly.

Mr Ogedengbe: Thank you, Mr Speaker. So much for the foreign policy.

Since the attainment of Independence, there have been two important international problems in the world. Now, on the Congo. It is not sufficient for the Government to have a policy: the Government has got to let people know the Government's policy on particular issues. We were kept in suspense during the Congo crisis; the Government never said anything. Our Prime Minister said, I quote: "I know those who are right and I know those who are wrong in the Congo, but it is not yet for me to say those who are right or those who are wrong." We are saying that that attitude is not sufficient for this country. In an international conflict, as the elected representatives of this country, the Government has got to let the people know where we stand. It is not sufficient to say, "I know who is right and I know who is wrong." After all, it is commonplace that when two people fight it follows logically that if the two people are not fools one of them will be right and the other will be wrong.

Recently, Sir, the Prime Minister of this Federation attended the Prime Ministers' Conference in the United Kingdom. The important issue of South Africa's apartheid was going to be discussed. Before the Prime Minister left this country he did not tell the country, "This is the policy of the Government; this is what I am going to do in the Prime Ministers' Conference." Those of us who read newspapers and listen to our radios know that comparison is odious but we cannot help but compare Ghana, for instance. The President of Ghana told the Ghanaians what he was going to do at the Prime Ministers' Conference as far as South Africa was concerned. Even Canada which is not a black man's country (it is a white man's country)—their Prime Minister told the people and told the whole world, "This is the stand of Canada and this is the line I am going to follow in the Prime Ministers' Conference." On arrival in

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 the United Kingdom our Prime Minister was interviewed by the world Press; what did he tell them? He said: "It is not for me to disclose now what I am going to say on South African Policy." It is wrong. As far as diplomacy is concerned, who is more advanced than the other one? The Prime Minister of United Kingdom told the world that there is a difference between apathy and the Commonwealth; I heard on the radio and I read in the newspaper. He made the world to understand—that was the freedom of the United Kingdom Government. After the meeting and before the world press, our Prime Minister stated that it is not for him to disclose the part he played at the Conference as far as South Africa is concerned. When the Prime Minister arrived in this country many people were happy as a result of South Africa's getting out of the Commonwealth, but I should say thanks to three important Prime Ministers: Prime Minister of Canada, Nkrumah and the Prime Minister of Malaya.

When the soup is hot, you can only find a few people who can taste it, but when the soup is cold, it is a different thing. When the issue of South Africa was very hot, we knew those who adequately took part in it but now that the soup is cold and South Africa is out of the Commonwealth, everybody is rejoicing. What is the Government going to do now about South Africa? It is not sufficient for South Africa to be kept out of the Commonwealth, but at the same time we must sweep all the South Africans away from Nigeria. We have already passed a Motion in this House. We must not have any trade with South Africa. If we say, for convention, we follow the practice in Westminster, each time the United Kingdom Prime Minister visited another country, he immediately after arrival home at his earliest convenience, summoned Parliament and delivered a speech to give an account of his visit. It is always preferable to summon Parliament and to give account of their stewardship. (*Hear, hear*).

On domestic affairs, Nigeria, is now independent. If we want progress, we have got to work for this. We ourselves are hon. Members, and we have got to live honourably. It is not sufficient for Parliament to meet say three times or four times in a year. This is the Budget Session which is going to last for about eight weeks and then probably the House will

break up for about three months. On the whole last year Parliament met for less than eighty days and if a Member of Parliament drew the sum of £800 as salary and a consolidated allowance of £150 a year, and a young graduate from any university with a good qualification starts at £720, and if we as Members of Parliament work for less than eighty days in a year and we draw almost £1,000 as salary and allowance, where is the industry?

It is unfortunate, Sir, that going through the Speech from the Throne, no mention is made of the intention of the Government to make Parliament sit throughout the year with short breaks. Parliament should sit throughout the year. The salary and allowance of almost £1,000 per annum is very handsome, not only here but even in England.

Another omission in the Speech from the Throne which is regrettable is the failure to mention that the Government intends to create more states in Nigeria. (*Hear, hear*). The Government has got to create the Midwest State, the C.O.R. State and the Middle Belt State. (*Applause from Opposition Benches*). And finally, Sir, the area occupied by the Federal Government is too big for them. Lagos is too big. There is no intention on the part of Government to reduce the area of Lagos. (*Laughter*). Yes, the Federal territory should be confined to Victoria Island, Ikoyi, part of Apapa up to the boundary with Aje-gunle and Lagos island itself. Ebute Metta, Surulere and Yaba should be merged with the Western Region. (*Prolonged laughter*).

On education, the Government have not indicated their intention to carry out the recommendations of the Ashby Commission by trying to found the University of Lagos. There is also no intention on the part of the Government of the Federation to state what part they are going to play about the Universities of Ife, Nsukka and of the Northern Region of Nigeria . . .

An hon. Member: On a point of information, Mr Speaker, I would like to remind the hon. Member that we have no University of Nsukka, but the University of Nigeria.

Mr Ogedengbe: Still on education, I have to appeal to the Government of this country to do something about secondary education in

Lagos. In the forties, travelling about the country, particularly in the West and East, one would find illegal secondary grammar schools which are manned by teachers whose qualification is Grade I School Certificate or at best Intermediate degree. In Lagos to-day if you go round the township, you will find many unqualified teachers in secondary schools.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not trying to be partisan, but I have to compare the policy in the East and West with that of the Federal Government. If one goes to the Eastern Region of Nigeria one will discover that secondary grammar schools are run by qualified graduates of some years' experience. In the Western Region, our policy there is this: before you can head a secondary grammar school you have got to be a graduate with at least four years' teaching experience. In Lagos there are so many schools run by people whose education is below Intermediate degree. There are some schools run by teachers of Grade I School Certificate standard. . . .

Mr Speaker : Order. I think the hon. Member is going too much into detail. The debate on the Address should be confined to general matters rather than detailed points which the hon. Member will have the opportunity of discussing when he comes to the various Heads.

Mr Ogedengbe : On Health, Mr Speaker, we are happy to note from the Speech from the Throne that the first hospital to care exclusively for children is going to be opened in Nigeria, and that very soon. We only hope that the Government will make use of the human resources after the training of our doctors in the Institute of Child Health in the University College Hospital, Ibadan. I hope the Government will not follow its previous retrogressive policy of dismissing an expert simply because he criticised a Minister.

An hon. Member : Who was that ?

Mr Ogedengbe : Dr Gans, he was dismissed simply because he was true to his conscience, he criticised the administration and the Government took exception to it and dismissed him, even despite appeals made by various delegations by the leading women's organisations in Nigeria. They even appealed to our

Prime Minister in order that Dr Gans should be allowed to stay till December but as usual Dr Gans is gone and gone forever. The Government set itself against public opinion in the country.

On the Judiciary, we are happy to note that two more Chief Magistrates and two more Judges are going to be appointed. Some of you may say the speaker is a lawyer and he must hold a brief for his professional brothers. The position is this. The courts in a country are really very important. In a democratic country like Nigeria, parliament may even pass laws but if the courts are independent and we have people of the requisite qualifications and integrity on the Bench, they would temper justice with mercy. And here I have to repeat what I said in this House last year. In the U.S.A. the Government was at first indifferent to segregation in schools. As a matter of fact, most States there had it as part of their laws that segregation in schools must continue to exist, and for many years American Judges agreed to that proposition. That segregation in schools is quite good but as a result of changes on the panel of judges the courts of America sometime ago—more than 10 years now—held that it is unconstitutional to segregate in schools. Here in this country appointments of judges of the High Court must be above politics. . . . (*Prolonged interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order, I have noticed that some Members of the House clap their hands as a sign of applause. The proper applause is done by hitting slightly the desk and not by clapping of hands. May I add that the hon. Member has only two minutes more.

Mr Ogedengbe : On Nigerianisation. As the Speech from the Throne mentioned something about Nigerianisation, I will have to appeal to the Government of this country not to alter the word "Nigerianisation" to "Regionalisation" of the Civil Service or Northernisation of the Civil Service. People to be appointed into the Civil Service must be appointed on their own merits only. . . . (*Interruptions*).

Finally I have to appeal to the Government of this country to nationalise the shipping industry. The Nigerian National Shipping Line must be nationalised. And a word about

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the Police. More Nigerians must be trained to take the place of expatriate officers leaving the Force. More Nigerian Police Officers must be sent to the Northern Region of this country to curb the excessiveness of the N.A. Police Constables in the Region.

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha-North Central): Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the Governor-General for his able Speech delivered from the Throne. Mr Speaker, Sir I would deviate a little from what I had intended to say to make a brief comment on what my hon. Friend, Mr Ogedengbe, has given us. I do not really know whether to take him seriously because if all this had come from the Leader of the Opposition, the hon. Chief Awolowo, it could have been better for me to know how to approach the matter. I do not Mr Speaker, minimise an enemy. To me there is never a small enemy, all enemies are big and I use all my resources... (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order, it is rather improper to refer to any member as an enemy.

Dr Okeke: Thank you for the correction Mr Speaker. I will withdraw the word "enemy" and use the word "opposition", but I think that the word "opposition" is too mild—I had better use "opponent".

My Friend, Mr Ogedengbe says that our Government declared that the Government is, neutral in foreign policy and then he wanted to know where the Russian Embassy is. I do not know whether the Russian Embassy in this country means neutrality or non-neutrality according to hon. Ogedengbe but if he is looking for the Russian Embassy in Lagos he should not come to the House to look for it; he should. I think, look for it outside. He says that the Prime Minister said he knows who is wrong and who is right in the Congo and that he would like the Prime Minister to say who is right and who is wrong; and this contradicts hon. Ogedengbe's politics because if he believes in neutrality—this is evidence of neutrality... (*Prolonged interruptions*). Neutralism or neutrality means no taking sides and if you want the Government to take sides and at the same time to be neutral, then I cannot understand. My hon. Friend, Mr Ogedengbe, says that when two people are fighting one of them must be wrong. This is not always true. Both may be wrong and not know it.

Now, he said that when the Prime Minister was going to the Commonwealth Conference he did not disclose to the nation what his policy would be and then when he was at a press conference in London he still refused to disclose his policy. And my hon. Friend, Mr Ogedengbe thinks that this is wrong. I do not know how he reasons because it means that when you are going to kill an animal you get a gun loaded and you shoot it out before you see the game. I think that there is something wrong with the person carrying the gun. Our Prime Minister is a wise man. (*Applause*). When he was at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference that was where he shot the gun; that was where he fired the ammunition he had and he told South Africa to her face that was where he so peppered Dr Verwoerd until he quit the Commonwealth. (*Applause*). I think there is an error of facts as recounted by our hon. Friend, Mr Ogedengbe, when he said that only three Prime Ministers spoke up against apartheid in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. But even Dr Verwoerd himself said in London that it was the Prime Minister of this country and the President of Ghana that actually caused his withdrawal from the Commonwealth. And the fight was started by our Prime Minister. (*Applause*). And if the hon. Member were here last week when our Prime Minister came back from London he would have witnessed how he was given a hero's welcome in Lagos. (*Applause*).

My hon. Friend further said that it was not enough to brake diplomatic relations with France. I would like to assure him that this is more than enough because it is a warning of the things to come if they persist in their intransigence of releasing more atomic bombs. (*An hon. Member: What about Dumex?*) Let me come to Dumex. I will talk about Dumex because the Niger Bridge is dear to my heart and I think you are putting sand in my *gari* if you stop that Niger Bridge whichever way you want to do it. (*Interruptions*). Coming back to Dumex, it is an error to say that Dumex is a French company. Dumex Nigeria Limited—the name itself suggests that it is a Nigerian company. (*Hear, hear*). If you read the name and think that it is a French company and therefore all French assets will be squeezed Dumex will remain because it is a Nigerian company. (*Applause*).

There are so many things to be said about the misinformation that my hon. Friend, Mr Ogedengbe has given us this morning but as I said before I will leave him alone because when the speech comes from a more able mouth I will have more to say.

Sir, in supporting the Speech from the Throne I would like to put it to record that this Speech is historic—the Speech so ably delivered by our beloved and all-wise Governor-General who brought the light of freedom to this nation and kindled the fire of nationalism in the hearts of thirty-five million Nigerians. (*Interruption*).

Mr A. A. Ajibola (Egbado South): On a point of Order, Sir, Order 25, Subsection 8 says: "The conduct of Her Majesty, members of the Royal Family, the Governor-General, Members of the House and judges or the performance of judicial functions by other persons shall not be raised except upon a substantive motion".

Mr Speaker: Order, order, I think if there is any occasion on which an hon. Member will discuss the good conduct of the Governor-General it is on this Motion and I feel that it is for this purpose this Motion has been filed in the hon. House. But, on the other hand, it is not good practice that when such a motion of thanks to the Governor-General is brought before this hon. House there should be severe criticism of His Excellency. So will the hon. Member please note the Ruling.

Dr Okeke: Mr Speaker, Sir, this is a momentous speech not only because it was delivered by this illustrious son of Africa in his usual admired oratorical style but also because it is the first time in the history of this country that one from among us has occupied that Throne, that envied and enviable Throne from which the colonial masters have dictated to us. We have taken command of the citadel and we say thanks to God and thanks to that indomitable spirit of the Father of Nigeria's Independence, His Excellency Dr the Right Hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who stood the test of leadership and thereby won the admiration of his friend and foe alike.

The Speech from the Throne has left nothing untouched. It lays out very broadly the programme of the Government of this Federation. Anybody who has doubts about the efficiency of this Government, anybody

who is now nourishing any false hope about the collapse of this Government after Independence had better think again. This Government under the leadership of our quiet, hard-working and competent Prime Minister, Honourable Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa has presented a programme equal to any such programmes for the progress, peace and security of this nation in this 20th century. The achievement of this Government both at home and abroad, I repeat, both at home and abroad, has silenced those who go about preaching disunity by trying to play one leader against another and making every effort to bring the Government of the day into disrepute. The Prime Minister of the Federation has singled himself out as a unique, and I repeat, as a unique leader at home and abroad. He has gained a worthy reputation through his activities at U.N.O. and the hon. Members know, and they heard, what happened there. I think it was my hon. Friend Mr Ogedengbe who wanted to know what the Prime Minister said at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. He spoke against the apartheid policy and it was broken. South Africa was cornered.

Nigeria is emerging as the champion of Africa. Without even saying so, this Government and the leader, Sir Abubakar, have not gone out saying that they will lead Africa. But Nigeria is making her influence felt around Africa and around the world. This shows strength of the Federation. The Speech from the Throne contains a programme for the welfare of every Nigerian of any persuasion and of any status in life. Those who want a welfare state will find much in the programme so ably outlined. It strikes a balance between extreme socialism and rugged capitalism. There is much room for foreign investment and private initiative and Government control of public utility; all pointing towards the betterment of Nigerian people. It is only a blind critic who will fail to see that the implementation of the programme so ably outlined in the Speech from the Throne will spell happiness and prosperity for all in this country. It will usher in that period in the history of this country which we have all yearned to see. Support for U.N.O., strengthening internal and external security and defence, maintaining closer ties with African countries, improving transportation facilities, maintaining satisfactory working relations in the Railway Corporation,

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improving communications, exploitation of our natural resources through combined effort of indigenous and foreign capital, extension of natural power resources, reorganisation of our trade system, protection of individual liberty through legal aid and efficient impartial judiciary, social and industrial welfare, social security and pension, encouragement of sports and the overall mobilisation of our financial resources for the needed economic and industrial development—all these point to the very gigantic programme of the Federal Government.

Mr Speaker, Sir, this is a great programme of a great Government. This is an impressive programme. It is a hopeful programme. This reassures the people of this country of the good government that is theirs. It is government of the people, by the people and for the people. I have nothing but praise for the Speech from the Throne and the programme so ably outlined. When I praise, I praise very copiously. By the same token, I criticise when I have to. I beg to support.

M. Mohammed Muhtari, Sarkin Bai (Dambatta): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise....

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): On point of order, Sir, the hon. Member has left his place and I think it is contrary to the provision of the Standing Order.

Mr Speaker: I am aware of the fact that according to Standing Orders a Member must speak from his seat but I crave the indulgence of the House to give Alhaji Muhtari the permission to speak from a place where he will be adequately heard.

M. Muhtari: Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support wholeheartedly the Motion before this hon. House. Before I say anything at all I should like to draw the attention of the House to one point. When one looks very carefully at the face of the Leader of the Opposition.... (*Prolonged interruptions*).... one cannot deduce anything but an impression of extreme discontent. Why? Because he is not happy and Heaven realises his failure to achieve his objective.

Mr J. S. Tarka (Jemgbar): The hon. Member, Sir, is irrelevant in his speech. The Leader of the Opposition is not the subject of the debate and personal attack on Members is out of Government policy.

Mr Speaker: Order. While it is quite in order to discuss the policies of the Opposition the personal attack on the Leader of the Opposition is not allowed. But I have not sufficiently heard the speech of the hon. Member to decide whether he is actually attacking the Leader of the Opposition in person or his policy.

M. Muhtari: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not being personal at all. I should like to assure the Leader of the Opposition and the members of the Action Group that I am not at all being personal. I am coming to my point.

I was saying, Sir, that the Leader of the Opposition and the Action Group members not only in this House but throughout the country having realised their failure to achieve their objective.... (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order! Surely, people must be able to take back what they give.

M. Muhtari: They have now noted everything they have been saying as most dangerous and irresponsible. They have been making statement which will not in the long run be of any credit to the Action Group or to the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, their tribal cult. They are malicious; they are ill-conceived and they are systematically manufactured to bring disunity among the people of this country. But let me assure my hon. Friends on the Opposition that they are living in the past. The N.C.N.C. and the N.P.C. will continue to work together in harmony. The N.C.N.C. and the N.P.C. will continue to rule this country for fifty years if not for eternity. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker: The time of the House is wasted by unnecessary interruptions.

M. Mohammed Muhtari: Mr Speaker, Sir, we are irrevocably committed to see that the Mid-West State is created because it is the unanimous wish of the people. We shall work relentlessly for the extension of the Federal territory of Lagos.

Sir, the Leader of the Opposition has for sometime persistently directed his attack on the N.P.C. and its leaders. He accused the Party of unprogressiveness and conservatism; but the question is, was he sincere in all that he was saying? The answer is no, for he cleverly avoided telling the people that the Action Group went to the N.P.C. with cap in hand for a great favour. (*Interruption*.)

Mr Speaker : I think this should not be carried too far in a Motion of thanks to the Governor-General.

M. Mohammed Muhtari : Mr Speaker, Sir, I must abide by your ruling. I hope it is not too late to congratulate the Governor-General, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe on his appointment as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria. It is a post well-deserved. There could be no better person for this post. Nigeria is grateful to have Dr Azikiwe as the father because it was he who spearheaded the struggle for freedom. The freedom now that satisfies the people of the country and which they are enjoying. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : The front bench of the Opposition is getting rather too warm as I observe it.

M. Mohammed Muhtari : Mr Speaker, Sir, His Excellency's recent tour of the Eastern and the Northern Regions soon after his appointment as Governor-General is a practical demonstration of His Excellency's general love of the country and the very warm and unanimous receptions accorded His Excellency in this part of the country are also practical demonstration of the people's devoted loyalty to His Excellency.

According to His Excellency, the main reason for our meeting this time is to consider the Appropriation Bill with its supporting Estimates. There was so much delay in sending the Estimates that many hon. Members have missed their own copies. All Members of the House including the Minister of Finance himself can bear me out that during the colonial days, these Estimates were produced and distributed to Members in good time to allow them to carefully study the Estimates. But now that this country is independent it has proved to be a "labour of hercules" to produce these Estimates. Something must have gone wrong somewhere, somehow. Either high officials are no longer interested in the affairs of this country and they, therefore, decided to continue dilly-dally. That is the whole matter or else there are stupid people in various Ministries who want not to work but to relax luxuriously in their chairs and smoke and talk and dance, and phone. We cannot

allow these stupid people in the Year of our Lord 1961. The Minister should make a categorical statement on this matter and he should assure the House that this will not happen again and that full investigation into the causes of the delay will be carried out. Anybody found guilty will be dealt with severely.

I should like also to congratulate the Prime Minister and his Ministers for their activities in their development of this country. The Prime Minister's attitude at the last Prime Ministers' Conference in London was exemplary. He did his best to foster friendly relations among the Commonwealth countries and, on South Africa, he hit the Union Government so hard that Dr Verwoerd was compelled by circumstances to withdraw his country's application for continued membership of the Commonwealth. No doubt Dr Verwoerd had a very tough time in London. He had at one time found himself between the 'devil and the deep blue sea' and after long and dreadful loss, he decided to "cut the gordian knot" by withdrawing his application for membership. But Dr Verwoerd will still have a tougher time if our Prime Minister can continue in this mood. The Prime Minister should press for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. I am sure he can do that, and he will have the support of many Afro-Asian countries and then the matter will go before the Security Council. Under Article 6 of the Charter of the United Nations a country can be expelled. I, therefore, strongly appeal to the Prime Minister to pursue this matter more vigorously than ever before. If we expel South Africa from the United Nations we are not violating any international law, we are not perpetuating any crime against any sovereign state. We are merely fighting man's inhumanity to man.

We shall never forget that most devastating and irritating statement by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Eric Lowu, when he said at the Idlweilwe Airport, New York, that the wind of change is blowing through the United Nations and that the United Nations itself was overcrowded. True, the wind of change is blowing through the United Nations and will continue to blow all over the world until such time as all forms of racial discrimination are abolished. These people must sooner or later be condemned by history.

[M. MUHTARI]

Mr Speaker, Sir, so much on South Africa and its apartheid policy. Let me turn now to the troubled Congo Republic. The situation in the Congo is so confusing that it is risky to say too much but I must congratulate the Nigerian troops now serving in the Congo who, according to the Governor-General "have by their conduct and courage brought honour both to themselves and to our Nation".

The question whether they are doing the right or the wrong thing is not for me to answer here, but I know that they are doing their duties most efficiently. As I said the situation in the Congo is so confusing, nevertheless, I should like to point out that the United Nations will have to bear full responsibility for the rapidly deteriorating events in the Congo. The reputation of the United Nations will suffer if its activities in the Congo continue in this manner. I appeal to the Federal Government to watch events in the Congo very closely and take such actions that are not detrimental to the African solidarity.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I should like also to congratulate the Federal Government on its activities in the development of our country particularly in the field of Nigerianisation.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. It is now one o'clock and I am bound to suspend the sitting until three o'clock.

Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3.10 p.m.

Alhaji Muhtari-Sarkin Bai : Mr Speaker, Sir, I was congratulating the Government for its various activities in the development of the country when the House adjourned. Now I should like to congratulate the Federal Government for appointing a Nigerian for the first time to head our Civil Service. This is a great achievement and I appeal to the Federal Government to pursue this matter more vigorously than ever before. A few months ago or a few hours ago one of the hon. Members of the Opposition made an unfortunate statement. He warned during the course of his speech, that Nigerianisation must not be Northernisation. This, Mr Speaker, Sir, I must say is a very unfortunate statement. The hon. Member is unduly too parochial and he has bluntly refused to tell the House

that there are 18 million people in the North while there are 17 million in the West and East combined and that a year ago there was only 1 per cent of the Northerners in the Federal Public Service and this year it has hardly risen to 1½ per cent. I am not trying to be parochial myself, I am a Nigerian. If I go to Aba, I am a Nigerian, and if an Aba man goes to Sarkin Bai, he is a Nigerian. We are one and only one Nigeria.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I should like also to congratulate the Federal Government for taking over our Nigerian Airways and I am appealing to the Government to take over complete control of our Shipping line. The Government should encourage indigenous people to set up business. About the rural areas. Most of the raw materials come from the rural areas. Therefore I appeal to the Government to set up industries in this producing areas which according to statistics, are the largest groundnut producers in the Northern Region.

Sir, I should like to say a word or two about the idea of our having a republican constitution. For some time now, some Members in this House, for one reason or other, have been clamouring for a republican constitution. Let me say frankly that it is my view that the idea is an extremely fascinating one. I assure the House that the time will come when the N.P.C. will cast votes in the North and ask for a republican constitution outside the Commonwealth. I would like to congratulate the Government for giving out the contract of the Niger Bridge to Nigerian contractors. This is a Nigerian company and the Chairman is a Nigerian. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, I hereby emphatically deny that France has a share in this company, the tender was competitive and I sincerely hope that Government will continue to give contracts to indigenous contractors.

Finally, Sir, on South Africa. I hope the Prime Minister will press for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. I am sure he can do this on the Article VI of the Charter of the United Nations. Article VI of the Charter of the United Nations reads : 'A member of the United Nations which has

persistently violated the principle contained in the present charter may be expelled from the organisation by the recommendation of the security council.' Mr Speaker, I have here with your permission, a pamphlet entitled "This is Apathied." With your permission, Sir, I would like to leave it in the library of the House of Representatives for the benefit of those Members who wish to know how Africa is suffering under the law of Apathied, and with these few remarks, I beg to support.

Chief A. Akerele (Oyo East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, it is about time that the hon. Member, Alhaji Sarkin Bai is recognised. We have a Chief Whip in this House and I think it is about time we had a Chief Clown. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

Chief Akerele : The Speech from the Throne is no more than a catalogue of past activities of the Government with no programme for the future. The policy of the Government ought therefore to give prominence to the problem of unemployment and more emphasis ought to be laid on industrialisation. Most of our young men and women leaving school after completing their primary and secondary school courses have a right to employment after spending so many years in school, and so it is to be expected that the only avenue which should serve the young men in this country will be industrialisation on a large scale so that unemployment will be reduced to a minimum. Independence by itself is a means to an end, and the end is the contentment, happiness and well-being of all the people. On industrialisation, it appears that the best of the Federal Government is a very poor best. The Regional Governments seem to have completely outpaced the Federal Government on the issue of industrialisation. This state of inertia ought to be corrected.

The proposal to amend the Ports Ordinance so as to allow a Nigerian to be appointed Chairman of the Board of the Ports Authority is very welcome indeed. Much as every one of us would like to see qualified Nigerians holding positions of trust in all the sectors of our Corporations and Public Service, it is essential that only men of very high integrity and probity are appointed. Considerations for such appointments should not be only ethnic affinity as it is at present. At present,

Sir, both in the civil service and in the Corporations certain ethnic groups unfortunately are being discriminated against. The very structure of the civil service is being shaken and unless this indiscriminate act of supplanting qualified and long-service men with ill-equipped and ill-qualified men because of ethnic consideration is stopped, the future of the civil service of this country is very gloomy indeed. Politics should not be introduced into the civil service set up of this country.

The civil service should be insulated from politics. At present, Mr Speaker, Sir, prejudice against and distrust of civil servants due only to the fact of their ethnic origin dominate the whole of the upper segments of the service. This practice obtains even at the top and we are gradually reaching a position when the Permanent Secretary in a Ministry will be someone from the ethnic group of the Minister himself. I sincerely appeal to the hon. the Prime Minister to check this practice both in the civil service and in our public Corporations.

Now, the proposed Niger Bridge no doubt is much welcome. Whether we like it or not, whether Dumez and Co. is a Nigerian company as we are being told here, the fact still remains that public opinion is against the award of the contract to Dumez and Co.

An hon. Member : What public opinion ?

Mr Akerele : Public opinion in this country as reflected in all political newspapers, whether the "West African Pilot", the independent "Times" and the independent "Express", public opinion in this country is against the award of this contract to Dumez and Co. There is no doubt that we have some Nigerians who hold nominal shares in this Company and are therefore qualified to be Directors but that does not mean that the majority of the shareholders are not French people or foreigners. The mere fact that a Director is a Nigerian does not mean he has enough shares of any sort. He could only have a share to qualify him as a nominal Director for that matter. That is the truth. I wonder how many shares Chief Okotie-Eboh has. The unassailable fact is that the major shareholders, Mr Speaker, Sir, are French men or foreigners.

France, Sir, we are convinced, is our undisguised enemy, and profits made out of this contract or any contract whatever will be shared in accordance with the number of shares held by individuals. I challenge the Minister of

[MR AKERELE]
Finance himself to say that he can stop a French man who is a shareholder in the Company from carrying away the profits accumulated from that company to France or anywhere else. I do hope, Sir, that the Prime Minister will make an announcement shortly on this matter of topical importance.

The introduction, Mr Speaker, Sir, of a Bill to provide legal aid is very welcome indeed, and if properly handled will be of immense social benefit. However, the proposal by the Government to establish a printing organisation to produce daily and weekly popular newspapers and periodicals is a colossal waste of public funds and is bound to be a colossal failure. It is understood, Mr Speaker, Sir, that about £1 million has been earmarked for this enterprise. We might just as well be signing off this colossal sum of money.

In the first place, Sir, the proposal to establish the printing organisation is an indictment of the Minister of Information. If the reason that is given for establishing this organisation is to give full coverage to the views and policies of the Government and a series of periodicals aimed at projecting Nigeria abroad, then the only logical inference, Mr Speaker, Sir, is that the whole publicity section of the Ministry of Information is grossly inefficient and the only thing to do is to scrap it. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : I do not allow somebody else to be speaking while a speaker has been named by me.

Chief Akerele : Thank you, Mr Speaker. As I was saying, if the reason for establishing this organisation is to give full coverage to the views and policies of the Government and for projecting Nigeria abroad, then the only logical inference is that the whole publicity section of the Ministry of Information is grossly inefficient and the alternative is to scrap it.

I say, Sir, that this project is bound to fail for many reasons : firstly, because it is already top heavy with so many directors and the Managing Director. (*Interruptions*). If we have to judge the Managing Director by his past activities then the project has failed from the word "go". Secondly, it will fail because it is a direct way of creating jobs for the boys. Thirdly, Mr Speaker, the daily paper can never appeal to the public because it can

never have any national outlook. If it is going to project the views of this Government it is certain that it will not project any national views. It is bound to fail for that reason too. And of course as I said about the man at the head of affairs, it is certain that quite a lot of libel action will paralyse the paper. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. As the hon. Member has made so much detailed repetition of the same argument at the same time, and is trying now to anticipate what is not yet in operation. I ask the hon. Member to be more generous in his argument and not to be repetitive.

Chief Akerele : Thank you Mr Speaker. Sir, the whole of this project is a colossal waste. Finally, Sir, I would like to see the hon. the Prime Minister show in a more practical way that Nigeria has a solid part to play in Africa. I should like to see him take the initiative in matters concerning Africa and to this end I would like to see more frequent visits of our Ministers and members of this House to independent and dependent African States and less of European and American tours.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to express gratitude to our troops and forces in the Congo for the efficient services rendered to humanity.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice (Mr R. B. K. Okafor) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion ably proposed this morning by an equally able intellectual, Dr Kalu Ezera. I want to congratulate our Governor-General for his wonderful speech. The speech is epochmaking and it symbolises the character and high standard of statesmanship of our new Governor-General.

Sir, since his installation on the 16th of November, our Governor-General has toured the Northern Region and I hope as soon as possible he will find it convenient to tour other parts of Nigeria.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Government ought to be congratulated for at least maintaining a cool head since the formation of this coalition Government in spite of extreme provocation by people who go about preaching disunity. I can assure them that the Government will continue to foster unity and respect for the

fundamental human right as entrenched in our Constitution but I would like to say, Sir, that the Government will not tolerate any attempt made by anybody who hides under the cloak of fundamental human right to disrupt and disorganise the orderly progress of the people of Nigeria.

Sir, I want to make a point about the Niger Bridge. I would like to remind Members that apart from the fact that this particular company is Nigerian, Nigerians control 50 per cent shares of this company, a Nigerian is the Chairman and it does not mean that if we have broken off diplomatic relations with France, we are going to punish all the French nationals in our country. We are not as vindictive as the members of the Opposition. We want to give everybody a fair chance. Only a few months ago the Western Regional Government awarded this very Dumez a contract worth some £20,000. Is this not a sign of inconsistency? (*Several hon. Members: yes*). I would like to make it clear that by awarding this very contract the Government has been able to save £1½ million. Is this not in accordance with our economic policy? (*Interruption*). We are not prepared to award a contract to Cappa and D'Alberto neither are we going to give it to Nigersol. (*Prolonged interruption*).

Sir, a lot has been said about our foreign policy. I would like to make this point quite clear—our foreign policy is that of non-alignment and that must be very clear to everybody. We are not prepared at any moment to inherit the prejudices of any of the power blocs in the world and because of that we have allowed Russia to open an embassy in our country. When hon. Ogedengbe spoke this morning he talked of Communist China coming to Nigeria. As a matter of fact, it is not our policy to invite countries to come and open embassies in our country but any country that is prepared to open an embassy in Nigeria should come through the proper channel and when the application is received there is no doubt that the Federal Government will consider it on its merit. After all, when we got to the United Nations the Nigerian Delegation supported the admission of Communist China. (*Applause*).

I want to say this because people talk of our policy on the Congo. It is correct that our Prime Minister made it clear that he knew those who were right and those who were wrong. There is no doubt about that and that is the reason why our policy has been so suitable that a Nigerian has been honoured and made the Chairman of the Commission. (*Hear, hear*). I am sure you all know that at the moment a Nigerian Permanent Secretary is giving finishing touches to Congo affairs. Is this not a sign of progress? (*Several hon. Members: Yes, yes*).

Furthermore, Sir, in May of this year the hon. Minister of Finance will lead a country-wide economic mission to Russia. It is not a sign of progress? (*Hear, hear*). As a matter of fact, we do not need two-and-a-halfpenny economists from Ibadan to tell us about the economic expansion of Nigeria.

This morning hon. Ogedengbe was talking about increase in salary. It is really very disturbing for people to come here and talk one thing and go outside and talk another thing because they want to win political points. Only last year these very Members of the Opposition came here on their knees begging us that they wanted increase in salary. We told them that we did not trust them and that they could go back and tell the country another thing. (*Prolonged interruption*).

Mr Speaker: Order! Order!

Mr Okafor: Mr Speaker, Sir, the point I was trying to make is that last year these very Members of the Opposition came here begging that they wanted increase in salary and we made it clear to them that we did not trust them. (*Prolonged interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order, with so much noise being made in the House it is impossible for me to follow what the hon. Member is saying much less to be able to pick out a point of order. I think the House now must observe this debate in silence.

Mr Okafor: Sir, we told them that since they were like the chameleon and capable of changing any time they should go and put it in writing. They went and almost all of them signed. (*Shame, shame*).

Mr A. A. Ajibola (Egbado South): Sir, on point of order. Section 25 subsection (2) reads, "A Member must confine his observations to the subject under discussion and may not introduce matter irrelevant thereto." The matter under discussion is the Speech from the Throne and the question of salary or no salary does not arise under this heading. That will arise under the Estimates.

Mr Speaker: It is true that the Standing Orders must be observed strictly but at times we allow one or two slight breaches.

Mr Okafor: Sir, we are prepared at any moment to photostat this very document and give it out to the public. (*Interruption*).

Now, I would like to go to another point which is Nigerianisation. I would like to make it clear that the Federal Government will continue in its policy of Nigerianisation. Some Members got up this morning to say what has been done to this end but I would like to tell you about a few recent promotions. For example, for the first time in our history a Nigerian has now been appointed Chairman of the Public Service Commission. (*Hear, hear*). Another Nigerian has been appointed the Chief Adviser on Education. (*Hear, hear*). Another Nigerian has been appointed the Director of Public Prosecutions. (*Hear, hear*). More and more Nigerians have been promoted Permanent Secretaries and also a Nigerian has been appointed as the Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker: Order! Order!

Mr Okafor: Sir, almost all our public corporations have Nigerians as chairmen. Is it not a sign of progress? As a matter of fact, I would like the Members of the Opposition to come to this House, stand up when it is necessary and praise the Government and by all means criticise the Government when it is necessary to do so. But to come here and condemn outright all the activities of the Government, I feel, is an irresponsible thing. Only this morning we were told to summon Parliament every day. Look at the front bench; they have all gone. Yet they want the Parliament to sit here every day. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order.

Mr Okafor: I was trying to make this point that example is better than precept. I would have liked these people to show an example. Look at our Ministers; all of them are here. The members of the Opposition are not there.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): On a point of order, Sir, I wish to inform you, that some Ministers in order to fill the front bench have changed their places.

Mr Speaker: I think it is in order to make the sitting comfortable.

Mr Okafor: Members this morning spoke about the N.B.C. I can assure them that as much as possible the Federal Government will do all that lies in its power to see that they are accommodated.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

M. Inusa Tudun Wada (Gaya North): I rise to associate myself with the Members who spoke before me in supporting this Motion. In doing so I wish to thank His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne which he delivered to this House.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in fact Nigeria is very fortunate to have very important people who can serve the country both in and outside this country. In this respect I should like to point out that from the beginning of the coalition government all the Cabinet agreed to appoint the Prime Minister who is the Honourable Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and since then the Government has been working efficiently. Later we came to have our Nigerian Speaker of the House; and now we have our Nigerian Governor-General who is Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria. There is no doubt that Nigeria as an independent sovereign nation has determined to shoulder its responsibilities and has also determined to agree both politically and economically in order to achieve the progress which has been outlined in the Speech from the Throne.

Sir, I would invite the attention of the Federal Government to cases relating to unity and respect for the human rights and for the security of the nation. It should not permit the subversive activities of those who carry on

destructive work and think that the fundamental rights entrenched in the Constitution allow them to do so. In this line, the Government should review our newspaper ordinance in order to be able to curb disrespectful activities of certain newspapers who do nothing but discourage the Federal Government and its members. These newspapers are the "Daily Express" and the "Northern Star".

Mr Speaker, Sir; now this country is an independent and sovereign nation and people from Nigeria usually travel to other parts of the country. They are often being disturbed and attacked by their countrymen. In this respect I should like to inform the Leader of the Opposition that he should understand that every disturbance which occurs in Nigeria is caused by the members of the Action Group supporters. The Leader of the Opposition should make a statement on this subject. If he fails to do so, I would advise the Government to institute an inquiry into this matter. The matter is a very important one. This Government must watch the activities of any Regional Government and enact such amendments to enable certain aspects of the judiciary to be federalised. When this is done, it will not be possible for any Region to intimidate its Judges thereby losing the independence of the judiciary. It is time, Mr Speaker, for the High Court Judges to be appointed only after consultation with the Prime Minister.

I now come to my last point, Sir. I appreciate the visit of their Excellencies the Governor-General and Mrs Azikiwe to the Northern Region. They are sociable and they were welcome. They approached the people nicely. The same thing applies in the Eastern Region. But why did they not visit the Western Region? I would like the appropriate Minister to make a statement in this regard. With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Chief E. O. Okunowo (Ijebu Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to support the Motion of thanks to the Governor-General on his able maiden Speech from the Throne. Tributes have been paid by the Governor-General to all the Ministers. I would like to associate myself with the words of thanks that have been passed to our Ministers. But on this occasion I cannot help but make one or two observations. It is a very common practice of our Ministers that whenever the House is in session we do not see many of them in their appropriate seats.

The reason their presence is always required in the House is to enable them to assess the feeling of the House whenever any matter is being debated so that when they reach the Council of Ministers they may be able to take decisions along the lines that the matter was brought before the House. I would, therefore, like to appeal to our Ministers to make it their duty to be present always in the House.

On Foreign Policy, Sir, I would like on this occasion to thank our Prime Minister for his courage in carrying to the Prime Ministers' Conference the feeling of this country, and this feeling that he has carried, I would like it to be implemented for the time has now come to let the outside world know what is the feeling of Nigeria about South African policy of racial discrimination. All known whites from South Africa in this country should be expelled at once with ignominy to show them that if they can discriminate against the indigenous people of South Africa in their country, we in Nigeria do not want to see their faces at all.

I would like to congratulate the Government for the step that the Government has taken against Dr Gans, for the stand that the Government has taken. Dr Gans has done this country a very serious injury. You cannot be within the Government and at the same time be exposing the Government that is feeding you. If Dr Gans is going to work in this country he must be able to toe the line of this Government. If there is anything wrong, his remedy should be to resign and leave the Government. If he resigns and then speaks against the Government nobody will pick a row with him.

A lot has been said about the contract awarded to Dumez and Co. Well, it has been said that this is a Nigerian Company just as Taylor Woodrow and many others. I wonder what will be said if the contract had been awarded to Taylor Woodrow, Costain, or any other, but if there is any cause to all these, I think our Government is responsible, and, I think this is the time to tell the Government in the language it deserves. Our Government should be extremely careful with any action they are going to take. Any measure that will not be supported by any other state should not be taken. If our Government had not taken the action they took against the French Government there would not be

[CHIEF OKUNOWO]

occasion for people to criticise the Government about the stand they have taken. If our Government had not taken what I may call the unpopular measure against France, I think people complaining about Dumez would not have done so. Nigeria is not the only country in the whole world. We have taken a measure not supported by Ghana, not supported by Togoland, not supported by any other nation—only Nigeria. Is that not surprising? So that the people in the Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister should be extremely careful not to force the hand of the Government to do anything. I am not in support of the action they have taken against France because—

Several hon. Members : No, no.

Chief Okunowo : This is nothing short of politics and I would like the Government to retrace their steps. I remember sometime ago, Ghana did the same thing and after sometime they were forced to retrace their steps. The Government should not take any action that will not be supported by any other nation. The action they have taken on this occasion is in my opinion too drastic and uncalled for.

Not because Chief Awokoya comes from my own Province but I would like to thank the Federal Government for giving him the opportunity to serve Nigeria. At the same time I cannot help on this occasion to tell the House that there is a general feeling; this is information that has come to my hearing times without number that some section of the community is being discriminated against. I would like the Government to see that the Nigerianisation of this country is not at the expense of any Region. The Federal Government should see that they give opportunities to Northerners, they give opportunity to Westerners and they give opportunities to Easterners. That is the way I think this Federal Government should be run. It should not be run at the expense of any Region. By doing this we shall be killing the seed of bitterness that will lead to a very big trouble and, it is not our intention that our Government should be in any trouble. I am appealing to the Government to see to it that no Region is left out. That everything is shared equally and with all sense of fair play, justice and equity.

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

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Establishments and Service Matters (Alhaji the hon. A. A. Koguna): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion ably moved by Dr Kalu Ezera to thank His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne. In supporting this Motion, I would like to pay special tribute to His Excellency the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe. I have no fear to say that this Speech delivered by his Excellency is the best speech ever listened to in the Chamber of this Legislature. I have my reasons. Firstly, the Speech delivered by the first Nigerian who has been placed in the right position as the Governor-General of this nation and secondly, it is the first Speech delivered in this House after the freedom of this nation. Thirdly, the Speech includes almost all the proposals the public have been looking forward to regarding the future development and economic expansion in Nigeria.

The Federal Government of Nigeria no doubt have done a lot and I am sure they will do more. It is natural, he who kicks always does not like to be kicked. I think it should be remembered that if you kick do not forget it will move. I am so sorry that the people I want to address are not here because they know that they will not reap the fruits of what they have planned. The Leader of the Opposition and his lieutenants on that side of the House are away. Only few Members on that side of the House are proper Members of the Opposition.

The Federal Government has given so many examples to Nigeria, for instance, the investigation of the navigability of Niger River, the investigation of the Niger Dam and the contract of the Niger Bridge again which some people in this country are now saying something against. They have forgotten that the same Company was given contract for tarring roads in Benin Province by people over there. (*Shame, shame*).

My friend there this morning was saying something against the dismissal of Dr Gans. I think it is natural that in any Government office if any Government employee goes against Government policy, all he can do is to go, and if the Leader of the Opposition should be

in this House now, I should call him to explain why Chief Awokoya and Dr Elias were dismissed when they were with the Scholarship Board in the Western Region.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think a number of hon. Members are making it impossible for Reporters to hear the hon. Member speaking.

Alhaji Koguna : Thank you, Mr Speaker. I would now like to explain to the Opposition people again. Somebody in the Opposition mentioned something concerning the statement by the hon. Prime Minister of the Federation, who had been so supported by all sides of the country, before the Prime Minister went to London for the Conference. The Prime Minister was very explicit. He said what he was going there to do and after he finished he said what he had gone there for, which is suitable not only for Nigeria but for all parts of the Commonwealth. Sir, I would like them to remember the statement made by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa himself. He mentioned some Governments who are (*Interruptions*).

An hon. Member : What did he say ?

Alhaji Koguna : I do not like to say it but I remember that he did not say anything about Nigeria, because the Nigerian Government is one of the best Governments of this world to-day (*Hear, hear*). The Government of Nigeria is the most democratic Government. That is why you have been given more chance (*Interruptions*). They sometimes mention Ghana I wish you were in Ghana then you would know whether you would have the chance to say all the nonsense you say in this House.

Mr Speaker, I have been watching ; when one of their Members was giving a very nice speech they were all against him because he did not make capital out of nothing. You are here to give your views, to point out what you think will be good for the country, not to come and sit down here playing politics to the gallery. You are here to represent your people, not to come and say nonsense.

Mr S. D. Lar (Lowland East) : Point of order, Sir. The hon. Member is not addressing the Speaker.

Mr Speaker : As far as I can see, he is addressing the Chair.

Alhaji Koguna : Mr Speaker, Sir, the Federal Government of Nigeria, being so democratic, being so kind, is giving chance to the Opposition so that they come to this House to do nothing but play politics and draw the attention of the people in the gallery. You are here to do something better for your people, not to come and play politics and make capital out of nothing. The Federal Government of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. have been trying to unite the country. You have been instigating every corner of the country. The disunity of the country comes from that Side there. We are warning you (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think there has been enough pointing out of Opposition weaknesses and we should now go to the subject matter under discussion.

Alhaji Koguna : Mr Speaker, Sir, they have been saying so much about foreign policy, *foreign policy, foreign policy*. I want to explain to the Opposition that the foreign policy of the Federal Government of Nigeria is one of the best in this world to-day. It is self-explanatory. They have been asking for an Embassy from Russia, Embassy from China. We are not putting ropes to draw them but they are to put them themselves. The hon. Prime Minister has already said that any country which recognises Nigeria as her friend will be welcomed to open an Embassy here. Therefore, Sir, I do not know what the Action Group Opposition wants. They are here to make constructive criticisms to the Federal Government, not play politics, not to draw the attention of the people in the gallery. No wonder, they are all new Members ; they are all learning. But we are teaching them properly.

Mr F. U. Ihe (Okigwi North East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to thank His Excellency the Governor-General for his very able and well-worded Speech from the Throne. We are indeed happy for yesterday has become one of the days in our era when the first African as a Governor-General delivered the Speech from the Throne. The occasion is memorable and like other occasions from the time of our attainment of Independence and it is now down on record. We have been made to understand the legislative policy of this

[MR IHE]

Government. The policy, Sir, is a very firm one, especially when one thinks about that of legal assistance. The legislative policy is a very clear indication that our Government since last year has always been accepting methodically its great responsibility for the well-being of the individual and of the community.

There are reasons to appreciate this Government's legislative policy; one, it is not a year since our country became a sovereign state; two, in the United Kingdom, the State indeed assumes such responsibilities, but unlike our present Government, the Government of the United Kingdom until the last world war had this responsibility thrown upon her by force of events. That is why we clamoured for independence. The time has now arrived for co-ordination and reformation of social welfare. Nigerians must remain convinced that perhaps gradually but certainly methodically the Federal Government is pursuing the needs of the unprivileged members of our society (*Hear, hear*). The legislative policy towards the people, in fact, must be a matter of concern to our Government. I would suggest that attention be given to considering ways and means whereby the helpless, the unemployed, the sick and the orphan can best benefit, as in the case of national insurance and national assistance; whereby grants, whether conditional or unconditional, can be given to the applicant registering for employment.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we ought to be very proud of our Government for the way the Congo situation has been handled so tactfully. The situation, no doubt, is a confused picture which is not easy to follow, but, Sir, studying the history of the Congo situation and following the trends of events, my reaction is likely to be that if this is what the United Nations is like and what its duty and power are like, why is the organisation so highly regarded? What is it in the United Nations that is the glory of the world?

Whatever the answer may be why could United Nations not be able to handle such situation as arose in the Congo. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact of the interest in Africa, between the Eastern and Western Blocs. I

say Sir, this kind of interest in our continent is a challenge to African world. In the circumstances, the important duty of the Government is to work towards the achievement of the leadership of African Nations first. Let our Government finance our adventures at least over Africa. It is the policy of our Government not to entangle our country in the intricacies of political allegiance to either of the blocs. It is desirable that our Government avoid having Africa as the central ground for world war No. 3. The most immediate step now is to work towards African unity.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is no doubt that Africa is being indirectly prevented from assuming any of the heights by the two great world blocs. Reading through the pamphlet which I have now in my hand, with the permission of the Speaker, the plain truth about the People's Friendship University in Moscow and for all the possible explanation, with the story of the explanation of African nationality, the explanation might be some remarks by the student but at least, Sir, that expresses the worries of Africa as a whole having no political unity.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would ask Government on this policy to construct new barracks at Okigwi, which were taken away from there, the Army Barracks. During the World War 2, Okigwi had an Army Barracks. Let this Government remember Okigwi. I hope the Government will soon establish the few new police stations in the East, among which is Otampa-Isuikwuato. With these, I support Sir.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : I would like to thank the Prime Minister personally for his tour of Eastern Nigeria. (*Interruption*). We thank him for doing that. What we want the Government to do is this. We do not want any South African in this country because even our Prime Minister will not be accepted in their country and if we are not good for the people there no South African white should be accepted as good in this country. I would like to tell the Government that there is a particular Department in this country where South Africans abound.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Where?

Mr Ekanem : If you see me privately I shall tell you. Mr Speaker, expelling South Africa from the Commonwealth is not enough. We want sanctions of our own to impose on South Africa. We should not allow any South African goods to be imported into this country. If you do not like me do not say you like my child. The Minister of Finance should be careful not to take our money there.

Mr Speaker, I now go to events in the Congo. Whenever there is a war, as in the past two world wars, Nigerians have always brought the name of this country to the highest honour. Therefore when our men were being sent to the Congo, although I did not like the way they were sent there, I knew beforehand that those men would uphold the dignity of Nigeria, and in fact they have proved it. I am happy that they have proved their worth. I agree with the Prime Minister when he said that things in Africa should be left to Africans themselves to solve without outside interference. I agree that there should be fresh election in the Congo to elect a new Government. And I must at this stage register my deepest regret over the cold-blooded murder of a nationalist, the democratically and constitutionally elected Prime Minister of the Congo, the late Patrice Lumumba. It is something over which all the people of this country should mourn. But again I must condemn the way some of our youths demonstrated their feelings on the matter. You can express your feelings not only by violence and I am here to say that I hate violence.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I now come to the French atomic tests in the Sahara. It was in this House last year that we said that if there was any further atomic test in the Sahara we should take stronger measures against France. I am sure it is well known now that there is a plan to further carry on those tests by the French in the Sahara. What do the Government think? I can only say that Government must protect not only the present generation but also the future generation of this country. If De Gaulle is a stubborn fellow, then we have got to be stubborn and handle him with iron hands. We must not allow any further tests to be carried out and if any further test is carried out in the Sahara, Mr Speaker, if our Ministers will not freeze French assets in this country, then they are not worth their salt. I would like the Government to be very careful. *(Interruption)*.

Mr Deputy Speaker : Will hon. Members please minimise their interruptions.

Mr Ekanem : Mr Speaker, Sir, I thank the Government for only one thing which I and my colleagues in the labour front have in the past been pressing for, namely provision for workers of low income at old age. I am very glad to note that there is a provision for a provident fund now. Although it works out at two pounds per annum, I think a good beginning has been made. That is not all, we want more to be done.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : What about the salary of Members, what do you think about that?

Mr Ekanem : The salary of Members is not before this House.

Mr Speaker, I hope the Minister of Labour will take note of this that we of the labour front, and the workers of this country, are watching the Government very closely and I only hope that when we come back here in May or so a Bill will be presented to this House for a national wage structure. I tried last year to catalogue the cause of labour upheavals in this country. It is because of the disparity in the salary and wage structure. The Government should see to it that a labourer is a labourer anywhere within the country with regard to wages. If a labourer is to be paid two shillings, it should be two shillings all round. Human nature, human needs, human desires are the same everywhere and it is no use a labourer in Lagos being paid ten shillings a day and a labourer in Kaduna being paid two shillings and six pence and a labourer in Maiduguri receiving one shilling and nine pence and a labourer in Enugu receiving four shillings and two pence on the very flimsy excuse that the cost of living differs. We want as soon as possible the Government to bring forward to this House a Bill for a national wage structure.

Again, Sir, a lot of school leavers of both sexes abound in this country and I would ask the Government to do something about the establishment of industries in the country. We want to build a powerful nation, a contented country. It is not good for a section of the people to be contented if the *percentage* of

[MR EKANEM]

those who are not contented is greater than the percentage of those who are contented. The result can be easily worked out by my friend Dr Chike Obi.

Another thing I would like to talk about, Mr Speaker, is education. What we want is that the syllabus for primary schools in the Federal territory of Lagos should not differ from those of the Regions because we are now trying to build a sort of service which does not discriminate. For example, here is somebody who has Middle Four. Let us say, with great respect, he has Middle Four from Kano Secondary School, and you have another boy from the East or West with the same qualification. If you compare the contents of the certificates, you find that there is considerable difference. We want the syllabus in primary and secondary schools in all parts of this country to be the same. The Government should set the example.

The Deputy Speaker : Order, order. I do hope that Members will direct their attention to the speech being made by persons recognised rather than engaging themselves in mutual conversation across the Floor.

Mr Ekanem : I am saying that we should amend the constitution and make education a Federal subject. If we are able to do that we shall improve the standard of education in this country. Mr Speaker, Sir, I think the people who should get the highest pay in this country should be the teachers. After all, the teachers taught the highest men in this country, I need not mention names. I am now asking the Federal Government to attach importance to the teaching profession and teachers should be well paid—even £2,000 per annum. If we do that we will be doing the right thing. Why should teachers be so treated? I know of a teacher who taught many members of this House and he is on a very low salary whilst the boys he taught are now holding very high positions and earning £3,000 a year. The only way to do this is to make education a Federal subject. I would like to go further, Sir. (Interruptions).

An hon. Member : On a point of Order, an hon. Member is sleeping.

Mr Speaker : On point of order, I intend to maintain the decorum of the House and should not be facetiously resorted to.

Mr Ekanem : It is out of order to mention a Government but a Government in this country has started talking about the nationalisation of industries. For instance, the Nigerian Airways is to be nationalised on paper but not in practice yet. We want the Federal Government to put immediately before this hon. House a White Paper on the nationalisation of the Tin mining. Mr Speaker, Sir, the point I am trying to make is that when industries are to be established in this country they should not be concentrated in one place—like Lagos or Port Harcourt. The Prime Minister has been to my area and I come from one of the oldest areas in this country. Mr Speaker, The Prime Minister has seen the port of Calabar. We want industries to be established in Calabar. After all, the Federal Government is the father and no father will disown his son just because he has refused to work for him. If industries are established in the COR area the people of the COR area will not only support the Eastern Government (which I should not mention here) but it will give the greatest support to the Federal Government. We pay taxes indirectly or directly to the Federal Government and we want the Federal Government to establish industries in the COR State area.

I am happy to note that something has been said about hire purchase in this House. Everyone of us has a car and even you, Mr Speaker, apart from the Ministers whose cars are just dashed out to them. We know how much we suffer from the hands of the alien motor dealers and I have no apologies to offer if I call them Jews. There is a case in point, Sir, and you will see what I mean. Here is somebody who takes out a car costing say £1,200. He pays £1,000 and in trying to pay the remaining £200 by instalments, he fails to pay in one month and he just sees that the European has sent somebody to seize and confiscate his car. He forfeits all what he has paid. That is what happens exactly. It has happened to some Members of this House. The time has come now that this Government must regularise and control hire-purchase in this country. They have come to sap us to death.

There are also the Insurance Companies—nothing has been mentioned about them here. As soon as possible Insurance should be nationalised in this country because we are suffering from the hands of these people. You pay so much but when you are involved in an accident unless you have a very good lawyer to help you it will be difficult for a layman like myself to file a claim form. You go there and they say 'come tomorrow'—you have to wire then and this goes on for the next two years. Then the police will come and draw lines on the ground which have no meanings.

I would like to say that if there are men who are happy in this House I am one of them. I will always remember the 29th March, 1961 when the man sitting down on the throne, he might be a sinner, he might be a saint, but as long as he is an African, my happiness knows no bound. With these few remarks, Sir, I beg to support the Motion.

The Prime Minister (Alhaji the hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa): Mr Speaker, Sir, it is not my intention to take part in the Debate on the Speech from the Throne but I have observed that two respectable Members of the Opposition have made certain points which I would like to comment upon before we go much further. I refer to my hon. Friend Chief Akerele and my hon. Friend Chief Okunowo.

I have detected in their speeches that they seem to suggest that there is a sort of tribal discrimination in our public services and also in appointments to the Boards and to the other quasi-governmental organisations. I find it necessary to speak now because it has come to my notice that a campaign is going on against the Government by a certain section of the community in Nigeria that one particular tribe is being discriminated against.

Sir, it is not in my nature to hide these things or speak in a way that nobody can understand what I am aiming at or to leave people to guess what are my intentions. But it has come to my notice that certain people in Nigeria are going on telling people that the Federal Government is definitely anti-Yoruba race. Sir, I take it as a very serious matter.

As the Prime Minister of the Federation I regard myself as a Nigerian and I am working for the interest of the country as a whole. I myself, Sir, belong to a very small minority tribe. What I want to assure the House is that we in the Federal Government are working not for the interest of one tribal group but for the interest of all the tribal groups in Nigeria. (*Applause*). If one looks at the Government Bench one would see people of different tribal groups. And simply because a few appointments are made and they exclude members of the group I have referred to people should not start campaigning and trying to preach this inter-tribal feeling which has been dying for the past five years.

This is the highest Legislature in the land. Those of us who have been here for the last fifteen years have seen the growth of this Parliament and we can tell the new Members that right from the beginning there has been very strong inter-tribal feeling, inter-regional feeling, within the last five years—no doubt from 1954. But when we adopted a federal system of Government there has definitely been a very good improvement. We are all—the Opposition and the Government—working sincerely for the unity of this country and it is wrong that we should develop petty minds and petty ideas and way of speaking on matters of this Parliament which might damage what we are trying to build in the country. I hope, Sir, that Members from all sides of the House will agree that the Federal Government has been fair and will continue to be fair.

But this point I would like to make—that every Government has to safeguard itself. We are having a representative Government in Nigeria—we have the Government and the Opposition. Naturally, of course, we as the majority for this Government. We do not like people who do not agree with us in our policies and in our views to be in such key posts as to wreck our Government. (*Loud applause*). At the same time, we will not stop Members of the Opposition or their supporters who oppose our policies and our views to participate in governmental organisations because if we follow democracy we shall allow them to have their say and they should allow us to have our way.

[PRIME MINISTER]

As I said it is not my intention to take part at this stage. I have ample opportunity when I hope to report to the Parliament the last Prime Ministers' Conference which I attended in England. I hope also to speak on the international situation; on international affairs about Africa and the rest of the world, when we come to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimates. But I feel that the point is so important that I feel that all lovers of Nigerian unity should do all they can to forget about preaching this inter-tribal hatred and to forget telling people who are not in a position to know the truth to believe that one particular tribe is being discriminated against simply because the Opposition in the Federal Parliament is drawn mostly from the particular tribe.

We have not got any tribal feeling. The Council of Ministers is composed of different tribal groups—Yorubas, Ibos, Hausas and Fulanis, in fact, all sort of groups. Therefore, I appeal to the Opposition in and outside Parliament to try to help us. If you look around—what are the appointments that have been made? Chairmen of corporations. Is there not a single Yoruba as Chairman of corporation. (*Interruption*).

The Deputy Speaker: Order, order! The House should please continue to listen to the Prime Minister in complete silence. (*Interruption*) Order! I would be obliged to ask some Members out if they will persist breaking orders.

The Prime Minister: Sir, I know many Yorubas who have been appointed Chairmen of many Boards in this country: the University College Hospital, the Lagos Executive Development Board, the Nigerian Airways, the Director of the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. (*Interruptions*).

The Deputy Speaker: Order! I do not propose to make repeated interruptions but I hope that Members will sympathise with the responsibility of the Chair and more particularly listen to the Prime Minister with decorum and silence.

The Prime Minister: Sir, this is for the quasi-governmental organisation. People speak of the Federal Public Service. Look at the appointments to the post of Permanent Secretaries. Are we going to do this by tribal

grouping? Or are we to do it by the merit of those members who are in the Federal Parliament? So I hope that when Members speak in this House they should speak with full sense of responsibility.

I want again to assure the House and the country that the Federal Government is doing all it can to be fair to the Federation; to be fair to the Government, and to be fair to all the tribal groups, and I hope that the members of the Opposition and the Government will believe us in this policy which we will continue to pursue. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr C. Chiedozie (Enugu): Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish first of all to congratulate His Excellency for the Speech from the Throne. It is a masterpiece and is characteristic of the man. I wish also to congratulate the Government for the progressive measures and programmes for the year 1961. The Government has shown that domestically there is peace and tranquility in this country. There is no doubt that throughout the continent of Africa, in matter of peace and concord, this Government of ours has no equal. If you go to the Congo there is discord; you go to Abyssinia there is riot; go to Ghana there is oppression of the Opposition, but in Nigeria to-day the Federal Government has set a remarkable example of a place where people live and speak as freely as they can without trouble or any molestation. One eminent person has said that Nigeria is going to lead Africa not by mouth but by action. One way is that democracy is in practice. We are happy that as far as I know there is no deportation or banishment in Nigeria to-day.

On foreign activities, our Government has been exemplary. We have given commendation to our Prime Minister for his behaviour in the United Nations and in the Prime Ministers' Conference. He has shown that Nigeria speaks as a giant with one voice. Our Prime Minister soared so high that in the United Nations his voice echoed and re-echoed. We congratulate him for the way he has projected our personality and we hope that our Prime Minister will continue to fight hard to make it possible for South Africa to leave the United Nations.

Another point on which I wish to speak is this Ashby Commission Report on higher education. We wish the Government to carry

out the recommendations contained in the Report of the Commission. In particular, we like the School of Technology in the Eastern Region to be merged with the University of Nigeria. There is one action going on there and that is that one Dutch man at the head of that college, goes about telling the students there that the University of Nigeria is American and to merge the two will be a calamity. His propaganda has gone a long way and many of the students are being told that they should agitate against the move. I would like to tell the Government that they should stand firmly on this issue. The Ashby Commission Report has been excellent as far as merging the school of Technology in Enugu with the University of Nigeria is concerned.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to congratulate the Minister of Transport and Aviation for his plans to Nigerianise the Airways and the Shipping Lines. I wish also to congratulate the Prime Minister for his tour of the Eastern Region and the Western Region. There is no doubt that during his tour of the East many people who had not seen him; many people who had not heard his voice, his golden voice for that matter, when they saw him and heard him felt that Nigeria has got one of the sons that they should be proud of. To them seeing is believing. Many of them who had not seen him because they were hitherto misled by the Opposition, believed when they saw. They believe that our Prime Minister has no equal, in heading the Government of this country to carry out its responsibilities.

Then, Sir, I must congratulate the Minister of Information for the establishment of National Press, external broadcasting and internal television. But there is one point which I wish to speak on. Although the Prime Minister has spoken very well on this matter of tribalism I want to say that there is no longer any tribalism in our Government affairs.

Sir, with reference to the man appointed Director of the National Press, we all remember that the Service magazine carried a series of articles against Dr Azikiwe, written by this very man in the very magazine. If that national press is going to be converted again to attack Dr

Azikiwe even though the man has no opportunity to reply I would better ask that the press be not opened at all. The Service magazine carried series of articles attacking the personality of the Governor-General. If that Chairman or Managing Director as the case may be does not think it right to change his behaviour to support the Government I would suggest that Government should withdraw his appointment.

Mr Speaker, Sir, on the Niger bridge. I want to say that whatever criticism the Opposition may have on this Niger bridge because they do not know how much sufferings the people are experiencing, its building should no longer be delayed. Many of us who cross the Niger know the difficulty we encounter. Often people die in the River Niger while trying to cross over to the other shore of it. I am, therefore, suggesting to the Government that they should implement right now the construction of this bridge. No more waste of time is desirable. Let anybody build it, be it Dumez, or anybody else. What we need is the bridge across the River Niger. We are tired of this type of Utopian politics. We know that the Government is very constructive in their approach and we commend their activity as far as that is concerned.

Sir, I will close by again giving my commendation to the Prime Minister. On this question of tribal discrimination, I want to say, Sir, that the Prime Minister as far as we are concerned, has been able not only to say by word of mouth but also to show by action that he is against tribalism in any form. During his tour of the Eastern Region, his watchword was against tribalism and everybody saw in his action that he loves everyone. I think any man who has seen our Prime Minister and talked with him and yet cannot see in that man the embodiment of one country must really be pitted. Watch the behaviour of the Action Group in the Western Region. Tell me of any appointment in the Western Region, whether the Regional Boards, whether in the Corporation, whether in the Civil Service where you have an Easterner appointed there. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, what I am saying is that it is easy to criticise but those who criticise cannot put anything in practice. This is why

[MR CHIEDOZIE]

I always sympathise with those who destroy by criticism. Some of us to-day are being persecuted because we are fighting for one Nigeria—some of us. Everybody knows that. What we are saying, Sir, is that in this country any one who brings tribalism should be banished from this country. No more tribalism and we congratulate our Prime Minister for his work. We commend him to God to protect him. We support him and this country will reward him. Thank you.

Mr I. A. Brown (Uyo South West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I find it very difficult to say 'thank you' to His Excellency for the Speech from the Throne. As a matter of fact for very many years this is the worst that has ever been presented to Parliament. If I may invite the attention of this Hon. House to a certain section here in the Address from the Throne, Sir. With respect to His Excellency, in the modern world no country can consider its defence complete without an air force. "In this regard my Government intends to seek expert advice on how to establish a Nigerian Air Force."

Last year, on the Floor of this House, the same statement was contained in the Address from the Throne when we were told that there is an offer of two military aircraft from Britain to Nigeria. I wonder why in the 1961 Address from the Throne no mention whatsoever was made whereas these two Aircraft have been received in this country. Mr Speaker, Sir, we discovered that the offer of two aircraft to Nigeria last year was an inducement for the Federal Government to approve the establishment of a military base in this country for the British. I challenge the Prime Minister to deny that the award of two military aircraft was not a reward of military base in this country. Now what I intend to say, Sir, ever since approving that Britain could establish a Military base anytime we want to know from the Prime Minister if these two aircraft have already been received in this country and if they have been received mention must be made about it in this House.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to invite your attention to another section of this address. "The expansion of the Nigeria Police Force will continue at the maximum speed consistent with our financial resources and particular

attention be paid to the establishment of a chain of police posts to guide our Eastern frontier". The same promise was contained in the Address from the Throne last year and this year you remember I made a statement on the Floor of this House that this country is not interested in how far we are going to expand the Police Force but all we are interested is how are we going to make the Police force attractive to the people serving in it.

An hon. Member : Exactly !

Mr Brown : Something like that ought to come into the 1961-62 Address from the Throne. If we keep on expanding the Police Force and we are going to expand it probably to France, and there is no attraction in the Police Force, how do we hope that the people serving in it are going to serve us properly in the way we want. Something must be done to make the Police Force attractive. I am not going into details here when we come to the Committee of Supply on the floor of this House I shall attack the contents of this address in the way they deserve. Mr Speaker, Sir, I am here to say that the Security section of the Police Force of this country is not functioning well.

Hon. Members : Exactly !

Mr Brown : Mr Speaker, Sir, there is a section in the address where His Excellency said that "my Government proposes with regard to the Navy to provide for the bringing into commission later this year a seaward defence boat now being built in the United Kingdom, and for constructional work and shore facilities and accommodation at Apapa and Calabar where an Eastern Base is planned". I must say that if that is the proposal of the Government it should be carried out now. Sometime last year, Sir, we made it known that the frontier of Eastern side of this country is not safe. A certain French woman came in from the Cameroon borders and she is still within the country now without Passport and is connected with a new Company called Zone. This lady has been collecting heavy sums of money in the Eastern Region, there claiming she was authorised by the Federal Government to come into the country in order to collect funds for the establishment of new firms in this country. When I invited this lady last month I tried to scrutinise the documents that this lady

tendered to me and I discovered that all these documents were faked and were never issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; I invited the attention of the Police, and as a matter of fact, I do not know what the Police have done in respect of this woman. As a matter of fact the woman is still in this country. Something must be done to protect the frontiers of this country. Sir, I notice that the only Security Forces in this country are against Nigerians. The Security Forces should not only be made to look after Nigerians but should be made to protect the frontiers of this country against foreigners who come into this country any time they like.

Another point, Mr Speaker, Sir; much has been said about the increase of salary for Members of Parliament here. I want to say that during the last visit of the Prime Minister to the Eastern Region, it has become a habit that whenever a Minister is touring this country the Members of the Federal House are not kept informed of the movements of the Minister. When the Minister of Commerce and Industry was touring the Eastern Region, many Members of this House were written to, telegrams were sent to us and we were kept informed of his movements, and then, we made elaborate arrangements for his reception. But when the Prime Minister toured the Eastern Region—I do not know what happened to other Members—we were never written to. We noticed that circular letters were sent to the N.C.N.C. organising secretaries, and the Eastern Regional Provincial Commissioners. In fact, in my own area where the Provincial Commissioners took upon themselves to prepare welcome address every other content of the address was purely regional. In fact the Prime Minister did not know what to answer in the address because nearly all the points raised there were regional matters. In future, I want to appeal to all the Ministers in this House that whenever they are going on tour of this country, each Member of this House from those areas should be informed in time so that he may make arrangements to welcome them. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, last year on the Floor of this House, during the debate on the Speech from the Throne, mention was made about the construction of the 400-mile railway extension. This year, I have been looking through to see whether mention will be made about the completion of this extension. Last year, we were told that the extension will be open for traffic

in April this year and I wonder when we shall be informed whether this railway extension will be opened this year.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is a serious omission in the Address; that is the question of creating more States in the country. I must say, as a matter of fact, that the issue is a very explosive one indeed. We have been too lenient in the past in handling this matter of States. I must appeal to the Federal Government, or to the Prime Minister that if we use all the constitutional forms in asking the Federal Government to reconsider its stand over the creation of States in the country and they refuse, we know what we should do. The only thing good for this Government (*Interruptions*). What we shall do will be to introduce Tshombe tactics in this country by breaking away from the Eastern Government.

The Deputy Speaker : I think it is highly improper and not conducive to peace and orderly government in this country for Members to make any statement on the Floor of this House that would imply that violence is being advocated.

Mr Brown : Mr Speaker, Sir, I must admit that no one on earth has ever caused trouble. Many troubles in the world are caused by causes and the creation of more States in this country is one of the causes that cause trouble by itself. I might say that there is a Motion coming to this House soon for the creation of the Mid-West State.

An hon. Member : Who told you?

Mr Brown : But you published it in the *Pilot*. It is your paper.

Mr Speaker, Sir, last year I made mention about the reduction of ranks in the Police Force in this country. I must say that as far as this country is concerned, in comparison with Ghana, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and many other countries of the world, in fact there is no country in the world to be compared with us in the way we handle the Police in this country. In Ghana here, as soon as any Constable is out of training the next position given to him is full Corporal, and the question of Class One, Class Two, Class Three, Class Four Constable is not applicable even to Ghana. I notice that the Federal Government, or the Minister of Defence (on behalf of the Prime Minister) made promise last year that he was going to look into the matter when

[MR BROWN]

I raised it last year with a view to modifying it. But in this year; we notice that nothing has so far been done and what obtained last year is going to obtain again this year. I wonder, when we talk of Police expansion, whether we are really going to expand the Police and consider making the Police attractive.

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

Mallam Ahmadu Fatika (Zaria North West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to contribute on the Motion which is before this hon. House. The Speech from the Throne is progressive, bold and the first ever delivered by a true son of Africa, an independent and the most populated country in Africa. The Speech is a historic one and a masterpiece which covered both the domestic and foreign policies of the Federal Government and which left no room for criticism, and I only pray the Almighty God may give our able Ministers, under the leadership of our respected Prime Minister, power to implement these policies to the best use not only for Nigeria and Africa but for the benefit of the whole world.

Mr Speaker, Sir, many hon. Members have spoken about the personality of our respected Governor-General and it is not my intention to repeat all that has been said about him, but my intention is to talk about His Excellency's tour of the Northern Region.

First, I should like to thank His Excellency for the official tour he took in some parts of the Northern Region within a short time of his inauguration in his new office; this is a great honour to us and I will assure His Excellency that his tour is still fresh to the people of the North. Sir, during his Excellency's tour, he was presented with a loyal address in each Provincial Headquarters where he visited by the Native Authority concerned, and it is my intention to remind His Excellency about the loyal address presented to him by the Zaria N.A., in which the N.A. stressed the need of establishing more industries so as to arrest the present unemployment in Zaria Province. My second remark on His Excellency's tour of Northern Nigeria is on the remark he made when he was about to end his tour, that is the praising of our Local Government system in the Region. His Excellency praised how the Local Government is being run in the North, and this praise is a credit both to the Regional Government and the Local Government too.

Mr Speaker, I am glad to see that the Federal Government is taking steps to increase the strength of our defence not only to ensure internal security, but it will also serve as a deterrent to any would-be aggressor. This is splendid and in doing so, I hope the conditions of service of our soldiers and Police Force will be more attractive so that our young boys after leaving their schools will join the Forces. Also, I am glad to see that additional facilities will be provided for the training of the Nigeria Police Force. Mr Speaker, it is saddening to see that most, if not all the higher ranks are held by expatriates, and this is the only way the Federal Government will take in order to expedite the Nigerianisation of the higher posts both in our Army and the Police Force.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is interesting to see that the Federal Government has made it clear again that it has no intention to nationalise the industry to any greater extent than the public utilities of this country. This is very important and will get the support of any thinking person who has the love of this country in his heart, because in any sitting of this House many hon. Members complain of setting industry in their constituencies and if it is nationalised, no foreigner will dare to come and invest his money in this country. I praise the Government for taking this right way.

(The Speaker resumed the Chair)

I should like to ask the Federal Government to see that all big firms such as U.A.C., G.B.O., P.Z. and many other big firms in this country open their gates for indigenous Nigerians in selling some percentage of shares to them as was done by John Holt Investment Company a few months ago in which many Nigerians responded greatly. If this is done, I am sure it will help the people and the country economically and the people will have a say in their firms.

Mr Speaker, it is also very interesting to note that the Federal Government knows that our political independence will have no meaning unless it is firmly based on a very vigorous expansion of economy. This is very important in raising the standard of living of most of our people in this country, which is very low, and I hope the Government will take all possible measures in increasing the pace of the economic development of this country.

In concluding I should like to emphasise my view on the criticism of the employment of Northerners in the Federal Public Service of this country. This criticism is unfair and will not strengthen the unity of this country. As already mentioned that only 1 per cent of the Northerners are employed in the Federal Public Service I think what the Government is doing is for the best of this country.

Mr Speaker : Point of order.

An hon. Member : On a point of order, a Member should not read his speech or book or paper in support of his argument.

Mr Speaker : I do hope that the hon. Member will make less reference to his notes.

Mallam Amadu Fatika : Mr Speaker, as I was saying about the appointment of Northerners in the Public Service of this country, it is unfair and it will not strengthen the unity of this country. As already mentioned by Sarkin Bai that only 1 per cent of the Northerners are employed in the Federal Public Service I think what the Government is doing is in the best interest of this country.

Mr Speaker, I beg to support.

Mr V. E. Eze (Orlu North East) : I shall begin by paying deserving tribute to that father of the Nation Great Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe who is now addressed as His Excellency the Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria. Mr Speaker, Sir, but for this great man, Nigeria would have been worse than what Congo is to-day. Because of the foresight and fatherliness of this great man who accomplished what the Biblical Moses could not do. Ghandi won independence for India, but unfortunately he did not live to see it. But this father of the Nation because of his goodwill towards all sections of the country has survived the ordeal of imperialism. Just of yesterday our compatriot, Patrice Lumumba fell into a trap. A similar incident could have happened to our great leader, Zik. Providence has intervened to prolong his life for better services to the country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it pays us tremendously to learn a great deal from the life of this man. While hailing from the East, he was born in the Northern Region and was bred in the West and Mr Speaker, you could see that from the very beginning providence laid very solid foundation for the leadership which backed

this man to undertake his great services. That is why he is exceptional in any way. He loves North, he loves East, and he loves the West and Mr Speaker, Sir, every day he is being rewarded accordingly. He is the father of the Nation.

Next, I come to our beloved Prime Minister. To-day we are here together on the Government side due to the leadership of this great son of Nigeria. Alhaji Sir Tafawa Balewa is and will continue to lead the country in his fatherly and magnanimous way. From his speech, you can learn a lot. He is very cool, very penetrating and very foresighted and these are qualities that a leader very much needs. He has them and if the Opposition will only co-operate, they have nothing to lose but much to gain.

During the last Prime Ministers' Conference in London, the Opposition made every attempt to embarrass our Prime Minister before he arrived in London. He refused to make comments in Nigeria and in London before the Conference. He did that to prove his ability and capability as Prime Minister. He was not singing to the tune of the Opposition. He was carrying a responsibility imposed on him by the nation. At long last the Opposition are as loud as anybody else in his praise and that, Mr Speaker, proves that it is golden to be silent and the man with the golden voice has shown his mettle even to the admiration of the stubborn Opposition.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I now turn to the programme outlined by the Government. Firstly, on the home front many hon. Members have said quite a lot in praise of the Government plan and I shall only refer to a few particular aspects of same. In general, many Members have pointed out that the programme is realistic, bold and imaginative. Take, for instance, the question of employment. I am glad our able Prime Minister has silenced the Opposition on that point. If you want to share in the patronage of Government the wise thing to do is to join the Government party and the door is open for the Opposition to do just that and they should not deceive the masses who do not know the complexities of democratic processes. For example, what is the sense in employing an Opposition Member to be in a key position in the Government when it is known from past record that

[MR EZE]
such a person is a wrecker? That the Government must take steps to prevent. That is what is happening and instead of the Opposition admitting the fact they are preaching quite a different thing outside this House, accusing the Government of unnecessary discrimination.

Then, Mr Speaker, I come to the question of education. This, I believe personally to be the most important aspect of the whole programme. There are many problems confronting every country, especially a new country like ours and as I have said on several occasions before, education is practically the answer to most of our problems. By education I do not necessarily mean the mere passing of examinations. If this country wants to maintain the fast pace of progress which everybody wishes it to do, we have to lay the foundation by improving the lot of our teachers. Quite a lot has been done for them already and congratulations are due to the Government; but at

the same time realising that whether you are a doctor, lawyer or engineer or whatever you may be you are taught by a teacher, the position of a teacher is very fundamental and the Government must take particular notice of that. Education takes care of our Nigerianisation policy and without teachers we cannot implement that policy.

And it being 5.45 p.m., Mr Speaker, pursuant to standing Order 4 (3), interrupted the Business.

Mr Speaker : Debate to be resumed, when?

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): On Saturday.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn (The Minister of Works and Surveys).

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at fourteen minutes to six o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Saturday, 1st April, 1961

The House met at 9 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

OATHS

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

* Mr Jonathan Durojaiye Odebunmi
(Egba North).

REPORTS FROM SPECIAL COMMITTEES

Mr Speaker : (1) I have to lay on the Table of the House a report from the Committee of Selection. This will appear in the Votes and Proceedings of to-day's sitting.

(2) I have to inform the House that Mr Ench reports from the Business Committee that, in accordance with Standing Order 55A (1) (c), they have decided that the following Private Members' Motions be placed on the Order Paper for Tuesday the 4th of April in the order shown :—

(1) United Nations intervention in Congo situation (No. 3)

(2) Establishment of a Fourth Region (No. 27)

(3) News Section of N.B.C. (No. 20)

(4) Umuahia-Ibeku-Itu Road (No. 1)

(5) Transfer of Education to Exclusive Legislative List (No. 22)

(6) Establishment of Federal Sports Commission (No. 11).

BUSINESS STATEMENT

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to make the following business statement for the week ending Saturday the 8th of April :—

Monday, 3rd April—Easter Monday. There will be no sitting.

Tuesday, 4th April—Private Members Day.

Wednesday, 5th April—Third and final day of the debate on the Address from the Throne.

Thursday, 6th April—Presentation of the following bills :—

(1) Ports (Amendment)

(2) Piers (Amendment)

Appropriation Bill, 1961-62—Second Reading.

Second and Third Reading of the following bills :—

(1) Ports (Amendment)

(2) Piers (Amendment)

Friday, 7th April—Presentation of the following bills :—

(1) Supplementary Appropriation Bill, 1961-62

(2) International Financial Organisations (Amendment)—Second and Third Readings of the following bills :—

(1) Treasury Bills (Amendment)

(2) Lagos Stock Exchange

(3) International Financial Organisations (Amendment)

(4) External Trade Letters of Credit (Control).

On Saturday 8th April, Business Statement for the week ending 15th April, 1961 ; first stage of debate on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill, 1961-62.

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS

APPROPRIATION (1961-62) BILL

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. **S. Okotie-Eboh**) : *Second Reading*—Thursday, 6th of April.

EXTERNAL TRADE LETTERS OF CREDIT (CONTROL) BILL

The Minister of Finance : *Second Reading*—Friday, 7th of April.

NOTICE OF MOTION

ADJOURNMENT

The Minister of Finance : Mr Speaker, I beg to move that this House at its rising today do adjourn till Tuesday next.

The Minister of Works and Surveys (Chief the hon. **Muhammadu Inuwa Wada**) : I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : That this House at its rising this day do adjourn till Tuesday next.

guise of the federal nature of our country should, therefore, tell the truth and prove it. The next principle is that all senior appointments should be on merit not merely on academic qualifications, but on other merits which will reflect the dignity, prestige and progress of the country. For instance, it will be futile to appoint somebody who will let Nigeria down either intellectually or otherwise in the name of federalism.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I now turn to the question of preventing destructive demonstrations in the capital city of Lagos. The Government must be given hearty congratulations for preventing destructiveness. At the same time, a warning must be sounded that the Government should as far as possible try to preserve the democratic principle of protesting through democratic demonstrations. This is freedom but the freedom must not be abused.

The Government must see that this country is not turned into another Congo in the name of demonstration.

An hon. Member : By the Action Group.

Mr Eze : Next, I turn to the question of Judicial appointments. A lot has been said about this, but it is so important that any amount of emphasis should be placed on it. For instance, in the United Kingdom it is the Lord Chancellor who makes such appointments in consultation with the Prime Minister. (*Hear, hear*). Here the same principle must be maintained. The Prime Minister must be consulted when such appointments are to be made. (*Hear, hear*).

Our country is a very populous and large one; and we need a larger Police Force to take care of our peace. Accordingly, I am urging the Government to see to it that the Force is enlarged with adequate pay and better conditions of service. (*Hear, hear*).

I must appeal personally to the Government to fulfil the age old promise to Onitsha by providing the Aerodrome. Onitsha is a linking town between the East and the West and a special commercial centre. While thanking the Government for the construction of a Niger Bridge, we are reminding it of its promise to build the Aerodrome.

The next point is that the Government should keep in mind the question of industrialising the country uniformly, and, in this

connection, I would remind the Government that Orlu Division, for instance, must benefit from the industrial scheme. (*Hear, hear*).

Finally, Mr Speaker, it is regrettable that while we are after the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the number of workers in the junior service—so-called junior, I think it is the senior service in this country—is something to be regretted. The scale of salary and conditions of service do not *pro-rata* compare with those in the so-called senior service. They are all citizens of Nigeria and they should be treated with equal chances and fairness.

In conclusion, I congratulate the Government wholeheartedly and support the Motion on the Speech from the Throne.

Mr S. A. Oladapo (Ondo West): Mr Speaker, Sir, quite apart from the historical aspect of the Speech from the Throne, being the first to be delivered by an African Governor-General in this country, the speech contains a lot for the improvement of this country for which I would like to congratulate the Government. But in fairness to the masses of this country, I feel bound to say that the proposed measures for improvement have not gone far enough and that there are a number of problems facing the country which were omitted. For example, the problem of mass unemployment with particular reference to school leavers, mass illiteracy, diseases and poverty.

An hon. Member : Keep quiet, is this your maiden speech?

Mr Oladapo : Is it not a shame to us here that a vast majority of our people particularly up-country still suffer all the ills earlier mentioned? And yet, what do we do to mitigate the sufferings? The Government does not seem to be taking the challenge seriously enough. Why should a good number of our people be allowed to remain disease ridden and allowed to continue to live in ignorance and poverty, in a country reputed to be full of opportunities. There is an independent country, politically independent but economically and commercially subjugated to the control of foreigners.

Several hon. Members : Very bad.

Mr Oladapo : It is true to-day that foreigners control about eighty-five per cent of our state and industries. What plans has the

[MR OLADAPO]

Government to remedy this situation? (*Interruption*). We know it is an impossible feat, for this thing to be remedied in a day but we want to see evidence of Government's wish to tackle this problem quickly and in the right way. There is no such evidence from the Speech from the Throne. If the Government is going to do the right thing on this problem, the Government should have set up various fact-finding commissions immediately after independence upon whose recommendations the Government could have based its plan. This reminds me of the often repeated call for a high-powered commission made by the Leader of the Opposition in this House sometime ago. (*Prolonged interruptions*). No less a person than the Prime Minister himself then promptly replied that the Government has a plan. May we ask ourselves where is this plan? If there is any at all, the plan has not gone far at all into the root of our troubles. Can we honestly say or admit that an economic plan drawn up for us in our old colonial days by our colonial masters—(*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker: Will the hon. Member please make less reference to his notes?

Mr Oladipo: Can we honestly admit that an economic plan put up for us by our colonial masters six or seven years ago can still suit us at this stage of our independence? I dare say no.

Sometime ago I suggested that this House should go into the question of arranging a new census for the country. Surprisingly enough, the Government put off this suggestion and thereby put itself in a position of a father who does not know the number of children he has and who, therefore, could not properly cater for the welfare of the children, or make the best use of the children. I would like to repeat the same suggestion here, that is, that the census of the Federation be taken at once. I would even like to go further, that the census should be broken up into the number of employable and the unemployable citizens of the country. At a glance, such an arrangement will show the country the potentialities in the labour force, which is very essential in any aspiring nation.

With the future of all employable citizens of the country in the hands of the Government and with the information to be supplied by the various commissions earlier suggested to be

set up, the Government would be in a position to put forward concrete plans for the improvement of the country. Why not put forward a bold national agricultural scheme designed to boost national potentialities and income? Large industries should be established capable of absorbing not only parts of our agricultural products but capable of absorbing all the unemployed in the country.

The last but not the least. The position by which (*Interruptions*). (*Several hon. Members: sit down*)

Mr Speaker: Order, order! The hon. Member has not yet exhausted his time as far as I can see, and he has not violated the Standing Orders. Will he please continue.

Mr Oladipo: Thank you, Mr Speaker. The position by which at least 85 per cent of our trades and industries in this country are being handled by foreigners, I think, puts us in a very bad light as an independent country, and I think the earlier the Government did something to change the position the better.

M. Iro Mashi, Iyan Katsina (Marusa Mashi): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency for the Speech from the Throne. Indeed, Sir, this is the first occasion for Nigerian Members of Parliament to debate a Motion of Thanks for an Address from the Throne delivered by their own fellowman, a Nigerian as the Governor-General of the Federation (*hear, hear*). I wish to congratulate His Excellency for his appointment as the first Nigerian Governor-General of independent Nigeria. Sir, it is not surprising to any right-thinking man to hear of the appointment of Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe as the Governor-General because he deserves it. It is a good choice, putting the right man in the right job. This is a credit to the Coalition Government—they made the best choice.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to thank His Excellency for his glorious Speech delivered from the Throne and I would like also to congratulate the Government for the programme outlined in the Speech.

Mention was made in the programme about the United Nations and the part they play in the Congo. In this connection, Sir, I wish to express my deep appreciation of the work of the Royal Nigerian Army and the Nigeria Police in the Congo. We all hear on the radio of their courage, conduct and devotion to duty.

But I am afraid to say that it is too early to comment on the work of the United Nations, as the situation there became worse since the death of Mr Lumumba, the first Prime Minister of the Congo.

Our Prime Minister gave his views on the Congo situation during the early times of the crisis and he said that a general election should be held to solve the problem. That was a good suggestion to the authorities concerned. But unfortunately, the United Nations did not take notice of the suggestion. However, I hope the Conciliation Committee will succeed in getting a fair solution to the Congo affair.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I like to quote from the Speech a very important passage that reads: "The improvement of the situation in Africa will be one of the main objectives of my Ministers and they intend to continue to pursue the Government's declared aims of not identifying itself with any bloc or group, but of being at all times guided by a sense of realism and support for the truth, and of maintaining and fostering good relations with all countries which recognise and respect Nigeria's sovereignty and wish to maintain friendly relations with us".

Mr Speaker: If the hon. Member will just speak louder I shall be able to hear him better.

M. Iro Mashi: Thank you. It is a good idea. May God help our troops. I am sure this House will not hesitate to give its full support to this in order to ensure the security of this country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, during the course of a debate on the Speech from the Throne, it was said that legislation would be introduced to amend the Ports Ordinance and one of its main provisions would be to allow a Nigerian to be appointed Chairman of the Nigerian Ports Authority. This is a welcome proposal and the Government should be congratulated for that. I would like also to thank the Government for the appointment of a Nigerian as the Chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission (*Hear, hear*). The Federal Public Service Commission is giving good service and we hope promotion there will not be governed by seniority. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to congratulate the hon. Prime Minister for his performance in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London particularly on the issue of South

Africa and on racial discrimination and human indignity. In conclusion, Sir, I would like to remind the Federal Government that a law along with responsibility to foster unity and respect for fundamental human rights and also with responsibility for the security of the Nation should be approved to allow no facilities for those who carry on subversive activities against the Government. In this connection, the Government should carry out a review of the Daily Newspapers Ordinance with a view to curbing the activities of the newspapers which do nothing but discredit the Government.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support. (*Hear, hear*).

M. Aminu Kano: Mr Speaker, Sir, it is my wish to offer my congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as the Speaker of this House because at the time you were elected, I was not in this country (*Hear, hear*). In rising to support the motion of thanks to the Governor-General for his gracious Speech from the Throne—a motion that has been wonderfully moved by my hon. Friend and comrade Dr the hon. Kalu Ežera—I do so with a deep sense of nationalism coupled with pride that when it comes to the question of accepting any form of challenge, this young nation of Nigeria will prove equal to the task.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to repeat here what I said before this House on the eve of our Independence that any newly independent country faces new problems: (1) the problem of the consolidation of that independence; (2) the problem of unity and international political stability, (3) the problem of poverty, (4) the problem of international relations, peace and security of mankind. I do not intend to elaborate on any of these but I want it placed on record that there has been a tendency, since October 1st, 1960, on the part of the Nigerian people, to put more emphasis on the Federal Government than on the Regions. (*Hear, hear*). In the greater part of the Federation tolerance, as a result of mutual exhaustion, is becoming accepted as part of the normal life of our people. Since October 1st, 1960, Nigeria has been on trial. It has kept on going which is a good sign that we intend to be, if not the only model, one of the only few models of African democracy. We have been put to test in various fields of human endeavour and we have not been found wanting or cowardly. In spite of

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development in tolerance and understanding of one another, the Federal Government must accept responsibility for the total elimination of political oppression in any corners of the country. It must come out more and more to declare its resolute intention in seeing that the poorest man enjoys real freedom because it is the cornerstone of meeting effectively external onslaught. Not only that, Sir, since Regional Governments in the Federation are far more obsessed with the use of their resources to cultivate political support, the Federal Government should more and more concentrate on research and promotion of schemes which will directly improve the economic life of the people. This is the only way parties in opposition in the greater part of the country can get benefit.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is to-day a tremendous effort in improving the life of the people. But one doubts whether a lot of revenue is not being concentrated in the hands of very few gigantic organisations which are expatriate in character, and in particular, the building firms. It is not impossible, Sir, that major buildings should be carried out by national construction companies in which Government and people hold shares so that the fantastic profit made can remain within the country. Nations willing to give their experts for the promotion of such a venture will come forward to support such a scheme. The Government should set out to check the degree of monopoly in very few trading companies without necessarily embarking upon nationalisation in the country.

It has been said that there are in the leadership of our country people who are afraid that arms and command of our country should be widespread among some quarters. If there are such people they will be wise to pack and go with the British because no one who has no faith in Nigeria has the right to be here.

Young people, in their younger years, are not geared to opportunism and bitterness. There will be greater demand in years ahead for trained Nigerians to defend not only the sovereignty of their country but of people everywhere since that is one of the national objectives of our country. I have seen in some lands how all classes and creeds and languages in a nation have been welded together by national service training. In addition, should there

not be a part-military force to give adults of not more than thirty years of age such military training say for three weeks in every year which creates large reserves for the defence and security of the country? The army in a forward looking nation, Sir, is one of the greatest instruments of fostering unity and spreading education and removing the very root of revolt against constitutional authority. This period of training will provide a ready force of labour and raise the standard of living of the mass of the unemployed or under-employed people seen all over all country to-day.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to come next to the special problem of rents in Lagos. I have heard it said abroad that the rent and value of land in Lagos now are even higher than in London. This is an outcome of the deliberate effort of some influential members of a political party in this country—businessmen who receive money to create personal fortunes. . . . (Interruptions)

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I do not think some hon. Members should waste the time of the House in this way by making very unnecessary interruptions, and this must stop.

M. Aminu Kano : Thank you, Mr Speaker. These people think that the European personnel of the various firms they charge this exorbitant rent are the only persons who pay. But the high rent is a cankerworm of the most oppressive growth in the country to-day and a deterrent to intending business interests. Its incidence bears heavily upon wage earners and non-wage earners and represents a major cause of bitterness between the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots." The Council of Ministers which, we hope, does not own property, must use its powers to reduce rents in Lagos. (Hear, hear).

Mr Speaker, I now come to African Unity and Foreign Affairs. I do not intend to go very deeply in these subjects as there is plenty of chance for me when we come to Heads and Items on Foreign Affairs and the United Nations. But I want to make the following observations as a preliminary comment. Sir, the idea of a United States of West Africa began in the last century among West African leaders but received its modern interpretation mainly from Nigerians who, in 1925, spear-headed the promotion of West African unity.

The root cause of what has been alleged to be Nigeria's lukewarmness lies in the fact that African leaders had not sat down to chart out the way of obtaining this objective before the demand for immediate political association of states which were just becoming independent was made. Nigeria owes a duty to the many nations of Africa who look up to her to give a lead in a round table conference designed to carry out this exercise. There is no need for recrimination because out of it nothing comes but chaos and failure. We have a duty to seek to remove as quickly as possible the vintages of the colonial past from every facet of our national life. You cannot build a new house with old bricks with all the goodwill in the world.

There must be a large number of administrators in all sectors in this country who cannot get over the inhibition that they used to be the final arbiters of the fortunes of this country. When this has been done we will find greater willingness on the part of the nations of Europe and our African sister nations to accept that we have arrived. I am aware that there are Englishmen still in our service who are devoted to our country and believe in our service, who are devoted to our country and believe in our capacity to manage our affairs. The Government should do all it can to see to it that we do not lose such men. But let all those who look to the British High Commission as the directing force in Nigeria and regard their association with British manufacturing houses as of prior importance to their work for the Nigerian taxpayers who employ them, let all such people pack up and go before they are exposed.

In 1959 an Action Group Member of the Nigerian Government persuaded the Federal Government to renew three years before the expiration of its existing licence for a further fifteen years the licence of the Cable and Wireless to operate the external communications of Nigeria. (Interruptions). Mr Speaker, when you are speaking the truth, those who do not like the truth tend to drown the truth being spoken. The Action Group are fond of telling this country that certain people have sold its sovereignty, but when they do it for whatever may be their considerations they keep quiet on it. This is hypocrisy introduced into our national life which we detest and we call upon the people to note.

The Speech from the Throne spoke of expansion in our international communication system with other countries. The Government must know that as long as such licence exists it cannot carry out this promise to the nation. It has therefore only one course open to it, and that is to approach Cable and Wireless and abrogate the licence forthwith. (Hear, hear). . . . If we can finance projects costing millions of pounds, we can pay the few thousand pounds which the Cable and Wireless Installations may cost. It is in the interest of British-Nigerian relationship that this should be done honourably.

Our Foreign Affairs must not be inhibited as Government has often said by ideological factors—not by religious considerations. The Government must consider in this early stage the appointment of ambassadors at large as the Kennedy Administration has done to the following Regions :—

- (i) Africa and Middle East.
- (ii) Europe and the Rest of Asia.

The Prime Minister must see to it that the very best of our men become representatives of our country at all levels and in particular in the capacity which I have suggested, because although our country enjoys the highest prestige in the world to-day it is not being sufficiently heard of. Good men—well organised external broadcasting in various languages and regular intelligently edited publications for foreign consumption are vital for this purpose. And we must obtain the services of people who believe in our country from anywhere to assist in the crucial task of projecting Nigeria properly and effectively in the world.

A word for Internal Security. It is important that this country should know that the organisation, direction and security are in the hands of its nationals. If Government really uses advisers on this matter—the staff of the British High Commission as is alleged, depends on expatriate personnel for its secret service—it runs the grave risk of showing lack of confidence in the support of its people which is a serious situation.

In our approach to any nation we must not show that we fear them. If we do so by giving them other than the general treatment we give others, they too will begin having designs

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against us. As an independent nation we must have our own indigenous organisations to keep under surveillance all foreign nationals and representation within our borders.

May I end by addressing a word to the youth of our country. It may well be that as youths you are dissatisfied with the rate of projecting our country. But you will be serving Nigeria truly if you press legitimately your demand for greater prestige for your country entirely within Nigeria and without appearing to take orders from any external body. I will urge you also to concern yourselves with protests against political parties and governments which, by oppression of political opponents in any part of the country, sap the strength of Nigeria, and not quarrel only about foreign policy.

There is need to blend the political, social and other activities designed to strengthen the country now and in the immediate future, and everywhere in Africa for the purpose of preventing injustice, and for the advancement and improvement of life I would ask the Government to investigate the extent to which police provocation directed by expatriate members of the Force, were responsible for the disquieting incident of the last Lumumba demonstration in Lagos.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr M. C. K. Obi (Afenmai East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the views expressed by many Members of the Opposition Bench but I would like to make a few observations. As it is customary in this hon. House to debate this Motion, I think it will be useless if the Government will not listen to the suggestions offered by both Members of the Government and the Opposition.

Although the Speech is very eloquent, on the other hand it lacks the essential thing the Government should offer to the people.

Now, Mr Speaker, from the Speech from the Throne the Government made its stand known that it would support the work of the United Nations. This work is not defined and I believe if the example given by the United Nations in the Congo is the type of work, nobody will support such an organisation. I say this because it is that organisation that mis-used our troops in fighting even the great

supporters of Mr Lumumba who is the rightful person to head the Government to be recognised by the Government of this country in Congo.

Another point I would like to mention is the Government's intention to expand the Police. I want to point out that there are a lot of irregularities in the way police officers are invited for interview for promotion. Most of these people are qualified but because of nepotism and other associated evils, such qualified people are not called for interview. I am not accusing the Interviewing Board, but I believe if people are not going to be promoted because of efficiency they will have less interest in their jobs. This should be looked into.

On the question of foreign policy, Sir, I would like to say that the signing of the Defence Pact is incompatible with the Government's policy of non-alignment. Why sign the Defence Pact with Britain—that contradicts the policy on foreign affairs.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in the Speech from the Throne it was mentioned that a special issue of stamps would be made to commemorate the first anniversary of our independence. I would like to say that this is not sufficient. That day should be declared a public holiday and sufficient money should be set aside to be distributed to schools to be used for sports meetings, etc., and that part of the money should be given to the Regions to be spent in the same way. That is how we can recognise the day as a great day in the history of Nigeria. We have come to a point where we are called again to consider the Appropriation Bill. Not only that, we are going to approve two Supplementary Estimates. I am afraid this is already a sign that we are going to consider this year a loan budget: I can foresee that. I hope the Government will do everything it can to economise the finances of the country. The Federal Government is the highest Legislature in the country and it is budgeting for a sum which is almost double what other Regional Governments budget for each year. I hope that this money will be well-spent instead of allowing ourselves to go abroad borrowing, as we have already had an indication of borrowing in the Speech from the Throne.

With these few observations, Sir, I am opposing the Motion,

M. Salihu Abdul (Igbirra): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne. The occasion is really going to be a remarkable thing in the future history of our country. When Dr Azikiwe, in company of others, was fighting for the country's freedom for some years past, many important figures in the country thought that he was merely wasting his time. But he was not fighting for his personal end, nor was he doing it for reasons confined to himself. He was really fighting on behalf of the entire population of the country. During the course of his fight he was made to experience all sorts of predicaments that were sufficient to discourage him, yet he was far from being discouraged.

Though many of his colleagues who fought gallantly have had their lives translated into death, we still have to be grateful to the Almighty God in that Dr Azikiwe is not only living to witness the result of his activities coupled with the acceptance of his prayer, but also he is still playing a leading role in the whole issue. (*Applause*). Dr Azikiwe, as the first African Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria, is no doubt a square peg in a square hole in the country to-day.

On the face of the Speech from the Throne, one can safely conclude that the Federal Government has left no stone unturned in all aspects of life. The Government fully realises that the population, size and abundant natural resources alone do not place Nigeria above all other countries in Africa. We have got to make our country great by ourselves.

I am humbly suggesting that a careful and extensive survey of our natural resources all over the country should be conducted with a sense of urgency and that everyone of them should be exploited with a reasonable degree of efficiency for the benefit of our people.

In conclusion, I have to congratulate our able Prime Minister on his commendable activities (*Hear, hear*) both inside and outside the country. Nigeria from bondage is likely to deliver the whole of Africa from bondage and insecurity. Africa all over is now on the march towards political and economic freedom. It is at the same time claiming equality with all other nations of the world. But it is remarkable to note that all young

African nations are adopting a foreign policy of positive neutrality. At this juncture, I venture to suggest that Nigeria should press for the formation of a United States of Africa. When this is formed, Africa shall be a third world bloc, having as its armour not nuclear weapons, but ideological and political ones.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Mr B. O. Ikeh (Izi South): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General for his Speech from the Throne. His Speech was historic, it was really remarkable and it was ably delivered.

We can see from the Speech that the Federal Government is thinking very seriously of the welfare of the common people in that it has not only entrenched the rule of law in our Constitution, but it is also seeing to it that the rule of law is really being practised. The idea of the introduction of legal aid is really an assurance that the Federal Government is working hard to see that the common people have their rights fully protected. It is a way of helping them to obtain redress in the law courts without great financial handicap. The Federal Government indeed is a Government of the people for the people by the people.

Sometimes there is a tendency for the workers to think that Government is not caring for them sufficiently. It is true that the working class of people all over the world generally feel that their respective governments are exploiting them. But as we can see from the Speech from the Throne, the Federal Government is thinking seriously of improving the lot of the workers. It is not only that the workers are well-paid, and their conditions of service improved, but the Federal Government is still thinking of what would be the position of the workers in their old age. The idea of establishing a Provident Fund for the workers throughout the Federation is a great step forward indeed and the workers should be very grateful to the Federal Government.

It is really very good that the aerodromes at Enugu, Ibadan and Lagos will be improved, as stated in the Speech from the Throne. But there is one thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the Federal Government. I feel that it is important to site another aerodrome between Enugu and Ikom, because

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we do not know what may happen in the break-away Territory of the Southern Cameroons. It might give rise to another problem. Nobody knows what will become of Foncha and his new friends of the French Community. But it is very important that an aerodrome should be sited at a convenient place in Ogoja Province so that there will be an easy means of communication in case of emergency.

At this juncture, I would like to remind the Government and particularly the Minister of Transport of his promise regarding the hydrological survey of the Cross River, and its eventual dredging. This river is a very important inland waterway and, to a certain extent, lies between Nigeria and the Southern Cameroons. It is very important that this river should be improved. In the event of an emergency, or a war between us and the Southern Cameroons, it would be a contravention of International Law for Nigerian warships to cruise beyond Calabar into Tiko which belongs to the Southern Cameroons. But we could pass through the Cross River if it were made navigable. It is there we could station our troops, and at the moment we have people who guard us from the terrors of those who smuggle things into Nigeria. I am, therefore, appealing to the Minister of Transport to be serious about the hydrological survey and the dredging of the Cross River.

We have been talking about advertising Nigeria both inside and outside this country. I remember I mentioned last year that it is important that Nigeria should be well advertised to other parts of the world. This advertisement should not be confined to external broadcasting and the publishing of news and magazines. Nigeria should be advertised by film shows, and I mean films produced in Nigeria. It is very important that there should be an indigenous film industry to produce real films depicting Nigeria to the outside world. We see films about India every day and we really enjoy them. It seems to me now that Indian films have really dominated all cinema theatres. We in Nigeria keep on importing films from other parts of the world. It is therefore important that the Government should think seriously of making indigenous films and exporting them to the outside world in order to advertise Nigeria.

Mr Speaker, Sir, another very important issue is the question of patriotism. There is no doubt that our soldiers in the Congo have really put Nigeria on the map. They have fought well. The same thing applies to our Police, and it is proper to place on record the excellent achievement of these gallant men from Nigeria. This is a great asset, and it reminds me of the question of training. I am of the opinion that these young men should be given sufficient training so that they will be in a position to defend Nigeria in the event of an emergency, for therein lies true patriotism. I wonder how many of us here will be able to carry arms in the event of a war!

An hon. Member : You will be Number one.

Mr Ikeh : I feel, Sir, that there should be a sort of compulsory training for the youths of this country, that is, anybody above the age of fifteen years. I would even go further to suggest that we parliamentarians might as well undertake this training so that we can be well equipped to defend our country in times of crisis.

I support what Members have said about the N.B.C. Board, and about the appointment of Judges after consultation with the Prime Minister. The present N.B.C. Board should be dissolved and a new one established. More responsibilities have been given to the N.B.C. and it is therefore imperative that a new Board be appointed to carry out these increased responsibilities. We do not want people who will begin to champion the cause of a political party; rather we want those who will serve Nigeria, who will think first and last of Nigeria.

On the question of Nigerian citizenship, I think it is time the Federal Government begin to think of making a legislation regarding the adoption of Nigerians by Nigerians. There is at the moment no legislation to that effect. There are people who want children but have none. There should, therefore, be a system by which Nigerians can adopt other Nigerians as their sons and daughters, and according to law these children will have the rights and privileges of belonging to those who have adopted them. A law should be introduced by the Federal Government, for this is another way of bringing about true Nigerian citizenship. Take the case of some people who were born in America. Such people may not be able to enjoy Nigerian citizenship unless

there is a proper system by which they can be brought to Nigeria to become Nigerian citizens. I say that they should not be disqualified from Nigerian citizenship because they were born in America.

It is contained in Page 4, paragraph 4 of the Speech from the Throne that the Government is thinking seriously of carrying out a mineral survey in the country so that the mineral resources of Nigeria may be sufficiently exploited. It is intended that this survey should be carried out before the expiration of the Economic Programme. This is a welcome idea, but I would like to ask why certain minerals which have been discovered have so far not been exploited. I have in mind the Lead-Zinc deposits in the Eastern Region. An expert reported that it would be an economic benefit and, sometime ago, the Federal Government said they were going to invest in that project but up till now we have not heard anything about it. If the Federal Government are going to undertake a mineral survey, they should not fail to exploit the one that has been discovered. It is important that mineral deposits when discovered should be tapped. The Lead-Zinc deposits in the Eastern Region are in commercial quantity. The people of the area have given the land to the mining companies but the mining companies have no money to mine the minerals. The Federal Government should think seriously of lending money to the companies or to any other group of people interested in the mining of the Lead-Zinc deposit in the Eastern Region.

I would also like to draw the attention of the Government to one important improvement that is required in the Eastern Region. The Federal Government have been spending a lot of money in the Southern Cameroons but, last year, the Federal Government decided to stop all capital works in the Southern Cameroons. I am suggesting to the Federal Government that the money for these capital works in the Southern Cameroons should be diverted to improve the area around the Southern Cameroons border. We need good roads in that area for the movement of our troops in case of emergency. If we leave the area around the Southern Cameroons border as it is to-day, we do not know when something can come across the border and it may affect Nigeria. So, it is very important that that area should be improved. The roads there should be

reconstructed. This Ahidjo-Foncha new community or new commonwealth can be another problem in West Africa. So, every precaution should be taken to see that the border between Nigeria and the Cameroons is well protected. We do not want any trouble but, at the same time, we must be prepared for any emergency. I want the Federal Government to think very seriously about this problem.

I fully support the suggestion made by Mallam Aminu Kano. What is the need of allowing Cable and Wireless to monopolise our external telegrams? It is very unprogressive. Why should the country be committed to a fifteen year contract with Cable and Wireless?

An hon. Member : It is a pre-Independence arrangement.

Mr Ike : I know it is a pre-Independence arrangement but that agreement should be abrogated. (*Hear, hear*). I also support the statement made by the last speaker about economic development in Nigeria. I would like the Minister of Economic Development to undertake more planning schemes.

Sir, I beg to support.

M. Saidu Zango (Zaria Central) : **Mr Speaker,** Sir, I rise to support the Motion of thanks to the Governor-General for his historic Speech from the Throne delivered to the nation. Nothing of importance has been left out in the Speech. I should, therefore, take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks for the visit of His Excellency the Governor-General to the Northern Region recently. We are all happy over this first tour. There is, however, one thing which I observed during His Excellency's visit to Zaria. It is a thing which I have seen with my own eyes which he might not have seen.

The Acting Resident, Zaria Province, threw a cocktail party in honour of His Excellency's visit to which many of us were invited. Some of the white people who attended did not extend adequate courtesy and honour to our august Visitor. On account of this, I must give this warning that if such white people wish to continue to stay in our country they must be prepared to respect and give sufficient honour to our leaders. I would also ask both the Federal and Regional Governments to keep an eye on this class of white people in the

[M. ZANGO]

future. My prayer is that before long the Governor-General will be able to visit the other parts in the Region which have not yet been visited because all the people are anxiously waiting to see His Excellency and his wife in order to pay their respect.

Finally, Mr Speaker, I have to congratulate our Prime Minister on the firm stand he has taken at the Prime Ministers' Conference held recently, which resulted in the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth of Nations. Mr Speaker, Sir, this stand taken by our Prime Minister has convinced us that Nigeria is the country which can lead other African States, together with our highly-esteemed Prime Minister at their head.

Mr Speaker, it now remains for the African States to unite and co-operate in the determination to destroy and bring to an end the racial discrimination policy existing in South Africa and I have no doubt that if the African States united wholeheartedly, success will surely crown their efforts.

Sir, I would like to appeal to the Prime Minister to view seriously and take arduous drastic steps to put a stop to the disregard by France, despite world opposition, in connection with the continuous atomic bomb tests in the Sahara.

Sir, I beg to support.

Sitting suspended : 10.45 a.m.

Sitting resumed : 11.05 a.m.

Mr S. O. Kolade : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to touch one or two points in the Speech from the Throne, and I would like to make a few observations.

With reference to the Ministry of Information, I mean to say that all hon. Members in this House will agree with me that we have not been seeing the evidence of the work of the Minister in charge of that Ministry, and that the hon. T. O. S. Benson does not even put up an appearance. I personally, have not been impressed by anything done by his Ministry. There was nothing specific said about his Ministry.

One of the speakers in this House mentioned the Film Industry. I think this is very important to our country. With reference to

the Indian films, every one knows that they are reigning in the world at present. One can see them in various theatres. What is the Minister doing about the Nigerian Film Industry? I think that it is his duty to do something about it in the interest of the country. The other members of the Cabinet should do something about this so that we can get all the Ministers on their seats, so that they can tell us of their various schemes.

With reference to Defence, I think this is very important. Nigeria should have a very strong defence, because we are now independent and some enemies could pounce on us at any time. It is true that Nigerians are peace-loving people. They do not want to take the lives of other people, and at the same time they should protect their own lives.

With reference to the speakers on this side of the House, who talk about the borders of Nigeria, I think that is reasonable, and I support the Government in making the necessary plan for effective defence. But in saying that, I think I would like to offer some suggestions. If you think of Ghana and the way she goes about her defence system, I think that is preferable to our own here as I see it because in Ghana they send their soldiers to many parts of the world. I think particularly if I am not one sided, we would like to be trained in England as much as possible but if you realise nowadays that England actually has fallen in its own power, we should also go to the East and learn new techniques because now, the rulers of the world are the Americans and the Russians. I wonder why our own Government is actually against the East, and they say their policy is that of non-alignment. (*Hear, hear*).

I think what we have to do is to send some of our soldiers to Russia. Let some go to America and others to China and to various parts of the world so that when these soldiers come, they will blend all their experience. That will be helpful to the nation. That is very important and I think our Government should do something about it so that they can send our soldiers to different parts of the world to be trained.

With regard to the Congo, it is a joy to me to understand that our soldiers are doing very well there. What is baffling me

is the way the United Nation is making use of our soldiers by making them to fight against those people who are for Lumumba. In fact I would not like any of our soldiers to go against those who are for Lumumba because actually Lumumba was elected. We know how our Prime Minister here was elected to the House. I think Lumumba was elected even as our own Prime Minister here was elected into the House. As we have given our soldiers to the United Nation, we cannot do much about that. Everybody should think about this so that our Government may think seriously in future on the matter.

With regard to education, reading through the Speech from the Throne, I cannot see much in the improvement of Adult Education especially in Lagos. If you go to the Western Region, you have got adult classes and I put it to you that if you go there now you will see all these old women reading papers and writing letters. (*Loud interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order, It is out of order to shout on Members speaking. I would like Members to observe that strictly.

Mr Kolade : I am putting it to the Minister of Education that he should go to the West and learn, because the Western Region is going straight in all things; education, economic planning, etc. We need to educate the masses. I think our Government should do something about adult classes especially in Lagos. I wish adult classes were scattered in Lagos so that some of these adults could go and learn to read. If they can read and understand some of our points, they will know what is going on in the world because during adult classes they will take the opportunity to educate the mothers at home on the care of babies and so on more than anything else.

The scheme which is making us to be more healthy is going on very well in the Western Region. We are very happy because of the scheme of the Regional Government. I have to tell you too that looking through the Speech from the Throne, I have not seen anything about the industrial plan of the Government. Were it not for the Western Region which set up asbestos factory near you here in Lagos I think these school leavers would not have got jobs, and the school leavers are just coming out year in and year out and the Government

does not provide a scheme by which they could be absorbed in employment. I think the Federal Government should embark on industrial projects. If you go to the East and the West, those Regions are really setting the space for the Federal Government. We have got asbestos factory, cement factory and all sorts of factories, Pepsi Cola, and all. What factory do you actually have here in the capital? That is the fault of the Government. After all these Ministers are put into positions to plan for the economic security of the nation, and they should act on the suggestions made by hon. Members on the floor of this House. This is the time for these Ministers to go and think seriously about the economic development of this country.

Furthermore, I would like our Prime Minister—it is a pity, he is not here—to be more forceful. By this, I do not mean that he should go into the streets and march like a soldier, but Dr Nkrumah is stealing the show now in Africa because whatever he wants, he announces it in the Press, you hear it on the B.B.C. you hear it everywhere. It is always Dr Nkrumah from Ghana.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think the hon. Member is getting a little away from the actual essence of the Motion. The Ghana Policy has nothing to do with the Speech of the Governor-General.

Mr Kolade : You are quite right, Mr Speaker, but I think hon. Members will realise that the Speech from the Throne is very wide and I promise to correlate my speech more effectively with the Speech from the Throne. What I am bringing out is that the reputation of the country should be enhanced; we would like the Prime Minister to make the world know the stand of Nigeria. The statement "I know who is wrong and who is right" will not help so much and I think in future if the Prime Minister would speak to the world and let the world know the stand of Nigeria on any policy, it will be appreciated.

With reference to health, we have to congratulate the Government for some plans they are making about health throughout the country. For example, they are building some hospitals and so on, but I found out that they have not got sufficient funds, that is the only thing. Referring to child welfare,

[MR KOLADE]

we read in the papers, and actually we knew what happened some months ago with reference to Dr Gans. I am not trying to side him for going against the Government. That is not my point. But what are we doing? If he goes away at the end of his contract, what is the Government going to do about it? Who are the Nigerians to replace him?

The Minister of Health (Alhaji the hon. Waziri Ibrahim): Point of Order, Sir, a Nigerian has already taken the position of Dr Gans.

Mr Kolade : I thank the Minister. That is an improvement but one man is not sufficient, especially to cope with children in Lagos. How many specialists have we for child welfare in Lagos? The Minister cannot mention five, and anything less than five specialists for child welfare actually will not be sufficient for the population of Lagos. Then, we need some at Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna and so on. May I tell you this, that but for the American specialists who are here in Nigeria and serving in the interior our health condition would have been very poor. What I am suggesting to the Federal Government therefore, is that a scholarship scheme should be introduced. We should award scholarships to medical practitioners so that they can specialise in their various fields especially with reference to child welfare. If you want to build a strong nation in future then you must have a healthy nation. This healthy nation is the result of the effective organisation of health facilities which we can give our babies now because these babies are going to replace us. If hon. Members remember the history of the Spartans; how they cared for their children; cherished the lives of their children; fought wars and conquered their enemies, then they will realise the importance of giving good medical care to our children.

I still have to congratulate the Government for 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 the corners of Lagos and also the reclamation of the Victoria Island. But I would advise the Federal Government to plan a housing scheme like that of the regional governments so that the workers in this country and especially those in the Federal Territory

will be able to purchase their own houses so that they can live in comfort. This has been realised in the West and the Western Regional Government is caring for their civil servants more than any other region in the Federation of Nigeria. (*Applause*). In regard to these buildings which are being put up I would advise the Federal Government to give more contracts to indigenous contractors so that any money being realised may be invested in other projects so that our money may not leave the country.

Again, I have to congratulate the Government with regard to the railway extension to Bornu. I think that if this project is completed it will help the economic security of this country. But I have to warn the Government that it should not forget Oyo. There should be a railway extension from Ibadan to Oyo, through Ogbomosho to Ilorin because there are many farm products like kolanuts, and cocoa which will be transferred to the Northern Region where they like plenty of kolanuts.

I have two more points and one of them is the Automatic Telephone Exchange which is an improvement and for which I congratulate the Government. I think the Minister himself is very happy about it and I will congratulate him for it. I would add that we need more of it. There are so many institutions in the interior which have no telephone installations. I think we have to vote more money for Telephone because it is very important and the earlier these automatic telephone installations are installed in various sections or headquarters in the country the better. I hope we shall still see evidence of more work in this direction as time goes on.

Generally, I think our Ministers will think seriously about the points which have been raised on both Sides of the House. I would also like the Government to realise that the Action Group is a constructive Opposition because when we oppose something we suggest constructive points to guide the Government. But the Government does not want to take what we say even when our suggestions are very good and perhaps better than the ones the Government has. But the Government should take to what we say for the benefit of the country and if it does not, everybody knows what will happen very soon. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, with these few remarks I beg to support.

M. Abdullahi, Magajin Musawa (Musawa): Mr Speaker, Sir, thank you for the opportunity you have given me to express my thanks to His Excellency for his Speech from the Throne. Sir, it is very important to see our indigenous Governor-General deliver his Speech from the Throne. (*Applause*). His Excellency the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief is a great man and the Father of Nigeria. (*Hear, hear*). He deserves our congratulations for his efforts. I was highly impressed when I heard on the radio and read in the newspapers the way he discussed with the officials and the public during his tour of the Northern Region.

I have to go on to congratulate the Leader of our Government, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. (*Hear, hear*). Our Prime Minister is a religious Prime Minister; a God-fearing Prime Minister; an intelligent Prime Minister; a great Prime Minister and above all a loyal person to the Leader of our party, Sir Ahmadu Bello. (*Applause*). Also, I have to congratulate his Cabinet Members for their loyalty to him and their efficiency which will make Nigeria a very wonderful and peaceful country in Africa.

Sir, allow me to use my excellent privilege to congratulate our Government for their foreign policy, especially for their co-operation with two great European countries—Britain and America. Sir, we people of Nigeria will greatly congratulate Britain and America for their assistance in our development, economically, socially and politically. Consider what has been happening between us and France which showed deliberate bad practice in Africa by exploding atomic bombs to wipe out Africa and also what is happening in Algeria.

I also realise that people, especially those of the minority group, are criticising our Government's foreign policy. That is very wrong because we people of Nigeria are a peace-loving people and are not at all intending or wishing to become an authoritarian Government. I highly support the policy of our Government. We do not like any Russian Embassy in this country.

Sir, I wish to appeal to the hon. Prime Minister if possible to deport all French people who are living in this country now, and in addition to this, stop trading with France forthwith.

I wish to appeal to the hon. Prime Minister again to make it possible for Her Majesty's Government to appoint Sir Ahmadu Bello a member of the Privy Council so that he can be addressed as the Right Honourable Sir Ahmadu Bello.

I wish to appeal to the hon. Prime Minister again to connect his name with the solution of the problem of the Congo, of course through the United Nations. The settlement of the problems in the Congo should be taken away from Dag Hammarskjöld and handed over to Sir Ahmadu Bello. The Northern Region Premier can therefore drive out both the Western bloc and the Eastern bloc and deal with the problems himself. The problems of Africa should be settled by Africans. No European should settle our problems for us.

Sir, with your permission, I am appealing to the Government to support the idea which was put forward by Sir Ahmadu Bello.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): The hon. Member seems to be very irrelevant in his speech. He is mentioning names which in my opinion do not relate to the Motion under discussion.

Mr Speaker: Order, I do not know whether the hon. Member has seen irrelevancy in the speech of the hon. Member, but as far as I can see there is no harm in mentioning once or twice the names of eminent Nigerians. For this reason I will allow Magajin Musawa to continue his speech.

M. Musawa: Thank you Mr Speaker. I recall Sir Ahmadu Bello's suggestion. It is my intention to say that I am appealing to this Government to support the suggestion of Sir Ahmadu Bello about South Africa. He suggested that South Africa should be stopped from using our harbour. The Government should give a list of all South Africans in this country from time to time. Moreover, this Government should make the Government of South Africa realise that South African soil is for Africa.

In conclusion I wish to appeal to the Government to undertake official tours to overseas countries including some Commonwealth countries. When carrying out such tours some members of this legislature should be invited to go along and have an idea about how to improve and develop our country.

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

Mr E. C. Akwivu (Orlu South East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I associate myself with all the tributes paid to His Excellency the Governor-General on the occasion of his being the first indigene of this country to make a Speech from the Throne. I also congratulate, Sir, not only His Excellency but also the Council of Ministers for the very formidable schedule of work and progress that were contained in his Speech. It is much easier to be very far-reaching in devastating criticisms than to outline outstanding achievements but to sum up I think it is a credit to the Government of this country and to the people of this country that throughout the celebrations of Independence of this country there was nothing unbecoming. It is also to the credit of the great sense of responsibility of the people of this country that they have remained most unimpressed by exaggerated enthusiasm in some quarters or perhaps in their effort to spotlight defects in the administration of the day.

Mr Speaker, Sir, His Excellency opened his Speech by making reference to the contribution of Nigeria in the Congo Conciliation Committee. I think, Sir, that it is a vindication of the quality of the representation we have at the United Nations. I understand, Sir, that President Kasavubu is a man of very stout built and but for things he could have been the Minister of Finance of the Republic of Congo. *(Laughter.)*

I have always felt that the proper solution to the Congo situation to which our country has made remarkable contribution lies in negotiation and conciliation. And I think, Sir, that the part our country has played in that matter should be appreciated. I think that it is the view of some of us in this country, and I believe that it reflects the attitude of the Government in the matter, that the duty of the United Nations as well as any other nation that feels it is making or ought to make any realistic contribution to the restoration of peace and order in the Congo is to help create an atmosphere in which the leaders of that country can come together and agree on how to rule their country.

I do not think, Sir, that it is, proper, and I do not think that it is a genuine approach to the solution of Congo problem for any country or any one to insist upon the Government or

leadership of any particular individual in that country. The danger in so doing is that it will necessitate very far-reaching interference in the internal affairs of the Congolese themselves. So I feel that in so far as our Government's activities in the Congo have been towards the creation of a favourable atmosphere for a peaceful understanding amongst the Congolese people themselves, the restoration of law and order for them to be able to come together and come to a workable formula whereby they can rule their country in peace and tranquility, our Government should be congratulated. The insistence upon enthroning any particular type of Government or any particular individual would in my humble view end up in the type of uneasiness now very typical of the politics and life of the Far East and South East Asia. Namely, that it will necessarily end up in the creation of a very fertile ground for big power cold war and when it comes we can all be sure that we will certainly have more than our fair share of uneasiness.

Mr Speaker, Sir, His Excellency after dealing with the Congo situation went on to the international situation, and in the very first expression, he said that "the improvement of the situation in Africa will be one of the main objectives of my Ministers". Now, Sir, I think we ought to remind ourselves and congratulate the Government of this country on the principle, particularly with respect to Africa on which they have stood and which they have acted upon. And if I may remind the hon. House with your leave, Sir, I can summarize by saying, Sir, that we have up till now respected the territorial integrity of all countries, particularly African countries. We have in no way attempted or indulged in treacherous manoeuvres in order to influence political fortunes of any individual or community within any of our neighbouring states.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we have not, and I believe we shall not condone or inspire or encourage or lend cover to subversive activities directed against the peace and good government of any of our neighbouring countries. By the policy already expressed several times by the Prime Minister of this Federation, we have in no way coerced nor do we intend to coerce or force any neighbouring territory to join with us or to see light in the way we see it.

Sir, His Excellency did say in very clear terms that we will support the legitimate aspirations of indigenous peoples seeking their freedom from colonial rule and as His Excellency also said, we are opposed to apartheid, as evidenced by the activities of our Prime Minister at the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is not enough that we should adopt these principles and practise them. I feel, Sir, that it is imperative that our Information Service should be greatly improved so as to give these ideals and the activities of our leaders and Governments wider and more pronounced publicity abroad, and much more particularly, Sir, within the continent of Africa. I feel, Sir, that Nigeria is being grossly misunderstood, particularly, in some parts of Africa because the utterances and activities of our Governments and Leaders in international matters are not given the publicity they require. I feel, Sir, that if we must hold our own, we should make other people in Africa realize 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, for the prestige of man in Africa and for the furtherance of the legitimate and political aspirations of people of African descent.

Sir, following on this principle, there are one or two things I wish to mention. It is not only that we should practise good neighbourliness but when we practise good neighbourliness I feel, Sir, that the people and the Government of this country are entitled to expect reciprocity from those living around us. If I may quote some examples—

Mr Speaker : I hope the hon. Member is winding up ; he has almost exhausted his time.

Mr Akwivu : Mr Speaker, Sir, I will endeavour to wind up ; I do not know if I am exhausting the sitting hours of to-day or thirty minutes.

Mr Speaker : It is out of order to continue speech after the moment of interruption.

And it being 11.45 a.m. Mr Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 4 (3) interrupted the Business.

Debate to be resumed upon Wednesday next.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn. (The Minister of Mines and Power).

Mr Speaker : Before the House adjourns, I have the following announcement to make. I have received a letter dated 29th March, 1961, which reads as follows :

"The Speaker,
House of Representatives,
Lagos.

Sir,

I hereby resign my seat as a member of the Honourable House of Representatives from to-day's date.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your obedient servant,
CHIKE OBI."

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at eleven minutes to twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Tuesday, 4th April, 1961

The House met 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in Chair)

PAPERS

Mr Speaker : The following Paper already distributed to Members is deemed to have been laid on the Table :—

A Statement of the Guarantee by the Federal Government of Loans made by the Bank of West Africa to the Nigerian Coal Corporation.

Mr Aminu Kano (Kano East) : On point of Order, Sir, there is a stranger in the House.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. Dr Chike Obi sent a letter on 12th September, 1960 alleging that any letter of resignation bearing his signature was invalid. He later forwarded a copy of a Declaration which he made and swore to it at the Magistrate's Court Registry, Ibadan, on 19th September, 1960.

On Saturday 1st April, 1961 under section 151 of the Constitutional Instrument 1960 I acquainted the House with a letter of resignation bearing a signature said to be that of Dr Chike Obi, member for Onitsha Urban.

Furthermore Dr Obi has forwarded to me another Declaration this morning in which he swore at the High Court Registry, Lagos, on this day that the said letter of resignation dated 29th March, 1961 is false or forgery.

Under these circumstances, in spite of Dr Obi's Declarations, therefore, I feel I must ask the Attorney-General to advise on whether or not I shall accept the resignation. (*Applause*).

The Attorney-General (Dr T. O. Elias) : Mr Speaker, I think you will be within your right, having read the letter of resignation to the House, to consider whether on the face of it the signature of Dr Obi is regular and, if so, you are within your right to declared his seat vacant. After you have declared his seat vacant Dr Obi would be obliged to leave the House and if he had any valid objection to your making that ruling, the proper course for him under section 48 of the Constitution is to go to the High Court of Eastern Nigeria. (*Applause*). I think it is up to him, if he thinks that any sort of injustice is being done to him, to raise the issue of the affidavit and see whether the unilateral repudiation of a contract honourably entered into with his Party can be sustained in the High Court. (*Applause*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. In view of the Attorney-General's advice I feel I must ask the hon. Member respectfully to honourably withdraw and vacate his seat. (*Applause*).

(*Dr Chike Obi leaves the House*).

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

BROADCASTING

N.B.C. Building Properties

*O.33. **Mr R. O. A. Akinjide** asked the Minister of Information, if he will state how many building properties in all are held by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation under lease in the Federal Territory of Lagos, indicating where each of them is situated, the annual rent payable for each, and how much was paid in advance in respect of each property.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information : The answer to this question is rather long and detailed and I would like that I am permitted to put the information in the *Official Report* for Members' information.

PROPERTY HELD BY THE N.B.C. UNDER LEASE IN THE FEDERAL TERRITORY OF LAGOS

Address	Lessor	Annual Rental £	Manner of Payment	Remarks
STAFF QUARTERS : 2nd floor, 20 Orogiri Street, Lagos	Alhaji A. Ojikutu, 28 Upper Offin Lane, Lagos	400	3 years paid in advance. Rent for remaining period of 2 years payable yearly in advance.	5-year lease, 16-10-58 to 15-10-63.

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Address	Lessor	Annual Rental £	Manner of Payment	Remarks
2nd floor, 31 Idoluwo Street, Lagos	ditto	275	As above	As above 5-year lease,
House at 5 Bode Thomas Road, Lagos	Mr A. O. Karunwi, 27 Moleye Street, Yaba	1,000	As above	1-12-56 to 30-11-61.
Ground floor of 30 Moloney Street	Mr L. F. B. Pedro c/o Ministry of Lands, W.R., Ibadan.	350	2 years rent paid in advance	2-year lease expired 15-10-60 and not renewed.
OFFICE BUILDING : 5-storey building at 24-28 Strachan Street, Lagos	Messrs Cappa & D'Albertyo Ltd., 72 Campbell Street, Lagos	4,000	Rent payable yearly in advance.	3-year lease, 1-9-59 to 31-8-62

N.B.C. Ordinance

*O.34. Mr R. O. A. Akinjide asked the Minister of Information whether he will introduce a bill to amend the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation Ordinance so that all the members of the various Regional Boards of the Corporation will be appointed direct by the Federal Government instead of by the Regional Governments as at present.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information : The hon. Minister has this matter under consideration.

PRESS ATTACHES

*O.35. Mr R. O. A. Akinjide asked the Minister of Information how many of our Embassies have Press Attaches, and how many have not, and why.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information : At present Information Officers are attached to our Embassies in the United Kingdom and the United States from the Ministry of Information in Lagos. We are at present making arrangements to reorganize the Information Division. When the reorganization is completed we shall be in a position to post Press Attaches to all our Embassies abroad.

DEFENCE

Women in Nigeria Army

*O.4. M. Saidu Zango asked the Minister of Defence, how many women have been recruited into the Nigerian Army to date.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence : Two Nigerian women have so far been commissioned as Nursing Officers in the Royal Nigerian Army. Efforts are being made to encourage more qualified Nigerian women to be commissioned.

*O.5. Mr P. E. Ekanem asked the Minister of Defence, how many women were recruited into the Army during the year 1960; how were they recruited, and what duties do they perform.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence : Two Nigerian women were recruited during the year 1960. They were selected for commissioning as nursing officers by a Board consisting of:—

(i) a Lieutenant-Colonel.

(ii) a Senior Major,

(iii) a Matron from one of the Military Hospitals.

In addition, a Senior Military Medical Officer was in attendance. The duties of Nursing Officers are to ensure the efficient running of the wards in the hospitals including the treatment of patients as ordered by the Medical Officers, and the supervision of the staff in these wards.

Mr A. A. Ajibola : Are these two Nigerian women in the Army married or single?

Recruitment of Expatriates

*O.36. Mr E. J. Ogunkanmi asked the Minister of Defence, if he is aware that British officers now serving in the Nigerian Army

[MR OGUNKANMI]

are planning to recruit more British officers from the United Kingdom in order to deprive Nigerians of their chances of promotion to superior ranks, and if he will make a statement.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence: No, Sir, I am not aware of this allegation. Expatriate officers serving with the Royal Nigerian Army are all either seconded from the British Army or serving on contract.

Contract officers are interviewed by a selection Board of the Nigerian High Commissioner's office in London and both they and seconded officers have to be approved by my Ministry before being accepted for service in Nigeria.

Nigerianisation of the Royal Nigerian Army officer corps is proceeding according to a plan approved by the Council of Ministers and is in fact now ahead of that plan. Whilst in 1959 there were 50 Nigerian officers, the present number is 122.

Compulsory Military Training

***O.37. Mr D. Senu-Oke:** To ask the Minister of Defence, whether he will introduce compulsory military training for boys and girls, who leave school at any stage from class II to class VI, before they are absorbed into civil employment.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence: The hon. Member is referred to my written answer given to a similar question W.14 asked by the hon. Haliru Gwandu which appeared in the proceedings of the House of Representatives for 4th April, 1961.

AVIATION

Zaria Aerodrome

***O.6. M. Saidu Zango** asked the Minister of Transport when Government will improve and extend Zaria Aerodrome.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport: The runway at Zaria Aerodrome is 5,400 feet, which is long enough to take the types of aircraft that are likely to use the aerodrome, including the D.C.3 Aircraft of Nigeria Airways. Extension is not, therefore, necessary.

My policy is to improve aerodromes when I am satisfied that there is sufficient traffic to justify the expense.

In the case of Zaria, traffic offering has proved so small that the former scheduled service of Nigeria Airways has had to be withdrawn. I have, however, recently approved an application from an independent airline operator to run a scheduled service through Zaria with light aircraft, and when this service is introduced fire-fighting equipment will be installed at the aerodrome.

Further improvements will depend on the growth of traffic.

TRANSPORT

Launch Service between Itu and Calabar

***O.7. Mr P. E. Ekanem** asked the Minister of Transport if he is aware that it is over a year since Elder Dempster Agencies withdrew their launch services which ran between Itu and Calabar; and if he will take steps to re-open these services in view of the fact that they serve as an important means of evacuating produce from the Lower Cross River towns.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport: Yes, Sir. I am aware that the launch service operated between Itu and Calabar by Elder Dempster Agencies Ltd. was withdrawn in 1959. According to my information this service carried passengers, not produce, and was withdrawn because it was being run at a financial loss. The Company however continues to maintain its cargo services for the evacuation of produce.

I have no powers of direction in this matter, and it is clear that no company is likely to operate a service unless there is sufficient traffic offering to make it viable.

While I sympathise with the hon. Member's desire to facilitate the evacuation of produce, I would point out that the evacuation of produce to ports in the Eastern Region is a matter for which the Eastern Regional Marketing Board has statutory responsibility.

Mr Ekanem: What about the transportation of passengers?

Transport between Ilorin and Sokoto

***O.52. M. Haliru Gwandu** asked the Minister of Transport if he will advise the Nigerian Railway Corporation to operate bus

and other road transport services between Ilorin and Sokoto *via* Kontagora, Yelwa and Birnin-Kebbi.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport: No, Sir. The primary duty of the Nigerian Railway Corporation is to operate an efficient railway system, and I do not propose to advise the Corporation to extend its road transport undertaking, which is already operated at a financial loss, unless such an extension will lead to a substantial increase in rail traffic. There is no indication that the transport services proposed by the honourable Member will have that effect.

***O.8. M. Saidu Zango** asked the Minister of Labour what are his proposals for reducing unemployment in the country.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour: The reduction in unemployment in the country is primarily a problem for increasing employment opportunities, a problem which is closely related to the speed with which we can develop and diversify our economy. My colleagues in the Council of Ministers and I are doing everything possible to encourage the exploitation of our natural resources and the development of industries and to develop further the services to the community whereby not only will the standard of living be raised, but increased opportunities for employment will be offered. I would refer the honourable Member to the contents of His Excellency's Speech from the Throne which dealt extensively with the Government's proposals in this direction.

ELECTRICITY

Electricity in Birnin-Kebbi

***O.9. M. Muhammadu Kaoje** asked the Minister of Mines and Power, when Birnin-Kebbi, the Divisional Headquarters of Gwandu Division, will be supplied with electricity.

The Minister of Mines and Power: Birnin-Kebbi is not yet included in the future programme of the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria. They would be prepared to consider this township for inclusion in Phase II of their New Towns Development Programme if the Northern Regional Government would provide the necessary capital on the same terms as that

provided for those towns included in Phase I of the Corporation's programme, and also if it is prepared to underwrite any losses there may be.

Electricity Supply in Malumfashi

***O.53. M. Abdullahi Mahuta** asked the Minister of Mines and Power when he intends to supply Malumfashi, the largest District Headquarters in Katsina Province, with electricity.

The Minister of Mines and Power: The Electricity Corporation of Nigeria has no plans as yet for the supply of electricity to Malumfashi. The Corporation is now carrying out a large scale programme of electrification with the assistance of loans from the Northern Region, and is now planning the second phase of the Development Programme. If, for the second programme, Malumfashi is nominated by the Regional Government as one of the towns to be electrified, the Corporation would be pleased to consider the economics of the proposal.

Hydro-Electric Projects on the Shiroro Gorge and at Jebba

***O.54. M. Haliru Gwandu** asked the Minister of Mines and Power what progress has so far been made in investigating the possibility of setting up hydro-electric projects on the Shiroro Gorge and at Jebba.

The Minister of Mines and Power: Following three years of hydro-electric investigations in Nigeria a report is in preparation making specific recommendations for the ultimate development of hydro-electric power stations at Shiroro Gorge and at two points on the Niger —*i.e.*, Kainji and Jebba. It is expected that the report will be in the hands of the Federal Government and the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, who have shared the cost of these investigations, sometime this month.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS

U.N. INTERVENTION IN CONGO SITUATION

Mr B. N. Ukegbu (Owerri South-East):
Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not move.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A FOURTH
REGION

Mr A. O. Ogunsanya (Ikeja) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise 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.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the demand for a Mid-west State by the Edos, the Urhobos, Itsekiris, Ibos, Ishans, Afenmais and others who inhabit Benin and Delta Provinces is not an emotional conception. It is, to use their own words, a spontaneous, growing, persistent and active political aspiration. It is not the dream of a few frustrated politicians but a mass demand and political growth of the people of the two Provinces.

Here I am to-day moving this Motion with great belief in and sympathy for the aspirations of the Mid-west people. It is not a design to escape from what an infinitesimal number of people call Yoruba domination. There is no such thing. It is, instead, a desire and a right of Mid-Westerners to self-determination.

Later I shall be privileged also to move another Motion for the extension of the Federal Territory of Lagos. (*Applause*).

I want to say, Sir, that our country has for some time now been used to some specific ways of life. We are completely used to it. Our Constitution is one of the best thought of throughout the world. To arrive at this ideal position we held conferences from 1950 to 1959. When, therefore, there is a Motion for a change from one Constitution to another, there should be no ground for bitterness. The procedure has been clearly laid down in our Constitution, Whoever desires to have a new State has a right to move the Motion in Parliament. The question is whether it will be passed. Mr Tarka or Mr Ekanem may bring a Motion before the House and see if it can be passed. Any such move requires a requisite number of votes in support as laid down by our Constitution.

To-day, I ask this hon. House for unanimous support to this Motion for according to section 4 subsection (3) of our Constitution, there is a provision that alteration to section 3 of the Constitution for the purpose of establishing new Regions out of other territories shall be effected only in accordance with the following procedure :

(a) A proposal for the alteration shall be admitted to each House of Parliament and if that proposal is approved by a resolution of each of the Houses supported by at least two-thirds of all the members of that House the proposal shall then be submitted to the legislative House of all the Regions ; and

(b) If the proposal is approved (1) by a resolution of each legislative House of a majority of all the Regions ; or (2) by a resolution of each legislative House of at least two Regions including any Region comprising the part of Nigeria that would be transferred to the new Region under the proposal, Parliament may provide for the alteration. Of course, there is another proviso for a referendum.

Several hon. Members : Read it.

Mr Ogunsanya : I will read it, or as a lawyer I will teach you members of the Opposition, without reading it. The proviso which the Members of the Opposition want to be instructed upon provides that a matter should go on to referendum in the particular area concerned, not outside it.

Mr Speaker, Sir, this demand for the creation of the Mid-west State has some historical association. The two Provinces have historical connections. Their social, cultural and economic basis are the same. People, like Mr Enahoro, who are well-educated will find that the demand for the creation of the Mid-west State is not just a struggle by frustrated politicians. Now in 1948, hon. Members will remember that Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe advocated for Nigeria a federal constitution. As a result of that there were a number of organisations formed in the Mid-west culminating in a motion by Pa J. I. G. Oanyia in 1953 for the formation of B.D.P.P. usually referred to as the Benin-Delta Peoples' Party. Following that there were a lot of other organisations in the Mid-west areas of the Western Region demanding the creation of the Mid-west State. Then on the

5th of May, 1956 the Mid-West State Movement was formed and the present President of the Senate, hon. D. C. Osadebay had the distinguished assignment to lead that movement. I am happy to say that an hon. Member of this House is also the Deputy leader, that is the hon. H. Omo-Osagie. This demand for the creation of the Mid-West State has not been limited to the demand of the people themselves.

On the 14th of June, 1955, the Western House of Assembly unanimously passed a Motion in the following terms: "That this House prays Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to make necessary constitutional arrangements on the proposed conference in 1956 to give effect to the creation of a separate State for Benin and Delta provinces". This Motion was seconded by the hon. J. G. Ako—

Mr Speaker : Will hon. Members please stop unseemly interruptions.

Mr Ogunsanya :—who is now a law student in London but was at the time Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health in the Western Region. The Motion was adopted without a single dissenting voice. I will here read some of the speeches made by Members of the Western House of Assembly in connection with this. Mr M. S. Sowole said *inter alia*—"The agitation for a state for the provinces of Benin and Delta has been going on for some time." Mr J. G. Ako (Urhobo—AG said: "I know that it is the great wish of the people to have their own State in no way inimical to the great Yoruba nation. The great job is done, we the Mid-westerners to-day are like our matured brothers, the Yorubas. We must find our feet and build our own houses". The hon. D. C. Osadebay, who was the NCNC Leader of Opposition said: "It is my duty from this side of the House to make it known to the House that we the people of the Benin and Delta provinces have been agitating for a long time for the creation of the State. I must say, sir, the tiny Party stands for self-determination for the minorities. In the last convention of the NCNC the National Executive was empowered to see to it that the Benin/Delta people have their region in 1956. With these few remarks I beg to support. I have spoken on behalf of myself, on behalf of Asaba and on behalf of the Mid-West area on this side of the House of which I am virtually the leader." (*Prolonged interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Will hon. Members please abide by the ruling of the Chair?

Mr Ogunsanya : Another speech was made by my Friend, the hon. Chike Ekwuyasi, "I rise to support the Motion. To go a little bit into the history of this demand for the creation of Benin/Delta state, it was in 1948 that the Oba of Benin argued very strongly that Benin/Delta State should be created but the Benin Tax Payers' Association, an ally of the Action Group, led then by hon. Obaseki opposed the demand for the creation of a separate State. I am delighted to hear Mr Ako speak in the way he did this morning. Mr Ako opposed the creation of this State, not only he opposed it but also the hon. Minister for Home Affairs, Mr Enahoro attacked the leadership of the Benin/Delta Peoples' Party. It is known beyond any shadow of doubt that it is the practice of the AG to reap where they did not sow."

Another Member who contributed to the Debate was Mr J. E. Otopo who was then NCNC Member for Urhobo East. He is now AG Member for the same constituency and Minister for Mid-West Affairs in the Western Region. Mr Otopo said, "I am happy that this Motion has come before this House. I think those of us from Benin and Delta provinces should stand by our side, in fact, that to-day, we have become the favourite and the fair children of every major political party. I wish on this occasion to thank those who have contributed to the dissemination of the idea of the Benin/Delta State. To those people, I still say this, let them keep the flag flying, 1956 shall be the date line."

Another Member of the Government Bench who also spoke was Mr S. O. Ighodaro, then Minister of Health now Minister of Justice and Attorney-General. Mr Ighodaro said, "I am very happy indeed to support this momentous Motion. Every ear in Benin is well open to hear the news of the passage of this Motion. Delegates have come all the way from Benin, delegates sent by the Oba of Benin to witness what is transpiring in the House. I should like to add that we have men of ability who are fit to run the State."

I would lastly refer to the speech of the hon. Leader of Opposition in this House to-day in person of Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Chief Awolowo said word for word, "In view of the

[MR OGUNSANYA]
 issues involved in this Motion I want to announce that the Government adopt no official attitude whatsoever towards it. Secondly Members of the Government and of the Opposition who wish may support it without any restriction whatsoever." I am sure that Chief Obafemi Awolowo in this House to-day will not merely allow his men to vote according to their conscience but will grant himself leave to support the Motion and will make positive support of it the official attitude of his Party. (*Interruption*).

Now, apart from this question of Parliamentary approval, there are a lot of things. There is the recognition that all the conditions precedent to the creation of Mid-West State are present. There is also the recognition of the yearning of the people of the two provinces. There is also an admission of the existence of some of the unifying factors binding the people together and impliedly an acceptance that the State should be viable. I must in this Motion anticipate some of what the Opposition has to say. From all available statistics, the Mid-West State will be very viable. Chief Awolowo was the head of the Government of the Western Region from 1952 to 1959, and this is what he had to say on this topic (*vide* Western House of Assembly Debates, Fourth Session, 6th July, 1956). Said Chief Awolowo: "It may be on the other hand that the State, when created, has not enough money to meet its expenditure, but the people wanting the State have a strong desire to produce the revenue to meet the expenditure necessary. In that case I consider the State to be financially viable and in this instance, the Mid-West can be said to be financially viable." There will be no point upon which the Opposition can rightly oppose this Motion (*Prolonged Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order !

Mr Ogunsanya : Finally, I would like to point out that the Mid-West is rich in natural resources. Its exports include rubber, palm produce, timber, and some cocoa. It has natural outlets by way of ports ; its people are virile and industrious, producing more staple foods than they themselves can consume. There are reasons to be optimistic that they have a wealth of mineral resources. Mid-Westerners want to own and manage their own

resources ; they want to do for themselves what they will and in their own time and mode. Need we non-Mid-Westerners deny them this ? Of course, not, for we are not imperialists.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

Mr U. O. Ayeni (Afenmai North West) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to second this historic Motion. It is a Motion which I rightly believe will receive the support of both Sides of this House. The case for the creation of a Mid-West State was made before the Willink Commission. This Motion is only to give effect to the legitimate wishes of the two million peoples of the Benin and Delta Provinces.

This hon. House is called upon to approve 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. This fourth Region or State shall consist territorially of Benin Province in Western Nigeria, including (emphasis on *including*) Akoko-Edo District in Afenmai Division, and the Delta Province in Western Nigeria including Warri Division and Warri Urban Township area. Before I go further, I will have to emphasise that we are not at all anti-Yoruba in our demand (*hear, hear*). The mover of the Motion is himself a Yoruba. The Yorubas are our friends. But the urge to be free to develop a Mid-West personality within the Federation of Nigeria is stronger than the bond of friendship (*hear, hear*).

You will see, Sir, that we have emphasised the inclusion of Akoko-Edo District in Afenmai Division and Warri Division and Warri Urban Township in the proposed fourth Region. This is so because the Action Group Government of Western Nigeria has argued against the inclusion of these two areas in the proposed state or region. But we strongly hold the view that we are one and inseparable unit. The chief argument against the inclusion of Akoko-Edo District and Warri Division is that the latter speak a corrupt form of Yoruba language and that in the former District the Yoruba language and customs have become widespread.

Originally, the people of Akoko-Edo spoke Edo dialect. The name "Akoko-Edo" literally means "Akokos" who are Edos. Even then,

the fact that the Yoruba language is now widely spoken in Akoko-Edo does not invalidate the historical fact that they are Edos. The fact that English is widely spoken in Wales does not make a Welshman an Englishman. We all speak English here, but this is not an English Parliament; it is a Nigerian Parliament (*hear, hear*).

Historically, the earliest teachers in Akoko-Edo district were Yorubas. In the schools, in the churches and in the Sunday Schools, the people were taught in Yoruba language. Because of the difficulties of pronouncing some of the Edo names most of their teachers wrote in their register Yoruba names having the same sound with their Edo names. For example, for Onaiwi they wrote Olayebi. It was at that time a sign of intellectual progress to speak Yoruba in the family and bear Yoruba names. We all know that one of the quickest ways of spreading a foreign culture is through the study of the foreign language. Through the study of Yoruba language the people of Akoko-Edo imbibed Yoruba culture.

Time was in this country when it was fashionable to give European names to children. For example, a Nigerian child whose Christian name is Frederick and whose surname is William will answer the names Frederick William. We know that these two names are German names. Is this child, therefore, a German? The Yoruba customs may be widespread in the Akoko-Edo District, but these have not displaced the Edo customs. You watch their dress, their hair styles, absence of tribal marks on the face, style of building houses, and the customary ways of greeting which are characteristics of the Edo speaking people.

We the various peoples of Benin and Delta Provinces regard ourselves as members of the same body politic. Ours is a cultural historical community which binds its members together in the spirit of loyalty and co-operation. After years of suffering we have learnt some of the secrets of how to live together for the good of all. We do not want any part of our body politic to be dis-membered. We will swim or drown together and by the grace of God we shall keep our heads above water (*Applause*).

Having attempted to explain very briefly why Akoko-Edo District and Warri Division should be included in the proposed State,

I shall proceed to give in a nutshell the reasons why this House should support the proposal for the creation of a fourth Region.

The demand for a Mid-West State is older than the demand by any other group for a separate State. It began in 1948. We have been very consistent with our demand. Since 1948, the demand has become the cherished wish of the peoples of Benin and Delta Provinces. It is more popular than that of either the heterogeneous C.O.R. or the artificial Middle Belt State.

We are not at all sentimental about our demand for a Mid-West State. The case for the carving out of the Benin and Delta Provinces from the present Western Nigeria rests on nothing less than the nature and needs of man in society. The Liberal theorists of the French Revolution and the classical economists of the English Industrial Revolution saw society in the form of a democratic political state in which every individual would be the political equal of every other individual.

But in the political society in which we the peoples of Benin and Delta Provinces find ourselves in Western Nigeria, our political overlords do not regard us as their equals and accordingly deny us democratic rights and in some cases fundamental human rights. We accordingly oppose the stereotyped orthodoxy of contemporary political and social life of Western Nigeria with its Monolithic Leviathan, its stifling bureaucracy, its gag on minorities, its contempt for the social and cultural developments of those its leaders call extraneous elements of the Region. (*Hear, hear.*)

When one considers the effect of pressure groups on governments, it is quite natural that an Action Group Government should be occupied with the problems of the Yorubas. This is to the utter neglect of Benin and Delta Provinces. We do not want to remain perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water for our political overlords. We want to develop our own personality within the Federation of Nigeria. This is precisely why we want our own Government, run by our own people on our own soil. The peoples of Benin and Delta Provinces are convinced that the only panacea to all our social and economic ills is the creation of a Mid-West State.

[MR AYENI]

The general argument against it by the uninformed is that the territorial area of the State is small and as such it will not be viable. In the first place size is no disqualification. In the U.S.A. for example, the State of Delaware exists side by side with the enormous state of New York. (*Hear, hear*). Viability is a relative term. It means cutting one's coat according to one's size. If we are given the opportunity the proposed State will be able to tap the hitherto untapped natural resources in the area. In many of our villages and towns the most talented and ambitious of our young men and women emigrate automatically to the big towns because we have so little to offer them. This is not due to any lack of natural resources in our soil or of natural skill in our people. It is the result of the economic policy in which development projects are conspicuously absent from the Mid-West.

The most important single crop of the Yoruba Provinces is cocoa with an annual value of about £20 m. The Mid-West area is less suitable for cocoa. The principal export crops in the Mid-West are rubber, timber, and palm products. The Government of Western Nigeria spends large sums of money on developing and assisting cocoa production while the rubber, timber and palm products of the Benin and Delta Provinces are neglected. If it were just negligence of the Mid-West Area one would not bother so much, but in order to ruin the economy of the Mid-West Area and to make it economically unviable, the Western Nigeria Government has set up large State-owned rubber plantations in the Yoruba Provinces notably in Ijebu Province. So long as this situation continues we in the Mid-West will never know prosperity except that of increasing Yoruba prosperity and allowing the back-wash to flow over the border. Our problems cannot be solved in the Western House of Assembly or in the industrial centre at Apoje or Ewekoro, but on our farms and our ports.

We will create more income-earning avenues for our people. This will have the significant effect of stepping up the national income of the country as a whole. As far as manpower is concerned, we have no fears. We do not intend to midwesternise our Public Service. We shall open our doors wide open to all sections of Nigeria.

You are all aware of the fact that our people in the various Public Services in the Federation are pulling their weight. You will no doubt agree with me that in the political field we have able and efficient leaders. (*Hear, hear*). To mention just a few, Chief the hon. D. C. Osadebay, the President of the Senate who is widely respected for his honesty, sincerity and integrity is the leader of the Mid-West State Movement. (*Hear, hear*). In this House, the Leader of the House, Chief the hon. Okotie-Eboh, who has done so much to give this country the financial stability and worldwide trustworthiness we now enjoy is a Mid-Westerner. (*Hear, hear*). Chief Anthony Enahoro, the darling of the Action Group who did so much to put Western Nigeria on the political map is a Mid-Westerner. Chief the hon. H. Omo Osagie of Benin is to us what Sir Winston Churchill is to the Conservative Party, the fountain of wisdom. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. Mr Odulana. It seems as though an hon. Member was just going out and another one coming in. Mr Ayeni, please continue.

Mr Ayeni : We have the natural resources, the manpower, the ability and political experience to man a State. We are not at all sentimental about our demand for a fourth Region. The Action Group cannot compensate us for the loss of self-determination by giving us in the Western Region six Ministers and two Parliamentary Secretaries. We want our own Government, run by our own people for our own people on our own soil. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have attempted to treat this motion without any bitterness. Whatever decision we take here to-day shall go down into history. I therefore commend the motion to the wise judgment of this Honourable House.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed

Chief A. Enahoro (Ishan East) : Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the amendment standing in my name on the Order Paper : Line 2, leave out from "establishing" to end and add—"three new Regions within the Federation of Nigeria, namely a Mid-West Region, a COR Region and

a Middle Belt Region." I say, Sir, that so far as I am concerned the creation of states is not merely a political question, and I consider it a very serious matter. At least one-third of the population of this country consists of minorities and I think it is unworthy of this House to treat this matter with levity as some hon. Members have been trying to do. One point is quite clear, Sir.

From the quotations made by the hon. Member for Ikeja, and that is that judging from his own quotations which we do not dispute, it is quite clear that whereas in the Western Region the party in power has actively supported the demand of the minority for a separate state, according to those quotations, in contrast and in contradiction to this, Sir, there is nothing on record anywhere to show that the parties in power in the East and North support their own minorities in their own Regions. . . . (Interruptions.) In the hope that the other Side will permit me to finish my speech in peace, let me assure them that it is not our intention to oppose the motion. So I hope, Sir, that they will be quiet thereafter.

Now, as I said earlier, the demand for a new state exists in all three Regions in this country. That cannot be disputed. It is possible to dispute the degree of support which each demand has, but it is not possible to dispute the fact that this demand exists and the purpose of our amendment is to try to meet this demand. To my mind, the reasons which dictated the adoption of a Federal constitution for Nigeria in the first place also urge that we should move a step forward and create more states, and I hope, Sir, that we will be able to place this very important issue above petty factional interests.

Some hon. Members who have discussed this matter with me outside this Chamber have taken the attitude that the motion moved from the other Side this morning is a punitive measure or that it was designed out of spite. However, speaking as a son of the Mid-West myself, I say that I welcome this motion. . . . (Applause). . . . and I accept this motion, Sir, because we on this Side of the House are like a petitioner, a petitioner who has petitioned for three things, shall we say, and then he is told: "we will give you one of them". Would it be right for him to refuse one of them because he

cannot have the other two for the time being? (Cries of "no, no" from Opposition Benches). . . . Certainly, it would be wrong, Sir. It would be wrong and therefore it is my hope that even if our amendment is defeated and the Government motion is passed it will have certain desirable effects upon this Federation as a whole. (Hear, hear).

The first one is this, Sir, that it will strengthen the progressive forces in this country. It is quite clear that if a Mid-West State is created, the Senate for example will consist of four units and not three, and since all the Regions have an equal number of seats in the Senate it is quite clear that the N.P.C. will not be able to dominate the Senate as it dominates this House. (Loud applause from Opposition Benches). Another desirable effect is that whatever those sitting opposite me this morning may feel or think, the demand or the agitation for new states will be sustained throughout this country. It took the Naga people of India twenty-three years to fight for a new state. They have just got it this year. . . .

An hon. Member : You are not going to be in the new State.

Chief Enahoro : The point is not whether I will be in the new State, the point is that we are striving for perfection and that the present Federation of Nigeria is lopsided and imperfect, and until more states are created the minorities in this country whether in the East or in the West or in the North will continue to be unhappy. (Hear, hear).

Mr Speaker, Sir, the existing three Regions in this country are dominated by three cultural groups in the East, West and Northern Region, and if you listen, Sir, to the N.B.C. night after night you will think there are only three languages in this country, Ibo, Yoruba and Hausa. Where are the rest of us? Certainly, we want our languages to be heard and known. I make this point in all seriousness in order to show hon. Members that this is a very sore point with all minorities to whatever party they may belong.

The hon. the seconder of this Motion made certain unfortunate statements which I think on an occasion like this are not required. I wish to compliment on the whole, Sir, both the mover and the seconder of this motion on their restrained speeches, barring certain

[CHIEF ENAHORO]

lapses. I do not propose to go into these lapses but I think it is important to point out that in the home of the hon. seconder of the motion who said that nothing has been done for the Mid-West, in his home there is a Government Agricultural Settlement. . . .

Some hon. Members : So what ?

Chief Enahoro : And furthermore, Sir, I know at least half a dozen plantations in that area—at Akoko, at Urhonigbe where the hon. Member comes from and several other places. I merely touch on this point, Sir, in order to show hon. Members on the other Side that if the case for a Mid-West rested on nothing but the allegations made by the hon. seconder of the motion it would be opposed on this Side. The principles involved are wider than petty parochial interests.

Therefore, Sir, there is one appeal which I wish to make before I take up my seat. I understand that a Motion was filed in this House, the Mover was a member of the N.C.N.C. and the Seconder a member of the N.P.C. For reasons best known to them we do now find an N.P.C. name here this morning (Cheers).

I wish, Sir, to appeal to the N.P.C. to support the principle of the creation of more states. Whatever we may say is between the Action Group and the N.C.N.C. at one time or another, they have advocated a number of states. The only party which so far has never identified itself with this demand and this popular request is the N.P.C. I hope, Sir, that this morning we will see a change of attitude on the part of the N.P.C. May I repeat, Sir, that our amendment is a question of principle. We believe in these three new states but we do not believe that because we want three states therefore if we have one we should not accept it and because of that, Sir, we are prepared to support even the Government Motion.

There is one very important point which I very nearly forgot. It is quite clear from what is going on there that the intention on the other side is to pass this motion to appear to satisfy popular demand and to do nothing about it. I now wish to request, Sir, that there is a question on which there is an agreement across

the Floor and therefore there is no reason at all why the Government should be tardy about it. We want state to be created before the 31st of March, 1962. (Loud applause).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. It is not a good parliamentary practice to clap the hands as a sign of applause. I have already told the House the way to applause that is to hit the desk slightly.

Chief Enahoro : I give this assurance, Sir, that any financial provision sought by the Government from this House for the creation of this new state will be supported by this side of the House. I hope, that the Government spokesman, Sir, will give this House an assurance that this new state will be created before the 31st of March, 1962.

Mr W. O. Briggs (Degema) : Mr Speaker, having heard what the last speaker has said, I hope everybody in this House will support the amendment. I am proposing. . . . (Interruptions). . . . to consider our amendment to include 31st of March, 1962. While seconding it, I would like to make a personal note and that is that. . . . (Interruption).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think there is too much noise in the House. Will hon. Members please continue the debate in silence.

The Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Justice (Mr R. B. Okafor) : On a point of Order, Sir, May I know if there is. . . . (Interruptions).

Mr Speaker : The hon. Member is not entitled to make a ruling on a point of order. The Motion has been moved and then through the Motion there is an amendment. The amendment was moved by Chief Enahoro and is being seconded by Mr Briggs. I do not think there is anything wrong with that.

Mr Briggs : While seconding this amendment, I would like to make a personal note. I was one of those who opposed a Federal system of government. Some years ago I opposed it very vigorously and at that time as a matter of fact, it was in opposition to the present Leader of the Opposition now. But since then the years have rolled, I have grown older and I have come to realise that my then opposition to the Federation of Nigeria, such a large country like Nigeria, was born out of youthful exuberance.

I am now convinced that the best system of Government for such a vast country like this is a federal system of government and having said this I can now go on. To-day would really go down to history as one of the happiest days for the minority, because even if our Amendment is defeated and even if the Motion is passed, a light shall have been lit in this House which by the Grace of God will not be put out. As the hon. Mover of the Amendment has said we are not opposing the Motion at all but what we are saying is that instead of one give us all the three. I come from the C.O.R. State area (*Interruptions*).... and I must remind hon. Members that if this amendment is defeated then they must not forget that they are also defeating the Motion on the Mid-West State.

Mr V. E. Eze (Orlu North East): Mr Speaker, Sir, on point of order. Members are expected to behave with decency but some Members are turning the Mace Table into a foot stool.

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I agree with the hon. Member that Members are expected to behave decently but as far as I can see Mr Briggs is behaving decently.

Mr Briggs: There is a statement made that the demand for a C.O.R. State is not popular. I come from the C.O.R. State area and I speak mostly for this State. During the Federal Elections the Action Group put the idea of a C.O.R. State as an election issue and in Calabar Province the Action Group won all the seats. (*Applause*). In the Rivers Province a non-N.C.N.C. group won the seats in the indigenous area. In Brass District, the N.D.C. won. I now say that whatever vote was cast that was not for the N.C.N.C. was a vote for the creation of the C.O.R. State. Mr Okilo will tell you this. It then shows that there is a standing hostility. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: This unwarranted and unnecessary interruption must stop.

Mr Briggs: And also since that time there have been series of local and district council elections and in almost every district council election the Action Group has come out with success. The people have clearly before them the issue of a separate state. They want their own state, whether you say a Rivers State;

whether you say a Calabar State; whether you say an Ogoja State or whether you say a C.O.R. State. The intention is to break away from the present formation of the Eastern Region.

I have seen some N.C.N.C. people trying to confuse the issue by saying that they want a Rivers State. All right, go on and move it in this House and we will accommodate a Rivers State but such a state must be on equal footing with any state in Nigeria. We are not going to have a state on provincial basis. It is an ignorant assertion which is a contradiction of facts because there is no state on provincial basis. So anybody who knows what a state is; anybody who understands what a state is should note that such a state must be equal to the Eastern Region as it is; such a state must be equal to the Western Region as it is; such a state must be equal to the Northern Region as it is to-day. So, if you say that you want a Rivers State and you do not want to confuse the people then start a motion for a Rivers State and we will support you.

One more point is that here are the N.C.N.C.; here are the N.P.C. who say that they love the minorities. The minorities in the East demand a separate state; the minorities in the North demand a separate state. Why should the N.C.N.C. Government in the East or in the Federation or anywhere else support the Mid-West State and yet deny it to the C.O.R. State. (*Several hon. Members: Shame! Shame!*) I am asking the N.C.N.C. to search their consciences. If as they say they love the minorities then what is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander. If the Mid-West people are worthy of being given a state then the C.O.R. people are also worthy of being given a separate state. If not one or two things—either they regard the creation of a state as an evil in itself, in which case, they are dishonest to themselves. But if they are honest to the causes of the minorities they should own up that all the minorities demand a separate state. In the Eastern Region there are five provinces and three of these say that they want to be together. (*Prolonged Interruptions*)

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I have received a message from the Reporters that they cannot hear the hon. Member due to interruptions.

If we are to make any progress, I think we have to keep as silent as possible.

Mr Briggs : In the Eastern Region there are five old genuine provinces—not the recent innovation of the Eastern Government. Out of these five provinces three of them say that they want to unite and form a separate state. Why cannot the other two join together and form their own state? Are they afraid or do they want to dominate the rest? And any system of government that allows the domination of one people by another is striking at the root of unity. We say we want to be united. It is only by giving to each person what he wants—his own system of government—that there can be unity. Sir, it is this mistake that Mr Lumumba—I am sorry to say—made in Congo. In Congo, because of its size (just as Nigeria) most people wanted a federal government. If there had been a federal system of government, no one knows, perhaps this unhappy situation in the Congo would not have happened.

Sir, I must say that the minorities who want a separate state do not hate any big tribal group at all; they do not hate the Yorubas; they do not hate the Hausas and Fulanis who are dominating the North; and they do not hate the Ibos. So, anybody who says that they hate the Ibos or the Hausas or Fulani dominant tribal group is striking at the root of unity.

Sir, the Amendment is commended to the whole House and we hope that it is going to pass through without any hindrance.

Amendment proposed.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : I rise as the Leader of this House to speak for this Government which is made up of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C., and, Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment very vehemently and to accept the original Motion on behalf of the Federal Government. (*Applause.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, this Motion affords the Government the opportunity to make its position of policy as regards the creation of new states very clear on the Floor of this House, and I shall proceed to do so after answering one or two points that have been made by my Friends of the Opposition in moving the Amendment. One point has been made that

if a new Region is created the N.P.C. will be prevented from dominating the Senate and the House of Representatives. Now, Sir, I want to say this in reply to that quite briefly, that the N.P.C. has never by its pronouncement or by action, word or deed, at any time pretended to dominate this country. (*Hear, hear.*) Those who want to rule this country, and to dominate others are not the N.P.C. but those politicians who leave their Regions and go to other people's Regions. . . . (*Interruptions.*) They are the people, Sir. They are the people who want to tell the so-called minority areas in other Regions to support them in order to earn their votes for their own political ascendancy.

The second point that has been made by the Members of the Opposition is that if we agree this morning to support the creation of a Mid-West State we must agree to support the creation of other two Regions. I can only term that an appeal of the proverbial fox which having lost its tail in a trap appealed to the other foxes that they must cut their own tails. The agitation for the Mid-West State was started in the Western Region supported by the two political parties then in power and also the Opposition in the legislature of the Region.

And, Sir, why cannot my Friends in the Opposition leave the people in the different Regions to themselves to pursue their own choice? Why can't they? (*Interruptions.*) Now, I would like to say that even in the Senate to-day there is no domination by any one party at all nor is there any here. People have come here by the popular votes of their constituents and therefore if they come here it is for them to decide to support one political party or the other. Any by parliamentary practice, if you belong to the majority party you have to rule.

Sir, in view of the way in which politics has been played under the issue of creating the Mid-West State it is as I have said essential that the two parties which form the Federal Government explain in the clearest possible terms why they support the Motion and reject the Amendment. We in this Government want to prescribe the conditions which in our view must be marked before we prepare to lend our support to any proposal for the creation of a new state or region.

I propose to make clear in my speech precisely what this condition will be. The demand for the people of the area for a separate

Mid-West Region is not a new concept. It has been repeatedly raised over the past decade. The demand was first considered by a legislative body in Nigeria when on the 14th day of June, 1955, Mr Showole, an Action Group member of the then Western House introduced a Motion in that House in the following terms. Mr Speaker, with your permission I shall quote: "This House prays Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to make necessary constitutional arrangements at the proposed conference in 1956 to give effect to the creation of a separate state for Benin and Delta Provinces".

Sir, this Motion was seconded by a Parliamentary Secretary, Mr J. G. Akum. The terms of this resolution were conveyed to the United Kingdom Government on the 12th day of December, 1955. The then Premier of the Western Region, Chief Obafemi Awolowo laid before the Western House of Assembly a letter received from the Acting Deputy Governor introducing it in the following terms: "Hon. Members will remember that some time ago a law was passed in this House entitled "The Creation of a Seperate Benin-Delta State". In connexion with that law the following letter dated 12th September, 1955 has been received from the Acting Deputy Governor, Western Region, Ibadan." Mr Speaker, with your permission I shall read the full text of the Deputy Governor's letter.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo : (Ijebu Remo) : That Speech was made by Mr Speaker and I will pass the document on to you, Sir.

Mr Speaker : According to the debate of the House of Assembly, Western Region, 12th December, 1955, the Speaker of that House did make that statement and I think on a point of explanation Chief Awolowo is right in saying that the Speaker made the same. But I do not know whether in fact the Acting Governor did make the statement as the Minister of Finance has indicated.

The Minister of Finance : Mr Speaker, Sir, the portion I have just read was the portion of the paper that was laid on the table by Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

I am now going to read the letter which was laid on the Table of the Western House on that particular day. The letter is No. 397/56, Governor's Office, Western Region, Ibadan ;

dated 12th September, 1955, addressed to Clerk of the Western Regional Legislature, Western Region, Ibadan ; and headed : "Creation of Benin-Delta State." "I am directed to refer to your letter 153/75 of 29th June addressed to the Secretary to Government and to inform you that the Motion enclosed herewith was duly forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Secretary of State has now replied asking that the House of Assembly be informed that their request for the creation of a separate state for Benin and Delta Provinces has been noted and I am directed to ask if you will please take action accordingly in due course."

Several hon. Members : Repeat, repeat.

The Minister of Finance : I will repeat. The Secretary of State has now replied asking that the House of Assembly be informed that their request for the creation of a separate state for Benin and Delta Provinces has been noted and I am directed to ask if you will please take action accordingly in due course."

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

An hon. Member : This is an important issue Sir, The office that the Minister of Finance holds in the Federation is next to the Prime Minister and in a matter of this nature for the Minister of Finance (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. With this noise being made it is impossible to hear what the hon. Member is saying in raising a point of order. Will this House please listen to the hon. Member ?

An hon. Member : At this stage I feel the Minister of Finance should not have replied. He should have given chance (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order, order. I do not know whether the Member is challenging the Chair by giving the Minister of Finance the opportunity, but I feel that he is quite right in making a speech at this moment.

The Minister of Finance : Copies of this letter were endorsed to the Secretary to the Government and to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, for information. Signed "P.F.G.T. for Acting Deputy Governor". More, Sir, the letter hon. Members have heard made it clear that the then Secretary of State for the Colonies had taken note of the

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request of the House of Assembly for the creation of a separate region for the Benin and Delta provinces.

Sir, the demand for the early creation of the Mid-West region continued unabated and was a major factor leading to the setting up of the Minorities Commission. In their evidence before the constitution, three parties—the then Government of the Western Region, the Action Group as the political party in power in the Western Region and the Mid-West, all advocated the creation of a Mid-West region. It is relevant to note that in this report, the Minorities Commission commented that the advocacy of a Mid-West region by the then Government of the Western Region as a matter of principle was clear and consistent, but when the Report of the Minorities Commission was considered by the Resumed Constitutional Conference in London in September 1958, the representatives of those Parties and Groups which have argued before the Commission in favour of the new region including the Mid-West region reversed the argument and expressed their dissatisfaction with the Commission's conclusions.

As you all know, in the event, no finality was reached by this Constitutional Conference since it became apparent that the early creation of the Mid-West or any other new region was not for practical reasons compatible with independence in 1960. It is clear, Sir, beyond all doubt that the demand for Mid-West region by the people of the Benin and Delta provinces is not an imotional conception. It is rather a genuine, spontaneous, growing, persistent and extremely active political aspiration. Clearly, Sir, before a new region can be created there must be reasonable assurance that it will be a viable entity and will not constitute a drain upon the resources of the Federal Government.

A critical appraisal of the financial position of the Mid-West region was proposed at the Minorities Commission. This appraisal indicated that the margin will be very closed but circumstances have altered drastically since that time. In the first place, the economy of the Mid-West area, although certainly underdeveloped, is reasonably grossly based and must be dependent upon non-major agricultural crop. The area thus escaped the violent

fluctuation in the revenue which has been experienced by the cocoa producing area of the Western Region; but there is more important event, the recent discovery of oil in commercial quantity in the Mid-West area. (*Hear, hear.*) There can be no doubt but that in these circumstances, the Mid-West region would now be fully a viable proposition.

Now, Sir, provision for the creation of new regions has been included in Section 4 of the Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria. The procedure to be followed is clear. Firstly, the proposal for establishing the new region must be submitted to each House of Parliament and if the proposal is approved by a resolution, the resolution supported by votes of at least two-thirds of all the Members of that House, the proposal shall be submitted to the Legislative House of the majority of all the regions, or by a resolution of this Legislative House or of at least two regions including any region comprising part of Nigeria that will be transferred to the new region under the proposal. Then Parliament may provide for the necessary alterations of the Constitution. However, before the alterations can take effect a referendum must be held in the area proposed to be converted into a region provided that at least sixty per cent of those who vote in the referendum are in favour of the proposal, the legal commodity would have been completed and the new region will come into being.

As time indicated, Sir, there are certain conditions which we, who form this Government believe to be fulfilled before any proposal for the creation of a new region can be supported and I want to lay emphasis on this. In the first place, we want to be satisfied that the majority of the people in the area concerned really wish for it. Secondly, we require the Legislature of the region in which the new state is to be created to have passed a resolution in its favour. Thirdly, we wish to be informed that the new state has a reasonable chance of proving itself a viable entity.

It is the view of the Federal Government that in the case of the proposed Mid-West State, these conditions have been amply satisfied. Indeed, I might say they have been fulfilled to the letter. In the circumstances, we

welcome the original Motion which is presented in full conformity with the procedure laid down in the Constitution.

Sir, we feel sure that any one who is not playing politics and who is fully prepared for the creation of other states will adopt the same Constitutional procedure and ensure the same conditions are met, otherwise the Federal Government will not be drawn consciously into any appeal here that we must support two other regions. If anybody wants a C.O.R. State let him go to the Floor of the Eastern Regional Legislature, table a Motion there and pass it before he comes here (*Applause*). If anyone wants a Middle Belt State let him go to the Northern Regional Legislature, table a Motion there and pass it before he comes here (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, that is the position. The Federal Government is acting like a father. When we know that the Government and Opposition in each Region are satisfied that the region is necessary to be created and they approve it and that they have no constitutional power for doing so, they come to this House in order to have constitutional blessing; in such cases we will support it. Since these conditions have not been even attempted in any Regional Legislature, either in the East or in the North, what audacity has anybody to come to this House and ask us to go and interfere in any Region which is not the concern of the Federal Government? (Several hon. Members: "Omimi Ejo"). (*Applause from the Gallery*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order! Strangers in the Gallery are not allowed to applaud.

The Minister of Finance: I have shown that this Private Member's Motion does not represent a new demand; it is merely a repetition of what was concluded in the Western House of Assembly over five years ago. The only change is that by virtue of our present Constitution the Motion must now be initiated in the Federal Parliament.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we on this side fully support the original Motion for the reasons that have been adduced and oppose most vehemently the Amendment.

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I think it is for the convenience of the House if the Debate continues until the 1 o'clock break, and then for half an hour after the break, that is after 3 o'clock.

M. Mohammadu Muhtari, Sarkin Bai (Dambatta): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose most vehemently and most strongly the Amendment to this Motion and to support whole-heartedly and unswervingly the original Motion (*Applause*). As the Mover and the Secunder of the Motion have rightly said, Mr Speaker, the demand for the creation of a Mid-West State is a genuine one and truly reflects the wishes of the people of the Mid-West, and furthermore a Motion in the Western House of Assembly to this effect was unanimously passed. So, it is our duty—a binding duty as such—to pass this Motion in this hon. House.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I hereby quite categorically deny, however, that the demand for the so-called Middle Belt and C.O.R. State is a genuine one and that it reflects the true wishes of the people in all those areas. It is, therefore, unwarranted, uncalled for, ill-timed and ill-motivated. In fact, as far as we know, the so-called Middle Belt does not exist on this globe. We only know one North, one people, one destiny. The Northern Regional Government does not in any way discriminate against any part of the country or any section of the community in the distribution of amenities and other developments.

The demand, Sir, for the creation of the so-called Middle Belt came from those irresponsible and cunning politicians who for their own material benefit have sold their conscience. They are so much carried away by the false promises of the Action Group that they have lost their sense of coherence. Therefore, whatever views these people express on the Floor of this hon. House those views are not representative; they are uncalled for, they are unwarranted and therefore they should be thrown out of this House. I hereby appeal to all Members of the House flatly to reject this Amendment because it is ill-timed, ill-motivated and I appeal at the same time to Members to give the original Motion unanimous support.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I oppose the Amendment.

Mr J. S. Tarka (Jemgbar): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment to this Motion. It is a pity, Sir, that on the Floor of this House we have certain people who profess to come from parties which are supposed to be nationalist parties and yet who talk of Nigeria as a Nigeria belonging to certain

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or rather particular Regions. I want to mention one of these examples, and that is that I have been very much ashamed to hear the hon. the Minister of Finance mention in this House that a certain political party is interested in the internal affairs of another Region by going to campaign there. If what the Minister said really reflects the wishes of the N.C.N.C. legislators, since he is their own spokesman on the Floor of this House, I would like to say that the N.C.N.C. must confine its activities to the Eastern Region in order not to annoy its N.P.C. masters.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance (Prince T. A. Lamuye) : Point of order, Mr Speaker. I wish to remind the hon. Member that the Minister of Finance did not say "to campaign" but "to incite".

Mr Tarka : It is unfortunate that a Minister of State who comes from a party which professes to champion the causes of minorities in this country should speak in the way the Minister of Finance has spoken about inter-Regional relations.

I want to assure my hon. Friend, Sarkin Bai, who has just spoken, that he has not become a District Head by right. Every Member in this House, if he is from the North, if he is from the West, can become a traditional member if he so chooses, and I assure him that trying to call certain people here in the House irresponsible politicians shows that certain members in the N.P.C. too are irresponsible politicians. It is unfortunate, Sir, that the Member spoke so much about what the Regional Government in the North has done.

I do not want to dwell on that but I want to assure the Member that we believe—and there is evidence to prove it—that the N.P.C. both in the Federal Government and in the Regional Government, has committed untold atrocities against the minority groups. The present Regions, Sir, are of British creation; so this was done solely to achieve their imperial rule in those days. We are happy, Sir, that the rule of the British people has ended in this country and ended for ever.

It will be good in this House to re-apportion the country in such a way that will be compatible with the national unity of this country (*Hear, hear*) and the only way to do it Sir, is to create a Mid-West state, a COR state and a Middle Belt state. (*Hear, hear*). We on this side of

the House will only be ready to support it provided it really represents the wishes of the masses in the particular area and not provincial status. We have been told here and outside the House by a certain political party that it believes at one time in the creation of (*interruption*).

An hon. Member : Sit down, sit down.

Mr Speaker : Order, Order. I think the hon. Member is not addressing the Chair.

Mr Tarka : I think and I believe I have been addressing the Chair because the Chair dominates the whole of this House, and anywhere I turn in this House, represents the Chair. As I said before, a certain political party which is fully represented in this House at one time advocated for the creation of 14 States. That particular party reduced it in 1949 to 8 States. Thus later on, it was reduced to provincial councils or Provincial Assemblies which represent organisational Zones represented by provincial organising Secretaries called Provincial Commissioners. For such a big party or rather—(*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order, Order.

Mr Tarka : —such a responsible party to be so inconsistent; I would like to appeal to that particular party to retrace its steps and represent itself in the former way when it advocated 14 States or 8 States.

An hon. Member : We are going to force them to check that.

Mr Tarka : By creating 3 more states we will increase the number of States in Nigeria to 6, and I hope that it is only reasonable for all of us to go and manage our respective affairs in our six Regions with our respective headquarters in Kaduna, Jos, Enugu, Calabar, Benin and Ibadan and we can all sit here at the Federal level and iron out our differences in Lagos. We do not want anybody to regard Nigeria or any part of Nigeria as his father's empire (*Hear, hear*). I am living and I am going to live for a long time and I shall continue to live to see that this does not happen. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is wrong for anyone, as I said before, to regard Nigeria or any part of Nigeria as his father's empire and I would live to oppose to the very last anybody who regards the Middle Belt or any part of the Middle Belt as a part and portion of his father's empire.

An hon. Member : What is he talking about ?

Mr Tarka : We in Nigeria have come to accept federalism and the only reasonable thing, Sir, is that we must practise federalism in its true form.

I would like to make another point Sir that it will be impossible for the Yoruba of the Western Region to accept Chief the hon. Okotie-Eboh as their own Premier because he is an Itsekiri. (*Hear, hear*). And the Ibos of the Eastern Region cannot accept the hon. Mbu or the hon. Akpabio of Ogoja and Calabar as their own Premier nor can a Birom or Bachama be accepted as the Premier of the North. It is only at the centre, Sir, that we can accept somebody from the small national grouping of Jere as our own Prime Minister. The only logical thing therefore is to re-organise the present structure and put together various national groupings to constitute smaller states under a strong and influential Central Government.

It is absolute nonsense for Government to accept what is really called the prayer of the Western Nigerian legislature to create the Mid-West state. We must be courageous to take immediate steps in good faith and not merely to spite the Action Group of Nigeria or the Western Region which is already the smallest Region.

An hon. Member : Learn your geography well.

Mr Tarka : Those who think that this new state, is being created to spite the Action Group are digging their own grave in the Mid-West when the new Legislature is being elected. The question of States, Sir, is interwoven and it will be more logical to create three new States: that is the C.O.R., the Mid-West and the Middle Belt together. Some mercenaries are allowing themselves to be used against the destiny and aspirations of the people of the Middle Belt and the C.O.R.

An hon. Member : And they will continue to lose elections.

Mr Tarka : If there are any carpetcrossers who want to oppose this amendment, I would like to assure them that they are doing so only as individuals who have no support from the masses of the people of the Middle Belt. (*Hear, hear*). I challenge such members,

including the Minister from Adamawa province to go back and seek a fresh mandate on the question of Middle Belt. They will never win an election in the Middle Belt. The question of support or complete support in the Middle Belt for the demand for the creation of Middle Belt State does not arise. (*Interruption*). Throughout the life of the Northern Region there has never been a fair election, and we can only assure that those who represent the North in the Northern Region Legislature do so because of the N.A.'s and oppression. (*Hear, hear*).

An hon. Member : I came in the way you came in.

Mr Tarka : I would like to assure the Minister that, if as I believe that members from the Northern Region came in through the back door, very few of us are an exception.

Sir, I would like to assure the Minister that, as I believe that Members from the Northern Region came in here through the back door, if we go back and hold a free and fair election I will come back here perhaps with a majority of forty thousand votes.... (*Hear, hear*). To those who do not believe to-day, Sir, that the people of the Middle Belt do support the creation of a Middle Belt State, I would like to appeal to them that this Government should for instance ask the United Nations to conduct a free and fair plebiscite in the Middle Belt area to settle the question.... (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member : You think we are in the Congo ?

Mr Tarka : Mr Speaker, Sir, I said for example, and I make this demand in respect of the COR State as well. Mr Speaker, if this demand is to be carried out, I would request the Government to hold the plebiscite independent of the arbitrary influence of the Native Authorities in the Northern Region.

Now, time, Sir, will decide the fate of all stooges and professional sycophants who sell their conscience and the will of the people for a mess of potage under the table of the overlords. I want to assure those who oppose the Middle Belt State and the COR State that they are only postponing the evil day. The masses of the people in the areas concerned now realise who are really their true friends and like in India and various other countries like Canada, whether they like it or not these states will be created.

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want to assure you, Sir, that we in the Middle Belt do not owe the creation of a Middle Belt State to the will of the N.P.C. We owe it to the will of the masses.

The result of the last Federal elections shows clearly the trend of affairs drifting towards the creation of a Middle Belt State. A friend of mine once stated that the North shall rule to the sea. I think his British friends took him into confidence when they were constituting the North into such a large Region so as to be able to continue to bend the will of the rest of this Federation, and this defeats the very aim of federalism. Only the creation of a Middle Belt State will save the nasty situation.

There is one fear which is consistently expressed by leaders of the N.P.C. in the House and outside the House, and that is that the majority of Members of the civil service in the Northern Region come from the Middle Belt. We believe that Nigeria is one and indivisible and it is our belief that civil servants from the Northern Region can come and work in the Eastern Region, civil servants in the Eastern Region can come and work in the Northern Region, civil servants in the Northern Region can come and work in the Federal Government and civil servants in the Federal Government can go and work in the Western Region. If a Middle Belt State is created, Sir, we who advocate the creation of a Middle Belt State have no intention of withdrawing any civil servants from the Northern Region's civil service which will remain when the State is created.

To-day people from the North proper are regarded as first-class citizens. People from the West and East are regarded as second-class citizens. . . . (Interruptions) . . .

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance (Prince T. A. Lamuye): On a point of order, Mr Speaker, as far as Nigeria constitution is concerned, there are no first and second class citizens. There is only one class of citizen in Nigeria, and the hon. Member is using improper language.

Mr Speaker: I cannot see any breach of the Order in the hon. Member's speech.

Mr Tarka: I hope Mr Speaker will take note of how my time is being wasted by unnecessary interruption. What I am saying, Sir, is that to-day, people in the North proper are regarded as first-class citizens, people in the

Eastern and Western Regions are regarded as second-class citizens, and the people from the minority areas of the Middle Belt, COR and Mid-West are regarded as third-class citizens. We from the minority areas are tired of this nasty situation and the time has come, Sir, when we should all wake up and stand up to any situation in which all or some of the majority groups have conspired to place the minority groups in this country. We must all learn from the unpleasant experience of other countries.

It is impossible, Sir, to suppress the will of the masses continuously by show of physical force or any other means. It has failed in many countries; it has failed in Turkey, it has failed in Iraq, it has failed in Egypt, it has failed in South Africa, it is going to fail in Nigeria. . . . (Hear, hear).

I would like to seize this opportunity, Sir, to congratulate the hon. the Leader of the Opposition and the hon. President of the Senate and the hon. the Leader of the Opposition in the Western House of Assembly who was our Legal Adviser during the Minorities Commission. The creation of a Mid-West State, Sir, will only set the ball rolling for the creation of all other states in the Federation of Nigeria. I say so, Sir, because I know very well that the motion for the creation of a Mid-West State is going to pass through this House unopposed. I want to seize this opportunity, Sir, to rejoice with our brothers in the Mid-West area, for their achievement of a Mid-West State is not an achievement confined to the Mid-West alone, it is the success and achievement of all the minority groups in this country. . . . (Hear, hear). The creation of new states is the only basis on which the unity of this country is going to continue and it is upon the creation of new states that the breaking of the monopoly of all other Regions by one Region which constitutes an unbalanced structure in the Federation will be achieved.

To-day, Sir, the North constitutes a threat to the continuance of the Federation and unless we create these states as required by the amendment we shall wake up one day and find that the North has declared its independence, especially when the N.P.C. shall have lost control of the Federal Government, and when such an action is taken the Middle Belt too will secede from the North and rejoin Nigeria as a separate Region.

I want to conclude, Mr Speaker, by saying that we in the Middle Belt, as I said before, do not owe the creation of a Middle Belt State to the N.P.C. or the N.C.N.C. or to any party; we owe it to the masses. It is not entirely up to the Government or to the two parties which form the Government to operate the creation of new states. It is a matter for the masses outside to decide. Some people have said that such a motion will never pass through this House and that it will never pass through the Northern Region legislature. But they seem to forget one thing. There are certain Members who never expected to come to this House. I can cite two glaring examples in the N.C.N.C. Front Bench there, the example of my Friend from Ikeja and my Friend Mallam Aminu Kano. They never hoped to come into this House but to-day they are Members of this hon. House. So I am sure that at some future date this state will certainly be created.

Alhaji Bello Dandago (Gwarzo East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the original Motion. It is specific as it stands but the amendment, which has been prepared and which has been hurriedly passed to the Speaker, with due respect to the legal profession of this House, with malice aforethought is not. We are not going to create the Middle Belt State in retaliation to the Mid-West State. The two cases are not identical. If people in the Mid-West State find the Action Group Government to be a sort of wolf over sheep-Government, they have the right to ask for self-determination but the case of the Middle Belt is quite different. The Government in the North has nothing to hide in so far as what it has done for the people.

I am asking hon. Tarka to say what is the percentage of the civil servants from the Middle Belt that are working in the Western Region. He admitted that over 70 per centage of the people from the West are working in the North which means that the people of the so-called Middle Belt do not like the Action Group people or else they will not get any jobs in the tropical forest town of Ibadan. That is why they want to go there.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to oppose the amendment and to support the original motion as it stands.

Mr Speaker: Mr Ekanem. Order, order, I will call on Chief Awolowo in case he wishes to wind up the debate on the amendment.

Chief O. Awolowo (Ijebu-Remo). Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment to the original motion. I am doing so purely on principle. It has been suggested in the course of the debate on the motion and on the amendment that some people on this side of the House have been advocating the creation of more states in order to catch the votes of the minority. May I say, Mr Speaker, that I have been an advocate of the creation of more states long before the introduction of the Macpherson Constitution and of the Ministerial system in this country. There is an important principle to which I want to draw the attention of this hon. House and that is that since we have accepted that the only suitable Constitution for Nigeria is a federal one it is our duty to divide the country into states or linguistic affinity.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in my book written in 1945 and published in 1947 which some Members on the opposite Side are in the habit of quoting, I made it clear that as many as forty or more states for our future United States of Nigeria will certainly not be too many. There are worthy and strong precedents for the proposition which I have just made.

Switzerland has a population of only 4.5 million but Switzerland has 22 sovereign cantons or 22 sovereign regions or states. And each with the same powers as our regions here and even more in the sense that each region or each canton in Switzerland has its own parliament, as every region in this country has its own Prime Minister, and what is more, each has its own police and army in addition. I have merely quoted the instance of Switzerland in order to illustrate and strengthen my point.

Sir, I have said before that there are worthy precedents for the proposition which I have made. Yugoslavia has to-day a Federal Constitution but that Federal Constitution is based on linguistic or ethnic affinity.

India before Independence had a number of sovereign states each of which consisted, in some cases, of a number of linguistic or ethnic units. The Indian National Congress in its *manifesto* before Independence made it clear that it would take steps to re-adjust the boundaries of India so that each province or state or region would be on the basis of ethnic or linguistic affinity. After Independence, the

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Indian Government felt that it would be unwise to proceed to adjust the boundaries for the purpose of creating new states as there were many problems on their hands. But the Telugu speaking people of India forced the hands of Nehru around 1953 and since then 13 more states have been created in India.

Surely, we in this country, the leaders of this new nation, do not want to wait until the incidence which occurred among the Telugu speaking people to happen in this country before new states are created. The principle is clear; we want federalism. Then the basis of creating states must be linguistic or ethnic.

In this connection, Sir, I want you to permit me to read just a portion of a book to you. (*Interruptions*). I am reading this book which is entitled, 'Encyclopaedia of World Politics'. I think it is a book which every parliamentarian ought to possess. Many instances could be quoted but I want to confine myself only to the instance of Yugoslavia. The portion which I want to read is as follows: "After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 the 'Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes' was formed by the union of Serbia with the South Slav-inhabited territories of the old Empire and the former Kingdom of Montenegro, under the Serbian dynasty of the Karageorgevitch. The tribal and cultural differences between the various provinces soon created new political problems. Croats and Slovenes demanded self-government. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order, it is only good parliamentary practice that whenever the Prime Minister, the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition are speaking their speeches should be respected by silence and attention. This is in accordance with the practice in Westminster and I wish the House will, as far as possible, follow this practice.

Chief Awolowo: "Croats and Slovenes demanded self-government. Yet after the union a 'Greater Serbian' trend prevailed, and the Vidovdan Constitution of 1921 made Yugoslavia a centralist state ruled from Belgrade. The conflict between the Serbian rulers and the Croat autonomists dominated Yugoslav policies". This was in 1918. Then, this is said of Yugoslavia in 1945—"The Constituent Assembly proclaimed Yugoslavia a Federal People's Republic on 29th November,

1945. Yugoslavia now consists of six federal republics". Then the names of the republics are given. Anyone who takes the trouble to examine the composition of each republic will come to no conclusion other than that each is an ethnic or linguistic group.

I commend this principle, therefore, to this House in considering the Amendment to this Motion.

Sir, the second principle is equally important. In a federation, it is a cardinal principle that no one state should be so large or powerful as to be capable of over-riding the wishes of the other or bending the will of the Federal Government to its own. In this connection, Sir, Mr Willink, who was the Chairman of the Commission that went by his name, did say in the report of this Commission that the Federation of Nigeria is unusual in the relative size of the regions that constitute it. There is no doubt that Willink and his fellow members of the Commission had in mind the Northern Region.

May I say, Sir, that any desire to do anything to spite the North by the existence of the Northern Region at the moment as a monopolistic unit is not only incompatible with the principle of this cardinal principle of federalism which has just been demonstrated but it is also a threat, a veritable threat to the continued unity of the Federation. Somebody said in the course of this debate that the N.P.C. is in dominance here in this House. Some Members were quick to retort that that was untrue. On such an issue there is bound to be difference of opinion. Those who bask under the feudal feeble sunshine of the N.P.C. say that the N.P.C. is not in dominance here. But those of us who are not in that category have the right to tell the truth however bitter it may be to our opponents.

Let all of us search our hearts and tell the N.P.C. or ask that Party to change, even its name, to enable the Southerners in this great Federation to be members of that Party in their own right. The only association of Northerners which the N.P.C. constitution allows is that by which the Southerners will be nothing but inexplicable satellite around the N.P.C. orbit. I think that is a danger to the unity of this Federation.

The approved principle therefore which must be borne in mind and borne in mind seriously is first of all that States must be created once we accept the principle of federalism on the basis of ethnic or linguistic affinity. Secondly that no one state should be so large or so powerful as to be able to override the wishes of the other states put together, or capable of bending the wheel of the Federation as is at present in Nigeria to suit itself.

What we want in this country is the continued unity of the Federation. The British on their departure left us a number of heritages, one of them is a united Nigeria. It is our duty to maintain that unity. We will not consciously be doing the right thing which will lead to the continuance of that unity if we allow the Federation to remain as lopsided as it is at present. In other words, we should not allow the Northern Region in particular to continue as a unit as it is at present. There is an urgent need in the interest of Nigeria of the present and the future for the breaking of the Northern Region into States. We have demanded the creation of the Middle Belt State as a step towards wider development. In future, certainly, more States will have to be carved out from the Northern Region.

When the Minister of Finance was contributing to the debate he expressed the conditions which the Government is laying down for the creation of States. The conditions are already laid down in the Constitution. Of course it is up to the Government to prescribe conditions precedent in bringing a Motion to this House. I believe it is those conditions that were expressed to this House by the hon. Minister in the course of his speech. But one of these conditions is that the Regional Government concerned must pass a resolution, an affirmative resolution, 'in support of the demand.

May I say, Mr Speaker, Sir, that it was the federalism of the party in power in the Western Region and the enlightened approach of that party towards the issue of federalism that prevailed when that Motion was brought to the House of Assembly in the West. It is not clear whether the same federalism, the same spirit of liberalism, prevails in the other Regions. The statement which have been

made by the leaders of Government in those Regions do not show that they will be prepared to approach this issue in the same liberal spirit.

What happens then? It will mean that the people will have to resort to extra parliamentary method in order to achieve their objective. This must not be encouraged in this country. We must not allow the masses of the people to feel that they have been pushed to the wall to the extent of adopting extra parliamentary method to achieve their objective. It is the duty of the Federal Government when the demand has been made to follow the procedure in the Constitution. It is quite clear. The Motion will come here; it will be passed by a two-thirds majority, and the same happens in the Other Place, then certain steps will be taken, but if the Motion does not pass through this House then it is just too bad.

May I say further, Mr Speaker, that it will arouse discomfort and it will not be an act of enlightenment or liberalism on the part of the Government to attempt to pass such a Motion and then go forward to consult the wishes of the people when the Motion has already been passed. I do not think it is right for us to sit down here in the House and presume or imagine what the wishes of the people are in certain matters. It is only when we have tested those wishes and have got the 60 per cent majority only can the Federal Government pass such a Motion into law.

It is not enough for the Federal Government to pass a law and come back and say, 'we are very sorry, we have made this demand, consulted your people and they have turned it down. But what we have been told here is that no effort will ever be made to consult the people. We presume that the people do not want this State to be created. I think that creation of it is a dangerous attempt'. As I said before, it is the peace, concord and unity of this country that we want. In order to promote that peace and concord and unity therefore it is our duty to do what is right under the Constitution.

Before I close may I repeat what one of my colleagues has said. I do not want to castigate the mover and the seconder of this Motion or any of us but I think both of them have been very, very tactful indeed in the way they presented it. My colleague Chief Anthony Enahoro has said that whatever happens to this

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Amendment we are voting hundred per cent for the substantive Motion itself. (*Hear, hear*). The case of the demand of the three Regions is like the demand of the colonial territory in Africa and other parts of the world asking to be set free from their overlords.

We are now free but there are a number of other countries in Africa which are still under Colonial rule. We have taken a stand in demanding liberation of these territories. What will be our reaction if one of these territories is free and the others are still retained under Colonial rule. We will accept and welcome and jubilate over the release and liberation of that one country. If, therefore, this amendment is rejected and the Motion itself is accepted, we will be very happy. But we want to be assured, Mr Speaker, Sir, that the Government is sincere in supporting this Motion.

It is possible that after the passage of this Motion everybody will just go to sleep. Under the Constitution, it is an elaborate procedure which has to be taken before a State is actually created. I would not have suspected the intention of the Government but for a very significant omission in the Speech from the Throne. The Speech from the Throne was delivered only last Wednesday. This Motion was circulated to us the next day. It seems strange, Mr Speaker that the Speech from the Throne did not contain a sentence about the creation of the Mid-West State. The Governor-General should have been made to say that my Government plans or determines to create a Mid-West State. (*Interruptions*). That omission, Mr Speaker, is significant.

I merely want to say that you expect the Government spokesman in person of the hon. the Minister of Finance to assure this hon. House that Government will leave no stone unturned to ensure the creation of the Mid-West State before or by the 31st March, 1962.

The Prime Minister (Alhaji the hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa): Mr Speaker, Sir, I am afraid I have a very little time before the House rises. Now I have just decided to come into this debate because of the speech of the Leader of the Opposition. He sat on this Motion which was passed a long time ago, before we had any Constitutional provision

for creating new states for a very long time, and he is afraid that the Federal Government will sit on the Motion as he sat on it.

I would like to assure the Opposition, Sir, that as soon as the House of Representatives and the Senate have passed the resolution with the necessary two-thirds majority, we will push it on to the regions and so to the regional Governments and the regional legislatures, I hope, will pass it. But the Leader of Opposition has hinted to say that—he really laid emphasis on it that the region out of which the new region should be created has to agree, I hope, Sir, (*Interruptions*).

Chief Obafemi Awolowo: Point of explanation. I am sorry about that. I was referring to the point made by the hon. the Minister of Finance who said that one of the questions precedent to bringing the Motion here should be the concurrence of the Regional Governments out of which a particular State is going to be carved out. I do not support that.

The Prime Minister: Thank you very much for the explanation of the Leader of Opposition. I am very sorry indeed, and I would like to say that I have detected from two Members of the Opposition a certain form of threat that if a new State is not created somewhere else it is for the people to force the hands of the Government to do so. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order.

The Prime Minister: Sir, Mr Tarka made the same point and a similar point was made by the Leader of the Opposition. He said in India, Nehru was forced to create thirteen States. I want to assure the whole country and this hon. House that though some politicians got away with certain things in the past I will see that they do not get away with them in the future. (*Hear, hear*). It is common knowledge, certain people in responsible position have been in the habit of inciting groups of organisations. It is common knowledge. I will not allow it in the future. (*Hear, hear*). Mr Speaker, it is no threat at all. The Federal Government will deal properly with these people who are trying to incite people against the constituted Government.

I would like to see the Leader of the Opposition as a man who said he has made a philosophy to be preaching the creating of more States

to define clearly to us, what does he mean by Middle Belt State? What does he mean by COR State? It is something that has to be defined. We cannot just accept things vaguely and we in this House are serious about this matter. We are not talking merely to show people outside that we are supporting the cause of something but we want to be practical. What does he mean by those things? He has to tell us.

Now Sir, they have given indication of the places they want to be included in the resolution and I really like to say Sir, that I hope that the Leader of Opposition, as the leader of a political Party in power in a particular region should use his influence to see that whenever we finish with this resolution it is passed through the Western Legislature. I assure you of an easy passage in the other legislatures of the regions.

Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3.03 p.m.

Mallam Aminu Kano (Kano East): Mr Speaker, Sir, there has been very good composure on the part of Members of this House this morning on this Debate. I think that it is creditable on our part that we have not applied the weapon of emotion as a reason for the creation of a state in this country.

I do not intend to prolong this Debate because there has been, from the face of it, a sign of agreement on all Sides of the House and that this issue is not seriously controversial. But I want to say that to-day, by itself, is an historical day because we are for the first time putting into practice the implementation of those principles that have been agreed upon by all political parties in this country as a means by which we hope to allay the fears of what we like to call minorities. I must sound a note of warning, Sir, and that is that no matter how much we have been fair to minorities, no matter how much we try to satisfy minorities, they must be aggrieved. The fact that a group is a minority is a complaint in itself. So that no matter how much we try to satisfy a minority there must be some form of dissatisfaction.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the N.C.N.C. began the agitation for the creation of a Mid-West State and did so because the Mid-West is geographically, ethnically and clearly a distinct

Region which, even under the British administration had been administered as part of the Western Region. So that the N.C.N.C. would not have sponsored the claim for a Mid-West State if it was not convinced that such a State would be economically viable. Our party's objectives and pronouncements are never dictated by vendetta, of vengeance, whereas it has been the practice of others to advocate the creation of states, by the preaching of hatred actuated by malice and vengeance.

The campaign for the Mid-West is entirely based on logic, reason and practicability. We are, therefore, convinced that so long as we track the foot of justice and abhor the attainment of our objectives by cold-blooded slaughter of our contrymen we shall achieve for them the happiness to which we set ourselves.

We know that in this way lies the path of honour, tranquility in this country and in particular for Africa. I want you to believe Sir, that the creation of states in this country must be the people of this country's idea and not far-fetched ideas or rather a borrowed idea but it must be an idea that represents the true feelings of the people of this country.

With these few, I beg to support the motion.

Chief Ayo Rosiji (Egba East): Mr Speaker, Sir, to-day must go down into history as a federal day for the principles of the Action Group. When the Action Group started to propagate the idea of federalism, many members of this House called us tribalists, capitalist and all sorts of names.

An hon. Member : Aren't you?

Chief Rosiji: Then later, the same people who called us tribalists said that federalism was imperative. History to-day is repeating itself. When we said that more states must be created in Nigeria, some people adamantly opposed it. I remember that at the Constitutional Conference of 1957, the N.P.C. people almost walked out of that conference (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

Mr Rosiji: With all the force at their disposal, the very principle of the creation of states was opposed vehemently by the N.P.C. The Action Group knew that the question

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of the creation of state is not a matter that one must shift from here to there and from day to day; it is a matter of principle. We on this side of the House.

An hon. Member : What side ?

Chief Rosiji : We knew that the unity of Nigeria lay in the creation of states and I think that to-day history is being made again when I listened to members of N.P.C. in this House supporting the creation of a Mid-West State. Mr Speaker, Sir, principles can never be destroyed; principles will always stand.

To-day, I noticed that some people have supported the creation of a Mid-West State simply out of spite. I like to tell them that fight does not last for ever; we are passing through history; we are making history here. The Mid-West State is going to be created as far as we are concerned on this side of the House; it is a matter of principle. Some other people do not say that they are creating states because of spite, it is their business. Principle will prevail in any event. I feel that we on this side of the House feel that use is being made of these people and they do not know.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, the people of the Mid-West area, the people of the Calabar, Ogoja, River provinces (*Interruptions*)... and also the people of the Middle Belt (*Hear, hear*)... all together for some reasons want states to be created in their various areas. If the Mid-West State is created, there is no doubt whatever, whether you like it or not, other states will in due course of time be created. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. There is no point in interrupting after each sentence by an hon. Member. This is clearly just wasting the time of the House.

Chief Rosiji : Mr Speaker, Sir, the creation of the Mid-West State is a link in the chain in the creation of states. You may laugh to-day, the time will come when you will cry.

Several hon. Members : You will cry.

Chief Rosiji : Some people may like to sell principles for a mess of pottage but the time will come when your pottage will no longer be useful to you. We stand on principles, we do not live from day to day as you do. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think this interruption is becoming unbearable.

I think the volume of interruption is becoming intolerable. Chief Rosiji.

Chief Ayo Rosiji : Mr Speaker, Sir, it is not a new thing for my friends to behave the way they do and to regret it later. But I would like to say, Sir, that I should not have spoken on this matter at all but for the fact of the statement made by the hon. the Prime Minister. We of this country have always had our political differences. We have always played the game of politics according to the rules and we believe that people must have the opportunity to express themselves and express their opinion. I think that it will be a sorry day for Nigeria when any people in authority seek to strifle expression of public opinion by threat. I would like all of us to know that Nigeria belongs to all of us... (*Hear, hear*). Nigeria belongs to all of us. Nobody has any exclusive right to claim Nigeria as his own property... (*Hear, hear*)... and because of that, Sir, we are all interested in the preservation of law and order in the country.

In this respect, I would like to say, Mr Speaker, that the threat made on the Floor of this House by the hon. the Prime Minister is uncalled for, absolutely uncalled for. As far as we on *this* Side of the House are concerned, we believe in democracy and we will continue to practise it and it is up to the people of this great nation to know that any attempt to strifle and to destroy democracy is an attempt to destroy the country as a whole. We believe, Mr Speaker, that the creation of states is a good thing for this country and we shall continue to propagate the doctrine of the creation of new states. No threat can stop us from propagating that doctrine. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, I beg to support the amendment.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Lagos Affairs (Hon. E. T. Orodi) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment. In doing so, Sir... (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker, I do not blame the Opposition very much because it is really very disappointing for one to discover that the Opposition comes here to talk of principles and immediately we leave Parliament they practise

quite another thing. As a matter of fact, in the earlier part of this debate, an hon. friend of mine made the very statement made by the Government. The Government has given the undertaking that it will create states if certain conditions are fulfilled. Mr Speaker, Sir, there should not have been any quarrel since we are all agreed on that, but unfortunately, Sir, I think the hon. the Prime Minister has not been all that strong enough for the Opposition. I have an example, Mr Speaker, to illustrate the sort of freedom of expression, the sort of interpretation of the creation of let us say the so-called Middle Belt State.

Mr Speaker, if this hon. House will be acquainted with events that happened in Tiv Division just only in September where the Action Group feels it is in control of that area, one of course will be disappointed. We on our part, myself in particular, shall not belong to a state where simply if you disagree with the principle of the party in that area you will be entitled to lose your property, people will burn your houses—I know even right here in this House there are people who activated acts of arson and so on there. Some people went to the extent of not only intimidating people but went about murdering people around. This Government was all that silent over an issue of this kind. I would say, Sir, that if the creation of states amounts to the interpretation practically given in Tiv Division, then what the Opposition is talking here glibly should be dismissed at once by hon. Members... (*Hear, hear*). Mr Speaker, we have no intention to allow a Tshombe in the form of Mr J. S. Tarka... (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. There is no Tshombe in this hon. House.

Mr Orodi : Mr Speaker, Sir I was only just saying there was an intention of having a Tshombe around us. The point the Opposition has made as far as the inclusion of the so-called Middle Belt State is that there is an agitation there for the state, but if one studies the statistics and facts as far as that proposed state is concerned, one wonders exactly the basis on which such a demand is made. If it is because of ethnic grouping, I take Benue Province for example. Mr Speaker, we have five distinct groups in Benue Province. Of

these, Tiv Division is the largest and I say it without any fear of contradiction that it is only Members of Tiv Division who are on the other Side. I am a Tiv and a qualified Tiv... (*Interruptions*). I would ask that the hon. the Prime Minister should be sterner with the Opposition. After all said and done, people talk glibly of intimidation, people talk of oppression, one has only to turn round to see in the Mid-West area which we are advocating the state of people there. I know of a certain place with a large population where they have only a single hospital with 21 beds which was built with the help of the U.A.C. Mr Speaker, Sir, compare this with Bende Province where we have 5 hospitals, and so many other amenities which cannot be compared with any area within the proposed Mid-West State.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we on our part would like to warn the advocates of the creation of states that if they feel in their own hearts that it is only through violence that a Middle Belt State will be created then the trouble is not ended because definitely we who would be in the minority in that place will reply tit for tat. Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to oppose the amendment. (*Applause*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I should like to remind hon. Members of my suggestion in the morning and of the fact that we have four other Motions on the Order Paper. For this reason I think it is time to put the amendment.

Question put, That the words proposed to be left out be left out.

The House divided.

AYES

Seat No.	Name of Member
140	L. J. Dosunmu
141	W. O. Briggs
142	Chief A. Enahoro
143	Chief O. Awolowo
144	Chief A. Rosiji
145	J. S. Tarka
146	P. E. Ekanem
148	J. A. Assadugu
149	P. U. Umoh
150	A. Akomolafe
151	S. D. Lar
152	M. D. Iyorkar
153	D. D. Dimka
172	Chief O. B. Akin-Olugbade

AYES

Seat No.	Name of Member
174	Chief E. O. Okunowo
175	S. J. Umoren
176	P. B. Olatunde
177	A. F. Odulana
179	S. T. Daka
180	M. A. Ajasin
181	P. O. Akpan
182	A. Adedamola
183	E. O. Akinbowale
184	Chief R. A. Orok
185	Auta Anzah
205	G. K. Dada
206	Chief A. Akerele
207	I. A. Brown
209	J. A. Olaore
210	O. J. Erhinue
211	J. M. Damla
212	J. D. Odebummi
213	S. U. Idiong
215	L. O. Tobun
236	A. A. Ajibola
237	T. I. Etukudo
238	V. T. Shisha
239	Chief P. Dame-Oboh
240	D. S. Udo-Iriyang
242	M. C. K. Obi
243	Shekarau Ka'a Layya
244	J. A. Akinyemi
245	B. A. Ajayi
249	J. O. Taiwo
268	S. A. Oladapo
269	E. J. Ogunkanmi
271	D. Bulus Biliyong
272	D. M. Gbolagunte
274	S. O. Fajinmi
276	D. K. Aihonsu
278	S. O. Ogundipe
Tellers for the Ayes	
	M. A. Omisade
	M. B. Afanideh

NOES

Seat No.	Name of Member
1	E. O. Ifezue
2	Muhammadu Nalade
4	B. A. Adeyemo
5	D. O. Ahamefula
6	I. S. Onwuchekwa
7	S. Nnaji
8	J. C. Chukwu
14	U. U. Eko
15	V. A. Nwalieji
16	J. A. Akor
18	F. I. Okoronkwo
19	Muhammed Ningi
20	Muhammadu Kumo
22	Shettima Ali Monguno
23	Alhaji Zakari Isa
24	Yusufu Ilesha
27	Sarkin Abbas Sanusi
31	Yakubu Allanana
32	Saidu Zango
34	P. I. Ejukwa
35	S. A. Yerokun
36	F. U. Ihe
37	D. N. Oronsaye

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Seat No.	Name of Member
39	Muhammadu Alangade
40	V. E. Eze
41	I. O. Chikelu
42	J. U. Udenyi
43	N. Nwangbo
44	N. E. Elenwa
45	F. C. Ogbalu
47	T. O. Oloyede
48	J. B. Eboigbodi
49	N. Enwo
50	D. D. U. Okay
51	Alhaji Adamu, Sarkin Tafarki
52	Balarabe Tafawa Balewa
53	Zubairu Omar
54	A. A. Ramalan
55	Yarima Saleh
57	Alhaji Kabiru Bayero
58	Alhaji Abubakar Bayero
60	Abubakar A. Ibrahim
62	Usman Turaki
63	Ibrahim Na Maitama
64	Alhaji Mohammed Bello Abduraman
66	U. O. Ekenekot
67	J. K. de Omomadia
68	B. N. Ukegbu
69	J. N. Nwofokoda
70	O. C. Ememe
71	D. E. Y. Aghahowa
72	L. N. Ezeani
73	N. D. Ukah
74	P. N. Muojeke
75	E. A. Motdi
76	Yushau A. B. Mohammed
77	N. N. Onugu
78	C. A. Odigbo
79	F. A. M. Amadi
80	U. O. Ayeni
81	K. Giadom
82	B. O. Ikeh
85	Maina Waziri
86	Rilwanu Abdullahi
87	Umaru Gumel
88	Usman Shehu Kazaure
92	Damale Kaita
93	Iro Mani
94	C. O. Chiedozi
96	J. U. Odey
97	N. A. Ezonbodor
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100	V. Iketuonye
102	J. O. Igwe
103	J. O. Ogunbiyi
104	P. O. Eleke
105	O. O. Nweke
107	Dr P. U. Okeke
108	D. Senu-Oke
109	A. U. D. Mbah
111	D. N. Abii
112	Chief S. J. Mariere
113	H. O. Chuku
114	Dr B. U. Nzeribe
116	G. O. D. Eneh
119	E. C. Akwiwu
120	A. Opia
121	Chief M. W. Ibani
122	Dr K. Ezera
123	A. O. O. Ogunsanya

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164	Ibrahim Ladan Fari
165	Abdullahi, Magajin Musawa
166	Salihu O. Abdul
167	S. A. Oyewole
168	S. A. Abasi
170	Alhaji Baba Danbappa
186	Aminu Yelwa
190	P. O. Tokula
191	Bala Muhammadu Dutsinma
192	Abdu Bauchi
193	Isa Iko
194	Hamidu A. Bayero
195	Muhammadu Bayero
196	Abdusalami Olomoda
197	S. A. Babatunde
198	Ahmadu Angara Doma
200	J. A. Yacim
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227	Ahmadu Babaridi
228	Alhaji Aliyu Mohammadu
229	S. A. Olukotun
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231	Alhaji Muhammadu Kura
233	L. Alhaji Daura
234	Abdulkadir Maidugu, Dan Iyan Hadejia
235	Alhaji Muhammadu Gawayamma
250	Bello Farar Hula Bichi
251	Mohammadu Koro, Madakin Pateg
252	Baba Shehu Ibrahim
253	Abdulkadir Abubakar
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288	Shehu Na Ita Sokoto
289	Muhammadu Janjuna
290	Alhaji Ahmadu Gorzau
	Prime Minister
	Minister of Finance
	Minister of Commerce and Industry
	Minister of Communications
	Minister of Defence
	Minister of Education
	Minister of Establishments
	Minister of Health
	Minister of Information
	Minister of Internal Affairs
	Attorney-General and Minister of Justice
	Minister of Lagos Affairs
	Minister of Mines and Power
	Minister of Transport and Aviation
	Minister of Works and Surveys
	Minister of State, Hon. M. T. Mbu
	Minister of State, Hon. J. C. Obande
	Minister of State, Hon. M. A. O. Olarewaju
	Minister of State; Chief the hon. Omo-Osagie
	U. A. Ahmed
	M. Amechi
	Hamza Gombe
	Alhaji Abdulkadir Abubakar Koguna
	T. A. Lamuye
	S. Lana
	F. U. Mbakogu
	S. F. Nwika
	F. E. Offor
	P. B. K. Okafor
	M. O. Okilo
	E. T. Orodi
	Chief O. Oweh
	Ibrahim Tako
	D. C. Ugwu
	Tellers for the Noes
	Alhaji Bello Dandago
	R. O. A. Akinjide

Main Question put and agreed to.

Mr Speaker : As no voice has been heard in dissent, it will doubtless be the wish of the House that the Resolution be recorded as having been passed *nemine contradicente*. I therefore direct the Clerk to so record.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, 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.

News Section of N.B.C.

M. Ahmadu Fatika (Zaria North-West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not move.

Umuahia-Ibeku-Itu Road

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, "That this House is of the opinion that the natural resources of Bende, Ohafia, Aro-Chuku and Enyong have not been tapped due to lack of good roads, and calls upon the Federal Government to take over and construct forthwith the road from Umuahia-Ibeku through Bende, Ohafia, Aro-Chuku and Atan to Itu in Enyong Division".

In doing so, Mr Speaker, I wish to say that even some N.C.N.C. members of this hon. House on the Government side and who are natives of this area or representatives of the inhabitants of this area have been rendered poor because their farm products, namely, palm produce and cocoa could not be evacuated in time to buying stations. I would also wish to say that the whole of the area set out in the Motion is potentially rich in palm produce and forest products such as timber. The area covers a large part of Umuahia-Ibeku to Oron via Anang and Uyo Provinces, a distance of about 84 miles. From Umuahia-Ibeku station starts this road which is, to put it mildly, one of the worst roads in Eastern Nigeria. It is this road that this Motion seeks to be taken over and constructed forthwith. The Eastern Government has done its bit and could not do more due in part to the fact that this road leads from the majority area to the minority area and in the main due to its already limited financial resources.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it may interest you to know that the total distance of this road from Umuahia-Ibeku to Itu is about sixty-nine miles with about forty wooden bridges such as could not be found in any part of the Federation of Nigeria except in the COR region. The inhabitants of this area are very good farmers and the best traders in the East. At present, the only outlet to the beach where produce is evacuated is either Itu or Umuahia-

Ibeku. This road is not motorable during the rainy season. The road if and when built will serve not only the people or the area already mentioned but will also serve the area of Afikpo and parts of the Cross River.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not want to keep very long. I would like to point out that it is proposed by the Eastern Government to establish a farm settlement in Bende Division. If this Motion is accepted and this road is constructed the farm settlement will not only serve the purpose for which it is intended, but will also encourage other farm settlements within the area, and even in Atan in Enyong Division.

Sir, we are now trying to improve our standard of living. I wonder how a poor man can be enabled to have any improved standard of living without good roads. I would invite you, Sir, at your leisure, to come to that Division. Start from Bende and you will see the difficulties which we are experiencing.

I am not expecting any opposition to this Motion from that Side of the House. It is not a question of playing politics with it. I am putting up this Motion out of my own clear conscience. I did not start from Itu in my Division but I started from Umuahia in another Division altogether—people who are even opposed to me.

Mr Speaker, I would only commend the Motion to the House and in the spirit of oneness of Nigeria, in the spirit of improved standard of living, with particular reference to the people of these areas, I beg to move.

Mr I. A. Brown (Uyo South East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the Motion. As it is, the Motion does not require much talking; it is a simple Motion that requires sympathy from all sides of this House. I want to draw the attention of this House to just a paragraph of the statement made by the Prime Minister of the Federation in this House last week. I beg to quote: "I hope, Sir, that Members from all sides of this House will agree that the Federal Government has been fair and will continue to be fair". As it is, Sir, I beg to say that this Motion is only a test case. If the Federal Government has been fair and will continue to be fair, I do not think there is any Member in this House who will oppose this Motion.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Mr D. N. Abii (Owerri East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise with pleasure to move the Amendment standing in my name. I would like the Mover of this Motion to accept that from line 3 after the word "from" the words should be inserted "Owerri to Umuahia-Ibeku via Mbaise and Udo and from Bende, Ohafia, Arochuku and Atan in Enyong Division".

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a pity that some of the ignorant Members in that corner of the House have only pleasure to go to places where they can deceive people by telling them nonsensical political lies; they do not know where Owerri is and they do not have an idea of the greatness of the area. In moving this Amendment, I have the sympathy of the Mover in my heart and I feel the Federal Government has to examine it and if it finds that it is the policy of the Federal Government that Federal roads should connect one Region to the other or connect Nigeria to other countries, then the road to Itu should get access immediately to the Southern Cameroons. If this is done, the excuse that the Minister may have to refuse it will no longer be there. If the road is taken from where I have said, it will only cost the Federal Government a minimum expenditure. From this place I am suggesting, a place called Ukpogu, the road from Owerri to that place, through Imo River to Udo and through Bende is only 15 to 20 miles. This is only a very short road passing through the thickness of the population of the area and indeed, as the Mover of the Motion has said, it will give access road for the exploitation of the natural wealth of these places.

I sincerely support the Motion and would like the Mover to accept my Amendment. If that is accepted, I am pressing on the Government to make it possible because all the Regions in this country are now crying for help in the question of roads. The Federal Government has got very few roads called Federal Roads. It is, therefore, necessary that an examination be made to take over some roads from the Regional Governments.

Mr Speaker, Sir, this is a Motion that does not need too much speech and I feel that I should stop any say that I urge the Government to accept this Motion and tar the road.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

Dr Kalu Ezera : (Bende East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I take pleasure to support the amendment of this Motion which I think the mover of the Motion will be very happy to accept. I am supporting this amendment, Sir for various reasons. I personally come from Ohafia through which this proposed road passes and I must say Sir, that one of the greatest problems facing our country to-day is what has been called unbalanced social economic development. When we have some areas without good roads and good facilities whose people pay the same amount of tax with other areas whose people enjoy good roads with adequate facilities, I think I must plead that the Federal Government should help, and that the argument of lack of funds should not prevent it from considering the motion.

I must give more example on this very case. On several occasions when travelling from my own town, I have got stranded in my car because of bad road for over two miles. I therefore plead with the Minister of Works, if the Government, has no funds now, to assure us that the Government would look into it in the very near future. I would plead that the Federal Minister of Works look into this and to think very seriously about it; we are part and parcel of this country. The road from Calabar to Annang is very important in the life of our people and the Government should see that some encouragement is given to the people of this area who have contributed in no small measure to the vitality of the country. They should not be left behind. Government should be sympathetic.

With this I support the amendment and hope and trust that the Government would be very very considerate in accepting it.

Amendment proposed.

The Minister of Works and Surveys (Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Inuwa Wada) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion and the amendment for the reasons I will soon give. All hon. Members will agree, Mr Speaker that there is no cause to dwell on this subject for any length of time. In the first place Sir, those of us who have been members of this House for some time will agree with me that this question is a hardy annual. Every year we come Sir, many hon. Members will get up and ask the Federal Government to take over roads from the Regional Governments to convert them to Federal roads.

[MINISTER OF WORKS]

I would like to say that the Federal Government is in full sympathy with hon. Members but we must do it systematically and we must also work upon a plan. Some hon. Members have spoken, it is in fact hon. Ekanem, of the amount of tax paid by people living in these areas. If he has spoken about tax he must also speak about revenue allocation. The various Governments in the country receive their own shares of the revenue of Nigeria. This road, Mr Speaker, is a regional responsibility. It is not a Federal road. I suggest, therefore that what the hon. mover and the hon. amender of the motion are seeking is to convert the road into a Federal trunk A road.

Mr Speaker, some of us will remember some time last year when a statement was made in this House that the Federal Government had accepted responsibility to examine during the next development programme the question of taking over some roads from the Regions. This was discussed at the National Economic Council and it was passed to the Federal Government (*Interruption*). We have been in touch with Regional Governments and we have asked them to submit to us their recommendations as to the roads they want the Federal Government to take over.

Several hon. Members : Very good.

The Minister of Works and Surveys : I think, Sir, that hon. Members will agree that we should not decide for the Regional Governments. What we may consider a very important road the Regional Governments may not consider so. A Regional Government may want us to take over one particular road when we in this House may think that that road is not important. I have opposed the motion because it is cutting across the responsibility of the Regional Governments. We should allow them to submit to us their recommendations and when we draw up our development programme for 1962-67, I am sure some hon. Members will be pleased to see some of the roads they have asked to be converted and taken over by the Federal Government included in the programme. At the moment, Sir, I cannot say which roads are to be taken and which roads are not. This will, to a great extent, depend on how much money is made available to me for the construction of trunk A roads.

Sir, I think the hon. mover and the hon. mover of the amendment should honourably withdraw the motion and the amendment otherwise, I must ask Government supporters to oppose the motion.

Mr Abii : In view of the beautiful language the Minister of Works has used and the assurance given to look into taking over some of the Regional Roads. . . . (*Interruptions*).

Whereupon Mr Speaker put the question whether it was the wish of the House that the amendment be withdrawn.

Amendment by leave withdrawn.

Chief Ayo Rosiji (Egba East) : On a point of order, Mr Speaker, I humbly say that the hon. Member has not made a proposal for the withdrawal of any amendment and therefore there cannot be any ruling on any withdrawal.

Mr Speaker : I think it is in order that he should withdraw the amendment. It is for the Speaker to ask the House whether it is their wish that the amendment should be withdrawn and I have asked the consent of the House and there was no dissentient voice and the amendment is therefore by leave withdrawn.

Mr W. Briggs (Degema) : Point of order, Mr Speaker. The amendment having been accepted by the mover, I think there is nothing for him to withdraw anymore.

Mr Speaker : It is the question that is put and not the acceptance of the amendment.

Original Question put and negatived.

(Mr Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

TRANSFER OF EDUCATION TO EXCLUSIVE
LEGISLATIVE LIST

Mr F. A. M. Amadi (Nsukka Central) : Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg leave to move the motion standing in my name, that this House considers that the pursuance of divergent educational policies and systems by the various governments of one nation is undesirable, and calls for a review of the Constitution in order that Education may be put on the Exclusive Legislative List.

Mr Speaker, I do not propose to make a long speech on this self-explanatory motion. I only want to say that I realise that this motion involves perhaps some amount of work. It

involves, I dare say, a review of the constitution. But I think that the constitution for any country is intended for the welfare and happiness of the people who have in a democratic society surrendered their well being to the Government. That being so, I think that the Government should take the interests and welfare and happiness of those people into consideration in pursuing certain policies and systems, and I say, Sir, that the present policy and system of education in this country does not make for the happiness of all the citizens. The man in the street is certainly worried about the fact that a boy in a school in the Western Region when he goes to the Eastern Region does not find his feet, a boy in the Eastern Region when he goes to the North does not know where he stands. That is simply because each of the Regions pursues a different system of education.

Also, Sir, I think that in a young country like Nigeria we should consider financial implications in pursuing policies of some sort. It is common knowledge that in each of the Regions a greater *per centage* of the revenue is voted for education. These sums we find are spent on personal emoluments as well as other things and at the very top we have Advisers, Inspectors and all sorts of people in what they call the higher segments and various groups. If Education is centralised, instead of having four Advisers on Education we will probably do with one and one Deputy and that will save a lot of money which will be used to improve the standard of education in the country.

If I may perhaps refer to the amendment, Sir, I would like to say that the fact that the Minister of Education suggests that in the national interest continual consultation and co-operation between the Governments are essential, then it follows that progress and stability are needed. It also follows that there is the need for unification, otherwise there should be no need for this continual co-operation and consultation. All I am suggesting is that we should take one more step and have the whole thing centralised.

Also, Sir, I would like to suggest that the fact that in the Western Region of the country primary school education takes six years followed by a period of what is called secondary-modern education which is really not secondary or modern, and in the East there is a plan to reduce the primary school course to seven

years and in the North it is totally different from both the East and the West. I think it is desirable to have a common standard of education in this country not only in the primary schools but even in the teacher training colleges. After all, if we are building up one nation and this nation is to be built by teachers then the teachers should be able to move from one Region to the other and this can be possible only if there is a common standard of certification for teachers. Otherwise a teacher of a certain grade in one Region going into another Region will not find his feet and I think it is something very desirable in the interest of education that teachers should be able to move from one Region to the other. . . . (Hear; hear).

Mr Speaker, Sir, as I said before, I do not want to make a long speech on this issue but I hope that the Government will reconsider its stand and accept this motion in the terms in which it is put in the interest of this country.

Sir, I beg to move.

Mr I. S. Onwuchekwa (Ahoada Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second this motion. It cannot be gainsaid, Sir, that education plays a very vital role in the progress of any nation. In fact, our progress so far towards nationhood has been made possible because of education.

For instance, Sir, we are not at all in anyway better than our brothers in South Africa who are still made hewers of wood and drawers of water. We are not wealthier nor are we more powerful, but we are better educated, and that is why we are able to sound the death knell to imperialism. So, Sir, if education is so vital, the kind of education that the future generation receives must be seriously looked into. But, Sir, what is worth doing at all is worth doing well. We all preach the unity of this Federation, and rightly so. The present regionalisation of education can only help to sow the seed of disunity.

For instance, Sir, the method of administration must be the same but at present what is happening is that you have different methods and different systems for the East, for the West and for the North. And what is more we want the curriculum to change and if it is pursued it will only lead to disunity. I know, Sir, that some may quote the existence of, say, the University of Nigeria in Nsukka and the proposed University of Ife in the West and

[MR ONWUKHEKWA]
also the proposed University in the North that some progress is being made by the regionalisation of education. We may understand this to be a healthy competition but, Sir, it is an ill wind that does nobody good.

Again, Sir, I know some may argue that the cost will be very unbearable for the Federal Government but I think that if resources are pooled together the Federal Government may be able to co-ordinate everything. Also, Sir, we should consider the teachers—this set of workers will like uniformity in the conditions of their service throughout the whole Federation.

While I talk of teachers, I am happy to say that three quarters of the members in this House are teachers and also in the Regional Legislatures—this must be looked into. When we are building a nation we must build on a sure foundation and a solid one too. Sir, I would like the Government to reconsider its stand on this Motion and accept it and see that something is done to centralise education for the benefit of our future generation.

Sir, I beg to second the Motion.

Question proposed.

The Minister of Education (Hon. Aja Nwachuku): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to propose the following amendment—Line 2, leave out from “that” to end, and add “in the national interest continual consultation and co-operation between the four Governments are essential in the discharge of their constitutional responsibilities for education, and calls on the Federal Government to continue to promote them by all suitable means”.

I wish to make it clear that I am in sympathy with a great deal of what has been said by the hon. Member who has moved the Motion and the hon. Member who has seconded it. Certainly the Federal Government is deeply interested in the development of education all over Nigeria. For, as the child is father of the man, so education is the mother of the nation. It is certainly very important that the goal of national unity should not be lost sight of by those to whom we entrust our children for schooling.

I also agree that there are advantages in uniformity and central control over educational matters; but there are also advantages in having local initiative, whereby the various Regions can adapt their policies to their own

needs in the light of local public opinion. It is these latter considerations which were in view when our Federal constitution was first devised, so that education, other than higher education became mainly a residual subject; that is to say, outside the Federal territory of Lagos, it is the responsibility of Regional Governments.

As for higher education, this is a concurrent subject and both Regional Governments and the Federal Government may legislate, while the Federal Government alone may legislate in regard to University College, Ibadan, for instance, among other Federal institutions of higher learning. This seems a very suitable arrangement because universities and similar institutions should draw their students from over wide areas, unlike primary and secondary schools which normally serve quite a restricted area.

The division of constitutional responsibility for education has remained almost exactly the same for over six years, despite successive constitutional reviews; and it has been reaffirmed as recently as last year, when, with Independence, our present constitution came into effect. It may therefore be taken that it meets with general approval. I can also safely predict that Regional legislation would not support the placing of Education on the Exclusive Federal List. The Motion is therefore politically unacceptable, even if it were desirable on educational grounds.

In proposing my amendment, I wish to emphasise that I entirely agree that there should be a co-ordinated attack by all four Governments on ignorance and illiteracy. It has always been my policy to ensure as high a degree of conformity as possible, between the policies pursued by the four Ministries of Education. This has been achieved through consultation, with frequent meetings to discuss problems at all levels, between Ministers of Education, between our Permanent Secretaries and between our professional educationists.

A very notable degree indeed of co-ordination has been achieved by the Joint Consultative Committee on Education which meets under the chairmanship of my Chief Federal Adviser on Education, and by its three reference committees. Similarly, the Federal Educational Advisory Service performs most useful work at the request of the Regional Ministries, particularly in inspecting schools and colleges.

Just recently there has been especially close co-operation between the four Ministries of Education in examining and working out development plans based on the Ashby Commission's Report. On this I shall be reporting to the House later during this meeting. This co-operation will continue in carrying out our plans for educational development. I assure the House most strongly that I am fully aware of the need for working very closely with my Regional colleagues and I shall continue to promote this very necessary consultation and co-operation between the four Ministries.

According to the allegations made by the seceder about the diversity of qualifications in the Federation, I can say this much, Mr Speaker, that qualified teachers from any Regional Government who come to Lagos are never discriminated against and they are all based on the same line as those who have their educational qualifications on the Federal level.

An hon. Member : What of the Western Region.

The Minister of Education : That is what I am saying. I have never heard of a case where a teacher from either the Eastern Region, Western Region or Northern Region is not employed in Lagos simply because he obtained his certificate from any of these Regions. If it is the same qualification recognised in the country that he has, and such qualification obtained in the Region, it will be acceptable to us provided the man is qualified. If members will only take time to read their Constitutional Order in Council some of the points they are making will not be raised, because most of them are regional responsibilities. The decentralisation of education is not my own making; it has long been in force and will so continue to be.

Sir, I beg to move the amendment.

Amendment proposed.

Mr V. Iketuonye (Onitsha South): Mr Speaker Sir, I am of the opinion that what we want at this stage is a strong machinery for consultation between the Regional Governments. To put education on the Exclusive List would amount to retracing our steps in the federal system of government which has already proved very good. To suggest to remove education from the list of the regional functions would amount to destroying the machinery

by which the regional governments can impart and inculcate into the children whatever may be the principles of those governments.

Federalism implies and connotes a treaty between the separate states and the central government and each in a way is a state. Every state has its own apparatus of culture and it is its duty to impart upon the children its principles. If, therefore, we try to put education in the Exclusive List it would mean that the regions can no longer have any means of controlling their citizens. I do agree that there are certain aspects of our educational system which, through consultations, we can remove. If by consultation between the Federal Minister and the Regional Ministers we are able to establish a system of certification an advance shall have been made. If by consultation between the various governments we are able to make it possible for a civil servant who is leaving a town like Enugu or Ibadan for Lagos to find it easy for his children to gain admission in the schools within the Federal territory a very good service would be rendered in the cause of education.

Sir, I think that the Federal Government has much to do in the field of education, especially now that the Ashby Report is out. The Federal Government will have to leave to the Regional Governments the development of a new educational system which would meet the challenge of Independence.

Sir, with these few remarks I beg to second the Amendment.

Mr L. J. Dosunmu (Lagos Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Amendment proposed by the Minister. I would like to adopt substantially the argument of my friend, Mr Iketuonye. Sir, the point has been rightly made by my friend that we have adopted a federal constitution and only a few minutes ago, this House did adopt a step that leads towards an ideal federal state. Certainly, if the Motion of Mr Amadi is accepted it is a very short step towards obliterating what we have been doing all these past years.

There are some Members who still harbour in their minds a desire for a unitary constitution and it is with this in their minds that they bring up such motions. To-day, we hear them say that they want judiciary to be unified; tomorrow they want agriculture to be put on

[Mr L. J. DOSUNMU]

the Federal List; the day after they want industry to be put on the Exclusive list and now they want education to be transferred to the Federal List.

Sir, what substantial argument has been advanced by Mr Amadi in support of the substantive Motion? He says that a pupil in the Western Region has to undergo a six-year primary course whereas in the Eastern Region it is seven years and in the Federal Territory it is eight years. What will all these lead to? At the end, all of them sit for the West African School Certificate Examination and they all pass equally well.

I commend the speech of Mr Iketuonye that whatever failings we have discovered in the present policies they can rightly be remedied by the arrangements which the hon. Minister has ably stated in this House. I therefore support the Amendment whole heartedly and ask all sections of the House to reject in its entirety the Motion of Mr Amadi.

Mr F. A. M. Amadi (Nsukka Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, in view of the explanation made by the Minister and the fact that it reflects the good policies of the Government, I rise to withdraw the motion.

Question, That the words proposed to be left out be left out, put accordingly and agreed to.

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

Main Question, as amended, put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House considers in the national interest continual consultation and co-operation between the four Governments are essential in the discharge of their constitutional responsibilities for education, and calls on the Federal Government to continue to promote them by all suitable means.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FEDERAL SPORTS COMMISSION

Mr F. C. Ogbalu (Awka North): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name in the Order Paper, That this House calls upon the Government to establish a Federal Sports Commission to raise and enliven sporting activities in the Federation.

Sir, I have seen an indication that an Amendment to my Motion is proposed and in anticipation I accept the Amendment because it is almost in the same vein and with the same intention as the original Motion.

Sporting activity is a very important asset of the life of a nation. Right from the time of antiquity we hear about sporting activities. It is, therefore, needless referring this hon. House to the sporting activities during the time of the Greeks; and even the Olympic Games which to-day have gained world-wide recognition had their origin from the time of the Greeks. Well, in this country, I quite realise that the Governments of the Federation are doing their best in order to have sporting activities well organised. In the Eastern Region the Regional Government has set up a Sporting Commission and that Commission has been doing a very valuable work in trying to sponsor and cater for sporting activities. The same thing is perhaps happening in the other Regions of the Federation.

I am quite aware of the fact that many other agencies have been contributing their quota towards improving sporting activities, notably the schools, clubs and associations of various kinds. But I am trying to make a point that sports being very important in our national life the Federal Government should step in and have it as its responsibility to make further contributions more positive and more all-embracing throughout the length and breadth of the whole Federation. I am also quite aware of the fact that the Federal Government had granted large sums of money in the past in order to help sporting activities in various ways and have helped in sending our boys overseas to compete with international geniuses in order to bring fame and good name to Nigeria. But I want to say that there still remains room for improvement. I am quite aware of the fact that many of our boys who have gone overseas to compete have also brought imperishable fame for this country. I cannot forget to mention the important names like Hogan Bassey and Dick Tiger and many others who have demonstrated the ability, and the energy of the negro race to participate in world affairs.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have to mention that it is very important that a national sports council be created in order to co-ordinate the activities of both the Regional and the Federal Government and also the activities of the various youth clubs and various associations and various other bodies which are encouraging sporting activities in this great country. If the Federal Government can only establish a federal sports commission or a national sports council, if this is the best name to be applied, I dare

say that Nigeria will this way be catapulted to the highest pinnacle of glory in the world of sports.

In the past, Sir, we have suffered some defeats in our football and some other activities not because our boys have not the energy or have not the will or the willingness to act their part but because there was no co-ordinating factor, there was no federal sort of push in order to co-ordinate and gear them to real national determination. I dare say that with the creation of a federal sports commission or a national sports council our boys will be greatly encouraged. It will be the duty of this council to see to it that the best boys are sent to represent Nigeria. It will also be the duty of this council to make sure that various geniuses in the Regions, wherever they are found, may be brought together to build up a cohesive and real powerful team to face outside competitors.

But as it stands to-day we have sometimes to worry ourselves about how many people will come from the North, or how many people will come from the East and the West and we often find some elements which are really prejudicial to our success coming into play. But with the creation of a national sports commission it will be possible to obliterate these forces and make it possible for Nigeria to present a united front against outside competitors. Moreover, Sir, it will help to encourage sporting activities in our schools, in our colleges, and other institutions, and when these bodies know that the Federal Government is really interested and is taking a drastic stand in encouraging sports, they will gear themselves up and make themselves more effective in their sporting activities.

Sir, I want to make further clarification that it is not my intention or the intention of this Motion to make sporting activities an exclusive federal subject. No. It is merely to create, as we have seen, a co-ordinating body just as we have the National Economic Council, and some other bodies, which co-ordinate the activities of the various Regions. In the same sense, Sir, I wish that a national sports commission or council be created in order to help to co-ordinate the activities of various Governments. So, Mr Speaker, I wish to make a further point and that is this, that it will be to the interest of the Federation if the Federal Government increases its help and its

grant to sporting bodies and help our boys to participate in almost all aspects of sports, whether tennis tournaments, hockey matches, and so on. It is very important because sporting helps to give publicity to a nation and a young country like Nigeria needs a great deal of publicity in the outside world.

There are some people who are still very ignorant of the position of Nigeria on the map. They cannot identify the point where this great country is situated. But with our boys going abroad to compete in, say, Germany or to Russia or to China they will be able to show the other peoples of the world that a great country, Nigeria, exists in West Africa. So any amount of money which is spent in trying to help to promote sporting activities in this country will certainly bear a great dividend and the country will be benefited not only by making herself felt abroad but it will also encourage a healthy population. And this will only come through the encouragement given by the Federal Government and also the Regional Governments and other bodies.

Sir, I beg to move.

Mr N. D. Ukah (Owerri North-East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second the Motion as amended. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, Is Mr Ukah unaware of the state of proceedings?

Mr Ukah: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am just drawing inference from some part of the hon. Member's speech where he said that the amendment is in line with the original Motion.

Mr Speaker: Order. The opportunity is for a seconder and the Speaker was under the impression that Mr Mbah was a cautious seconder. In that instance, may I call on Mr Chiedozie to second the Motion.

Mr C. Chiedozie (Enugu): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the Motion. There is no doubt, Sir, that sporting activity is necessary for the development of vitality and health of our people. It is often said that a sound body makes a sound mind. This is an accepted adage and it is an accepted principle that if you take away sports in a country then the people are not alive. The only way to awaken enthusiasm as a matter of competition and help the people is to encourage them to take to sports.

[MR C. CHIEDOZIE]

In this country, Sir, the Regions have no adequate financial resources for developing sports to maximum and therefore the Federal Government which has the capital, the money, is now in a position to establish a national sports commission. The Federal Government will do the following: encourage sports competition on international basis among colleges and athletic clubs and create sports facilities adequate to accommodate international games in Nigeria. Nigeria can plan and make it possible for Olympic Games to take place in this country. It is big enough and she speaks to the outside world in a giant manner. In the field of sports we want Nigeria to shine also in a giant manner. (*Hear, hear*).

The sports commission can provide facilities for training Nigerian full-time internationals in football, in boxing, in athletics, and so on. We are tired of having amateurs. We want the Government to encourage professional athletes; people who will live by sports and die by sports. We can draw instances from the outside world. You can see the United States of America, Russia and many other parts of the world projecting their personality in the field of sports. It is not enough, therefore, for Nigeria to project itself in the field of politics alone. With the establishment of sports commission, and our boys shinning in the field of sports, and winning other geniuses from the other parts of the world these foreign countries will be surprised. Besides sports there is scarcely any other way apart from seeing the behaviour of the people, through which a country can be famous overseas.

We can do everything but why do we lag behind in the field of sports? Our country has not been doing particularly well. However, I have to give my thanks to the Federal Government for progress so far achieved but I am praying that they should do more in the field of sports.

In fact, Sir, many sportsmen and school masters meet us to say that if the Government can just vote money—vote adequate money—Nigeria can surprise the world in the field of sports. Therefore, Sir, before sitting down I wish to conclude that Guinea a country nearby is surprising Europe to-day in the field of traditional dances and I think that Nigeria has

got an opportunity to surprise the world in the field of sports.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour (Chief O. Oweh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name namely, line 1, leave out from "the" to end and add—"Federal Government to examine, in consultation with the Regional Governments, the desirability of establishing a National Sports Council for the promotion of sports in the Federation of Nigeria."

At the outset, I would like to make it clear that the Government is not opposed generally to the terms of the Motion tabled by Mr Ogbalu but in view of the fact that this Government has already initiated action with the Regional Governments to hold discussions on this matter, it would not be proper to prejudice their outcome.

In carrying out the proposed examination, I would like to impress on hon. Members that the Government has no intention of interfering with the internal self-government of the various sporting associations or in any way frustrating their development on the lines they wish.

Hon. Members are well aware of the great service rendered to our sporting life by Nigerian and expatriate men and women who offer their services to the betterment of sport voluntarily. The essence of our sporting life lies in this voluntary work undertaken by a whole host of dedicated men and women who work for no reward other than the solid achievements seen year by year in the performances of our sportsmen and women and the resulting pride which we all share in our national prestige. The Federal Government wishes to nourish and sustain them in their work.

The Government has always turned to the Nigeria Olympic, British Empire and Commonwealth Games Association as the principal co-ordinating body representative of national sports. I would not like this opportunity to pass without paying a tribute to the work they have done under the distinguished chairmanship of the Chief Justice of the Federation, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola.

The Federal Government in their discussions with the Regional Governments will seek their views on the need to ensure that all sectors of the community and all age groups are given the opportunity to develop and enjoy their sports and recreation. The Government will work towards the development of greater facilities for sports and a closer co-ordination of financial effort in order that the greatest good can be done to the greatest number.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as you have heard, the Government is in sympathy with the Member who moved the Motion but in order to allow our discussions to proceed unfettered by a decision which might circumscribe them, I ask the hon. House to accept my Amendment.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Establishment and Service Matters (Alhaji the hon. Shehu Shagari): I beg to second.

Amendment proposed.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): Mr Speaker, Sir, I like to accept the Motion as amended on behalf of this side of the House. Nigeria has already been projected by the activities of our boys at home and abroad. In any case having heard the explanation of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour, it is apparent here that consultation has been going on between Federal Government and the Regional Governments. We on this side of the House agree that if care is not taken we may impede the consultation which is now going on. With this, Sir, I wish to support the amendment on behalf of my Party on this side of the House.

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment so ably moved by my hon. Friend, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour, Chief Owhe. I think that the establishment of a Sports Commission has long been overdue. Up till this present moment this country has much needed a Sports Commission. In view of the urgency of the matter I would implore Government to speed up such consultation with the Regional Sports Commissions or Regional Governments. It is not enough Mr Speaker, Sir, for a nation to go

to work or earn a living and go back and sleep and wake up and go to work again. A nation that does not sing or does not play should not get a living at all.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we have been much hurt by victory in sports by Ghana many a time. This country facing Ghana in Football were defeated. Last two weeks, we have been beaten in Cricket in Ghana, now they have called it a business. Ghana Government make it a duty to encourage Sport on the professional level. We send our amateurs to face their professionals in football and tennis and in cricket. We are defeated and our boys come back with shame. Mr Speaker, Sir, there is nothing that helps to popularize a nation than Sports and music. Much has been done by our boxers overseas and our own Hogan King Bassey has done much to place Nigeria on the map. With due deference to my hon. Friend Ekanem, Hogan Bassey is a Nigerian.

Mr Speaker, Sir, before I resume my seat, I would earnestly implore Government again to speed up this consultation and give this country a favourable Sports Commission so that our Sports and sporting events will be so organised as to meet the challenge of other nations in sports. I beg to support the amendment.

Amendment put and agreed to.

Main Question, as amended, put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House calls upon the Federal Government to examine, in consultation with the Regional Governments, the desirability of establishing a National Sports Council for the promotion of Sports in the Federation of Nigeria.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn—(The Minister of Works and Surveys).

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved: That this House do now adjourn,

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-five minutes past five o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Wednesday, 5th April, 1961

The House met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

*O.38. Mr D. Senu-Oke asked the Minister of Economic Development, what steps have been taken to increase the production of cassava, yam, maize, beans, coconuts, rice, potatoes and onions.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Economic Development : One of the main functions of the Department of Agricultural Research is to undertake experiments in breeding programmes which will provide high yielding varieties of the food crops of this country, leaving the Regional Government to translate the results of research into practice. Experiments so far conducted show that corn yield in wetter parts can be raised from 450 lbs. to 1,000 lbs. per acre and in drier parts from 1,200 lbs. to 2,000 lbs. per acre. Cassava yield can be raised from 6 to 11 tons per acre in the local farms and experiments on yams follow the same trends as for cassava. The yield of rice can be raised from 15 to 18 cwts. to 18 to 25 cwts. per acre. Further investigations have been extended to coconuts, potatoes, onions and beans.

Shettima Ali Monguno : What is the increase in the production of wheat and guinea corn ?

ESTABLISHMENTS

*O.10. Mr P. E. Ekanem asked the Minister of Establishments, how many pensionable officers have retired from the service of the Federal Government between 1959 and 1960 ; how many of them are expatriates and how many are Nigerians ; how many in each group have been paid their pensions and gratuities ; and how many have not been paid.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Establishments : There is no central register showing the names of all retired officers to whom pensions are in payment and for this reason it has only been possible to obtain approximate figures in the

time available. Approximately 170 Nigerian officers retired from the Federal Public Service in 1959 and 150 during 1960. The numbers of expatriate officers for the same periods are approximately 40 and 125. There is no reason to suppose that any officer who retired in 1959 has not received payment of his retiring benefits. A small percentage of both Nigerian and expatriate officers who retired in 1960 have not yet received their benefits or are in receipt of provisional awards pending final agreement of calculations. The figures given refer only to officers retiring from the Federal Public Service and take no account of officers retiring from the Regional Services a proportion of whose pensions is payable from Federal Funds.

Mr A. F. Odulana : I would like to ask the Minister of Establishments if he knows the general atmosphere prevailing in every nook and corner of this country as far as payment of gratuities is concerned. What I am saying is why is it that they are not paid their money ? Does it mean that the Minister of Establishments does not get loans from the Minister of Finance ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Establishments : This is a new Question but in any case the atmosphere is that prevailing in the Island Club where he goes.

COMMUNICATIONS

Automatic Telephone for Zaria

*O.11. M. Saidu Zango asked the Minister of Communications when Zaria will be provided with an automatic telephone exchange.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : The Zaria Automatic Telephone Exchange is scheduled to be ready for service by July 1961.

Ibiono Postal Agency

*O.13. Mr P. E. Ekanem asked the Minister of Communications, if he will consider converting Ibiono Postal Agency into a sub-post office in view of postal transactions carried out in this station.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : No, Sir. The business transacted in the Ibiono Postal Agency during the years 1958, 1959 and 1960,

amounted to 6,607, 7,457 and 7,568 units respectively, which are below the annual minimum of 24,000 units stipulated in Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1957 as the level qualifying a postal agency for conversion to Sub-Post Office status. The up-grading of the Ibiono Postal Agency cannot therefore be justified at present.

Postal Agency at Afua

***O.14. Mr P. E. Ekanem** asked the Minister of Communications if he will consider the advisability of establishing a Postal Agency at Afua in Enyong Division.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : No application has so far been received for the establishment of a Postal Agency at Afua in Enyong Division. A formal application should be made to the Posts and Telegraphs Territorial Controller, Enugu, and, provided that the necessary conditions prescribed in paragraph 10 of Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1957 are met, approval will be given for the Agency to be established.

Post Office at Nassarawa-Eggon

***O.15. M. Yakubu Allanana** asked the Minister of Communications when a post office will be provided at Nassarawa-Eggon to replace the present postal agency.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : The up-grading of the Postal Agency at Nassarawa-Eggon is not considered justifiable at this stage. This Agency was first opened in June 1959 and the business transacted during 1960, amounting to 3,471 units, was far below the 24,000 units required for the conversion of a Postal Agency to a Sub-Post Office, and the 40,000 units required for conversion to a full Post Office, as laid down in Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1957.

Sub-Post Office in Gbongan

***O.39. Mr E. J. Ogunkanmi** asked the Minister of Communications when he will build a sub-post office in Gbongan; and whether there are any proposals to introduce savings bank facilities in Odeomu Postal Agency during this financial year.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : Arrangements are already being made for up-grading

the Gbongan Postal Agency and, as soon as suitable accommodation is provided, Sub-Post Office facilities will be established.

An application for the introduction of Post Office Savings Bank facilities at Odeomu Postal Agency was received on the 10th of March, 1961. The necessary enquiries are being made and, provided that the Agency fulfils the conditions prescribed in paragraph 11 of Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1957, Savings Bank facilities will be introduced as soon as possible.

Post Office at Ajegunle

***O.40. Mr D. Senu-Oke** asked the Minister of Communications when he will build a post office at Ajegunle in Araromi District Council area in Badagry Division, in view of the vast increase in the population of that area.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : The postal needs of Ajegunle are at present served by two Postal Agencies, Ajegunle (Apapa) and Ajegunle (Otta). The amount of business currently transacted at these two offices is 23,000 and 5,000 units respectively. Neither agency is yet transacting sufficient business to warrant upgrading either to Sub-Post Office or full Post Office status for which the minimum requirements specified in Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1957 are 24,000 and 40,000 units, respectively.

However, since Ajegunle (Apapa) is approaching the 24,000 units level, the establishment of a Sub-Post Office there will be examined in the not too distant future.

Printing of Nigerian Postage Stamps

***O.55. Mr D. Senu-Oke** asked the Minister of Communications, how much it has cost the Government to print Nigerian postage stamps of various denominations in the United Kingdom from 1st October, 1960 to 28th February, 1961; why those stamps are not printed in Nigeria; and what is the net profit to Government from the sale of stamps printed during the period.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : The cost of producing and delivering Nigerian Postage Stamps of various denominations between 1st October, 1960, and the 28th February, 1961, was £13,323.

Production of Postage Stamps must be carried out under conditions of rigid security and the capital cost of achieving this end can only be justified by large scale production.

Proposals for the establishment of a security printing organisation in Nigeria were carefully examined in 1958 and the financial considerations assessed by a highly reputable independent financial organisation. The conclusion reached at the time was that the scale of production required to meet Nigeria's needs in this field was inadequate to render the project economical. The matter will be raised by this Ministry with other interested parties in the near future.

The sale of all the stamps produced between the 1st October, 1960 and the 28th February, 1961, will realise a gross sum of £1,725,153 over a period of about fifteen months. The net profit to the Government will be £1,711,830 less the cost of postal services, which cannot be calculated until the date is known on which the supply of the stamps in question is exhausted.

Mr V. E. Eze (Orlu North East): I would like to know from the Government why the images of our leaders have not been engraved on our postage stamps after Independence.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SPEECH

(MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS):

(Adjourned Debate on Question (30th March)).

Main Question again proposed. That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency, the Governor-General, as follows:—

“Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the House of Representatives of the Federation of Nigeria, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the speech which Your Excellency has been pleased to address to both Houses of Parliament.”

Mr E. C. Akwivu (Orlu South East): Mr Speaker, Sir, when we last adjourned I was saying that in the course of our relationship with other countries and particularly African countries and in more particular those in our

neighbourhood we in this country have got to practise a very generous type of good neighbourliness. But the most important thing is that, in my humble view, it is not only, and it is not enough that we should practise good neighbourliness but I think when we do that it will be more in keeping with the prestige of this country if we make sure that there is some degree of reciprocity in the matter.

Sir, it is common knowledge that our broadcasting systems in this country, both the National and the Regional ones, do nothing but playing mostly foreign records and particularly those of our neighbouring African countries. Well, there may be nothing wrong in that but it is a matter for which we ought to expect and demand reciprocity. If our Minister of Information does not mind our radio doing nothing but playing foreign African records, what steps has he taken to ensure that our neighbouring countries are accommodating our own music in the same way?

Again, Sir, we have a flood of records from our neighbouring African countries being sold in this country. These records include those specifically marked “not to be sold in the country of origin”. Has our Minister of Commerce and Industry made sure or satisfied himself that our own commodities of that type are being granted the same accommodation in such countries? Has our Minister of Internal Affairs satisfied himself that the purpose or the reason why those records or goods are prohibited from their country of origin is such that does credit to our reputation and prestige, that they should be dumped here and openly used and circulated?

Again, Sir, there are cases of people of Nigerian parentage born and bred and educated in some of our neighbouring countries who are denied scholarship even when awarded merely because they fail to renounce Nigerian citizenship. Is it not the case that there are some people under Nigerian Government who are under the same circumstances? I feel that we ought to demand reciprocity from those we accommodate and from those we show general acts of good neighbourliness.

Mr Speaker, Sir, His Excellency also said at page 6 of his Address that his Ministers believe that political independence will have

no meaning unless it is firmly based on a vigorous expanding economy which will ensure a steadily rising living standard for all our people. That is very sound indeed, and I would go further to say that now that we have won our political independence, the next thing that confronts the Government and people of this country is control over our economy. I feel that, no matter what brand of economy anybody professes in this country, the sooner we launch out in very vigorous terms and in a big way the better for the economy of this country.

After all, we cannot forget that part of the root causes of the problem in the Congo to-day is that the economy of the Congo is difficult to divorce from foreign interests, and those interests, in a bitter endeavour to safeguard their own economic interests, are contributing in no small measure to the confusion now going on in that country. I do feel, Sir, that we ought to start tackling our economic problems in a big and determined way.

If I may quote some general examples. I feel that in the manufacturing industries now being established in this country, as much as possible the retailing and distribution should be kept to Nigerians. It is not enough to talk of aid to African businessmen in terms of loans. Loans can be easily abused, but I think it is much more important to create opportunities for people to acquire and accumulate capital with which to enter into industry.

I do feel that, in most of those industries, in which the Government do take part in investing capital, they should see to it, either now or in the immediate future, that Nigerians participate actively in the retail and distribution of the manufactured products. I think we ought to warn ourselves against the popular *cliché* adopted by some interested parties, namely this: when you put forward a Nigerian to deal in distribution of goods the first answer you get is that he has not got enough capital; if there is any Nigerian who is in a position to command some capital, then he has not the organisation; if he has the organisation and the capital, he has not the experience. We saw quite a lot of that in the colonial days with regard to administrative issues. I feel that this is a matter in which we ought to give a very bold encouragement to indigenous enterprisers.

Again, Sir, there is the question of land. During the visit of the Federation of British Industries, one question they asked over and over again was whether they were going to find it easy to get land.

An hon. Member : Extend Lagos.

Mr Akwivu : Mr Speaker, Sir, if we start giving away our land as readily as people ask for it, then before very long our people will have nothing to contribute in industrial ventures in this country. In many cases, the capital which the indigenous man has to contribute is the plot of land over which he has title. But if the foreigners are going to have land easily at their beck and call, then we will have nothing to contribute and we will be living in the air before very long. I do feel that it should be the responsibility of the Federal Government to consult with the Regional Governments and see if they can work out a common line of action on the question of allocation of land to alien enterprisers.

His Excellency touched on the question of internal security. I would not belabour this point, but I would like to ask whether we are now satisfied as to the efficiency and independence of our intelligence service? Are we in any way dependent upon the influence, direction or control of non-Nigerians in this matter? I will leave the question at that.

I remember that last year I had the opportunity of raising this question on the Floor of this House and the Prime Minister in his answer said that if we were to know all that was happening about our intelligence service, then it would cease to be an intelligence service. We shall not press to know everything that is happening, but if we can be assured that things are progressing satisfactorily, then we shall leave the rest in the hands and confidence of the Government.

There was also a statement about modernising our transport system. Here again I would not go into detail, but I would ask whether this proposal includes an investigation into what can be said to be our chaotic and unsatisfactory road transport system? Is anything going to be done to ensure that reasonable returns are derived by those who invest capital in our road transport system? Will something be done to ensure that the workers employed in our road transport industry enjoy a reasonably good standard of living and also that the public being served get value for their money?

[MR AKWIWU]

Then I turn to the vexed question of our Merchant Navy. Are we to expect a more and truly indigenous Merchant Navy? Is there any possibility of our getting out of what one might describe as the existing embarrassing combination? In this regard, Sir, I must say that the announcement about the immediate intention of nationalising the Nigerian Air Lines is a very welcome one, and we do hope that that example will be followed before very long in the Shipping Line. (*Hear, hear*).

The Speech from the Throne promises some reforms in the Posts and Telegraphs services. Now, Sir, may I draw the attention of the House to the still existing unsatisfactory posts and telecommunications services in Divisional Headquarters. If I may draw a particular example, the case of Orlu is still a very crying need. It more than pays its way and it has a capacity for 50 lines out of which only 20 are now being used. We do seriously press that the Minister of Communications, who has so far shown himself as a man of dynamism and understanding, should do something on those lines.

Further, the automatic trunk telephone has proved very satisfactory between Lagos and Ibadan, and I think that Port Harcourt is very much in need of an automatic trunk telephone. The Prime Minister and his Colleagues in the Cabinet will no doubt agree that Port Harcourt is every day assuming a more and more important commercial and economic position in this country. I think it is very important, it is very necessary, and it is very urgent that an automatic trunk telephone system should be established between Port Harcourt and Lagos and between Port Harcourt and Enugu and, I think also, between Port Harcourt and Kano. This is a very important business centre and should be linked without any further delay by automatic trunk telephones.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Speech from the Throne made reference to survey of mineral resources taking place before the end of the next five-year Economic Programme. If I may say, Sir, that promise sounds rather very remote and we do hope that the Government would be able to take up this matter because if we were to wait till the end of the next

Economic Programme we would be going on to 1970 or 1972, in which case I think it might prove too remote; after all, events in this country move terribly fast.

Sir, I think I have spoken at length. I would not like to take up all the time available to other Members but I would like, in conclusion and finally, to say, Sir, that whatever the observations one might have made one is very satisfied with the programme of work put forward by the Government, and we do hope that we will strive to overcome whatever might be the obstacles and limitations that might make it impossible for the objectives to be achieved, and I am sure that this Government will continue to carry the international respect, recognition and reputation it has earned both for itself and this country, to the end that we shall all be happy citizens of a free Nigeria in a progressive Africa.

Chief A. Enahoro (Ishan East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to associate myself with the congratulations which have been showered on His Excellency on being the first Nigerian to perform the duties which he performed here last week in this House. I believe, Sir, that hon. Members here are aware that the attitude of the Opposition towards His Excellency is that he is now outside politics and that from this Side, both in this House and outside it, we will do nothing, Sir, or say anything to detract from the respect to which he is entitled as the Governor-General of this country (*Hear, hear*). And for that reason, notwithstanding what I regard as the provocations of some hon. Members, we do not intend to take them up on the issues which they have raised in connection with His Excellency.

I believe, Sir, that it is common ground in this House that what is important to our people is not so much what is contained in the Speech from the Throne but what happens in the country. It is the easiest thing in this world to write a beautiful speech; what happens after the speech? Nothing. We can come here, Sir, and pat ourselves on the back; "Oh, what a wonderful speech we have written". But, as I said, the important thing is, what do we see in practice? And I speak,

Sir, more from sorrow than from any desire to attack the Government when I say that when I look all around me outside in the country I say to myself "This is not the kind of Nigeria for which we fought".

I will give you a few examples, Sir. There is no doubt that this Parliament has not been made an effective arm of the structure of Government in this country. Our meetings are irregular, motions of censure tabled by the Opposition have not been taken; the hon. the Minister of Finance introduced important taxation measures shortly after Parliament had risen, measures which in any democratic country would be tabled before Parliament. The sum total of all this is that this Parliament is not playing its full part, it is not playing its proper role in the government and administration of this country.

I may refer hon. Members also to appointments and promotions. Let us not deceive ourselves. Appointments have been made, as we all know, which placed no premium at all on recognised qualifications, on acknowledged standards of scholarship, experience and seniority. We all know that. I do not want to be personal, I do not want to mention names, but I am sure that we are all aware that certain appointments have been made—certain important appointments have been made—because the appointees happened to originate from certain parts of this country.

I come to the question of foreign affairs. The hon. the Deputy Speaker complained, I think in the first part of his Speech on this Motion, that the utterances of our leaders do not receive wide publicity in the outside world. I completely agree with him; but it is not because our Information Service is not effective; it is because this country has not yet made sufficient impact on the outside world. When we come to the Head of Foreign Affairs I shall have more to say about the Congo and the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference. But there is one unfortunate fact of which I am sure many hon. Members on the other Side are not aware, and if they were aware I am sure they would feel as strongly about it as I do, and that is that the part and the influence which the British High Commissioner has on our Foreign Policy is undesirable. I intend to go into some detail and

to produce, I hope, some evidence when we come to the Head of Foreign Affairs. (*Hear, hear*).

If I may summarise on this point. We are, I think, far too slow; the whole world cannot wait for us at the snail's pace at which we are moving. If we look at the Missions which we have established, we will find the Republic of Cameroun, Algeria—they are our brothers, they are our neighbours, they love us, they are important; but the centres of activities, the centres of influence, the centres of world movement—they are not next-door to us. They are in Moscow, the New Delhi, Belgrade, Washington. We have not established Embassies there.

An hon. Member : We have Embassy in Washington.

Chief Enahoro : I mentioned Washington, but there are many other places, Tokyo for instance.

When I consider employment, Sir, there are many of our unemployed drifting into the cities—Lagos, Ibadan, Port Harcourt. It is no defence to say that because Regional Governments have some responsibility to provide for our people, the Federal Government is not to be blamed in this regard. We can see no evidence of drive or impetus. We should not forget, Sir, that we all jointly bear responsibility for our unemployed.

I give you another example, Sir, take the West African Airways Corporation. That, to my mind, is a Corporation which works without any imagination at all. Ghana Airways, U.A.R. Airways, they operate jet services to Lagos and West African Airways, Sir, are still using jet props. Even the new service Lagos-Lisbon-London is a jet prop service borrowed from B.O.A.C. There is no service from here to Dakar. You cannot get from here to Monrovia unless you sleep at Accra. On Nigeria Airways you cannot get through. You must sleep at Accra. Pan-American Airways get to Accra. They do not get here. If you want to go to New York you must go elsewhere first. You cannot pretend to lead Africa by merely following where others lead.

Even within this country you cannot get from Benin to Lagos every day. It is only twice a week. You cannot get from Ibadan to Enugu.

[CHIEF ENAHORO]

And then, Sir, when we look at some of our Ministers waxing rich, private opulence in the face of public poverty, I think it is a bad issue. Some day, those who are waxing rich (*Interruption*). Some day, Sir, those who are waxing rich at public expense will have to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order, order.

An hon. Member : That statement "ill-gotten gains or goods", I do not think it is quite appropriate. (*Laughter*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order, order. That will depend on the meaning you attach to it. (*Laughter*).

Chief Enahoro : Also, Sir, when I look around me I find an unfortunate, a deplorable attack on some of the free and independent institutions in this country which are supposed to be our guarantors of liberty. The Government wishes to establish a newspaper, although in fact there are newspapers which support the Government. Some people want the Board of the N.B.C. to be dissolved. Some people want to put the telephone services of the country into certain hands.

Some people suggest, Sir, that appointments to the Judiciary should be made in consultation with the Prime Minister (*Interruption*) merely because they claim that this is what happens in the United Kingdom where there are long traditions of liberty. We are just beginning and then, Sir, the hon. the Prime Minister yesterday, (I do not recall if he has made similar statements on other occasions) yesterday he said he would permit certain things and he would not permit certain things. (*Interruption*) It is not within the power of the Prime Minister to take the law into his own hands at all. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order. I do not like that sort of statement.

Chief Enahoro : I repeat what I said, Sir, the Constitution on the law of this country is quite clear. It is not within the power of the Prime Minister to take the law into his own hands. There are proper agencies for every arm of Government. There is the Police, there is the Judiciary, there is the Attorney-General, there is the Director of Public Prosecutions—every one with his own definitions properly defined. It is not open to the

Prime Minister to assume the functions of all these agencies. I beg of this House to remember one thing, Sir, democracy is the heritage of all of us. Democracy is not a commodity, not a gift of disposal of the Prime Minister. It is not open to the Prime Minister to define how far democracy shall go. (*Applause*).

I hope, Sir, that the hon. the Prime Minister will not regard this as an attack on himself but the views which he expressed yesterday must be resisted by any person, as I do now. They must be attacked by all those who believe, Sir, that what we are trying to bring in this country is a democratic State. I make no apologies whatsoever, Sir, for emphasising this point again and again. Democracy is our common heritage. If democracy is destroyed I think it will be a sad day for this country. It is because there is a democratic system that we are able to come here, Sir (*Interruption*). It is because there is democracy that we are able to change our Government if the people so desire that it will be.

If there is no democracy, Sir, what will happen in this country? The strong arm will rule until some other strong arm arises to displace it. That is the lesson which history teaches us. Menderes in Turkey went on for years and years and years. Strong arm rule. Suddenly the Army took over. We have various examples and therefore, Sir, you are not doing us a favour by accepting the democratic system. We are not obliged to you for the democratic system for if there is no democratic system we cease to come to this House. That is all.

But the views of the people, the way of the people—some day, Sir, the people, in their desire for greater liberty, will assert their rights over the enemies of the people.

When I looked all around me. I felt somewhat sad about these occurrences, happenings and events taking place in our country. I do not think, Sir, that we can ignore all these and merely take the Speech from the Throne somewhat out of the context of what is happening in the country, and praise ourselves for what we have been able to draft. After all, Speeches from the Throne are prepared, in the main, by Permanent Secretaries, we all know that, and they are then adopted by the Cabinet and read by His Excellency. It is, therefore, not of any

particular significance that either the language was distinguished or the policies put forward appear to meet all the needs of the country. That is what is expected of the Government. That is why they are the Government. I think, it is our duty in this House, if we want to preserve the system which we have inherited, and which, according to the Prime Minister himself, we are trying to develop, we have a duty to our people, not merely to come here and sing the praises of the Government, and complain outside the House as we often do.

I do not think that the friends of the Prime Minister are those who praise him here and back-bite him outside. I believe that his friends are those who tell him the truth here, and, Sir, I hope that I may regard myself as his friend.

If I may conclude on this note, Sir, I would say that those who have had some experience in Government must naturally sympathise with some of the difficulties which any Government, inheriting the problems which this Government has inherited upon independence must have to face. But we think that enough is not being done to meet the needs of this country at the moment and to solve its problems. On that note, Sir, I beg to take my seat.

M. S. A. Babatunde (Ilorin Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to give my own thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General for his historic Speech from the Throne. I rejoice with him because not many people in this world are destined to reap the rewards of their labours. I, therefore, wish to congratulate him and to rejoice with him.

I also wish to thank the Federal Government for opening the first full Session of this Parliament in an independent Nigeria. By this time last year, the position was different, but to-day we have cause to thank God. At the beginning, some Members, in a section of this House, thought that before long, the structure on which the House was built would collapse. They accused the Government of having no plans, and no system, but since the Governor-General has delivered his Speech from the Throne, during which he touched all aspects of government activities, told us what Government has done and is planning to do, I will now wait to hear what those Members have to say when the time comes.

No one can deny that the legislative programme outlined by His Excellency is a very progressive one. Nigeria is an independent sovereign state. Its government is well alive to its responsibilities, and plans to give us political and economic stability are well under way. I congratulate the Federal Government for this achievement and for its cool-headedness at home and its performance abroad.

The coolness of our Government has surprised all comers to Nigeria. Look at the performances of our illustrious son Jaja Wachuku in the United Nations, look at our boys in the Army and the Police who are now serving in the Congo in order to establish peace; look again at our Prime Minister's performance at the last Prime Ministers' Commonwealth Conference in London! I would say at this stage to all Members of this hon. House that our Prime Minister has received numerous messages of congratulations from far and near for his excellent performance (*Applause*) but only one man has not congratulated him, and that man is the Leader of the Opposition, and whenever he has a chance to speak, I shall be glad to know from him why he has not considered it wise to do so.

In spite of all provocations, this Government, as I said, has shown cool headedness and this attitude has really reflected great credit to our able Prime Minister.

I wish, however, to remind the Government that it has some responsibilities to discharge to the people of this country. There are some people in this House who are engaged in actions inimical to the interest of the Government.

Chief O. B. Akin-Olugbade (Egba South): Point of Order, Sir, I do not think the hon. Gentleman is speaking English!

Mr Speaker: I think, he is. (*Laughter*).

Mr Babatunde: I pray this Government to review the Newspaper Ordinance because it is an avenue through which certain people discredit the Government. These people think that democracy grants them the licence to do anything. Democracy, I submit, Sir, must have a limit and anybody who abuses the canons of democracy must be penalised, and I am sure the Prime Minister will be equal to the task.

[MR BABATUNDE]

I do not know why some people think that the statement of the Prime Minister is a threat. After all, the Prime Minister commands the Army, the Police, and in fact everybody. (*Laughter*). If anybody wants to know what it is like to have democracy in excess, I will refer him to hon. J. S. Tarka. He will tell him what happened in his area.

I do not know why some people think it is outside the scope of the Prime Minister to have consultation before Judges of the High Court are appointed. The Prime Minister is the constitutional head of this nation.

I also want to congratulate the Federal Government for banning processions in Lagos. I think this is a credit to the Minister of Lagos Affairs.

I would like to comment on the dissolution of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation Board. It is not the Board that is faulty but the day to day running of the Corporation. There are too many Action Group sympathisers in the Corporation. Efforts should be made by the Federal Government to re-organise the Board and most of the staff of the Corporation are overdue for weeding out. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I do not know why hon. Members find it difficult to listen to the speech of the hon. Member in silence.

M. Babatunde : I would also like to commend the efforts of the Federal Government in purchasing office blocks. As we are now having new Ministries and Departments which should be housed in separate buildings instead of the old practice of having all Government Departments in the Old Secretariat, I feel these office blocks should be purchased to accommodate the new Ministries. I am sure, some of these new Ministries and Departments must have been waiting for accommodation, and when these office blocks are purchased they will ease the problem of office accommodation for these new Ministries. This initiative by the Federal Government is a credit to the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Works and Surveys.

I now come to the proposed Asaba-Onitsha bridge. A lot has been said about the award of the contract for the construction of this bridge to a French firm. I think contracts are awarded in a competitive manner and I do

not want people to go about with the impression that we do not like French people. The breaking of diplomatic relations with France is a Government to Government affair and has nothing to do with traders and contractors. All they are interested in is their job. They have no control over their Government, they come out here to work and earn a living and our brothers work and live with them.

The next point I would like to talk about is nationalisation. I would ask every Member of this House who knows something about building to go to Ikeja. At Maryland there are many blocks of flats. Who owns them? How did they get there? (*Several hon. Members : Action Group*). All these blocks of flats, who owns them? The owner of fifty blocks of flats—what was he trading on?

I have known many of these people before they entered politics. I had even engaged some of them as my lawyers and took them to Ilorin. I know what they are worth; but they come to this House and try to teach the Government how to economise. I often tell them in secret, or when we are having friendly chats that the electorate of this country have vested the Federal Government with the power to use the money of the country as it thinks fit. I will never support people who just come to this House as a matter of course, and go to places to practice subversive activities.

Recently, a political leader visited the University of Nigeria at Nsukka. Instead of telling the students to work hard and do well in their examinations so that they can come out as good citizens and leaders of our country, he told them that he was coming to tell the Federal Government how to manipulate the universe. That was what he told them. I do not know what that has got to do with their books. (*Several hon. Members : Shame, shame.*)

I would also like to comment on the incident that took place during the opening of the present session of the Western House of Assembly at Ibadan when the Leader of the Opposition Mr Fani-Kayode was accused of disrespect to the Governor. I will not blame the hon. Fani-Kayode because, as a Yoruba man with a Yoruba mind in a Yoruba town—

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyoung South) : Point of Order, Mr Speaker. The hon. Member is attacking a Regional Government.

Mr Speaker : Perhaps I did not hear the hon. Member properly, but I think I did ; and I have heard no attack on any Regional Government.

M. Babatunde : Anybody who has lived with the Yoruba people will know that the dictate is that you must answer the call of nature at once. If you fail to ease yourself and you simply wait there standing for a handshake, half of your life is gone. (*Laughter*) The Leader of the Opposition in the Federal Parliament absented himself at the ceremony of the installation of the Governor-General and the Independence Celebrations. The reason he gave us was that he does not eat, he does not drink, he does not dance, he does not smoke, he does not swim, he does not play, and he does not sleep. (*Prolonged laughter*).

Chief O. B. Akin. Olugbade (Egba South) : I think the hon. Member is living up to his reputation as the chief clown of this House.

M. Babatunde : Mr Speaker, Sir, talking seriously now, yesterday was a red letter day for the Action Group. I noticed that most of them were inwardly or outwardly weeping. They talked so hastily and of their own volition they accepted the Motion for the creation of a Mid-West State ; but at the time of the Minorities Commission their Attorney-General put up a different attitude (*Interruptions*.)

Mr S. D. Lar (Lowland East) : On point of Order, Mr Speaker, I think the hon. Member is very irrelevant, and is in fact giving such a very wrong impression of the Nigerian Parliament that he should be asked to sit down.

Mr Speaker : It is true that the hon. Member is getting away from the point but he has not done so to the extent that I should ask him to resume his seat.

M. Babatunde : Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I was saying that when a man talks so hastily as they did in the Western House of Assembly the result is always the case of what happened yesterday. They move so high in the sky and fall down below. They act so swiftly on television and they begin to lose £1,000 a day. This is the way they want the Federal Government to accept their own advice. Last year they said the Federal Government has no plan but when the Governor-General outlined all the programme of the Government they were all surprised.

Yesterday I expected the Leader of the Opposition to abide by the constitution which he himself had helped to compile. Instead of that he brought a book entitled "*Encyclopaedia of Politics*" which has no relevance to what we had been saying. I thank God in my mind that all our Ministers, as they are now constituted, are equal to the task before them, and the proposed Mid-West State has able people to man it. But the hon. Tarka who is fighting for the Middle Belt State, let him tell us who among them can be Governor, who among them can be Minister of Finance or Premier? The constitution tells us that not only money—(*Interruptions*). I advise every hon. Member in this House to go to the Government Printer and purchase a copy of the Report of the Constitutional Conference. It is only 1s-6d a copy. If Members of the other Side of the House will read it carefully they will stop bringing forward Motions that they know perfectly well will not pass through this House.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Chief the hon. Obafemi Awolowo rose in his place—(Interruptions).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I ruled yesterday that it would be good parliamentary practice to respect the speeches of the hon. Prime Minister, the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition by observing them in silence. I think this should be strictly adhered to.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Ijebu Remo) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the amendment to the Motion of Thanks on the Speech from the Throne standing in my name, namely in the last line after "Parliament" to add—"but are of the opinion that the declaration regarding nationalisation contained in the Speech neither represents the true wishes nor accords with the best interests of the people of Nigeria".

In the Speech from the Throne the declaration about which an amendment is being moved reads as follows: "My Government has no plan for the nationalisation of industry to any greater extent than the public utilities of this country are already nationalised." This, to say the least, is a startling declaration. Hitherto, the Governments of this Federation have decided or at least have shown by their conduct that nationalisation cannot be ruled out of their economic policy.

[CHIEF AWOLOWO]

In this respect I refer to the oft-quoted passage in a statement which was issued by all the Governments of the Federation in 1955 or thereabouts. I will read the passage, with your permission, Mr Speaker. "Our Governments have no plans for nationalising industry beyond the extent to which public utilities are already nationalised, nor do they foresee any such proposal arising. Nevertheless they are anxious that there should be no doubt in the minds of overseas entrepreneurs that Nigeria will provide adequate safeguards for the interests of investors in the event of any industry being nationalised in the future. Should this occur, then fair compensation, assessed by independent arbitration, would be paid".

In other words, Mr Speaker, whilst the Federal Government, together with the Regional Governments, declared some years ago that it had no plan for nationalising industries, yet it did not hesitate to make it clear that such an eventuality could not be ruled out of the economy of the country in the future. "Within the last few months, at least since independence, a good number of spokesmen from among the ceiling hierarchy of the N.C.N.C. and from among the N.P.C. Members have stated that nationalisation of industries will not take place in this country now or in the future. If I remember rightly, I think the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry made a similar statement in the course of his opening address to the representatives of the Federation of British Industries in Lagos here sometime ago.

It will be seen therefore that there is nothing completely new in the declaration contained in the Speech from the Throne. However, this declaration is startling for two reasons: first because it is an unwarranted departure from the policy of the Government to which I referred in the passage quoted from the Economic Survey of Nigeria, 1959; and secondly because by making the declaration in the Speech from the Throne, Government has at last set the seal of authority on what I would call a pernicious economic policy.

The argument of the Government spokesmen against nationalisation is rather naive in my humble opinion. All they say is that if the Government had had the intention to nationalise any industry, other than public utilities which are already nationalised, foreign

investores would be scared away from this country. My answer to that is *No*. Foreign investors will not necessarily be scared away from this country simply because we have got a policy to nationalise some of the means of production in this country. Foreign investors require, above all else, Sir, a stable Government and an atmosphere in which they could carry on their business.

Yesterday, we were treated here to what I would describe as a counsel of inaptitude, and cant propounded by one of our hon. Members, to the effect that we should no longer draw upon the experiences of other countries in tackling our own local problems. He poured scorn on my reference to India and other countries in the course of the debate on the creation of a Mid-West State. But, Sir, if we were to take that advice, it would mean that we would wind up the affairs of this Parliament. This is not a traditionally Nigerian sort of assembly. We have borrowed everything that we do here from Westminster. (*An hon. Member : Except accounts.*)

It will be generally agreed, Mr Speaker, that human beings behave more or less alike under the same set of circumstances, no matter whether they are Asian, European, Nigerian or African. In other words, more often than not, what is good for the Indian goose is also good for the Nigerian gander. I therefore wish to set forth examples of countries which are under-developed like ours which have embarked on the nationalisation of some means of production and continue to attract foreign investors in a much larger way than we do at the moment.

India is a worthy example. She is the harbinger of the liberation of colonial peoples. A number of industries have been nationalised by the Indian Government since their independence. Foreign investment continues to flow into India simply because the Government is stable and the leaders of India are people of integrity who could be relied upon. Foreign investors want to have their own shares in business, but at the same time they are prepared to leave the people of a country free to adopt whatever policy they like. They want to be assured, however, that whenever their industries are nationalised they are given adequate and fair compensation.

Also we have the example of Burma, Ceylon and Thailand—all under-developed countries—or, to come nearer home—nearer the Northern Region, of course, the U.A.R. which embarked on the nationalisation of a number of industries and continue to attract foreign investors. The U. A. R. more or less, not quite, confiscated the shares held by foreign countries in the Suez Canal. There was a lot of row which almost led to war. Indeed there was a sort of military campaign, which was stopped because the Commonwealth countries and the other members of the NATO would not support Britain and France. This military campaign was launched by Britain and France because the United Arab Republic had the "Cheek", according to them, to nationalise the Suez Canal.

We were told at that time that Egypt was finished for good; she could not operate the Suez Canal. Then promises which had been made to Egypt to build the ASWAN Dam were withdrawn. To-day Egypt successfully operates the Suez Canal, and what is more, she has made tremendous profits—and that is important, and I hope that the Minister of Finance will note that. Egypt makes tremendous profits from the Suez Canal, and on top of it, Sir, foreign investments are now flowing into Egypt for the building of the ASWAN Dam. Indeed, Egypt is even prepared to build the Aswan Dam from the profits made from the Suez Canal, without taking any loan from abroad.

Then Ghana, which is also our next door neighbour here, have taken steps recently to nationalise the Gold Mines. In order to reinforce my point that these foreign investors will not be scared away because we nationalise their industries, if it is in the national interest to do so, in order to reinforce that point may I say that leading British Journals praised Nkrumah for the method which he had adopted in acquiring the ownership of the Gold Mines in Ghana, because he went about it in a very tactful manner. Instead of compulsory acquisition he had acquired ownership by negotiation.

It is a matter of indifference to me what method is adopted, Mr Speaker, so long as the acquisition takes place, whether by negotiation or by compulsion. We are also in support that fair compensation should be paid and in the case of Ghana shares costing 3s-9d attracted 4s-0d and those of 4s-9d attracted 5s-0d, and the

people are satisfied and they are now praising Ghana, praising Nkrumah, and I have no doubt that they will continue to invest money in Ghana. As a matter of fact agreements have just been concluded between Ghana and Britain and Canada and America for loans and grants for the conclusion of the Volta Scheme.

It is, therefore, incorrect for Government to hold that nationalisation will necessarily scare away any prospective foreign investor.

May I say, Mr Speaker, that our attitude to nationalisation is not in any way doctrinaire or merely theoretical. I must say, Mr Speaker, that the countries to which I have made reference have not themselves adopted a doctrinaire attitude towards the question of nationalisation of certain means of production. We are not doing so either, but we hope that it is the height of unwisdom and of utter lack of foresight and of a reprehensible disregard of the public weal for Government to declare as it has done in the Speech from the Throne that it has no plans for the nationalisation of industries. We, as an under-developed country, must, in our own interest, seek from time to time to adopt an economic policy which is at once expedient and effective—in other words, we must not tie ourselves to a particular economic doctrine in seeking a solution to our development problems.

If the Government must be wedded to the ideal of capitalism, let it do so; but the interests of the people of this country do demand that the Government should also adopt what is best and practicable in socialist practices. (*Hear, hear*). The lesson which economic history teaches is that the forces of naked capitalism only tend to enrich the rich and the more to impoverish the poor.

Two important points are emphasized in the amendment. They are, that the declaration to which reference has been made does not represent the wishes of the people. The second is that it is not in accord with the interests of Nigerians. The 1959 Election results show that the Action Group and the N.C.N.C. have more than sixty-nine per cent of the total votes polled. It goes without saying, therefore, that the Action Group and the N.C.N.C. combined, for the purpose of this argument, represent the vast majority of people in this country.

[CHIEF AWOLOWO]

It is also a fact that all the floor and radical Members of the N.C.N.C., that is, those Members of the N.C.N.C. who are still loyal to the Party's ideal, as distinct from those that I have described as belonging to the ceiling hierarchy of the Party and who are hands in glove with the N.P.C. in the present coalition, demand at least the nationalisation of the Shipping Industry in Nigeria. In this respect, therefore, the Action Group and the N.C.N.C. radicals are at one. (*Laughter*).

Mr N. A. Ezonbodor : If the Leader of the Opposition believes that the Action Group and the N.C.N.C. are one, let him cross over to the N.C.N.C.

Mr Speaker : That is not a point of Order.

Chief Awolowo : The demand for the nationalisation of the Shipping Industry, therefore, represents the wishes of the people of this country. But it is regrettable and deplorable to note that the policy of the Government as enunciated in the Speech from the Throne is in diametric opposition to this demand.

One of the urgent problems confronting any nation is the question of the fair and equitable distribution of the nation's wealth among all the factors which contribute to the production of such wealth. Under unrestricted capitalism man's greed or what is euphemistically described as self-interest comes into full play, and this the more complicates an already complex problem. Under the unfettered operation of the forces of supply and demand, the stronger factors like capital, land and entrepreneurship get away with the lion's share of the national wealth while the weaker factors like labour, including in this context the working classes, the peasantry and the petty traders get very little compared with their efforts in producing the national products. Examples are numerous.

The Prime Minister : You have changed a lot Chief Awolowo.

Chief Awolowo : In reply to the interjection of the Prime Minister, may I say Awolowo of 1947 and 1940, is still the same Awolowo in 1961. On the contrary, it is the Prime Minister who has changed and who keeps changing, thanks to the pressure of public opinion.

He never believed in the independence of this country, and he had often opposed and criticised those who stood for the independence of this Federation. It is an irony of fate, and indeed an accident of history, that he is the Prime Minister of this country.

Examples, Mr Speaker, Sir, are numerous. In the Plateau Mines, for instance, workers in the Mines get 3s per day. Men and women are employed in the Mines on the Plateau. I am referring to the tin mines. Workers in the Mine get 3s per day. Pregnant women are employed in the Mine—I am referring to the Plateau Tin Mine at 1s per day.

I have here, Sir, reports, printed reports, of some of the companies operating in the Plateau Mines...

Mr Speaker : I would like to remind the hon. Member that he has three more minutes.

Chief Awolowo : ..and here in these reports it is clearly shown that these companies make between 20 per cent net profit and 99.9 per cent. The printed reports of Amalgamated Tin Mines, I have that here ; Gold and Base Metal Mine, I have that here ; Bisichi Tin Mines of Nigeria, I have that here ; Kaduna Syndicate, I have it here ; that here too. And they make as much as 99.9 per cent profit !

There are companies operating in Lagos here, Mr Speaker, who make as much as 50 per cent profit, 25 per cent dividend paid to shareholders and 25 per cent ploughed back to shareholders to increase their shares, and yet these companies pay workers in Nigeria employed by them wages which are below subsistence level. I do seriously suggest to the Federal Government that the Tin Mines in the Plateau should be nationalised forthwith. (*Applause*.) For two reasons, Sir ; first of all, the nationalisation of the Tin Mines will enable the Government to pay better wages to those employed in the Mines at the moment, and secondly, since Government agencies are not divided into water-tight compartments, it should be possible for the Government to use what it gains from the Tin Mines to supplement what it loses in the coal mines at Enugu. (*Hear, hear.*) In other words, it should be possible, by the

nationalisation of the tin mines, in view of the incredible profits which these people make, to rehabilitate the displaced workers in Enugu Coal Mine. Sir, I beg to move. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Speaker : Order. It is now time for break and the sitting is suspended for ten minutes.

Sitting suspended : 11.45 a.m.

Sitting resumed : 12.5 p.m.

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

Chief A. Rosiji (Egba East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I had thought that I would first reply to the points made by the hon. Chief Anthony Enahoro but as he is not present in the House at the moment I would content myself with speaking on the amendment and then later to speak and reply to the points made by Chief Enahoro.

I rise to oppose the amendment; (*Hear, hear*) and to support the original Motion. First, I very much regret that the Leader of the Opposition and other spokesmen opposite have seen fit to move this particular amendment on nationalisation. I outlined the stand of the Federal Government on this question when the matter was last raised in this hon. House in November during the debate on the Second Reading of the Second Supplementary Appropriation Bill for 1960-61. I do not, therefore, propose to speak at length on it to-day.

Sir, the word "nationalisation" permits of two possible interpretations. The first is the taking over of businesses into State-ownership so that they become the property of the nation. This is now usually regarded as expropriation whether or not compensation is paid. Apart from such concerns as public utilities, as advocated in the Speech from the Throne as being the policy of this Government which in Nigeria, as in many other countries, are owned by the nation, this is the policy of a political and economic dictatorship which has no place in our philosophy and in our Nigerian way of life.

The second interpretation of "nationalisation" is to render businesses national in character. Businesses become national in character when Nigerians assume increasing responsibility for direction and control. This aspect of nationalisation accurately portrays that democratic socialism to the achievement of which this Federal Government is committed and, of course, always advocated by my Party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and supported by the N.P.C. (*Hear, hear.*)

Sir, I informed this House in November—and it is worth repeating, that the Federal Government most sincerely welcomes each and every development which would enable the Nigerian public to participate in the direction of industries by means of individual share-holding and not by share-holding of the privileged few with life more abundant to themselves.

The Federal Government's support for this policy can be seen in many ways: in the support given to the creation of the Stock Exchange which will facilitate share-holdings by individual Nigerians; giving encouragement to expatriate-owned companies to make an increasing proportion of shares in their companies available to Nigerians and in the field of the Federal Government-owned holdings in the Nigerian Cement Company. These are about three examples.

This Government looks forward to the time when Nigerians will hold the majority of the shares in the industrial and commercial companies operating in Nigeria and will exercise the direction and control through their share-holdings. Where a new industry is being set up and sufficient Nigerians do not come forward at once to take up shares Government itself may take them all. But this is only a temporary measure to stem the tide until such time as Nigerians come forward when the shares will be sold and the profits used to set up another industry.

I find the attitude of the Members opposite hard to understand, for the aims and policies of the Federal Government which I have just outlined are also the official aims and policies of the Action Group. Only last week in his

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Budget Speech the Minister of Finance of the Western Regional Government said: "The ultimate aim as far as my party is concerned is that the greatest share in the manufacturing industries established in Nigeria should be held by the citizens of this country and individuals and not by the Government. Because we cannot afford to wait, the Government and its agencies have, however, been establishing various industries in partnership with overseas firms. We want people to come forward as soon as possible to take over at least the Government's shares in these establishments". It is therefore difficult to understand a political party which blows hot and cold at the same time. (*Several hon. Members: Shame, shame.*)

It is perhaps significant that the Minister of Finance said "as far as my Party is concerned, rather than "as far as my Government is concerned". The Opposition in Parliaments everywhere is generally looked upon as being the party to form an alternative Government, but here in Nigeria the party which forms the main Opposition in this Federal Parliament already runs a Regional Government. The Opposition cannot therefore come here in this House to preach policies, doctrines and methods which they are not prepared to adopt in Ibadan. To do so is sheer hypocrisy. It is of course a gross sign of irresponsibility.

We need to encourage overseas investors in this country and we should give them proofs of our confidence in them so that they can come to help industrialise and enhance the economy of our large Federation. This cry for nationalisation is irresponsible and would not be to the best interests of this country. We do not talk of nationalisation of industries as we do talk of ordinary day to day business. In fact, this opposition is opposition for opposition's sake without regard to the damage which such irresponsible utterances are doing to our nation. The harsh fact is that neither the individual Nigerian investor nor the overseas investor will have the confidence necessary to invest in our industries if they are repeatedly under a threatening cloud of nationalisation. To my mind this Opposition is practising cowardise of the first kind. (*Hear, hear.*)

All the major political parties of this country hold this view and they are doing their best to encourage private investors. The N.P.C. and

the N.C.N.C. are doing their best to follow this plan.

Nationalisation in the sense of expropriation or taking over businesses to make them the property of the nation can only be carried out by a Government which has a mandate from the people to achieve this. In their manifestos for the last Federal Election all the major political parties pledged themselves to create a climate favourable for private investment. The parties forming the present Federal Government are doing their best to fulfil this pledge. I can also say with fairness that the present Government of the Western Region have in several respects shown their understanding of the absolute necessity for encouraging private investment. I have referred earlier to one aspect of this. Where then does the Opposition stand? Is it in opposition not only to the Federal Government but also to the Government by its own party in Ibadan?

A party which gives £5 million to five individuals in order to erect office buildings is hardly competent to talk about the virtues of state ownership. The Leader of the Opposition himself has a financial empire—

Chief A. Enahoro: Point of Order Mr Speaker. I think the hon. Minister of Finance is imputing an improper motive and I think he is lowering the tone of this debate.

Mr Speaker: Order, order, order. The Minister of Finance is collecting a number of facts to support his policy.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Speaker, if anyone tries to tell us about nationalisation, as I always said let charity begin at home. Let us first tell the nation how to nationalise the financial empire in Maryland, in Apapa, in Ikeja, Ibadan and as is known all over the country. (*Hear, hear.*) Until that is done, it is no use trying to deceive the unwary and telling them of nationalisation and preaching all sorts of sermon in and out of this House.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall now proceed to give my points to nullify the points the Leader of Opposition made to buttress his argument on the question of nationalisation, like the United Arab Republic, India, Ghana and so on and so forth.

The question of Suez Canal is exactly in conformity with the policy of this Government. It is as was clearly put down on the Speech

from the Throne. "My Government has no plans for the nationalisation of industry to any greater extent than the public utilities of this country are already nationalised". Now the Suez Canal is not a private business of one man. It is certainly an aspect of public utility for the country. The Suez Canal is not the responsibility of an individual in Egypt. Therefore, since it is used for welfare and to raise the standard of living of the people, it is certainly an aspect of public utility.

Now, Sir, mention was made of Ceylon. What is the economy of Ceylon? In fact, nationalisation has done the greatest harm to the economy of Ceylon, and even to-day investors are scared away and finances are scarce even to maintain the tin industries. (*Applause*).

Mention has also been made of gold mines nationalisation in Ghana. What of the facts? The facts must be made known to the country. The facts are that those gold mines were on the brink of collapse and the miners were going to close down the mines because they were no more remunerative. Mr Speaker, Sir, as a result, the Ghana government decided to introduce legislation to make it impossible for the mines to be closed down. Indeed, this legislation was introduced and when the Government was faced with the fact that legislation or no legislation they would close the Government had to make effort to buy over the mines for the purpose of enhancing the national economy. (*Hear, hear*).

If we get to know that any of our industries is going to collapse the Government will give all the aid that is necessary to such industry. We shall not allow our mines to be closed down; and that is why this Government is constantly supporting the coal mines in Enugu by subsidising them in order that they may not close down. To advocate, Sir, that we must pour in the resources of the Federal Government in order to buy over businesses in this country, and at the same time run the government is to try to impoverish the people of Nigeria.

My hon. Friend, Chief Enahoro, has spoken of difficulties of unemployment. What is the Federal Government doing about this? We are trying to establish industries to give more employment to the people. If then you ask us to take these resources to buy over U.A.C., S.C.O.A., John Holt, do we expand the economy of the country by doing so? (*Several*

hon. Members: No! No!) We are certainly not. All we can do is to earn the profits just like the Action Group which earns the profits of Gaiser, Arab Transport, Ikeja Arms Hotel which go to the pockets of Action Group leaders and not to that Government. (*App'ause*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have tried as far as is possible to reply to the points made by the Leader of Opposition and proved beyond doubt that my Government is doing everything possible to help raise the standard of living of the people of this country. This Government will nationalise such public utilities as we have done in the past with the Airways. Very soon Chief the hon. A. Enahoro who takes pride in going to London time and time again will be able to fly to continue his legal studies.

Sir, the question of the shipping industry has already been tackled by my hon. friend. We do not need to be told anything; we know what to do. After all, we should be given credit for what we have done in barely less than six months of the independence of this country. Those who cannot see any good in others certainly are not good themselves.

Now, let me try to reply my hon. friend, Chief Anthony Enahoro. My hon. friend has said that the Speech from the Throne was excellent, well-written, well-delivered but certainly had no excellent programme. May be my hon. friend has a different meaning for the word "programme". Naturally, I do not understand the language that he used the other time because his language is too (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I have already indicated that when the Leader of the House is speaking the speech should be respected. (*Interruptions*). It is also grossly out of order to interrupt when the Speaker is making the Chair's ruling. So, will the Minister of Finance please continue his speech.

The Minister of Finance: Now, Sir, the hon. Member must honestly say to himself that the programme of Government that was enunciated in the Speech from the Throne is comprehensive and complete. And they are not just paper policies; they are policies that we have begun to implement and all one has to do is to go into the country or come to Lagos and see the standard of development here. Thousands of people during the Independence Celebrations came to Lagos to see what we

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are doing and by the grace of God and under the leadership of the hon. Prime Minister this programme will be completed. (*Applause*).

Sir, reference was made that both Houses of Parliament do not meet often enough and as a result of that important debates are not debated, and reference was made to the vote of censure on the Government. With great respect to the Leader of the Opposition, during the last sitting of the House the Motion for the vote of censure on the Government was put on the *Order Paper*. I do not want to be sarcastic but I would have said that the Leader of the Opposition developed cold feet. What I want to say is that the Motion was withdrawn in this very House and we were all witnesses that the Leader of the Opposition obviously withdrew his Motion. I now challenge him to bring it forward again and whenever he does that we have too many people on this Side and on that Side to reply as well as my colleagues who will reply.

My hon. friend has again raised this thorny question of appointments. The hon. Prime Minister has made it clear that appointments should not be made and are not made on tribal considerations but on efficiency. At the same time, the hon. Prime Minister made it abundantly clear that this Government is not going to allow its Public Service to be infested by agents of the Opposition who are constantly on the pay roll of the Opposition to give them information or to sabotage the Government. (*Hear, hear.*) Here again I must say quite frankly that I do not want to offend my hon. Friend Chief Anthony Enahoro, but if he allows himself to be used both in the West and here on the Floor of this House as the mouth-piece for saying things or treading where Angels fear to tread, it is only necessary that he should be paid back in his own coins. Surely, what greater favouritism could be displayed when in his own constituency the Government of the Western Region, with respect to his dad, appointed his own father the President of the Customary Court in his constituency! It is a shameful act. (*Applause*).

Reference was made to the Foreign Policy of the Government. The Foreign Policy of the Federal Government was clearly laid on this Table by the hon. Prime Minister and it has been consistently pursued both in the United

Nations and elsewhere. And the Prime Minister will stand forever to be glorified and congratulated for pursuing this policy, for during the first time that he attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, he was able to eject South Africa once and for all. As a matter of fact, my hon. Friend has said that when we come to that Head of the Estimates, he will be having more to say. We can all rest our minds that the hon. Prime Minister who is also the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations will have adequate replies to all the points that will be made by my hon. Friend.

Sir, reference was also made that the Prime Minister issued a threat yesterday. I must say quite frankly that that is an unpalatable remark to be made about a man whose sagacity is well-known; a man who is known for his humility. The Prime Minister is the last person to issue any threat, and what the Prime Minister was trying to say was that any person who desires to take the law into his own hands in this country or plan any subversive activity against this Government will be adequately dealt with. (*Applause*). If my hon. Friends think that they can continue to get away with subversive activities, and think that the Prime Minister will be too gentle or godly to follow them up, they are living in a fool's paradise.

An hon. Member : That is a threat !

The Minister of Finance : This is not a threat ; it is a statement of fact and policy and is supported by democratic principles. If I may say this—memories of people are not short in this country. Only a few years ago when the hon. Leader of the Opposition was the Premier of the Western Region, he made a public statement and said that Ministers were representatives of God on earth. (*Prolonged applause*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order, I think there is too much noise being made.

An hon. Member : From the Government Bench.

Mr Speaker : As well as on my left.

The Minister of Finance : Not only that, Sir, he said that his Government in the Western Region had the power of life and death. (*Interruptions*). It is a statement of fact.

Mr W. O. Briggs (Degema): On point of Order, Mr Speaker, if the Minister of Finance does not want to be interrupted he must not make provocative statements. He must support every argument of his with facts and figures, and not make wild statements.

Mr Speaker: Order, order, I think it is getting a little provocative, and will the Minister please speak rather more mildly on his attack on the Opposition policies.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Speaker, Sir, it is only fair to the people of this country that people who are sent here should not metamorphose in any form or shape either in their political pronouncement or in any other form. The effect of this, Sir, is that I reply adequately to the points made by hon. Chief Enahoro that the statement made by the Prime Minister was a threat and all the rest of it. But the threat has been issued by the proper person at an improper time and in an improper place and all I am saying is that in the *Hansard* and newspapers of this country it is stated clearly that this statement I credited to the Leader of the Opposition was made by him—that they are representatives of God on earth and that they have power of life and death.

An hon. Member: Sir, is the Minister himself the representative of devil on earth?

Mr Speaker: Order, it is most improper to use this language on the Floor of this House. I wish the hon. Member will withdraw.

Several hon. Members: Withdraw, withdraw.

The hon. Member: I withdraw, Sir.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Speaker, Sir, mention was also made by my hon. Friend Chief Enahoro that Ministers acquired wealth through their offices and that one day they will have to disgorge them. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order, I cannot tolerate any more interruptions from the Opposition front bench.

Chief A. Enahoro (Ishan East): What I said was ill-gotten gains.

The Minister of Finance: If the hon. Members means 'ill-gotten gains' perhaps he will define that here or in another place. If

'ill-gotten gains has no meaning to any other person I am sure that it has every meaning to my hon. Friend who knew his position before he became a Minister and what he is now by virtue of his office as former Minister. I do not need to say more on that because he knows very well that I was personally helping him to earn a living.

Finally, Sir, I would like to say this that the policy of this Government on nationalisation is very clear. We are not here to ruin the economy of this country.

As regards the other points raised about the economy of this country I do not want to be pushed to reveal what I have to say tomorrow. I can assure the House that tomorrow I shall deal extensively with the economy and the financial policy of this Government in my Budget Speech. My hon. Friends can therefore well content themselves in preparing their notes not only to praise the financial policy of the Government but also to make constructive criticisms.

Alhaji Mohamed-Munir (Rano): Mr Speaker, Sir, with the yuletide of the Nigerian independence and the intimation of Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe as the Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria, amidst this exhilaration of all lovers of freedom, Nigeria successfully reached the realisation of her dreams without an ounce of blood-shed. This must portray to the world our cool-headedness, our tolerance and our ability to set together to emulate the good examples set out by other nations and our full determination to manage our own affairs.

The freedom of Nigeria within the society of the Commonwealth of Nations is very gratifying, gratifying indeed because the position of Nigeria has been strengthened being made a sovereign state, enjoying equal partnership with any other nation within the Commonwealth. Nigeria has been fortunate enough throughout the travail for freedom to acquire a stable leadership of men of outstanding ability, courage, determination and astuteness to bring the country safely to its present goal. It is a great pleasure and pride to the Senators and Legislators alike, especially to those few surviving legislators like myself who have continuously been in this House since the MacPherson Constitution in 1954 to have the

[ALHAJI MOHAMED-MUNIR]

opportunity to witness the Speech from the Throne as a mark of the opening of the Nigerian Parliament being delivered by His Excellency, the first African Governor-General of the Federation, in the person of the Right Hon. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

I should like to shower well-deserved encomiums on His Excellency the Governor-General, not only for his Speech from the Throne which is lucid enough and defines clearly the policy of this Government, but also for his efforts to encourage men and women of this country to work hard for individual as well as political independence. He is in fact a square peg in a square hole. Here I should like to sound a note of warning and that is that whenever the post of a Governor falls vacant it should be filled with the most suitable person who is discerningly clairvoyant any sympathetic enough to be a father for all.

I should like, Sir, to place on record the appreciation of the excellent work being done by the hon. Prime Minister and his Ministers in running the activities of this Government both at home and abroad. The holocaust in the Congo from the onset cannot escape comments from observers. The excellent work mooted by the hon. Prime Minister is exceptionally good. How the incident in the Congo was handled at first would appear to have left much to be desired. When the Congolese were left without a proper Constitution drawn for their Government, it would have been better if they were advised to come to Nigeria to learn government procedure instead of leaving them to their own fate to develop revolutionarily and struggle for supremacy. They could visit a few places in this country and see how a country can be administered without bloodshed or recourse for a superior to bulldozer his inferior counterpart. Sir, the murder of Lumumba was not only sensational but ghastly horrible.

With regard to the apartheid policy in South Africa, how our Prime Minister stood firmly to see that South Africa with her relentless apartheid and all sorts of degradation and inhumanity to blacks does not join the Commonwealth is indeed very gratifying. We Africans will be satisfied if South Africa is not admitted to this clean society of nations unless it can do away with apartheid. I should

like to thank the Minister of Communications for the new Automatic Telephone Exchange system he opened recently in Kano. This is certainly a step forward in the development of Kano.

Lastly, I should like to ask the Minister of Transport if he can make any statement about the future position of the International Airport in Kano. We Kano people would like to know beforehand.

Sir, I beg to support.

M. Abubakar A. Ibrahim (Muri South West): Mr Speaker, Sir, in supporting the original Motion, I am thereby dissociating myself completely from the supporters of the Motion as amended.

The Speech as delivered from the Throne cannot be more historic and wonderful—historic because it is the first of its kind, and wonderful because of its unique mature and that it was delivered by a unique and truly born son of Africa. I wonder who is the truly born Nigerian that opposes it.

The Speech's embodiment, Mr Speaker, is a complete one, and Nigeria as it is at present stands could not have been more progressive. It is now that this great nation, led by the greatest Council of Ministers in Africa, is on the verge of formation. My appeal, therefore, to these most honourable and able Ministers is that they should not fail to remember that intrigues on the well-being of a nation like Nigeria do not cease to multiply. Therefore, they must beware.

On turning to the contents of the Speech, Mr Speaker, I should like to make some few observations. In his Speech, the Governor-General vividly stated the foreign objectives of his Government by saying (if you permit me, Sir, I would like to quote)—“The improvement of the situation in Africa will be one of the main objectives of my Ministers and they intend to pursue the Government's declared aims of not identifying itself with any bloc or group, but of being at all times guided by a sense of realism and support for the truth”. The phrase, “improvement of the situation in Africa” and the word “truth” strike and appeal to my conscience more, for I attach to them the importance of Nigeria's role on the situation in Congo; the apartheid policy in South Africa;

the existing and would-be racial policy in Central Africa and Kenya; the shameless suppression of the freedom and liberty of the Algerian people by France and the assault by the French Government on the African nations in the atom bomb explosions in the Sahara. Sir, on two of these counts the work and efforts of our worthily and able Prime Minister, the hon. Sir, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, are to be praised. (*Applause*).

His efforts in London during the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference are ideal and are of historic reputation. He, helped by some other Prime Ministers, forced the world's most humiliated government of South Africa to withdraw its membership of the Commonwealth of Nations. I therefore commend his efforts, actions and the manner in which he dealt with France's atom bomb tests in the Sahara. He showed the world that France was disobedient to the United Nations in refusing to take instructions and suggestions of the United Nations not to explode atom bombs on the Continent of Africa. Let us pray to God Almighty to give him courage and wisdom in leading this great nation, (*Some hon. Members : Amen.*) and at the same time to appeal to him to continue indefatigably the struggle against South Africa and France until they give up these damnable ideas.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg for the support of my hon. Colleagues in this hon. House in launching my humble appeal to the Prime Minister, backed by the competent Members of his Cabinet, to now pave the way for Nigerian leadership of Africa. This can only be achieved if other African countries have faith and confidence in us.

For Nigeria to attain this status of trust and acceptance of our leadership by other African nations, I would like to suggest to the Government that in detailing its foreign policy it should include, among other things, its intention to support and assist financially, morally or otherwise the teeming African population in South Africa in their noble fight against *apartheid*, to speed up the grant of independence by the United Nations to South-West Africa, that they might be freed from the close grip of Verwoerd; to give recognition to the Algerian Provisional Government and assist it in the struggle for freedom and liberty; to support the United Nations in its peace-making

policy in the Congo, but without bias; to condemn all forms of colonial aspirations and recognise one government as the legitimate government of the Congo; to give at least moral support to the peoples of Kenya in their popular demand for the release of Jomo Kenyatta who, in the fight for liberty, was exiled and confined by the imperialists.

I believe, Sir, that by so doing, the controversial issue, as the Prime Minister has once put it, of Nigerian leadership of Africa will then be fully realised and accepted by all.

Then, on the Government policy of non-alignment, Sir, I have this to say, that if Nigeria has to make friends at all, Nigeria being neutral should make friends only with countries that are neutral and not with colonialists or imperialists, for in their struggle to maintain power and exploit the people, they tend to draw friends to the battlefield. India is an example of absolute neutrality. Such countries would make good friends.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have noted with cheer the Speech from the Throne on the Government's programme of development. But I have not noticed any mention of the creation of a Ministry by which all other Ministries exist—the Ministry of Food. The creation of this Ministry, I am sure, is in the mind of the Prime Minister who, you all will agree with me, has excellent foresight. I know the formation of this Ministry in the very near future is his honest intention.

The importance of this Ministry in a rapidly developing country like Nigeria cannot be over-emphasised. My humble request to the Prime Minister then is that the Prime Minister do 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 production. We have enough cereals and protein-giving foods in the North, and sufficient quantities of food crops and vitamin-giving foods in the South. But, Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a pity that we do not know how to eat them. We shall have to be taught how to cook and eat them by this Ministry.

On good food depend good health and good economy of a nation. Healthy child birth is wholly and naturally dependent on good feeding. Healthy children develop into strong

[M. IBRAHIM]

and energetic citizens and a nation's sound economy depends on its citizens' output. Here, again, Sir, I seek the support of my hon. Colleagues.

Turning to Defence, I have but little to say because the staff is beyond expectation. All that I have to say, therefore, is that I heartily congratulate the Minister of Defence, Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Ribadu, on his superb achievement, and wish him more grist to his elbows and God's guidance in his deliberations.

I do no justice to both my conscience and the Action Group of Western Nigeria if I should take my seat without saying a word to them. (*An hon. Member: Fire!*) The saying is, "Empty cans make the most noise". Well, Mr Speaker, my word to them is that I term them the empty cans and their criticisms the noise.

Sir, I again beg to support.

Mr A. U. D. Mbah (Owerri North): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of thanks for the Speech from the Throne ably delivered by that great father and founder of this nation, Dr the hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe (*Applause*).

Originally, I had wanted to discuss the economic measures outlined in the Speech but I think I will be doing the greatest disservice to my country and conscience if I fail to comment on the speech of the hon. Tony Enahoro on the question of security, and on the speech of the hon. Leader of the Opposition on the economic questions.

Well, Sir, this hon. House has been warned against the dangers of inciting innocent citizens against constituted authority. But it seems to me that Members of the Opposition have not taken heed of this warning. Hon. Enahoro has tried to suggest that this Government should allow what I might call a loose democracy; that is the way by which people will be free to do what they like regardless of law and order. This is most unfortunate.

I have listened carefully to these very Members of the Opposition both outside and inside this Parliament. I have listened to their lectures. But it surprises me that right in this House they should be so sober as if to say they are working with this Government, whereas the contrary is exactly the case.

Now, Sir, the Leader of the Opposition has tried to steal the show and convince the workers and the masses of this country that the Action Group is a party of the masses. I am going to disprove this with facts and figures. Mr Speaker, Sir, in 1959, I was appointed the Secretary of the National Labour Peace Committee to bring about unity in the labour movement, and we decided to issue invitations to political leaders and heads of Governments at least to attend our rally at Enugu or send a word of congratulations. A letter was directed to the Premier of the Western Region, the then Premier of the Western Region in the person of Chief Awolowo. Now, Sir, during our meeting on the 7th and 8th of March, 1959, we got a letter from our hon. Prime Minister, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, congratulating us and wishing us good luck in our endeavours. We also got one from the East Regional Government. But what happened to the Western Government?

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): Point of information, Mr Speaker. My hon. Friend, Mr Mbah, was not there.

Mr Mbah: Well, Sir, my Friend, Mr Ekanem, is becoming uneasy because the truth is coming out. What happened with the Western Regional Premier's Office under Chief Awolowo was that they parcelled their own invitation into a different envelope and sent it back to us like that, without any comment. And here is a man who is now trying to claim that he is the champion of the workers' cause. I want to say, Sir, that in fact as well as in practice the Western Regional Government is the last in this country to accept the principle of collective bargaining.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Ijebu Remo): Point of explanation, Mr Speaker. It is absolutely untrue that the Government of the Western Region did what Mr Mbah alleges. No one in his senses would, apart from rejecting an invitation, parcel the thing back to the sender. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order!

Mr Mbah: Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not want to amuse the House. If the Leader of the Opposition is doubting me I will bring the actual letter which was sent to him directly

to this House. One was sent to him as the Premier of the Western Region and he parcelled it back to us without comment. I have the letter right here with me.

Several hon. Members : Bring it, bring it.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): Point of order, Sir. The hon. Member is being very irrelevant.

Mr Speaker : I do not think the hon. Member is irrelevant. He is relevant.

Mr Mbah : Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. Mr Ekanem and his friends, as I said earlier, have become very uneasy because they know the facts. I was the Secretary of the organisation and I have all the facts and figures.

Now, Sir, the other point is that I am raising this issue because the Opposition is trying to show to the country that they love the workers best, even more than this Government, even more than the nationalists on this Side. They are trying to show that they are more royal than the king. I want to tell them that they can never be more royal than the king.

Sir, when in 1959, workers agitate for wage increase, this Government agreed on a common Commission. It appointed the Mbanefo Commission. This very Government of the Action Group backed out and appointed the Morgan Commission; and it would interest you to know that labour representation on the Morgan Inquiry were Action Group nominees. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : The amount of interruption is getting rather too much. It is on the left as well as on the right.

Mr Mbah : I want to show that since the Action Group lost the Election they are now trying to lobby all sections of the dissatisfied elements not to help to build this nation but to destroy, and if possible ruin this Government; while on the other hand, they are trying to pretend to be the friends of the workers. I never wanted to expose them but because of the speeches I have listened to this morning both from the Leader of the Opposition and from Chief Enahoro, I am going to expose them.

Several hon. Members : Expose them, expose them.

Mr Mbah : I want to say that up till to-day, I know the Leader of the Opposition was speaking about socialism. He has not been able to tell us what brand of socialism he is talking about. Is he talking of Fabian type or scientific socialism? Or is he talking of communism? Which one do you mean?

Several hon. Members : Ask him.

Mr Mbah : Well, Sir, up till to-day, the Action Group has not been able to proclaim its political ideology. We do not know whether it is a Fascist organisation or a Communist party. We just do not know what it is. We of the N.C.N.C. on this Side believe in a socialist democracy.

Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3.05 p.m.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I do wish that, with so many hon. Members wishing to speak, Members will be as brief as possible and speak to the point. (*Hear, hear*). Will Mr Mbah please continue.

Mr A. U. D. Mbah : Thank you, Mr Speaker. As I was saying before the adjournment this morning, I have my respect for those Members of the Opposition who have contributed to the liberation of this country but when they begin to claim virtues which they do not possess, then we should tell them in very blunt language that they do not deserve it.

I am trying to show also, Sir, that the evils of regionalisation brought about by the Action Group should be completely removed—and these people claim to be the friends of the workers!

There is a Motion coming up for the extension of Lagos boundary and I understand from a reliable source that the Action Group are going to oppose it. Now tell me, Mr Speaker, how can these people claim to be friends of the workers when they are opposing measures calculated to improve the lot of the workers? (*Laughter*).

Now, Sir, in the speech of one of the hon. Members from the opposition, reference was made to internal security and the type of democracy we want. The other day, Sir, we had a demonstration from students to the House and I know that Government was

[MR MBAH]
 caught asleep because we were given the impression that the Government was not aware of what was likely to happen. I have to refer to this, Sir, because we often talk of democracy in other parts of the world. Some-one said this morning that democracy is our common heritage and should not be destroyed. I agree completely with him but when you take Ghana, for instance, our neighbour here, when the C.P.P. had won the election to form a Government the Ashantis (the big rulers) thought that they were destined to rule Ghana and refused to co-operate with what they called "rascals". They forced the Government to resort to its Detention Act in order to preserve the sovereignty and the security of the State.

The other day, Sir, we had the unfortunate incident in Ethiopia. When the Emperor of Ethiopia was on tour some people rebelled against authority and although they were subdued, what happened? They succeeded in destroying most of the leaders including Ministers. Is that the type of thing Members of the Opposition would like to happen in this country?

Several hon. Members : No !

Mr Mbah : Is that what we want in this country?

Several hon. Members : No.

Mr Mbah : And, Sir, we want, above all, assurance from the Prime Minister that the security of this country is intact, that we can rely on our Forces in the event of any disorders in this country.

We all have a lesson to learn from the fact that the closer the Government is to the people, the more surely can the Government be kept from running wild. However, it will be most unkind to expect this six months' old Government to bear the crimes of the past colonial government. My plea, therefore, is for team work, patriotic and constructive endeavours, otherwise I cannot imagine how those who want to throw others to the wolves for no just cause can hope to have a peaceful time in this country.

Security : I want to say something about the Legal Department. We are aware that at present the office of the Solicitor-General and that of the Permanent Secretary is the same. I do not think this is a healthy situation. We

would expect the separation of the office of the Solicitor-General from that of the Permanent Secretary.

Reference was also made in the Speech of the Governor-General to uniformity of labour. For this I am really grateful, and I want to urge that the Government should insist that employers of labour should be able to supply statistics of rates of pay, and other conditions prevailing in their respective employment in order to minimise the chances of exploitation. We have also a serious case in sight now, and that is the selection of someone to represent us for the first time in the International Labour Conference in Geneva. This is a very serious issue and it seems to me that the Government is adopting a middle-of-the road policy. The Government should make up its mind on this issue of recognition. Already, we have splinter groups in the labour movement and at the rate things are going, unless the Government takes a firm stand on the issue, I am sure the workers will stand to lose.

Government must be congratulated on the introduction of provident funds. I cannot at this stage discuss this matter in detail but I want to say that in this country, our workers depend solely on wages. We have not the Unemployment Benefits Scheme, or the Old Age Benefit Scheme. Most of these things are practised in other parts of the world. The result is that the worker in this country has to depend solely on his wages, and in fact, there are hundreds of other people who would also depend on his wages—his wife, his family, relatives, uncles ; relations from the third to the fourth generation hanging on £7 or at most £10 a month. This no doubt has a very adverse effect on the living of the worker.

When we talk in terms of economy in this country, my attitude is this—and this is precisely the attitude of workers and organised labour—we cannot start to improve or plan the economy of this country haphazardly. We should start by examining what a Minister should be entitled to, what a worker should be entitled to and what the civil servant is entitled to. Already the gap between the junior service and the senior service is too wide and we are breeding dis-satisfaction in the country. My appeal, therefore, is that in planning the economy of this country, Government should seek the co-operation of labour leaders, experts, and other people who are in a position to help the Government.

Building of Refinery: I am interested in this issue of refinery and I want the Government to understand that right now we are facing a slump, that is those of our people who are workers in the oil industry. We are facing redundancy; most of the workers are being laid-off, those very workers who offered their sweat and labour to usher in the new era of economic prosperity. If we think of building a refinery, the Government should also think of satisfying these workers who have been displaced due to the slump in the oil industry. We should not think of royalty alone. I make an appeal to the Minister of Commerce and Industry that the Owerri people who have protected the Shell-BP for twenty-three years should be remembered. The Shell-BP has left Owerri and a big vacuum has been created. We hope the Government will be able to replace Shell-BP with a bigger industry at Owerri.

Police Quarters: We have heard that the Government is planning to build more Army barracks, and I would ask the Government to consider building more and better police barracks for the police in the Eastern Region.

Another point is about the anniversary of our independence. It has been suggested that special stamps will be issued. I want to suggest that the stamps should bear, possibly, the images of our Governor-General, and the Prime Minister. (*Hear, hear*). There is no harm in that. Not only that, we should be able to perpetuate the memory of our independence not only by issuing special stamps, but by some sort of other performances at least in the capital cities.

In the Speech from the Throne, the Governor-General said among other things that "my Government will give all moral support to the legitimate aspirations of dependent peoples seeking their freedom from colonial status and will continue to oppose most strenuously apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination and human indignities." If I may begin with Africa, I would say that the Pan-African Movement should not be employed only for the destruction of colonialism and the assertion of racial equality. It should assume the functions of an association for the numerous and varied organisations that are working for the unification of Africa. We need to develop special services in Africa such as transportation,

postal administrations, harbours and universities among the states. There also is the question of tariffs, currency and passport which should be properly settled.

A growing wave of contact among intellectuals, youths, labour, political and business leaders are vital to the realisation of African unity. Let us take Ghana for instance. Right now, whether we accept it or not, there seems to me to be a sort of cold war going on between Nigeria and Ghana; in political tactics we do not agree, in sports we do not agree, in trade unionism we do not agree, something should be done about this; there should be better understanding between Nigeria and Ghana. The Prime Minister has always advocated a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other African countries, and I am sure, he has our full support. However, Nigeria is expected to be in the forefront of all matters affecting Africa. It is true that we do not want to assume the role of self-appointed leaders of Africa, but I would say that we are qualified in all respects to play a leading role and to influence the trend of events in Africa.

I am of the opinion that the Government is too over-cautious, so over-cautious that even in a one-way traffic we still have to look both ways. The Government has to do something about it. I appreciate that the task ahead is not without danger. In our attempt to promote the unity of Africa, conflicts may develop out of competitive diplomacy, trade, arms sales, uncontrolled economic competition and ideological differences. The dangers require vigorous and imaginative measures on the part of African Governments to order their relations within a clearly defined term.

There is also the question of differing external commitments and rival political ambitions. In these circumstances, politics may be rough and its weapons may not be so much the newspaper and microphone; for if we fail in the venture, the whole of Africa is doomed.

To whatever extent, therefore, we are prepared to promote the unity and welfare of the people of Africa, Nigeria should assume its leading role by seeking to get new political standards and to create healthy political traditions.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I support the Motion.

Chief O. B. Akin-Olugbade (Egba South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, in supporting the Amendment to the Motion of Thanks for the Speech from the Throne, I intend to be very brief. I would like to speak on what the Speech from the Throne contains, what it does not contain and what it should have contained.

It is true that this first Speech from the Throne delivered by a Nigerian Governor-General is unique. It is epoch-making. For this we are all justifiably proud, and that being so, I thought that the Speech would go a long way to meet the long cherished aspirations of the teeming millions of our great country.

I had thought also that the Speech would make real the independence for which our fathers have been struggling for nearly sixty years. Also, I had thought that the Speech would show the quality of our native genius and the understandable impatience of the African race to catch up with the progressive nations of the world. But then what do we have? We have a Speech which is, like the Curate's egg, good but only in part; a Speech which is over cautious and, though rolled in brilliant adjectives, is designed to preserve the *status quo*.

Stripped of all the glittering phrases, the policy enunciated by the Government in the Speech tends to confirm the widely held belief that our present Government still remains a pawn in the hands of British imperialism. Compared with many previous Speeches delivered by Colonial Governors and Governor-Generals in this country, the Speech represents, to my mind, no marked advance from where we were in 1922 when Sir Hugh Clifford delivered a similar Speech from the Throne.

The greater part of the Speech deals with the spending programme of the Government with emphasis on such spending Ministries like the Ministry of Works, Transport, Defence, Pensions, Foreign Affairs, Information and Communications. The Speech contains just a little more than passing remarks about such important social services as Education and Health.

Our Government's declared policy about such very important Ministries like the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Ministry of Economic Development scarcely go beyond

the stage of surveys and research and measures to be taken to improve the lot of the foreign companies exploiting the wealth of our country, to increase the dividends payable annually to their handful of share-holders at home.

Practically all the Governments in Asia and Africa to-day, except perhaps our own Government, know that imperialism is not an altruistic and benevolent organism. In fact, the imperialists themselves know that fact, but all that our Government helped us to do is to strengthen the hateful stranglehold of economic imperialism which is going on in a big way to dig into all aspects of our economic life. Whilst our Regional Governments are struggling to improve our agriculture and industrial undertakings, our Federal Government policy is designed, to my mind, to aid and abet these foreign competitors in the country with the possible exception of the oil refinery which was referred to. The Government does not in its policy intend to go beyond the stage of research in industry and agriculture which is the cardinal prop of our economy.

The Government's determination to strengthen the Judiciary and the administration of justice, to revise our Laws and, perhaps, expunge the provisions of the old colonial code which a Law Lecturer in King's College, London once regarded as "fit only for the dogs", to enact a new Companies Law and to pass the Crown Proceedings Act are very welcome. The Attorney-General must be congratulated for these proposals. The liberty and rights of the citizen should be regarded as no less important than his duties and obligations to the State.

Now, Sir, instead of the Government concentrating on the reinforcement of the protective devices and machinery of the old foreign exploiters, instead of the Government constituting itself into an agent of foreign imperialists and imperialist companies and firms whose virtues and vices we all know and, instead of appearing satisfied with the crumbs from the masters table in the way of half-hearted tax measures, patronage on the sale of Treasury Bills and ill-motivated loans from the masters' bank, our Federal Government should have declared war on economic imperialism. We have won, to a certain extent, the war against political imperialism, but the next

war which our Government should declare now is against economic imperialism. This our Government could do without scaring away well-meaning foreign investors who are only ever too ready to go into partnership with Government Agencies.

In Britain, America, and other Western democracies, the Governments are the servants of the businessmen big and small; although it is right that it be so yet it is wrong to make our own Government to play that role at the present stage of our economic development. The bulk of our wealth is in the hands of foreign exploiters. Our mineral resources, our means of production and distribution, as well as the control of the sale of our produce, are still in the grip of economic imperialism. Until such a time as our own people can control all these facets of our economy, the Government must be bold and imaginative in harnessing our economic resources with a view to raising the standard of living of our people.

The epoch-making policy paper from the Throne should also have disclosed programmes aiming at fostering the unity of our great country. It is well known that the absurdities and abnormalities of the Federal set up which make one unit of the Federation greater than the remaining two units (it is going to be three soon), put together, amounts to a real source of anxiety to honest nationalists in this country. If the Federal Government really means to preserve the unity of our country, and to enable Nigeria to hold her rightful place in the scheme of things in Africa and the world, it should not fight shy of declaring its support on the sides of the advocates of the creation of more states in Nigeria.

Palliatives and compromises cannot endure for long. In their essence, palliatives and compromises are dishonest efforts to weld two or more incompatibles together. The responsibilities and obligations of Nigeria to its citizens, to Africa and, no less to the world at large, demand an honest political union of the diverse groups inhabiting this country.

On the issue of the creation of states, history was made in this honourable House yesterday and, from all indications, it would appear that the Government is now taking sides with the advocates of the creation of more states in the

country. I do not intend to dwell upon what was said yesterday, but the less said about threats and counter-threats the better. They do not impress anybody outside the confines of this House. However, I dare say, Sir, that on this issue of the creation of states the only man I have reason and, I make bold to say, that stands between the Federal Government and chaos in this country to-day is Chief Obafemi Awolowo. (*Interruption*).

When there was trouble in Tiv Division he went there and quelled it; when the leaders of the COR State movement decided to proclaim a COR State he went there and pacified them; he raised the hopes of the people that, no matter how long, one day the states would be created. He believes in doing things in a constitutional way and that is why we have peace in this country. Remove Chief Awolowo from the leadership of people agitating for the creation of states in this country, then we can be sure that chaos will come into this country.

If any evidence is required of the ineptitude and incompetence of the Federal Government, it is provided by the complete silence or the lack of policy on the problem of unemployment in Nigeria. Any Government that refuses to see the problem does so at its own risk. Millions of our people, Sir, who are described as petty traders are in fact petty commission agents of the big firms operating in Nigeria. Go to Ereko market, see them line up the streets of Zaria, Kaduna, Abeokuta, Kano, Aba and Port Harcourt, you see our people selling matches, candles, cigarettes, salt, drinks and drugs. They make very little profits. We are all commission agents of the big firms in this country. Our people want to work. We are not, by nature, lazy people. But we have not got the opportunity and the capital, and the Governments of this Federation, in particular the Federal Government, are in a position to improve the lot of our people in their business.

In that respect, Sir, I think the Government should have declared a policy which will raise the hopes of our businessmen in this country, a policy that will preclude the big firms in this country from engaging in retail business.

One should have thought, Sir, that the Government would declare a policy of aid, to our indigenous banks. These banks form the most potent arm of our economic development. On the contrary, they passed a law to

[CHIEF AKIN-OLUGBADE]
make the business more secure for foreign banks, and they passed a law the provision of which does not allow any bank to give up to a quarter of its paid up capital to any customer. Instead of a policy of crippling our banks by invoking stringent provisions of the Banking Ordinance which no truly sovereign state would apply, the Federal Government ought to aid our banks to liberalise credit. Our people are too poor. More or less the African Continental Bank has been nationalised, the National Bank of Nigeria has been nationalised and the Bank of the North more or less belongs to the Northern Region Government.

Mr Speaker, Sir, more than anybody else in this country, and on this particular matter, the Minister of Finance, the hon. Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, has a grand opportunity to immortalise his name. But will he do it? (*Opposition Members: No, no!*) Can he see the millions of suffering humanity beyond his own ego? (*Opposition Members: No, no!*) He like any of us here, has his limitations, but that is no excuse for his apathy and his indifference to the sorrows of our people and for notorious witch-hunting. I always wonder how many of us in this House realise that it is not a right but only a privilege to serve our people. There are many more thousands of our people who are qualified to serve. I also wonder how many of us do realise that our service to this nation will not be judged by the size of our bank balances or the vastness of our personal wealth.

We know that there is such a thing as the Federal Loans Board. Its main purpose is to provide credit for Nigerian industry. This Board has for long been starved of funds. I know of several cases where intending borrowers whose applications have been processed and approved by the Federal Loans Board cannot be granted loans because of lack of funds. The Speech from the Throne made no reference to this important agency of our economic programme.

On education, Sir, all that the Government is prepared to do is to reorganise and expand our educational facilities, apart from setting out its policy on the recommendations of the Ashby Commission. We bemoan the fact that in Nigeria to-day we lack technical know-how and managerial ability. This is a great problem facing this country. Does it not

occur to the Government that a solution should be found to this problem? With the attainment of independence, the institutions of learning all over the world become open to our students. There are several thousands of our students who would like to further their education if only they had the means to do so. It is a sorry fact, Sir, that a large majority of our people are too poor to finance their technical education, but we should remember the fact that when the Government of Japan determined to industrialise their country they closed the doors of their country to foreign industrialists for fifty years and sent their students all over the world to learn how to do technical work. Japan is now one of the most highly industrialised countries in the world.

If we want to catch up, a bold and imaginative policy should be started right now and I would suggest to the Government that they should give a guarantee. I know the Minister of Finance will say that there is no money, but he can give a guarantee to banks in this country to give loans to our students who want to go anywhere in the world to have technical knowledge and business management.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in short I would summarise the suggestions I made to the Government. The first one is that the Government should adopt measures to wipe out unemployment in this country; the second one is that the Government should enact a law to prohibit retail trade by foreign big firms. The Government should also increase the funds of the Federal Loans Board to enable it to help industries engaged in by our people. The Government should guarantee loans by bank to at least 1000 Nigerian students every year which would be paid back after the completion of their studies overseas.

I would also like the Government to adopt a policy to nationalise the mines, the shipping lines—the Nigerian Shipping Lines and some other basic industries which are very necessary to our economic life until such a time as our own people are financially strong enough to take up these industries. Thank you very much.

M. Baba Shehu Ibrahim (Borsari Damaturu): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks.....

Mr Speaker: I am sorry I have to call the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (the hon. Bukar Dipcharima): Mr Speaker, Sir, it was not my original wish to speak at this stage but for the mis-information given by my hon. Friend the hon. and learned Olugbade has made me to get up and correct the mis-information. It is not true that this Government of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. (*Applause*) is discriminatory in any way. Only a fortnight ago an important personality, in fact, a foundation member of the Action Group, descended upon his capabilities and got a loan from this Government of more than £20,000 in order to bring his industry up to the mark and to compete favourably with other industries. I say that in methods of industries, commercial development and other things, politics must cease and people must be given an opportunity to prove themselves so that successful Nigerians may compete on equal terms with the rest of the world. And fortunately, Sir, some people who have got more than their fair shares of the good things of Nigeria are too jealous for others to share with them and my hon. Friends the millionaires in front of the Opposition row are so fugitive about people betraying their trade secrets and that the best way of defence is attack and so in season and out of season they talk and create enemies for others in Nigeria and overseas.

The development of Nigeria depends upon co-operation, friendliness and understanding in Nigeria and with people overseas. And that is how we intend to do. Now the word "fair" does not exist in my vocabulary.....

Mr Briggs : On a point of Order, Sir. I... (*Interruptions*).

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : Mr Speaker, Sir, I am surprised that Mr Briggs only went to England to learn his law and forgot it and learned being wicked and like all wigs he never win a case. And because of that he has sold his soul to Chief Rosiji in order to earn his living. (*Applause*).

Chief A. Rosiji : Because I ask... (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. This is not Congo.

Chief Rosiji : Mr Speaker, Sir, the legal practice of Mr Briggs is not part of the Speech from the Throne. I think this is irrelevant.

Mr Speaker : Order. I think he is hitting back at the hon. Member.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : Sir, some Members spoke about nationalisation and they want to nationalise things which do not even exist. Somebody has spoken of the shipping industry. As far as I know the ship building yard at Epe is so insignificant to anybody that it is not worth being nationalised at all. And people also quoted Ghana. Is it not surprising to learn that apart from the Gold Mining there are Manganeze Mines, there are the Diamond Fields which are still in private hands to be nationalised indiscriminately. We feel nothing at all and some people are talking about the size of the Northern Region and of the smaller regions in other parts of Nigeria; but is it not in your party the tiny Chief Akintola is the leader of Chief Rotimi Williams?

Mr Briggs : The hon. Member is introducing names of people who are not in this House. A Premier of a Region for that matter.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think if names of people are brought before the House in good faith, there is no harm.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : Thank you, Mr Speaker. I assure you that I have the greatest respect for Chief Akintola and I have not brought his name in vain. I am just giving an illustration that the size of a king means very little..... (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : These interruptions merely waste the time of the House.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall be making a major speech about nationalisation, commercial aspects and other developments after the Minister of Finance has made his Budget Speech. I shall give a chance to members to examine my speech critically in order that the very best may be brought out of it. (*Applause*). I feel that it is no use winning political points when we lose our economic freedom and progress.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there are at times Communists here, who do not belong either here or there and the little we hear from them and the more we see of them, the better it will be for

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the whole country and for their Party. We shall not allow being goaded by the irresponsibles, we shall not allow things to run with the imagination of people—to run year after year. And here in this hon. House, the Leader of Opposition said that the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa may change from day-to-day but he himself is unchangeable. (*Laughter*). It be for anybody to claim such consistency except the Creator. Wasn't it Chief Awolowo who preached against the Obas and then came and passed. . . . (*Prolonged Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

Mr W. Briggs (Degema) : This is completely irrelevant.

Mr Speaker : I think he is relevant because this point had already been made by the hon. Leader of Opposition, and whether it comes under our present discussion or not, I think I have to, first of all, listen a little more before I will be able to rule him out.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : The hon. the Leader of Opposition came here to Nigeria as a plain Mr Awolowo. To-day, he is Chief the hon. Awolowo. Is that not a change of some kind ? (*Laughter*).

An hon. Member : But he was a Premier before.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : He was then the Leader of the Federal Socialist Group. To-day, he is an aristocrat, and in his own home, only aristocrat Chiefs are allowed to dine with him. Hence, all these gentlemen are Chiefs either by appointment. . . . (*Prolonged Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, this augurs very well for the future. I am explaining about the transformation in the character and performances of the hon. Leader Chief Obafemi Awolowo and people in yester-years when there was mischief and usefulness in them. Now having succeeded, he comes round to tell the ordinary man of this. I think he is asking too much of the people and I shall appeal to the Chief to divest himself of all the huge fortunes and divide them among the poor people and the schools and the hospitals, and then like the Ghandi of old who retired comfortably into the monastery, then we shall say that of the Chief, and he will leave the world as he has

come completely penniless and without ambition other than to serve humanity and this country. But at the moment his main job is to serve himself, his family and the chiefly retinue Obas, and we the Commoners. (*Laughter*). We, then, shall be grateful for the performances.

Sir, I beg to support.

Mallam Shehu Ibrahim (Borsari Damaturu) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks for the Speech from the Throne masterly delivered by our most able, first African Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria. The speech from the Throne, Sir, is in reality remarkable for its brilliance and its logical sense, the greatest so far delivered since the introduction of Parliamentary Government in our country, delivered by our own son in his own soil for our own good, and to our Friends, Sir, delivered by the most able son of Africa to Africans and for Africa in whom, Sir, Nigeria has the greatest pride and confidence.

The programme embodied in the Speech, Sir, is both progressive, also clearly indicated elements of excellent foresight and forecast and produced by our sole honourable and respectful Cabinet formed by the coalition of the NPC/NCNC/NEPU, in which the Government, Sir, we on this side of the House, with our colleagues opposite in that tiny group, have the greatest confidence. Our strong sense of nationalism and our great endeavour to have, if I may be allowed to borrow from the Governor-General, respect for human dignity, (repeat) *respect for human dignity* everywhere in the world, are wholly indicated by the firm step taken by the admirable Prime Minister in the person of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa on the South African issue during the recent Prime Ministers' Conference in London.

During the recent Prime Ministers' Conference in London, he forced the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth—this rude, backward and inhuman country of South Africa—and is a clear indication of our Government's uncompromising attitude to all forms of apathy. Discrimination on false and unscientific ground on colour or race superiority or any superiority complex from any part of the world, particularly in our country of Africa where no race, tribe or nation has the right on logical principles to enter, occupy or remain without our own expressed

permission and consent much less to dominate. In fact the black African has been inhumanly treated in his own home and in his own country. We shall never and we can never tolerate that. This is our strong resentment of this beastly and out-moded way of living and race, nation or country which either on grounds of fear to offend any countries or for any other reasons known best to themselves indirectly show their support for the apartheid Policy of South Africa has no credit with black and coloured people anywhere in the world. In fact, Sir, our hatred and bitterness on all forms of discrimination have come to the stage that we shall continue to pursue the expulsion of South Africa from all organs of the United Nations for which that country is accepted as representative.

Furthermore, Sir, we have the believe that all those countries and nations which show tendencies to abstain from voting on important international issues are either acting cowardly or hypocritically because if it is not cowardness, where a nation knows something is not right, why should that powerful nation abstain from voting. If the leading powers are sincere and honest about the matter, there are clauses in the United Nations Charter and the universal declaration of human rights on the basis of which South Africa could not only have been expelled from all organs of the United Nations fifteen years ago but also rejected outright at the outset as completely disqualified and unfit to enter into our society of human beings.

With the forced indirect dismissal of South Africa from the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth will no doubt continue to grow stronger; Nigeria has been and shall always be a promising ally to all other members of the Commonwealth who believe and respect the principles of the United Nations. Our Government has already acquitted itself creditably at the United Nations, for which Nigerians everywhere are proud of the worthy performance of the Prime Minister during his maiden speech in the United Nation on the Congo situation. I am sure, Sir, if his suggestion had been accepted and implemented, the situation in Congo could have been improved to the point of success.

The domestic policy of the Government is also commendable more especially in the field of social welfare. The encouragement to

workers to contribute towards their Provident Fund, the proposal of the Government for building of Remand Homes, particularly in the Federal territory of Lagos, and the provision of legal aid to persons who would otherwise be unable to pursue their rights in a Court of law are excellent. Mr Lawyers, you are so extensive that some of you could have volunteered to give free legal aid if you are really sincere to those who are really in need, and if you are really good politicians, you could have done what your Government is now doing.

Sir, I would like to appeal to the Government on the issue of Nigeria Broadcasting Service. The management does not appear to be fulfilling the purposes for which it was formed, because it is very inefficient and it does not appear to be neutral and there are apparently more sympathisers with the Action Group than with any other political party. For these reasons, Sir, I would like the Government to dissolve the Board forthwith without any waste of time and make new appointments because the Government has a proposal of external broadcasting system comprising members of opposing political parties who only cater for their own well-being. (*Hear, hear.*) I have, no doubt, Sir, that when this selection is to be made of the staff and the people who will be working for the interest of our country and of our nation, careful consideration must be made and those concerned should be carefully trained before hand. (*Interruption.*) As one of the most thickly populated divisions or sub-divisions of Africa and as our voice and personality are respected everywhere in Nigeria, in Africa and in the world, it is essential that our voice should be bold, straightforward and unique.

I would like to suggest to the Government on Nigerianisation policy that the key posts and the policy making posts should be immediately Nigerianised and without any further delay; and in the field of Defence, I would like to suggest that our intelligence and security services must be seriously viewed and be given priority in Nigerianisation. Why?—our independence cannot be a reality where key and policy making posts are either held by sympathisers of the Action Group or non-Nigerians. It is very very difficult to overcome any trap which may possibly be arranged by our political opponents.

[M. IBRAHIM]

Survey of Natural Resources : May I suggest to the Government, in view of the fact that we have artisan well and bore holes along Chad basin and Bornu Province, when the survey of natural resources is to be carried out, the Government should take into account the possibility of greater expansion of agricultural projects along the Chad basin.

Communication : I would like to appeal to the Minister of Communication that the postal services between Jos and Maiduguri and Maiduguri and Kano are very very inefficient—very very inefficient and may I suggest that buses be employed. Maiduguri to Jos and Maiduguri to Kano are almost the same distance and the centre is Kari. From Maiduguri to Kari is about 270 miles, the same thing from Jos to Kari ; and from Kano to Kari there is only a difference of two miles. If four or five buses are engaged in carrying the mails, they would be in a position to meet at Kari so that one will carry the mails to Maiduguri and by the time it returns they would have carried the mails at Kari and delivered them at Kano and Jos respectively. If this principle is employed, it will solve the question of poor communication and delay in business transaction and administrative duties now faced by the various authorities and people of that particular area.

Police : I would like to point out to our Government that particularly in Northern Region the testing of motor-vehicles is very, very poor, people are debarred, business transactions are curtailed while waiting for vehicles inspection officers to come and test them. At times lorries which could have fetched about £100 or £200 are just kept stagnant ; either the officer says he is busy or the officer is on another route or has gone somewhere else. Will the Government take necessary action as this affects the economy of the nation and the earnings of the real tax payers. We must not expect them to pay without earning and once the income earning property of a person is kept not working, he will not be expected to earn anything that will enable him to pay tax to the authority of the place concerned.

Police promotion : I was greatly surprised when I saw in the Gazette last time that 77 promotions from other ranks to the posts of

Superintendent or Assistant Superintendent were made. Why is it so discriminating that there were only six Northerners. I cannot be convinced that there are no qualified Northerners to be equally appointed to the respective posts. With these few remarks, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr B. A. Adeyemo (Oshogbo South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to associate myself with the views expressed by the previous speakers. In congratulating the Governor-General, the only symbol of unity and nationalism in Nigeria, for the Speech from the Throne. In doing so, Sir, I have the following observations to make :

Police : It is a matter for joy to hear of the proposed expansion of the Police Force in Nigeria. At the same time the Police should be made to understand that they are peace officers and they must stand neutral in matters political. For instance, Sir, in certain areas in the Western Region particularly in Oshun Division, high ranking officers of the Police Force are Organising Secretaries of a certain Political Party (*Several hon. Members : Shame*) I, therefore, strongly appeal to the appropriate Minister that such havoc and such evil doing should be stopped at once. (*Hear, hear*).

Aerodrome : In the Governor-General's Speech, it is proposed that certain aerodromes in Nigeria will be improved *e.g.*, Ibadan, Enugu and Lagos. It is a matter for regret that Oshogbo has not been mentioned. The aerodrome in Oshogbo is one of the oldest aerodromes in Nigeria and this aerodrome is so under-developed that it has since out-lived its usefulness.

My people in Oshun do travel to Mecca, Ghana, Egypt by means of plane but instead of their remaining in Oshogbo, their home town, where there is an aerodrome they have to travel as far as Kano or come down to Lagos to look for aeroplane. Why not improve that at Oshogbo to avoid wasting time and money ? I therefore appeal to the appropriate Minister to see that Oshogbo aerodrome is improved to such a standard as to serve the requirement of the people in that Division—an important Division in the Western Region.

Fiscal Commission on Taxation : It is interesting to note that the Government will soon implement the report of this Commission.

In doing so, Sir, I think that Government will take into consideration the condition of the Federal Parliamentarians. Sir, the Federal Parliamentarians who live in their homes or in their constituencies and come once in a while to Lagos to attend meetings are being doubly assessed. They are assessed by their local Tax Assessment Committees in their areas and then again assessed by the Federal Inland Revenue on one and the same income. This, Sir, I consider to be cheating and, would therefore, like the appropriate Minister to look into this. (*Hear, hear*).

Atomic Bomb Test in the Sahara: It is alleged, Sir, that France will soon explode its fourth atomic bomb in Sahara. If this is done, Sir, I believe the Government will take a sterner measure against France. This measure, Sir, will be by freezing, I suggest, all French assets in Nigeria and by driving away all the French nationals from Nigeria. But in doing so, Sir, I believe the Government will consider the fate of thousands of our boys and girls who are workers under the French firms and will have to safeguard their interests; not to expose them to misery and hunger.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I cannot conclude without touching on the human indignity in the Western Region of Nigeria. (*Interruptions*). In doing so, Sir, I would like to touch on the recent incident in the Western House of Assembly in so far as the Western Regional Government and the Leader of the Opposition in the Western House of Assembly are concerned because I am a Westerner. (*Applause*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order. It is only a matter of courtesy that when an hon. Member is making a Maiden Speech, it will be listened to in silence.

An hon. Member: Making a Maiden Speech?

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I do not want to mention names, but I am afraid I shall have to. On point of order, Mr Rosiji.

Chief A. Rosiji (Egba East): Mr Speaker, Sir, did he say he was making a Maiden speech? (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker: Maybe I have been misinformed, but I have been informed that it is his Maiden Speech.

An hon. Member: I have to inform Mr Speaker that the speaker has made two previous speeches.

Mr Adeyemo: I have to draw the conclusion, Sir, that the attitude of the Action Group to the Leader of the Opposition in the Western Region stands condemned in the eyes of the world. (*Applause*). We were all in Lagos here during the Independence Celebrations: we were all here during the inauguration of the Governor-General and we all saw with our own eyes the poor attitude of the Leader of the Opposition in the Federal House who incidentally is the Federal Leader of the Action Group. (*Interruption*).

Several hon. Members: Shame, shame.

Mr S. J. Umoren (Uyo North): On a point of information, Sir.

Mr Speaker: Order, order. Is that a point of information?

Mr Umoren: Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to inform the hon. Member that Chief Obafemi Awolowo was present at the inauguration of the Governor-General and in connection with the other ceremony he has mentioned, he was there on that occasion. He was invited.

Mr Adeyemo: Mr Speaker, Sir, he displayed all this vainly askance and yet no body quarrelled with him. Why then making a mountain out of a mole hill in the Western Region? The hon. gentleman concerned gave a reason for leaving the queue on that day, yet they continued to lament in the House of Assembly and in the House of Chiefs. Even some of the Chiefs went to the extent of consulting Ifa oracle because Mr Fani-Kayode left the line. What for?

Several hon. Members: Shame, shame!

Mr Adeyemo: Any way, this is not a strange thing in the Western House of Assembly. I could remember, Sir, that in 1951 when the first Action Group Government of the Western Region was formed by means of gerrymander the first Leader of the Opposition in those days was not given official recognition and in 1956 when the name of late Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu was put forward by the N.C.N.C. as the Leader of the Opposition in the Western House of Assembly the Action Group (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. If only hon. Members can keep silent I shall be able to detect whether what the hon. Member is speaking is relevant or irrelevant.

Mr Adeyemo : Mr Speaker, Sir, when in 1956 the name of the late Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu was put forward by the N.C.N.C. as Leader of the Opposition the Action Group went into a hurried-up meeting and announced the following day that he should not be recognised officially. Now, it is the turn of hon. Fani-Kayode. Well, Mr Speaker, Sir, it is not something strange. I have to say, Sir, that it is only (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. If only Mr Odulana will stop talking privately then the debate can continue successfully.

Mr Adeyemo : I have to say, Sir, that it is only the wicked soul that sees no good in any body. Therefore, we on this Side of the House entertain no fear at all. If the Action Group likes it may withdraw recognition from Mr Fani-Kayode as recommended by the members of the Western House of Chiefs. The Action Group is in opposition in the Federal; in opposition in the North; in opposition in the East and I am assuring them that we shall (*Prolonged interruption*).

Mr J. D. Odebunmi (Egba North) Mr Speaker, Sir, It was very very interesting to observe how all Members of this House listened with rapt attention to the speech delivered from the Throne by His Excellency Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria. It was very historic and memorable, it was historic not only for the fact that he was the first Nigerian to deliver the speech from the Throne as the Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria but also for the fact that it was delivered in the National Hall—a wonderful, magnificent building. It is a building which is worth its name, it is a building I am quite sure that deserves the respect and the honour for Nigeria. We quite appreciate the structural design and the architectural set up of the building together with the structural stability and excellent finishing touch.

(The Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

At the same time we must realise that it is not Parliament building that matters or makes a nation. We should have good and

fair deliberations in this House. We must have such deliberations that will enhance the prosperity of our people. I have been greatly impressed with the cool-headedness and act of fairness on the part of the Speaker in this House. He needs to be congratulated on this. He has won admiration and great merit in the way he performs his duty.

Nevertheless, I would like to point out that we would feel much happier if the actions and statements in this hon. House are so directed to merit the respect and acclamation of the outside world.

Quite recently our Parliament was ridiculed by the outside world. It is disheartening to observe in Vol. 78 of the March issue of the Readers' Digest certain uncomplimentary but true picture of what happened in this House. The Magazine, widely-read, with the world's largest circulation of over twenty-one million copies, and published in thirteen different languages makes a ridicule of us. It reports the proceedings of this Parliament, making great fun of our apparently rowdy classroom behaviour. It quotes somebody's derisory shout of 'Sit down, you wretched fool' and branded it as one of the world's noisiest Parliaments. This not a compliment.

Please take note of the following extract from the same Magazine. "After the Prayers the debate began. Between them they constituted one of the world's noisiest Parliaments". This is not a compliment. It is insulting but cannot be disproved. This article was reproduced on the 3rd of this month by one Tai Solarin in the Times of Monday, 3rd April, 1961. That should give us food for thought. Something ought to be done to stop the name of this hon. House from being subjected to public infamy and from being dragged in the mud all over the world. We must realise that whatever we do, or whatever we say in this House is being listened to by the outside world.

We must realise that whatever we do here goes far beyond the borders of Nigeria, even walls have ears. In the Parliament of any country where everybody is jeered at and ridiculed during speech, and where every sentence made by members is subject to shouts, such a Parliament is definitely open to the world's ridicule.

To refer to the Speech from the Throne, the Governor-General has shown this House his Government's intention to strengthen the Judiciary and improve the administration of justice, and I congratulate the Governor-General on such a move. It is only by justice that wrongs can be put right. For about one year the seat I now occupy was wrongly placed on the other side of the House. During the last Federal Election in 1959, some foulplays were committed. The wrong was righted by the Judiciary and the seat is now occupied by the choice of the Electorate.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Economic Development (Mr F. U. Mbakogu): the hon. Member is not relevant. After all some of us here who have been here since ten years were returned unopposed in our constituencies. The hon. Member is not speaking on relevant points.

Mr Deputy Speaker, Order, Order. This is one of the debates that allow plenty of latitude, but the hon. Member speaking should confine his speech to the point and not matters that have already been decided by the court of law.

The Odeunmi Mr Speaker, Sir, I speak in praise of the good work of the Judiciary. We would like to implore the Federal Government to please harken to the cry from the North of Nigeria which is like the call of the Bible. "Come over to Macedonia and help us". This is a call from thousands of the supporters of the Action Group and their supporters. The Judiciary should do something to help to reduce these acts of atrocities now going on in that Region. It should be realised that in South Africa there is racial segregation. In the North of Nigeria there is political segregation. "Unity and Faith" are the inscriptions in our Coat of Arms. I hope that our Leaders, particularly, our Prime Minister will uphold these inscriptions "Unity and Faith" and make use of them for the good of our great country. Both the Government and the Opposition are working hard for the progress of this great nation. For the Prime Minister to feel that if special appointments are given to Members of the Opposition they will sabotage the Government is not fair. The Members of the Government should have faith in us because every moment, day and night, we are working for the progress of this nation.

On Labour policies and practice—page 5 paragraphs 8 and 9 of the Speech from the Throne—the Governor-General is quoted as saying *inter alia* and with the permission of the Speaker I read, "Having regard to the concurrent nature of labour, my Government will continue to place the greatest emphasis on the effective co-operation with the Regional Governments for the purpose of inserting uniformity of labour policies and practice throughout the Federation. Legislation will be introduced to enable workers throughout the Federation to provide for their old age".

Now, Sir, that is welcome news especially to the Opposition whose voice has been loudest in the fight for good service pay for workers all over this country. We have advocated increase in wages for labourers. At the moment, in the Western Region, labourers are given a minimum wage of 5s-10d per day. Somebody from this Side of the House said last week that we advocate the minimum wage of 10s per day for the labourers. I am in full support of such a move. If labourers in Great Britain and other places get 4s to 5s per hour, I do not see any reason why we cannot give the minimum wage of 10s per day to our labourers.

In conclusion, along with the increase and uniform wages and the implementation of labour policies I do hope that emphasis shall be laid on the following points: medical facilities to all service men and labourers; adequate pension rights and gratuities and all other amenities necessary for these workers.

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

M. Ibrahim Gusau (Sokoto West Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion before the House and oppose the Amendment. The Speech from the Throne is not only a privilege to the Governor-General himself but a remarkable occasion to the entire Federation as a whole.

Sir, being the first Budget Session after Independence the public anticipate to know the major principles of the Government policies. These are internal security, economic measures to cope with Nigeria's Independence and Nigeria's foreign policy. I am happy to say that the Speech from the Throne has made all these clear and there is nothing more commendable than Nigeria's declared policy of non-alignment with any bloc, east or west.

[M. GUSAU]

This is the best policy for Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. It is the only policy which African independent states should adopt to achieve their objective of African solidarity.

But Nigeria's declared aim of non-alignment should not be regarded as the sole solution of our international problems. Being the largest single unit and a leading nation in Africa, Nigeria is committed to confront ever growing problems in Africa and is anticipated to participate eventually in solving major international problems.

I must say that only six months after Independence a good start has already been made. I refer particularly to the outstanding opinion expressed by our Prime Minister at the United Nations Organisation. I also refer particularly to the maiden speech made by the Governor-General on the day he was appointed. Nigeria broke off diplomatic relations with France following its third atomic bomb test in the Sahara. And the Prime Minister's continued determination to make himself acquainted with the problems in Algeria should not be overlooked. And the last but not the least, the Prime Minister's most brilliant devotion which he performed at the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference is an example. These are few of the many indications and expressions which this Government has so far made in handling its international affairs. (*Hear, hear*).

We have proved to be totally against *apartheid* and racial discrimination anywhere on earth. The world knows our stand with regard to solving the Congo crisis. We took positive action against France for its atomic bomb test in the Sahara. We have achieved a lot in a very short time but still we have a long way to go. In the United Nations, for example Nigeria should make it more clear that *apartheid* or racial discrimination and any aggression or maltreatment by any colonial power should no longer be regarded as an interference with the domestic affairs of such countries. Through this we can make it known to the big powers the great ill-feelings which each of these can cause throughout the world. And through this we can defeat this most notorious political hypocrisy of regarding such things of domestic affairs of such colonial countries.

Mr Speaker, Sir, with regard to Nigeria's policy in Africa, I feel a Ministry for African Affairs should be established. Or if the Government finds it not necessary, a section should be opened in the Ministry of External Affairs for African Affairs with its status similar to that of Commonwealth Relations. In this connexion, a strong publicity department should be opened in view of the fact that there are three forces against African solidarity in our days. There are certain big powers in the Western bloc which through their efforts to preserve what they have politically and economically in Africa are disgusted and have aroused bitterness for themselves. Such countries are responsible for communist infiltration in Africa. I say so because I am quite sure that Africa is naturally a democratic continent. But through the persistent refusal of such countries in the Western bloc to surrender to the wind of change in Africa, the Eastern bloc I dare say has gained growing popularity in Africa.

The second is *apartheid* or racial discrimination which I have already touched. But I feel this is a victorious decade. We have started to fight *apartheid* and we shall continue to fight it to the last. Nigeria and all other countries in Africa which are opposed to *apartheid* should not only see that South Africa is forced out of the United Nations but must not recognise the present Government of South Africa. I only hope, Sir, that Africans who are against the policy of South Africa should form a provisional government and we shall support it. I am quite sure that it will be given every possible support, and help us in fighting *apartheid* in South Africa.

The third, Sir, is the activities of some countries in Africa. As a matter of fact they are Africans because they are on the continent of Africa. They preach the gospel of solidarity but in reality they act contrary to their preaching. Those are the countries which unfortunately have leaders whose order of the day is not actually to promote unity and understanding in Africa, but to achieve their objective of forceful African leadership. Imagine, Mr Speaker, those who advocate for absolute neutrality can form Cassablanca bloc on the continent of Africa. They have, in other words, given room for those countries which are not

in ideological agreement with the Cassablanca bloc to form their blocs. While we refuse to identify ourselves with any bloc, either East or West, in order to avoid indulging in any form of conflict between the bigger nations of the world at the same time, Sir, by the actions of certain independent nations in Africa, the continent is severely threatened by division into blocs and groups, which will not only endanger African unity, but will also make way for the bigger nations to introduce their once rejected ideological wars in Africa.

Imagine also, Sir, the nations in Africa, which have not yet established the slightest, may I say the most elementary approach to successful African solidarity or pan-Africanism dreaming of building a united military high command in Africa. It is unclever to comment on this fantasy but I will leave it to the public to ponder the motives behind befooling Africa by deliberately putting the cart before the horse.

These are the three major forces against us in Africa, and the reason why I advocate for the establishment of a Ministry for African Affairs, or a section for African Affairs in the Ministry of External Affairs, with a strong publicity department attached to it. In spite of all these, Mr Speaker, there is also one more reason why a Ministry for African Affairs should be established, in order to promote greater understanding between independent African States. There is no doubt that the whole Africa is opposed to and has protested vigorously against the French atomic tests in the Sahara. The French Community States, formerly French dependent territories kept silent and undisturbed. In other words they were more or less behind France's mischief against Africa. It is a serious situation and a handicap to African solidarity. I know for certain, Sir, that our brothers in the French Community have nothing against their African brothers in other parts of Africa and all that we expect from them are goodwill and good wishes as much as they expect them from us. But it is too ridiculous on the part of our brothers in the French Community to be so rigid and hundred per cent behind their former colonial masters in their catastrophic efforts to destroy their mother Africa. They should have taken Nigeria as an example because we belong to

the club of British Commonwealth of Nations and yet that does not prevent us from criticising the United Kingdom Government if we are compelled to do so.

However, Sir, whatever problems we may face in Nigeria, in Africa, or anywhere in the world, with the Rt. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe as our Governor-General and Sir Abubakar as Prime Minister, I am confident that Nigeria is in the hands of the right leaders who will lead the nation in the right way.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it seems that I have confined my speech to Nigeria's policy in Africa. It is not because I have no remarks on other issues, but because I am absolutely convinced that Nigeria's destiny largely depends on the confidence which the other nations have in her through her leadership of Africa.

As I have said, I reserve my comments on other issues until we come to debate the Appropriation Bill. But, with your permission, Sir, I should like to comment on one current issue about the Federal Public Service.

Certain sections of the public and even some Members of this House criticise the appointment of Northerners into the Federal Public Service. I must say that it is a crucial one, it is so crucially planned in order to disrupt the unity of Nigeria. It is something which should not be entertained by any Member of this Parliament. It is something which should not come from any true nationalist of the country. It is unfair on the part of anybody to do so. It is shameful on the part of Parliament to discuss and it amounts to being ungrateful to the North.

The Federal Public Service, as in all Federal matters, must reflect the entire Federation. I challenge anybody who can say that the North, with more than half the population of the Federation, has no right to have its sons and daughters in the Federal public service. (*Applause*). It is obvious now, Mr Speaker, that the tolerance which the North has been exercising in the interest of Nigerian unity over many Federal matters has been in vain if, out of 41,000 personnel in the Federal public service, one can grudge us the appointment of only; I say only, 400 Northerners—a figure which is less than one per cent.

[M. GUSAU]

It is most astonishing to note what is thought of the North and its people. At any rate, Sir, I challenge anybody to defend the view that the Northerner is inferior to any race or tribe in the world. Whether such people like it or not, we shall continue to urge our Northern brothers and sisters to come to the Federal Public Service because it is due to our education that they now leave their services in the Region and come to hold the Northerners' rights in this part of the Federation—in the Federal Public Service. It is my earnest hope, Mr Deputy Speaker, that our leaders should observe this danger and stop unscrupulous elements from tampering with this precious pendulum which holds the guiding principle of Nigerian unity.

Mr Deputy Speaker, I beg to support. (Applause).

The Minister of Information (Hon. T. O. S. Benson): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, my Ministry has been criticised for not projecting Nigeria to the outside world. This is not correct. In the Speech from the Throne, it is clearly stated that through my Ministry we propose to establish an external broadcasting service, and also a Federal television service and a printing organisation. The main purpose of establishing these three organisations is to project the country.

Apart from that, in the Film Unit we have many films projecting the country—we have films on *This is Nigeria*, *Nigeria Hails Independence*, the Prime Minister's tour of the Western Region, and at present the film on the Swearing in of the Governor-General is in production, and a number of others. (Interruptions).

The Deputy Speaker: I am sure it is the Minister's intention that he should be clearly heard. At the moment there are so many side discussions and interruptions that I am not sure the Minister is being sufficiently clearly heard, particularly on the side of the Speaker. I am sure that he will certainly make himself more audible and that Members will listen in greater silence.

The Minister of Information: Thank you very much, Mr Deputy Speaker, As I said, we are also producing a film on the Swearing in Ceremony of the first Governor-General of Nigeria in the person of Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe,

and also a film on the tour of the Eastern Region by the Prime Minister. We are doing all these in order to project the country.

The N.B.C. is also criticised. I would like to make it clear that, according to the Law establishing the N.B.C.—section 10 (1) of the Law places a specific duty on the Corporation: that is, "to provide as a public service independent and impartial broadcasting services by means of wireless telegraphy for general reception within Nigeria". I am confident, Sir, that they are doing their duty.

As far as the News Section of the N.B.C. is concerned, it is admitted that the News Section does not always measure up to the standard required. For instance, yesterday evening on the 7 o'clock news bulletin, those who listened to the news would notice that even the Mover of the Motion for the creation of the Mid-West State, Mr Ogunsanya, and even the Seconder, Mr Ayeni, were not mentioned. I agree that, as far as the News Section is concerned, reports are sometimes not balanced. Therefore, Sir, as far as I am concerned, I shall cause appropriate action to be taken. (Hear, hear.) (Prolonged interruptions.)

The Deputy Speaker: Order, order. May I remind the House once more that there are too many interruptions and side discussions. I am sure we would not like the Minister to strain his voice by calling upon him to speak louder.

The Minister of Information: As far as I am concerned, I have made it clear that the N.B.C. is doing very useful work. But we have in the News Section some satellites of our Friends on the Opposition here. Yesterday nothing was said about those who proposed and seconded the Motion, but they concentrated the news bulletin on what was said by my Friends of the Opposition. That is true, Sir.

Now, as far as publicity is concerned, the Members on the other side will agree with me that when we come to publicity, I think I can claim to be one of the foremost in this country. In 1954, I arranged the publicity for the Federal Elections in the Western Region and I defeated the hon. Leader of the Opposition who is now in this House. He was then leading the campaign for the Action Group in the Western Region

Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, if I were the person commissioned to design the carving on the doors of this Parliament, certainly I would either design a cock heralding the dawn of a new era, or a man with a hoe digging the ground to lay the foundation of a greater tomorrow; but certainly I would not have designed on that door a palm tree, with the Federal Secretary of the Action Group, Chief Ayo Rosiji, trying to get to the Moon, climbing the palm tree with a keg of palm wine tied around his waist. (Laughter).

When we come to the Budget Speech, any other points Members would like to make will be answered, but we are doing our best in my Ministry to project the country within the limit of the funds made available.

Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr Adeniran Ogunsanya (Ikeja): Mr Speaker, Sir, I want to make one or two observations. It is strange though that just as I get up to speak the Leader of the Opposition and his Shadow Foreign Minister are all walking out. I want to say that all the Opposition has to say, particularly the bigger Members of them, has been tolerated by the Government because the Government has been too lenient.

I wish, in regard to the speech by His Excellency, to make one or two observations. The first is that the Ministry of Communications should, in view of what we have been told by various speakers here, as soon as possible, take over the administration of the job at present done by Cable and Wireless. I think it is about time that is should be assimilated into the Ministry of Communication.

Now, secondly, there is one serious matter which in all seriousness I want to emphasise to this House. If I am asked for the reasons, in due course I shall be able to advance one or two salient reasons to this hon. House. I think it is about time that the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Nigeria should concern himself with his job and not dabble into our politics in Nigeria (*Hear, hear*). We are no longer a colonial country. We have our own Prime Minister and, in any event, he is not in this country as our Governor-General. I would be able to advance a lot of reasons and I have facts at my disposal to show that Viscount Head, who is not the *head* of this country, is trying to assume the role of the head of this country. We should not tolerate it.

Now, I must agree with Chief Enahoro that there must be absolute democracy in this country, subject to the limitations provided by law, but at the same time this democracy should not be demanded on Federal matters alone. All the Regions, including the Region wherein he was Minister of Home Affairs, should also imbibe the cannons of democracy.

There is one point which I wish the Federal Government, and particularly some of our leaders, to note. We do not want to be in bad blood with our neighbouring African States. I want to say, Sir, that the Nigerian Chairman of the Congo Conciliation Commission did not carry us with him when, some time ago, he made some pronouncements which gave the impression that he was trying to attack the President of Ghana. I maintain that the people of Nigeria have a right to give leadership to Africa just as also the people in Ghana equally have, and all other countries in Africa, the right to supply leadership. I think these things must really come out of understanding between us; and it is so important, especially in view of vital questions like the South African question.

If we must be sincere to ourselves—no Minister of State has any right, without consulting the Head of our Government, to just express a total outburst against a neighbouring country. I realise that this was sanctioned by some people who like to have something to hit at.

It is a pity, Sir, that there has been some reference to the filling of posts in the Public Service of the Federal Government. This matter, particularly the way in which people have been speaking, is so important that I am sure the Federal Cabinet is able to start investigations quickly in order to kill any propaganda against any appointment that is made.

I myself do not believe that there is any body here who has the desire to discriminate against any part of Nigeria. Every Nigerian has a right, whether he comes from Gusau, or from Bende, or from Ikorodu, to apply to be considered, and I am sure that the Public Service Commission will consider everybody on his merits, and will not discriminate against any Northerner. We want to Nigerianise our Public Service and, in so Nigerianising it, we want to replace the expatriates with Nigerians who will be up to the task.

[MR OGUNSANYA]

Now there is something said about the Police Force. There have been a lot of complaints about the filling of the senior posts in the Police Force and I think it is about time that the Federal Government devised means of looking into this. I have been told of a case of a man of Standard VI who, because he was loyal to his V.I.O. (his Vehicle Inspection Officer) he has since been promoted Assistant Superintendent of Police. I think that the Cabinet knows nothing at all about all this and this only comes to the Floor of the House for the very first time.

We must thank the Federal Government for the big scheme made for the Judiciary and the building of more Magistrates Courts in Lagos and the appointment of more Magistrates. I think in this we have extreme confidence in our Attorney-General and, with this coming on, there is no doubt that the Ministry of Justice will be better manned.

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

Chief Ayo Rosiji (Egba East) : With regard to the Amendment to the Motion I would like to say that the issue which was raised in that Amendment is a very important one which should be considered with a cool mind and a cool head. It is not a matter about which any of us should get over-excited.

I was very surprised to hear the speech of the hon. Minister of Finance about this Amendment but that requires too much heat. I have warned my hon. Friend several times before that if he over-excites himself, the hon. Minister of Health may tell him that he will raise his blood pressure and that may have a disastrous effect. (*Laughter*). But I like him nevertheless, particularly when he wears his full robes with his feathers and a long train. I would like to say, however that this matter is one which must come before this House without any sentiment. What is more important is that our economic programme is in the best interests of Nigeria.

We have put forward this proposal because we have the best interests of Nigeria at heart; and I prefer to concede to the Members of the Government that they have the same interests at heart when they put forward an opposite view. What is important, therefore,

is to consider the matter with a cool mind. Let us match argument against argument and see which is the better one.

Now, Mr Speaker, we have on many occasions before in this House made statements in connection with our economic policy.

I am glad to hear from the Minister of Commerce and Industry that he intends to make a statement on our nationalisation policy later during this Meeting. Therefore, in order to help him make his statement, I would like to state here, very clearly, what our stand is and I do not want us to be misunderstood.

We believe that the interests of Nigeria require that we should have different sectors of economic enterprise. There should be the sector in which public control should prevail, there should be the sector which should be open to private enterprise—both foreign and indigenous—and there should also be the sector which should be confined completely to indigenous entrepreneurs.

Now, Mr Speaker, our quarrel with the statement in the Speech from the Throne is that that speech limits nationalisation to those utilities which are already nationalised. I would like to say, judging from the speeches of Members of the Government Bench, that that statement is an erroneous statement. I do not believe that the Government themselves meant what they wrote in that statement. I do not believe it and I can give my reasons.

Several hon. Members : We want the truth.

Chief Ayo Rosiji : Mr Speaker, to-day the Electricity Corporation, the Coal Corporation, the Ports Authority, are all under public control. My suggestion is that it should not be the decision of this Government to limit public control to any of these enterprises, and I would like to say further that it is very imperative that the Government should make its position absolutely clear. Let people in this country and people outside this country appreciate what our position is clearly. Let nobody be deceived. If we make our position clear right from the beginning, instead of deceiving the public, we shall be better respected for it.

Now it has been brought to our notice already that even the Airways have become nationalised. The Airways were not public utilities which were already nationalised and a

statement was made here this morning also by the Minister of Finance indicating that some nationalisation is going to take place as far as the shipping industry is concerned. We on our side would welcome this, but how can the Government, while it puts that statement in the Speech from the Throne, at the same time proceed to make arrangements to nationalise other industries?

I think that it is important that people who want to invest money in this country should know exactly where they are. They should be under no disillusion. It would be very bad for this country for us to give one impression and pursue a different policy. It would be bad for people outside this country not to be able to trust us. We want them to know exactly in what sector of our economy they can participate. In that event, they can make no mistake. They can come here with their capital and make investments.

Now, Mr Speaker, the hon. Minister of Finance, in his speech, said that the intention of the Government is to enable Nigerians to participate in industrial projects. I would like to assure him that we on this side of the House also want Nigerians to participate in industrial projects and we want them to take control and to participate equally, even in a more predominant position than foreigners, but this is where the difference comes in. The difference is that the industries in which private enterprise, both Nigerian and foreign, or even Nigerian, will participate must be clearly defined and those which will be subject to public control must also be defined.

The people of this country would not like to be held to ransom by any foreign enterprises. There may be a State of emergency; if there is a war and if we have in the hands of foreigners vital industries which will affect our war effort, it will be disastrous for this country. Therefore I would like the Government to go and prepare a list of industries and categorize them so that we will know exactly where we are.

Mr Speaker Sir, we have made proposals here which are heavily on the side of the workers and the lower income groups of this country. I would like to warn, especially the Minister of Finance, if he will listen to me, that it is imperative that the policies of this Government take more cognizance of the more lowly people of this country. We do not

want any trouble; we do not want to be turned into another Congo; we do not want a revolution in this country, and the earlier the Government looks after its paupers in the way that has been done, as an example, in the Western Region, the better. (*Hear, hear*).

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister

Mr S. Lana rose in his seat.

Mr Speaker : Order, order !

Chief Ayo Rosiji : Mr Speaker, I do not give way.

Mr Speaker : If the hon. Member does not give way, he may then continue his speech.

Chief Ayo Rosiji : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support the Amendment. (*Laughter*)

Mr Speaker : Order, order; this is the last day for the debate and I think for the convenience of the House, it is time that we come to the end of the sitting.

Amendment put and negatived.

Main Question, put and agreed to.

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to His Excellency, the Governor-General, as follows :—

“Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the House of Representatives of the Federation of Nigeria, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the speech which Your Excellency has been pleased to address to both Houses of Parliament.

ADJOURNMENT

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : Sir, I beg to move, That this House do now adjourn.

The Minister of Education (Hon. Aja Wachuku) : Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Mr Speaker : I have a notice from Mr Lar on the Motion for adjournment. Have you got the consent of the Minister of Finance?

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. Festus Okotie-Eboh) : No, Sir.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : That this House do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-five minutes to six o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NIGERIA

Thursday, 6th April, 1961

The House met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

COST OF INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S INSTALLATION

O.1. M. Saidu Zango asked the Prime Minister what was the total cost to the Federal Government of both the Independence Celebrations and the ceremonies in connection with the installation of the Governor-General.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister : The total cost to the Federal Government of both the Independence Celebrations and the installation of the Governor-General was £2,412,678, that being the recorded expenditure and liability estimated as at 31st March, 1961. The total actual expenditure will not be known until the 1960-61 accounts are closed sometime in August this year.

New Building for Police Office at Itu

O.2. Mr P. E. Ekanem asked the Prime Minister if he is aware that the Police Office at Itu in Enyong Division is in a most dilapidated condition and unfit for a divisional office; and if he will say when a new office will be built there.

Minister of State (Mr Olarewaju) : I am aware that the Police Station at Itu is below the normal standard. The project was included in the Police building programme for 1960-61 but had to be dropped because of the lack of funds. If sufficient funds become available this year, the station will be rebuilt.

Withdrawal of Nigerian Forces from the Congo

O.3. M. Yakubu Allana asked the Prime Minister whether he will consider the withdrawal of the Nigerian Army and Police from the Congo; and what the Federal Government propose to do for the families of Nigerian soldiers who lost their lives in the Congo.

The Prime Minister : I will be making a statement to Parliament on this matter very soon.

M. Aminu Kano (Kano East) : I hope that when the Prime Minister makes a statement on this matter we shall be given the opportunity to debate it.

The Prime Minister : I think Parliament will have ample opportunity for debate on this matter when we come to the Head on Foreign Affairs.

Nigerian Forces in the Congo : Maintenance Costs

O.26. Mr E. J. Ogunkanmi asked the Prime Minister the cost to Nigeria of maintaining the Military and Police Forces serving in the Congo, and if he will make a statement.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister : The cost up to the end of March is estimated at £90,000 for the Military Forces and £19,000 for the Police Contingent. I shall make a statement about the valuable contribution which Nigerian soldiers and Police are making to the cause of world peace in the course of this meeting.

Strength of Nigerian Forces in the Congo

O.27. Mr E. J. Ogunkanmi asked the Prime Minister how many Nigerians are serving in the Congo with the Military and Police Forces.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister : There are 1,796 Nigerians serving in the Congo, 1,428 with the Military Forces and 368 with the Police Force.

Mr E. B. Affanideh (Ikot-Ekpene South) : How many of these soldiers have died?

The Prime Minister : Surely if the hon. Member is interested in his country he should know, of course, by now how many of our soldiers died in the Congo. In the first encounter, Sir, one soldier was killed, and on another occasion an officer was ambushed and killed; that is two dead.

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South) : I want to ask the Prime Minister how many of them are on the danger list.

Pro-Lumumba Demonstrations

***O.56. M. Haliru Gwandu** asked the Prime Minister, the extent to which foreign diplomatic missions and private cars were

damaged in this country during demonstrations on the death of the late Congolese Premier, M. Lumumba; and if he will make a statement.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations: This matter is under consideration and the answer will be given in due course.

Relations with French Republic

*O.28. **Mr E. J. Ogunkanmi** asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs, whether any other relationship exists between Nigeria and France after the breaking of diplomatic relations with that country, and if he will make a statement.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: There has been no official relationship between Nigeria and the French Republic since the severance of diplomatic relations with that country.

Diplomatic Relations with Foreign Countries

*O.29. **Mr N. Nwangbo** asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs, whether he will give a list of countries which have diplomatic relations with Nigeria; and what plans he has for strengthening such relations.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: The following countries have established diplomatic relations with Nigeria and have already had missions in Lagos: United Kingdom, United States of America, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, India, Israel, Canada, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Lebanon, Netherland, Sudan, Norway, United Arab Republic, Cameroon Republic, Belgium, Australia, Ethiopia, Liberia, Pakistan, Italy, Japan, Ireland, Turkey and Senegal.

Nigeria intends close and friendly relations with all countries which respect our sovereignty and there is close co-operation between us and most of these countries especially in cultural, economic and technical matters. We for our part have already established missions in some of these countries which have embassies here and the Government intends to establish more missions as staff problems and other circumstances permit.

Mr W. O. Briggs: When does this country think of having diplomatic connections with other communist countries?

The Prime Minister: I do not know why my hon. friends opposite are always interested in this subject.

Mr L. J. Dosunmu: Non-alignment, Sir!

The Prime Minister: Yes, it is non-alignment but we are not lucky in the way of any communist country establishing an embassy in Nigeria. And so far we have allowed Russia to open an embassy here and we hope we will open one in Moscow very soon. Yugoslavia is also opening here.

Mr P. E. Ekanem: I will go to Moscow.

The Prime Minister: Well, you will not go as an ambassador, Mr Ekanem. (*Interruptions*). He cannot go because the hon. Member is too emotional—that is the trouble. So, whenever any communist country applies to open an embassy here the application will be considered as we consider all the other applications. (*Hear, hear*).

M. Aminu Kano: I want to know whether it is true that among these embassies established in this country there are some that are given preferential treatment?

The Prime Minister: I will not say there is, Mr Speaker. I am trying all I can to limit the staffs of the different embassies and high commission offices here. And I hope the House will appreciate that some of these countries that are opening are completely new to us but others we have been in association with for a very long time. But I want to assure hon. Members that there has not been any discrimination in our treatment of the foreign offices that are established in Nigeria.

Mr W. O. Briggs: I want to know how many of these embassies we have reciprocated.

The Prime Minister: Although this is a new question, Mr Speaker, I think I told Parliament some time ago that we intend to do this in phases. We have an embassy in Washington, in Liberia; we have High Commission Offices in the United Kingdom and in Ghana; we have a Commissioner's Office in Sierra Leone—they are not yet independent—and we hope to open more very soon. We have one office in the Cameroon Republic as well as in Sudan. We hope to open many more soon as staff become available.

M. Magajin Musawa : May I know from the hon. Prime Minister what are the relations between Nigeria and France.

Mr Speaker : I think that is a new question.

LAGOS AFFAIRS

Widening of Obalende Bridge

*O.20. **M. Saidu Zango** asked the Minister of Lagos Affairs whether he does not consider it desirable to widen the bridge on Obalende Road, Lagos, over MacGregor Canal; and if so, when does he intend to do so.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Lagos Affairs : The Obalende Bridge to Ikoyi is the responsibility of the Lagos Town Council and one day it will have to be replaced by a wider structure. Meanwhile, a relief bridge for pedestrians has been provided on the Police Barracks side and with the opening of the alternative bridge on the Awolowo Road to Ikoyi, traffic on the Obalende Bridge has been much reduced and the matter has become less urgent.

The Lagos Town Council is aware of the need to improve this bridge and has plans to reconstruct it, at the same time raising it above the existing level to provide a pedestrian subway on the west bank of the MacGregor Canal. Funds for this are not presently available but it is hoped that it will be possible to provide them in the 1962-67 Economic Programme.

Lagos Building Society

*O.57. **M. Haliru Gwandu** asked the Minister of Lagos Affairs what are the objects of the newly-established Lagos Building Society; for what purpose was the loan of £500,00 granted to the Society; and who are its directors and shareholders.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Lagos Affairs : I presume the hon. Member's question relates to the Nigeria Housing Development Society Limited, which is commonly known as the *Nigeria Building Society*. The principal object of this Society is:—

“To encourage and facilitate the private ownership of houses by making to individuals loans secured by mortgages of freehold and leasehold dwellings.”

The only shareholders are:—

(a) Colonial Development Corporation, holding 975,000 shares.

(b) The Federal Government, holding 500,000 shares and

(c) The Eastern Region Government holding 150,000 shares.

All shares are of £1, fully paid. In approximate proportion to the shareholding, the Colonial Development Corporation is entitled to appoint four directors, the Federal Government two and the Eastern Region Government one.

The Board of Directors at present is:—

Mr A. T. de B. Wilmot (Chairman)

Senator L. C. Daldry

Mr A. F. Cooper

(all nominated by the Colonial Government Corporation)

Hon. T. O. S. Benson (nominated by the Federal Government)

Mr J. A. Egwu (nominated by the Eastern Government)

There are at present two vacancies on the Board, to which the Federal Government and the Colonial Development Corporation is each entitled to nominate one director.

Mr P. E. Ekanem : Is the hon. T. O. S. Benson still a member?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Lagos Affairs : Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall make enquiries.

EDUCATION

Award of Bursaries

*O.30. **Mr R. O. A. Akinjide** asked the Minister of Education, whether, after consulting with the Regional Governments and securing their co-operation, he will take immediate steps to see that all the Nigerian students in approved institutions in the United Kingdom are awarded bursaries to complete their courses.

The Minister of Education : I am reviewing the Federal Scholarship Scheme in the light of the recommendations made in the Ashby Commission's Report regarding awards to students and my Regional colleagues are conducting similar reviews. It will be my object to use our limited resources to give

help where it is most needed in the interests of promoting the higher education of Nigerians.

The assurance asked for cannot be given. In reviewing our Scholarship Scheme our first priority must be to ensure that our Nigerian universities are not left without places unfilled. The next priority will be to enable students to study abroad where facilities are lacking in Nigeria. A commitment to give bursaries to all students in approved institutions in the United Kingdom, that is, not necessarily institutions of higher education is out of the question.

Mr A. Akomolafe : Does the Minister consider the desirability of doing something urgently for those who are in a serious situation there ?

The Minister of Education : It has been the policy of my Ministry to come to the aid of students who are in financial anxiety either here in Nigeria or abroad and we will continue to do same.

Post-Graduate Course Students

***O.31. Mr R. O. A. Akinjide** asked the Minister of Education if he would state the number of Nigerians now taking post-graduate courses under Federal Government sponsorship both in this country and overseas, indicating the nature of the course each of them is taking.

The Minister of Education : There are at present 14 post-graduate Federal Government scholars, 12 of whom are overseas and 2 in Nigeria. Their fields of study are :—

Education	3
Chemistry	2
Industrial Chemistry	1
History	1
Meteorology	1
Statistics	1
Economics	1
Agricultural Economics	1
Post Office Engineering	1
English	1
Surgery	1

Mr Akinjide : Is the Minister aware that that number is hopelessly negligible, and what is he doing to improve the condition ?

The Minister of Education : That number is not hopelessly negligible. Post-graduate courses are awarded to those that we know deserve such awards and who will when they come back be of immense value to the Federation of Nigeria.

Mr M. B. Afanideh : We will be grateful to know how many of these students come from the various Regions.

Mr Speaker : This is a new question.

Mr V. E. Eze : As this is a nuclear age, would the Minister of Education indicate to the House how many students are pursuing courses leading to nuclear science.

Mr Speaker : This is another new question.

Dr P. U. Okeke : Would the Minister be kind enough to tell this House the Strength of the applications received out of which the figures he has just quoted were chosen.

Mr Speaker : That is also another new question.

Teaching Staff at U.C.I.

***O.32. Mr R. O. A. Akinjide** asked the Minister of Education if he would state the numerical strength of the teaching staff in the University College, Ibadan, indicating how many are Africans and non-Africans respectively.

The Minister of Education : The numerical strength of the teaching staff at University College, Ibadan, is 194. 56 are African and 138 non-African.

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS

PORTS (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : *Second Reading*—This day.

PIERS (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : *Second Reading*—This day.

ORDER OF THE DAY

[APPROPRIATION (1961-62) BILL]

Order for Second Reading read.

BUDGET SPEECH 1961

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I have in command from His Excellency the Governor-General to move that—

A Bill entitled "A Bill for an Act to appropriate the sum of fifty-two million, nine hundred and four thousand, two hundred and eighty pounds to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-two" be read a second time.

It is my pride and privilege to present the first truly independent budget of the Federation of Nigeria.

The budget debate has always been a most important occasion in our Parliamentary life. I believe that this year it is even more important than ever before. Our rate of progress as an independent nation rests to a large extent upon the skilful management of our economic and financial affairs. The problems which we face are many and complex ; they grow no easier as we seek to accelerate and expand the growth of the national economy. So it is my hope that, in this debate, we shall all of us address ourselves to our task, conscious of its high importance and conscious of the responsibilities which devolve upon us. We are the founding fathers : the destiny of Nigeria is in our hands : let us hope that future generations will say that we have done our work well.

When I introduced my last budget, the STABILITY BUDGET, we stood on the very brink of Independence. Since then, the glorious first of October has come and gone. We have shed our colonial past and we have stepped into the refreshing dawn of independent nationhood. We have already begun to exert a new and beneficial influence upon the affairs of Africa and of the world. We are proud to be Nigerians and indeed, so we should ; for with our considerable human and material resources, we are the veritable giant of Africa. Yet, our influence will count for little unless our economy is strong. It was for this reason that, in my Stability Budget last year, I laid before you a comprehensive ten-point plan for the conduct of the nation's economic and financial affairs. It was my intention to provide the essential foundation of stability upon which we could build our economic strength. I believe that in the past year the Federal Government have made notable progress in the provision of this foundation. I feel sure we can now move forward with every prospect of success.

It is in this confident spirit that I have decided to call my 1961 budget, the SOVEREIGNTY BUDGET. So, Sir, we have advanced, since the financial affairs of the Federation were first entrusted to me, from the People's Budget to one of Responsibility, from that to Stability, and now from Stability to Sovereignty. "Sovereignty" is defined by the dictionary as : "supremacy or pre-eminence in respect of excellence or efficacy". With all modesty, Sir, this is the type of budget I hope to lay before the House to-day on behalf of the Federal Government. A sovereign budget tuned to the needs of our newly-won sovereignty.

Honourable members will know that in the years since the Second World War, the Nigerian Governments have ordered their capital expenditure in a series of development plans. Immediately following the war there was inaugurated a ten-year Plan of Development of Welfare. Then, in 1955, the Federal Government embarked upon a five-year Economic Programme which was later extended by two years. Now we are entering the final year of this Programme. There is no question that to all intents and purposes the full Programme will be completed to schedule. Under it Nigeria has enjoyed a period of economic development unparalleled in her history. The 1955/62 Economic Programme has made a real and lasting contribution to the economic and social betterment of our people. Now, however, it is our duty to look ahead to the future which we believe will prove even more dramatic than the past. As I speak, the work of formulating the development plan for the years 1962/67 is proceeding apace. Its preparation will require vision and imagination. We are grappling with immense problems which can only be met by investment on a massive scale.

The preparation of the plan falls into two main parts. First, we are working in full consultation with Regional Governments through the mechanism of the National Economic Council to produce an overall national framework of planning. It is intended that this framework should set the targets for the various sectors of the national economy and indicate the means of reaching them. Secondly, we will produce within this framework a Federal economic programme : a complete plan of capital investment for 1962/67 broken down into individual projects. It will embrace only those fields of investment for which the Federal Government are responsible but, of course, they are the very ones of greatest importance for the development of the infrastructure ; and it is upon the building of the infra-structure that the success of all forms of investment will depend. (*Prolonged noise*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. It is a good thing to be humorous, but at the same time we must consider the Reporters. Unless the House is in silence it will be impossible for them to hear the speech of the Minister of Finance.

At this early stage I cannot be precise about what the new Federal development plan will cover. It is, however, possible to give some indication of its likely shape. We believe that the corner-stone of the plan will almost certainly be the Niger Dams project. This in itself will be a project of tremendous size and scope ; the capital investment involved will be of the order of sixty-seven million pounds. This will make it the biggest single project ever undertaken in Nigeria. It is the subject of a final feasibility report which has only recently been completed. The report gives us strong grounds for optimism, and it is our hope that the World Bank will send a full-scale mission to Nigeria in the course of the next two or three months to examine the project in all its aspects. It is by this project that we propose to provide the cheap and plentiful electric power so necessary for the industrialisation of the country. Other benefits of the project will include improvements to the navigation of the Niger, the provision of irrigation for agricultural development and the setting-up of a large fishing industry. (*Hear, hear.*)

The development of agriculture is fundamental to the progress of the nation. Without a flourishing and expanding agriculture, the growth of industry in Nigeria will be retarded. In support of this, I would like to refer for a moment to the following remarks of Lord Netherthorpe, who visited Nigeria recently with the Federation of British Industries Mission. Speaking of the need for agricultural investment, he said :—

“No investment by Nigeria herself could yield greater dividends nor contribute more effectively to her economic and industrial development. That is not to say that Nigeria should content herself with a purely agrarian economy. Indeed, the contrary is true, since every increase in the national income and particularly in the level per head increases Nigeria’s attractiveness as a potential market for industrial goods.

Thus, an expansion in agricultural exports by raising the national income could probably do more in a short time to encourage industrialisation than anything else.”

Of course, the weight of responsibility for the development of agriculture rests with the Regional Governments, but in our Federal plan we must invest in projects which will be complementary to developing agricultural industries of the Regions. The development of road and rail communications is one important aspect of this. Indeed, the development of the Federal transport system will inevitably play an important part in the next plan. We are therefore grateful for the report of the Stanford Research Institute on the problems of transport co-ordination in Nigeria. We believe that, with the guidance given in this report, we shall be able to provide a transport system suited to the rapidly growing needs of an emergent nation. The development of ports, air-fields and telecommunications are other important sectors which must be given their due place in the next programme. Apart from these strictly economic subjects, the Federal Government also have heavy responsibilities in the sphere of the social services. Here I must refer briefly to the Ashby Report on “Investment in Education”.

[MINISTER OF FINANCE]

Obviously the success of our plans for development in the public and private sectors of the economy depends upon the availability of the necessary manpower. Although the provision of finance will undoubtedly present serious problems for us in accomplishing our development plans, I am sure there is some danger of under-estimating the man-power problem. It is for this reason that I welcome what can truly be described as a monumental, indeed epoch-making, report on educational development. The report, which is being closely studied by the Federal as well as the Regional Governments, envisages expenditure of almost astronomical proportions for Nigeria. At the moment, the Governments of the Federation are spending something like twenty million pounds a year on all types of education. The full implementation of the Ashby Report would increase that recurrent expenditure by 1970 to over sixty millions a year. On the capital side, the full Ashby programme would cost something in the region of sixty millions by 1970. Substantial provision for the improvement of Federal medical services will also be necessary.

The defence of the realm against internal disorder and external threat is the fundamental duty laid upon the Federal Government. We are determined to discharge this duty without fear or favour and to bring confusion to the enemies of the nation. I feel sure, therefore, that all reasonable people will agree that independent Nigeria must make substantial provision in her next development plan for the strengthening of the Police and of the Armed Forces. Powerful and efficient Police, military and naval forces, which are truly Nigerian in character, must be created for the protection of our liberties. There is also no doubt in my mind that we shall have to provide for an air force as well, and I look forward eagerly to the day when our young men sprout their wings.

This, therefore, is a general indication of the probable shape of the next programme. In money terms, the Federal Government have generated a spending capacity under the capital budget of at least forty million pounds a year. This is a rate of expenditure which the Government intend not only to maintain but to increase substantially. I have spoken of the general lines of the expenditure which we envisage in the development plans of the Governments. However, investment in the private sector of the economy will be just as important as expenditure by Governments. I hope that in framing our five-year plan we shall be able to fix targets, at least in broad terms, for the private sector. I trust that the pace of private investment will be accelerated over the period of the next plan since it is vital for the expansion we all wish to see in our Commerce and Industry. The contribution to be made by agriculture should not be minimised, but industrialisation is bound to figure prominently in our plans. Industry will, of course, provide new avenues of employment for our people, but these can only be exploited to the full if man-power training is properly directed. Industry can do much to solve the problems of unemployment which are met in some of the urban areas of the country, but the extent of industrial expansion will depend ultimately upon the ability of Nigeria to attract foreign capital. I hope the House will bear this in mind when I refer later this morning to the place of foreign investment in our financial policies.

I should like to emphasize that, in drawing up our plans for 1962/67 we are making full use of the advice of economists, both indigenous and foreign. If I may digress for one moment, the Federal Government have been criticised for a so-called failure to establish some form of economic commission. Although I can remember the Honourable Leader of the Opposition making much of the need for such a commission, I have so far detected no signs of one being established in Western Nigeria. It is, however, the policy and practice of the Federal Government to call upon the best possible economic advice for this vital work of economic planning. Our chief Economic Adviser is not only a man of high academic attainment, but also one who has brought to Nigeria a wealth of practical experience from other countries, including a period of distinguished service with the International Bank. I have no doubt that during his stay in Nigeria he will make this experience freely available to our own officials and this will be to the undoubted benefit of Nigeria.

There is also in the Ministry of Economic Development a team of economists provided by the Ford Foundation. They are being helped in their labours by Nigerian economists and the whole team is making a signal contribution to the preparation of the new development plan. When speaking of economists, I want to emphasize the need for practical as well as for academic attainment. We have our doctors of economics who become teachers in the universities immediately they have qualified. They may be academically brilliant, but that does not necessarily mean that they make good practical economic advisers. Academic knowledge tempered by experience, either in the world of commerce or in Government, is what we need. I want to make it clear to the House that, in my own Ministry, we are not slow to profit by academic economics training. To-day there are serving in my Ministry, no less than six Nigerian officers, all of whom are qualified economists and who, apart from their economics degrees, have specialised at some of the best universities in the world in such subjects as money and banking and the economics of under-developed countries. I say this for the benefit of the House and the public at large, since there is an impression in some quarters that a doctorate in economics without post-graduate experience is an automatic licence to set oneself up as an expert critic of the policies of the Government and to spread oneself in the columns of the national press. For my part, Sir, I value post-graduate experience more highly than a thesis prepared for a doctorate. It is the officers with this practical experience who are proving such a tower of strength in my Ministry.

As I have said, our planning is moving swiftly ahead. We intend to provide in the Federal Government plan a coherent and cohesive programme of expansion. We insist that this should be carefully balanced with proper regard for the priority to be given to the various sectors of development. In this way, the Federal Government will endeavour to provide the basis for the achievement of the declared aim of national economic policy. This, as I stated in my Budget Speech last year, is "the achievement and maintenance of the highest possible rate of increase in the standard of living and the creation of the necessary conditions to this end, including public support and awareness of both the potentialities that exist and the sacrifices that will be required."

As I have indicated, the achievement of this policy objective will require massive investment in the public sector by the Governments of the Federation, and in particular by the Federal Government in view of our responsibility for many of the more expensive sectors. The degree of our success will hinge upon three factors. In the first place there will be the problem of finding the enormous sums of money which will be needed. Secondly, there will be the problem, and a very real one indeed, upon which I have already touched, of securing the necessary man-power. Thirdly, although this does not appear to constitute a serious problem in the contemporary world, we shall have to find sources of supply for the goods and materials to be employed in carrying out the various development projects. I will be concerned primarily with the first of these problems, the assembly of the finance. It would be wrong of me to suggest to the House that there is an easy or quick solution to this. The mobilisation of resources for the financing of the next development plan is the major task confronting me in this office. As I speak to-day, the House will find one theme constantly running through; that is, how Nigeria can most effectively mobilise resources for the next plan. I attach particular importance to the mobilisation of Nigeria's own domestic resources.

While I do not in any way discount the need to look externally for capital, I do want to impress upon Honourable Members that the main effort for raising capital must be that of Nigeria. There is an old saying, "Heaven helps them who help themselves!" Well, Sir, looking back over our past record, it is perfectly clear to me that Nigeria has not been slow to help herself. The figures show that of the very large sums of money devoted to the current Federal Economic Programme over eighty per cent has been found from Nigerian resources;

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or, less than twenty per cent from external loans and grants. This pattern, I might say, is true of the Regional Governments as well as the Federal. This is a magnificent effort of which we should all be justly proud. The facts give the lie to those who argue that we depend too much upon external aid. Sir, in this Government we are realists. We recognise that external aid must have a very important place in our financing programmes. But we also appreciate that it is by our own savings, by the sweat of our own brows, that the major contribution to the progress of the nation must be made. High though our hopes may be of securing finance from overseas for the 1962/67 plan, it has always been abundantly clear to me and my colleagues that the main effort to raise finance must be made by Nigeria and by Nigerians. Like all the less-developed countries, even including India, Nigeria is still some way from what has been termed the take-off point in economic development. It is only when this point has been reached that we shall be able to generate internal resources which will be sufficient in themselves to maintain an acceptable pace of development.

To save is a personal virtue as much as a national one. For nations which are rapidly developing, as is ours, the need to save by individuals and by organizations is imperative. Apart from the vital importance of savings in mobilising resources for our development programmes, they are equally essential for commercial and industrial development. Only by saving can we generate the capital that will enable the country's potential to be realised to the full. It has been, and remains, one of the cardinal objectives of our policy, that suitable media should be available for the channelling of all types of savings; whether they be the poor man's, the wealthy man's or the savings of companies, organizations and institutions.

Let me take first the small man with limited resources and talk about what we are doing for him, and what he can do to help the Government's programme. First, I should mention the National Provident Fund. The Bill for the setting up of this Fund has already been published in the Gazette and it will be introduced during this Session by my Honourable Colleague, the Minister of Labour. The setting up of this Fund will ensure an increasing degree of social security for the workers. To the workers' savings through the Fund will be added contributions by the employers. These contributions will be invested and the sum total of the contributions with the accrued interest will be available for the workers in specified circumstances. I do not wish in this speech to dwell on the details of this scheme, which will be fully explained to you by my colleague, the Minister of Labour. What I do wish to do is to emphasize that the savings which will be put into this Fund will be utilised directly to finance development in Nigeria as a result of investment in local securities. Thus, in participating in this scheme, workers will not only be saving in a way which will bring them benefits in times of difficulty through sickness and so on, or in old age, but they will also be making a direct contribution to the development of the country. Equally, of course, the same applies to the employers' contributions.

Next, for the small man, there are the ever-widening facilities of the Post Office Savings Bank and the facilities of the commercial banks. Almost all the commercial banks have special facilities for the small saver through their own savings banks. Apart from the network of Post Offices throughout the country, where savings bank facilities are available, there is an ever-increasing number of branches of commercial banks throughout the country. There are now, in fact, some seventy-four branches of commercial banks at which savings bank accounts can be opened. In concert with the Minister of Communications, I am seeking means of encouraging investment in the Post Office Savings Bank. One modest improvement we have introduced to facilitate speedy withdrawals is the new photographic identification system. We are now actively considering other means of popularising the Bank. I know, for example, that my colleague, the Minister of Communications, attaches some importance to the courteous treatment of depositors by the counter staff. Whether the small saver invests in the Post Office Savings Bank or in the savings branches of the commercial banks, he is making a positive contribution to the development of the country and its economy. I trust that all Members of Parliament, of whatever party, will play their part in encouraging savings among their constituents.

In my Budget Speech last year I mentioned that we were hoping to introduce National Savings Certificates or bonds of small denomination and bearing an attractive rate of interest. Various events have delayed progress on this, but a great deal of information has been gathered and arrangements for the introduction of a scheme are now in an advanced stage of preparation. I hope that when the first issues become available they will be widely purchased throughout the country.

So far I have been dealing with the encouragement of saving by private individuals of more limited means. I would like to turn now to a form of saving designed more for institutions than for individual savers. I refer to the internal loan programme of the Federal and Regional Governments. It is our intention to mobilise some nineteen million pounds or more towards the financing of the current development plans of the Governments by a series of development loans. The first was raised in 1959. Lists have recently closed for a second instalment of ten million pounds. This internal loan programme will facilitate the orderly development of a market within Nigeria for Federal Government securities. Much publicity has already been given to the ten million pounds loan and I do not wish to repeat this morning what has been said already. It has, however, given me great satisfaction that the loan should have proved so successful. I was happy to announce a few days ago that the whole of the ten million pounds which we were seeking, had been raised. Applications for the loan could be made at branch banks everywhere, so that full details of the subscriptions cannot be available until returns are received from all the up-country banks. Nevertheless, we do know that the whole ten million pounds has been secured and we do have a broad indication of the nature of the subscriptions. Large sums of money were brought back to Nigeria from abroad for investment in the loan by institutional investors, such as the Marketing Boards and Pension Funds. The total subscription by the Marketing Boards alone was three and a half million pounds; while Pension and Provident Funds contributed over one million pounds. Commercial banks and the Post Office Savings Bank subscribed almost one and a quarter million pounds; and I am encouraged by a response of about three hundred thousand pounds from the public, including insurance companies, co-operative societies and small investors. The Central Bank has taken up the balance of the loan as planned, thereby providing for an increase in that part of the backing of the national currency invested in Nigerian securities. I can say with confidence that we have achieved all that we set out to do in this operation and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all those who have invested in the loan, as well as the newspapers and radio stations which gave their willing co-operation in publicising the loan. I am also grateful to the banks and their staff for the immense help they have given in handling the applications. It has never been our belief that subscriptions to the internal loans would come entirely, or even to a major extent, from currently available domestic savings. It was our expectation that they would come from three main sources:—

1. the general public, including such institutions as pension and provident funds.
2. the switching of investments previously held in sterling securities, and
3. the extension of the fiduciary element in the currency backing.

I have always envisaged this as an exercise to mobilise resources rather than a public debt operation in the limited sense of the phrase. At the same time I am keenly aware of the need to mobilise domestic savings. I am confident that the outcome of the second development loan has provided a basis on which we may plan future loan policy.

I am glad that prominent among the subscription by the general public, was the contribution by pension and provident funds. What the National Provident Fund is to the workers, all pensions and provident funds are to salaried employees in the higher grades and in commercial firms and institutions. Generally it is the normal practice for such funds to be built up by contributions from both employee and employer, as in the case of the National Provident Fund. Hitherto the amounts invested in such funds have perforce been invested overseas, owing to the

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lack of investment opportunities within Nigeria. I am glad that in the recent loan operation, there was some participation by local pension and provident funds. Much more can be done in this direction and I believe that the time has come when it would be reasonable to expect that a substantial proportion of the assets of such funds should be held in local securities. So, in the proposed Income Tax legislation, to which I shall be referring later this morning, provision has been made that, if such funds are to enjoy favoured treatment under the Income Tax laws, as they do at present, it will be a requirement in the case of existing funds which have been approved by the Federal Board of Inland Revenue that their investment income shall only continue to be exempt if by the 1st of April 1963, one-third of the income is derived from Nigerian securities. The legislation will also provide that no new pension or provident funds shall be approved for income tax exemption unless a minimum of one-half of their investment income is derived from Nigerian securities. These percentages may be varied in the future, but I should emphasize that I do not regard them as maximum limits in any way. I hope that the trustees of these funds will endeavour to exceed these percentages by handsome margins and will at the earliest possible opportunity, ensure that their assets in Nigerian securities at least equal their liabilities in Nigeria.

Another source of subscription for future loans will be the insurance companies. Present evidence supports the general belief that the bulk of the insurance business done in Nigeria is concentrated on accident, fire, theft, and similar policies. This is a form of business which does not generate savings for investment. On the other hand, life assurance does produce such savings. Life assurance business is in its infancy in Nigeria, but it is a growing child, and I confidently look to it as an important source of savings for the future. I understand that my Honourable colleague, the Minister of Commerce and Industry is proposing new insurance legislation. It is my hope that we shall be able to include in the legislation some requirement similar to that for pension and provident funds, so that a reasonable proportion of savings from Nigerian life assurance policies is invested locally.

I am encouraged by the extent to which institutions in Nigeria—and here I am thinking especially of the marketing boards—have been prepared to switch from sterling securities to local securities. Hitherto, for lack of suitable investment outlets in Nigeria, the marketing boards have been forced to invest their reserve funds in sterling securities. It is obviously much better that their reserves should be invested in Nigerian securities, so that the money can be used to finance Nigerian development rather than, say, United Kingdom gas. One further example of the mobilisation of resources by switching from external to local securities is the Post Office Savings Bank. By a similar arrangement to that of the marketing boards, the Savings Bank is also switching a very substantial proportion of its investments to local securities. Interest rates are of crucial importance in this switching operation. I ask honourable members not to be deceived by suggestions that money invested abroad in two and a half or three percent securities should not attract a higher rate of interest internally. These suggestions confuse the coupon rate of interest with the yield. A marketing board switching from overseas to Nigerian securities is bound to look for a comparable *yield* and the rates of interest being paid on the Second Development Loan are based on current gross redemption yields for similar-dated British Government stock of the type in which the funds of marketing boards and other Nigerian institutions have hitherto been held.

As I have said, the Central Bank itself has been a very important participant in the second development loan. The taking up of Federal Government stock by the Central Bank is part of the creation of a fiduciary element in the currency backing. I would, however, repeat now what I have stated many times before, that although the provisions of the Central Bank Ordinance allow a fiduciary element amounting to forty per cent of the currency in circulation, it is my intention in order to ensure confidence in the new currency that the direct lending by the Bank to Government shall not exceed twenty per cent during the period of the current economic programme. At this formative stage the other twenty per cent allowed by the law, will be required by the Central Bank for its ordinary day-to-day operations. By this I refer

to such operations as the re-discounting of bills, the issue of ways and means advances, the maintenance of clearing advances for the commercial banks, and the holding of Government stock. It is in this way that the Central Bank will play its vital role in the development of the financial and monetary mechanism of Nigeria.

So far I have been talking principally of savings as a means of mobilising capital for Government purposes. There is, however, an equally pressing need for capital for the private sector of our economy. If the economy is to continue to develop on the right lines, there must be a full opportunity for Nigerians to invest in commercial and industrial enterprise. I welcome therefore the excellent progress being made towards the setting-up of the Lagos Stock Exchange. As Honourable Members will be aware, legislation governing the position of the Stock Exchange in our financial system will be debated during this current Session. It will, of course, be some time before a great volume of business is done on the Exchange. Nevertheless, the existence of the machinery will inevitably facilitate further offerings of stocks and shares to the general public. A Stock Exchange is an essential requisite for a fully-fledged money and capital market. By itself it will not generate capital but by providing a ready means of buying and selling stocks and shares, it will encourage this form of investment. I hope that, in this way, Nigerians will become increasingly identified with the industrial development of Nigeria. The Exchange will also, of course, serve as a place where dealings in Nigerian Government stocks can take place. I am very glad that during the past year there have been share issues to the public by the Nigerian Tobacco Company Limited and the John Holt Investment Company Limited. These are only the beginnings, and it is my hope that other companies will make it possible for Nigerians to participate directly in their affairs by taking up local share issue.

It is our intention to launch a full-scale publicity campaign for the encouragement of savings in Nigeria. The timing of such a campaign must, however, be given careful consideration. It is no use embarking upon a campaign if the facilities for saving do not exist. It has therefore been my policy to provide the machinery before the campaign is opened. The progress which we have made in recent months encourages me in the belief that we are nearing the time when it will be possible for us to make an all-out publicity effort. We intend to employ all possible means of publicity, including the press, radio and television.

So far we have been looking at the problem of finding savings for development in the public and private sectors of the economy. Equally important, in our work to build the financial system of independent Nigeria, is the creation of a money market. This is the market where it is possible for institutions to put to profitable use, funds which are temporarily surplus to their requirements. I want to refer first to the steps we have been taking to achieve a regular and successful issue of Treasury Bills. The introduction of Treasury Bills makes it possible for short-term funds, hitherto invested overseas, to be employed for Nigerian purposes in Nigeria. Surely this is much better than remitting Nigerian money overseas for investment in the London money market. For banks and other local institutions the issue of Nigerian Treasury Bills has the advantage of a saving in bank transfer charges. There are, of course, substantial advantages to Government in Treasury Bill issues. They enable the Government to even out the flow of revenue. They make it possible for us to defer the realisation of overseas investments if market conditions are inopportune, thereby enabling our development expenditures to continue without running down Nigeria's external monetary reserves. In addition, they provide a means of raising money pending the flotation of a formal loan.

Honourable Members will remember that, during the week when I introduced my Budget Speech last year, the first issue of Treasury Bills had been made under the provisions of the Treasury Bills Ordinance, 1959. The Ordinance as it stands to-day requires that Treasury Bills outstanding at any one time shall not exceed ten per cent of the Federal revenues, which for the purpose of the 1960-61 Budget meant that the total issue was limited to about nine million pounds. The first issue of Treasury Bills, which matured after three months, was

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made in April 1960. The initial issue was for four million pounds and this was followed in May and June last year of further issues of two million and three million pounds respectively, which brought the total outstanding after the June issue to nine million pounds. Since then the amount outstanding has remained at nine million. The experience of the last nine months has demonstrated the usefulness of this form of investment for short-term funds. During the earlier months of the issue the Central Bank took up modest quantities of Bills itself in order to encourage dealings, but I am glad to be able to say that all such Bills taken up by the Bank were subsequently sold. This is the normal way in which the Central Bank works in order to maintain an orderly market.

I believe it can safely be said that we have laid the foundation for the growth of a regular market in Bills and indeed this is now operating smoothly. For much of the period applications for Bills and the public have exceeded the supply. These applications have come from the banks, where of course, they represent the combined deposits of innumerable individual accounts, from at least two Regional Governments, from public corporations, from the Post Office Savings Bank, from Co-operatives, and from charitable trusts and other small bodies, including clubs. These persons and institutions have all found this a most useful form of short-term investment: of benefit to themselves and of equal benefit to the State.

The success of the Treasury Bill operations so far, and the potential for expansion, have led me to decide that it would be proper for Government to take greater advantage in the future of this method of borrowing and mobilising resources. It is also my hope that we shall be able to arrange for Regional Governments, when they so desire, to enjoy the benefits of Treasury Bill financing. In fact, some Regional Governments have already expressed a wish to participate in it. Briefly, the idea would be for a part of the proceeds of Federal Treasury Bill issues to be on-lent to Regional Governments. Later in this Session, therefore, the House will be asked to approve legislation which will enable the Federal Government to issue Treasury Bills up to twenty per cent of the estimated Federal revenues for the year. It may not be possible for us to issue Treasury Bills up to the full extent of this limit at all times of the year. Nevertheless, this measure will enable the Governments to take full advantage of local funds which are temporarily surplus and available for short-term investment. I would emphasize that by doing this we are in fact mobilising the savings of countless individuals. The greater the savings by individuals the more the banks will be able to take advantage of this and other means of investment in the development of the economy.

A further development of some significance in the establishment of a money market in Nigeria, has been the introduction of commercial Bills of Exchange. I am pleased to report that a firm of merchant bankers have recently opened business in Nigeria. This company has been instrumental in arranging a pilot scheme of bill finance for the Northern Regional Marketing Board. Hitherto marketing boards have financed their crop purchases, either by the use of liquid funds in their possession or by direct overdraft from the commercial banks. In the pilot scheme the company is providing bill finance for cotton lint produced from the Funtua ginnery. The commodity is covered from the time of leaving the ginnery right through to ultimate sale. The amount involved in this pilot scheme is of the order of one million pounds. The merchant bank discounts the bills with the commercial banks either here in Lagos or in London. There are hopes that the merchant bank will be able to extend the pilot scheme to cover other crops. There is also a possibility that certain of the commercial banks will be prepared to enter into arrangements for a further expansion of bill financing. The Central Bank, I might say, has indicated its readiness to offer re-discount facilities in respect of appropriate bills of exchange accepted in Nigeria. In my view, the inauguration of bill finance in Nigeria represents a most striking advance in the financial and monetary machinery of the country. It does moreover contribute to the mobilisation of external assets since it will free the marketing boards of the need to hold such assets as the collateral for their overdrafts. I should add that another function of the merchant bank in Nigeria will be to undertake the issue of stocks and shares and indeed to provide advice on industrial financing matters generally.

In my view, all these developments add up to an impressive chapter of achievement in the development of Nigeria's financial structure. Much remains to be done and Honourable Members may rest assured that I shall press forward as fast as possible. The main hope, however, for the sound development of this financial structure lies not in direct Government action, but in the use to which it is put by the people of the country. Used fully and wisely it will flourish and grow; it is up to all of us to see that it does not wither. All of us, I repeat, must play our part. There must be a realisation not only in financial circles but in the country at large that if Nigeria is to be tomorrow what we would wish it to be, it will be so by our own efforts and our own restraint to-day. Save therefore and encourage others to save for the future.

Although I have laid much stress on the need to mobilise the domestic resources of Nigeria, it is an absolutely inescapable fact that if Nigeria is to move ahead with the speed all of us want to see, capital must be imported from overseas. This applies both to public and private investment. However much we can do to apply domestic resources to the development of industry and public services, there is bound to be a gap. One very important way of filling this gap is by loan assistance and other investment from overseas. As far as the Governments are concerned, I have continued my unremitting search for sources of external finance. I have not done this heedless of the terms of the assistance. I have looked for finance of a type suitable to the needs of Nigeria and finance without undesirable strings. I cannot emphasize too strongly that, in this search for external finance, I am acting on behalf of all the Governments of the Federation. In this connection the House will wish to note that all three Regional Governments have now asked for sources of external loan assistance.

After the discussions which I have held over many months with the West German authorities, I am heartened by the latest developments in West Germany which indicate that henceforward Nigeria and other less developed countries will be able to look to Germany for project loans. Applications for this type of assistance for projects in Nigeria have recently been forwarded to the West German authorities, and I have hopes that it may prove to be a valuable source of assistance, not only for completing the current Economic Programme, but more important, for contributing to the resources for the 1962/67 plan. During the year I was able to negotiate a three million pounds loan with the Government of Israel. Of this, one million pounds will be re-lent to the Eastern Regional Government to finance hotel development, while the balance will be spent at Nigeria's discretion. Fifty per cent of the balance will, however, have to be spent on the purchase of Israeli goods and equipment. We have also continued our negotiations with the United States Development Loan Fund. I have strong hopes that we may shortly conclude an agreement with them for loan assistance to the Railway Corporation. Indeed the principle of the loan, which will provide a helpful contribution of approximately one million pounds for the railway section of the current Economic Programme, has already been agreed by the United States authorities.

We shall also be receiving in 1961 further welcome grant assistance from the United States Government. This will be through the agency of the International Co-operation Administration and will amount to almost two and a half million pounds. The assistance will cover projects such as the University of Nigeria at Nsukka, demonstration comprehensive secondary schools in the Western Region, as well as teacher training projects in the Northern Region and Federal territory of Lagos. We are grateful for this helping hand from the United States and we look forward to similar assistance in the future. We have, however, noted with pleasure President Kennedy's wish to determine aid programmes on a five year basis. If this proves possible, it will be of considerable assistance, since orderly planning is impossible on a basis of annually approved programmes.

I should like to emphasize the role which the Federal Government play in stimulating the flow of grant and loan assistance to all the Regions. This steadily increasing flow is reflected in the new Head 606 of the Capital Estimates. This Head shows all amounts passed

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on to the Regions ; either the proceeds of foreign and local loans or the proceeds of foreign grant assistance. The allocation of loan assistance is, of course, governed by the recommendations of the Loans Advisory Council, where we continue to work in harmony with the Regional Governments and where, I feel sure, we have established a satisfactory apportionment which is fair to all.

The Israeli loan agreement was concluded during the course of a visit I paid to a number of countries in June and July of last year. These included Czechoslovakia, Japan and the United States, in addition to Western Germany and, of course, Israel. In the countries which I visited I found on all sides a greatly increased awareness of the importance of Africa, and in particular, of Nigeria. At the same time, in spite of the efforts which have been made over recent years, I found in many places a woeful ignorance of the potentialities of Nigeria for trade and investment. I hope that the forthcoming Economic Mission to which I must refer now, will remove this ignorance and will reinforce the efforts which I have been making on behalf of the Governments of the Federation, to secure financial assistance from overseas.

Honourable Members will have heard of the Federal Government's intention to send a Nigerian-wide Economic Mission overseas under my leadership. The Mission will be composed of representatives of both the Federal and the Regional Governments. Indeed, it is the splendid support which we have received from Regional Governments that has encouraged us to proceed with the plans for this Mission.

News of the Mission has aroused considerable interest already, both in Nigeria and abroad. The principal aim of the Mission will be to increase the awareness in the world of the economic potential of Nigeria. It is intended that the Mission should lay particular stress upon the unity of the country. This Mission, Mr Speaker, will go overseas in a spirit of "Unity and Faith". Unity is reflected in the very composition of the Mission and as it tours the world, the Mission will broadcast a message of faith in the destiny of Nigeria.

I believe, Sir, that in this first year of Independence, it is most appropriate that a Mission from Nigeria should visit the major countries of the world so that their leaders may have an opportunity of meeting with Ministers who represent the Governments of our great country. More specifically, the Mission will look into the possibilities of expanding trade between Nigeria and the countries which are to be visited. I am sure that trade must be given a place of the highest importance in the work of the Mission. It is vital for our prosperity that new markets should be found for our exports ; and in any case, Mr Speaker, trade comes before aid. It will also be a principal task of the Mission to explore every possible means of increasing the flow of investment capital from overseas. We need this capital, as I have already said, for the private sector of the economy so as to promote agricultural production and industrial growth. Also we need it in the public sector for financing the development programmes of the Governments. Finally, the Mission will examine the scope of possible technical assistance which the countries being visited can provide, together with the possible extent of help from these countries in money and in manpower for carrying-out the massive educational programme envisaged in the Ashby Report.

Although the final details have not yet been determined, it is intended that the Economic Mission should be mounted in two stages, each of about six weeks duration. In the first stage, the Mission will visit Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Republic of China, India, Pakistan, Hongkong, Japan, the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. In the second stage the Mission will visit the Netherlands, West Germany, Denmark, Norway, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Lebanon and Israel. It has been no easy task selecting the countries to be visited. I should explain that the lists which I have given are of those countries which we consider to be of especial importance to Nigeria on the basis of existing trade, or the desirability of promoting new export markets, or the possibility of obtaining capital and technical assistance from them.

The Mission will be representative, as I have said, of all the Governments of the Federation. It is also proposed to include in the Mission, representatives of the Nigerian business community. I hope the Mission will set out on the first stage of its work by the end of May. It is the intention of the Government to mount the second stage in August. We are convinced that it is to the advantage of Nigeria to send this Mission overseas at the earliest possible date, always bearing in mind that a Mission of this sort will have little impact unless the preparatory work is thorough. I am happy to tell the House that because of the great importance which the Governments attach to this Mission, we have set up an inter-governmental working party to prepare the detailed plans for its organization. I want to assure Honourable Members that it is my firm resolve that the Mission should return to Nigeria with truly positive achievements to show for its efforts. This is not a sight-seeing or merely a goodwill tour. It is being planned as a highly business-like operation and I trust that, as a result of the Mission, we shall be able to embark upon the 1962-67 development plan in some confidence as to our external sources of aid.

It is essential that the work of the Mission should go hand-in-hand with a continuing effort to create a favourable climate in Nigeria for foreign investment. This leads me to say something of the February demonstration in Lagos. I am sure there is no-one in Nigeria, whether Nigerian-born or not, who does not deplore the tragic circumstances of Mr Lumumba's death. It was a bitter blow for Africa and indeed the whole world was shocked. There were demonstrations in many countries and Lagos was by no means alone among the cities of the world in displaying its feelings on this occasion. Nevertheless I cannot condone the type of violent demonstration which took place. We are a new country, our many friends overseas look to us to give a lead to Africa, and I believe that we should conduct ourselves with restraint and dignity. I want to assure our friends that the Lagos demonstration does not indicate any deep rooted animosity towards foreigners. We are a friendly and hospitable people, and I feel sure few countries can match us in the welcome we extend to the strangers in our midst.

Incidents of this sort can have a damaging effect upon the opinion of overseas institutions on the prospects for investment in Nigeria. Let there be no mistake about it, while it remains our policy to mobilise as much as possible the domestic resources of Nigeria, the pace of development will be quickened if we can attract suitable investment from overseas. The Governments of the Federation have published their intentions towards foreign investment. There is no question of the ready welcome we extend when such investment is designed for the progress of Nigeria. I hope therefore that we shall see no more of last February's violence. I can assure the House that the repercussions of violence are widespread, and in the long run will injure the economy of Nigeria. The loose talk which we heard last year about nationalisation and the employment of expatriates was, in its own way, equally injurious. I yield to no one in my desire to see our civil service Nigerianised as quickly as possible. I take pride in the fact that in my own Ministry Nigerians have already occupied such top posts as Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, Deputy Chairman Board of Customs and Deputy Accountant-General; while before this Budget debate is over, the Deputy in my own Ministry will be a Nigerian officer. Nevertheless, I believe it is only fair to place on record my appreciation for what our friends from overseas have contributed to our development and moreover, can still contribute. Let us not drive away in bitterness our friends who have the interests of Nigeria close to their hearts.

So far in what I have said this morning about foreign investment, I have been thinking mainly in terms of bilateral financial and other help from individual countries. There is in addition an invaluable source of assistance in the international finance institutions and the agencies of the United Nations. As I begin to touch on the affairs of these bodies, I should like to refer to one of the notable events of 1960: the visit paid to Nigeria by Mr Eugene Black, the President of the World Bank. It was a distinct pleasure for me to welcome him to Nigeria. Mr Black's name is indeed synonymous with that of the World Bank. The Bank has, of course, always taken a great interest in the development of the Nigerian economy. The 1953 Interna-

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tional Bank report provided the foundation for the current Economic Programme which has done so much to accelerate the progress of the country. The Regional Finance Ministers and myself held valuable discussions with Mr Black, which I am sure will bear fruit in the future.

Honourable Members will be pleased in this connection to hear that Nigeria has been admitted into membership of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation. We have paid our initial subscriptions totalling over two million pounds to these organizations. The purpose of the International Monetary Fund is to promote international monetary co-operation and encourage stability by providing resources to meet short-term balance of payments problems and by other means. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, otherwise known as the World Bank, has been established to aid the development of productive facilities and resources in member countries. Indeed we benefitted from the World Bank even before we became a member of the Bank. The object of the International Finance Corporation is to advance economic development by encouraging the growth of productive private enterprise in member countries, especially in less developed areas. These organisations are agencies of the United Nations and I am quite sure that our relations with them will remain cordial and fruitful. Senior officials of these bodies have recently visited Nigeria and held useful discussions with officials of Federal and Regional Ministries. I hope that this type of informal contact will continue. I have already referred this morning to the World Bank Mission which we hope will shortly visit Nigeria to examine the Niger Dam project. It is naturally our hope that the World Bank will play a prominent part in the financing of the Dam.

It is of more than passing interest that in March the World Bank was able to sell, without its own guarantee, more than one million pounds of maturities in the ten million pounds Railway loan. These maturities carried an interest rate of five and three eighths per cent but institutional investors in Europe have been prepared to buy them at rates of between five and five and one quarter per cent. This represents a marginal saving in the interest charges payable by Nigeria, as well as a useful augmentation of the Bank's lendable resources. But even more important, it illustrates the confidence of overseas financiers in the credit-worthiness of Nigeria.

Before I leave the field of the international financial organizations I would like to say a few words about the newly-established International Development Association. This Association is an affiliate of the World Bank and its purpose is to promote economic development in less-developed countries by providing finance on terms which are not possible under the World Bank itself. Briefly, the Association will provide loans on lenient terms. The loans may be for economic projects which are not in themselves immediately financially viable and therefore are not bankable with the World Bank. For example, take a project like the Escravos Bar. Although this is a project of undoubted economic merit, it will not of itself, generate directly the money to repay a loan. The first meeting of the Executive Directors of the Association was held on the 14th February. We submitted our application for membership in February and I believe that it will not be long before we become a member of this Association, too. I understand that Nigeria's subscription to this Association will be of the order of one million pounds. The payment of our subscription will be spread over five years. This I must emphasize is a very much smaller contribution than is made by the developed countries. Yet the developed countries do not themselves, benefit at all. In the case of Nigeria it will not be unreasonable to expect that she will receive assistance many times more than her contribution.

We are also giving consideration to the early submission of applications to the Association for loan assistance for suitable projects.

Another body which provides a valuable source of assistance is the United Nations Special Fund. I was very pleased to welcome to Lagos recently, Mr Paul Hoffman, the distinguished Managing Director of the Fund. The Fund is an organ of the United Nations to which all Members subscribe. Now that Nigeria is a member of the United Nations in her own right, we shall pledge our own contribution to the Special Fund Budget. Our contribution, which will also cover our contribution towards the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, will be of the order of seventy-five thousand pounds in 1961. By comparison with developed countries such as the United States, our contribution is modest. The United States alone pledged over eleven million pounds for 1961 although she herself will have no assistance from the Expanded Programme or Special Fund.

I also signed with Mr Hoffman during his visit, an agreement covering future assistance projects in Nigeria. The object of the Special Fund is to help with the cost of surveys of natural resources and of research designed to accelerate economic development. The Fund is also prepared to assist with the development of man-power training facilities. The Fund is concerned with pre-investment; in other words the essential spade work which in itself shows no direct financial return. As Honourable Members know, the Fund has already provided a grant of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the survey of the Niger Dams project. In addition the Fund has approved a grant of nearly four hundred thousand pounds for an advanced teacher training college in Lagos. These grants represent valuable assistance towards our development and we are naturally grateful for them. We have other applications before the authorities of the Special Fund, and it is our hope that at least some of these will be approved. Indeed, the latest information available to me indicates that approval may shortly be received from the Special Fund authorities for grants to the Northern Region for the investigation into the Sokoto-Rima valley project and to the Western Region for a survey of fish resources. A grant to the Federal Government for a technical training project is also expected. This is a most useful source of grant assistance. I would like to assure the House that we will lose no opportunity of putting other suitable projects, both Federal and Regional, before the authorities of the Fund.

The Federal Government is determined to play its full part in all the agencies set up by the United Nations for the peace and well being of the world. We hope that we shall receive our fair share of the financial and technical resources of these organisations. Nigeria's needs are great and we are capable of absorbing in socially useful and economically viable projects considerable amounts of investment and grants. I only need to mention a few of our needs: higher education, modern agriculture, trunk and feeder roads, inland waterways, power and industry. I have spoken earlier about the efforts which the Governments are making to mobilise domestic resources for the inspiring tasks of economic and social development. However, we cannot accomplish these tasks unaided and the international financial organizations are well placed to offer aid on terms which are acceptable politically and otherwise. May they go from strength to strength and thus be able to devote more and more attention to the needs of this part of the world.

It is a truism that the Nigerian economy cannot be insulated or isolated from the rest of the world. It is by the export of our products to the markets of the world that we earn the foreign exchange so necessary for the growth of our economy. The impact of this upon the domestic scene is important to each and every one of us. Let us, therefore, see how Nigeria has fared in its international financial and trading relationships during the past year. To do this we look at the country's balance of payments. Last year I was able to say that 1959 had been a better year than 1958. In 1960, however, the provisional figures indicate that there was a substantial increase in the balance of payments deficit. Figures of visible trade indicate that Nigeria's imports were valued at about two hundred and fifteen million pounds, whereas exports and re-exports were valued at one hundred and sixty-five millions. This gives a

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deficit of fifty million pounds compared with a deficit of sixteen in 1959. There is no doubt that the position has been materially affected by the fall in the proceeds of our groundnut and cocoa exports. Indeed, as regards our trade with the world, one very important feature in 1960 was the fall in the prices of some of our major exports.

Cocoa, for example, began the year at a world price of two hundred and fifteen pounds per ton, but by the end of the year the price had dropped to one hundred and seventy. In the case of cocoa, a worsening of the price offset a record production of over one hundred and fifty thousand tons. Groundnuts were adversely affected, on the one hand by a fall in the world price and on the other, by a drop in production. In parenthesis I may say that the price prospects for our major exports do give cause for concern and strengthen the resolve of the Government to diversify the economy. Provisional figures show that we imported some thirty-four million pounds more in 1960 than in 1959. Although it is true, as I have pointed out on previous occasions, that the import figures include large amounts in respect of capital goods, there is no question that the import of consumer goods has increased sharply. In very broad terms the imports of consumer goods, both for immediate consumption and as household durables, rose in value by at least twenty-four million pounds, or an increase of almost thirty per cent on the 1959 figures. Heavy imports of cotton and rayon piece goods accounted for a large part of the increase. In fact the indications are that there has been a marked expansion of demand as the standard of living of our people improves and their taste develops for a wider range of consumer goods. Heavy expenditure on imports in connection with the independence celebrations no doubt played its part but I believe that more important was the effect of the salary and wage increases. These increases more than offset the dampening effect of the revenue measures introduced in April 1959 and have generated a burst of expenditure, almost a spending spree, upon imported consumer goods.

The provisional returns also indicate that our overseas assets decreased by about thirty-six million pounds in 1960. Thus, of the trade deficit of fifty million pounds, only fourteen million pounds was covered by the net inflow of private capital and the receipt of long term loans. This is naturally a situation which must give some cause for concern, the more so as the deficit was due largely to an increase in spending on consumer goods. The House will realize that the balance of payments reflects the spending decisions of all of us: Governments, institutions, firms and individuals. If we spend with restraint, if we channel our expenditures into productive investment, above all—if we save, the balance of payments should not prove a major headache. A spending spree on consumer goods will, however, be very harmful for the economy. It is, of course, the duty of the Government to ensure that there is no loss of control, and it was for this very reason that in the taxation measures taken last December, some changes were introduced with the specific object of putting a brake on the import of consumer goods. Changes were made, for example, in the taxation of textiles and foodstuffs, both of which featured prominently in the 1960 importation increases. Tariff increases do, of course, provide one of the traditional ways of improving the balance of payments situation.

The football pool fever has also made its impact upon the country's balance of payments. The extent of remittances to the United Kingdom has given the Government much cause for concern, and this has been a principal factor determining the Government's decision to go ahead with the formation of a Nigerian national football pool. It is our hope that the new pool will be firmly established before the commencement of the next football season and that it will stem the flow of money overseas, thereby tending to ease the balance of payments.

There is every hope that the development of industry within Nigeria, such as the flour and sugar industries, will further ease the position. Yet we must not think, Sir, of this as industry simply to meet local demand. Our resources of man-power and materials are such that I feel sure that, within our lifetime, Nigeria can become the workshop of West Africa. During recent weeks there has been a development in this direction which I gladly welcome. One of our leading shoe manufacturers has begun the export of shoes manufactured in Nigeria. Last November a consignment of six thousand pairs was shipped to Sierra Leone. Even more

interesting, an order for thirty thousand pairs has been received from the United Kingdom. Supplies will also be sent in the future to other West African countries including Ghana and the Cameroun Republic. This indeed is progress and it is my sincere hope that in the years to come we shall see further striking development of Nigeria's manufactured exports. We should all be very proud when it is possible for goods to be sent abroad bearing the inscription "Made in Nigeria." When this happens it is a means of selling Nigeria as well as selling the commodities themselves.

The growth of the local oil industry is a further help to our balance of payments. The developments in the oil field are most encouraging. The latest figures indicate that exports in 1961 will be nearly double the 1960 production. In time these figures again will be improved upon. The Port Harcourt area alone should be capable eventually of producing five million tons a year. Until the local refining of oil is established, this will provide a useful addition to our earnings of foreign exchange and, indeed, when the refinery is established, a source of valuable foreign exchange savings.

I repeat, Sir, our determination to maintain a healthy balance of payments. If the position should deteriorate—although I have no reason to believe that such a deterioration is likely—the Federal Government will not hesitate to take firm steps to keep the situation under control.

In considering Nigeria's external position, we have been greatly concerned at the effect upon us of the formation of rival marketing groups in Europe. Our interest, as I have frequently said, is to develop as wide and as free a market as possible for our exports. We are also anxious to secure reasonable and stable prices for them. However, we do not want privileges; all we seek are equal competitive opportunities with other primary producing countries. We deplore any developments in Europe which narrow our market opportunities.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry and I have been watching with some care the possible ill-effects of the Common External Tariff of the European Economic Community upon Nigeria's extensive trade with the Community. As Members may remember, the Minister visited Brussels towards the end of last year and held ruitful discussions with the Community authorities. I will leave it to him to deal with the details of these complicated problems and negotiations. It is, however, my impression that the six countries which form the Community are growing in strength. Producers such as Nigeria which are not associated with the Community, may feel in 1961 for the first time the adverse effects of the Common External Tariff. Much, however, will depend upon the extent to which the African territories which are associated with the Community will be able to take advantage of their opportunity and expand their production immediately.

It is, however, encouraging to detect signs that, owing to increased pressure in GATT and the growing concern of the Six—or "Outer Six" as I prefer to call them—over the possibility of a split in Africa, their attitude may be less rigid in 1961. It is this which gives me cause to hope that there may be some reduction in the Common External Tariff items which are of concern to Nigeria and other African countries which are not associated with the Community.

I am sure no good can come from exporting to Africa the political and economic divisions which beset Europe. Indeed, the translation of such divisions to Africa could be most harmful. We do not want the countries of Africa to be plunged into similar economic rivalry. Indeed, it is just as much in the interests of the countries of Europe that they should arrive at some settlement of their economic differences, and I welcome the efforts which I believe are being made in good faith to heal the breach between the Outer Six and the Inner Seven. It is tragic, to my mind, in this narrowing world of to-day, when men are reaching for the stars and planets, that solutions cannot be found for economic problems such as this. I hope, therefore, that these differences can be resolved by a new initiative and that the countries of Africa and Europe can work together for the promotion of international economic growth on the widest possible basis.

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I should like to return for a while to matters of domestic concern. In my Budget Speech last year I was very pleased to announce the successful launching of our Central Bank. During the past year the Bank has continued to play an increasingly important part in the financial and monetary affairs of Nigeria. In particular, the Bank has made a valuable contribution to the development of the financial framework which is necessary for independent Nigeria.

The issue of the new national currency is proceeding quickly. The replacement of the old West African Currency Board notes was virtually completed many months ago. During September the new Nigerian three-penny pieces were put into circulation, and the old three-penny coin is being withdrawn as rapidly as possible to overcome the confusion which has existed between it and the new Nigerian shilling. New florins, sixpences and half-pennies will be put into circulation during the current year. It is hoped that by the end of the year, most of the new coins will have been issued. It is also my hope that in time the use of ten- and five-shillings notes will become more widespread. The use of large quantities of coin is costly and I know that it will be the policy of the Bank with my full support, to encourage the greater use of notes for day-to-day business.

The Central Bank continues to maintain a high level of external reserves as backing for the currency. I am pleased to report to the House that both overseas and within Nigeria, there is ample evidence of the fullest confidence in the value of our currency. I need hardly say that the maintenance of this confidence remains a principal plank in the financial policy of the Federal Government. The amount of the Nigerian currency issued reached a new peak in January when it amounted to seventy-seven and a quarter million pounds. This was in addition to nine and three-quarters of a million pounds of the old Currency Board coin still in circulation. As I mentioned last year, a small fiduciary element was introduced when the Bank took up two million pounds of Federal Government Treasury Bills to re-imburse the Government for the cost incurred up to March 1960 of supplying the new currency. It is expected that the proportion of internal assets held as backing for the currency will increase over the year, reflecting in part the day-to-day operations of the Central Bank in the money market which is now being built up, but also in part, an amount of additional lending to Government. The 1961 Development Loan has indeed enabled the Bank, as I have already mentioned this morning, to take up local securities to the extent of over three million pounds. This provides a helpful contribution for the financing of our current development programme. It is, however, my intention to employ this device with prudence. We are using a very new currency and I am sure it is sensible for us to advance slowly rather than precipitously. I emphasize, Mr Speaker, that it is my intention fully to observe the existing statutory requirements on the maintenance of external assets and to maintain them at levels which will continue to inspire confidence in our currency both at home and abroad.

The Central Bank has continued to maintain a close contact with the commercial banks operating in Nigeria. Most of these banks are already banking with the Central Bank. I am happy that, under the Chairmanship of the Governor, representatives of our banks meet together from time to time to consider matters of mutual interest. I am also happy to report to the House that the commercial banks continued to grow during 1960. Their assets rose in the year by nineteen *per cent* to a new high level of one hundred and nineteen million pounds. It is in this period that we have seen two important overseas banks establish themselves in Nigeria. These and other developments indicate not only a growth, but a broadening of the country's banking system. I am pleased to note that the Central Bank is making steady progress in consultation with the commercial banks over the possibility of establishing a clearing house in Lagos. I understand that arrangements are well advanced; indeed, it is hoped that this year a clearing house will be established, dealing with the settlement of cheques drawn on banks in the immediate Lagos area.

We have seen, since October 1959 when it was introduced, the value of the Banking Ordinance as an instrument for strengthening and promoting the development of the banking system. My Banking Examiner continues to carry out regular and thorough examinations of

the affairs of the licensed banks. It is, however, his task not only to examine but also to provide help and guidance where possible. I regret that it was necessary during the year for the Government to withdraw the licence of one of the indigenous banks. I assure the House that this was done only after the fullest and most sympathetic consideration of all the circumstances, but, Mr Speaker, we have a duty to the Nigerian public. It is important for the development of the economy that the banking habit should grow. It will, however, only grow on the basis of soundly-managed and soundly-financed banking. The requirements of the Banking Ordinance are not designed to be onerous or irksome; they incorporate the principles which long experience elsewhere has shown are essential for the proper conduct of banking business. If the principles are not observed, in the end the bank will go bankrupt and the depositor will suffer. It is one of the objects of our financial and economic policies to encourage the growth of the banking habit. There is still a tendency for savings to be retained in the form of cash, but I hope we will be able to overcome this in our nation-wide campaign for mobilising resources.

I wish to turn, Mr Speaker, to the consideration of the Government estimates of revenue and expenditure. It is necessary, first, to examine the results for the financial year which has just ended. I budgeted last year for an excess of ordinary revenue over recurrent expenditure of approximately four million pounds. I am glad to report to the House that this estimate has proved conservative. In fact, I hope the final accounts for 1960/61 will show an excess of over six and a quarter million pounds; in other words, two and a quarter million pounds better than my forecast. This, if I may say so, is an entirely successful outcome to the financial year. It is encouraging that we have been able to maintain this position in spite of the very heavy expenditure pressures to which the Government has been subjected.

In looking at the figures for 1960/61, the House will wish to know that the increase of nearly five million pounds in ordinary revenue has come largely from the increased import and excise duties which were imposed last December. In addition, however, there was a considerable increase in demand for dutiable imported goods in the second half of the financial year. Increases have also come in the revenue from individuals' income tax and Posts and Telegraphs. On the other hand, the substantial increases in revenue have been offset by the increased level of recurrent expenditure. So far, expenditure of nearly forty-nine million pounds has been authorised for 1960/61, but owing to unfilled posts and savings in other directions, I do not expect final expenditure to exceed forty-eight millions. This compares with an original estimate of nearly forty-six.

Over and above the excess of ordinary revenue over recurrent expenditure which, as I have said, should be about six and a quarter million pounds, there are also very substantial items of special revenue which are being transferred to the Development Fund to finance capital expenditure. I estimated originally that the special revenues for 1960/61 would amount to nearly four million pounds; in fact, they will amount to over eleven million pounds. This very welcome and substantial increase is due to the receipt of almost six millions as Nigeria's share of the surplus reserves of the West African Currency Board. With the exception of seven hundred thousand pounds of special revenue relating to the financing of the new Nigerian currency, the whole of the proceeds of special revenue will go to swell the Development Fund. These large transfers are of tremendous importance in helping us to sustain the rate of capital expenditure necessary for the accomplishment of our economic planning objectives.

So much, then, for the outcome of 1960/61, which I say with pride has proved very much more successful than we had reason to hope when I introduced the budget last year. In addressing ourselves to the task of preparing the Federal budget for 1961/62, the Federal Government have had in the forefront of their minds, the need to contain the growth of recurrent expenditure so as to make the *maximum* contribution from revenue to finance capital expenditure. In my Budget Speech last year, I spoke of the economy measure being introduced

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by the Government. There is no question that these have borne fruit and have greatly assisted in the task of restraining the level of recurrent expenditure. In the preparation of the 1961/62 Budget, we have complemented the economy effort with the imposition of severe ceilings upon recurrent expenditure.

I estimate that the total revenue accruing to the Federal Government in 1961/62 will be approximately one hundred and six million pounds. Of this, over forty-three and a half million will be allocated to the Regions; the greater part under the scheme of revenue allocation, but some part as a result of the decision to pass on to Regions a share of new revenue items such as the excise duty on mineral waters. After the allocation of revenues to the Regions, I am left with about sixty-two million pounds for the retained revenues of the Federal Government. Of this amount three million pounds relate to special revenues which cannot appropriately be used for the financing of recurrent expenditure, thus leaving a balance of fifty-nine million of ordinary revenues to finance the recurrent budget. Of this sum I propose that we should spend in 1961/62, fifty-two and three-quarter million pounds, leaving an excess of ordinary revenue over recurrent expenditure of six and a quarter million pounds. This excess is reflected in the Estimates by, first of all, the estimated budget surplus of rather less than nine hundred thousand pounds; by the figure of two and a half million pounds for the minimum contribution to the Development Fund; and thirdly by a further three million pounds shown as an additional contribution from ordinary revenues. Moreover, all the special revenues with one exception will be transferred to the Development Fund. Once again we are planning for a maximum contribution from revenue to the financing of the Economic Programme. The House will recognise that this is in full conformity with the ten-point plan for the management of the finances of Nigeria which I laid before the House last year. The figures which I have given are a positive indication of the strength of the finances of the Federal Government. We in this Government are immensely proud that in spite of all the difficulties we have been able to budget for such a healthy balance. It is an impressive achievement which will confound our critics who see nothing good in others except themselves.

Revenues in 1961/62 are expected to show a marked increase upon those for 1960/61. Looking at gross revenues for a moment, the increase is almost ten million pounds. Indeed, as far as the Federal Government are concerned, the increase in Federal-retained revenues is almost eight and a half million pounds. There is a large increase under customs and excise revenue; import duties alone are up by nearly nine million pounds. The taxation measures taken by the Federal Government last December are largely responsible for this. These increases were estimated to yield an additional six million pounds in a full year. They are reflected in the sub-heads for duties on diesel oil, beer, wines and spirits, soap and general imports. In addition to the increases stemming from the taxation measures, there is also a substantial advance in revenue brought about by rising consumption as the economy expands and the standard of living of our people improves. The House will wish to know that the Estimates, as presented, allow for the reduction in purchasing power following upon the lowering of the cocoa producer price in Western Nigeria. I think it is obvious to all Members that a fall in the price of this magnitude is bound to have repercussions on the personal spending of cocoa farmers. It is impossible to make any precise assessment of how much the custom and excise revenues will be affected by this, but I have thought it prudent to scale down the revenue estimates by a half million pounds on this account.

One notable feature of the revenue estimates is that the appropriations to the Regions of Federal revenue are virtually unchanged from 1960/61, although total revenues show a large increase. This is due to an expected decline of some two and a quarter million pounds in the revenue from export duties. Cocoa alone accounts for nearly two million pounds of this. As the House knows, export duties are distributed in full to Regional Governments and these figures illustrate the vulnerability of Regional revenues which depend so much upon export duties.

Other large increases in revenue will be found under Mining. Now that oil has been proved to exist in Nigeria in commercial quantities, it is the policy of the Federal Government to insist upon the payment of substantial premiums before now concessions are granted to oil companies over potentially valuable areas. It is expected that several concessions will be granted early in the new financial year, and this explains why we are expecting very large sums of revenue to accrue from this source. The expansion of the oil industry is also reflected in the greater revenue expected from rents on mineral oil licences and leases, and in the royalty on oil itself. I am also encouraged by the satisfactory increase expected in Post and Telegraph's revenue in 1961/62. We are budgeting for an increase of three-quarters of a million pounds, about a third of which will be from postal services and the rest from telephones. I have on occasions been critical of slow rate of growth in this source of revenue which has been lagging behind the fast-increasing rate of expenditure on the service. Although I would not suggest that we have solved the problem, at least in this budget I think I can say with confidence, that some progress is being made in narrowing the gap between Post and Telegraphs revenues and expenditures.

So much then for the revenue side of the 1961/62 budget. I would like now to deal with the important aspects of the expenditure proposals for next year. As I have already said, we plan to spend approximately fifty-two and three-quarter million pounds, an increase of seven million above the approved estimate for 1960/61, and almost five million more than the revised estimate for 1960/61. Although it has been my object to limit the advance of current expenditures, I fear that in many directions some increase has been inevitable. I am, however, satisfied that all the expenditure proposals put before the House in these Estimates have only survived after the most searching scrutiny in my Ministry. The need to conserve current revenues for the financing of development is a paramount consideration, and I am always watchful of proposals for increases in the ordinary expenditure of Government.

Probably the most significant single feature in the expenditure estimates is the increase under the Consolidated Revenue Fund charges for pensions and public debt. Under the pensions item an additional three hundred thousand pounds will be required for increases in statutory pensions arising from the Mbanefo salary award. A further one hundred and eighty thousand pounds will meet the increase in the number of retiring officers who commute a part of their pension. The House will also realise that the premature retirement of many of our expatriate officers will bring about a spurt in expenditure on pensions. In the public debt section of the Consolidated Revenue Fund charges, there will be an increase of almost two and a half million pounds. This excludes a special payment of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds in retirement of special Treasury Bills used for financing the costs of the new currency. These increases in public debt charges are offset to some extent by receipts from the Regions and the statutory corporations, since some of the loans are being on-lent. Nevertheless, the substantial increase in public debt charges reflects the first real burden on our recurrent budget of the cost of servicing the loans, both internal and external, which the Federation have raised. This is a burden which is bound to increase sharply over the next few years. It is, however, a burden which must be shouldered if we are to maximise the use of available internal and foreign resources to generate the development programmes of the Governments of the Federation.

The expenditure estimates show a big increase in the provision for the Nigeria Police. The actual increase is over three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Most of this is required for carrying out the second phase of the three-year programme of police expansion which was begun last year. This programme is to meet the needs of large areas of Nigeria which at present are poorly served with police services. In addition to the police, the armed forces also take up a large part of the increased expenditure. The Army and the Navy between them account for an increase of about four hundred thousand pounds. An increase of nearly four hundred and fifty thousand pounds is provided under Ministry of Communications. This increase, which will be more than offset by increasing revenue, is to provide for the cost of additional posts and telegraphs services required to bring into productive use various installations which have been provided under the Federal Economic Programme. The social services also take up a substantial part of the increase in Federal expenditure. Education alone accounts

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for an increase of four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. More than half of this increase is for the University College, Ibadan, and for the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology. The subventions for these two institutions have had to be substantially increased, largely because of the Mbanefo salary award. Of the remainder of the increase under Education, the greater part is required for the increasing commitment of Government for educational grants in aid. In the case of the health services, I have budgeted for an increase of nearly seven hundred thousand pounds. A large item in this increase is the high level of the assistance we give to the University College Hospital. There are, however, two new items of major significance in the health budget. They are the provision for the new children's hospital in Massey Street, and also for the magnificent new Mainland Hospital which, it is hoped, will open its doors before the end of the financial year. (*Hear, hear*). These, Mr Speaker, are they items of major importance making up the increase in our recurrent expenditure. They demonstrate the efforts which the Federal Government are making to meet the growing needs of the people. (*Hear, hear*).

Apart from increases there are a number of interesting features in the presentation of the recurrent estimates for 1961-62. A new head of expenditure entitled State House has taken the place of the former heads for Governor-General and office of the Governor-General. Revenue Head 12, which deals with miscellaneous items of revenue, has been revised so as to segregate recurrent items of revenue from those which are of a temporary or once-for-all nature. The latter I prefer to regard as special revenue since they cannot be relied upon to finance recurrent expenditure. I propose that the whole of the proceeds of such special revenues will, as in former years, be transferred to the Development Fund. I have also included in the expenditure estimates an entirely new head of expenditure to cover non-statutory appropriations of revenue. This will provide for the payment to the Regional Governments of their share of such revenues as income tax, excise duties on mineral waters and soap, and the export duty on animals, birds and reptiles, which do not pass to the Regions by virtue of constitutional provision. A further point of interest in the presentation of the estimates is the arrangement now made for the advance of money to staff for the purchase of bicycles. Hitherto this has been done from the Personal Advances Fund, but we have found the accounting procedures excessively cumbersome, especially in view of the fact that each individual advance is for a relatively small sum of money. With the approval of the Director of Federal Audit, these advances will be charged in future to a vote under each Ministry's Head of Estimates, and the repayments by staff will be credited direct to revenue. Apart from the considerable accounting economies which I believe this change of procedure will bring about, it will also enable me to release money now tied up in the Personal Advances Fund to finance capital expenditure.

One final point about presentation. Although the results of the plebiscite in the Northern and Southern Cameroons are known, it has been assumed that the present arrangements for the administration of these two territories will continue for the time being. Once, however, the results have been considered by the General Assembly of the United Nations, appropriate arrangements will no doubt be made for the changing status of the territories. In the meantime, so as to avoid anticipating the final outcome of these matters, the provision made for the Northern and Southern Cameroons in the 1960-61 estimates has been repeated in the draft 1961-62 estimates without change. All the votes, however, have been marked as reserved. Changes in recurrent expenditure which may prove necessary can be effected during the course of the year by means of virement, and no funds will be released except where the Federal Government is to continue to provide the service concerned. The financial implications of the probable union of the Southern Cameroons with the republic of Cameroun are being studied. The agency services at present provided by the Federal Government and covered by agency fees paid by the Southern Cameroons will no doubt be terminated eventually. As a result, the Federal Government may have to meet some additional expenditure, particularly in respect of Federal staff returning to Nigeria from the Cameroons. The effect, however, upon the Federation's finances will be marginal and need give no cause for concern. I am also examining

the further question of Federal assets in the territory of the Southern Cameroons. Consideration must be given not only to the assets of Government itself, including the Federal investment in the Cameroons Development Corporation, but also to the assets of corporations such as the Electricity Corporation.

I feel sure, Mr Speaker, the House will agree that in the recurrent estimates we have provided a sound—indeed, if I may say so, sovereign—plan for the management of the public services of the Federation in the financial year just beginning. Legitimate needs have been met. Proper economy has been observed. A healthy surplus position is maintained so that there will be no falling-off in our revenue contributions to the Development Fund.

Let us move now from the recurrent to the capital budget. We are, as I have said, in the final stages of the 1955-62 Economic Programme. Nonetheless, although we are now heavily engaged in preparing the next five-year plan, it has been necessary for the Federal Government to review the balance of the old Programme. As honourable Members know, the review of the Programme is a continuing exercise which must be carried out, however much our minds may be concentrated upon the important tasks of planning for the next five years. When we last reviewed resources a few weeks ago, we found that total resources for the period 1960-1962, the final two years of the Programme, had increased to a figure of almost sixty-nine million pounds. A big factor in this increase was a sum of nearly five million pounds estimated to accrue to the Development Fund from the taxation measures taken by the Government last December. The contribution from internal borrowing will also be somewhat greater than the estimate I made last year. The currency circulation has expanded beyond our expectation, and this will partly explain why we should be able to envisage a slightly greater issue of local securities. About one and a half million pounds extra will be raised for development in this way. An additional million will also be available from the proceeds of Treasury Bills. When these bills were first introduced a year ago, we were embarking upon new and unexplored territory. It was natural for me to be cautious and I thought it prudent to count upon only one million pounds as the hard core of Treasury Bill finance which could be used to finance capital expenditure. Now, however, in the light of experience, I am satisfied that this can be raised with safety to two million pounds; a very welcome contribution to our capital resources. In addition, there are the strong hopes which I have mentioned of securing a loan of three million dollars from the United States Development Loan Fund for railway development. This will eliminate the need for part of the amount which we have set aside for a loan to the Railway Corporation.

Although there has been this encouraging increase in resources, which has indeed closed the former gap between resources and expenditure, it has at the same time been necessary for the Government to review its expenditure proposals. A number of urgent and inescapable projects have had to be considered for inclusion in the programme. First, we have decided that the Federal Government must go ahead promptly with plans for an external broadcasting service. It seems to us to be very necessary that the voice of independent Nigeria should be heard far and wide throughout the world. We have also decided to launch a Federal television service. These two projects between them will require new capital expenditure of a little more than one million pounds. Four hundred thousand pounds is required for the establishment of a Federal Printing Company. One of the major tasks of this company will be to publish daily and weekly newspapers and other periodicals. We believe that in the present state of the Press in Nigeria, there is a grave danger that the public will continue to be ill-informed on matters of great moment to the nation. We have no intention that these newspapers and periodicals should be mere sycophantic government broadsheets. Instead, it is our wish that they should afford an opportunity for the public to compare and contrast intelligently, views about current affairs and policies.

One hundred thousand pounds is necessary for the establishment of the National Provident Fund to which I have already referred this morning. This expenditure is by way of priming the pump. It will be possible with this relatively small investment to establish the Provident

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Fund on a sound basis. I should like to emphasize that, once the Fund has been established with this initial contribution it will be entirely self-financing, so that no further calls will be made upon the Federal Exchequer. We have also decided to provide in the Programme an additional one quarter of a million pounds for telecommunications development. As the economy grows there is a consequential demand for improved telecommunication facilities; this is indeed an essential feature of the infra-structure which the Federal Government have to provide. A further half-million pounds approximately has been allocated for Lagos town planning. Five hundred and forty-six thousand pounds has been re-allocated to the Nigerian Ports Authority to enable it to proceed with essential development projects, including the construction of new warehouses at Apapa and Port Harcourt. The House will also be glad to know that we are now providing some three hundred thousand pounds for the construction of a maximum security prison to replace the present Broad Street prison. I am sure honourable Members will agree with me that this is an improvement which we have needed for a very long time. An additional nine hundred thousand pounds is being made available for ports and inland waterways development, including an additional four hundred thousand pounds for the continuation of the Escravos Bar project. An additional three quarters of a million pounds each is required for the Army and Police, so that they may continue to play their part effectively in the maintenance of law and order in Nigeria and, indeed, in the defence of our freedom. Other large capital payments for which we must provide include eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the national population census, nearly six hundred thousand pounds to meet the balance of the cost of the Independence celebrations and about two hundred thousand pounds to cover additional and inescapable liabilities for lump sum compensation. Members will find these all reflected in the separate volume of capital estimates for 1961/62. The Minister of Economic Development will also be laying before the House a progress report on the Economic Programme as a whole.

The net effect of these adjustments to the Programme will be to produce an estimated gap between resources and expenditure of about eight and a half million pounds. When assessing what size of gap we can tolerate between planned expenditure and available resources, several factors have to be taken into account. In the first place, it is certain that there will be some under-expenditure. Money which we expected to spend by March 1962 will not in fact, be spent until later. This spill-over naturally reduces the gap. Secondly, there is the very distinct possibility of further assistance from overseas. On the one hand, as I have mentioned, I have some hope of securing loan assistance from the International Development Association. There is also the very real possibility of loan assistance from the West German Government. Provided assistance from these and other sources is used to finance projects already included in the Economic Programme, it will be a further means of scaling down the gap. Thirdly, is the fact that we shall be able to finance some part of our capital expenditure from the proceeds of Treasury Bills on a temporary basis pending the raising of more permanent resources. This is a device which could be usefully employed should we run into any difficulties in financing the programme in the last few months of the planning period. Finally, it is true that in the last resort the Federal Government could call upon the five million pounds reserve fund or increase the fiduciary element in the currency backing. The chances of our having to pursue this extreme course of action are more than remote. It does, however, give me the confidence to say that the present gap of eight and a half million pounds is one which can be safely tolerated. I am also certain that in this revision of the current programme we have not encroached upon the orderly planning which is so necessary for the 1962/67 plan. This plan, as I have suggested, must be devised in the light of an overall assessment of priorities in every sector of the economy. Our aim is to produce a far-seeing plan which will build upon the foundation so successfully laid by the current Economic Programme.

In the past it has been the custom for me at this point to reveal to the House such taxation measures as are necessary for the successful accomplishment of the Government's budgetary plans for the coming financial year. This is a part of my speech for which I know Honourable

Members wait with some interest, indeed possibly some concern. Let me assure the House forthwith that in this Budget Speech I have no major shocks to administer. I must, however, say something of the measures which were taken by the Federal Government last December.

It has been traditional for tax changes to be introduced immediately before the budget meeting of the House of Representatives. On this occasion, however, we found it desirable to break with tradition. In former years, the world of commerce has been beset in January and February by much uncertainty and speculation about the contents of the budget. The Government decided that this year it would avoid the embarrassments of this regular timetable. Obviously it was to the advantage of the Governments to receive the additional revenue at the earliest possible moment, but I also felt it was of some importance that the timing of the measures should come as a real surprise. There was, of course, the additional point that in our Federal system the Regional Governments depend to a great extent upon the revenue allocated to them from the Federal Exchequer. By taking action in December, I was able to put the Regional Governments, all of whom were in urgent need of additional revenue, in a position where they could plan their budgets in full knowledge of how much money would be allocated to them in 1961/62.

I hope it will have emerged from what I have had to say already today, why it was so necessary to introduce these changes. In the first place, all the Governments of the Federation have pressing needs for additional revenue. This is not so much to finance their ordinary budgets; rather it is to provide resources to finance development. The theme of my budget today has been the mobilisation of Nigerian resources for the development of Nigeria as a sovereign nation. Although there is much we can do by local loans and national savings campaigns to attract voluntary savings, there comes a point, whether we like it or not, when resources must be increased through taxation. This is a form of compulsory saving which no responsible Government can ignore.

This then, was a major cause of the measures we took. But also the Governments are all resolved to encourage the growth of local industry. This indeed was a fundamental point in the economic and financial policy which I presented to the House last year. Newly-established industries in Nigeria are bound to be faced with keen competition from overseas. It is often very right and proper to provide these infant local industries with a degree of protection, at least until they are strong enough to stand on their own feet.

The increases in taxation were also necessary in part, to damp down the demand for imported goods. I have spoken today about the country's balance of payments position. The provisional figures which I have mentioned show that there was a large increase in the visible trade deficit in 1960. One factor bringing about this increase was a stepping up of the level of imports of consumer goods. It is my hope that by the measures we took last December, we will have applied the brake, at least to some extent, on the import of consumer goods.

There has been some criticism of the introduction of protective duties on flour and sugar. This criticism, to my knowledge, has not centred so much on the principle involved but on the timing of the imposition of the protective duty. As the House knows, we found it necessary to impose a duty of three farthings per pound on flour and twopence per pound on sugar. I agree that it will be a little time before local industries manufacturing these products are established in the Federation, even though plans for their establishment are well advanced. There are, however, a number of arguments which I would like to put to the House on this question of the timing which we decided to adopt. In the first place, it is inevitable and eminently reasonable that when the Government are considering the imposition of protective duties, there should be prior discussion with industry, although such prior discussion would never be contemplated over changes being made for purely revenue purposes. Industrialists about to invest in Nigeria do indeed raise the question of protective duties with Government. They produce the facts and figures upon which it is possible for Government to determine whether protection is needed and, if so, what its level should be. In the case of the flour and

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sugar industries, it was necessary that there should be fairly wide discussion, not only with the industrialists concerned but also with Regional Governments which had a great concern in both projects. Inevitably a point was reached when many people were aware that the Federal Government, in principle at least, was ready to impose a protective duty. I was anxious that this foreknowledge should not be made the occasion for private speculation or profit. I therefore decided that it was essential to impose the duties at an unexpected time, thereby making impossible any personal gain by the people in the know. I have put this argument at some length because I know there has been considerable public misunderstanding of the position, but there are other arguments for the timing of the introduction of the protective measures. By actually imposing the new taxes it was possible to give the industrialists investing in the flour and sugar projects, a really concrete assurance of Government's intention to protect them. Then again, if we had delayed until the local industry was about to start, there would have been an immediate lift in the price of the imported product. This might well have given the local industry a bad start. Because of the way we have handled the introduction of the protective duty, the new local product, when it is available, will come on to the market at a lower price, and the success of the local industry should be all the greater for this. There is finally the point that the revenue accruing from the introduction of the protective measures provides a most valuable contribution for the development of the Federation. We do not intend to squander the proceeds of the protective duties on ordinary current expenditure; the budget is so planned that the additional revenue accruing from them will be credited to the Development Fund for capital expenditure.

I think that suggestions have also been made that the taxation measures were not sufficiently discriminatory. In other words, the rich were not hit as hard as they should have been. I am sure any fair-minded person examining the details of the changes will agree that particular emphasis was laid upon the need to raise more revenue from luxuries and semi-luxuries. By and large, the increases were imposed upon goods consumed by the better-off sections of the community. No one could reasonably maintain that beer, wine and spirits, imported meat and butter, coffee and even imported flour constitute indispensable or significant items in the family budgets of the low income groups which form the bulk of our population. Yams and gari, local meat, vegetables and butter, home-brewed beer and our invigorating palm-wine, home-woven cloth; these and many more products which are consumed on a wide scale by the working classes did not feature at all in the taxation measures.

Nevertheless it is only fair to point out that there are limits to the amount of revenue we can secure by the taxation of luxuries and semi-luxuries. Some imported goods are widely consumed by people of all classes. Textiles provide one example of this. If, therefore, we are going to produce a significant increase in the contributions from revenue for the development of our country, we cannot ignore goods of this sort which are imported in bulk for the use and consumption of the man in the street. May I say, Sir, that it is no part of our policy to shield the rich. It is our intention to spread the burden fairly, calling upon all sections of the population to make their sacrifice for the advancement of Nigeria.

We would be deluding ourselves, Mr Speaker, if we thought that we could mobilise the resources of this country without personal sacrifice. Some sections of the Press have made great play with arguments about my going abroad to beg for loans. Why, they say, do we not find the money from within Nigeria? Sir, I repeat that my principal theme today is the mobilisation of Nigeria's own resources. But this mobilisation will have little effect unless all classes of the community are prepared to accept the burden of the sacrifice to which I have referred. There is one aspect of this to which I must refer. There will be no sacrifice if measures of the sort we took last December are made the immediate occasion for increases in wages and salaries that are unrelated to increases in production. Such increases could only serve to nullify the effect of the tax measures. A small section of salary and wage earners

might derive some benefit, but even if they did, it would be at the expense of the rest of the community. The farmers and fishermen who constitute the bulk of our population would not benefit at all.

It is also important when taxation measures are introduced that firms and shop-keepers should not increase their prices unreasonably. At the time the measures were introduced, I had much to say about this. I made it perfectly clear that I would deplore any attempt to make the tax measures the signal for a general increase in prices. I believe that by and large, firms and individuals have co-operated with the Government over this. However, the Federal Government intend to continue to maintain a watchful eye on prices. We will not hesitate to take any appropriate measure to deal with profiteering.

As I have said, there are no taxation shocks in this budget. The House will, however, be aware of one revenue measure which we have taken in the past few days. I refer to stamp duties where, in concert with the Regional Governments, we have raised, with certain exceptions, the rates of duty by fifty per cent with effect from the 1st April, 1961. The increase has long been overdue. The old rates were first introduced in 1939 and have stayed unchanged since then. All Governments have been convinced in principle of the need for a revision for some time but it is only lately we have been able to agree on the best means of implementing the change. I calculate that the increase will bring the Federal Government an additional revenue of one hundred thousand pounds over the two hundred and forty thousand pounds provided in the Estimates.

During this meeting of Parliament we shall be considering some major legislation governing the future of income taxation in Nigeria. At last, and indeed for the very first time in the thirty-two years history of income tax in Nigeria, the assessment of non-Africans residing outside Lagos will pass from the sphere of the Federal Board of Inland Revenue to the tax authority of the Region where the tax-payer resides. This will bring to an end the old system whereby the income tax of indigenous tax-payers resident in the Regions was levied by the Regional authorities, whereas the income tax payable by non-Africans remained in the jurisdiction of the Federal authorities. In short, Mr Speaker, the old system perpetuated a form of discrimination between the taxation of Africans and non-Africans. For many years dissatisfaction has been expressed with this system but no-one was ready to grasp the nettle and produce a solution. However, examination of the problem was hastened by the report of the Raisman Fiscal Commission. The Commission recommended very strongly that Regions should assume the basic jurisdiction over the personal income tax of non-Africans. In arriving at this recommendation the Commission expressed their certainty that the system of personal income tax should not rest on any discrimination between Africans and non-Africans. They were also anxious to avoid creating in the Federation any harassing problems of double taxation.

The recommendations of the Fiscal Commission have been carefully examined by all the Governments of the Federation over a long period. The upshot is the Income Tax Management Bill which I shall be introducing in the course of this budget meeting of the House. An object of the Bill is to ensure as much uniformity as possible between the income tax measures of the various tax authorities in the Federation and to save individual tax-payers from being approached by one tax authority after another as can happen at present. The Management Bill defines what can be regarded as income for taxation purposes. It provides that the whole of an individual's income, wherever it is derived, will be assessed to tax, only by the Government within whose jurisdiction the tax-payer is permanently resident on the first of April. It provides for the *separate* assessment of a man and his wife. It also provides, as I have said, for non-Nigerians to be treated on exactly the same basis as Nigerians. Within the framework of the Management Bill, each Government will be free to impose its own rates of tax, personal reliefs and so on, to suit its own particular needs.

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In the Personal Income Tax (Lagos) Bill, which will also be introduced at this meeting of Parliament, the Federal Government will provide for the method of assessment, the personal reliefs and the tax rates applicable to residents in Lagos. I emphasise the words "in Lagos" since all that follows in my speech about income tax rates and reliefs is of concern only to those individuals henceforward subject to assessment by the Federal Board of Inland Revenue. My remarks do *not* concern the rates of personal income tax payable by non-Nigerians and Nigerians in the Regions.

The first important change is the introduction of an income rate which will be imposed on *all* taxpayers resident in Lagos. In the case of taxpayers with incomes in excess of three hundred pounds a year, the rate will be *additional* to their income tax. In the case of taxpayers whose annual incomes do not exceed three hundred pounds, however, the income rate is the only income tax demand which will be made of them. Taxpayers with incomes not exceeding three hundred pounds form a numerous class in Lagos. In the past they have paid tax at rates ranging from six shillings on incomes of up to twenty-four pounds, to three pounds fifteen shillings on two hundred pounds, and seven pounds ten shillings on three hundred pounds. I propose that we should introduce entirely new rates, starting with ten shillings on incomes not exceeding one hundred pounds. For incomes exceeding one hundred pounds but not exceeding two hundred pounds, the rate will be one pound. For incomes exceeding two hundred pounds but not exceeding two hundred and three pounds a year, the rate will be one pound plus half of the amount by which the income exceeds two hundred pounds. For incomes exceeding two hundred and three pounds, the rate will be three pounds. So, in almost every case, there will be a considerable *reduction* in the tax payable by the lowest income groups in Lagos, although every citizen will contribute something in proportion to his means by way of taxation. We do not tax on political grounds. I would add that my aim is eventually to transfer the administration and collection of the income rate to the Lagos Town Council. This will relieve the Federal Board of Inland Revenue of the unremunerative work of trying to make a close assessment of the income tax of this large group.

Turning to the personal reliefs, I propose that single men, single women and married women with incomes in their own right, should enjoy a personal relief of three hundred pounds. For a married man with a wife maintained by him, I propose that the relief should be four hundred pounds. These new rates will terminate the unreasonable discrimination between men and women which has existed in our income tax laws. Henceforward, the modern Nigerian woman, like her counterpart in other countries of the world, will make her contribution to the progress and prosperity of the nation on a basis of equality. Hitherto, the personal relief for children has been forty pounds per child up to a maximum of four children. It is proposed to increase this amount to sixty pounds and to allow relief for the children maintained by a tax-payer, whether or not they are his own, provided they are genuinely maintained by him. The maximum of relief for up to four children remains unchanged. In the past, we have also allowed additional relief of up to two hundred and ten pounds for expenditure incurred on maintaining or educating a child outside Nigeria. I propose to amend this to provide relief of up to one hundred and ninety pounds but this will only be allowed to the extent that expenditure is incurred in excess of the sixty pounds basic relief, and when the expenditure is incurred on education and not merely on maintenance. The relief will be allowed whether the expenses are incurred inside or outside Nigeria. By these changes in the reliefs for children, I hope that, apart from checking abuses of the old scheme of reliefs, I have placed them upon a proper Nigerian basis, entirely suited to the Nigerian way of life. One final point about the reliefs. I have left the present relief for dependent relatives unchanged, except that relief may now be claimed where a dependent's own income is as high as three hundred pounds a year in place of the present one hundred and fifty limit,

I move now to the rates of tax which we intend to apply. In the framing of suitable rates for the residents of Lagos, four considerations have been ever-present in my mind :

- One*, there should be no overall loss of revenue as a result of any changes in the reliefs or in the tax rates themselves ;
- two*, there should be no violent increase or decrease in the amount of tax payable by any one tax-payer ;
- three*, there should be no outright exemption from tax of any income-earner, however low his income ; but rather he should, as a citizen of this great country, learn to contribute his proportionate share to the nation's income ; and
- four*, the system of taxation of the "under-three-hundreds" under the present practice of close assessment should not be as grossly uneconomical as it is at present. I have, indeed, already spoken of the introduction of the income rate which will meet this and the preceding consideration.

On the basis of these considerations, or statement of principles as they could be termed, the Government have decided to introduce the following rates of income tax in Lagos :—

First	£400	@	1s-0d in the £
Next	£200	@	2s-0d in the £
Next	£200	@	2s-6d in the £
Next	£200	@	3s-6d in the £
Next	£800	@	4s-6d in the £
Next	£1,000	@	6s-0d in the £
Next	£1,000	@	7s-6d in the £
Next	£1,000	@	9s-3d in the £
Next	£5,200	@	11s-6d in the £
Every £ over £10,000 : 15s-0d.			

In addition, as I have already explained, each person taxed at these rates will also be liable to the income rate of three pounds.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. It is now 1 o'clock, and the sitting is suspended until 3 o'clock.

Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3.10 p.m.

The actual amount of tax payable by an individual depends, of course, not only upon the tax rate but also upon the personal reliefs. Thus, although the first impression from the figures which I have given might be that there will be a substantial increase in an individual's tax liability, because the rates appear higher, in fact this is not the case. Let me, as briefly as possible, summarise the effect of the new rates upon the various main categories of tax-payer. All those with incomes of less than three hundred pounds a year will, in almost every case, pay less tax than at present. This should provide a very welcome relief for the poorer sections of the community.

Let me refer now to those with incomes above three hundred pounds a year. Single men will pay somewhat less than under the old rates of tax. This is because they will now enjoy a personal relief of three hundred pounds, whereas hitherto they have had none at all. Single women, although they will pay the same as single men, will pay more than they did in the past. This is because they have enjoyed an indefensible privilege of a total exemption for the first two hundred pounds of their income which the single man did not receive. Married men without children will pay less under the new scheme if their income does not exceed one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds a year. They will pay more or less the same if their income is between that figure and four thousand seven hundred pounds and slightly more than at present

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if their income is above four thousand seven hundred pounds a year. Married men with one or two children will pay more or less the same up to four thousand seven hundred pounds a year ; beyond that figure they will pay slightly more. Married men with three or four children will pay slightly less right down the scale.

The overall picture, therefore, is that with the solitary exception of the single woman, who in future will be treated on exactly the same basis as a single man, the liability of the very lowest income groups will be substantially reduced ; that of the lower groups will be slightly reduced ; whilst the wealthier tax-payers will, in general, pay slightly more unless they have large families. This, I am confident, is an equitable distribution of the tax burden. I do not know what changes, if any, are being made to the tax rates in the East and West—the North is on a system which does not lend itself to comparison with the others. However, a comparison of our present and proposed rates of tax with those of the East and West shows that in the case of the lower income groups the Federal tax is markedly lower than that of the West, although it is very significantly higher in the higher income groups. Again I feel that this reflects a more equitable spreading of the tax burden. Throughout the income range the Eastern tax rates are substantially higher than either those of the Federal or the Western Region. I do not anticipate that the proposed changes will result in any material change in the total revenue which will accrue to the Federal Government from income tax.

Taxation of limited liability companies throughout Nigeria remains the responsibility of the Federal Government in accordance with the recommendation of the Raisman Commission. In view, however, of the changes being made in our income tax legislation we have thought it desirable to draw up a new Bill for the taxation of companies which will dovetail into the provisions of the Income Tax Management Bill. In this way we shall be able to discard completely the old Income Tax Ordinance which dates from 1943. I shall, of course, be speaking in much greater detail about the new Companies' Profits Tax Bill, when the Bill itself is presented. All I need say at the moment is that I believe that the proposed new legislation will provide an efficient and effective instrument for the taxation of companies and that it will be entirely suitable to present-day circumstances. No change is proposed, I should add, in the rate of taxation applicable to companies.

One innovation which we are introducing is a pay-as-you-earn scheme of tax collection. This will affect the vast majority of employed persons in Lagos. I emphasise that this will be a Federal scheme restricted to those persons resident in Lagos who pay personal income tax to the Federal Board of Inland Revenue. It is my hope that, provided Parliament approves the necessary legislation, we will commence the P.A.Y.E. scheme at an early date in the new financial year. One of the main advantages of P.A.Y.E. is that it relieves workers of the strain on their personal finances when income tax has to be deducted in two instalments. I am sure all persons subject to personal income tax will welcome this easier method of settling their income tax obligations. Of course, the scheme has its attractions for Government as well, in so far as it will ensure a steady and even flow of revenue from this class of income tax payers. One other important point regarding P.A.Y.E. is that it will involve a fundamental change in the basis of assessment of employed persons. Hitherto, subject to certain exceptions necessary to cater for abnormal cases, the basis of assessment has been the income of the preceding year. Under P.A.Y.E. we assess the income of the current year and members will find this reflected in the legislation which they will be considering at this meeting of Parliament.

Following upon the recommendations of a Committee which visited London on my behalf last year, the Board of Inland Revenue have now taken over from the Official Representative in London, the assessment of all companies, partnerships and pensioners. This, I feel sure, is a wise move. It is, indeed, the only proper course of action now that we have achieved our Independence.

I am still much concerned at the evidence that the unscrupulous continue their efforts to evade the payment of income tax. I would like to mention to the House an example of the type of case I have in mind. In this instance, Mr Speaker, we have an ex-patriate company which has been operating in Nigeria since 1952. To the world outside this company, though not a large one, appears reasonably prosperous. It is engaged in a luxury trade and its goods are costlier than in other companies. It is a house of high fashion in one of the main streets of Lagos, where only the rich would have the means to buy its goods. Yet, to my surprise when I called for a report on the tax position of this company, I found that from 1952 up to and including the 1960-61 year of assessment, the company had paid less than £1,000 in income tax. That is an average of only £125 a year. I might add that for five of these years, the company had shown losses and no tax at all was paid. Mr Speaker, this seems to me to be highly suspicious. I can hardly credit that a company of this type can be in such a parlous conditions. Surely, Sir, if any company is unable, after a reasonable period, to make taxable profits, the answer is for it to wind up its affairs and leave Nigeria. I feel very strongly on this subject. Tax evasion in any form is utterly contemptible. Firms which manipulate their accounts to the detriment of the revenue are doing themselves and Nigeria grave dis-service. More than that, they are cheating the many other companies which prosecute their business honestly and sincerely.

Of course, we welcome investment in Nigeria, but we do not welcome investors who do not play fair with our tax authorities. For our part, we reduced income tax to eight shillings in the pound two years ago, because we wanted to encourage the growth of commercial and industrial activity in the Federation. This makes it very surprising to me that we should find companies with a record such as the one I have just mentioned to the House. I am also distressed to find that several companies utterly failed to submit any accounts at all for the purpose of assessment, thus making it necessary for the Board of Inland Revenue to impose arbitrary assessments. There have indeed, Mr Speaker, been some bad cases where companies have not produced accounts to the Board of Inland Revenue for as much as three years running. Evasion of income tax is just as menacing to our economy as the evil of smuggling. It is my intention that the Board of Inland Revenue should attack this problem with all the forces at their disposal. Where necessary we shall amend our laws; already we are setting up an efficient investigating branch in the Inland Revenue. Recruitment of competent and experienced investigating officers has not, however, proved easy, but I have taken steps personally to look for staff under the various technical assistance schemes on offer to Nigeria. I am hopeful of securing staff from Israel and also possibly, Australia. With this assistance it is my intention that we should create within the Board of Inland Revenue a nucleus of an effective investigation branch. I hope the House will not consider that I have been too harsh in my remarks about companies operating in Nigeria. I know that there are many honourable exceptions to what I have said, but make no mistake of it, there are the transgressors and it is my earnest resolve to bring the full weight of the law to bear upon them and in those cases where companies fail to produce accounts, the Board of Inland Revenue will step up the rate of arbitrary assessment.

The House will remember that it has been necessary for me to refer each year to the serious effect of smuggling upon our country's revenues. I have already spoken today about the problems of mobilising the resources of Nigeria for the tremendous tasks which lie ahead of us. The increase of revenue is one very important aspect of this, and it is of the utmost concern to me and my colleagues that our revenues should suffer so greatly because of wide-spread smuggling. I am informed, for example, that about forty-five million smuggled cigarettes are being sold each month in Nigeria. This represents about one-sixth of the total cigarettes sold in the country. If dutied cigarettes were sold in place of these smuggled cigarettes, the gain to the revenues of the Federation would be at least two million pounds a year.

Now, in my last Budget Speech I promised that the Government would take all possible measures to fight this evil. I am pleased to report that, in the financial year now ending, our

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efforts have met with considerable success. We have been greatly helped by the Navy, the Army and the Police. Their services have provided an invaluable complement of the preventive work of the Board of Customs and Excise. By far the greatest quantity of contraband was seized by naval vessels on which Customs officers are serving, but they are perhaps better placed than others to make spectacular captures. I want to put on record this morning my deep appreciation for the splendid work done by the officers and men of all these services.

To give some actual figures, about one thousand four hundred seizures have been made over the past twelve months. In this same period some eight and a half million cigarettes, seventeen thousands pounds weight of tobacco and over four thousand gallons of spirits have been seized. These seizures represent revenue of something of the order of one hundred thousand pounds. Over and above these amounts, I am certain that at least as much was destroyed in the course of capture. A damaging blow has been dealt to the smuggling fraternity, but I realise that more must be done before the profit has been taken out of the large-scale smuggling on our borders. The Board of Customs and Excise are, therefore, planning preventive patrols and a closer liaison between the services engaged in fighting the smugglers. In particular, arrangements are in full swing for the complete re-organisation of the preventive service into a truly effective counter-smuggling body. In 1960 we opened a number of new customs patrol and border stations and more are planned for this year. The pattern we are seeking to establish is that of a closely interlocked network of customs and police stations, many of which will be in direct radio contact with each other. In this way, we hope to achieve a ready exchange of information which will provide the basis for successful and combined operations.

This important task of ensuring that the revenues are collected does not end with the prevention of the smuggling of goods across our frontiers. There are other more subtle methods of smuggling which we must combat. For this reason, every officer of the Board of Customs working in the Long Room and Transit Shed is engaged in the vital task of meticulously checking documents and goods to ensure that they have been properly declared, and are not covered by false or fraudulent invoices. However well this work is done by our officers, it is always possible for a few forged documents to escape detection. This is where the investigation branch of the Board of Customs and Excise comes into play. The vigilance of this branch has brought to light many frauds, and I am glad to report that their investigations have undoubtedly improved the situation. The unscrupulous importer realises now that the chances of a forged document going undetected are very much less than in former years. There has, in fact, been a marked decrease in fake invoices during the past year.

I would like to mention one or two examples of the way in which importers try to evade the payment of their just dues. The most common type of fraud is where a completely forged invoice is submitted to support Customs documents. At one stage, such forgeries had become so much a matter of routine that the constant reduction of figures on invoices without regard to sense, showed articles three feet in length being imported in twelve-inch cartons. Another form of swindling involves not only the Board of Customs but also suppliers in other countries I am thinking of the case where a person set himself up as a banker or accepting house and ordered fantastic quantities of goods from foreign suppliers by means of worthless drafts and bills of exchange prepared by himself. Having ordered the goods against these forged documents, he saw no reason why he should pay the full customs duty, so he forged invoices in exactly the same way as the bank documents. There was also a so-called clearing house styled the "British Indent House Ltd." The offices of this institution were, in fact, the bedroom of the perpetrator of the fraud. I am glad to say that in this particular case, prompt action by the Board of Customs and Excise prevented any loss of revenue. I should mention that the scope for this type of fraud will be considerably reduced by the legislation announced in the Gracious Speech from the Throne for the control of the activities of discount companies.

A variation of the forged invoice theme is the case where an importer gains possession of another importer's copy of a customs entry on which duty has been paid. He alters the body of this document to correspond with the marks and numbers of his own consignment of goods and uses it to obtain delivery of the goods without payment of duty.

These are just a few examples of the type of smuggling activity which the Board of Customs have detected by their constant vigilance. The House will be glad to know that the perpetrators of this type of fraud have been severely punished by the Courts. There is no question of the ingenuity of some of these unscrupulous persons and I recognise the need for a strong preventive service and an equally strong investigation branch. In my view, no quarter can be given to these people for they have shown themselves to be thoroughly bad citizens of Nigeria. They are doing great harm to the economic welfare of the country and must be pursued with the full severity of the law.

I feel that there is still far too much complacency in Nigeria about smuggling. Too many people in all walks of life in our country are prepared, if not to encourage, at least to condone it. They dabble in this illicit trade by purchasing goods which they know full well can only be smuggled, in view of their low price. I therefore ask all Honourable Members to make a conscious effort to spread a new mode of thinking about the problem of smuggling. There is so much which we can do through the Board of Customs. We can employ the Army, the Navy and the Police in patrols and combined operations, but the ultimate success of our efforts is bound to turn upon the willingness of the Nigerian public to give their full co-operation.

Our preventive work is handicapped by a serious shortage of information, and I hope that the people of this country will come to regard it as their duty as good citizens, to bring to the authorities information on smuggling activities. Give us the facts and we will take prompt and effective action. We shall pay for truthful information.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it has been said of Alexander Hamilton, who was so prominent in the evolution of the American economy at the time of George Washington, that "his distinction among finance ministers rests upon more than fiscal competence, for his Treasury measures were but instruments in an imaginative national programme". I trust, Sir, that in the budget which I have laid before you today, I have mapped out an equally imaginative programme. It is my belief that in this Sovereign Budget, following in the wake of my Stability Budget, the Federal Government have provided a bold, yet realistic, set of proposals for the economic progress of the nation. In particular, Sir, I commend the Recurrent Estimates, 1961-62, as presented to Parliament, together with this Appropriation Bill, for the favourable consideration of the House.

At this point, Mr Speaker, I would like to pay a brief but heartfelt tribute to the staff of my Ministry, who have been engaged for so many weeks upon the preparation of this Budget. I am greatly indebted to them for their excellent work, and it is a matter of personal regret to me that some of them will have left Nigeria before the 1962 Budget Meeting. My thanks also go to the Government Printer and his staff for their unflinching efforts, without which it would be impossible for this Budget Meeting to go so smoothly.

Mr Speaker, Sir, before closing this speech, I want to say a little about the possibility of achieving some form of union among the countries of Africa. It has been said that this must of necessity begin with political union. It has also been suggested that any loose confederation based upon purely economic co-operation, would result in deceptive and needless procrastination.

In the fast shrinking world of today, it is obviously good sense for us to work for co-operation among the countries of Africa rather than to exaggerate their differences. I am just as anxious as the next man to see a harmonious relationship created between the countries of West Africa and their neighbours. I recognise the dangers which lurk in the Balkanisation of Africa, but there are problems involved which we must face fairly and squarely. I do not believe that we can achieve any sort of union overnight. I believe that a cautious approach will pay dividends in the long run. It seems to me that the proper thing is to begin by develop-

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ing economic relations. Let us work for greater trade among the countries of Africa. Let us develop forms of economic assistance and co-operation. Let us do this where possible under the aegis of such organizations as the Economic Commission for Africa. Then, Sir, when we have established satisfactory economic relations, we shall be able to talk about the possibility of some form of political union. Such a union must, however, be on the basis of equality among the States concerned. It must not be on the basis of domination by any one country. Leadership will, no doubt, be necessary, but I want it to be leadership that is voluntarily accepted.

Much is said these days about the projection of the African personality. I must confess I am sometimes in doubt as to what precisely is meant by this. Certainly as one looks about the world today, I find it hard to believe that it is one single African personality which is being projected. It seems to me as if the personality of particular countries is being projected: for instance, the Ghana personality, the Guinea personality, the Casablanca personality and so on and so forth. For my part, Mr Speaker, I am firmly of the belief that Nigeria can contribute much of value to the affairs of the world. It is our task in this House and outside, to project the Nigerian personality both in the political and in the economic field. It was written many centuries ago that, "There is always something new from Africa". I am convinced, Sir, that Nigeria has something new and wonderful to offer. In this Federation we have fashioned a unique example of "Unity and Faith". It is an example which I feel sure can shape the destiny of Africa. So, Sir, with a profound sense of how much depends upon all of us in Nigeria, may I say with Longfellow:—

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State !
Sail on, O Union, strong and great !
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate !"

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move. (*Prolonged loud Applause*).

The Minister of Works and Surveys (Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Inua Wada): Sir, I beg to second.

Mr Speaker: In pursuance to Standing Order 63, the Debate stands adjourned. Debate to be resumed when ?

The Minister of Finance: Debate to be resumed on Monday next.

PORTS (AMENDMENT) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move that the Bill for an Act to amend the Ports Ordinance be now read a second time.

In November of last year, I informed this House that, in the interest of furthering the Government's Nigerianisation policy, the Chairman of the Ports Authority had assured me of his willingness and readiness to relinquish the Chairmanship of the Authority whenever called upon to do so. I also promised the House that the necessary amendments to the law would be proposed in order to enable me to appoint a Nigerian as Chairman of the Authority.

Sir, it is my great pleasure to-day to redeem my promise, and to propose the second reading of a Bill which, by separating the functions of the Chairman from those of the General Manager of the Authority, will enable a Nigerian to be appointed as Chairman. For purposes of convenience I have also included in the Bill amendments of a more general character which will enable the Authority to become the Piers Licensing Authority within port limits.

I will first deal, Sir, with those provisions in this Bill which concern the Chairmanship of the Authority and the appointment of a General Manager. Clause 3 (a) of the Bill introduces a new section 21A which provides for the appointment of a General Manager of the Authority who will be the Authority's Chief Executive Officer.

Subsection (2) of the proposed new section 21A provides that the General Manager shall be appointed by the Authority with the prior approval of the Minister, and subsections (3) and (4) stipulate the powers and functions which the Authority shall delegate to the General Manager. Subsection (3) transfers to the General Manager the powers at present exercised by the Chairman under section 12 (1) (a) of the Ports Ordinance. Section 12 of the Ordinance, it will be observed, is repealed under Clause 4 (f), that is to say, in the Schedule of this Bill.

Subsection (5) of the proposed new section 21A provides that the General Manager shall not be a member of the Authority, but shall have the right to be present at all or any of the meetings of the Authority except when any matter involving him personally is being discussed. The General Manager will also be furnished with copies of all notices, agenda and minutes of all meetings of the Authority.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as I have already said, this Bill also seeks to amend the Ordinance to enable the Authority to become the Piers Licensing Authority within a port or the approaches to a port. It is considered both logical and desirable that the control of piers within port limits and approaches, including the issuing of licenses, should be the responsibility of the Ports Authority. This change in procedure will cut red tape and will be in the interests both of the Authority and of port users.

Clause 2 of the Bill therefore inserts a definition of "pier", and Clause 3 (b) proposes the addition to the Ordinance of a new Part VIIIA which provides for the regulation of piers in ports and approaches. Sections 42A to 42B of the proposed new Part VIIIA contain provisions regarding the issue of licenses and the cancellation of licenses in certain circumstances. Section 42E provides that any servant of the Authority may, in certain circumstances, remove or cause to be removed a pier in any port or in the approaches to any port.

Section 42F empowers the Authority to make regulations relating to piers: section 42G provides that any licence granted under the provisions of the Piers Ordinance in respect of any pier in a port or in the approaches to a port, and in force immediately before the coming into operation of the proposed new

Part, shall be deemed for all purposes to have been granted under the provisions of this Part.

Section 42H, providing for penalties for contravention of the law, is inserted because it is considered desirable to keep all provisions relating to piers together rather than to make provision for penalties under section 115 (2) of the Ordinance. Section 42 (i) binds the Government of the Federation or of a Region, as the case may be, as regards the building of piers within ports and their approaches, but exempts Governments as regards fees and penalties.

It now only remains for me, Sir, to explain to this House the purpose of the amendments as set out in the Schedule under Clause 4 of this Bill. The amendments under (a) and (b) of the Schedule have the effect of granting a right to the Authority to enter upon any land to erect buoys and moorings. The Authority at present possesses this right in respect of beacons only.

The amendment under (c) of the Schedule is designed to make it clear that the Chairman referred to and intended in the section is not the Chairman of the Authority but the Chairman of the pilotage board. The amendment under (d) is designed to make it quite clear to whom the notice of intention to sue the Authority must be addressed.

Paragraph (e) deletes the opening words of paragraph 2 of the Fourth Schedule of the Ordinance, namely, "subject to the provisions of section 9", because the section 9 to which this paragraph refers is no longer contained in the Ordinance. This amendment was apparently overlooked at the time of the 1958 Revision of the Laws.

Paragraph (f) of the Schedule repeals section 12 of the Ordinance, as I have already stated in connection with the powers to be exercised by the General Manager. Paragraph (f) also repeals section 117, which deals with restrictions on the grant of licences under the Piers Ordinance, and which is now superseded by the provisions contained in this Bill.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I am sure that all members of this House will heartily welcome the provisions of this Bill; they are non-contentious and, I believe, will have the support of the whole House. Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Zana the hon. Bukar Dipcharima): Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Mr A. Komolafe (Ekiti North East): Mr Speaker, Sir, as the Minister of Transport and Aviation has just said, it is to a great extent absolutely a non-contentious Bill, but I think it is most desirable that the functions of the Chairman must, at this stage, be separated from those of the General Manager. However, the point I want to stress is on the question of appointments. I want us to think very seriously about the present stage of development of our country. Nobody will quarrel with the Government if, in making appointments to Corporations and quasi-government institutions, it puts its own people in key posts. But I want all of us to realise that one important thing that we have to consider is that at this stage in our development, when we are just getting to the stage in which we have to compete with the outside world, people who have to carry out the policies of our Ministers, that is, people who are heads of corporations, must be people who are definitely most efficient, people with the greatest of personal integrity, and people who can be trusted to hold their own under all circumstances. When these appointments are being made, I think the Minister of Transport and Aviation will see to it that only persons with the above-mentioned qualities are appointed to the posts. That is just the little point which I want to make.

Mr D. N. Abii (Owerri East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Amendment Bill. Especially, I want to praise the Minister for making it possible to appoint a Nigerian to chairman the Ports Authority Board. But I would like to tell the Minister that I have been told and, I think it is true, that two Nigerians were specially trained in the United Kingdom for this Ports organisation and they were there for seven years and passed all the examinations qualifying them to take important posts in the Ports Authority. But when these men came back to Nigeria and the Authority had to consider their appointments, to our great surprise these men who had spent seven years doing this work were put down to the background of the office, so that even to-day these men are not remembered. I would like the Minister to make a special investigation to find out whether this story is true and if it is true, Mr Speaker, Sir, it is nothing but right that these men must be permitted to. . . (*Interruptions*).

Chief E. O. Okunowo (Ijebu Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, in rising to support the Amendment Bill which has been presented by the Minister of Transport, I should like to say that it might not be known to members that the out-going Chairman is on contract with this Government and this has not expired, and if he voluntarily surrenders his rights and all privileges, I think it is something which should be commended. It is something commendable for one who of course knows fully well what benefit he derives as Chairman of the Authority and which he is to surrender.

I do not think we can allow the occasion to go without saying something about the man who has rendered so many years of service to this country. In his capacity as Chairman and knowing the chances and ambition of the country surrendered his rights willingly. I think the House ought to say a few words of commendation to him. I would like to associate myself with the expression of the Minister of Transport when he paid tribute to the holder of that office during the November Meeting. If I am privileged to do so I would say that I have had the opportunity of working with the officer concerned and I think that I have to endorse once more the opinion of the Minister of Transport about him. With these few remarks, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr A. Opia (Aboh): Mr Speaker, Sir in supporting this reading of the Ports Amendment Bill, I really feel that I must congratulate the Minister of Transport for the foresight and at least for listening to public opinion for making arrangements to separate the office of the Chairman from that of the General Manager, and for making it possible for a Nigerian to take the post of Chairman. I feel that it would be a nice thing to put on record my appreciation of the goodwill which I feel the Chairman of the Ports Authority, who is perhaps doing a dual job, holding both the office of the Chairman and that of the General Manager all the time, has shown for by being able to relinquish the post of the Chairman voluntarily without any trouble. I feel really that as Chief Okunowo has just said the contract of the Chairman has not yet expired but nevertheless he has been able to relinquish that position, this man requires congratulations at least for the time he has been able to put to this department which is one of the arms of revenue in the Federal Department.

If you look at the extensive work in the different ports of Nigeria, I have in mind the Lagos Port and the Port Harcourt Port, we shall find that extensive work has really been done in all the Ports and I think it is a credit to the holder of the post.

I feel at this stage, Sir, that the arrangements to create the post of the General Manager will go to enhance progress and efficiency especially in executive administration of the Ports Authority. All the time supervision has always passed through the Chairman to his executive officers in the provinces and by this act efficient work has not always been the result so that with the position of the chairman assuming the position of the General Manager, it will go to enhance progress.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I feel really it would be a good thing to make one or two observations on the question of the piers about which the Minister of Transport has just spoken. The observations are in respect of what we find in places like Onitsha and some other places. If you look at the Onitsha wharf, you will find that there are a lot of bad arrangements for vessels landing on the shores and I do not know what arrangements the Minister has perhaps in trying to enforce the Piers Act to enable those wharfs to be demolished and improved because they constitute a danger to the lives of the people. I beg to support.

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South): Sir, I associate myself with the previous speakers in showering praises on the Minister for the Bill, which makes it possible for a Nigerian to be the Chairman of the Ports Authority. When the request was first made, he thought we wanted him to bring down heavens to earth, but when he read the hand-writing on the wall, he agreed and complied with our request.

I want to say, Sir, that the position in the Ports Authority is not quite the same with that of the Railway Corporation and I hope that, unlike the Railway Corporation, there will be no Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of the Ports Authority. Members who do not know what I am talking about may care to know that the Railway Corporation is running to-day at a deficit of thirty million pounds. This is a disgrace to the nation. But the position in the Ports Authority is quite different, it is different in every aspect.

The Minister himself is a lawyer and he endorses the wide powers given to the General Manager. The question is: if so much power is given to the General Manager, what powers will the Chairman have? I wish to refer the Minister to section 21 (a) (3) and with your permission, Sir, I quote. "The Authority shall delegate. . . ."

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku): Sir, I think any comments on the Clauses of the Bill should be reserved for the Committee Stage. This is the second reading. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I think that the Minister is quite right. Detailed comments should be reserved until we reach the Committee Stage.

Mr Odulana: I agree with you, Sir, but while we are very much in agreement with the Minister of Transport and Aviation, we ask him to be more vigilant himself in guarding the destiny of the Nigerian Ports Authority. Now that a Nigerian Chairman is going to be appointed, there is a lot to be done, I repeat, there is a lot to be done, and to be reviewed by the Minister of Transport in the Nigerian Ports Authority as far as labour is concerned. There is going to be, in the near future, at a not very distant date, some extension of the quays at Apapa, although Lagos has three quays at Apapa so far and cannot go further than that. There are three Nigerians Stevedores managing the Lagos quays known to the Minister of Transport, altogether three berths. There are ten berths in Apapa, and one man, one single man is managing that and draws several thousand pounds every month, and he is not a Nigerian.

The Minister is sitting tight; he wants to separate the work of the Chairman from that of the General Manager, and he has shared three berths between three Nigerians, while leaving ten berths at Apapa to one individual. (*Interruptions.*)

Mr Speaker: Order, order.

Mr Odulana: I am sorry that the Prime Minister is not here. If this is above the Minister of Transport and the Board managing the Ports Authority, this is the right place for us to say it. Members who do not know what I am talking about will soon realise that I am not fighting for myself. I am not a stevedore but

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what I am saying is that if a Nigerian has a penny he will spend the penny in Nigeria, but if a non-Nigerian earns half-a-penny here it is of no advantage to any of you.

As I was saying, three berths were divided among three Nigerian labour promoters and ten berths were given to one individual—

Some hon. Members : You are right ; we agree with you.

Mr Odulana : All right. Mr Speaker, I leave the whole matter to the conscience of the Minister. I am sure that wherever he is to-day his conscience will tell him that I am right about this.

Sir, I beg to support.

The Minister of Transport : Mr Speaker, Sir, I just want to say one word. Starting with the remarks made by the last speaker, hon. Odulana, I would like to point out that contracts for labour, both at Apapa and at the Customs quays, were awarded by the Ports Authority after competitive tenders had been advertised and naturally, when the present contracts end, tenders will be invited and I believe that the members of the Authority will see that the best people get the job.

Now, the hon. Odulana went out of his way to talk about the Railway Corporation. I do not like to be dragged into irrelevances. The Railway Corporation is not running at a deficit, as we were made to believe. The Railway Corporation is now very busy trying to stabilize itself following very closely on the recommendations of the Elias Commission of Enquiry.

One other point was made by hon. Chief Okunowo, and I would like to remind the House that I have already on previous occasions expressed the appreciation of the Federal Government of the good gesture which the present Chairman has made by offering to relinquish his post if necessary. I would also like to say that the present Chairman will continue for some time to serve us in another capacity when we get a Nigerian Chairman, to tide us over the training period of the Nigerian who is going to take over as Manager.

The hon. Mr Abii spoke about Nigerians who have undergone raining in the United Kingdom. I must say that the training scheme and the conditions of service of the

Ports Authority happen to be perhaps one of the most progressive in the whole of the Federal Government set-up. These two gentlemen who have been alluded to were interviewed by me when they returned to Nigeria, and I am satisfied that, after the completion of their training, they were given posts which are, at the moment, commensurate with their qualifications and experience.

The trouble with these young men is that they like to go to the top. If a young man serving in the Authority, probably as second class clerk or Assistant Shipping Inspector, goes to the United Kingdom and spends three or four years and comes back, he wants to be General Manager. What about all the people who had been there before him?

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1-3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

Mr D. Senu-Oke (Badagry) : I would like to submit the following point, Sir. There is provision in clause 3—

The Chairman : I think the hon. Member is referring to clause 3, which we have already passed. We are now on clause 4.

Clause 4 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

Bill reported without amendment ; read the third time and passed.

PIERS (AMENDMENT) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill for an Ordinance to amend the Piers Ordinance be now read a second time. When I moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Ports Ordinance a few minutes ago, I explained that one of the objects of that Bill was to make the control of piers within ports limits and approaches the responsibility of the Ports Authority.

Now, in order to achieve that purpose it is also necessary to make minor amendments

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to the Piers Ordinance which will make it clear that the Piers Ordinance, in certain respects, will not apply to the Ports Authority; that is to say, it will not apply to Piers within ports limits and within the approaches to the ports over which the other Bill has now transferred responsibility to the Ports Authority. This change is effected in Clause 2 of this very short Bill by adding a new section 2 (a) to the Piers Ordinance.

Sir, it is very short, simple and non-controversial, and I beg to move.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Zanna the hon. Bukar Dipcharima): Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Mr A. Opia (Aboh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I have in mind, in supporting this amendment Bill, to ask the Minister of Transport to make a categorical statement in respect of piers which we have at Onitsha, that is to say, in the River Niger. We find that quite a number of the piers in the River Niger are not safe for human use, and in most cases it happens that people who cross the river by ferry find themselves in the Niger.

Another thing I find in the Bill is that the £50 fine as penalty even for first offenders is a very high penalty indeed. I believe that some of the people who are likely to break this law may be crossing the river for the first time, and for that reason I find that this punitive measure of £50 is too high.

The Chairman: This is not within the scope of this Bill.

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

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

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn—(The Minister of Commerce and Industry).

M. Ali Monguno (Kaga Marghi): Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not in fact raising a very important matter but making only a request for copies of the Constitution of Nigeria to be made available to those Members of this House who are desirous of them.

The Minister of Justice (Dr the hon. T. O. Elias): The Clerk of the House has distributed copies to all members of the House.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty minutes past four o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Friday, 7th April, 1961

The House met at 9 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION
(1960-61) BILL

The Minister of Finance : Second Reading
—Saturday, 22nd April.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ORGANISATIONS
(AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Finance : Second Reading
—This day.

NOTICE OF MOTION

APPROPRIATION (1961-62) BILL (Adjourned
Debate on Second Reading)

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Appropriation (1961-62) Bill (Adjourned Debate on Second Reading) notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 17 (1), that the day appointed yesterday for the resumption of the Debate on the Second Reading of the Appropriation (1961-62) Bill be brought forward from Monday next to tomorrow. Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of State (Hon. J. C. Obande) : Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not know why the House should be taken so much unawares. The Budget Speech the Minister of Finance delivered yesterday was very comprehensive and, in fact, I was going to say that three days was too small for Members to go through the Budget Speech. I am sure Members of this hon. House will agree with me, apart from those in the Cabinet, that to start the second reading of this Bill tomorrow gives neither the Opposition Bench nor the Government Bench sufficient time to go through the Bill.

An hon. Member : How many hours will it take you to read the Bill ?

Mr Ekanem : Unless, as usual, we want to be rushed on this first Appropriation Bill which the hon. Minister called the Sovereignty Budget. We are opposed to the starting of the debate on the Budget tomorrow. If the Members of this House have the interest of the country at heart, whether they are going to praise or oppose the Bill, I think they should have sufficient time to study it.

On behalf of *this* Side of the House, Mr Speaker, I oppose.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information (Hon. Mbazulike Amechi) : Mr Speaker, Sir, at times we are surprised at the manner the Opposition handle matters of Parliament here. To-day they blow hot, tomorrow they blow cold. They come and tell the House that the Government is not prepared to work ; it is a lazy Government, they do not give Members sufficient work to do. And now when sufficient work is placed at the disposal of Members the Opposition are fidgetting again. Well, the truth is this. The Second Reading was moved by the Minister of Finance yesterday and then after that it was printed and circulated to Members. Throughout last night, throughout to-day, if any Member will not find time to study the Minister of Finance's speech, he is not good enough to be here....(*Interruptions*).....

Mr Speaker, it does not necessarily mean that every Member should speak to the debate tomorrow. When the debate starts tomorrow, those who are ready with their arguments will come forward and speak. Other Members who have other things to do and have not found time to study the speech and prepare their arguments can have other allotted days to speak on it. But I do not see what objection the Opposition have for not starting the work of Parliament at the time the Government has set. So, Mr Speaker, I support the motion.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, with the permission of the House I would like to say a few words to allay the fears of hon. Members. In the first place, hon. Members will agree that when I made a business statement in the House on Saturday, if you refer

to your *Hansard* the date that had been fixed for the debate on the Second Reading of the Budget Speech is tomorrow and not Monday. You were duly warned when I made..... (Interruptions).....

Look, Gentlemen, let us be fair to ourselves. Whether you knew it would be like this or not, I had made a business statement on the date you are going to debate the Budget Speech and I said it would be Saturday. Unfortunately, yesterday, I must admit, I made a mistake and said it would be on Monday and then I corrected it this morning by bringing in this motion.(Interruptions)....

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think hon. Members ought to pull up themselves and get down to serious business.

The Minister of Finance : As far as the days allotted for the debate are concerned, they remain unchanged and I am perfectly sure that there are Members in this House who are capable of speaking to the debate even without second thought. Yes, I know some hon. Members on *this* Side of the House and on *that* Side who could speak to this debate even without warning. But one or two days is enough for you to speak on it. You will start tomorrow, then you have the whole of tomorrow and you have Monday and you are going to have Wednesday. So it does not mean that everybody must speak tomorrow. Those who have done some home work and are prepared to speak tomorrow will have the opportunity to do so. Those who are not ready will have the opportunity to speak on Monday or Wednesday.

So, Sir, I appeal to the House to please let us proceed. We have many other Bills to pass this morning.

Mr W. Briggs (Degema) : Mr Speaker, Sir, this is a question of principle. If the hon. the Minister of Finance had made a mistake yesterday it was on that mistake that most people decided not to come here to-day. The benches are empty to some extent. He says the whole of tomorrow but tomorrow is a half day and it will be just Monday and Wednesday, that is only two and a half days. I think the Minister of Finance has to consider not only the views of the Opposition but also the views of his men on the other Side of the House.

Mr D. N. Abii (Owerri East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I think Mr Briggs is wrong. It will take from Monday to Thursday, plus tomorrow..

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That, notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 17 (i), the day appointed yesterday for the resumption of the Debate on the second reading of the Appropriation (1961-62) Bill be brought forward from Monday next to tomorrow.

SOURCES OF WATER AFFECTING MORE THAN ONE TERRITORY

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Minister of Transport, I beg to move that the Ogun River from its source to its confluence with the Iju River and the catchment area of the Ogun River are declared by this House to be sources of water affecting more than one territory, namely Western Nigeria and Lagos ; and the area thereof comprises all that piece or parcel of land containing 8,345 square miles in Egba, Egbado, Ibadan and Oyo Divisions of the former Colony, and Abeokuta, Ibadan and Oyo Provinces of the Western Region whereof the boundaries are as follows :—

Starting from Iju Junction station of the Nigerian Railway Corporation, whose geographical position is approximately 6°39'30" north latitude and 3°19'14" east longitude, the boundary runs on a bearing of 327°30' for a distance of 10.1 miles ; thence on a bearing of 0° for a distance of 1.6 miles ; and as on the Order Paper.

Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Works and Surveys (Alhaji the hon. Inuwa Wada) : Sir, I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That the Ogun River, from its source to its confluence with the Iju River and the catchment area of the Ogun River are declared by this House to be sources of water affecting more than one territory, namely Western Nigeria and Lagos ; and the area thereof comprises all that piece or parcel of land containing 8,345 square miles in Egba, Egbado, Ibadan and Oyo divisions of the former Colony, and Abeokuta, Ibadan and Oyo Provinces of the Western Region whereof the boundaries are as follows :—

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Starting from Iju Junction station of the Nigerian Railway Corporation, whose geographical position is approximately $6^{\circ} 39' 30''$ north latitude and $3^{\circ} 19' 14''$ east longitude, the boundary runs on a bearing of $327^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 10.1 miles; thence on a bearing of 0° for a distance of 1.6 miles; thence on a bearing of $315^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 3.3 miles; thence on a bearing of 275° for a distance of 1.5 miles; thence on a bearing of $314^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 2.3 miles; thence on a bearing of 270° for a distance of 1.9 miles; thence on a bearing of $321^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 1.9 miles; thence on a bearing of 299° for a distance of 6.8 miles; thence on a bearing of 55° for a distance of 3.9 miles; thence on a bearing of 17° for a distance of 2 miles; thence on a bearing of $66^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 1.5 miles; thence on a bearing of $31^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 4 miles; thence on a bearing of 331° for a distance of 2.4 miles; thence on a bearing of $50^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 1.5 miles; thence on a bearing of $2^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 2.7 miles; thence on a bearing of $311^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 2.2 miles; thence on a bearing of 12° for a distance of 1.6 miles; thence on a bearing of $311^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 2.1 miles; thence on a bearing of 29° for a distance of 3.4 miles; thence on a bearing of 318° for a distance of 3.4 miles; thence on a bearing of $14^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 2.1 miles; thence on a bearing of 292° for a distance of 1.6 miles; thence on a bearing of 336° for a distance of 3.3 miles; thence on a bearing of $311^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 2.3 miles; thence on a bearing of $269^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 1.6 miles; thence on a bearing of $307^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 2.4 miles;

thence on a bearing of 7° for a distance of 3.3 miles; thence on a bearing of 334° for a distance of 1.9 miles; thence on a bearing of $257^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 2.3 miles; thence on a bearing of $13^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 1.8 miles; thence on a bearing of $285^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 3.4 miles; thence on a bearing of $330^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 1.6 miles; thence on a bearing of $279^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 3.4 miles; thence on a bearing of $346^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 3 miles; thence on a bearing of 305° for a distance of 4.3 miles; thence on a bearing of 246° for a distance of 3.8 miles;

to a point on the International Boundary between Dahomey and Nigeria, which is 0.9 mile North of a Concrete Pillar No. 125; thence following the International Boundary northwards through a Concrete Pillar No. 133 to a point 0.5 mile south-south-east of a Concrete Pillar No. 134.

thence on a bearing of $74^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 1.3 miles; thence on a bearing of $20^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 10.3 miles; thence on a bearing of $355^{\circ} 15'$ for a distance of 5 miles; thence on a bearing of 49° for a distance of 2.6 miles; thence on a bearing of 350° for a distance of 2.9 miles; thence on a bearing of $98^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 1.5 miles; thence on a bearing of $343^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 2.6 miles; thence on a bearing of 67° for a distance of 2.3 miles; thence on a bearing of 12° for a distance of 4 miles; thence on a bearing of $53^{\circ} 15'$ for a distance of 3.5 miles; thence on a bearing of $14^{\circ} 30'$ for a distance of 4.3 miles; thence on a bearing of 323° for a distance of 2.8 miles; thence on a bearing of $350^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 2.6 miles; thence on a bearing of $64^{\circ} 45'$ for a distance of 4.4 miles;

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thence on a bearing of 357° 15' for a distance of 3.5 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 73° 45' for a distance of 3.9 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 63° 30' for a distance of 6.5 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 305° for a distance of 4.8 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 32° for a distance of 7.3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 83° for a distance of 2.6 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 159° for a distance of 2.4 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 36° for a distance of 3.7 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 86° for a distance of 3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 14° for a distance of 7.5 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 51° 45' for a distance of 4.4 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 101° 45' for a distance of 3.1 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 82° 45' for a distance of 7.3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 354° 15' for a distance of 3.1 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 93° 30' for a distance of 3.3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 140° for a distance of 4.7 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 46° 30' for a distance of 3.6 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 91° 45' for a distance of 2.6 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 26° for a distance of 5.7 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 90° for a distance of 13.6 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 182° for a distance of 6.3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 131° 30' for a distance of 8.8 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 105° 45' for a distance of 3.2 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 179° for a distance of 2.8 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 230° for a distance of 2 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 175° 30' for a distance of 2.6 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 134° 30' for a distance of 4 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 173° for a distance of 14.5 miles ;

thence on a bearing of 79° for a distance of 6.4 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 151° 45' for a distance of 3.7 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 222° 45' for a distance of 3.8 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 164° for a distance of 6.6 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 202° 15' for a distance of 1.8 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 231° 30' for a distance of 3.3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 194° 30' for a distance of 11.9 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 241° 30' for a distance of 1.6 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 190° 30' for a distance of 4.9 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 247° 30' for a distance of 1 mile ;
thence on a bearing of 175° for a distance of 3.8 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 239° 30' for a distance of 1.2 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 175° 30' for a distance of 3.5 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 264° 30' for a distance of 2.3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 175° 45' for a distance of 3.6 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 130° 45' for a distance of 1.1 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 207° for a distance of 3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 145° for a distance of 3.3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 190° for a distance of 3.5 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 266° for a distance of 2.3 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 252° for a distance of 2.5 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 145° 15' for a distance of 1 mile ;
thence on a bearing of 226° for a distance of 2.5 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 310° for a distance of 0.9 mile ;
thence on a bearing of 230° 15' for a distance of 2.9 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 166° for a distance of 0.8 mile ;
thence on a bearing of 219° 30' for a distance of 2.8 miles ;
thence on a bearing of 260° for a distance of 1.2 miles ;

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thence on a bearing of 209° 15' for a distance of 3.6 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 267° 45' for a distance of 1.2 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 226° 15' for a distance of 3.9 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 200° 15' for a distance of 3.7 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 240° 15' for a distance of 2.6 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 180° for a distance of 4.9 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 256° 15' for a distance of 3.9 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 219° 30' for a distance of 1.9 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 301° 45' for a distance of 1.6 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 226° 45' for a distance of 1.6 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 257° for a distance of 5 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 221° 30' for a distance of 1.2 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 179° 15' for a distance of 4.7 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 242° 45' for a distance of 1.4 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 164° 15' for a distance of 2.9 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 88° 30' for a distance of 0.9 mile ;
 thence on a bearing of 168° 45' for a distance of 3 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 218° 15' for a distance of 2.2 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 203° for a distance of 6.6 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 177° 15' for a distance of 6.1 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 225° for a distance of 2.4 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 189° for a distance of 7.1 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 147° for a distance of 1.8 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 168° 30' for a distance of 1.7 miles ;
 thence on a bearing of 245° 30' for a distance of 2.6 miles ;
 to a point on the Ogun River, thence on a bearing of 265° 30' for a distance of 3 miles to Iju Waterworks ; thence along the northern side of Iju Railway Branch Line for a distance of 2.1 miles to the starting point.

All bearings and distances are approximate and all bearings are referred to True North.—
 (The Minister of Transport).

TREASURY BILLS (AMENDMENT) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill for an Act to amend the Treasury Bills Ordinance, 1959, be now read a Second Time. The proposed amendment is a straight forward one and its effect is to raise the amount which the Federal Government can borrow on short term by the issue of Treasury Bills.

With your permission, Sir, I will read the relevant section of the Treasury Bills Ordinance, 1959, which this Bill proposes to amend. Section 3(1) of the said Ordinance provides that: "the Minister of Finance is hereby authorised to borrow by issue in Nigeria of Federal Government Treasury Bills and the Central Bank of Nigeria when authorised in writing by the Minister of Finance may for that purpose issue in Nigeria within the terms of the authority and subject to any direction given by the Minister such Federal Government Treasury Bills together with such other Treasury Bills as shall be required to pay off at maturity Treasury Bills already lawfully issued."

But section 3(2) limits the use of this authority by stipulating that: "That principal sums represented by any Treasury Bills outstanding at any one time under the provisions of this section shall not exceed ten per cent of the estimated revenue of the Federal Government during the year then current."

The proposed Amendment seeks to delete the word "ten" and to substitute the word "twenty" so that Treasury Bills up to 20 per cent of the estimated gross annual revenue of the Federal Government can be outstanding at any given time. Thus when the estimated gross revenue of the Federal Government in a given year is 100 million Nigerian pounds the Federal Government will be able to borrow 20 million pounds through Treasury Bills issues instead of the 10 million Nigerian pounds allowed under the 1959 legislation.

I would like to explain briefly, Sir, why the Federal Government, like other modern Governments, issues Treasury Bills for the investing public and finance institutions to take up. The Commercial Banks and other finance institutions, business organisations and individuals may have temporarily idle liquid funds. In the past, such surplus funds in Nigeria were either transferred to London for investment in Treasury Bills in the London money market or they were held as cash here without any yield. But to-day, thanks to Treasury Bills, they can be invested in local securities for a period of 91 days. There is no need any longer for any institution wishing to invest in short term securities to go to London. This is one of the positive steps the Federal Government has taken to develop a local money market in order to promote a sound financial structure in independent Nigeria.

Now Treasury Bills are issued at a discount, that is, at less than the nominal value. A £100 Bill may be issued for £96 and the lender will be paid £100 when the Bill matures. In other words, the lender puts £96 of his money into a hundred pounds Treasury Bill for a period of three months at the end of which he gets £100 in return. He has thus made a gain of £4 on his outlay of £96. The proceeds from such Treasury Bills accrue to the Federal Government, who during the life of the Bill, applies the money realised from the issue of the Treasury Bills to its own use and in this way minimises the effect of fluctuations in Government receipts.

Thus, at the beginning of the financial year when Government receipts are low the Government issues a larger volume of Treasury Bills in order to get more money to fill the temporary gap until Government revenues are high when the amount of Treasury Bills issued is reduced accordingly. In this way, the amplitude of short-run fluctuations in Government income due to uneven flow of revenue receipts is reduced. Under a Treasury Bills regime, there is no need for Government to maintain a large working capital which is expensive. This is good business. I wish to emphasise, Sir, that Treasury Bills are fiscal instruments now commonly used by all modern Governments as part of their generally accepted financial apparatus.

Hon. Members may wonder why the Federal Government now proposes to raise the upper limit from 10 per cent to 20 per cent within a year of the introduction of Treasury Bills in Nigeria. There are two reasons for the proposed change: firstly, the Federal Government recognises the wisdom of trading slowly but steadily when handling intricate financial matters. The limit of Treasury Bills was, therefore, deliberately set at a low level to ensure that the early stages of the Treasury Bills markets were carefully and properly managed.

I am proud to say to-day that the Treasury Bills market has come to stay and is now firmly established. We enjoy the full confidence of the investing public in this field to such an extent that we can now regulate the volume of short-term borrowing to suit the cash requirements of Government. Secondly, there is a distinct possibility that the Federal Government may on-lend part of the proceeds of Treasury Bills as short-term credit or ways and means advances to Regional Governments at their request. Such Regional Governments would apply the short-term funds to their own use to even out short-run fluctuations in their revenues in the same way as the Federal Government does. May I remind you, Sir, that short-term borrowing through our Treasury Bills is cheaper than borrowing on similar terms in London and there is no doubt that the short-term credit which the Regional Governments will get through our Treasury Bills is the cheapest they can get anywhere. The Regional Governments can only enjoy the full benefits of this cheap short-term finance if this amendment is accepted by this House.

The maximum amount which can be realised from Treasury Bills permissible under the existing 10 per cent requirement does not meet the full needs of the Federal Government alone; besides, there is every indication that the market can bear more than the present maximum. The first Treasury Bills of 4 million Nigerian pounds were issued on 7th April, 1960, at 4½ per cent; a further 2 million Nigerian pounds issued was raised on 5th May, 1960, at the same rate, followed by a 3 million Nigerian pounds issued on 9th June at 4½ per cent. These have been subsequently re-issued over and again on maturity at varying rates to suit

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market conditions here and overseas so that the total amount outstanding at present is 9 million Nigerian pounds.

The gross revenue of the Federal Government for the year 1960-61 was estimated at the beginning of the financial year at 95 million pounds so that the Treasury Bills outstanding represent by and large the maximum amount permissible under existing legislation. The latest revised estimated revenue is 105 million Nigerian pounds but there is a "Special" Treasury Bills issue of 2 million Nigerian pounds which is being used by the Central Bank to reimburse the Federal Government for its expenditure on the initial orders for the Nigerian currency. Unless the law is amended, therefore, it is quite obvious that requirements of the Regional Governments for relatively cheap short-term credit facilities cannot be met.

I do not think this is a controversial Bill. The proposed amendment will enable the Federal Government to co-operate with all three Regional Governments at their request in the field of short-term borrowing. Why borrow in London when you can borrow more cheaply in Lagos and the lenders with temporarily idle cash resources are available here!

Sir, I beg to move.

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

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

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

LAGOS STOCK EXCHANGE BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance (Hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move that a Bill for an Act to prohibit the carrying on of the business of stockbroking in relation to stocks and shares and other securities

granted a quotation by the Lagos Stock Exchange except by members of the Exchange, and to provide for the making of certain reports and statements on the activities of the Exchange by the Chairman thereof be read a second time.

The aim of this Bill, Sir, is primarily to show the public that the Lagos Stock Exchange has been established with the approval and the full support of the Federal Government. It is envisaged that the Lagos Stock Exchange will function as an independent organisation, but in order to protect the interests of the investing public, the Federal Government will ensure that at all times the activities of the Stock Exchange are properly managed and controlled in such a way as not to jeopardise the particular interests of investors and the stability of the economy in general. In order to assist members of the Stock Exchange in discharging their responsibilities, fully, it is important that non-members are not allowed to deal in stocks and shares on behalf of principals. The principal provision of the Bill, therefore, is to restrict dealing in stocks and shares on behalf of clients or principals to members of the Lagos Stock Exchange.

For some time now our great country has been acquiring and developing some of the basic financial machinery of a modern state. We have made very rapid progress in developing these but a gap long recognised has existed in our financial machinery in that we have had no regular medium for free and orderly buying and selling of stocks and shares. We need an organised market where shares and stocks of companies and Government can be bought and sold by regular and expert traders in the market on behalf of those members of the public who are prepared to put their savings into productive investment or who wish to realise their investments or convert same into cash. Such a market is called the Stock Exchange where brokers, on behalf of their clients or principals deal in shares and stocks issued by companies and Governments.

The principal function of a Stock Exchange is to act as the focal point to encourage the channelling of savings into productive investments in both the private and public sectors by providing a market for the stocks and shares arising out of such investment. Sir, in countries with established Stock Exchange, when you buy shares in a company or when you buy Government Stock, you know that whenever

you wish to realise your investment for cash or other securities you can give an order to your broker to sell your holdings. In the same way, facilities will be provided by the Lagos Stock Exchange for people to put their savings into productive investments instead of holding such savings in non-profitable liquid form.

At present once you get out of Lagos, you will find that a man who has saved £10 hides it under his pillow case or buries it in the ground, like Mr Briggs. With the establishment of the Stock Exchange, he will be able to buy through a stockbroker any shares quoted on the Stock Exchange and his £10 will yield a dividend or profit at the end of the year. Of course he is free to sell his shares in order to get his £10 back if at any time he prefers to hold his savings in cash. This, in simple language, is one of the benefits which the Stock Exchange will provide for the man-in-the-street. The machinery of the Lagos Stock Exchange will thus help to foster the savings habit in Nigeria and as you are aware, Sir, the Federal Government is doing all in its power to encourage savings among all sections of the community because, as I have often repeated, without savings there can be no economic development.

Prospective and existing companies would find the existence of a Stock Exchange very helpful. If a company is doing very well and has prospects for more profitable investment and therefore wishes to expand, it can raise more capital by issuing shares for sale in the Stock Exchange. A company with a good record or potential can thus raise the necessary finance for expansion on its own showing. The existence of a market in the shares of such a company will encourage more people to invest in that company knowing that they can dispose of their shareholdings on the Stock Exchange as and when necessary. Similarly, Government Loan Stocks are likely to be more attractive to the ordinary investor when he is assured of a market for his stock holding.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I think there is no need for me to argue at length the case for establishing the Lagos Stock Exchange as the need is generally recognised. I wish therefore to concentrate on the organisation and constitution of the Lagos Stock Exchange and to show what the Federal Government has done to

ensure that the interests of the Nigerian public will be adequately safeguarded from the activities of the Exchange.

The fundamental aim of Government has been to ensure that the Lagos Stock Exchange will not be a carbon copy of the Stock Exchanges in the United Kingdom or other places. The proposals framed for the Lagos Stock Exchange have therefore been adapted to suit local conditions. But, Sir, we do not live in an isolated world and we must therefore take into account the experiences gained in organising and running Stock Exchanges in Europe, America and other African countries. All I am saying is that the experiences in all these places have only been taken into account in organising the Lagos Stock Exchange when such experiences are found to be relevant to Nigerian conditions.

May I point out at this stage that the most important problem in organising a Stock Exchange is to ensure that there is absolute public confidence in the activities of the Stock Exchange at all times. There must be no room for fraudulent stockbrokers to operate. Scandalous dealers and unscrupulous brokers must be excluded from the Exchange at all times and at all costs. But the need for avoiding scandals on the Exchange is greatest at the early stages. The Federal Government is fully conscious of its responsibility in this field and as you will notice from the detailed provisions in the Bill there will be the closest liaison between those who will run the Stock Exchange, my Ministry and the Central Bank.

One of the ways of generating public confidence in the Lagos Stock Exchange is for the Federal Government to be a member of the governing Council of the Exchange. But there are difficulties involved in this step. The public may be led to believe that Government's membership of the Exchange means that the Federal Government will guarantee all the transactions in the Stock Market. The Federal Government may be publicly embarrassed by its membership of the Exchange when the Stock Exchange runs into some difficulties and the public expects the Government to take stern action against the offending members in such cases.

Besides, unless the Government were to be given a special or privileged position it would have the same voting rights as the other mem-

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bers of the Council and would therefore not be in a position to influence unduly the decisions of the Council of the Exchange. To be given undue voting powers means that Government would, in fact, be running the Stock Exchange as one of its dependent Statutory Bodies and such a situation would create more problems than it solves especially when it is realised that Stock Exchange organisation is normally a field for private enterprise since private companies would not normally wish the selling and buying of their shares to be handled by a quasi-Government organisation.

As I said earlier, Government's membership of the Council of the Exchange is only one of the ways of ensuring public confidence in the Stock Exchange. The Federal Government considers that if it maintains the closest liaison with the Council of the Exchange, if it is informed of all the activities of the Stock Exchange as is required under the provisions of the Bill, then the Nigerian public has nothing to fear regarding the security of the Exchange at all times. I wish to give this assurance here and now that this Government would not have brought this Bill to this hon. House if we were not fully convinced that the Lagos Stock Exchange will be properly run.

We believe in Government by persuasion wherever possible. The Founder Members of the Council of the Exchange and those who are subsequently admitted will manage and run the Lagos Stock Exchange on a self-governing basis but their activities would be subject to the Federal Government's overall supervision. If we find that the powers are inadequate, we will not hesitate to come back to the House for more powers. But it is important in our view that the Stock Exchange should be allowed to function independently of Government.

Sir, I would like to mention what the Federal Government considers to be the essential conditions for the establishment of the Lagos Stock Exchange :—

- (i) the Exchange must be established as a legal entity; (lawyers, I think, understand what I mean—three of you).
- (ii) there must be a controlling body;
- (iii) essential rules must be laid within which the controlling body undertakes to work;

(iv) there must be a clearly laid down code of procedure which can easily be developed or revised as circumstances change.

The Federal Government does not consider to introduce separate legislation to incorporate the Exchange as a legal entity since this could easily be done under section 21 of the Companies Ordinance under which the Lagos Stock Exchange has been incorporated as a non-profit making body with an unlimited membership. The Lagos Stock Exchange will be controlled by the Council of the Exchange which will initially consist of the seven Founder Members of the Exchange. As the membership of the Exchange expands the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Exchange provide *inter alia* for the election of a Council to govern and manage the Exchange. The code of conduct of members of the Exchange is clearly specified under the Regulations issued by the Council of the Exchange.

Sir, I am not trying to spell out here the detailed constitution of the Lagos Stock Exchange but I would like to assure all members that the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Exchange and the Regulations made thereunder were carefully drawn up by those concerned in close consultation with the Federal Government and all the provisions have been carefully screened and approved by the Government. If anybody is interested in these details, including particulars of the Founder Members who founded the Stock Exchange, I would advise him to get in touch with the officials of the Stock Exchange.

I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Founder Members of the Stock Exchange and to thank them for their initiative in organising the Stock Exchange and to assure them that the Federal Government will support their activities at all times when these are in the public interest. I would like to pay particular tribute to a former member of this House, Mr E. C. W. Howard, who played such a large part in the preliminary arrangements.

I now come to the provisions of the Bill. Under section 3, the buying and selling of shares and stocks quoted on the Stock Exchange on behalf of principals shall be undertaken only by members of the Exchange. This is a very important provision in that, as I said earlier, if we must preserve confidence in

the activities of the Exchange, then members of the Exchange deserve the privilege of being the only ones to engage in selling shares and stocks quoted on the Exchange. For every privilege, there is an equivalent responsibility. For this privilege, we expect the business transactions of all members to be above board at all times.

There are three possible ways of exercising control over the selling of shares and stocks in order to ensure that fraudulent brokers have no opportunity to handle such sales on behalf of prospective investors:—

(i) each company in respect of its own shares or stocks could "approve" certain brokers for dealing in its stocks and shares. Government could restrict those who could deal in its stocks in a similar manner. This is a most cumbersome arrangement and could easily result in one broker being approved for company "A", another for company "B", and so on. It would hinder the building up of the desirable close personal relationship between stockbrokers and clients and would not in any sense provide for effective control over the brokers' activities. It is quite obvious, in fact, that each company would not have the means of determining the worth of all the people wishing to be included in its list of "approved" brokers ;

(ii) Government could initiate a scheme for the licensing of all brokers. Quite apart from the possible dangers of politics entering into what should be a purely commercial field, Government has no machinery for exercising the necessary day-to-day control over the activities of "licensed" brokers and in any case it would be very expensive, if not virtually impossible, for Government to set up such an organisation ;

(iii) dealing in stocks and shares on behalf of principals except by members of the Lagos Stock Exchange could be prohibited and the Lagos Stock Exchange would then itself be left to screen applications for membership and thereafter exercise stringent control over the day-to-day stock-broking activities of its members.

This last, subject to certain safeguards defined in this Bill, is the alternative Government has chosen. The Lagos Stock Exchange, like most other Exchanges, will be a self-regulating entity but subject to the overall control of the Government.

Hon. Members may be anxious about the possibility of the seven Founder Members of the Council of the Exchange constituting themselves into an exclusive clique. Though Government has confidence in the Founder Members, we nevertheless recognise this possibility. It is therefore provided in section 6 of the Bill that wherever an application for membership of the Exchange is rejected by the Council of the Exchange, the Chairman shall submit a written statement to me through the Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria stating the reasons why the application has been rejected. In this way, I shall be able to ensure that all *bona fide* and qualified applicants are admitted into the Exchange. The members of the Exchange are highly responsible members of the community and it is not envisaged that they would want to turn down genuine applicants who satisfy all the conditions laid down.

All hon. Members will no doubt agree with me that if the Council of the Exchange is to run the Exchange and manage it properly, it should be responsible for screening all new applications for membership of the Exchange. When I am not satisfied with the grounds given for the rejection of any application, I shall refer such grounds back to the Council of the Exchange explaining why I consider the reasons for the rejection to be inadequate. I have no doubt at all that members of the Council will take note of my opinions in this matter. I think there will be very good working relationship between me and the Council of the Exchange, so I have not considered it necessary to take any powers under this section of the Bill. If my expectations prove wrong, however, I shall not hesitate to come back to the House for more powers.

To enable the Federal Government to be fully informed of the activities of the Stock Exchange, section 5 of the Bill provides that the Chairman of the Exchange shall submit quarterly reports on the activities of the Exchange to the Governor of the Central Bank who will forward such reports to me with his comments. In this way, we shall be fully conversant with what is going on in the Stock Exchange market, apart from the personal day-to-day contact which my Ministry will establish with the officials of the Exchange. Section 7 of the Bill permits the Central Bank of Nigeria to deal in Government Securities whether or not it is a member of the Lagos

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 Stock Exchange. It is of the utmost importance that the Central Bank should be able to sell and buy Federal Government Loan Stocks or Securities as such buying and selling may be dictated from time to time by monetary policy considerations. Hence the Central Bank is exempt from the limitations imposed by this Bill.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is nothing in this Bill to stop Exchanges being established outside Lagos as such with Federal Government support. In fact, it is envisaged that we shall eventually have a Port Harcourt Stock Exchange, a Kaduna Stock Exchange, Ibadan Stock Exchange, Ijebu Stock Exchange, Sapele Stock Exchange, Warri Stock Exchange, and so on, but it is of the greatest importance that the highest standards must be maintained in all these provincial Stock Exchanges. The possibility of establishing regional or provincial Stock Exchanges at present is only an academic question because the volume of business envisaged even for the Lagos Stock Exchange will be very small for a start and we must conserve all our resources into building the Lagos Stock Exchange before we consider establishing other Stock Exchanges. This is why it has been provided in this Bill that anybody who is not a member of the Lagos Stock Exchange cannot deal in shares and stocks quoted on the Lagos Stock Exchange on behalf of another person.

A member of the Lagos Stock Exchange may carry on his stock-broking activities, say, in Ibadan for the time being. When the volume of business in Ibadan justifies the establishment of an Ibadan Stock Exchange and if the promoters of Ibadan Stock Exchange are in a position to attain the highest standards of dealings and if the Memorandum and Articles of Association and Regulations made thereunder impose the same stringent conditions as those of the Lagos Stock Exchange, the necessary legislation will be introduced to establish the Ibadan Stock Exchange. This must be a development in the distant future since the growth in the volume of Stock Exchange business is likely to be gradual. Meanwhile we must concentrate on the development of the Lagos Stock Exchange for a successful start.

Sir, this Bill shows that the Government has confidence in the future of the Lagos

Stock Exchange which already exists but cannot carry on business without the approval of the House. Mr Speaker, Sir, this Bill is another wise move on the part of the Federal Government to build a sound financial structure in Nigeria and I commend it for the full support of all sides of the House.

Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : Sir, I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

Mr B. O. Ikeh (Izi South) : Mr Chairman, Sir, I only want to point out that it is important to protect the public as far as Clause 4 is concerned, because experience has shown that there are some people who move about claiming to be this, to be that ; for instance, a person who is not a medical practitioner assumes to be a medical practitioner and if he is not spotted he goes about giving the impression that he is a medical practitioner. In the same way, you may get some people going about claiming to be members of the Stock Exchange and stock brokers. It is important to have a system by which the names of these people should be gazetted and published in special bulletins, so that the public would be aware of the people who are the real members of the Stock Exchange or stock brokers, so that no one cheats the public.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Chairman, Sir, much as I am in sympathy with the point made by my hon. Friend, I have only to warn him and other members of the public to be careful before they part with their money. This type of fraud is very difficult to control by law. There was a time in this country when people thought that they could double £1 to be £100.

An hon. Member : Who were those people.

The Minister of Finance : Especially in Ijebu-Ode (*Laughter*). Therefore, Sir, hon. Members are already aware that the names of

the seven members of the Exchange will be fully publicised and then people have to be careful, not just try to make money because you hear that there is a Stock Exchange and part with your hard-earned money. I hope that if we put what we are doing now into practice and there is a lot of reports on fraud then we shall consider again and see what other measures we can introduce to protect investors.

Clause 4 agreed to.

Clause 5 agreed to.

Clause 6.

Mr E. O. Ifezue (Orlu North): Mr Chairman, Sir, I want to move an Amendment standing in my name on Clause 6. The Amendment is as follows:—"Clause 6, page C.28, line 42, at end add—The Minister shall in the light of any such statements received by him confirm the rejection of the application for membership of any person or impose the membership of any such person on the Exchange".

The object of my Amendment is to bring the appointment and membership of the Lagos Stock Exchange under Ministerial control. I say this because it is well known that in stock exchanges it is supposed that there are joint stock company businesses, and at the moment I do not think that so many indigenous concerns indulge in joint stock business. So, I believe that already it is well-known that the members of the Lagos Stock Exchange will be expatriates. I want the Minister to see that the membership includes our indigenous concerns because if at the moment, as it is likely, the membership of the Exchange will be dominated by expatriates, it is not very fair. Now, I know that they may say that it is a matter of convention; but then conventions can be broken in the light of world events. My argument is simple, that the Minister should control the membership of the Lagos Stock Exchange so as to enable indigenous concerns to be members.

Sir, I beg to move.

Amendment proposed.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the Amendment. Members who listened to me when I introduced this Bill will agree that I had anticipated this Amendment and given the House full reasons why we feel that we must not control the

membership at the moment. I have said that in normal practice stock exchange is not a Government concern and it should be allowed to develop in private hands, although this being a young country in monetary affairs it is essential that Government should be very keen at protecting the interests of investors, and for that reason we have made a lot of provisions in this Bill for such protection and I have also said that in order not to allow the seven people who constitute the Exchange Council now from constituting themselves into a sort of clique, applications could be made by any individual or company to the Stock Exchange for membership and if such application is received and examined by the Stock Exchange members and they refuse same, that is not the final matter. This application, with their reasons for refusal, will be forwarded to me through the Governor of the Central Bank, who will comment on them and when I receive same and examine the facts and find that the facts stated are not sufficient to refuse such application, I shall send it back to them with my comments, telling them that I do not agree with them. If they fail, well then, naturally, I shall take advice as to what next to do, and then I shall come back to this House and inform you that the Lagos Stock Exchange has refused applications just because of the fact that I recommended such applications and it will be entirely for you then to give me more powers to inflict any other—*(Interruptions)*. With very great respect to the House, Sir, in all modesty I do not want to take upon myself such powers now, but when the time comes for me to do so I shall not hesitate to come to you for such powers.

Question: That those words be there added, put and negatived.

Clauses 6 and 7 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

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

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ORGANISATIONS
(AMENDMENT) BILL

Order for second reading read.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move, That a Bill for an Act to amend the International Financial Organisations (Amendment) Ordinance, 1960 be now read a second time.

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The International Financial Organisations Ordinance governs our membership of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association.

I have also explained in my Budget Speech the objects of these organisations and I need not now recount here their functions and our own contributions thereto. Suffice it to say that Nigeria is now a full member of the first three bodies and that we have already submitted application for membership of the newly-formed International Development Association.

The object of the short Bill before the House is simply to correct two minor mistakes which have occurred in sections 42 and 51 of the principal Ordinance.

In the first case the press "of Article II" is to be inserted in the fifth line of section 42, and in the second case reference should be made in section 51 to section 3 of Article IX and not to Article II of the formed agreement.

These are very minor amendments which do not affect the substance of the legislation, and the institutions concerned have accordingly confirmed that Nigeria's membership is still valid. All the same, it is essential to enact the necessary amendments as soon as possible.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation
(Hon. R. A. Njoku): Sir, I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

Clauses 1-3 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

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

EXTERNAL TRADE LETTERS OF CREDIT
(CONTROL) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move, That a Bill for an Act to make better Provision for the control of certain

commercial documents be read a second time. The basic purpose of this Bill is to protect Nigeria's good name by removing opportunities for fraudulent practices by a few of our unscrupulous businessmen.

As I mentioned in my budget speech, there have been many instances of traders and other individuals setting themselves up as discount houses, or similar financial institutions. Often those businesses have borne impressive names, although they have had no premises other than the bedrooms of the sponsors. Their assets have been virtually nil yet they have issued letters of credit covering substantial imports from overseas.

The letter of credit plays an important, indeed vital, role in the financing of international trade. It enables commodities to be bought and sold by importers and exporters living many thousands of miles apart. Once there is lack of confidence in the reliability of the letter of credit, the machinery for the financing of foreign trade is in jeopardy.

Unfortunately there have been many instances of local discount companies failing entirely to meet their obligations under letters of credit. Indeed, there has often been no intention whatsoever to meet them. The whole operation has been fraudulent, both in conception and execution. I will not trouble the House with the many varieties of fraud and near-fraud. Suffice it to say that, apart from foreign suppliers incurring losses with little or no hope of recovery, the commercial reputation of Nigeria has suffered. This type of activity is bound to damage the credit-worthiness of Nigeria and in this Bill we seek to put these fraudulent operators out of business. They have no place in the trade of independent Nigeria.

The provisions in the Bill are straight forward. Section 2, subsection 1, stipulates that no company, partnership or individual shall give an undertaking or a promise in writing that he will finance payment of goods or services shipped to Nigeria on account of a resident in Nigeria without having such an undertaking or letter of credit confirmed by a licensed bank. When a bank endorses a letter of credit, such confirmation is as good as if the bank itself had issued the document because the bank automatically assumes responsibility for meeting the payment, whether or not the

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importer who originated the document defaults. This provision will introduce an element of control and stability into the issue of these documents. No bank would confirm a letter of credit issued by an unreliable person in view of the consequences for the finances of the bank.

But there are cases where the reputation of a discount company is not in doubt at all. It would be manifestly unfair in such cases to require the company or partnership concerned to obtain a banker's confirmation. The business of discounting bills is conducted on very narrow margins of profit. Banks charge commission for confirming letters of credit and it would be unfair to require genuine discount companies, operating on these narrow margins, to pay such commission.

Subsection 2 of section 2 of the Bill is therefore an exemption clause which empowers the Minister of Finance, after due consultation with the Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, to exempt any company, partnership or individual from the requirement of confirmation. We will consider for exemption those who, by their activities and the resources which they command, have established a sound and unimpeachable reputation. Moreover, if anybody so exempted abused this privilege, the permit could easily be revoked.

At all times, the public interest will be our primary consideration when dealing with applications for exemption.

Subsection 3 of the Bill provides the penalties for anybody who issues a letter of credit without obtaining permission from a licensed bank or the necessary exemption permit. The penalties laid down are stiff and I trust they will be sufficient to act as a powerful deterrent to anyone intending to flout the law.

Hon. Members will notice that the provisions in the Bill cover only the external trade of the Federation. Although Parliament could pass similar legislation to regulate internal trade, especially inter-Regional trade, there does not appear to be any need at this instance to widen the terms of the Bill to cover trade within the Federation. In the first place, it is not the practice to make use of documentary credits of the kind under consideration for financing internal trade, and in the second

place, if letters of credit came to be widely used in financing payment of goods in internal trade, there is little possibility of firms in Nigeria being misled by letters of credit issued by dubious institutions. The trader in Ikorodu, or Ibadan, or Ijebu-Ode is not likely to be misled by the high-sounding names of some dubious "discount company" in Lagos like the "Dosunmu Trading Enterprise, Limited". (*Laughter*).

This Bill signifies a most outstanding step taken by the Federal Government to ensure that Nigeria's financial and trading relationship with the outside world is of the highest standard attainable. I commend the Bill for the support of the whole House.

Sir, I beg to move.

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

Question proposed.

Chief E. O. Okunowo (Ijebu Central): Sir, I have nothing but words of thanks for the Minister of Finance (*Hear, hear*) because this Bill is long overdue. In the past, many people had toyed with the business activities of this country, and this gave room to many unscrupulous men to cheat Nigeria and to ruin the good name of the country abroad. As I have said, I have nothing but thanks for the Minister for all he has done to curb the activities of these people. I would, however, like to supplement this. The Minister of Finance mentioned something about bank confirmation. There is nothing to stop these unscrupulous people from forging documents and presenting the forged documents as bank confirmation. I would, therefore, like to suggest that the time has now come for the registration of all businessmen in this country who would like to trade overseas. I say they must all be registered by the Government. The Government must know something about their activities, their bank balances and so on, before a licence is issued to them to trade with firms overseas. When an indent is placed by any businessman, his licence number must be quoted in order to show that he is a responsible businessman. I think people must learn to crawl before they walk.

Many people pose as genuine businessmen while they are not, and what the Government should do, first and foremost, is to satisfy

[CHIEF OKUNOWO]

itself that these people have the means of clearing any goods they have ordered whenever the goods arrive in this country. In the past, a lot of havoc has been done and it is time it was checked because these people ruin the firms overseas, and ruin also the good name of this country. Moreover, these people do not only ruin their own names, but they ruin other honest businessmen. When goods are imported into this country in a fraudulent manner, the goods will, no doubt, be sold below their cost price because these men have not the money to clear the goods; and when the goods go into the market, honest businessmen have got to compete with fraudulent businessmen for goods brought into the market below their cost price. I therefore think, Sir, that before anybody is allowed to pose as businessman, it must be with the knowledge and consent of the Government of the country.

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

Mr D. N. Abii (Owerri East): Sir, I rise to support everything said by the last speaker in his praise of the Minister of Finance. I think this is one of the most important things in the business field. As the last speaker has mentioned, it is necessary for Government to control our businessmen and have them registered before they could transact any business outside this country. The Government must also make sure that they are responsible people. There are many business people in this country who are rogues and such people ruin the name of the country outside. I therefore support everything the last speaker has said. The Government should make it a law that anyone in business with the outside world must first be registered in this country so that the possibility of people ruining the name of this country might be eliminated.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I sincerely thank the Government for the progressive Bill.

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South): Mr Speaker, Sir, if anything has been done to restore the good name of this country, it is this Bill that the Minister of Finance has brought to this House to-day. Those of us who have travelled extensively abroad know the bad name that Nigeria had in the past. But with the passage of this Bill in our Parliament to-day, unscrupulous traders who go about with

flashy letter headings and purport to be big traders in this country, and thereby cheat the outside world will be checked.

Sir, this Bill will also check those who go about with Acceptance Notes and order goods of £10,000 while they have not got ten shillings, and when the goods arrive, use big English words to ask for ninety days of grace before they can clear the goods. These people damage the good name of the country abroad and for this reason I have risen to support the hon. Members who have supported the Minister of Finance. To the Minister, I personally say: Well done, and along with others, I add my own praise to those already showered on the Minister for introducing this Bill. It is a good Bill and I as well as other commercial men can now go into the world and proclaim ourselves as traders. I am sure foreign businessmen will have nothing to hide from us because our Government is satisfied that we are the right type of men to represent the country abroad.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I support the Bill.

Mr F. U. Ihe (Okigwi North East): Sir, I rise to support this Bill. From the spirited way that many Members have spoken, it is clear that this is a welcome Bill. Great harm has been done to Nigeria's credit abroad. As far back as 1950, many people have paraded themselves as businessmen. These people have branches in London and other parts of the world and their activities damage Nigeria's reputation overseas so much that many real businessmen in this country have lost their money and their business.

My only regret about this Bill is that the sanctions are not severe enough, and if the sanctions had been made more severe, it would have been very welcome.

With this, Sir, I support the Bill.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that anything the Government can do that will curb the activities of self-styled businessmen will be supported by this side of the House. I think that the Minister of Finance should in future take the advice of the hon. Chief Okunowo. There are many self-styled businessmen in Port-Harcourt.

An hon. Member: In Lagos.

The Minister of Finance: In Calabar.

Mr Ekanem : In Sapele. We want to make sure that every businessman is registered with the Minister of Finance so that the Government will be sure of the businessman's bank balance or bank credit. That is what honest businessmen in this country have been doing.

I know of somebody who went over to England and posed as a businessman and obtained goods to the value of £10,000. When the goods had been received nothing was heard of the business anymore. The result is that it is not only a slur on the man's business reputation, but, I think, also a slur on the whole people of this country. Therefore, I would like to thank the Minister of Finance for this Bill.

The Minister of Finance : Mr Speaker, Sir, as usual the voice of wisdom has come from its proper place and I am grateful to my hon. and respected Chief Okunowo for the point he has made, supported by the other speakers. I think to-day is a lucky day for me. *(Applause)*. For the first time the hon. Chief Okunowo has stood up to thank me.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I agree with hon. Members as to the suggestions which they have put forward this morning, but I want to explain to them some of the difficulties that I have.

In the first place, if you are going to prescribe that only registered companies should place orders from Nigeria or open letters of credit, it would put off individual businessmen, that is number one; and two, it would put off mostly Nigerian businessmen because the purpose of having overdrafts in the Bank is to assist those people who are honest businessmen, whose integrity is not in doubt, but who are at the moment unable to raise sufficient funds to start their business. If you are going to look at the bank balance of people in order to grant them permission to open letters of credit to buy goods from overseas, then the preponderance of our brothers and sisters will be completely thrown out of business and there will be a monopoly.

The second point, Sir, is that if all businesses in Nigeria are going to be registered as a limited liability company the Federal Government, being responsible for collecting taxes or company taxes in Nigeria, will impoverish the Regional Governments who still collect their

taxes from businessmen within their Regions. We would not like to see such a state of affairs. But I can assure hon. Members that it is necessary for us to be vigilant. We shall try to be vigilant and see that we track down fraudulent businessmen.

I would like to tell hon. Members the story of one such fraudulent act that happened only last year in Lagos. A gentleman opened a letter of credit and ordered a very large quantity of cement from Russia. The letters of payment were received and accepted, and a full load, a full ship load of cement arrived in the port of Lagos. I am sure these men knew about it.

An hon. Member : That was Gbadamosi.

The Minister of Finance : Hon. Gentlemen will be surprised to know that one day in the office I was informed that a Russian ship was in the port, fully loaded with cement, with letters of credit and all nice papers from the man who placed the order. Police and everybody looked for this company in Lagos for the whole of a week and could not trace such a company. Well, we tried to help the seller to see whether we could sell the cement in Lagos but what happened to it is now history.

In any case, you will see that it is only right for us to protect the good name of Nigeria as hon. Members have said. Let us try to control this. Registered banks are known all over the world; we publicise them all over the world, and we also through our representatives and other channels, warn businessmen overseas that unless they see letters of credit opened by licensed banks in this country they should not fall prey to unscrupulous people, and if they do not listen to us and try to execute their business in their desire to sell their manufactured goods, then such firms, I think, will have themselves to blame.

Mr F. C. Ogbalu (Ahoada West) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Bill. I am very happy the hon. Minister of Finance had emphasised the point which I wanted to speak upon because he is a very able Minister. *(Applause)*.

It is quite a good thing that the name of Nigeria should be protected abroad but it should not carry the criticism too far, because there are some other companies in other countries which have defrauded some Nigerians,

[MR OGBALU]

and any suggestions from hon. Members that before anybody places an order for goods in the United Kingdom permission should be obtained stand condemned in the eyes of the ordinary people. It means that it is only the people who have the money, the capitalists, who will be able to obtain the necessary permission and order goods overseas. So, for the interests of the petty traders—the individual businessmen—it is incumbent upon us to give permission to the ordinary men to order goods from overseas.

In fact, dishonesty cannot only be fought by law. Honesty is an individual quality and if somebody has not got the necessary sincerity of purpose, in fact, the law can do very little in order to convert him to a reasonable and obedient citizen. So, I think that while we should try to protect our good name abroad by legislation, we should also appeal to our people morally to know that any dishonesty through fraudulent dealing abroad will be bringing down the name of Nigeria.

Another point which I want to make is this: that it is quite a good thing that this.....

The Minister of Information: On a point of order. It is out of order for a member of the Opposition to cross to the Government Bench and sit talking to a Minister. It is not done at all. It is not done in Parliamentary procedure and it should be stopped, Sir. That is not the practice of the Mother Parliament in Westminster.

Mr Speaker: Order, order. It is true that it is out of order for Members of opposite sides to be crossing the carpet when business is in progress. So, I ask the hon. Member to go back to his seat. (*Applause*).

Mr Ogbalu: Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to conclude my speech by congratulating the Minister for bringing this Bill at this opportune moment. Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

M. Ali Monguno (Kaga Marghi) Mr Speaker, Sir, although I am not a businessman I certainly agree totally with the explanation given by the Minister of Finance that it is rather improper to register every individual or group of individuals conducting business in this country before placing orders overseas. I entirely agree with him too, Sir, that there are certain individuals or groups of individuals in this country who could be termed dishonest. It is in fact, Sir, needless to mention a name

of a particular company, a case which I hope to take up with the Minister of Commerce and Industry of a company in Lagos starting business well with an individual in another country. And it is rather unfortunate that the particular company I am referring to has not been able to give the individual in that other country a square deal. Without taking much of the time in talking on it I think I would certainly like to see to it that Nigeria's name is protected, that people do not take advantage over this Bill, and I entirely agree here that it is improper to implement the wishes expressed by a few members here that every businessman should be registered. With these few words, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr Speaker: It seems to me that members are merely repeating the same arguments in favour of the Bill and therefore I must put the Question.

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2.

Mr D. N. Oronsaye (Benin East): Mr Chairman, Sir, I beg to move an amendment standing in my name that Clause 2 page C 134 line 7 leave out £500 and insert £1,000. Now I indicated earlier on, Sir, that the penalties attached are not severe enough. If the penalty attached to the breaking of any law is not adequate, it tends to make nonsense of the law. Because offenders may find it more profitable to offend than to keep the law. This is fundamental, Sir. Now the gravity of an offence is judged by the dignity of the person or persons offended, and by the stage of development of the offender. These two things are very important. Thus in the case of a Company, it is expected that the stage of development is high, otherwise it would not answer the name Company. And a Company by all standards is a major corporate body, whose state of organisation, rule of conduct and everything are deemed good enough. Every offence in this direction by a Company must be regarded to be of extreme gravity, because of Nigeria's reputation which is at stake.

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The Chairman : I think there is rather too much noise by someone rather near me. And I wish it is stopped.

Mr Oronsaye : Nigeria's reputation is at stake and this is very, very important. Already members here have stressed the need for strict observance of this law and as far back as 1950, Sir, there were Nigerians who were posing as businessmen and riding limousines and big cars who conducted business on fraud. And unless there is a strong deterrent to avoid this type of thing Nigeria's reputation will suffer.

Sir, I beg to move.

Amendment proposed.

The Minister of Finance : I rise to oppose the amendment. I am sure that if my hon. Friend were not a Principal of a College and if he were a businessman, he would not have advocated higher penalties. It may be possible for me sometime in this House to bring a Bill to make Principals pay more tax.

Amendment put and negatived.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

Bill reported without amendment ; read the third time and passed.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn (The Minister of Mines and Power).

Mr Speaker : It seems to me that a number of hon. Members have continued persistently to give me notices for a motion on adjournment. Well it is not proper. I need say that there are proper forms to be filled before such motions are raised and I ask hon. Members who wish to give notices of amendment to come to my office, collect the forms and fill them before handing them over for raising. Otherwise I shall forthwith reject their request for Motion.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty minutes to eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Saturday, 8th April, 1961

The House met at 9 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker, in the Chair)

PAPERS

Mr Speaker : Order, order. The following Paper already distributed to Members is deemed to have been laid on the Table : Draft Third Supplementary Estimates of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria 1960-61.

BUSINESS STATEMENT

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to make the following Business Statement for the week ending on Saturday 15th April, 1961. I would also like to say, Sir, that the Business Statement I am going to make has been drawn in consultation with my Friends of the Opposition and also with the approval of the Chairman of the Business Committee.

I also propose, if you will allow me, Sir, by Monday to make a further Business Statement, subject to the approval of the Business Committee, which may give Members some indication of the possible time by which we could adjourn. There is no doubt that hon. Members on all sides of the House are most anxious perhaps to try their hands in some campaigns somewhere. (*Hear, hear.*) Mr Dosunmu told me that he would be going to fight Mr Babatunde at Ilorin. (*Laughter.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, therefore on Monday, we shall continue the debate on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill 1961-62—Second day.

On Tuesday, 11th April, 1961—Private Members' day, I propose to move on that day a Motion to suspend Standing Order to enable us to do Government Business after the Private Members' Motions shall have been disposed of. If it is possible for Members to come in for the night sitting, at least, in order to take some of the Members like R. B. Okafor, and P. E. Ekanem away from the mischief of the night clubs, we will be able to do some job that night.

After the presentation, we shall also go through the other stages of the following Bills :

- (i) Companies Income Tax.
- (ii) Income Tax Management

- (iii) Personal Income Tax (Lagos)
- (iv) Royal Style and Titles
- (v) Borstal Institutions and Remand Centres (Amendment), 1961.

Members will find that all these Bills are non contentions and ones that will pass through the House. So, Members should have no fears that we shall keep them here for a long time during the night sitting.

On Wednesday, 12th April, 1961, there will be debate on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill 1961-62—Third and Final Day.

On Thursday, 13th April, 1961, presentation and all the other stages of the following Bills :—

- (i) National Provident Fund
- (ii) Pensions (Special Provisions)
- (iii) Nigerian Citizenship
- (iv) Electoral (Transitional Provisions)
- (v) High Court of Lagos (Amendment)
- (vi) Registration of Business Names, 1961
- (vii) Sheriffs and Civil Process
- (viii) Niger Delta Development Board, Committee of Supply—First Day.

On Friday, 14th April 1961, Committee of Supply—Second Day. On Saturday, 15th April, 1961, Second Reading, Committee of Supply and Third Reading of Supplementary Appropriation Bill, 1959-60.

Second Reading, Committee of Supply and Third Reading of the Supplementary Appropriation Bill, 1960-61.

Committee of Supply—Third Day.

Business Statement for the week ending on Thursday, the 20th of April, 1961.

Mr A. U. D. Mbah (Owerri North) : Point of Order, Sir, under Standing Order 63. We have been told that the debate on the Appropriation Bill will last till Wednesday, that is four days, contrary to the Standing Order. I do not know whether we are in order in this case.

The Minister of Finance : Sir, on the question of days, the debate on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill, although is so provided by the Constitution, could be over-ridden, with the consent of the Speaker, by the Business Committee.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): The hon. Minister of Finance stated that the Business Statement received the approval of this side of the House. I quite agree, but I would like to say just a few words about it. We are really quite ready to work, and we are very happy also that he has thought it fit not to rush through so that we may go and face Alhaji Dandago yonder. I would have liked that we have night sitting so as to finish in time instead of having to rush the Bills. We on this side of the House will approve of night sitting—although we do not want things rushed—because we do not want to stay in Lagos for an unduly long time.

The Minister of Finance: I am very grateful to the Opposition. I think that after consultations next week with all sides of the House we should be able to say what days we think will be convenient to do some night sitting in order to get things done. I am very grateful, Sir.

ORDER OF THE DAY

THE APPROPRIATION (1961-62) BILL

(First allotted Day): Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading (6th April).

Question again proposed, That the Bill be now read a second time.

Mr L. J. Dosunmu (Lagos Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. If for no other reason, one has to congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance, at least, for successfully wading through a speech that is contained in a booklet of 33 pages and delivered within a space of about four hours without as much as a sip of natural water.

From the outset, I do not intend to leave you in doubt that we see nothing strikingly new or particularly interesting in the Budget Speech except, perhaps, a change of title from "Responsibility" to "Sovereignty". But, Mr Speaker, Sir, this ought not to surprise you as it does not surprise a good many of us. Knowing the Minister as we all do, he is perhaps one of the most difficult politicians we have in this country. Difficult in the sense that he is hardly yielding to new ideas or easily taken to progressive measures. But in one respect only, I would like to give the Minister

a gentle pat at the back. It appears that we have now succeeded in the long run to get him to move slightly from his original standpoint in respect of the pre-eminent position that he is wont to give to foreign aid, loans if you like, in capital formation. Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall develop this point later. But knowing the limited time at our disposal in consideration of this Budget, I should quickly go to the substance of the hon. the Minister of Finance's Speech.

The Minister himself admitted that he could not be precise in the matters in the Development Programme of 1962-67 but, he did not stop at that. He attempted to give some indication and the general pattern revealed shows nothing strikingly different from the programme that is nearing completion. For this reason alone, apart from many other reasons, it seems to us that the Minister has exhausted himself with the old Programme, the Programme that is nearing completion, and without meaning any harm, Sir, I think he will do this country a world of good if he retires with the end of the 1962 Programme and leaves the execution of the 1962-67 Programme entirely in new hands. I do not intend to concern myself—

The Minister of Finance: I will retire to Isale-Eko.

Mr Dosunmu: If you like. You will be welcomed there.

I do not intend to concern myself with the tirades of the Minister on professional economists. That is his own business. Everybody knows that the Minister holds in contempt educated people, but it is humble opinion that he will be doing this country more good if he gives proper consideration and perhaps less prejudice to the views of those he holds in contempt. As I indicated at the beginning—

The Minister of Finance: I will tell you more about Aluko. I know him more than you do.

Mr Dosunmu: Well, you do not know Okigbo.

The Minister of Finance: Okigbo is good, he does not make noise.

Mr Dosunmu: Yes, he is not independent.

Mr Speaker: It should not be a conversation!

Mr Dosunmu : As I indicated earlier, Sir, it appears that the Minister is now prepared to look at the problem of capital formation in its proper setting. In the former years, the emphasis was too much on foreign aid, external grant or the like. The exhortation has always been the provision of suitable climate for foreign investors to come and stay. I agree that this is good as far as it goes, but it is frankly no good reason why the role of domestic savings or local contributions should not be stressed with the same force as is now being done in respect of foreign assistance. But in spite of all that the Minister has said in respect of foreign savings or local participation in capital assembly in this country, it is still depressing that at this stage, 1961, the Minister is still saying that the scheme designed to encourage small savers is still in the stage of preparation. I submit Sir, that this is to be deplored.

It seems that the Minister spends all the time in devising means to further enrich people who are already rich and that is by providing various gadgets for accumulating wealth in private hands. I submit that it is high time the Minister gave serious thought and perhaps action to the needs of the ordinary man and woman, because by the design of the political economy that he is following, the ordinary man is least interested in such things as Stock Exchange, Treasury Bills and all the rest of it. After all, it is somebody who is well fed who has sufficient to spare, who will find time to go to the Stock Exchange and risk his money. So, all the time that the Minister has spent in devising various forms of further enriching people that are already rich, at least he should give half of that time to catering for the needs of the ordinary man and woman.

Mr Speaker, Sir, from this side of the House we have never frowned at external assistance or, perhaps, investments overseas. But it is certainly not heartening to read the long list of nations to which we are indebted or to which it is proposed we should be indebted. Quite apart from our obligations to various international monetary agencies, we shall borrow more from other countries. As I said, we do not frown at external assistance but the emphasis should not be too much on foreign

aid. The emphasis should, as I have stressed, be placed on local contributions in finding our own shares towards the capital development of this country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, one certain way of reducing our dependence on foreign loans is to reduce our level of recurrent expenditure. How and in what manner this can be done will be dilated upon as the debate progresses. But, at this stage, I submit that if it becomes necessary to apply the axe ruthlessly in order to get sufficient revenue to be passed to the Development Fund, the Minister should not hesitate to do so.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Minister is in the habit of saying that loans from external sources will be without strings. That ends where it is said but what can be more humiliating or what more humiliating strings, Sir, can there be in an offer of monetary loan from a country followed immediately by a condition that the money should be expended in the purchase of goods manufactured by the lending country or with a distinct request that we must employ the personnel or the nationals of the same country in the execution of the work in respect of which money is lent? I do not think that anything can be more humiliating, but he said as much in his speech. The Israel loan is not only tied to the conditions that we must purchase goods and everything produced from Israel, but skillfully Israel nationals will find themselves into this country in order to be engaged in the execution of this work and the money again will have to be repatriated to Israel. Mr Speaker, Sir, if anything is humiliating at all, I have never seen anything more humiliating than this.

An hon. Member : What of the Western Region?

Mr Dosunmu : That is the Western Region, we are discussing the Federal Government. That is the mistake that the Federal Minister makes. The sooner he gets it out of his head the better it is and the more he will be doing justice to his position as the Federal Minister of Finance. He should not continue to take his cue from the Western Region.

In one connection, Sir, a valuable suggestion was made by the Leader of the Opposition that it is high time a Commission should be esta-

blished to advise how to tap all the resources of this country in order to enhance our revenue. The only reason why the Minister appears to jettison that valuable suggestion was that when he looked round he did not see such a Commission existing in the Western Region. I submit, Sir, that it is a fantastic reason to give, and if anything disqualifies the Minister to hold this high position it is the way he reasons in matters of this kind. Surely if it is sound that such a Commission should be established, the mere fact that it is not done in the Eastern Region or the Northern Region or particularly in the Western Region is no reason why he should dismiss lightly such a valuable suggestion. That has always characterised the reasoning of the Federal Minister of Finance.

The Minister of Finance : Because I am from the West.

Mr Dosunmu : Well, if you pay the proper credit to the West, if you will agree that you are trailing behind the Western Region everybody will acclaim you for it.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall conclude this part of my speech with reference to the proposed trade missions to be headed by the Minister of Finance himself. Sir, in our missions abroad, whether trade or otherwise, we should not give the impression, and I say impression, of discrimination whatever. I ask the Minister in all seriousness why he has left out any of the Muslim countries in the Middle East? Some of the countries in the Middle East, Mr Speaker, are by far richer than many of the countries listed by the Minister and some may be more readily willing to lend a helping hand to Nigeria than a good many of the countries they propose to visit. My point is that whatever we do we should not give the impression of discrimination. We have a long list of about twenty countries to be visited. Not one from the Muslim countries of the Middle East is included. . . .

An hon. Member : Religious politics !

Mr Dosunmu : Call it what you like but as I said it is very important that an impression of discrimination should not be given, and if for that reason alone, to remove that impression, I am asking the Minister to include the United Arab Republic in his list. Well, Sir, it appears

that the Minister has tacitly agreed with that point, so I do not intend to develop it any longer.

Now, Sir, you will notice that the Minister has divided his speech into two, the general consideration of the finance and economic policy of this country and later he came to earth by discussing the revenue and expenditure estimates of the Federation, and it is that pattern that I intend to follow myself. At this stage, therefore, I intend only to deal specifically with his tax proposals and leave other Members to deal with other aspects of his speech. As I said, I shall deal specifically with his tax proposals and that is more so, Sir, because they relate to Lagos and Lagos only. The very statement of the Minister that at the end of it all, in spite of all these proposals there is not going to be anything substantial to the revenue of Nigeria as a result of these tax changes, is the very reason why he should reconsider some of the aspects of his proposals.

Mr Speaker, Sir, less than six months ago the people of this country were called upon to pay high prices for consumer goods as a result of increases in import and excise duties. Now again, at least a sizeable portion of the Lagos community is being called upon to bear further burdens. Hitherto in Lagos, and here I stand to be challenged by the Minister, males whose incomes do not exceed sixty pounds per annum have always enjoyed tax exemption. There is no denying the fact that such persons still exist in reasonable number in Lagos. I am thinking of hundreds of male persons in Lagos, Sir, who are not in salaried employment. It is not that they should not pay tax, but from where will they pay this tax? (*Interruptions*).

An hon. Member : But you tax them in the Western Region.

Mr Dosunmu : If only some Members get out of this Western Region mentality when they are in the Federal House, the better it is for us, and it is surprising that people who ought to do some justice to the type of education they have should be misbehaving in this House.

Mr Speaker, there is no denying the fact that a good many of such persons exist in large numbers in Lagos. . . . (*Interruption*). . . .

[MR DOSUNMU]

It is ironic, Sir, that someone from over sixty miles away from Lagos says that I, an indigene of Lagos, know nothing of Lagos.

Now, Sir, there are people in Lagos who are living from hand to mouth, people in the income category of less than sixty pounds a year.

There are people who are living from hand to mouth, people who earn an income of less than £60 a year, people whose income is barely sufficient to make them exist. It is this set of people that the Minister is asking to pay tax; people, as I have said, who under the old system, were completely exempted from tax liability. The Minister has not given any good reason why this exemption should not be continued. It is my plea with the Minister that we have reached a stage where the exemption limit should even be raised to £100 in order to enable these people, at least to exist, if not live.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is one of the leading Members of the N.C.N.C. who, during the electioneering campaign, said "it is possible for the Government to carry on without imposing personal tax" and it is ironic that it is the chief of N.C.N.C. Ministers who is now applying his axe on the lower income groups, people whose incomes are less than £60 a year.

As I said, Sir, we have reached a time when the exemption should be raised from £60 to £100. I ask, Sir, why is the Minister adding to the miseries of these people? People who earn £60 can hardly live worthily.

An hon. Member: What of those who earn no income at all?

Mr Dosunmu: If people do not earn income at all, there will be no justification for the Government to impose any rates on them. If people are earning less than £100 there will also be no justification for the Government to impose any rates on them, because for some time the people in this category have not been paying any tax. Why should the Government now overburden them? I am very serious about this, Sir. From where does the Government expect people who earn five pounds or six pounds a month—and there are a good many of them in this town of Lagos—to get money to be able to pay tax?

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is very good for the Minister to suggest that every citizen should learn to contribute his quota to the national income; that is fine, but that is provided there is something to contribute. A man who has no income will have nothing to contribute, a man whose income is just sufficient to buy food and eat and drink, will have nothing to contribute. I submit, Sir, that whatever merits may be in that tax proposal, that aspect of it which removes total exemption leaves much to be desired. I ask the Minister to give consideration to this aspect of it.

Sir, that is not the only ugly aspect of these tax proposals. The Minister proposes in his review to include women of various types into this arrangement. For many years women earning less than £200 per annum have enjoyed tax exemption. (*Several hon. Members: Why? Why?*) It is amazing that some people are saying, why, when it was these very people who said that women in the Western Region should be relieved from tax. We have noticed that when the Western Regional Government relieved these women from tax liability, these same people who opposed it in the Western Region, are now asking their Minister to impose tax on the women of Lagos. I submit, Sir, that it is very hard on the women of Lagos who are earning less than £200; women, who for very many years have been enjoying tax exemption, to be subject to tax. In the Western Region, it is not done, and if it was not done from time immemorial in Lagos, I think it is very wrong for the Minister, at this stage, now to add to the burden of these miserable women. I am not entering any plea in respect of women whose incomes range from £200 upwards, they are entitled to contribute their own share to the revenue of the country, but there are thousands of women, and I have in mind the petty traders, people who are living on the sales of pepper, onions, and oil, who make less than £200.

Mr A. O. Ogunsanya (Ikeja): How is it to be determined?

Mr Dosunmu: Ask your Minister. Sir, whatever merits may be in that tax proposal, arrangement to include all sorts and conditions of women, to my mind, leaves much to be desired.

Several hon. Members : Leave the women alone !

Mr Dosunmu : I cannot leave the women alone because the women I have in mind are those who have been enjoying tax exemption.

Several hon. Members : Are you thinking of the *nylon* women ?

Mr Dosunmu : I am not thinking of the nylon traders. I am thinking of the petty traders whose incomes do not lend themselves to ready assessment. The moment you pass this law, no woman will enjoy peace. The petty traders in the markets will be hunted by the tax collectors, and forms will be given to these women for completion, women who by ordinarily looking at them, you will come to the conclusion that their income is less than £200 are now to be taxed. They are now going to be worried without discrimination by the tax collectors.

Mr Speaker : The hon. Gentleman has only three minutes more ?

Several hon. Members : Thank God, thank God.

Mr Dosunmu : Mr Speaker, Sir, I join the N.C.N.C. Members in saying "thank God" if only I can convince their Minister that his tax proposals in this respect are wicked and unacceptable to the generality of the women in Lagos. If you examine my speech carefully, you will find that I have confined myself to the lower income group. I am only entering my plea in respect of people who have been enjoying exemption from time immemorial and those men who are earning less than £60 per annum ; women whose incomes are less than £200. I submit, Sir, that it is wicked of the Minister now to suggest that they should be paying any form of taxes. These women have not been paying, and in spite of this, the revenue of Nigeria has not suffered, and if the revenue would not benefit materially from these tax proposals, it is most callous of the Minister now to include these helpless women in his tax proposals.

As I said earlier, I only intend to deal with this aspect of the proposals because it is the one that relates to my constituents and I

think I shall be doing my duty to the people of this country if I make this point abundantly clear. But in spite of my entreaty the Minister is still stubborn and still wants to bring the sledge hammer over the poor women of Lagos who have been enjoying tax exemption, then it is a matter for him to decide. His days are numbered ; in fact, the days of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. Government are numbered and whatever help they have been receiving from the women will now be withheld, I end on this note : the Minister must allow the exemption to stay in respect of men earning £60 per annum and women earning £200 per annum. With this, I support the proposals.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Zanna the hon. Bukar Dipcharima) : (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order ! order !

The Minister of Commerce and Industry Mr Speaker, Sir, It is usual to use this opportunity for describing individual Ministeries' past activities and future plans. I propose at the outset to draw your attention to what I consider to be the most serious problems which Nigeria faces to-day.

I am sure I speak for all the Governments of the Federation when I say if we are to achieve the rise in the standard of living of the people of Nigeria, which is our principal aim, we must first look to an increase in individual productivity. We must do this, not only as a means of solving rural under-employment, but also as a means of improving both the quantity and the quality of our exports. All our efforts must, therefore, be directed towards this end. But these efforts will be wasted unless there is a market for the goods which we produce, and it is on this that I take issue with the industrialised nations of Europe and America. They have let us down and I cannot stress too strongly my views on this, particularly in view of our recent experience in the cocoa market. It is not enough for us to seek investment from abroad : we must also look to a healthy expanding market.

The forthcoming World Economic Mission presents an opportunity for increasing our export sales and I intend to use the opportunity

[MINISTER OF COMMERCE]
to the full. To find new markets and increase our share of existing ones we must not only be competitive both in price and in quality; we must also develop a vigorous sales policy. I am, therefore, giving consideration, in consultation with Regional Governments, to the adequacy of our present selling arrangements, and the possibility of setting up our own terminal markets is being actively explored. I am also giving active consideration to the possibility of expanding our sales in all—I repeat all—countries of the world where this proves to be to our advantage. The Eastern European countries and Communist China present obvious possibilities which will be fully explored. (*Hear, hear*). From discussions which I have already had with the Russians, for Russians sent me a delegation, it already appears possible that we can look to an expanding market for cocoa in the U.S.S.R. if their plan to bring cocoa-derived products within reach of the ordinary man in the street within the next few years materialises. At present these are still classed as luxury goods in the U.S.S.R., but the change in policy envisaged could offer a stable and expanding market to Nigeria.

This afternoon I am giving a luncheon party to the Chinese delegates and these people have also assured me that with a huge population of 670 million people there is room for our cocoa and palm products. (*Hear, hear*). These are not things which can be grown in Communist China.

For long, Sir, closer trading relationship with our West African neighbours is daily becoming an evident desideratum. But you know very well, we must not be too emotional. As a result of our break with France, overseas territories associated with France are not as friendly as they should be and winning their co-operation may be difficult. But it will be in the interest of Nigeria and all African countries to find ways and means of improving our relationship so that we might present a united front. Sir, Members of this House will play a predominant part in helping to achieve this end.

As I have already indicated, I am not satisfied with our trading position. Latest estimates indicate that if present trends continue, our adverse balance of trade for 1960-61 is likely to amount to £40 million.

This figure, though large, is, however, not as alarming as it sounds in that a number of items which make up our imports, such as capital goods imported by Shell-BP for their oil exploration work, are in fact a direct cash inflow of capital from abroad. Such imports are paid for from the company's overseas financial resources and represent a net addition to the capital of this country. In a developing economy such as ours, an adverse balance of trade is not an unusual feature, and it is not so much the import figures which give me concern as the export figures. The general fall in the level of export prices for all our major commodities continued throughout 1960. Cocoa dropped from £215 per ton to £170 per ton in December.

Mr Speaker, Sir, let us be very serious because our economy and our prosperity depend upon our trade and that is why I want the House to pay special attention to me, listen to my speech, and give me a critical examination to my performances. (*Hear, hear*).

From £170 per ton in December the price of our cocoa has dropped to even a lower figure. Groundnuts dropped from £68 per ton to £55 per ton in December. Other exports, such as palm kernels, palm oil and cotton lint, showed falls in price. As regards non-Marketing Board produce, hides and skins prices fell, as did also rubber prices. Only in certain types of timber have we seen prices rise. The answer is not to blame Ojukwu, but to blame our arch tribalists—

Some hon. Members : The Action Group.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry :—and we must do everything in our power to intensify the search for new markets.

The most noticeable imbalance appears in our trade with Japan, and here alone our gross balance may amount to as much as £20 million out of £50 million. I do not wish to quarrel with Nigerians who wish to buy from Japan since Japanese goods are of good quality and their prices are as competitive as any in the world. Nevertheless, I view the position seriously and I have asked the Japanese Government to send their delegation to us in Lagos, to me, to discuss the matter with them.

Turning now to the economic groupings in Europe, we have continued to make our feelings known regarding the effect upon our

trade of the Common External Tariff of the Common Market countries. This has been done both through the GATT, of which we are now full contracting members, and by direct representation to the European Economic Commission. In December last year, I took the initiative myself to visit the headquarters of the Community at Brussels. In terms of good public relations, the visit was, up to a certain time, a huge success, but with our breaking off of diplomatic relations with a leading member of the Community, naturally things do not go off according to plan, and therefore we have our own share of the blame and they have their own share. I want to be very fair to everybody.

We have continued to give support to schemes for the stabilisation of prices and I have applied for membership of both the International Wheat Agreement and the International Sugar Agreement. As regards cocoa, we have made strenuous efforts to reach agreement with the consuming countries on some form of stabilisation. While they have been more understanding than in 1958, agreement is still some way off, and the matter is being further considered by the Cocoa Study Group of the F.A.O. at its meeting in Accra this month. The Nigerian delegation, on my own recommendation as your representative, is led by Chief Akin Deko of the Western Regional Government (because the Western Regional Government is the most interested in cocoa, although all the other parts of the Federation would be equally affected). People from the Eastern Region and from the Federal Government will help Chief Akin Deko in his heavy task, and I sincerely wish him success. (Applause.)

Mr Speaker, Sir, returning now to the Continent of Africa, we have placed a formal ban on trade with the Union of South Africa—an official and formal ban. (Applause.) This is to show our abhorrence of the policy of *apartheid* followed by the Government of South Africa. (Hear, hear.) In the ban, we shall admit no more goods from South Africa; it is simply impossible for them to come in because we have completely and officially banned this situation. (Applause.)

An hon. Member: You will be Minister for ever. (Laughter.)

The Minister of Commerce and Industry: Mr Speaker, Sir, the House will remember that last year we instituted an informal ban, but I regret to have to say that while the reputable firms agreed to co-operate with the Government by refusing to place orders for South African goods, the less reputable ones, who are only interested in their pockets and not in the honour of Nigeria and the dignity of the African, tried to go by the backdoor to feather their own nests. That was the reason why I have had to put up a formal and official ban so that the good men will not suffer because the bad men are unco-operative. (Applause.)

Mr Speaker, Sir, in the industrial field, I had the pleasure of receiving a delegation from the Federation of British Industries. This delegation was indeed a high-powered one and was led by the Director-General of the Federation, namely, Sir Norman Kipping. They gained very favourable impressions of the opportunities for investment which Nigeria offers. They were completely impressed by the size of the market and by the stability of the country. And I think here we can take justifiable pride in the knowledge that the Government of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. have done a lot of good for the country.

Some hon. Members: What of the N.E.P.U.?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry: And the N.E.P.U. In this respect, Sir, I go even further to say that the Opposition themselves have played a very prominent part, because it takes two sides to make an agreement. (Applause.)

In their final report to me, Sir, which they rendered in confidence before they left the shores of this country, and which has since been published, they gave an indication of a number of important and specific projects which they have in mind and which are likely to come to fruition as a direct result of this Mission. They have since reported to me that no less than 21 industries which are in various stages of establishment in Nigeria are now going ahead in their industrial projects and plans for Nigeria. The visit was extremely worthwhile, and has brought investment

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opportunities existing in Nigeria to the notice of the 1,900 individual members of the Federation, and to many more in all parts of the world.

The House, Sir, will note with approval, I am sure, that we are continuing in our efforts to set up an integrated iron and steel industry in our own homeland. The Westinghouse Corporation of the United States have, in this country at this moment, a team which is preparing a feasibility study for this project. This study is being financed by a grant generously made from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we have not committed ourselves to accepting any project or any individual industrial people to come and set up an iron and steel industry. When the full facts are before us, the whole matter will be presented to the nation for study, because this is a matter of national importance transcending any party or regional interests, and then the country will choose the best for Nigeria. I leave it at that. But I have given one undertaking to Westinghouse—that until the period of the year when they finish their feasibility study, I will not commit myself to any other thing until we see their report. When you consider that they are going to spend more than £30,000 in their study, it is only right that we should accommodate them.

We are seeking technical assistance from the United Kingdom to mount up a feasibility study in connection with the local production of salt. In Nigeria we are so lucky they will find almost everything, but salt is a strategic thing. If there is a war or a threat of war and our sources of salt supply is closed, you know how this will embarrass this country.

We are also examining the possibilities of setting up a fishing terminal in Lagos and at other coastal parts.

The past year has seen the establishment of Nigeria's second cement factory in the Western Region which, together with the first cement factory at Nkalagu, brings the existing full capacity cement production to over 400,000 tons a year manufactured in our own homeland. Mr Briggs, I learn that you come from the Rivers. You know of nothing but fish (*Laughter*).

Our first asbestos cement factory has now gone into production as has also the first of two tin smelters on the plateau near Jos. We will no longer export our tin ore as we did formerly. We intend to smelt them and give employment to our people and become industrialised by them. In the field of metal working, a significant contribution has been made by the establishment of three factories manufacturing aluminium hollow-ware and utensils and corrugated roofing sheets. The first factory manufacturing enamelware was established last year at Kano. A tour around is sufficient to demonstrate to anyone, even to the sceptical, that industrialisation is proceeding apace in Nigeria.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as to the future, plans are well advanced for the establishment of a large textile factory in the Western Region, a tyre factory using Nigerian rubber, a flour mill, two paint factories, an aluminium rolling mill, a factory for making metal containers, a cardboard box factory and a number of pharmaceutical manufacturing enterprises. I am sure it was a slip of memory that my learned colleague, and friend, Mr Dosunmu has mentioned this thing in passing. I know that he is a generous man and as he looks for the interest of the whole of the Federation, he should not be polluted by Mr Briggs (*Laughter*).

Urgent consideration is being given to the manufacture of glassware, particularly containers, upon which so many other industries depend. Later this year we shall see the establishment of a Nigerian sugar company operating plantations in the Jebba area. The factory will have an initial production of 20,000 tons per annum and, what is more useful still, it will give employment to 1,000 Nigerians on a permanent basis and, in addition, some 2,000 casual labourers. Managerial staff will be 25. The aim will be to train Nigerians in all branches of the industry. If the Jebba Dam scheme goes ahead, as we all hope it will, production will later increase to 40,000 tons per annum or more, and you know what this means in terms of human employment and prosperity to individuals working in them. The total capital requirements of this enterprise are between £3 to £3½ million and there has been an encouraging response to our efforts to raise this capital from overseas. It shows how much confidence

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people place on our stability and other good qualities in Nigeria. The Nigerian Governments or their Development Agencies will also have a substantial stake in the equity, as is only reasonable in a national industry of this sort.

As part of our policy of revolving such funds as we have available for investment in Nigeria, the Federal Government is gradually divesting itself of its shareholding in the Nigerian Cement Company. By so doing it releases much-needed capital for re-investment in other Government development projects and also encourages the development of a share market, since there is a ready market for the shares of this highly successful enterprise. We do not consider it part of the functions of the Federal Government to retain its investment in private enterprises when these can be successfully sold off to the Nigerian general public. Whenever a business is successful and is earning money, the Federal Government will sell its shares to Nigerians, so that the Nigerians themselves may make their money and keep their money, because that is why Governments are formed. (*Hear, hear*).

I am glad to say that the Committee of this House which I appointed to look into certain complaints with regard to motor vehicle insurance at the last Budget Session has now reported. Since, however, its report did not reach my Ministry until the end of January, and since there is much material in the report which requires references to other Ministries and organisations before the Federal Government can issue a statement of policy upon it, I regret that it will not be possible to debate the report during this meeting of the House. It is my intention, however, to bring a White Paper before Members at the earliest opportunity. As I have said, I would have wished to have done so during this meeting, but your Committee took between nine and ten months to report, because the matter is very serious.

Sir, another matter which is often the subject of questions and debate in this House is the tourist industry. I am glad to say that we have now reached agreement on the formation of a Tourist Association and all the Governments of the Federation have agreed to give it financial support. Financial support will also come from private enterprises interested in develop-

ing tourism. It will thus be possible to appoint a permanent official secretary to the Association whose duty it will be to take all necessary steps to encourage the development of this important industry.

Mr Speaker, Sir, my Ministry has cheerfully accepted vastly increased responsibilities since 1st October, the day of our independence. Prior to that date we had, necessarily, leant heavily on the services of United Kingdom Ministries since we had no direct responsibility for external trade relations. We now find ourselves directly represented in a number of international organisations connected with trade, and this has thrown a heavy strain on the staff of my Ministry. They have also had to organise the Nigeria Exhibition which was held over Independence and which by any standard was a remarkable achievement. They are now planning the arrangements for our World Trade Fair in 1962. The responsibilities which our attainment of nationhood has thrown on my Ministry make a considerable expansion in the staffing arrangements inescapable, to enable the Ministry to play its full part in the development of our economy. I feel confident that the House, when called upon, will cheerfully provide the tools for the job. As an offset against the increases being contemplated, I am glad to inform you that I intend to wind up the Department of Marketing and Exports. The Western Region Government has already its branch. The East will start its own on the 1st of April this year. The North will start its own the following year and so I see they have nothing to wait for, and the quicker they wind up the better it will be for everybody concerned. But I intend to maintain the Produce Inspection Department because it is essential that we must ensure that the quality of goods leaving Nigeria are of the highest grade because it is on this that our ability to sell produce abroad will largely depend.

Mr Speaker, Sir, before concluding my speech I should like to refer once more to industrialisation, which has already been the subject of much debate during this meeting. Some hon. Members claim that the growth of industry in the Regions demonstrates how much more active are Regional Governments in this sphere than the Federal Government.

While not wishing to minimize the part played by Regional Governments I must, however, make it clear to the House that the increasingly

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widespread distribution of industry throughout Nigeria is a direct result of the fiscal incentives and other assistance given by your Federal Government. But for their efforts, but for their work, it would not be possible for any Regional Government to industrialize, because the people must have confidence before they are able to come and set up their industries in the Regions, and the overall stability and prosperity of the country depends upon the Sovereign Parliament of this House.

The continent of Africa is in turmoil, but this much I will say to the outside world. We in Nigeria know where we are going and do not intend to deviate from the goal which we have set ourselves. We seek honest trading partners and expanding markets and this is the responsibility which we place upon the industrialized countries of the world, irrespective of their political groupings. That is not our business. What we want is honest trade. We do not beg. We want to trade. We do not want aid, we want honest business. Let us get good prices for our materials.

Sir, I beg to support. (*Applause.*)

Mr V. Iketuonye (Onitsha South): In supporting the Motion on the Appropriation Bill, I want to make one or two statements on the appeal made to the women of Lagos not to be interested in the new tax arrangements. I do not think that the women of Lagos are so naive as to be deceived by such a superficial speech. They know full well that if they must take their place in modern Nigeria they will pay their taxes just as the men do. There is no difference between ten pounds in a man's pockets and ten pounds in a woman's bag. They should pay their taxes equally and they know, also, that if they are to play their part in Nigeria and that if their children and their husbands are to play their part in Nigeria, it is their own part to pay their taxes.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I support the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

The Minister of Finance has described the Budget as a Supplementary Budget, a Budget which upholds the sovereignty of this Government, which upholds the sovereignty of the N.C.N.C.-N.P.C. alliance and the progress of Nigeria towards national excellence and stability. (*Interruption.*)

Mr Speaker: Order, order. Will Mr Iketuonye continue please.

Mr Iketuonye: Thank you, Mr Speaker. The Budget Speech itself is indicative of the robust character and confident intellect of the Minister of Finance. It is indicative also of the financial buoyancy of the Federal Ship of State.

We are particularly indebted to the Minister of Finance for the apt and correct provision at the end. It reminds us of the war years when the ideas of national freedom were being formed in the minds of those under the leadership of that great and illustrious patriot, our Governor-General. Then, some of the men of the Opposition who are now prominent were obscure machines.

Sir, I will not enumerate the manifold reasons which make the Budget so commendable and acceptable. I shall mention a few. The introduction of the Pay As You Earn Scheme of taxation is, to us of N.C.N.C., a fiscal pilgrimage to Enugu where the greatest and happiest statesman, Zik, and his dead lieutenant, Ojike, risked the rich bank of their political popularity to introduce Pay As You Earn in the East. To-day, every Government, including the Western Government, is trying to copy from this example.

I support the Budget for the reason that this is the first time in our history that Nigeria is exporting articles of modern manufacture. Six hundred shoes to Sierra Leone! We do expect to export in future six thousand shoes to Sierra Leone. We also expect that, in time, steel, machinery and other things will be exported from Nigeria.

The need for national defence and internal security is urgent and imperative, if Nigeria is to be free and democratic and united. We should set up both deterrent and offensive forces to discourage any neighbours who may be subvertors of peace, security and democracy.

It is gratifying and reassuring that the Minister of Finance is conscious of the great burden which history lays upon his shoulders. He has therefore challenged us to speak to the Motion, mindful and conscious of our national and historical responsibilities. (*Hear, hear.*) He will therefore not be disappointed if our commendations are brief and our criticism long and loud.

It will take a long time to produce in our history a greater or abler financial mobiliser than our present Minister of Finance, but, Mr Speaker, the time has come to warn that mobilising finance is not necessarily creating welfare and a cautious Minister of Finance who cannot pursue a financial policy faithful to the State either deludes himself or his country that his policy is the policy of supremacy and excellence.

Sir, this Honourable House is familiar with that biblical Minister of Finance who mobilized and consumed his father's finances—the Prodigal Son. Whether we borrow from the domestic or foreign sector, the world money and capital market, the decisive factors are the terms of the loan and the wealth it produces and the wealth it distributes. It is our fear that, although money is being mobilized, the money is not being very well used for the production of wealth.

The financial habits of this Government provokes the spectacle of the Prodigal Son, of the young man who borrows at high interest to feast his friends. We spent millions of pounds to feast and entertain our friends during the Independence Celebrations. We spent fabulous sums to build fabulous mansions for our Ministers. I read in the present Budget that £93,000 would be spent for building only two houses. We pour millions of pounds down the drain to over-endow some of our institutions but we cannot bridge the Niger; we cannot irrigate the North; we cannot give employment to our youths and we cannot found steel factories. *Several hon. Members : Shame, shame.*

Sir, let me pronounce on this: the various Governments of the Federation are generally ill-advised by their economists. A foreign adviser is a mercenary adviser and hon. Members know the part played by mercenary advisers in history. No Government can successfully finance its social services on borrowed money: borrowed money is meant for basic industrial and agricultural projects, paying and profitable projects. From the wealth and profits of these industries, social services like free education, free health and welfare are provided. This is a simple and natural proof one learns from experience, from thought and

logic and from the most elementary acquaintance with the economic history of great nations.

This budget is replete with the manners, instruments, machineries, agencies and models of borrowing and creating money but creating money is not creating wealth. To create wealth we must create goods and services. Moreover, these delicate and intricate financial and monetary instruments—the Central Bank, Fiduciary Notes, the Stock Exchange, Bills of Exchange, Money Markets and Treasury Bills—are like snakes to the inexperienced and uncautious charmer. One false step can involve the nation in a wholesale ruin and national calamity. (*Hear, hear.*) It is in this sense, Mr Speaker, that the Nigerian humanity with all her fears, with all the hopes of her future years, hangs breathlessly on the Minister of Finance. To be terse and cryptic, I put this as a question, Sir, why do we not borrow from the Communist countries? Are their terms higher, or are they politically attached? Or is their capital ideological? To what extent is the Soviet 'rouble' communistic?

We hope that in the mission outlined efforts will be made to attract trade from the East. We have postulated non-alignment as the corner-stone of our genial foreign policy. Why should we not apply it in the economic and financial sector? Nigeria has endured for long the ravages of foreign exploitation. It is time we take advantage of our Independence to remove and rectify these deep-rooted ravages of years of imperialism. Or is our mentality still colonial?

I want to deal with the monopolistic combines. Mr Speaker, Sir, the Minister of Finance reported in his worthy and able speech the creeping deficit in the balance of payment. Taxation of the rich and the poor alike is not the only national answer. Telling this hon. House that cloth and soap are luxuries is inviting nakedness and nudity in the House. It will be the pleasant duty of the Minister of Health and his advisers from Jupiter to assure us that soap is a luxury. The Minister of Finance should attack the unearned and monopolistic profits of the foreign combines. As I gain more experience in this business I shall bring a resolution and a motion at the appropriate time.

I want to deal with some of the invalid arguments from the Opposition on nationalisa-

[MR IKETUONYE]

tion. I have heard from the Opposition some loose and invalid arguments on nationalisation. The fault with the Opposition is that its leaders are generally anachronic academically and bibliographically.

Let me re-assure the N.C.N.C. socialists that if the Government succeeds in nationalising public utilities Nigeria will be a great socialist country. Moreover, the socialist thought and programme have long passed the primordial foundations laid by Karl Marx. Nationalisation is no longer a purely economic problem; it is dependent on historical, sociological and even political considerations. A mature and pragmatic statesman should take these into consideration.

There was once I thought and spoke of these ideas the way the leaders of the Opposition do, then I was twenty years. Now they are much older but their ideological animations and emanations ill-accord with their age and their office.

Anyone who observes the way our public corporations and departments are run would reach the conclusion that rapid nationalisation is not in the best interest of the country. Until a society reaches its horizontal frontier and its vertical apogee in its resources within the specific mode of production, controlled economy not all-out nationalisation should be its target.

I want to make two appeals to the Minister of Finance. It is now time that strengthened and planned help is given to the indigenous banks and to rule that no business which these indigenous banks can handle should go to the foreign banks. I think that unless we have strong and well-founded indigenous banks we cannot embark on a serious project of industrialisation.

The Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech did direct our attention to smuggling in the country. This is time now that attention is directed to the amount of corruption going on in the country. Unless we are able to rid the country of corruption I am afraid that our finances will always run short by millions of pounds. We do hope that the Government will establish, in no distant time, an anti-corruption commission which will survey every department of Government, every branch of our society and even the Corporations run by the Government.

☞ An hon. Member : And the colleges too.

Mr Iketuonye : And the colleges too. Finally, Mr Speaker, I want to give a word of advice to the Government. It is often that the Government brings out a very commendable project but most of the time, in appointing the members to run such a project, the Government makes mistakes in its appointments. We are disturbed when we hear rumours of the personalities who are already appointed to man and run the National Press that is about to be instituted. It is disconcerting that a Government which complains that the existing machineries are being run by members of the Action Group is also appointing high-ranking Action Group men to run the new Press. Is it true that, or is it because it is only in the Action Group that we get first class brains? It is time the Government begins to dislodge them.

Several hon. Members : Yes, yes, No, no.

Mr Iketuonye : Mr Speaker, Sir, with these few comments, I support the appropriation Bill.

Alhaji Muhammadu Guayama (Madawakin Hadeija) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion. My purpose of supporting the Bill, Mr Speaker, is to associate myself with the hon. Members who have spoken, in congratulating the Federal Government, for its good administration and for the good achievements it has made.

Sir, I congratulate our Government, which we all are proud of, for presenting its first freedom and independence Budget, which is sound. Also I congratulate the Minister of Finance for his zeal to design and introduce such a Sovereignty Budget to this House.

My humble respect goes to our first National Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar, and to the members of his Cabinet for being blessed to lead and administer the Federation of Nigeria with such wisdom, peace and tranquillity and with much prosperity to the country.

As we must all be aware, I wish to recall to the memories of hon. Members that uneasy lies the head that wears the crown, and surely for that simple reason our praises must be showered to our able leaders at the head of our national affairs for their good leadership, and therefore I congratulate the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

I also wish to say that the Federal Government must be praised for the following reasons: for the successful accomplishment of the 1955-62 Economic Programme which has done much to advance the progress of Nigeria, and for the wisdom of the plans which are being thoroughly laid for the five year development plan for the period 1962-67.

As regards the five year plan, it is a pleasure, and a great pleasure, to note that the Federal Government proposes to set about this vital planning scheme in so bold and imaginative a way. I am, however, satisfied that the Minister of Finance has laid emphasis upon domestic savings and the mobilisation of Nigerian resources generally for the development schemes ahead. As more than 80 per cent of the current Federal Economic Programme has been financed by Nigeria, I necessarily have to congratulate the Government for that.

Mr Speaker, Sir, now that I have expressed my words of appreciation to the Federal Government of the day, and that I have expressed my praises for its good and successful achievements coupled with my congratulating its leaders for their good leadership, I will seize this opportunity, if I am not irrelevant, to make a few comments, with the indulgence of the Chair.

The comment I want to make is to ask the Ministry of Mines and Power to see to the fulfilment of its promise to supply Hadeija town with electric lights. It is now time, and it is also more convenient if the three chief towns in the Division, namely Hadeija, Gumel and Malamaduri could be supplied with power stations to have electric lights. I crave for the speedy installations of Power Stations to supply the above mentioned chief towns with such facilities as electric lights.

I wish to say that it is my people's wish and desire to have industries established in the northern part of Hadeija and Gumel Emirates, to be established within their areas in order to improve their earnings and accommodate unemployment. Oil-nut crushing, soap or shoe factories could suitably be centred at Malamaduri being the central point and the commercial centre there.

Commenting on roads and corners, I will not fail to remind this House of the Motion on straightening the "Kwanar Mutuwa". That

corner, Sir, is fatal, and is still claiming lives and affecting properties of road travellers. I call for urgent remedy and very urgent action.

Sir, my second comment on roads is that I am appealing to the Federal Government to convert Kano-Hadeija road, *via* Gumel, into a Trunk A Road, and also to ask for immediate linking of Hadeija with Nguru town for the continuation of that project.

I wish to express my people's gratitude and my appreciation to the Ministry of Transport for the improvements made by the Nigeria Railway Corporation. This effort is helping the people and has improved the area.

Also, I wish to call for the conversion of Buranusa Halt and temporary station to be made a permanent Railway station as the point proves very successful. I crave for such a step in order to help the peasants.

As was once raised in this House, I wish to repeat that the Nigerian Railway Corporation be called upon to pay more attention to stopping wala-wala gambling on trains, as the practice seems still current on the lines.

Measures must also be taken to caution careless passengers from joining trains while in motion. Careless travellers hang about while travelling on trains and at times such action has resulted in fatal accidents.

With these few remarks, Mr Speaker, I support the second reading of the Bill.

Mr W. J. Falaye (Ondo North-East): Mr Speaker, Sir, the Minister of Finance has styled his budget the Sovereignty Budget. Others call it the marathon Budget, but I say it is a capitalist budget. We are called upon to give assent to an expenditure of £52 million out of the resources of this country. After careful examination of what has been said, Sir, in the Minister of Finance's speech and, if he thinks of practical values, you will find that the Budget Speech is both hollow and shallow, and therefore, it is not progressive.

The Minister stressed the need to raise more capital to finance development projects. I am sure the Minister himself will agree that no investor could risk his money with a Government so awfully attacked by its own audit report. And the Government is even run on losses and loans, and continues to increase taxes on cigarettes, sugar, petrol, cutlasses, bear, etc. We almost pay for the air we breathe.

[MR FALAYE]

The income tax arrangement of the Federal Government is a sugar coated poison; it entails the following:

- (a) women will be taxed;
- (b) there will be no more aggregation of income of husband and wife;
- (c) there will be no change in companies income tax.

The whole analysis is a subtle transfer of burden from one class of people to the other, and that is why the Government cleverly introduced the Pay As You Earn system of collection in order to avert crisis.

If this Parliament suffers the superfluity of the Appropriation Bill, you will discover, that the Budget is conservative in its preparation, and far from being the Budget of the yearning politicians who have pledged themselves to the services of their country.

You may ask who benefits from this budget. The answer is none. Has the budget solved mass unemployment? No. How many Government industries or projects are provided for from the millions of loans abroad? None. Any particular relief for granting a direct tax by the Federal Government? No. Has the budget gone any length to meet half-way the expectation of the working class of this country who are poorly paid and housed? It does not. There is no provision for irrigation for the Northern farmers and cattle rearers. No financial aid for the cocoa and palm produce farmers, or rubber planters of the Western and Eastern Regions. Nothing for the fishermen and canoe pullers in the waterways, so that you will find that nobody has actually benefited from this superfluous budget by the Minister of Finance.

All that the budget has done is to provide offices for the good boys of the Government and other private interests. It has also helped us to exhibit the impotence of the policy of the Minister of Finance. All members of the Parliament, and, as a matter of fact the public should be free to criticise squarely the financial policy of the Government, and so Government should divest itself from all forms of intolerance by its performances and utterances.

It is a pity that all the deportations, imprisonments and expulsions pursued by the Federal Government are designed to prevent criticisms; but you can be assured that people

cannot be ruled by force and threat. The British Imperialists have not done worse. Within six months of independence it is a matter for regret that there is no freedom in the Federation. No freedom of the Press, no freedom for the Members of the Parliament and no freedom at all in the Northern Region.

This Government's account, if you will allow me to say, is a mercenary Government and you have been told by a Member of this Parliament in the Government Bench that it lacked many social services. He quoted, for instance, failure to provide a bridge over River Niger and another Member of Parliament also told you of the Government's failure to provide roads in the Northern Region. These things are what Government should have concentrated upon, but this Government, in my opinion, has left undone many things which it should have done and it is doing things which it ought not to do.

Assuming that this Government does not fear man and does not bother about Nigeria's prestige abroad, it should at least fear God and mobilise our finances and direct its accounts to development in the interest of Nigeria as it would affect the ordinary man in the street. It is not too late yet, for during the committee stage, I will ask the Government to listen carefully to the criticisms of the Opposition and be guided by their sound criticisms so that if there is this change of heart, all can still go well.

I would like to say that I appreciate the jokes and the humour of the Minister of Commerce and Industry, but I hope that he will take everything he has said here seriously and try to put them into action. With these few remarks, Mr Speaker, I beg to support.

The Minister of Establishments (Alhaji Shehu Shagari): Mr Speaker, Sir, for the information of hon. Members, my title is "The Minister of Establishments" and not "The Minister of Pensions." Mr Speaker, Sir, last year, at this time, my predecessor gave the House a general account of the matters for which my Ministry is responsible. In doing so he used the phrase "the administration and control of the Federal Public Service and the implementation of the Government's Nigerianisation policy". I do not think I can improve upon that description, but it seems to me, from some of the enquiries which reach my office, that the distinction between my functions and those of the Federal Public Service

Commission requires some clarification, and this seems a suitable opportunity for me to offer it.

The Ministry of Establishments and Service Matters is concerned with all *systematic* questions which affect the Public Service as a whole, or any group within the Public Service. That is to say, it fixes the number of officers who may be employed in each grade and their general conditions of work including salaries and allowances. Through its Nigerianisation Division it ensures that the Government's Nigerianisation policy is kept in the foreground and that Nigerians, and only Nigerians, are employed in posts for which suitable Nigerian candidates are available.

It exercises general supervision over the internal training schemes of the Ministries and correlates and advertises all offers of advanced training which are received from abroad. At the Federal Training Centre in Lagos, and in a less way at the new Centre in Kaduna, it offers a variety of classes to Clerical, Executive and Administrative Officers. It deploys the large Executive and Clerical Classes and acts as the clearing house for movements within the Administrative Class.

Except for petitions, which go to the Prime Minister, it resolves all questions relating to the terms of service of individual officers, whether recruited in Nigeria or abroad, from the time of their appointment until they go on pension. On the other hand, Mr Speaker, what my Ministry is *not* concerned with is what may be called personal questions such as appointments and promotions and the disciplinary action which has to be taken when an individual officer goes off the rails.

All these personal questions—except the appointment and posting of Permanent Secretaries on which the Prime Minister personally advises the Governor-General—all these personal questions, I say, are matters for the Federal Public Service Commission and I have no voice in them.

Now I shall say a little about particular matters in which my Ministry has made outstanding advances during the past year. Most of the questions relating to the Public Service which were raised in this House in the period preceding Independence had to do with Nigerianisation. It has been said that

one of the fundamental rights and privileges of a self-governing country is that it must have control of its public service. It is in fact the declared policy of the Federal Government to have an entirely Nigerian Civil Service, and the Government has accepted the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee on Nigerianisation that all pensionable posts must be nigerianised in five to ten years after Independence :

Several hon. Members : Ten years is too long.

The Minister of Establishments and Service Matters : That is what the Nigerianisation Committee recommended.

However well this policy was proceeding, Members were naturally anxious that it should proceed better and faster still.

An hon. Member : Exactly.

The Minister of Establishments and Service Matters : Mr Speaker, Sir, the mere fact of Independence and the compensation scheme for the expatriate officers which came in with Independence have made a profound difference in this regard. Of the total 809 pensionable expatriate officers who were still in the Federal Public Service at the date of Independence at least 320 will have left the country on retirement by the end of this year and many of those then remaining will serve for comparatively brief periods while their Nigerian successors are being trained. The bulk of those who have gone or are going are very senior administrative and professional officers, and the way has thus been cleared for the promotion of deserving Nigerians, many of whom are comparatively young men.

Particularly satisfactory progress continues to be made in some departments or divisions of Ministries. The Administrator-General's Office, the Government Coastal Agency and the Judiciary (Chief Registrar's Office) have now been completely nigerianised as also is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. (*Hear, hear*). The General Executive Class is nearly completely nigerianised. This class, comprising officers with salaries ranging from £312-1,584 per annum (on salary Scale CE) contains by far the largest single category of officers in senior posts. Out of a total of 564 officers in post 540 are Nigerians the equivalent of 96 per cent. Nearly all the overseas officers remaining are on contract.

[MINISTER OF ESTABLISHMENTS]

I do not wish, of course, to create the impression that we have reached, overnight as it were, the stage at which we can man the Public Service entirely from Nigerian sources. This is not the case. The business of the Federal Government is still expanding fast in most spheres and there will certainly be full employment for those expatriates who are still with us for the various periods they have elected to remain. In addition, some of the senior posts which are falling vacant, as well as the special investigations which one Ministry or another finds from time to time that it must undertake before the shape of its future operations can be finally determined, are such that it is still necessary to rely upon external help. Some of the men we need, particularly at the middling professional and technical levels, are being recruited on short-term contracts but as far as possible we are taking advantage of the schemes of Technical Assistance which the United Nations Organisation, the United Kingdom Government and other friendly Governments have generously made available to us. These schemes provide officers of high quality for temporary purposes which usually include the training of Nigerian successors, and the expenses are borne in whole or in part by the sponsoring authority.

While on the subject of Technical Assistance I should mention also the larger scheme of financial aid toward the maintenance of our establishments which was recently proposed by the United Kingdom Government. This scheme which became known as the "Macleod Proposals" was designed to assist those British colonial territories which are approaching independence but where the general level of education and what I may call "Africanisation" of the Public Service is much less advanced than in Nigeria. In the expectation that such territories will require to retain their expatriate officers for some years to come, the United Kingdom Government undertook to assume a considerable part of the cost of these officers' allowances, thus relieving the territorial budget. The scheme was first formulated before Nigeria became independent and the offer was generously extended to the Nigerian Governments.

The Federal and the Regional Governments were unanimous however in considering that it would be unbecoming to the dignity of

independent Nigeria to permit any part of the regular emoluments of a section of their officers to be paid from a foreign source. (*Hear, hear*). And that it would in any case be wrong and invidious to create fresh differences between indigenous Nigerian officers and those expatriates who might choose to remain and benefit under the scheme. (*Hear, hear*). The United Kingdom's offer to Nigeria was therefore rejected. (*Hear, hear*). This is one clear evidence of our determination to shoulder the full responsibilities of Independence ourselves, whatever the cost to our human and financial resources. While we welcome generous offers of assistance from friendly nations we are always careful to reserve our absolute right to choose which forms of assistance we consider to be in the best interest of Nigeria. (*Hear, hear*). As a free and independent sovereign state.

With the increasing nigerianisation of establishments in all the Ministries it is obviously of great importance that good standards should be set at the outset and the highest possible degree of efficiency maintained. It was with this object in mind that funds were sought last year for the development of an Organisation and Methods and Staff Investigation Section within my Ministry. Organisation and Methods and Staff Investigation are regular features of all modern Civil Services and, indeed, of many major business concerns. The purpose of Organisation and Methods is to ensure that the Ministry staffs are employed in the most efficient fashion: that is to say, that every officer or group of officers is employed on the kind of work for which they have been trained and for which they are being paid, that they are competent to do such work and that they are receiving training which will qualify them in due course to carry out higher functions.

Whereas Organisation and Methods is concerned with procedures and functions, and with their improvement and standardisation, Staff Investigation deals with numbers and grades. Once the proper procedures within a Ministry of Division have been determined, and the duties of the different classes of officer who are available for employment, the Staff Investigation Branch advises on the number of officers who should be employed and how they should be graded. Organisation and Methods and Staff Investigation are thus complementary

services whose general object is to ensure every civil servant is doing the work for which he was engaged, and the right amount of work, and that no more officers are employed than is really necessary.

Most of the past year has had to be devoted to the training of suitable men to staff this new section, and in this regard I must record my gratitude to the willing assistance and co-operation given by the Training Division of Her Majesty's Treasury in the United Kingdom and also the Royal Institute of Public Administration. The first of the young Nigerian trainees are now back in their posts and I have been impressed by the one or two examples I have seen of their work. I think we can look forward in the not distant future to possessing a Civil Service which will combine a high degree of working efficiency with administrative economy.

Mr Speaker, all that I have said so far is a reflection of the rapid process of nigerianisation of the Federal Public Service and of the measures that are being taken to keep the Service stable and maintain its efficiency. Throughout this period of conversion I wish to assure the House that due attention has been paid to the needs of economy. While the general body of the conditions of service under which civil servants are employed have been maintained intact, it is a fact that most of the senior grades were until recently occupied by expatriates and a few instances have come to attention in which special privileges which it may at one time have been necessary to grant to men serving outside their own country are no longer appropriate to a Public Service which will soon be manned entirely, or almost entirely, by indigenous Nigerians. These extravagances have been corrected or are being corrected now, and a new edition of the General Orders which govern the Service is now nearing completion, reflecting all such changes as well as those arising from the new Constitution. I hope it will be possible to publish the new General Orders later this year.

Finally, Mr Speaker, with all our preoccupations about the new Civil Service which is emerging to serve the needs of the new Nigeria, I know that the Members of this House would wish me to say a word about the retired civil servants whose labours helped to bring us to our present situation. Their needs have not

been forgotten and I shall presently have the pleasure of introducing a Bill which will improve their pensions to the same extent and from the same date as the salaries of serving officers were improved by the Mbanefo Revision of last year. Thus it will be seen that, with all our planning for the future of Nigeria's Public Service, we are continuously mindful of its worthy past and of those who laid the strong foundations upon which the Government now stands.

Mr Speaker, I beg to support.

Mr G. O. D. Eneh (Agbaja and Ngwo): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill. I must first of all congratulate the Government of the N.C.N.C. and the N.P.C. for being able to produce Ministers who can stand side by side with any Ministers of any other country. Let me say, or rather bring your mind back to the marathon speech of two days ago when the Minister of Finance, Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh had to speak to the hon. House for about four hours on the policies and programmes of the Federal Government for the ensuing year and for the economic programme for the period ending 31st March, 1962. No right-thinking individual will fail to appreciate the efforts of the Federal Minister of Finance to see that our country enjoys a buoyant economic prosperity. We really would be failing in our duty if we refuse to praise where praise is due.

Sir, there is very much improvement on our revenue which shows that great effort is being made to change the pattern of economic policy. Previously our whole economy had depended to a very large extent on our revenues from Customs and Excise duties which amounted to nearly over 80 per cent of our revenue. If you go through the estimates of the current year, you will see that revenue from this Head—Customs and Excise—is a little over 66 per cent of our revenue, which means that the Government of the Federation will have to find 34 per cent internally. That is very welcome news Sir; it goes to show that the Federal Government is making every effort to find revenues or to diversify the economy of this country. Revenues from royalties and mines are growing very considerably. Previously we had about £1.9 m. from this head but currently it had risen to £7.9m.—an increase of about £6m.

[MR ENEH]

Another great source of revenue is from Posts and Telegraphs Department. In the 1956-57 period it was very negligible but eventually about 1959 it came to a little over £3m. But currently, it had risen to £4.3m. that is, to say the least, to the very great credit of the Minister of Communications.

There is every reason to believe that the country will increase its economy and in doing so take a very great stride in our road development. If you visit the Eastern Region, for example, you will find that the road from Onitsha to Enugu has been widened, straightened and the bridges strengthened. Also on Trunk Road A, the Oji River to Umuahia road, very great expansion has been made.

An Hon. Member : The hon. Member is reading from a newspaper.

Mr Speaker : Order, Order. If it is a newspaper, I think the hon. member should put it away.

Mr Eneh : Mr Speaker, Sir, it is necessary to praise the Federal Minister of Works for the efficient way in which our road programme is going on. If you have taken the road from Abakaliki to Ikom in previous years, you will appreciate the very great effort which the Minister is now putting in the widening and strengthening of bridges and getting the contractors to do their big job upon it ; so is the road from 9 Mile Corner to Aliade in the North. Very great improvement has been done on that road. It will be a pleasure to this House if the Minister continues the good work of Aliade to the North so that every area of this country will have good roads.

Sir, we are all aware of the recent local loan project by the Federal Government and we are also encouraged by the fact that the Government is proposing an inland lake for the North which will cost about £67m. But all the same, Sir, we must say that the Government has failed in one aspect of its policy and that is the question of establishment of industries. It has been the view of this House that the Federal Government should take the lead in establishing these industries and on this, Sir, we must refer to the Iron and Steel Industry which this Government is in duty bound to establish as quickly as possible. I will refer you to a very great volume of iron ore which is at Agbaja in the Northern Region, 28 miles from

Lokoja and very close to River Niger. It is a very big area which contains about 206 million tons of iron ore. It is possible to mine this ore either by establishing an industry there, or by transporting this ore by any road which leads to River Niger and sending the iron overseas. There is another iron ore deposit very close to Enugu Escarpment and at Enugu. There is electricity supply, coal and everything that makes for an industry of that nature. About 50 million tons of iron deposit which contains about 40 per cent of iron ore abroad. This Government has agreed to develop this Steel Industry so that people who had been displaced in the coal mines will get employment. To my surprise, Sir, there is nothing in the estimates which indicates that the Government is prepared to take this industry up.

I have to thank the Eastern Regional Government for establishing a Rolling Mill at Emene to employ the various people who have been displaced in the coal mine and if the Federal Government were to try to embark on similar industry at Enugu and also on the tin mining industry in the North, it will be possible to find work for the displaced miners either at Jos or Enugu or elsewhere, and it will give employment to our people who are now unemployed. (*Hear, hear*).

Also, Sir, the Minister of Commerce and Industry has said something about salt. By 1953, we imported into this country about ninety thousand tons of salt annually, currently we are importing about one hundred thousand tons, but still at Uburu there is a very great source of salt supply—and very close to the Benue there is also an area where salt can be mined successfully. This Government is in duty bound to deploy our resources so that in the days of greater problems it will not be necessary for us to go overseas to look for salt—ordinary table salt for that matter.

Well, Sir, I refer to the trade of our country. The Minister of Commerce and Industry has spoken about the adverse balance of trade between us and Japan. About five years ago, the Japanese were sending into this country goods to the tune of twenty million pounds whereas we only exported from Nigeria to Japan goods worth only one pound. This is a very bad state of affairs,

One man said that goods from Japan were very cheap and were good, that does not solve it. When people in India got independence, they made it a point of duty that the people in that country bought goods from their own people even though the prices were higher. (*Hear, hear*). It is the duty of the Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry to put his foot down and say that if the Japanese are not prepared to trade with us, we should not hesitate to reciprocate by way of not buying goods from them; it is only our duty to see that import licences are not issued to people to buy goods from Japan. (*Hear, hear*). That is the only way out and if that is done, immediately, the Government of Japan will be bound to buy goods from us.

Following this, a Trade Mission from Japan was arranged with the Chairman of the Coal Corporation to buy coal from Enugu, well eventually when the Chairman of the Corporation went to Japan, the Government of Japan refused to negotiate with him in spite of the fact that they are buying coal from parts of United States. That is a very serious situation, and if Japan is in duty bound not to buy our coal, then the Federal Government should also put its feet down to refuse imports from Japan.

Also, Sir, I will refer to other countries behind the Iron Curtain with which we are not trading at present. It is the duty of this Government to do all that lies in its power to establish trade contacts with other countries on the globe, irrespective of the fact that they are in the Western democracies, behind the Iron Curtain or any where else. Raw cash is raw cash, it has nothing to do with ideological differences. For that reason, Sir, it is necessary for Government to find new avenues for our palm oil, for our cocoa, for our iron ore and for our other minerals like cotton, groundnuts and very many other things which this Government has in great supply.

I am sure that if we forbid those countries which want to dump their goods into this country to do so and insist on reciprocity, it will be seen that our economy will rise appreciably.

There is one aspect of our economy, an aspect which has taken a very great bulk of our money in this country and that is paper, ordinary paper that we have in our hand.

We have the material for paper making in this country, the bamboo, the staple thing which the Indians are using in making their own paper. The paper industry will flourish in this country if we make use of our bamboo. The same thing is applicable to Sugar. Far in the North in Zaria, in the South in the Delta Region there at plenty of opportunity to establish a salt and sugar industry and instead of buying salt from overseas to the tune of thousands of pounds—we should establish this salt or sugar industry here.

The Federal Government should not be thinking in terms of asking the Regional Governments to establish this and that. This Government is the godfather of the Regional Governments and it is its duty to start, so that the Regional Governments will learn from the Federal Government. In order to raise the standard of living in this country, we must do two things; one is industrialisation and the other agriculture. I know that in the first instance it will be difficult to establish industries but the Government is in duty bound to do that. Surely, in order to be able to produce at least about 20 per cent of what we are using now the Government must have a capital of about £200,000,000; that is enormous. The only point is to start the industries bit by bit and eventually it will be possible to reach the goal set and also to attract foreign combines to help them.

I want to refer to the mainstay of our economy and that is agriculture, and on that I am referring to Agricultural Research. In order to be able to develop any country agriculturally the first duty of the Government, and of the Agricultural Research Division of this Government, is to analyse our soil, be able to have a map of Nigeria and say that this area is a good area for sugar-cane, for cotton, for cocoa, for groundnuts and not to say that this area is not good without facts. This has already been done to a very large extent in the Western Region by the Federal Government but it has not been done in the Eastern Region nor has it been done in the Northern Region. It is the duty of the Federal Government to continue that survey, that is send a team of experts to the East. Examine the soil structure of the Eastern Region and certify that this area will be suitable for the production of this or that crop and do the same thing in the Northern Region; it will then be possible for the local people to know exactly what type of crops to grow, how to grow them and when. (*Hear, hear*).

[MR ENEH]

Well, Sir, I cannot take my seat without referring to the Civil Service. I must pay compliments to the members of the Civil Service at large; there have been people who have been able to do their work as this Government would like them to do and the economy of this country can never be increased without the full co-operation of the Civil Servants, and by and large, Sir, I must say that the Civil Servants have done their work very creditably.

I must particularly refer to the Posts and Telegraphs Department. The workers there have done their work very appreciably and although we always complain about the P. and T., that Department is one of those Departments in which you will find that you come to the counter, pay your money and get whatever you want without anybody asking for a tip or anybody asking you to do this or do that. You know that people who are working on the telephone are often very impatient but the Minister is taking care of that. On the whole we must pay tribute to those who merit it.

Again, Sir, very many members of the old House some years ago criticized the Police very very adversely without realising the difficulties in which these policemen are placed. It is true that some of these men are bad but in the main the Police have done creditably well. When you think of it, the big man complains about the Police and the small man complains about the Police, it only means that the Police are doing good work. In fact when you find the Opposition and the Government criticizing, the Police have done this or that, it only means that the Police are trying to be fair and they are doing a very difficult work in a very creditable manner.

There is one aspect of the Civil Service on which I must attack and this is pay disparity between the people in the upper segment and the people on the lower rung of the ladder. When you look at our estimate, Sir, you will find some people are placed on £600 to £700 and you will find at the top some who receive £3,500 and almost £4,000. Why not have a ceiling just as we have for our Ministers? No Minister is asking for his pay to be increased from £3,000 to £4,000 every year. Why not do the same thing in our Civil Service? What we are saying, Sir, is that they are putting our

men in places of Europeans to whom we have been paying Inducement Additons. We realise that members of our Civil Service who are working overseas are being paid higher than those who are living in this country just because we know that they are maintaining two homes. That is exactly the same thing which is applicable to Europeans who are in this country. They are being paid higher because they are maintaining two homes—one here and one overseas.

What is the need of paying a Nigerian Permanent Secretary £3,500 per annum just because a European Permanent Secretary earns the same salary? What is the need of paying a labourer £100 per annum when a Permanent Secretary is on £3,500? What is the need of having this kind of disparity? We should do what the Indian Government has done. We should bring down the highest scale in the civil service to either £2,500 or something near, and then raise the lowest salary scale to £300. The gap will be reduced and there will not be a question of somebody being in the junior service and another in the senior service. It will be a long line of ladder, which, if you merit it, you can climb without obstruction. (*Hear, hear*). The civil service should not be for the privileged few who are fabulously rich. It should be also for those who at present cannot even maintain their own family, cannot pay school fees of five shillings for their children.

This Government must review the whole salary structure completely. There must be a Commission, not the type of Mbanefo Commission that increased salaries unnecessarily. It must be a commission that will whittle down salaries. (*Hear, hear*). It is not the question of satisfying a few, it is the question of actually doing what is necessary for this country, what is necessary for a Nigerian to live well on. We may ask, is it £2,000? What should be the ceiling above which no salary should climb? What is the salary necessary to make a Nigerian on the lower rung of the ladder to live well? Is it £100 or £200?

You must find statistics to support your argument, and apply the figure throughout the whole of the civil service. It is a very awkward situation that a country of the size of Nigeria should sky-rocket some people's salaries to £3,500 while some earn below existence level. It is also very awful to observe

that because some people are inefficient or have no one to help them they cannot progress. These people normally become dissatisfied and discontented, and any form of discontentment in the civil service is not good. If everyone knows that he is working towards the same objective, there will be no grumbling. Everyone will accept his own salary and work towards advancement. Anybody who is not prepared to accept it, will resign and face business.

I, therefore, pray the Government to look into the structure of the civil service and effect a reasonable adjustment to bridge the gap. There is no reason why the Federal and the Regional Governments should compete in terms of salary. When they compete, there is anarchy, everyone wants to transfer to the Region that pays highest. The Federal Minister in charge of this thing should act together with the Regional Ministers in charge and agree on a compromise and see to it that the Governments of the Federation pay salaries to teachers, labourers, and other type of workers, just on the same level. That will make everybody to be happy and contented; it will be the nicest thing to do.

Look at the question of labourers. You find labourers in Lagos earning seven shillings and six pence a day, and his counterpart in the Eastern Region gets four shillings, in the Northern Region two shillings and eight pence, and so on and so forth. This is very bad, and the argument is always that the cost of living in Lagos is very high and that of Enugu is cheap. How do you find out? (*An hon. Member: By statistics*). How much do you pay for a bottle of beer in Lagos? What is the cost of an ordinary packet of sugar at Enugu? What about the clothes that people wear? How do we find out all these things? Everybody on the same scale should be paid the same thing whether he lives in Lagos or at Enugu or at Ibadan. Everybody in any village pays the same thing for all these commodities. The locality of your office or works should not matter. A worker whether in the West, North or East should be paid the same wage for an identical job. If a messenger in Lagos is on three shillings, every other officer of his grade should be paid three shillings anywhere in the country.

Sir, incidentally I have been talking about the civil service. What about the farmer? Tomorrow, you see the labour leaders asking the Government to increase the salaries of workers. What do the labour leaders think about the farmers, about the petty traders who earn two shillings a day? This kind of attitude does not augur well for the future, Nigeria is an independent country and everybody in Nigeria looks to the Federal Government for what he can get. Our independence is not for the civil servants alone, it is not for the Ministers or Members of Parliament alone; it is independence for everybody. If we are going to stand at parity with every other nation in the world, we must be able to offer our people a decent living, a place where they can lay their heads, an opportunity to train their children in comfort, freedom from molestation of any kind. That is independence, and our people are not interested in any thing else. (*Applause*).

I ask the Government to be up and doing, to see that everybody gets a fair share, whether he is in the Government or outside it. Once this is done, we shall all praise the Government; even those who are opposed to it, if they realise that they are getting a square deal from the Government, will in their hearts praise the Government.

I know, Sir, that our Ministers are working hard. I want them to work harder. They should look into all these things, they should not bye-pass anything. In Lagos we have the big mansions, very good streets and people go about in big limousines and feel very happy, but they fail to realise that there are poor people at Abakaliki, at Ikom, and other places who cannot even go to the market with two shillings; that there are people who even find it impossible to pay an income tax of ten shillings and that some people even go to prison because they cannot pay their tax assessment. If somebody goes to prison because of five shillings, what do you imagine will be his cost of living? These people are living in the hinterland. This is an awkward situation.

When you come to Lagos, you find people who seem to be satisfied with everything, but what of the people in the hinterland, the people we have come here to represent?

[MR ENEH]

When people are depressed and the Government does not listen to them, the Government knows what will happen. (*Some hon. Members : What will happen ?*) Well, I leave that for you to answer. (*An hon. Member : Revolution ?*) I am not going to call it revolution.

Finally, Sir, I want to talk about security. It is now time for Government to see to this question of security. Our Inspector-General of Police went to the Congo; he is not a Nigerian. (*An hon. Member : Was he not arrested ?*) He was arrested. It is time for this Government to see to this question of security; key posts in our armed forces, and the Police must all be manned by Nigerians.

Sir, I beg to support the Bill.

M. Abubakar Isandu (Jos North West) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill for the year 1961-62 which was ably presented to this hon. House by the hon. Minister of Finance. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : I think there is too much loud private discussions which should not continue.

M. Isandu : Mr Speaker, in doing so I have some points to make. With great respect to our able Minister of Finance and the Federal Government, I would ask the Minister of Finance what he has done or what he is proposing to do for those who go on circulating counterfeit money in the country. The good name of this country has been dragged into the mud when one of our people was found guilty of making this money in his house. I remember during our campaigns, one of the people in the Action Group when he was addressing a campaign meeting suddenly took up some gravel from the ground and told the people—"We make money with this". I am sure there is something like that going on in this country and we must see that something is done about it. I would also like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister of Finance— (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think if this noise continues we are not going to make much progress.

M. Isandu : I would also draw the attention of the Minister of Finance not only to provide the money but also to try and see that the money is properly spent by all Ministries.

Some time ago, a large amount was voted for the Mines Division of the Ministry of Mines and Power for the minesfield in the Plateau; I wish the Minister of Mines and Power were here. That was for a programme of five years, and the time for the programme expired last year and nothing was done about the land in the minesfield. I have been trying to get the Minister of Finance whenever he visits the Plateau but I have always tried in vain. The minerals have been dug and the land made unsuitable for the farmers. I hope that something will be done to help the farmers.

I now come to the Ministry of Works and Surveys. Is the Minister of Works and Surveys aware of the dangerous corner one hundred and twenty-eight miles from Zaria? Many lives have been lost there and nothing has been done about it. May I suggest to the Minister that he should divert the traffic from Jingir Hospital and let the new road follow the old railway line to avert that dangerous corner. I think the road has been surveyed and it will not cost the Federal Government much money and, at the same time, it will reduce the number of accidents and it will also shorten the distance.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I am of the opinion that our men should be brought back from the Congo because I think there is a conspiracy between the United Nations and the present leaders of the Congo Republic. There is no need wasting our money to maintain our people there only to leave them in more trouble. The reason why I say this is that I feel that the United Nations has been too slow. The people of this young nation have been fighting and the United Nations has every right to stop them. But instead of the United Nations stopping them, they just stand there looking at them fighting. For example, if we start to fight in this House the right thing to do is to send somebody or some people to stop us from fighting, but the people of the Congo have been fighting and nobody stopped them. We drew the attention of the whole world to the new Republic but nothing was done, and this led to the killing of that great nationalist—Patrice Lumumba. The United Nations is responsible for the death of Patrice Lumumba and all those who have died in the Congo crises. I am suggesting that the present Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Assistant should be dismissed and new people appointed to their posts.

Federal Parliament Debates

1069 [Appropriation (1961-62) Bill]

8 APRIL 1961

[Appropriation (1961-62) Bill]

1070

Mr Speaker, Sir, before resuming my seat. I would like to say something to our Friends on the Opposition Side. (*Loud Applause*)

Some hon. Members : Fire, fire.

M. Isandu : I think one should not be a fool for ever.

An hon. Member : Where were you last year ?

M. Isandu : I was *there* and I have my reasons for crossing the carpet. (*Hear, hear*). You can see, Sir, most of them have left the House and they have gone to the Northern Region again to deceive them. Our own Northern Region is one, there is unity, and under one leadership and that is Sir Ahmadu Bello. (*Loud Applause*). We do not want anybody to deceive us any more. We do not want the Action Group. For your information, we are the people in Jos Division, and the headquarters of the U.M.B.C. is there. There was a District Council election in Jos Division and of the seventy Councillors elected, Patrick Dokotri was the only member of the Action Group. We shall continue to fight for the unity and prosperity of this country whether the Action Group exists or not.

Sir, I beg to support.

Mr D. S. Udo-Inyang (Opobo North) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to make my observations on the Budget Speech delivered on Thursday by the hon. Minister of Finance. First of all, I have to say that the Speech was really comprehensive and it contains a lot of welcome and comprehensive proposals. As far as what is concerned in the Speech, I am quite satisfied but there are two things that worry me. One is—How soon the Government will implement the scheme fully? The second is—Will the scheme be so implemented in such a way that all the citizens of this country will be benefited by it ?

Mr Speaker, Sir, this my last fear stems from the Speech I heard the other day from the hon. Minister of Works and Surveys. He stated on the Floor of this House that this Federal Government cannot decide on which road to take over from the Regional Governments unless the road is so recommended by the Regional Governments ; and this applies to all the Government activities outside the Federal Territory. I submit that this is a

very bad policy. It simply means that the Federal Government is condoling or is sharing the prejudices prevalent in each of these Regions. For example, what would happen to a community which is in the black list of a Regional Government ? And more often than not the areas which are in the black list of Regional Governments are the minority areas.

When the Prime Minister toured the West and the East recently he visited Calabar. During his tour he saw things for himself. That tour has presented a challenge to him. It remains for him to prove whether he is a father to all or whether he and his Government are prepared to be fair to everybody and to every community in the nation. The Federal Government exists on its own rights and the Regional Governments are not in any way the agents of the Federal Government. It will be the proper thing if this Federal Government conducts her own survey whenever she wants to take over roads or carry out her own development programmes. The whole country should be surveyed and the Federal Government would be able to discover for herself what to do and when to do these things. It would be very bad to be depending always on the recommendations of the Regional Governments because what would happen in that event is that if a particular Region or a particular area in a Region is black listed as Mr Amechi black listed Oron in the last Elections. .

An hon. Member : He ran away.

Mr Udo-Inyang : It means that as long as my Friend Mr Amechi is there—

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information (Hon. Mbazulike Amechi) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not a Minister of Works in the Eastern Region.

Mr Udo-Inyang : Mr Speaker, Sir, It was very noticeable that my hon. Friend made a special appeal during their Convention that the Eastern Region Government should blacklist a certain area. So this is very important.

Sir, I am really very serious about this point because, as I have stated, the programme by itself is good. It has very good development plans, but what will happen is that only certain areas in the country will be benefited by it and for that reason I suggest very strongly

[MR UDO INYANG]

that the Federal Government in implementing its programme should conduct its own survey and discover for itself where to carry out this programme.

Sir, I will say a few words in connection with agriculture in this country. Land as we all know is our most important natural productive factor and the economy of this country depends to a great extent on the manner in which land is being utilised. What happens at the moment is that many pieces of land that could increase our productivity at present remain idle. If the Federal Government can only help to take part in agricultural development, that will be very good indeed. I think much is laid on the shoulders of the Regional Governments.

Take a place like the Eastern Region. It is a very wide area with a population of about eight million, and for this Federal Government to leave all educational enterprises, agriculture, roads and many other things to the Regional Government, I think that is too much. *(Interruption)*.

In this connection, Sir, I would also like to talk about the fertility of the land. The fertility of land could be increased by land improvement schemes. Our farmers are too poor to carry out such projects and it will be a very good idea if our farmers can be subsidised. That is to say, if a farmer produces so much in a year he should be given this amount of subsidy in order to help him improve his land. That will be very good indeed.

Coming to transport and communications, the proposed development of road and railway communications is very timely indeed. Sir, our present transport system is very much outmoded and cannot cope with the present expansion of trade and economic life in the country. What our transport system requires most is co-ordination, and I say that the proposed development should not be centred mainly in township. *(Hear, hear)*.

And it being 11.45 a.m. Mr Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 4 (3), interrupted the Business.

Debate to be resumed—Monday next.

ADJOURNMENT

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

Mr Speaker : I have a number of notices of questions on the Motion for adjournment. The first one is from Mr Affanideh.

Mr M. B. Affanideh (Ikot Ekpene South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise on the Motion for adjournment, to raise the question of the existing inadequacy of information services available to hon. Members occupying the Victoria Island Flats.

The importance of the Ministry of Information need not be exaggerated, especially when hon. Members are here in Lagos for the meeting of the Parliament. Before the last meeting was adjourned *sine die* the hon. P. E. Ekanem made the same point that I am now making, that the present system of information services for hon. Members occupying the Victoria Island flats is inadequate. The Minister assured him that he was going to look into the matter and eradicate the awful situation.

Everyone will agree with me that hon. Members are suffering untold inconveniences because of the restricted number of radios installed in the said flats.

I shall, therefore, be grateful if the hon. Minister will tell us the steps he has taken so far, and what he intends to do in order to eradicate this deplorable situation and thus stamp out for ever the increasing inconveniences caused to hon. Members.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support the Motion for adjournment.

The Minister of Information (Hon. T. O. S. Benson) : Noted, Sir.

Mr Speaker : I would like first of all to confirm from the Minister whether in fact the Members raising these subjects have consulted the Minister.

The Minister of Information : I am prepared to answer.

Mr F. A. M. Amadi (Nsukka Central) : Mr Speaker, Sir, this matter, I think, is rather an important one, although it deals with a minor matter. It is in connection with the cultural value of the N.B.C., and I think that efforts should be made to make the N.B.C. really valuable to us both internally and externally.

Most people depend on the N.B.C. for their news. For example, most of us rely on the N.B.C. for the attitude of mind which we adopt towards certain things. It is very distressing when listening to the N.B.C. to hear announcements like the Afro-Asian solidarity in the United Nations being threatened by two rival resolutions. Now, two rival resolutions suggest to us that the Afro-Asians are not in agreement and I consider such a thing as a wedge thrown in between the African countries and Asian countries in the United Nations. I think that epithets like that should not be relayed by the N.B.C.

Again, Sir, it is very disappointing to find that our news announcers and news readers will take trouble to pronounce very well certain English words, English names and English place names, but when they come to Nigerian names and Nigerian place names, they will not bother to make any effort to pronounce those names correctly. I think, Sir, that in the interest of the non-informed, in the interest of the outside world, in the interest of those who would rely on what they hear from the N.B.C. for the correct pronunciations of the names of our important towns, important personalities, these announcers of the N.B.C. should also take the trouble to compile particulars of important names, topical names which they use constantly, so, for instance, that anyone who has got to read *Ibadan* will say *Ibado* as the Yorubas say; and when one refers to the University of Nigeria which is at Nsukka they should say 'Nsukka' properly and not with the wrong accent.

Even this morning an important personality in this country, an international player *Nnamoko* was announced and certainly except those who knew the name one would hardly know that it was Nnamoko. He announced anything but Nnamoko. (*Interruptions*). I just wish to bring this to the notice of the Minister of Information.

The Minister of Information (Hon. T. O. S. Benson): Noted. I am very grateful to the hon. Member. I shall pass this matter to the N.B.C. Board to take appropriate action. But he is definitely referring to the people speaking Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa, and that is why, these three languages should be taught in all schools in Nigeria.

Mr S. D. Lar (Lowland East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I think it is very insulting to this honourable House for the hon. Minister to say "Noted" when an hon. Member asks for certain information from him. It is indeed very disheartening. Since the hon. Minister knew that he could not give an answer I feel that he should not have allowed the hon. Member to bring the question up on Adjournment.

Mr Speaker: That does not arise in this case.

Mr E. C. Akwivu (Orlu South East): Mr Speaker, Sir, since our arrival here some of us have experienced very grave difficulties in contacting our constituencies and families, more particularly in the Eastern Region. We understood there was some rainfall some time last week, as a result of which, every time one books a call to the Eastern Region, a reply comes that the line is bad. I do not know if the Minister is aware of this and if he can give us any assurance that this difficulty and inaccessibility to the Eastern Region will be remedied now.

The Minister of Communications: Mr Speaker, Sir, there is not at the moment in the Ministry of Communications evidence of a serious interruption to calls to Port Harcourt. We are, of course, aware of the fact that the volume of communication between Lagos and Port Harcourt has recently increased to a considerable degree and has resulted in a certain number of hours of delay.

I am seeking information of statistics relative to this subject, and I shall inform the hon. Member which are the peak hours when this difficulty exists. The Ministry is at the moment seriously engaged in finding further means of expanding communications for this vitally growing area of the country and we shall do all we can to remove the inconveniences which are created.

Mr E. C. Akwivu: Mr Speaker, Sir, while I am grateful to the hon. Minister for his well considered reply, I may have to add that the hours in which I have experienced failure occur as rule between 5 and 7 a.m.

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North Central)
Mr Speaker, Sir, I have also to inform the Minister that these equipments which we use in this country are always subject to weather changes and, as far as possible, conditions of weather changes should be taken into consideration when importing certain telephone equipments into the country. Do not let the wind disturb telephone communication in the Eastern Region.

The Minister of Communications : Mr Speaker, Sir, I hope that I shall have an opportunity within the next week to address the House on the efforts which my Ministry is making to improve our services. I am very

well aware of the fact that we are very readily susceptible to faults when there are winds and rains in this country.

A lot of the disturbance is due, of course, to the fact that the country is building up a good view. Very often the Posts and Telegraphs pays thousands of pounds to remedy the new building of roads which has caused the cutting of our cables here and there, in Port Harcourt and elsewhere. However, we are doing something to remedy this situation.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at two minutes to twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Monday, 10th April, 1961

The House met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

REPORTS FROM SPECIAL
COMMITTEES

Mr Speaker : I have to inform the House that Mr Eneh reports from the Business Committee that, in accordance with Standing Order 55A (1) (c), they have decided that the following Private Members' Motions be placed on the Order Paper for Tuesday, 11th April, in the order shown as follows:—

- (a) Secondary Education (No. 23)
- (b) Anti-Bribery Movement (No. 38)
- (c) Oron-Calabar Ferry Service (No. 2)
- (d) Establishment of Industries in Zaria (No. 21)
- (e) Nigerianisation of the Armed Forces and Security (No. 34)
- (f) Hire Purchase System (No. 13)

I have to inform the House that a Report has been received from the Business Committee regarding the allocation of time for the Appropriation Bill. It has been printed and circulated to hon. Members and will be considered under the relevant item on to-day's Order Paper.

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

New Industrial Projects

O.16. M. Saidu Zango asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry whether Government have invited industrialists from various parts of the world to establish new projects in the Federation of Nigeria; and if any will be established in Zaria?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : Sir, I refer the hon. Member to my reply to question W.19 as recorded in the Official Report of 26th November last.

The promotion of industrial development is one of my main functions in my Ministry and no opportunity is lost of encouraging overseas industrialists to examine the possibilities of

establishing industrial enterprises within the Federation to our mutual advantage.

Two recent examples of this are the visit by a very strong delegation from the Federation of British Industries in January of this year, and the possibilities of starting integrated iron and steel industries are at present being carried out by a team of American steel experts.

Already, as a result of this visit of the delegation from the Federation of British Industries, a number of new industrial projects are to be started, including a commercial vehicle assembly plant, a printing works, a factory for the manufacture of plastic insulated electric cables, a vehicle battery plant and a cocoa processing factory. Other projects are under consideration.

As far as Zaria is concerned, I am aware of the proposal for a Tannery and a Cotton Seed Crushing Plant for both of which Zaria can be said to be a possible site.

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North Central) : Is the Ministry considering spreading units of these projects so that many of them will be established in so many parts of the Federation in the rural areas so that these people will feel the weight of this Government? (Laughter).

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : I have already said in my reply that my Ministry is considering how it will spread industrial projects all over the Federation.

Nigeria Exhibition

***O.17. M. Saidu Zango** asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry what was the total amount realised by the Government from the Nigeria Exhibition.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : I refer the hon. Member to the reply to question O.6 as recorded in the Official Report on the 21st November last.

Nigerian Cement Company

***O.10. Mr N. Nwangbo** asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry whether he will make a statement on the capital of the Nigerian Cement Co. Ltd. at Nkalagu; and what the Federal Government intend to do with their shares.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : The equity capital of the Nigerian Cement Co. Ltd. amounts to £2,100,000 following the recent capitalization issue. It was made up follows :—

Federal Government	£ 900,120
Eastern Regional Government ..	90,000
Eastern Regional Development Corporation	450,000
General Portland Cement Co. Ltd.	112,500
F. L. Smith & Co.	112,500
Nigerian Colonial Development Corporation	225,000
Nigerian General Public	209,880

In addition, the company had debenture capital of £500,000 part of which has now been repaid.

Of its holding of £900,120, the Federal Government has sold shares amounting to £450,000 to the Eastern Regional Marketing Board. The balance of £450,120 will be made available to the investing public through the Lagos Stock Exchange during the course of the current year at such times as seem most favourable.

Manufacture of Beverages

*O.42. Mr E. J. Ogunkanmi asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry what proposals he has for establishing factories for the manufacture of chocolate and cocoa beverages in the cocoa-producing areas of this country, and if he will make a statement.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry :

While it is not the policy of the Federal Government to set up Government-owned industries, it is our policy to encourage the setting up of industries spread throughout the Federation. I am therefore happy to announce that as a direct result of the visit from the Federation of British Industries in January this year, we have every hope that the local manufacture of chocolate-based drinks and, later, eaten chocolate, will soon be undertaken in Nigeria.

Location of New Factories

O.43. Mr E. J. Ogunkanmi asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry how many factories he proposes to establish in Nigeria

during this financial year; where will they be located, and what will they produce.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : It is not the policy of the Federal Government to set up Government-owned industrial projects throughout the Federation but it is Government policy to encourage private enterprise to do so in partnership with Nigerian interests.

I am happy to say that overseas investors continue to regard Nigeria as offering excellent opportunities for the establishment of new industries and I have every hope that the coming year will see more new industries established than in any year before.

RESEARCH

*O.58. M. Haliru Gwandu asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, into which Nigerian raw materials has research been carried out since the inauguration of the Federal Institute of Industrial Research; and to what extent has the country benefited from the results of such research.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : Since the information sought by the hon. Member is lengthy I am arranging to circulate it in the Official Report. In addition, I am arranging to circulate to all Members a summary of the past, present and future work of the Institute which is contained in a new publicity brochure. Further details of work performed by the Institute are available in its published reports and on the annual reports of my Ministry.

An indication of the extent to which the country has benefited from the results of the Institute's research is given in the material which I am circulating in the Official Report. In addition if any hon. Members wish to visit the Institute it is at Oshodi only a few miles outside Lagos and the Director of Research would be happy to receive them.

Nigerian Raw Materials Investigated by Federal Institute of Industrial Research.

Coconut Coir Fibre.—1. A satisfactory process had been worked out by the Institute and a factory erected at Badagry to produce one ton of fibre each day. This was proved to be profitable and the equipment has been

sold to the District Council who are selling the total production to local mattress makers.

2. Further investigations have been made on the manufacture or rubberised coir fibre pads and a report is being prepared.

Gari Making.—1. An improved village method has been developed and is in use in many areas of Nigeria.

2. A mechanised process producing one ton of gari every 24 hours has been completely evaluated. The gari is of high quality and all the experimental production has been sold to local traders or to the Nigerian Forces for the use of Nigerian troops and police in the Congo.

Palm Wine.—A method of preservation has been developed and is in use by a number of small factories.

Drugs and Medicinal Plants.—The uses of local plants for medicinal purposes have been surveyed. This work is of great value for future work on the manufacture of drugs.

Coffee Pulp.—A process for the production of vinegar by the fermentation of waste coffee pulp has been evaluated.

Farm Waste Materials.—A detailed investigation has been conducted into the fermentation of farm waste to produce methane gas and suggestions have been made for its use as a fuel for engines, cookers and steam boilers.

Coconut Coir Trash.—A process has been evaluated for the separation of this waste material into coconut shell and a cork-like material. Utilisation of these materials are under investigation.

Fish Drying.—Experiments have begun on this with the aim of erecting a pilot plant on the shores of Lake Chad as soon as possible.

Solar Energy.—The heat from the sun should be a valuable raw material. A solar water heated has been developed and should be useful in places without electricity. It will probably be cheaper than electricity.

Proteins.—These are being investigated in connection with the improvement of local diets. Proteins have been extracted from waste vegetable materials and proteins in groundnut flour and soya flour are being tried to improve the material value of gari.

Cashew Apples.—The utilisation of these apples is being investigated for making wine and chutney.

Pulp and Paper.—Timber and other fibrous materials are being evaluated for making paper.

Revolving Loans for Industry

*O.59. M. Haliru Gwandu asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, how many limited liability companies with Nigerian participation have been given loans since the Revolving Loans Fund for Industry was established; what are their names; for what purposes were the loans granted; and where is each company situated.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry: Two loans have been approved to two limited liability companies from the Revolving Loans Fund for industry. The first loan was paid to Ugochukwu Tyres Limited for extensions to a tyre retreading plant at Onitsha; and the second loan is being made to Industrial Enterprises (Nigeria) Limited for extensions to a nail-making factory at Maryland, Ikeja.

*O.60. M. Haliru Gwandu asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, if he will give the widest possible publicity to the Revolving Loans Fund throughout the country in order to attract interested limited liability companies.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry: Wide publicity has been given to the Revolving Loans Fund for Industry through the Regional Offices of this Ministry and by touring officers. Consideration is now being given to the preparation of a pamphlet for distribution throughout the country.

Price Control of Motor Vehicles

*O.69. F. C. Ogbalu asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, what plans he has for controlling the unparalleled high price of motor vehicles in this country.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry: A rational control of the price of motor vehicles would need to be related to the cost of motor vehicles in Nigeria. An examination of such cost has been carried out and, on the basis of it, it does not appear that profits are excessive. However, I do not regard this result as conclusive yet and I intend to examine the position

further in relation to prices obtaining in the countries of origin of the vehicles. When this has been done a statement will be made.

An hon. Member : Is it to include the examination of Insurance system ?

Industries

***O.70. M. Ahmadu Fatika** asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, how many Nigerians successfully applied to set up industries during the year 1959-60 and in what places did they intend to operate.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : There is no system of industrial licensing in force in Nigeria so that entrepreneurs wishing to set up an industry are not required to apply to my Ministry for permission to do so. There are, therefore, no figures available from which a detailed reply to this question could be given.

***O.71. Mr E. A. Odo** asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, how many industries he intends to establish between 1961 and 1963, and for what purposes.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : The policy of the Government has been clearly stated on many occasions, namely, that it aims at creating a climate that will encourage private enterprise to establish industries throughout Nigeria. The Federal Government does not therefore intend to establish industries in its own right except in the case of industries of national importance where the Federal Government, in conjunction with Regional Governments, invites technical partners to participate with the Governments of the Federation in the establishment of such industries. The proposed sugar industry is a case in point.

Discovery of Mineral Resources

***O.72. Mr E. A. Odo** asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, if he is aware that cement has been discovered at Igumale and coal at Orukpa, both in Idoma Division of Northern Nigeria; and if so, how does he propose to exploit these mineral resources.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : I think the hon. Member must be under a misapprehension. Cement, as such, does not occur naturally. It is a manufactured product,

one of the main ingredients of which is limestone. My Ministry is aware of the deposits of limestone at Igumale and of the deposits of coal at Orukpa. The existence of these deposits will be brought to the attention of industrialists who may be able to use them.

As is well-known it is not the policy of the Federal Government to establish directly an industry to use these mineral resources.

Opening of Factories

***O.73. Mr E. A. Odo** asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, how many factories, both private and government, have been opened in Nigeria since he assumed office.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : As there is no system of industrial licensing in force in Nigeria, entrepreneurs are not required to advise my Ministry when opening factories. I am therefore unable to give a detailed reply to this question, but I understand that 226 factories have been registered under the Factories Ordinance since I assumed my present portfolio.

An hon. Member : What effort is the Minister making to discourage the tendency of some overseas entrepreneurs to establish industries along the ports and therefore congesting an already congested area ?

Mr Speaker : That is a new question.

Importation of Coal from Nigeria

***O.78. Mr F. C. Ogbalu** asked the Minister of Commerce and Industry, if he will consider taking retaliatory measures against Japan in view of Japanese Government's refusal to import Nigerian coal.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry : No, Sir, the Japanese Government itself does not import coal although private Japanese importers do so. I must however, state categorically that I feel very strongly on the subject of trade with Japan in general and to this end I have invited the Japanese Government to send a delegation to Nigeria as soon as possible to discuss means of ameliorating the present imbalance in our trade

Mr Ogbalu : What is being done by the Government to boycott Japanese goods ?

TARRING OF TRUNK ROADS

***O.19. M. Muhammadu Kaoje** asked the Minister of Works and Surveys, when work will commence on the tarring of Trunk Road A 15 from Sokoto to Kontagora *via* Yelwa ; and if he will consider awarding the contract to three different contractors in order to get the work finished more quickly.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Works and Surveys : Financial provision is not available in the current Economic Programme for the tarring of the whole of Trunk Road A 15 from Sokoto to Kontagora. It is not possible, therefore, to award contracts as suggested. A start will be made on tarring of the Sokoto-Jaredi section within a few months and survey work is in hand.

WORKS AND SURVEYS

Lafia-Akwanga Trunk A Road

O.21. M. Yakuba Allanana asked the Minister of Works and Surveys, when work will begin on tarring the Trunk Road A from Lafia to Akwanga ; and whether he will also consider extending this road to Jos *via* Fadan-Karshe.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Works and Surveys : It is regretted that financial provision is not available for the tarring of Trunk Road A 3 from Lafia to Akwanga under the present Economic Programme. The project has, however, been given very high priority for the next programme and it is hoped that it will be possible for work to begin early in that programme.

A more satisfactory route *via* Fadan-Karshe to Jos is being actively examined.

Odeomu-Ede-Ogbomosho Road

O.47. Mr E. J. Ogunkanmi asked the Minister of Works and Surveys, if he will convert the Odeomu-Ede-Ogbomosho road to a trunk road 'A' in view of its importance.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Works and Surveys : No, Sir. The road is the responsibility of the Government of Western Nigeria.

Mileage of Trunk Roads in the Regions

O.75. M. Ahmadu Fatika asked the Minister of Works and Surveys, if he will state the total mileage of trunk roads A in each region ; and how many miles of these are tarred.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Works and Surveys : There are in Western, Eastern and Northern Nigeria, 778,688 and 4,260 miles of Trunk Roads A of which 674, 495 and 1,461 miles are tarred.

Contracts awarded to Foreign Firms

O.76 Mr A. Akomolafe asked the Minister of Works and Surveys, what foreign firms at present have contracts to the value of £100,000 or over with the Federal Government ; what are these contracts and what are their values.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Works and Surveys : The list is long, and with your permission, Sir, it is proposed that it should be included in the Report for to-day.

	Value
<i>Messrs G. Cappa</i>	
Superstructure Mainland Hospital	£ 1,212,259
Military Quarters, Ibadan	171,775
Military Quarters, Kaduna	192,751
4 Ministers' Houses	148,185
Barrack Blocks, Kaduna	100,554
Independence House	1,323,429
<i>Messrs E. J. Delany :</i>	
Police Headquarters, Obalende	129,375
<i>Messrs Arbico :</i>	
General Post Office, Marina, Lagos	392,124
<i>Messrs Taylor Woodrow :</i>	
Bokani-Kontagora road	411,000
Kontagora-Tegina road	269,000
<i>Messrs Borini Prono :</i>	
Maiduguri-Bama road	650,000
Tegina-Daura road	2,908,000
Shagamu-Benin road	2,132,000
<i>Messrs Harbour and General Works</i>	
Abakaliki-Yahe road	463,000
<i>The Coast Construction Company :</i>	
Onitsha-Enugu road	469,000
<i>Messrs H. B. M. :</i>	
<i>Sedimentation Tanks, Iju</i>	119,000
<i>Messrs Costain :</i>	
Nigerian Naval Headquarters	336,000

FINANCE

Collectors of Customs and Excise

O.48. Mr D. Senu-Oke asked the Minister of Finance how many Nigerians had been promoted Collectors of Customs and Excise and how many expatriate collectors were in the Department as at 1st October, 1960.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance : At 1st October, 1960, there were 41 Nigerian Collectors of all grades and 6 Expatriate Collectors of all grades. The 41 Nigerian Collectors comprise 21 Collectors, 2 Collectors (Waterguard), 11 Senior Collectors, 1 Senior Collector (Waterguard), 4 Principal Collectors and 2 Chief Collectors. The 6 Expatriate Collectors comprise 1 Senior Collector (Waterguard) and 5 Chief Collectors.

Income Tax of Manufacturers' Representatives

O.62. Mr D. Senu-Oke asked the Minister of Finance, what formula he is using in assessing the income tax of those who come into the country as manufacturers' representatives but immediately afterwards engage themselves in retail trade or in the export and import business in this country.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance : There is no formula for assessing any particular type of businessman under our Income Tax Legislation, nor is the guise under which a non-Nigerian comes into the country of any consequence in his eventual assessment to Nigerian Income tax. As far as the Board of Inland Revenue is concerned, any businessman is assessed on the result of his business activities, be they what they may, for the appropriate basis of assessment. If he is a manufacturers' representative he is assessed on the emoluments he has earned in exercise of his calling in Nigeria. If he engages in some other form of business activity, he is assessed on the income accruing to him from that activity.

Five shilling currency notes

***O.79. M. Ahmadu Fatika** asked the Minister of Finance, whether he is aware that the five shilling currency notes now in circulation can easily be torn; and if he will consider introducing notes printed on tougher quality paper as early as possible.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance : I am advised that the security paper from which all Nigerian currency notes, including the five shilling notes, are manufactured is of the highest quality available. The problem is not so much one of the toughness of the paper but rather the length of time the notes are in circulation and the heavy handling which they receive. These considerations apply especially to low denomination notes because they pass rapidly from hand to hand in the course of settling small transactions and are rarely treated with the same respect as notes of higher value.

In order to improve the quality of the notes in circulation the Central Bank and its agencies are doing their utmost to recall badly worn notes and issue new ones in their place. It is hoped that, with the co-operation of the banks, firms and the public, this should ensure that the notes in circulation are always maintained in a satisfactory condition.

Grant by the United States Government

***O.80. Mr F. A. M. Amadi** asked the Minister of Finance, how it is proposed to disburse the grant of £2,000,000 made to this country by the United States Government; and whether the Federal Government intend to ensure that Regional Governments apply the funds as stipulated by the U.S. Government.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance : The United States Government have, through the agency of their International Co-operation Administration, recently made grants totalling approximately £2,378,000 for eleven projects of the Federal and Regional Governments in the field of education and agricultural development, and I am arranging for the details of these to be published in the Official Report.

All the grants will be credited in the first instance to the Federal Development Fund. The full cost of the *Federal* projects will be charged to the Capital estimates in the usual way. In the case of *Regional* projects, the grants will be passed to the Regional Governments by debiting the new Head 606 of the Federal Capital estimates. Regional Governments, in their turn, will show the grants as revenue and reflect all project expenditure in

their expenditure estimates. Proper budgetary control will therefore be maintained for each approved project.

Details of Grant

Federal :	£000
Advanced Teacher Training College	341
<i>Northern Nigeria :</i>	
Advanced Teacher Training College	167
Technical Agricultural School, Kabba	121
Agricultural Demonstration Centre	10
Institute of Administration, Zaria ..	139
<i>Eastern Nigeria :</i>	
Demonstration Secondary Schools ..	92
Technical Agricultural School, Umudike	144
University of Nigeria	821
Agricultural Demonstration Centre ..	10
<i>Western Nigeria :</i>	
Demonstration Comprehensive Secondary School	483
Agricultural Demonstration	10
Miscellaneous, e.g., housing for field posts, etc.	40
Total	2,378

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North) : May I know from the Parliamentary Secretary whether the grant is an outright gift from the United States Government or whether we are obliged to refund all or part of it in due course ?

Mr Speaker : I think that is a new question.

WELFARE

Number of Registered Splinter Trade Unions

O.22 Mr P. E. Ekanem asked the Minister of Internal Affairs, how many splinter trade unions have been registered during the years 1958, 1959 and 1960 : and what are their registered names and numbers.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Internal Affairs : The number of Unions which have stayed away from larger bodies from 1958 to 1960 is thirteen. In view of the detailed nature of the information asked for which is of only limited interest, I propose to answer the hon. Member in writing should he so wish.

Permanent Establishment for Prison Wardresses

O.23. Mr P. E. Ekanem asked the Minister of Internal Affairs, if he is aware that there are some Prison Wardresses on temporary appointment who have served for periods ranging from three to ten years continuously ; and if he will consider absorbing them into the permanent establishment.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Internal Affairs : The answer to both parts of your question is "Yes, Sir."

There are, however, only 121 established posts, of which 76 are filled, leaving 45 vacancies. Usually the Prisons Department consider Wardresses for absorption after 5 years service and I will see that the records of those in the category referred to by the hon. Member are examined with a view to filling the vacancies.

Prison Wardresses employed in Nigeria

O.24. Mr P. E. Ekanem asked the Minister of Internal Affairs, how many Prison Wardresses are now employed in the Federation of Nigeria ; and if he will state how many of them are permanent and how many are temporary.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Internal Affairs : The total number of Wardresses employed on 30th March, 1961, was 192. Of these 76 were on the permanent establishment and 116 were temporary staff. Of the temporary staff, 45 were held against posts in the permanent establishment and the balance were persons chiefly employed for duties in the smaller Prisons, which have no permanent establishment of Wardresses, and which only occasionally have female prisoners committed there.

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move, That this House doth agree with the Business Committee in the report submitted by them.

The Minister of State (Hon. J. C. Obande). Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved : That the House doth agree with the Business Committee in the said report.

Ordered :

(i) That three days shall be allotted for the Second Reading of the Bill ;

(ii) That seven days shall be allotted for the Committee of Supply ;

(iii) That the days allotted for the Committee of Supply shall be sub-divided among the Heads of the Estimates as shown below ;

(iv) That at the hour appointed for the interruption of Business at the end of each day's sitting, the Chairman shall put successively all Questions necessary to dispose of the Business allotted for that day, including the Questions on any Amendments, of which notice has been given by a member of the Council of Ministers (but no other Amendments).

Day	Head must be completed
End of 1st day .. ..	.. 29 (from Head 21)
End of 2nd day .. ..	.. 35
End of 3rd day .. ..	.. 43
End of 4th day .. ..	.. 48
End of 5th day .. ..	.. 56
End of 6th day .. ..	.. 63 and
Third Reading of the Bill	
End of 7th day	601-606

Provided that nothing shall prevent the Committee of Supply from proceeding beyond the Heads allotted for any day, if time is available.

APPROPRIATION (1961-62) BILL

Second Allotted Day.

*Adjourned Debate on Question (8th April) :
That the Bill be now read a second time.*

Mr Speaker : Mr Udo-Inyang was speaking when I interrupted business at a quarter to twelve on Saturday. Will he please continue.

Mr D. S. Udo-Inyang (Opobo North) : Mr Speaker, Sir, to continue my speech I would like to say that the portion of the budget speech which proposes to open and establish ports and harbours in this country is of special

interest to me. So I will take this opportunity to remind the House that in the last House a Motion calling for the opening of Opobo port was carried, but since then nothing has been done about it. It is very regrettable that the Speech from the Throne was completely silent over this issue.

Sir, the only port in the Eastern Region is Port Harcourt port and this is always congested. Our produce traders have to evacuate their produce at Port Harcourt harbour and since the closing of Opobo port the farmers in the area have been very much affected. I am quite sure that hon. Members from Ogoni and from other Divisions through which the Opobo river runs will bear me out. So it will be of great economic advantage to the people of the area if this Government considers the immediate re-opening of Opobo port.

In the field of education, Sir, not much can be said at this stage about this subject till we see the proposed White Paper. It is gratifying, however, to note that the Government is going to spend more on education in order to reach the target of manpower in 1970 as estimated in the Ashby Report. But in doing so, Sir, the Government must not leave the investment in education in the Provinces to the already over-burdened Regional Governments. It will be a very good thing if this Government should establish secondary schools and post-secondary schools in educationally under-developed areas and also in the minority areas that might have been neglected by their various Regional Governments. Sir, this will help to bring about a balanced development in this country, and in order to solve the problem of unemployment and in order to stimulate economic development this country must urgently be industrialised. In doing so, Sir, we must give every protection possible to our infant industries and we must not expose them to the risk of foreign combines. But I warn, Sir, that protected industries should not be allowed to take advantage of their privileged position. So the Minister of Commerce should from time to time review the protective measures in order to avoid danger.

It is a good thing to go on economic missions in order to foster and promote the existing foreign trade and to seek new export markets for our produce and to obtain capital and technical assistance from foreign countries,

but I must also add that the mission should take the trouble to discover from these countries those commodities in the production of which we have the greatest relative advantage. This will enable us to obtain a bigger and more reasonable return to our expenditure of labour and capital.

It is a good economic proposal, Sir, to enter into international trade agreements with African as well as non-African countries, but in doing so it is very important that we maintain our freedom to establish our industries in the way we think fit and to enter into trade with any country. We must not commit ourselves to this bloc or the next bloc of countries. We must be free to sell our goods in the dearest market and to buy from the cheapest market in the world no matter where it exists.

One point about industries: I would very much advocate that industries in this country should be decentralised. It would not be of great advantage to the country if our industries were sited in big towns. Already, Sir, there are many attracting forces in the big towns which attract young men from the rural areas into the towns, and what happens now is that in most parts of our rural areas the population is declining. So it will be a very good thing if we consider the decentralisation of industries, so that we may brighten life in rural areas and keep our young men there.

Sir, our adverse balance of trade as indicated in the Budget Speech has caused great concern to those Nigerians who understand its implications. It may result in our exhausting our capital assets or in our becoming bankrupt. It is a cardinal principle of foreign trade that the exports of a country must pay for her imports, but as we can see from the Budget Speech our trade with Japan violates this fundamental principle and our Government should do something about it very urgently in order to improve our balance of payments.

Sir, our Government should take the following steps. Firstly, our people must be encouraged to increase their productivity in order to export more overseas. We must develop our tourist industry to a high degree and advertise our holiday resorts in order to attract tourists into this country. In the interests of our national economy we have to nationalise our shipping line and insurance companies. We must not be scared by the

word "nationalisation". It is essential in the case of mercantile marine and insurance companies. Sir, this is one of the chief ways the United Kingdom herself take to balance her payments favourably. We must develop our banking system not only in Nigeria but also overseas. In short, Sir, let us increase both our visible and our invisible exports.

Last year, the theme of the Budget Speech was on loans and on mobilisation of foreign resources. We on this side strongly criticised this financial policy of the Government. We expressed alarm and concern over the dumping of foreign resources in our markets to dominate our markets and business. However, it is a very happy thing this year to note that the emphasis has shifted from foreign loans to mobilisation of Nigerian resources and it is a very good thing that the Government has taken to the Opposition's advice of last year and it will be good if the Government will continue to do this because this country has been blessed with a most constructive and useful Opposition in this House.

With this, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr K. Giadom (Ogoni West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion and in doing so have the following remarks to make. I thank the hon. Minister of Finance for his sense of endurance and accommodation in delivering such an impressive Budget Speech in the first session of Parliament in the sovereign state of Nigeria.

Mr Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member is not adequately heard. I think he should raise his voice.

Mr Giadom: Mr Speaker, Sir, permit me to digress a little to remark here that in terms of modern political, economic and social development, comparatively speaking, Nigeria is a young country learning very fast from older and long-established nations of the world. With these characteristics of anything that is growing, Nigeria is full of life, vigour and the spirit of youth.

These characteristics of youth are very powerful and dynamic. As such, it is not unlikely that the tendency is to put some of our critics out of gear in their criticism. The tendency is for some to feel that the rate at which the affairs of the nation is handled is slow

[MR GIADOM]

and that things ought to or should have been accomplished overnight. It is, therefore, prudent that I call for moderation and cautious approach in our dealings both here at home and abroad.

Let those that we have selected to be at the helm of our affairs be humble to have time to listen to the common men in the street. Let no one show any sign of pride and arrogance to serve the people bearing in mind what a philosopher once said that the strongest is never strong enough to always be in power unless he transforms his strength into loyalty and obedience of duty.

Sir, may I now narrow down my remarks on the Budget Speech to two or three points among the many points raised in the Speech. We all know, in the layman's language, that whether it is a personal or national budget the two most elementary component sub-headings a budget can be divided into are the Revenue and the Expenditure. You must make the money before you can spend it. No one spends any money without first making it. Even a thief makes the money he spends by the act of stealth.

The hon. Minister of Finance has placed the balance sheet of the nation before us in his Budget Speech which, no doubt, has gone to add another chapter to the history of our great country. (*Hear, hear*). He has placed before us the economic programme of the Government. He has told us how the Government is going to raise the Revenue and how the Revenue is going to be expended. There is no doubt that with the co-operation of all of us in this Parliament and those outside this programme can work to enhance the prestige of our country.

In dealing with the Revenue side of the Budget, the hon. Minister has outlined the various sources he envisages to make the money from. Sir, these include among others, our mineral and agricultural resources; the various departments of the Government and their sales of public services; and the tax the people have to pay to reimburse the Revenue of Government.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not pretend to be an expert on the various points raised in the budget speech. As such, I cannot here enter into too much detail or else I expose my ignorance

in this hon. House. But, Sir, when one mentions mineral and agricultural resources in a young country like ours which is not yet industrialised the first things that come to our mind are the terms, "Export" and "Import". This is so because we must of necessity export our natural resources in order to make the money to spend and in turn we have to import the manufactured goods in order to have things to spend our money on. This we call trade and the Minister has told us on page 15 of his budget speech that Nigerian economy cannot be isolated from the rest of the world. We all agree with him.

But let us see how Nigeria is affected in this respect. With your permission, Mr Speaker, I quote the hon. Minister of Finance on page 15 of his budget speech: "Let us, therefore, see how Nigeria has fared in its international, financial and trading relationships during the past year. To do this we look at the country's balance of payments. Last year I was able to say that 1959 had been a better year than 1958. In 1960, however, the provisional figures indicate that there was a substantial increase in the balance of payments deficit. Figures of visible trade indicate that Nigeria's imports were valued at about £215m. whereas exports and re-exports were valued at £165m. This gives a deficit of £50m. compared with a deficit of £16m. in 1959. There is no doubt that the position has been materially affected by the fall in the proceeds of our groundnut and cocoa exports. Indeed, as regards our trade with the world, one very important feature in 1960 was the fall in the prices of some of our major exports."

I understand that experts on what I am trying to say something about here—Economics or Commerce—call the situation the hon. Minister is pointing out here "unfavourable balance of trade." He has also given us the reasons for this unfavourable balance of trade. I can understand and I am in sympathy with him when I can safely say here that the situation emanated from our colonial period and everyone of us here knows the purpose of colonisation. But now that the country is free and we are in the ruling position, may I add my humble suggestion that the Minister adopt more strict measures to see that this ugly situation is removed from our economy. More should be done to see that we export more of our goods than we import.

Mr Speaker, Sir, on page sixteen of his budget speech, in the second and third paragraphs the hon. Minister of Finance says, "We should all be very proud when it is possible for goods to be sent abroad bearing the inscription "Made in Nigeria." When this happens it is a means of selling Nigeria as well as selling the commodities themselves. The growth of the local oil industry is a further help to our balance of payments. The developments in the oil field are most encouraging. The latest figures indicate that exports in 1961 will be nearly double the 1960 production. In time these figures again will be improved upon. The Port Harcourt area alone should be capable eventually of producing five million tons a year. Until the local refining of oil is established, this will provide a useful addition to our earnings of foreign exchange and, indeed, when the refinery is established, a source of valuable foreign exchange savings." Indeed, we shall all be proud to see Nigerian goods marked "Made in Nigeria" sent and sold abroad. At this point, it grieves me that Nigerians who have the money and means do not go out to settle in other foreign countries to open shops for business as we have the Indians, the Syrians, the Lebanese, the English and other nationalities in our country. It is about time we Nigerians changed our mentality about leaving our country to operate business in other countries besides the countries of West Africa. By doing this, we shall not only be making money for ourselves but will also be selling Nigeria to the outside world.

Coming to local oil industry, may I ask whether the figures given by the hon. Minister are one-sided or not? Has the Minister any other means of checking to prove the figures given by the Companies prospecting oil in the country correct? It is obvious that the reason behind my asking this question is to see that we are not cheated so that more revenue can accrue from our local oil industry. I also hope the Companies concerned will not misunderstand me here to mean that I do not trust them. This is business and we must be frank in our dealings as sellers of any commodity will like to sell at the highest price while the buyers will like to buy at the lowest price.

Mr Speaker, Sir, coming to the various Government departments and their sales of services to the public as a means of increasing the revenue, the Posts and Telegraphs Depart-

ment is uppermost in my mind. I am happy the hon. Minister of Finance is vigilant to see this when he referred to this on pages 5 and 6 of his Speech and with your permission, Mr Speaker, I will quote him: "In concert with the Minister of Communications, I am seeking means of encouraging investment in the Post Office Savings Bank. One modest improvement we have introduced to facilitate speedy withdrawals is the new photographic identification system. We are now actively considering other means of popularising the Bank. I know, for example, that my colleague, the Minister of Communications, attaches some importance to the courteous treatment of depositors by the counter staff."

Sir, it is true that the Post Office Savings Bank can help a lot to create means for investment for the Government, but because of the red tape involved when the common man wants to make a withdrawal of his money, the Post Office Savings Bank is not being patronised as it ought to be. I have known persons, even including me now speaking, who, because of the difficulty and the rudeness received from the counter clerks, have their accounts with the bank closed down. Something must be done to educate some of the counter staff in the Post Office so that they will know that they are public servants but not slaves to the public. Their attitude can cause Government to make more money or lose the money they could have made.

Sir, on this question of Posts and Telegraphs Department, I want to reiterate the fact already known by the Government that Port Harcourt Province is very important in the economic development of this country. As such, it is very disturbing and disappointing to hear that there is no telephone service in Port Harcourt Municipality particularly in places like the Coronation Layout, the Gborokiri Layout and in the Ogoni Division in Port Harcourt Province. I hope the Government will not delay in providing the places I have mentioned here with telephone service as this will help to add more money to the revenue of the Government since this service has to be paid for.

In connection with the new tax rates that the hon. Minister has adopted for the people, I ask all Members of this hon. House to give him a pat on the back. I say, "Well done".

[MR GIADOM]
 the "Common-Man-Tax", the name I call it, is unbeatable anywhere in the Federation. By this, more money will accrue from income tax as many will be willing to pay now rather than dodging tax when the rates were higher. But may I suggest humbly to the hon. Minister to give a second thought to the section that affects the unmarried women. I quite agree that women should contribute equally with their malefolks in the development of their country. If by placing the plight of an unmarried young lady in the position she now finds herself in view of the new tax measures, the national philosophy is to make women get married, I humbly put it that the philosophy may not work according to out expectation because we cannot legislate against all evils from the minds of men at all times. All you can do is to educate men and persuade them to do the right thing. In this respect, therefore, patience is needed. I do plead that the case of unmarried women should be looked into for more sympathetic consideration.

An hon. Member : Are you married ; why not marry at least one of those you are pleading for ?

Mr Giadom : Will the hon. Member please listen to me. I have one neck and cannot afford to gamble with it with women when they come with clubs in their hands, as the women often do.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I now turn to the expenditure side of the Budget. I want to comment briefly on only two items here. The first aspect I want to comment on here is the Police Force. To use the words of the hon. Minister of Finance, "The expenditure estimates show a big increase in the provision for the Nigeria Police. The actual increase is over £350,000. Most of this is required for carrying out the second phase of the three-year programme of Police expansion which was begun last year. This programme is to meet the needs of large areas of Nigeria which at present are poorly served with police services". Sir, it is public money that is going to be expended on the Police and as such I feel that my duty in this Parliament towards my electorates will not be complete if I fail to mention in passing that the Police sent to Ogoni should be properly advised to improve their dealings with the people so that the people can take them into confidence. If the

Police are to collect £1.1s from each person they arrest in Ogoni before such a person is released on bail, let a government Treasury receipt be issued for such money collected by the Police in Ogoni. If this is done, proper account can be given for such money and it will also help to swell the revenue of the government.

I want it to be clear that we in Ogoni are happy with whatever progressive programmes the government has for the Police Force. But, Sir, we regret to say that in Ogoni to-day, instead of the people to approach the police as friends and public servants for guidance in the course of maintaining peace, order and justice, the position is for the people to regard the Police as enemies and persons or officers to be avoided. This is a very sad and unfortunate situation. Something must be done to improve the relationship now deteriorating between the Police and the people of Ogoni.

My last point here, Mr Speaker, is how the government expends its money on distribution of amenities. In expending money, we all know that it is proper to invest the money in such ways that will yield more to the investors. Again, when distributing amenities, contributors to the revenue ought to be considered proportionately to the degrees of amount contributed to the revenue.

In the growth of the local oil industry, the hon. Minister of Finance has said and I quote him : "The Port Harcourt area alone should be capable eventually of producing five million tons a year. Until the local refining of oil is established, this will provide a useful addition to our earnings of foreign exchange and, indeed, when the refinery is established, a source of valuable foreign exchange savings".

Sir, when we mention Port Harcourt area in the realm of oil industry in this country, we are referring to Ogoni Division and no where else, since the Bomu location and the Ebubu location are all part and parcel of Ogoni Division. So, without any prejudice one can see why we the Ogonis feel justified when we say that the Government should give us adequate attention in the distribution of amenities or in projects of development that the Government is going to expend its money on. After all is said and done, Government is run by human beings who have a conscience, and it will be unfair and an act of injustice for

any government to neglect any areas and the people of such areas from which the government gets revenue. The Government, in co-operation with the Shell Company, should show a gesture of appreciation to such areas. It is only by building the refinery in Ogoni from where most of the mineral oil in this country is got that the Government and the Shell Company can show to the Ogoni people this gesture of appreciation.

As I have remarked earlier, Mr Speaker, this Budget Speech has gone into the history of this country and I thank the Federal Government for the bold economic programme it has outlined for the development of the country.

With these remarks, I beg to support the Bill.

M. Muhammadu Sagir Umar (Katagum West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Second Reading of the Appropriate Bill which seeks our approval of more than £52 million for the services of the Federal Government in this financial year.

I welcome the new tax measures taken by this Government. This will help the low income workers to pay less than what they used to pay in the past. I also praise the Minister for the measures taken to eradicate the evasion of income tax and customs duties. (*Hear, hear.*) Whenever such an offence is found, let it carry the full weight of the law.

In his speech, the Minister of Finance said that Nigeria will soon send an economic mission abroad, to ask for loans and investors. I do not quarrel with any kind of loan or investment which the Federal Government might have from outside as long as the loan or investment has no political strings attached to it.

Sometime last year there was some criticism about the Israeli loan to Nigeria. I see no fault in having a loan from Israel. I feel this is wise of the Government to get a loan from Israel, the reason for which I do not like to mention here.

Sir, the increase made by the Federal Government on certain materials last December has made some traders to make exorbitant increases on almost everything. I would like the Government to find out ways and means of

preventing such unscrupulous traders from making unnecessary profits.

Sir, one point which I would like the Minister to take into consideration is about football pools. A lot of money is going out from this country every week, every month and every year. It is said that nearly £2 million goes out every year. I would like the Government to abolish it completely. If the people find it necessary to do it, the Government should set up one in this country so that all the money involved would stay in Nigeria. Sir, I am surprised that up till now I have not heard that a Nigerian has won a large sum of money, and yet the people keep on sending out their money and thus straining our economy.

In his speech also, the Minister of Finance mentioned about certain companies which are not having their correct assessment of tax. One way in which they do it is that they get certain unscrupulous accountants who enter false losses in their calculation in order to make that company to pay less tax to the Government. I would like the Government to find some means of checking this kind of false accounting.

Sir, the speech made by Mr Eneh last Saturday is well delivered and one of the best speeches made by any Parliamentarian here. I hope that the Government will look into his speech and be guided by his advice.

I made a speech in August last year on our Federal Public Service. I pointed out that more than 50 per cent of our expenditure goes to the civil servants. I suggested to the then Minister of Pensions to examine the whole staff set up and their salaries and allowances and to cut all unnecessary expenditure and to abolish all redundant posts. The salary paid to our senior civil servants is too much. Let them be paid according to the standard of living of this country. I see no fault in colonial officers being paid high salaries because they left their homes and came to work here for money, and they are right. But the indigenous people of this country must put the interests of our country first and then money.

We must remember that formerly the colonial officers were the only people who held high posts in our public service; only the junior posts were held by our own people, thus the gap between senior and junior posts was very wide. They knew that they were the rulers

[M. SAGIR UMAR]

and, therefore, they could take as much salary as they wished, and they also knew that no one from among our people would rise up to such posts. But now, Sir, both the top and the bottom posts are held by our own people. Why can we not cut all the salaries of senior and superscale officers and increase those of the people at the bottom? After all, we go to the same market. The set-up of our public service was a colonial one. We are now independent and we must review it and provide salaries according to our needs and our standard of living, as an economy measure.

Sir, we need a lot of money to loan to our country, and therefore we must make some sacrifices. It is more than a wastage to pay a civil servant a salary of more than £3,000 including allowances, while a junior servant is paid between £200 and £400 a year simply because the high posts had been held by colonial officers and, therefore, that salary should be given to him besides the rapid promotion which he gets as a result of Nigerianisation! These senior civil servants work for only 42 hours a week and, in addition, all the donkey work is done by the junior staff.

Let any officer who goes to work overseas be paid whatever amount of money that the Government wishes to pay him because he agreed to leave his home country and work outside. Therefore, he should be paid according to the standard of living of that country. I would suggest that no indigenous superscale officer or senior officer should be paid more than £1,500 to £2,000 a year. Anything more than that is just a wastage.

Sir, all kinds of allowances paid to colonial officers should not be paid to our indigenous officers. All redundant posts which were created by the colonial officers in order to absorb their people should be abolished. When we cut all these off, I am sure we shall get the money to increase the salaries of the junior staff and at the same time make some savings for development purposes.

Some people might say, "why can we not demand that the salaries of Ministers and Legislators should be cut?" That is all right, but I want to point out that Ministers and Legislators are not as civil servants. They can lose election in one day. They do not earn pension and gratuity and their salary is fixed. They have no yearly increment as civil servants

have. In short, I want us to point out to the Government that the gap between the senior and the junior staff scale of salary is too wide.

The Mbanefo award made the whole situation worse because it increased the salaries paid to those who are having more than enough. The kind of awards which we want will be that based on our standard of living in this country. I hope that the Federal Government, in consultation with the Regional Governments, will be bold enough to review the whole structure of their civil servants and give salaries according to our standard of living and not according to those of colonial officers who held these posts before.

Sir, the colonial officers came to this country in order to get money, but here we work for the interest of our country and not money, and therefore we should not treat junior servants as the colonial masters treated them before, because both the Junior and the Senior services are manned by our own people. So there is no reason why this wide gap should continue.

Mr Speaker, Sir, although it is not the policy of this Government to nationalise any company or industry, yet there is one which should be nationalised sooner or later. I refer to insurance companies. These companies are getting too many in this country. I quite agree with the Government when they say that they will not nationalise any company, like the Tin Mines Company, because they invest a lot of money in this country and they pay a lot of labourers with their money. If you also take, for example, the Oil Companies—they spend a lot of money before boring and the refining of oil. This kind of companies should not be nationalised. But to me the insurance companies invest no money and even if they do they just do it for formality because what they collect from their customers is enough for them to pay for their losses. They also do not spend any money in setting up their business, as Mines and Oil Companies; they only sit down and collect people's money.

One of these insurance companies' staff stopped me and asked me whether I would insure my life and my education. I told him that as far as my life is concerned, there is no reason why I should insure my life because my life was given to me as a free gift by my Maker (*Laughter*) and as a Moslem I am sure

there is an appointed time for me to die, whether with any cause or without it. When I die I will not ask anybody why I am dead (*Laughter*). I told him that this was nonsense. In the case of my education, I told him that I have already finished my education. If I like further education I could do it privately and I would pay for it. So, they could ask for almost anything—to insure for health, for life, education and clothes. They find this type of business to be very simple and very easy to carry on, because they spend nothing as other businesses. All that they do is to hire big upstairs houses and write in bold letters “Lion Assurance Company”, “Royal Assurance Company”. Some of their staff who are meeting the people are not genuine at all. I think the time has come when the Government should nationalise this kind of companies, because they do not invest any money in this country as other companies do. So, the Government has nothing to lose or fear for nationalising this kind of companies.

Sir, speaking on some of the Federal Government's activities last year, I would like to show my appreciation of the activities made by the Federal Ministry of Works. They did a very splendid work on our own roads. The widening of roads, the reconstruction of old and dangerous roads and bridges and the tarring of all these roads help in lessening accidents. It is appropriate for me here to express my gratitude to the Minister and those who are concerned in lessening the traffic congestion at Carter Bridge. Surely, they have done a very good job. Everybody knows how congested this place used to be. It used to take a man hours before he reached the Mainland; but now he can go as fast as he can.

I learnt that an Oil Refinery will be set up in this country in order to stop sending our crude oil overseas. This is a very good idea and I hope it will not take too long before it is set up.

I also welcome the Minister of Commerce's statement that our produce will be taken to any country, whether that country is a Communist country or otherwise.

I appreciate the industries which are being set up in this country and I hope more will be set up which will provide work for our own people and, I think, raise their standard of living.

I have a word of advice to say to the Minister of Information, that is on the News Division of the N.B.C. This Division has been accused of discrimination in giving news. The accusations were found to be true and even the Minister of Information himself has agreed with these accusations. All that the Minister should do is to make careful enquiry and find where the fault is and remedy it. The incident which occurred recently about the letter sent by the Northern N.B.C. Controller to the Chairman is a very good example to show that something wrong is going on there. A newspaper here in Lagos tried to expose the whole show.

The Ministry of Communications has at long last started the telecommunications extension to my town. I am very grateful to the Minister that he listened to my appeal, and work is now in full swing; and I also appreciate their ingenious effort in working very hard. The Minister is doing his best to see that the work is completed as quickly as possible. That shows us that the Minister has taken my advice in not taking the footsteps of his predecessor who paid only lip-service to the needs of this country.

The Minister of Mines and Power also has responded to my request. When I told him in this House that there are some iron ore deposits in my Division he went there himself up to the site and he asked for samples to be sent to him here for examination. The sample was brought and I only hope that it will turn out to be a success. I must say that the Minister of Mines and Power is the first Federal Minister to visit my own Division since the beginning of Parliament in this country. I hope that other Federal Ministers will make such visits. This kind of visits, even if it is not official, at least helps the local people to meet their Ministers and know their leaders.

Sir, I beg to support.

The Minister of Works and Surveys (Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Inuwa Wada): Mr Speaker, Sir, I should like to inform hon. Members of the work that has been carried out by my Ministry since I last had the opportunity of addressing the House.

The activities of my Ministry embrace the whole of Nigeria. If any hon. Member had a bumpy car ride on his way to Lagos I have no doubt that he blamed me! If when he reached

[MINISTER OF WORKS]

Lagos he experienced a shortage of water, or was held up in traffic, no doubt he blamed me again! And, Sir, he would be quite right to do so. I am alive to my responsibilities and my Ministry does its best. There are inevitably shortcomings and for these I apologise, both to the hon. Members of this House and to the public that we serve.

Sir, the House on these occasions is accustomed to emphasis being placed upon achievements, but, Sir, this is no reason to discount them. When I first became Minister of Works I well recall how weary the House became of my excuses for not getting a great deal done because of lack of executive capacity.

The House approved of measures which gave me executive capacity. I am proud to report that we have made good use of that capacity and my aim of carrying out, with the maximum speed and efficiency, the capital projects assigned to my Ministry in the Economic Programme is nearly completed.

Hon. Members used to become weary of hearing that projects were at the "planning stage", they were impatient to have tar under their cars' wheels and not just dust. In consequence, Sir, we in the Ministry have sometimes embarked on projects with less planning than has proved to be necessary. But, we have learned many lessons and I am glad to tell hon. Members that much detailed planning of future projects is in hand even now long before they are at the Annual Estimates Stage. Indeed my handicap now is lack of money to carry out the projects, but not ability or means to do the job.

My Ministry did not really settle down in earnest to its task until 1957 but, in the space of only four years, most of the work has been carried out. I have been able, therefore, for the last year of the Programme to cut back on some of the temporary overseas staff, no longer required, and this resulted in a saving of some £167,000 alone in personal emolument. I am satisfied that in general, I have sufficient staff to tackle the tasks ahead, although some key grades of staff are difficult to get and some experienced staff has been lost.

We have all seen improvements made to the Federal Trunk road network. During the Economic Programme, four-hundred and eighty miles of entirely new Federal roads have been built; one thousand two hundred miles have

been tarred; three hundred miles of road have been entirely re-constructed. In addition, over one hundred major bridges alone have been built as well as many minor bridges (*Hear, hear*) and extensively reculverting has been completed. I am now able to report that 82 per cent of Federal Trunk roads in Western Nigeria are tarred; 71 per cent in Eastern Nigeria and 30 per cent in Northern Nigeria. This represents a very fine effort on the part of all the staff concerned. The scale on which we have worked has constantly increased. In 1951-52, our total expenditure on capital and maintenance works for what are now Federal Trunk roads was only £218,000. When I first became Minister of Works, expenditure had risen to a little over £2 million. To-day it is running at £5 million a year (*Hear, hear*).

Although the capacity of the nation's Trunk Road system has increased rapidly, as every hon. Member knows, it has lagged behind traffic growth in many places in that standards have not been high enough to carry the increased traffic without premature destruction of surfaces and excessive maintenance costs. My Ministry has carried out a survey of the Trunk Road A system and has prepared Capital Estimates for planned capital investments in roads to meet the standards that the country must have over the next ten years. The needs of each section of roads have been calculated in relation to present traffic and estimated future traffic upon it, and priority has been given in the light of priorities of all other improvements needed. A systematic priority system is most necessary if capital road funds are to be used to the best public advantage. Mr Speaker, Sir, I am pleased that this very good piece of work has been largely carried out by a Nigerian road Engineer of my Ministry.

Two major road projects have started in the course of the year. The first to start was the Shagamu-Ijebu-Ode-Benin road. (*Hear, hear*). Which will reduce the distance between Lagos and Eastern Nigeria by One hundred and forty miles and help to open up the area between Ijebu-Ode and Benin. I should like to assure the House that the fullest pre-planning of the work has taken place and a Ministry Chief Engineer with a large team of other Engineers, has been sent to the work to ensure the closest supervision of the contractor.

The other project started is a comprehensive scheme of major improvement to Trunk Road A1, thus providing an all season tarred road from Lagos on the coast to the international boundary with the Niger Republic near Daura in Katsina Province. As hon. Members know, both these projects are contractor financed. Recently, Sir, a senior official of the World Bank expressed the opinion that the financial terms negotiated were better than the Bank itself could have obtained. The rates for the work too have been closely examined and keenly negotiated by my staff who are determined that we should drive the hardest possible bargain.

As a result of inviting competitive tenders, the Government has reduced the cost of the new Niger project between Onitsha and Asaba by well over One million pounds. Work has now started. (*Interruption*). Mr Speaker, Sir, I should be glad if hon. Members would listen. (*Interruption*)—that is exactly what I am going to do.

Mr Speaker, Sir, negotiation for the work on the project was first started with a particular firm of contractors, unfortunately, the contractor and our Consulting Engineers could not agree on the price. (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member : Listen now, you talk too much.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think some of the interruptions are very unnecessary.

The Minister of Works : As a result of this disagreement, Sir, competitive tenders were invited. When we received the tenders, we also received from two of the contractors alternative tenders. These alternative tenders were found to be over a million pounds cheaper than tenders submitted on the original design (*Hear, hear*). In order, Sir, to be fair to all the contractors who tendered, Government decided to ask all the contractors who tendered in the first place to submit alternative designs. Alternative designs, Sir, were submitted and were considered by our Consulting Engineers along with the Officials of my Ministry. Among the designs and the tenders submitted, four of them were found to be technically sound and financially acceptable. Of these two were the lowest. The difference between the lowest tenderer and the second lowest tenderer is nearly a quarter of a million pounds. This difference is made out because of the reasons, Sir, I now wish to explain.

The building of this bridge is going to be contractor financed, that is the contractor will build it and finance it and we pay for it over a period of time. The lowest contractor or the lowest tenderer, Sir, wants to be paid a total of 80 per cent of the cost of the bridge during construction, thus giving the Federal Government a credit of only 20 per cent. The second lowest tenderer, Sir, wants to be paid a total of 40 per cent of the contract price during construction, thus giving us a credit of 60 per cent. The difference in the price, therefore, is that here is giving one contractor a credit of 20 per cent and the other a credit of 60 per cent. Both of them require to be paid five years after completion. Naturally, each credit will attract interest; the rate of interest submitted by the second lowest tenderer is one per cent above the current bank rate. The lowest tenderer requires a higher rate of interest. Therefore, Sir, if the lowest tenderer had given us a similar credit as the second lowest tenderer of 60 per cent and demanded the same rate of interest, the interest calculated for over five years would come to over £200,000, that is very nearly the difference between the lowest tenderer and the second lowest tenderer.

That is not all, Sir. There is also another difference between the lowest tenderer and the second lowest tenderer. The lowest tenderer, in his tender documents, did not submit a detailed Bill of Quantities. The second lowest tenderer submitted to us a detailed Bill of Quantities. Those who know something about contract tenders will know certainly that there is a great difference between a tender with a detailed Bill of Quantities and a tender without a detailed Bill of Quantities. With the tenderer who gives you a detailed Bill of Quantities you know exactly with what you are working; you know what your costs will be, but without a detailed Bill of Quantities everything will be subject to negotiation between the tenderer and employer.

So, Sir, the Government decided, in the light of this, that the best advantage or the best benefit to the Government would be to award the contract to the second lowest tenderer which, in fact (*Interruptions*). In arriving at the decision to award a contract quite a number of things are taken into consideration. The first is the credit term given by the contractors. If the Government could find 80 per cent of

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he cost of the bridge why should the Government not also find the extra 20 per cent? But, as it is, the finances of the Government are such that such a huge amount of money cannot be accommodated during our Economic Programme and, therefore, the contractor giving better credit terms and longer credit terms was considered more favourable than the other one. Besides, although he is, on paper, on the first submission of tenders. Higher than the other contractor, in actual fact, if interest rates are calculated on both tenders, comes out to be the lower tenderer for this particular project. The question whether the firm to be awarded the contract is French, or German, or English, or anybody else is immaterial. The duty of the Government is to safeguard public funds. (*Hear, hear*). Therefore, the firm or contractors which offers the Government the best financial terms should be awarded the contract. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, so much for the Niger Bridge. I am sure, Sir, that the completion of this bridge will play a great part in our economic development and will foster internal trade between Eastern and Western Nigeria and greatly assist traffic to and from the Delta ports and Port-Harcourt.

The planning in my Ministry for a second Mainland Bridge across the Lagoon in Lagos, together with a complementary and comprehensive system of approach roads, is in advanced stage. The scheme consists of a bridge across the lagoon between Alakoro and the Coal Wharf, giving ample clearance for vessels, and providing for dual carriage-ways, cycle tracks and footpaths. The new bridge would be connected with Broad Street, Balogun Street and Azikiwe Road in Lagos Island. At Ijora the bridge would continue as a viaduct over the Lagos-Apapa Road, and the road would be extended across Ebute Metta Creek to join with Western Avenue, that would then require a second carriageway.

With Lagos traffic increasing at a rate of 13 per cent a year, the longer before the new bridge is completed, the more expensive becomes the cost of traffic delays to the community as a whole. Nevertheless, this work will be exceedingly costly, but the Government is actively exploring the means of

financing it. Hon. Members will welcome the news that a start is to be made immediately on the Ebute Metta end approach road, so that road settlement, because of the swampy country to be crossed, can be overcome before the bridge is in commission. I have every sympathy with the public and commerce who, daily, are inconvenienced by the lack of a second bridge. Sir, I shall do all in my power to see that work on the second bridge starts early and is completed as speedily as it can be.

The building side of the Ministry has also been very active during the year. In the last financial year some £3½ million of building work was undertaken, in addition to £1½ million of Posts and Telegraphs work undertaken for the Ministry of Communications. The fine architectural design of the Government buildings recently erected in Lagos called forth much praise from many of our overseas visitors at the time of the Independence Celebrations. One aspect which is not so easily apparent as good architectural design is the excellent and devoted work carried out by my very small staff of Quantity Surveyors in handling efficiently the quantities and contract documents of work running into many millions of pounds.

Some of the major building works in hand are Independence House, Lagos, which will be one of the finest buildings of its type anywhere in Africa; the construction of a new Police Headquarters in Lagos; a Police Training School at Ibadan and large Post Offices at Ilorin, Zaria and Kano.

Although much of the building work envisaged under the Economic Programme has largely been completed, or is in hand already, the architectural staff of the Ministry is engaged on forward planning and design of a £1 million scheme of military and navy accommodation and other works, a new terminal at Ikeja Airport a new Magistrates' Courts building in Lagos and other works for inclusion in the next programme. In addition, I have arranged that a Nigerian architect should undertake the research and preliminary work for the design of the new Parliament buildings and this officer is devoting full time to this work.

The normal work of the Ministry was much disrupted by the efforts made by the staff of the Ministry at many levels to carry out the many works in preparation for the Indepen-

dence Celebrations. All in Lagos must have doubted whether so much could be completed in time, but it was, and it was my pleasure to express to the staff concerned my greatest appreciation.

Development of a Nigerian based building and civil engineering industry has continued, actively sponsored by my Ministry. The proportion of contracts awarded to Nigerian firms as against overseas firms has continued to increase, particularly in building work. During the year 26 building contracts were awarded to Nigerian firms, valued at nearly £697,000, as against 24 contracts awarded to overseas firms valued at £932,000. Although 13 electrical contracts were awarded to Nigerians, 25 were awarded to overseas firms and only two road contracts were awarded to Nigerian firms as against seven to overseas firms. This is a sphere for greater Nigerian enterprise. It is in electrical and road works that there is need for firms to employ properly qualified staff and sufficient plant and equipment. I have previously expressed my disappointment that there is so little sign of Nigerian firms pulling their resources so that they may operate on the largest scale.

Although the Nigerian building industry has progressed during the year, I must record my concern that there are so many smaller building firms who fall behind with their work or default. There are, it is true, many firms of good repute and satisfactory standards, but the public has the right to expect higher standards of work and honesty. The tolerance and understanding that my Ministry has shown in order to assist Nigerian firms in finding their feet will only be warranted if standards improve and better value for money is ultimately obtained.

Our finances have been much tighter and, in times of financial stringency, it is even more necessary to seek all means to avoid unnecessary expenditure. The maintenance of large unallocated stores in the Ministry, with its waste through losses and deterioration, has seemed to me to be unnecessary since so much that was formerly Government stocked is available commercially in Nigeria at competitive prices and supplies are freely available. Furthermore, as so much of the work is now done by contract, there is no need to hold large stocks for direct labour work. The Unallocated Stores at

Port Harcourt has been closed and the value of unallocated stock at Ijora has been reduced from £1.1 million in 1957 to a little over half a million at the present time, a stock which I intend further to reduce. There have also been corresponding staff savings and, Sir, I believe the House will welcome all further measures for cutting out waste, whether through loss, negligence or defective systems. A considerable improvement in stock verification has been effected, making, with the other measures taken, for much tighter stores accounting.

An effective system of internal Audit has been introduced and the Ministry accounting has been overhauled. These measures should help in better accounting for public money. The merited strictures of the Public Accounts Committee of this House have been taken to heart and much has been done to put accounting matters right. There has been insufficient attention in the past to the financial and accounting side, partly because of the keenness of the engineers to get on with the job. But it has now been impressed on the Ministry its accountability to this House for its expenditure of the public moneys.

Nigerianisation in the Works Division has not proceeded as fast as I should have liked. Three supernumerary posts were created last year and a post of the Supernumerary Chief Engineer is to be created. A Nigerian Officer has, in fact, been carrying out the duties of this post, that is the day to day running of the Roads Branch, for some months. The promotion of Nigerian Officers in consequence of the retirement of overseas officers, together with other measures, will give Nigerian officers many further opportunities. The Administrative Division is already very largely Nigerianised.

The Survey Division of my Ministry is less in the public eye than the Works Division. It is usual to say that Survey work is steady rather than spectacular. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that we have to reach out for much more spectacular results. We have had a lot of economists and other development advisers available of late. They have all told us that proper mapping of Nigeria is a basic essential to systematic development. Not having such comprehensive mapping as we should like is no reflection on the Survey staff. We have been able to devote only small financial resources to survey work, and shortages of

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qualified staff—and spreading such staff as is available over four survey organisations—have prevented more from being achieved. Much greater strides have to be made and I am exploring all means of pushing survey work forward. I have high hopes that the Canadian Government will provide substantial technical assistance for our survey mapping programme, in particular for aerial survey in which the Canadians are generally regarded world authorities. The United Kingdom has provided a great deal of practical assistance in the past, and I hope too that this will expand.

The present scale of survey operations remained steady throughout the year, if not spectacular. Nevertheless, the Survey staff has done good work, often in particularly arduous conditions. The mapping of 5,000 square miles from aerial photographs has been undertaken in the last year and preliminary work has been carried out for the mapping of a further 12,000 square miles next year. Of this, the Federal Surveys will undertake 5,000 square miles and 7,000 square miles will be undertaken under technical assistance arrangements with the United Kingdom, whose friendly and practical co-operation I am most glad to acknowledge.

Work has started on the large-scale mapping of Lagos, so urgently necessary because of the tremendous urban development that has been taking place. The aerial photography programme this year has accomplished very little since harmattan conditions have been exceptionally severe and so making the obtaining of clear photographs from the air impossible. On completion of present operations, the Field Headquarters, based at Kiama, is to be transferred to Makurdi and large areas of Eastern and Northern Nigeria will be mapped from there.

There is a world wide shortage of competent professional surveying staff. This lends even greater importance to the training of our own men. I confess to being disappointed that so few of them come forward for a career in the surveying profession. A higher starting salary for qualified men is to be introduced to help attract men who are now coming out of University College, Ibadan, and the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology. A Survey School at Okenne was opened last year for training Survey Assistants and an in-service training scheme for producing

survey technicians has now commenced. The United Kingdom has already trained a quarter of the Nigerian senior survey staff and is ready to train as many Nigerians in the Federal Surveys as can be spared from duties.

From this report hon. Members will understand how diverse are the activities of my Ministry. All in the garden should be rosy, but even roses have thorns! Some hon. Members have had cause to prick me concerning some matters that they feel need more attention. Mr Speaker, Sir, I can assure hon. Members that I and my Ministry give the closest care to the requests and the criticisms made of us. I cannot please everyone within the limited resources open to me, but, Sir, I shall do my best and I hope to be able to report in the future that even further progress has been made.

Mr Speaker : It is my intention to suspend sitting for ten minutes.

Sitting suspended : 11.55 a.m.

Sitting resumed : 12.10 p.m.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. Mr Eminue.

Mr O. J. Eminue (Eket East) : One cannot help but admire a Budget Speech so brilliant in its composition and so eloquently read by the hon. the Minister of Finance. This is another history-making speech, Sir. It is history-making, in that it is the first Budget Speech delivered to the first Budget Session of an Independent Sovereign Nation of Nigeria. (*Hear, hear.*) This is a well styled first Sovereignty Budget and the Minister of Finance really deserves our congratulations. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, this history-making speech in broad outline, falls into four categories. Firstly, the speech hints the next period of a five year 1962-67 Economic Development Plan, the preparation of which is proceeding a-pace. The corner stone of this plan will certainly be the Niger Dam Project. Other phases of the plan will include development in agriculture, road and rail transport, ports and telecommunications, education, military, naval and police affairs, and Commerce and industry and the degree of the success of this plan will depend upon three factors. One of them is our finding the money to finance the huge programme, securing the necessary manpower and finding the sources of supply for the goods and

materials required to carry out the projects.

The speech, Sir, sets out the various resources available where capital could be raised both internally and externally to finance this huge programme. This opens to the small man's savings the internal loan programmes, savings in insurance policies, marketing boards securities, investments in commercial and industrial enterprises, issuing of Treasury Bills, foreign aids and expanding markets.

Thirdly, Sir, the speech thus paints the picture of Government's estimates for revenue and expenditure for the past twelve months 1960-61. Finally, Sir, the speech at the end sets out measures to remove certain anomalies from our economic system. This includes measures to combat tax evasion, smuggling and false invoices. Under this, I shall deal with the speech with particular emphasis on future economic plans.

Sir, the Niger Dam Project will be a welcome project because, if a government succeeds in finding capital to finance this project it will go a long way to revolutionise the whole of Northern Nigeria and parts of the West in fields of agriculture and industry. It is gratifying to note that Government will give agriculture its due prominence in the next development plan. There is no gainsaying that Nigeria is physically an agricultural country. She might be developed in the future, but without an expanding agriculture the growth of industry will be retarded.

At present the mainstay of our economy is agriculture, and that to the tune of over 60 per cent of our national income. But, Sir, great tracts of our agricultural lands are wasted because of lack of funds to develop them. The Government of the Federation should, therefore, as far as possible and in consultation with Regional Governments, encourage agriculture by providing large sums of money for research in agriculture and to tune up production. Also, co-operative firms should be encouraged.

Nigeria can supply herself with milk from our dairies, tinned fish from our fisheries and livestock, and so cut off overseas importation of these goods. (*Hear, hear*). Our primary aim should be that of self-sufficiency and self-subsistency for our teeming population. Nigeria is a vast territory with vast potentials in agriculture and mineral wealth. Thus it

should be the Government's policy to mobilise, for the services of all, the whole of the resources available to Nigeria and to improve port and harbour facilities for easy evacuation of our goods for export.

I have here to remind the Government that while all the resources of Nigeria have not yet been fully tapped, the two major harbours at Lagos and Port Harcourt are already taxed to capacity, and that some goods remain over the years in the warehouses unexported. Therefore, Nigeria requires immediately another first-class port to cope with our produce for export.

Oron, Sir, at the mouth of the cross river in old Calabar Province offers a new idea of a first-class port. (*Hear, hear*). You will see that at Oron the water is deep enough to take the largest ocean vessel and that the hinterland of the old Calabar Province is extensive. I believe, therefore, that Government should cause a full scale hydrological survey of the cross river, particularly of the sea at Oron, to be carried out with a view to making recommendations to the Government so that Government might include Oron Port in its next 1962-67 Development Plan. Similar surveys should be undertaken by Government for the extension of a railway line either from Umuahia-Ibeku or Aba through the rich palm belt area of Ikot Ekpene and Abak to Uyo to the port of Oron. (*Hear, hear*).

An efficient road transport system will play an important part in our expanding economy. Our Federal Trunk A roads are far too narrow and are full of dangerous corners. With this experience, Government should consider it top priority to widen all our trunk A roads throughout the Federation with particular attention to the Owerri, Aba, Oron road. It is along this road that one finds the narrowest bridges in the Federation. One is at Ikot Ekpene mile 24 and the other at Uyara mile 7 from Aba. I am sure that Government will take steps to see that these bridges are widened as soon as possible. The Federal Government should also consider the proposal to take over from Regional Governments all trunk B roads leading to Regional Quarters for the purpose of widening them urgently so as to provide easy access to those divisional headquarters. I am making particular reference to the Oron-Eket road.

[MR EMINUE]

Mr Speaker, Sir, the expansion of the Police Force is an urgent necessity for to them alone are due the peace and order of our great nation. Their excellent performance in the Congo under the distinguished command of a Nigerian Deputy Commissioner is commended.

Mr Speaker, Sir, hon. Members of the House have always spoken in strong terms against certain redundant posts in the Police Force. The posts of a Sergeant Major and Chief Inspector of Police, to my mind, are redundant. Adequate promotion facilities should be provided so that qualified Nigerians could reach the rank of officers in the Police Force.

The Police Detachment at Oron in Uyo Province needs urgent expansion to enable a Police Inspector to be posted to Oron Police Station in view of the advancement at Oron there.

Sir, Membership of the International Financial Organisation, where America is the main contributor, must not tie us to the apron strings of the American dollar. We must be assured that the Sovereignty Budget is used judiciously and is applied to all sections of the Community of great Nigeria. We look forward to the future with optimism, with the creation of more States in view.

Mr J. B. Ebiogbodi (Asaba West): Mr Speaker, Sir, as I stand to support the Motion on the Budget, I have the following observations to make. By this time last year when we were debating the Stability Budget, the Members of the Opposition were asking for the reasons why this Government should borrow and that instead we should spend according to our means. However our reasonable Government, who knew the great task of nation-building, did not take them seriously but continued the great task with all sense of duty. I am sure now that history and time have proved them worthy of their responsibilities. To mention a few—

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): Mr Speaker, Sir, the hon. Gentleman is reading.

Mr Speaker: Order. I think the hon. Member should only make reference to his notes from time to time.

Mr Eboigbodi: If you see the success of our Independence Celebrations, the inauguration day of our first Nigerian Governor-

General, different Government buildings, progressive developments in all the departments and in all shades of life, you will believe that the game is worth the candle.

To-day some people who have limited thoughts, after seeing the developments made in other big capital cities such as London and coming here to see some bush areas still in some parts of Lagos, the Capital of this country, will begin to think that the pace of development being made by our Government is one of snail speed in nature. But the well bred ones who read about history and time will agree with me that England was a province under the Roman Empire, and about 800 years ago England had received her independence—the type of independence which we only celebrated in this country barely seven months ago. Since then there had been series of developments in London until to-day, hence its present position.

I know that if we are given the chance to develop in our own way, undisturbed by our former imperial masters, like what happened either before or immediately after the independence of America, Cyprus, Ceylon, India, South Africa, and the present Congo, believe me, Sir, that in a hundred years' time Nigerians, with their courage and initiative, and if the Government continues to be in the hands of the persons that we have at present, carrying passengers from Lagos and other important cities of this country to any planet will become a foregone conclusion. (*Hear, hear*).

Since our foreign policy is non-alignment, I hope this Government will sign other necessary pacts with other friendly countries. But I will also say here that countries like France and South Africa should not be considered. In order that we may get the required materials, sufficient fund in the form of loans, if possible, to train our Nigerian personnels to any height of learning, we should sign necessary agreements to enable them come and develop our financial resources, set up industrial centres, improve our agriculture, and help us to man our different fields of trade and learning.

Sir, I am happy to note the progress the Government has made on the Bornu Railway Extension. I would like the Government when constructing the River Niger Bridge to consider providing sufficient space on the

Bridge for an East to West Railway line that will link Enugu to Oshogbo or Ibadan when the Government is in such a financial position as to be able to do so. This, I am sure, will cut short the round-about route of from Lagos *via* Northern Region to Eastern Region and also help to make easy the evacuation of goods in the Regions and thus bring immense revenue to the country.

I now ask the Government to build new Police quarters and increase the present Police strength at Agbor to at least 30 in order to check the incessant stealing and violent robbery pervading the area. On this point I would request that at least one industrial centre is set up. Electricity should be provided, and the bridges in the heart of the town of Boji-Boji Agbor on the Benin-Asaba Road should be widened. These are some of the present important needs of the people of that area.

Finally, Sir, I have to say that the present Sovereignty Budget is buoyant and contains almost all our immediate needs; our unanimous task now should be to build and project the good name of this country and her leaders anywhere in the world, because by so doing we shall get whatever revenue we want for the building of this country in order to be able to lead Africa to a third world block. (*Hear, hear.*) For it was written by one of the world's greatest writers—

Some hon. Members : Quote, quote.

Mr Eboigbodi : With the permission of the Speaker. "The loss of wealth is great, and the loss of health is more. But the loss of good name is such a loss that no man can restore." (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Alhaji Zubairu Omar (Nassarawa) : Mr Speaker, Sir, in rising to support the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill which the able Minister of Finance named the "Sovereignty Budget", I must congratulate the Minister of Finance who has brought everything to our level. All Members of this House appreciate the trouble which he took to bring such a speech before the House and the difficulties he must have had in presenting the "Sovereignty Budget". (*Hear, hear.*) I want to say that any Member of this House who

wishes to enjoy the smiling countenance of the people should follow the footsteps of the Minister of Finance.

Now, Sir, our economic programme of 1955-62 has come to an end and the Federal Government should be congratulated for the progress which has been achieved. I want the present programme for 1962-67 to be extended to the whole Federation, not only in Lagos, Kaduna, Enugu or Ibadan. In the rural and urban areas, people are greatly in need of good roads, good water supply, Post Offices, electric light, industry, tele-communications, and so on.

I should like to say something about the N.B.C. for its partiality in the news section. Broadcasting in any country is very important. I say this because it educates the people in various ways such as the activities of the various Governments and the news of the world in general. I notice, Sir, in every sitting of this House, that Members complain about the partiality of this Department. During the Cameroons plebiscite which was the most important matter supposed to be supported by all Nigerians, unfortunately, no sufficient arrangement was made to convince the people of the Southern Cameroons while millions of pounds was spent by the Federal Government for the development of that territory. I must congratulate the North Regional Broadcasting Corporation for its efforts in preparing a special programme for the Northern Cameroons people. The Premier of the North broadcast to the people of the Northern Cameroons, and this was repeated several times and, I can say that this was done every 30 minutes from noon to 11 o'clock in the night. Now, what did you find in the N.B.C.? While our respected Prime Minister broadcast to the Southern Cameroons, it was repeated only once, which is very poor indeed.

I now turn to say something about the Ministry of Works, that is about roads. I should like to bring to the notice of the Minister of Works that Makurdi-Lafia and Jos roads are the worst roads in this country at the present time. Sir, hon. Senator Nuku Bamali and hon. Abdulkadir Koguna can bear me out, even the Governor of Northern Nigeria got an idea of what that road is like when he was returning from the installation of Aku Uka of Wukari and insignia to Emir of Lafia. Sir, I request the Minister to see that something is

[ALHAJI ZUBAIRU OMAR]

done about that road, otherwise vehicles from the East will find it impossible to pass to the North.

Again, Sir, in His Excellency's Speech from the Throne, he mentioned that ten Post Offices will be erected in place of the existing buildings, and five Post Offices will be constructed in place of the Postal Agencies; this is welcomed by both sides of the House, but there is a saying that there should be "one step and then another". It is of no use to suggest that new Post Offices should be erected without their being well-equipped. For example, Sir, I have one in my Divisional Headquarters that Post Office is not equipped because there is nothing like telephone wires to connect it; you cannot send an urgent telegram unless you travel 30 miles to Gudi. I want the Minister to look into this matter, and to see to it that Post Offices in the Federation are well-equipped and maintained every day.

Lastly, Mr Speaker, I must congratulate you for the good work you have been doing here. I beg to support.

Mr S. D. Lar (Lowland East): Mr Speaker, Sir, it is with pleasure that I rise to support the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill. I am not only supporting the Bill, but I also wish to congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance. (*Prolonged applause*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order!

Mr Lar: His speech was very clear. On the whole the Minister's objective is to present to the nation the first truly independent Budget of the Federation of Nigeria. The hon. Minister said that the Budget Speech has always been the most important occasion in our parliamentary life, and I am also suggesting that while conducting the debate, on the Budget Speech, we should forget our political differences.

I should like to add that the Budget Speech should always be good, because we are trying to build a nation and I would like those who are on the Government Bench not to support anything in the Budget Speech simply because they are from the Government. I would also like to speak to my hon. Friends on the Opposition Bench not to oppose everything because we are on the Opposition Bench. If the Minister is able to carry out all that is contained in his Budget Speech, and if he will be able to

convince other Ministries to concentrate the finances of this Federation on the rural areas and not on large towns alone, the people of this country will always appreciate this and he will ever be remembered as the true friend of the people who live far in the interior and who come here to see the Government's proposal but enjoy nothing in the programme.

If we want peace and tranquility in this country, if we do not want any discontentment at all, any amenities provided by the Government of this Federation must be provided as quickly as possible. At present, Sir, only a few people do receive Government's attention and others are forgotten. I think that the Government of the Federation should be the Government of the people for the people and not the Government of the people for a few privileged people. In like manner, I would like to—Oh, my hon. friend the Minister of Works is not here!

I would like to appeal to the Minister of Works and Surveys on behalf of the Opposition. In fact, I think there are certain things which the Minister has left out in his Budget. The Minister says there are certain projects that his Ministry will not be able to carry out because of lack of money; I think that is not true. I think I should say that the delay of projects in his Ministry is due to lack of executive capacity. I would like to advise the Minister of Works and Surveys not to be contented with merely improving the Trunk A roads but to be a bit bolder by extending the existing Trunk A roads, by converting the Trunk B roads which are inter-Regional roads. Our Regional Governments should be made to take over some of the provincial and Regional roads which help in the finances of our Local Government bodies.

The Minister of Communication is fully aware of our needs. I am strongly appealing to the Minister to expedite the telephone and postal systems. We would like a telephone extension to Sarkin Kudu, to Shendam and Mato.

The Minister of Finance, during the course of his speech, dwelt on an important issue which must touch the minds of all honest and loyal lovers of this country. This issue is the one concerning the sending of a Nigerian economic mission abroad. I can assure the Minister that the whole country stands behind

him. (*Hear, hear*). This was what the hon. Leader of the Opposition, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, has been clamouring for, and I think that the Government should try to realise that without his own advice, this project could not have been successful. I therefore congratulate the Minister on that. We on this side of the House will give the Minister our full co-operation on this vital issue.

Another important issue, Sir, is tax evasion. It is learnt with great pity, that certain firms are reluctant to state their proper assets to the Government so that they will be properly assessed for. It is morally wrong for firms to adopt such attitudes. I think more vigilance must be exercised by those officers charged with duty of tax assessments. I understand (this is very important information) that some groundnuts from Northern Nigeria find their way into neighbouring French Territories without duty being paid on them and something should be done to stop this.

The position in the North is horrible as far as law and order are concerned. There are certain people who are said to be above the law. These are the people who sell and get some sample goods from other countries as I have mentioned. That is to say, once a person is a member of the N.P.C., he is automatically above the Law. Whatever offence he committed is always overlooked, and I think that something must be done about this. For instance, if any Member on this side, is being convicted or sentenced, he will simply cross the carpet. (*Laughter*). I can cite the instance like Mr Auta Anzah and Mr Orodin and other people like that. This Government will do justice by scrapping out the so-called Penal Code Law of the Northern Region, thus the country will have a uniform sort of law throughout.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the sum of about three-quarters of a million pounds is too small a budget surplus for this great country. It is too paltry indeed. The Budget does not show any buoyancy of the Federal Revenue. What will happen if there is a labour crisis and workers begin to agitate for more pay, which is not an unusual thing in this country? This sum of money can easily be absorbed by some departments of Government in the payment of salaries,

Looking at the Budget as a whole, what do we find? Much more money goes for personal emoluments and transport. I humbly submit, Sir, that the salary structure of this country is not commensurate with the economic situation of the country. Officers, especially expatriates, are being overpaid and this country cannot at present afford these huge payments. Therefore, I am urging the Council of Ministers to speed up the Nigerianisation policy and also get an Economic Adviser to look into the salary structure of the Civil Service and the economic situation of the country with a view to finding out what the country can afford to pay to her civil servants: if this is not done, this country may be bled to financial death. I think the salaries of the Ministers must be cut down and those of the Parliamentary Secretaries must also be cut down.

I would like to speak on defence Sir, I think that our Army is too British, too British in everyway; the Army is not yet Nigerian. I think those on the Selection Board are too British, too British in the sense that those who are on the Selection Board are all expatriates, they are all foreigners; and how can you allow foreigners to select officers, those who will guard the country for us? I am appealing that the Selection Board should be Nigerianised. For instance, last year, in the whole of West Africa, there were about 40 men who wanted to become officers and out of the 40 only 18 passed the examination, simply because the Selection Board were foreigners and they would not like to encourage our people. Nine were from Nigeria, eight from Ghana and what happened? Those from Ghana were given—

Mr Speaker: I think the hon. Member is going to the details which he has the opportunity of discussing when we come to the various Heads of the Estimates in the Committee of Supply.

Mr Lar: I am winding up now, Mr Speaker. I think the House should know that there is an allegation that an expatriate company has taxed the customers heavily, so much so, that some of them even gain about 50 per cent to 80 per cent, and I think that something must be done about that, especially about the U.A.C. Last time when I was discussing with one of the Managers there, he said that they cannot do anything about it. Even if

[MR LAR]

I table a Motion in the House, what will happen? Ministers will not do anything.

Before I sit, Mr Speaker, I think Nigerianisation of all Federal key posts must be part and parcel of the moving plans in this country, whether those plans are stemming from private enterprises or from Government.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr F. U. Ihe (Okigwi North-East): Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a pleasure to support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill 1961-62. (*Hear, hear*). While not speaking in detail on this famous Budget Speech of our Minister, I can only mention a few of the many items which bear directly on the successful management of the economic and financial resources of our great country. I have an unreserved belief (and this is of primary sincerity) to commend the devices of the Sovereignty Budget. This title has been associated with a virtue and hon. Members here are once more reminded of the period when Budget speeches in this House were made a subject of shadowy suzerainty. (*Hear, hear*).

It is indeed a welfare budget for the poor man and, certainly, when these salvation measures were introduced, the common people were taken into consideration.

The Sovereignty Budget is a boon to hon. Members, and it is by the clemency of the able Minister of Finance, with the co-operation of the other Finance Ministers in the Federation, in command, Sir, from his Excellency the Governor-General. We see in this Budget that the main contribution of our economy is made for the lives and fortunes of the people of this country. (*Hear, hear*). And, Mr Speaker, Sir, whatever difference it makes in our economic and financial resources, it is the great work of the Finance Minister. (*Hear, hear*). Friend and enemy alike must now agree that he is a man of energy far beyond the normal role of man. Congratulations are due to him, Sir.

But I must also congratulate Federal Government, for the great success that they have made of the famous principle of the separation of powers, upon which is based the secret of the freedom which we now enjoy under the *Abubakarian* Government (*Hear,*

hear). Our Government deserves congratulations, especially for the wonderful way the Sovereignty Budget was designed on the foundation laid before the pre-independence Stability Budget.

I do not agree with anyone who says that there was nothing new in the Sovereignty Budget excepting the title. My hon. Friend, Mr Dosunmu, has forgotten that the hon. Minister of Finance has assured this House that the 1955 Economic Programme has been completed. To Mr Dosunmu there is nothing new in the development plan for the period 1962-67, and there was nothing new and even wonderful in the broad and efficient way in which the economy of this country is being planned! It is most praiseworthy to note, Sir, that 80 per cent of the money provided for in the Budget for the current economic programme is from Nigerian sources and that only 20 per cent is from external loans and grants.

The National Provident Fund and the Savings devices for private individuals and groups for the progress and mobilization of our financial resources are, in my opinion, excellent new plans, and this was done in spite of difficulties emanating from the problems of money, manpower and materials. In this House, Sir, Members of both sides often expect a good deal from the Government. It is gratifying that the Government is not only proving equal to the task, but is also making these achievements at a faster pace than people had expected. I will mention, for example, the million pounds which our Government were looking for and which has been raised in a considerably short space of time.

The Federal Government must be congratulated for all this. It is a bit of a surprise to our critics to see that our sail is shaken by the wind.

Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3 p.m.

Mr Ihe: Continuing my speech, Sir, I still maintain that we look to this very progressive Government to continue to lead in its progressive schemes.

The suggestion to exempt men and women with income under £100 and £200 respectively can easily be dismissed on the grounds that

the sincerity of the hon. Member who made it rests only on the personal reward he hopes to gain by his persuasion.

I am sure, Sir, that there is no truth in his proposition. Women in Lagos will never quarrel with the tax arrangements, nor will they vote for the Action Group. Women in Lagos will praise the Government; after all, the sovereignty budget is theirs too.

People in this country are well aware of the motives behind the Opposition attacking every good plan of our Government. According to one writer—"Each day becomes either a theatre in which many motives work together in playing their roles in the drama of people's lives, or is a place where motives compete singly or in turns for supremacy in the direction of people's lives". The Government should not mind the flimsy attacks by the Opposition on the taxation measures. The same goes for other minor attacks on the "Sovereignty Budget" which are mere strategy for confusion.

We all have cause to be happy at the progress made by the Federal Government, particularly in regard to the step taken to promote local industries. There is no doubt that the specific object is to put a break on the importation of consumer goods in order to mobilise Nigerian resources effectively. Besides, the growth of local industries will help our balance of payments.

Our Government will get some revenue from the taxation of luxury goods, but there is one observation I want to make and that is to say that what may be regarded as luxuries or semi-luxuries are indispensable in our homes and they constitute about fifty per cent of what the people drink or eat. Take as an example, beer. The only way to stop people from drinking beer is by encouraging the bottling and preservation of our invigorating palm-wine. I am, therefore, suggesting that both the Federal and Regional Governments should find ways and means of preserving our palm-wine. We would like to see our palm-wine bottled and sold as beer is sold to-day in all parts of the country. Let Nigerianisation also apply to our drinks.

There is a great need for Government to help in this field. We want our Ministers, civil servants, and businessmen to offer their visitors, both foreign and Nigerian, our invigorating palm-wine. Foreigners living in

this country must learn to drink our palm-wine. People may say that we have been drinking beer or that palm-wine should not take the place of beer, but if we want to make our drinks popular we must be prepared to offer palm-wine, *pito*, and *burukutu* in place of beer, wine and spirits.

Finally, Mr Speaker, it is high time Dr Okigbo was considered for the post of Economic Adviser to the Federal Government. I believe the responsible Minister will take note of this. (*Hear, hear*).

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

M. Bala Muhammadu Dutsinma (Yandaka): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. In doing so, I would like to congratulate the Minister of Finance not only for his "Sovereignty Budget" but also for the successful outcome of his "Stability Budget". As the Minister indicated in his Speech, it was the "Stability Budget" which provided the foundation for our economic stability and we note that the "Sovereignty Budget" was designed on the foundations of the "Stability Budget".

I note with great satisfaction in the Minister's Speech that emphasis is being laid on the economy of the country. It is true that Nigeria is potentially great, but these potentialities cannot be fully exported without capital. So, it is for this reason that I assure the Government of our whole-hearted support in the efforts being made to raise the required capital. In order to make quick progress towards this end, I think Foreign investments must be encouraged.

While speaking on the economy of the country, may I take this opportunity to point out to the Government a very important side of our natural resources which is still untapped. It is our livestock, Sir. Here in Nigeria, we have more than ten million heads of cattle, and still more than 70 per cent of the people in this country use imported milk, butter, cheese and other dairy products. I am sure that hon. Members will agree with me that this is doing more harm than good to our economy. I am sure that here in Nigeria we can successfully set up a milk production scheme which will make a very important contribution to the industrialisation of this country and, at the same time, bring prosperity to the people of Nigeria.

[M. BALA DUTSINMA]

Another point to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government is the communications in the rural areas. No development, economical or social, can reach the rural areas without good communications. I still maintain that the Government should pay more attention to the rural areas, construct more good roads, extend the railway lines, build more post offices and postal agencies, so that we can get an even distribution of development in the country.

It is with these views in mind that I launch a special appeal to the Minister of Transport and Aviation to explore the possibility of building a connecting link of railway line from Kano through Dutsin-Mai to Gusau. The construction of this railway line will not only help to evacuate millions of tons of groundnuts and cotton being produced in the great agricultural area which lies between these places, but will also bring about the possibility of setting up a mining industry in this rocky and mountainous area of the North.

Finally, Sir, may I take this opportunity to congratulate the Government on the part it has played in international politics. I am sure, no matter how much the enemies of this Government criticise us they will not deny that the Chairman of our first delegation to the United Nations, in the person of the hon. Jaja Wachuku is now an important international figure. I am sure that even the Opposition will not deny that in the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference our Prime Minister ably presented to the world our true national feeling towards South Africa's policy of *Apartheid*; and they cannot deny that it is partly due to his firm stand on this issue that South Africa had to leave the Commonwealth.

I think the Opposition themselves would congratulate this Government for the action it has taken against the French Government in resenting her continued atom bomb tests in the Sahara. This Government also should be congratulated for working towards its declared policies. It was on the Floor of this House that the Prime Minister declared that Nigeria will not impose herself on any country for leadership, but it is up to other African nations to judge for themselves if Nigeria is fit to lead them; and I am sure that under Sir Abubakar's Government Nigeria has already done a great deal to show that she is the natural

leader of Africa. (*Hear, hear*). And in conclusion, Sir, before I take my seat, I would like to make a few suggestions to the Government.

Firstly, I would like to suggest that the Nigerian Government should urge the United Nations to dismiss South Africa from that worthy organisation. I would also suggest that the Federal Government should send a message to congratulate Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Premier of the Northern Region, and his Government, for winning the plebiscite of the Northern Cameroons and so maintaining the integrity of Nigeria. I would also suggest that a message of thanks be sent to the Nigerian Forces serving in the Congo, for so bravely upholding the name and honour of Nigeria.

With this, Sir, I beg to support.

Oba S. A. Oladiran, the Kalashuwe of Apoi (Okitipupa South): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill for the year 1961-62 as laid on the Table by the hon. Minister of Finance. Mr Speaker, as this is the first speech to be delivered after the attainment of our independence one should be proud of the achievement made so far by the Federal Government in all the fields of our development. But one should not fail to point out where there are some omissions and errors. In this respect, however, I would agree with the Minister of Finance in naming this year's Budget the Sovereignty Budget. Surely the colonial rule has ended and Nigeria has taken her rightful place. I have the following points to make.

On the fishing industry, the Government should embark upon a rigorous survey of the principal rivers throughout the Federation whereby people will be more conscious of and take up the profession of fishermen, and so more of the people will get employment, with particular reference to my constituency right from Okitipupa to Benin river.

Turning to agricultural projects, the Federal Government should not allow the Regional Governments alone to undertake all the agricultural projects for which they have voted large sums of money. There should be regular consultations among the various Governments in Nigeria for the expansion of the major projects. In this respect, Sir, the sum of £239,920 voted for Agricultural Research

would not in any event solve the problem. This being so, our natural resources should be diversified for real economy.

On defence, Mr Speaker, we are all proud of the role which our Forces played in the Congo and at the same time I wish to congratulate the Federal Government for appointing the right type of person to head the Nigerian Army in the Congo, that is Lieutenant-Colonel Agui-Ironsi. The voice of the Nigerian Government should be heard about the Congo affair. I submit, Sir, that if we are to follow the meaning of democracy, the legitimate Government of the late Patrice Lumumba should be accorded recognition and the Parliament should be allowed to have full control of the administration in the Congo. I appeal to the Ministry of Lagos Affairs to name one of the streets in Lagos "Patrice Lumumba Street".

Mr Speaker : Order, order. While I agree that the point raised by the hon. Member is in accordance with Government policy, we are now discussing the financial aspects of it and I would ask the hon. Member to confine himself to that.

Oba Oladiran : As for the Nigerian Police Force, Mr Speaker, the Federal Government should consider seriously and examine the policy laid down for the appointment and promotions to high ranks in this profession. Mr Speaker, Sir, there is a lot of grumbling in the Police Force as far as promotion is concerned. A word is enough for the wise. I should, however, take this opportunity to appeal to the Federal Government on behalf of Okitipupa Division to increase the strength of the Police detachment in that Division.

With regard to industrialisation, the Federal Government should not embark upon siting all the industries in the Federal territory alone, they should endeavour to site some of the industries in some of the principal towns in the Regions as well. If this is done, Sir, the rush of people to Lagos will be minimised because employment opportunities will be afforded to many people in the Regions.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is high time the Federal Government intervened in the labour unrest in Nigeria. Sometime ago, a member of the Government Bench, hon. Mba, was trying to play to the gallery by talking of who was the friend of the workers or who was their enemy without even suggesting a solution to the prob-

lem of labour unrest in Nigeria. At this point, Sir, I take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the role played by my co-brother Oba Adeniji Adele II, by way of his fatherly intervention. This is not a question of who is right or wrong but what is best for an independent Nigeria. Therefore the two factions must be made to realise this important fact.

I come to Pension Fund Scheme. Mr Speaker, Sir, this is a scheme designed to help workers of Nigeria in their old age. The Federal Government should face this item in a business-like manner. The interest accruing should be encouraging and it must be made compulsory. Sir, I wish the hon. Minister of Finance to extend this facility to Members of Parliament as well so that at the end of the life of this Parliament and the House is dissolved, those Members who could not return may discontinue the payment into the Pension Fund Scheme.

On Communications, Mr Speaker, I think that if we are to follow the new policy of raising loans locally through the savings made by the lower sectors of the population, the Federal Government should be able to provide sufficient post offices or if need be to convert some of the postal agencies into full post offices. We should be able to print the photographs of our leaders in the various denominations of our postage stamps. This is to commemorate their efforts in ushering in independence, for if we talk of having a stable government, it is the spirit of give and take which these leaders possessed which had earned us this our stable Government.

Tax policy : Mr Speaker, Sir, I have very little to add to this point after all what my hon. Friend L. J. Dosunmu has spoken on the Floor of this House. I associate myself with the views expressed by him. Exemption must be given to people earning not more than £60 per annum and to women earning not more than £200 per annum. We members of the Opposition in this hon. House do not believe in playing politics with the issue of taxes and rates, unlike the N.C.N.C. who would come out to say that if they are voted into power taxation would be abolished and yet they are in joint power in the Federal House here and have not considered it fit to do so.

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

Chief M. W. Ubani (Aba Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I thank you for permitting me to speak on this Appropriation Bill for 1961-62. This is the first truly independent budget of the Federation of Nigeria. (*Hear, hear*).

Throughout my many years of Parliamentary life I have heard many budget speeches but, in all honesty and sincerity, I think the present address presented by the hon. Minister of Finance, Chief the hon. Festus Sam Okotie-Eboh, has excelled all others I have heard before. (*Hear, hear*). It is a comprehensive Budget Speech covering all grounds and aspects of our national life. If truth must be spoken, I think this Budget Speech has completely disarmed my hon. Friends of the Opposition and made their bullets of attack inert and immobile for their powder is now completely wet.

Sir, it was the hon. Minister's Stability Budget that prepared the grounds for this Independence Budget which has been correctly christened the "Sovereignty Budget" of our newly-won sovereignty. It is not an easy job to pilot the ship of state and for this the Federal Government deserves praise for being able to control and direct the successful accomplishment of the 1955-62 Economic Programme. During this concluding period, Nigeria has advanced in many respects grown in stature and prestige and, above all, came out with a bold sheet of green and white colours as the National Emblem of Sovereignty and we won the political independence during this period.

The next Five-year Development Plan for the period 1962-67 which the nation is entrusting to the charge of the able Federal Ministers—the National Ambassadors of Faith, Hope and Unity—will call for greater efforts, hard work and foresight in order to achieve yet a greater independence—the "Economic Independence". This will require the co-operation of all and sundry, both the Regional Governments and individuals. Let us develop the spirit of pride and love for our nation so that we should count nothing too great as sacrifice in order to achieve our Economic objective without which political independence will have no meaning.

The Federal Government is endeavouring to set up very sound example for the people of this country in its planning to inculcate the principle of domestic savings and the mobili-

zation of Nigerian resources for the development tasks ahead. To achieve all these, it will require full determination and employment of all our resources which include the development of both human and natural resources and this must be done in the most thrifty and effective manner such as are contained in the Government Development Programme.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is common knowledge that most of the under-developed countries of the world have their economic development mainly based on agricultural economies because they are primary agricultural producers. This condition may persist for a long time in such countries. I think that Nigeria even though it comes with the category of countries whose economy is based primarily on agricultural products, is fortunate in that she has valuable mineral resources in addition and thereby has better chances of economic development because she can export her primary products and also by processing her mineral resources secondary industries can be established.

It is most heartening to note that the Federal Government is irrevocably committed to championing the cause for the welfare and prosperity of the people. This view is confirmed by the recent pronouncements and statements of the hon. Ministers at home and abroad. It was last Saturday during the course of his speech on the Budget that the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry, Zanna the hon. Bukar Dipcharima, said that the industrialized countries of Europe and America had let Nigeria down in matters concerning trade. He said that the present trend of Nigerian trade is far from being satisfactory. He further said: "A situation in which industrialized countries enjoy a boom while producer-countries experience a slump is intolerable." The hon. Minister was certainly expressing the feelings of the Government and was trying to show that the Government is determined to look for better markets for the sale of Nigerian products such as oil palm produce, groundnuts, cotton, cocoa, rubber, hide, timber and also for the sale of the secondary products whenever they come into full production. Certainly, Sir, good prices for these products would mean more money in the hands of the producers which in turn would mean better means of payment of taxes and rates and a better standard of living which in the end produces

better stature of manpower for the nation. A Government with these aims deserves commendation. (*Hear, hear*).

In the field of economic development, the Government must not forget to expand the scheme for award of more scholarships with a view to producing industrial chemists, business executives, technicians, research scholars, agriculturalists and more doctors for the healthy growth of the nation, for health is wealth.

The Government's legislative programme which was outlined in the Speech from the Throne is ambitious and progressive towards sound economic and financial structure for the nation. It is most encouraging to hear of the hopeful prospects of the country's mineral production; it is encouraging to hear of Government's intention to encourage companies prospecting for oil; it is encouraging to hear of the agreement to establish a refinery company; it is encouraging to hear of the proposal to establish a hydro-electric project on the Niger River and the proposal to utilise the natural gas in the Afam/Bomu fields for generating electricity in the new E.C.N. Power Station in Afam. The development of these projects will ensure economic and political stability, more money and prosperity for all.

Nigerianisation. Mr Speaker, Sir, a word on the Nigerianisation policy. It is human to complain so that wrong can be righted. I think the Government is moving in the right direction in this matter of Nigerianisation. Its pace in the Government departments as at present is showing signs of encouragement. But Nigerianisation in the big corporations like the Railway still requires to move faster.

Sir, in this connection, I must congratulate the Elias Commission of Inquiry into the workings of the Nigerian Railway Corporation which resulted in the appointment of a Nigerian Chairman who is putting up great efforts to clear the mess which was committed by the former executives. But there is still some snag hanging in the Nigerianisation in the Traffic and Commercial department of the Corporation. It is understood that as a result of the late Head of the Traffic and Commercial department being soul and spirit against Nigerianisation that department is finding it difficult to Nigerianise the top posts in that

department of the Corporation. May I appeal to the hon. Minister of Transport to look into this matter and see to it that a suitable Nigerian is given the post of a Chief Superintendent in the Corporation as early as possible. This is imperative especially as it is being rumoured that the present expatriate holder of the post is corrupt.

Some of the anomalies which existed and which the new Chairman is trying to clear are : (1) the policy of not encouraging youths with good educational background but rather they are discouraged and made to resign by a system of Confidential Reports. (ii) Also it is understood that the new Chairman, in spite of his efforts to banish tribalism which had hitherto infested the Corporation, is receiving opposition from members of a tribal group. The N.P.C./N.C.N.C. coalition Government is opposed to tribalism or discrimination in any form or shape. I also appeal to the hon. Minister of Transport to look into this complaint and if it is found to be true, as I have no doubt that it is, he should take drastic measures against anyone found guilty. It is unfair and discouraging for any set of tribal group, be it made up of junior or senior officials of any department particularly in the Nigerian Railway Corporation, to take delight in preaching tribalism as against the Government's avowed policy of unity, harmony, peace and tranquility of Nigeria.

There are one or two things to be said about Police administration as far as it affects the welfare of the Policemen. About two years ago the Police Administration put up a scheme of concession for the benefit and encouragement of junior police rank and file starting from Sergeant-Major rank down to Third Class Constable rank. A circular was passed approving a grant of £50 to a Constable whose child gained entrance to a recognised Secondary School. This was a good gesture on the part of Police Administration but it is not clear if this scheme has been implemented.

Also about two years ago, a Police Constable of Lance-Corporal rank, late George Ibekwe. .

Mr Speaker : I think that is getting much into detail which we might raise when we come to the Head on Police in Committee.

Chief Ubani : Mr Speaker, Sir, why I am emphasising this matter is that the widow of

[CHIEF UBANI]

a member of this Force has been subjected to a severe hardship because she has children in the College and cannot maintain them. May I appeal to the hon. Prime Minister to cause investigation to be conducted on these complaints with a view to correcting anything which deserves rectification.

Sir, the major Trunk A roads from Aba to Onitsha and Aba to Oron call for urgent attention. About two or three years ago the economic trees on the Aba-Onitsha road were cut down and uprooted giving the impression that the road was to be widened. Up till now nothing has been done about this. The road is so narrow that it is very difficult for a car to overtake another without risking collision. Sir, although these economic trees have been cut no compensation has been paid to the owners of those trees. May I appeal to the hon. Minister of Works and Surveys to look into these complaints.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the working of a good Constitution has great bearing on the successful planning of economic development of the people. The Nigerian Constitution has been praised as one of the best in the world. Certainly so it is for certain provisions of the Nigerian Constitution have made it impossible for some potential Mobutus, Kassavubus and Tshombes to have fertile grounds upon which they can develop their wicked tactics with a view to obstructing the orderly development of Nigeria's political and economic stability. (*Hear, hear.*) There are, however, certain aspects of the Constitution which call for amendment.

Under the Schedule, Part II Concurrent Legislative List, there are certain subjects, for example, Labour, Judiciary and Census which ought to be federalised.

By federalising Labour the impact of incessant labour disputes and upheavals will be minimised. These disputes and upheavals do affect our economic development adversely. We should federalise labour in order to curb the ambitions of politicians who make use of labour force to achieve their political objectives. As it is at present there are plenty of political expediencies between the politicians of the Regions in their race to show who will pay higher wages than the others. As soon as one Region promises to raise its wage rate, and

this is often the case when election is in sight, the labour force of the other Regions will begin to agitate to be placed on the same parity as their counterparts in the other Regions. It is only natural in man to do so and we can not blame them. Labour should be federalised, Sir. This Government owes it as a duty to the nation for over-all maintenance of law and order. But a hungry stomach knows no law and order, rather it is desperate.

The solution, Sir, in my opinion, is for the Federal Government to take over Labour and evolve a system of national wage structure which should apply equally to all parts of the Federation, then labour will be brought under the control of one Government so that blame can be located to the proper quarters.

Sir, one is sorry for the apparent disintegration among the Trade Union organisations in this country. It is all human ambition for leadership that causes this. I know that once the Government makes up its mind and brings labour under its control, fights for leadership will come to a head.

Again, Sir, the Judiciary should be federalised. We are all Nigerians and believe in the slogan of one country, one people, unity and faith and one destiny. Let us have a uniform Judiciary system.

Mr Speaker : Order. I think the hon. Member is discussing too much the Constitution rather than the economy and financial state of the country which the Bill deals with.

Chief Ubani : Mr Speaker, Sir, in order to bring this particular section to conclusion I feel that if a set of people are not satisfied with the provisions of the Constitution certainly they cannot give their heart and soul support to our development programme. For instance, my constituency is made up of about 160,000 people and it is made up of two separate County entities which have been lumped together, the Southern Ngwa and Eastern Ngwa Counties, and this brings about a lot of confusion. I am now, Sir, trying to push it across on the Floor of this House for record purposes so that when the time comes for amendment or review of federal constituencies to be made this should be borne in mind.

I now come to say something on our foreign policy. Before I say anything on this subject I must congratulate the Prime Minister,

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa for his bold stand against the policy of *apartheid* of Dr Hendric Verwoerd at the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. The Prime Minister's action is praiseworthy, commendable and amounts to a projection of Nigerian personality before the comity of nations, against what is considered to be evil and incompatible with human dignity and freedom. The obstinacy of South African Government under Premier Dr Verwoerd and its disregard of fundamental human freedom has become proverbial.

Mr P. O. Akpan (Uyo South East) : On a point of Order, Sir, I think the hon. Member is totally irrelevant in his speech.

Mr Speaker : Will the hon. Member please discuss points within the scope of the Bill.

Chief Ubani : I agree, Sir, but I feel that the *apartheid* policy. . . . (*Interruptions.*)

Several hon. Members : Wind up, wind up.

Mr Speaker : Order. Chief Ubani.

Chief Ubani : The *apartheid* policy is dangerous and we do not want it to exist at all. Nigeria should take a very bold action against it, hence I have to mention it on the Floor of this hon. House. Nigeria, as it is known, has a great part to play. In fact, all the different parts of the world are watching Nigeria in the way it is organising its leadership of Africa.

One is led to believe that certain countries of Europe and America are not really playing a true and sincere role towards the ambitions of Nigeria. For instance, during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, many of us who read between the lines must have seen how the Prime Minister of Britain was hedging; he could not even come out boldly until the hammer went down before he knew what he was doing. We must be careful how we make friends who might really water down our ambition of developing our nation, because when we think of our brothers over there, in South Africa and elsewhere, who are suffering, who are being denied human rights and liberty, certainly we cannot be satisfied and we cannot think rightly in regard to the orderly development of our country.

Nigeria is the largest independent sovereign State in Africa, and we must realise that the entire world is keenly watching her efforts in every respect. There should be no dissipation

of energy in quarrelling among ourselves. Let us join our hands together so that in time a sufficiently strong nation with a sound economy will be built for the benefit of all. When we are strong economically and politically, we can fight any foe, and Nigeria's leadership of Africa will become a reality. Nigeria must work to quicken the tempo of *the wind of change* in Africa in particular, and in any other part of the world that is yearning for freedom for the enjoyment of the fruits of liberal democracy under the sun.

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

M. Ibrahim Gusau (Sokoto West Central) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill which was so ably moved by the hon. Minister of Finance, and in doing so, I should like to congratulate him not for share formality or for some courtesy, but because it is a word which a man who has proved his worth could really deserve.

Mr Speaker, the Minister of Finance deserves every congratulation and praise both inside and outside this House. He would certainly be counted as one of those who selflessly contributed their part in building Nigeria both before and after independence.

It is difficult, Mr Speaker, to summarise in brief the main features of the Budget. It is so bold and constructive, and the provisions under the various Ministries give a shiny reflection of the good intentions and attention of the Government. One of the main features, however, is the formulating of the next Five-Year Development Plan which the Minister has mentioned in one of the paragraphs of his speech and in which he disclosed Government's intention to send two economic missions abroad in order to find financial resources to meet the cost of the projects.

This post-independence Economic Programme is a formidable one in view of the fact that one of the items alone, which is for the Niger Dam project, will have far-reaching effects in the social and economic prosperity of the nation. Whatever else may be included in the Programme, the Government must keep in view the prime factors which should still be encouraged in order to promote industrialisation and agricultural industries in the country. They are the basis of our economy and should be given prominence and first consideration in all Government efforts towards building Nigeria's financial structure.

[M. IBRAHIM GUSAU]

Now that we are an independent sovereign State and are in the first year of our sovereignty, the Government should realise its sovereign duties; for its sovereign obligation to every sovereign State is to show that it can tackle problems before it. The "Sovereignty Budget" as well as all the proposals which are made by the Federal and the Regional Governments for the next Five-Year Development Plans is made in the best interests of the country with a view to making Nigeria a better and happier nation.

It is, I think, most appropriate that, with the next Five-Year Development Plan in view, I shall once again bring to the Floor of this House the question of the encroachment of the Sahara desert on the northern border of this Federation. It is a serious problem which I raised on the Floor of the former House. If the Government still underrates the danger, I wonder when it will realise it. It is apparent, Mr Speaker, that the effect of the desert encroachment has already gained grounds, and it is the bounden duty of this Government, with the collaboration of other international bodies, to find a solution to it.

I do not want parts of the Federation to be disqualified from the privileges offered by the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara and the Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara. It is, therefore, the duty of the Federation of Nigeria not only to belong to such bodies which enjoy technical and mutual assistance between member nations in Africa South of the desert, but also to seek assistance from either the United Nations Organisation or other international bodies to combat the desert infiltration in Nigeria. I hope, Mr Speaker, that the Federal Government will now give this matter its serious consideration.

I should like to refer to one interesting point contained in the Budget Speech of the Minister. It is not something which has been highly elaborated, but it is a point of concern which is bound to crop up in Nigeria's political and economic spheres in the near future. With your permission, Mr Speaker, I should like to read the portion: "I am just as anxious as the next man to see a harmonious relationship created between the countries of West Africa and their neighbours. I recognise the dangers which lurk in the Balkanisation of Africa,

but there are problems involved which we must face fairly and squarely. I do not believe that we can achieve any sort of union overnight. I believe that a cautious approach will pay dividends in the long run. It seems to me that the proper thing is to begin by developing economic relations. Let us work for greater trade among the countries of Africa. Let us develop forms of economic assistance and co-operation. Let us do this where possible under the aegis of such organisations as the Economic Commission for Africa. Then, Sir, when we have established satisfactory economic relations, we shall be able to talk about the possibility of some form of political union."

Sir, this is an excellent foresight on the part of the Minister of Finance and is an indication that he is always aware of his responsibilities, including those financial and economic commitments of the nation. Although the Minister has not given this possibility any views on the line of approach, I hope he will be encouraged by the Federal Government to take a lead and initiative to develop trade and economic ties with countries in Africa, with a view to achieving our political and economic objectives in the long run.

It is fitting to refer to one more important social problem which the Government should face and tackle with all vigour at its disposal; it is the question of the eradication of epidemic diseases in the country. Horrible diseases like cerebro-spinal meningitis, yaws and so forth, should not be left as total responsibilities of the Regional Governments. Nigeria is now independent and international bodies interested to help under-developed countries are certainly willing to assist, and I hope the Government will seek their assistance with the collaboration of the United Nations and our neighbouring countries to tackle this problem.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr M. A. Omisade (Ife Town): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to contribute to the debate on the Budget Speech by the Federal Finance Minister. In the first place, I would like to express my unqualified gratitude to the Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry for his speech to the House last Saturday (*Hear, hear*). It was the most forth-right speech to be delivered for the economic progress of this country, especially at a time

when the price of cocoa was in jeopardy in the world market. I would like to impress upon the Government to adopt the suggestions made by the Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry. There is nothing which could be more beneficial to the economy of this country than such a policy. He disclosed during his speech that the whole production of cocoa in this country will be consumed by the Iron Curtain countries, and there is no reason why this Government should not pursue that policy. I would like to make some other suggestions to add to that. The Federal Minister of Finance should help the industry or the agricultural product of this country by imposing some duty on tea and imported coffee in such a way as to promote the cocoa industry in the country. It will make more people drink more cocoa and that will help reduce the large surplus of cocoa already in the country.

The Government also should consider the possibility of encouraging a chocolate factory in the Western Region and an industry for the groundnut in the Northern Region, and an industry for palm oil in the Eastern Region. There is no need for us to import Margarine into this country when we can make a better, more nourishing fat from the palm oil in the Eastern Region. Therefore, it will be quite useful to the economy of this country if these suggestions are accepted and pursued by the Government.

The Minister of Finance, in his Budget Speech said that he was going to make provisions for the defence of the realm against international disorder and external threat and also about the Armed Forces. With your permission, Sir, I read: "I feel sure, therefore, that all reasonable people will agree that independent Nigeria must make substantial provision in her next development plan for the strengthening of the Police and of the Armed Forces". I entirely agree with him.

I would like to make a further suggestion—that at least one Police unit should possess one motor vehicle in such a way as to deal with any situation that might arise. I have often thought that if you just put a detachment of the Nigeria Police in a lonely station, a gang of armed robbers with two or three very good vehicles can go there to invade first of all the Police Station before going into the town. But if the Police have a motor with which to deal

with the situation, they will deal with the robbers adequately. I think the Government should include that in their policy.

Furthermore, Sir, the Government has announced its intention to improve the road and rail systems of the country. It is a very welcome project which I hope the Government will pursue vigorously.

I want to draw the attention of the House to the increased rate of accidents now in the country. Anybody travelling on the roads would see the amount of accidents and the number of lives being lost by careless drivers. The Government should—

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think to save the time of the House I will have to insist on Members speaking within the scope of the Bill.

Mr Omisade : Government announced its intention to make more roads useful for the country. However, my suggestion is that the Government should make further roads in order to avoid more accidents. When we come to the Committee of Supply on that subject I will have more to say.

The Government has given its undertaking to consider the full Ashby Programme. I hope it will be considered in full, not just the majority report as we have it, and excluding the minority report. Whatever is sauce for the goose is also sauce for the gander. I would like the Government to take notice that in this country to-day, the University of Nigeria at Nsukka has been established, and plans have already been made for the University of Ife, and the bill has been passed in the Northern House for the University of the North. The Government has got to be fair to all the Regions when it is considering its Ashby Programme; so that the undertaking given by the Minister of Finance in his consideration of the higher education in this country could be considered in full. Now I want to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the one admission which he made, and that is that the Western Region has always been the pace setter (*Interruption*).

The Minister of Finance has always been suspicious of the Opposition whenever they make any suggestions and will not be prepared to admit it until the Opposition has tested it and found it to be useful. In fact in this

[MR OMISADE]
 speech, if I may quote, he said: "If I may digress for one moment, the Federal Government has been criticized for its so-called failure to establish some form of Economic Commission". Although I can remember the hon. Leader of the Opposition making much of the need of the Commission, I have so far detected no sign of one established in Western Nigeria. If the Government instead of taking its own stand wants the Government of Western Nigeria to give it a lead, well, we shall be prepared to do so. (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member : We always do so.

Mr Omisade : But that will not be disputing the role of the Federal Government in this country. We should be bold enough to take the lead and the Regional Governments to follow. We are in a more advantageous position than the Regional Governments.

Another point to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is the fact that it is a happy augury for the country that the Finance Minister has tested the ability of the people in this country to raise loans for any Government project and it is encouraging to note that a sum of Ten million pounds has been fully subscribed without going to the outside world. I think in future he should make more plans for such loans to be raised in the whole country. I think it is a very welcome move which he has started and should be fully supported. Then the Finance Minister spoke about the United Nations and if we can say something at this juncture over that, I think the United Nations to which we have been contributing some funds has not displayed the proper role in the Congo where we have sent our soldiers. I fully appreciate the views expressed that the United Nations should not be supported in its actions in the Congo which sought to impose the Western Imperialists over the Congolese people, and the only thing behind or underneath the whole scheme is the financial interests of America and Belgium and other Western European Powers. If you detected all these under-currents going on in the Congo, no one will ever support the Western European Powers in their actions in the United Nations so that this Government should make our views very well known to the United Nations.

Before I close, I would like to draw your attention to one or two other matters. The Federal Minister of Finance published in the

papers some two or three months ago that he was going to publish his Budget Speech and nobody should come to bother him. I see no greater invitation to anybody who wants to know what is going on in the preparation of the Budget than to go to see the Minister knowing full well that he was busy on that particular aspect. Even in the United Kingdom where the Chancellor of the Exchequer is much busier than the Federal Minister of Finance, he does not disclose what time he is preparing his Budget. I think in future we do not want to know what time the Federal Minister is preparing his Budget especially when there were rumours at certain times in the country about leakage of tax measures. We shall have more to say on this subject when we come to the Committee of Supply.

In conclusion, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the speech given by the Minister of Works and Surverys this morning about the award of contracts to Dumez Company. This Government has declared its foreign policy to be one of neutrality and on a motion in this House, the Federal Government broke up diplomatic relations with France and this Company which is being sponsored to build the Onitsha/Asaba bridge is a French Company. If newspaper reports are correct, the Prime Minister gave a hint the other day that if France should explode another bomb in the Sahara, all French nationals would be deported from this country.

Several hon. Members : He never said so.

Mr Omisade : I said he gave a hint to that effect.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think the hon. Member is relying rather too much on newspaper reports and that is clearly out of order.

Mr Omisade : Finally, the point I want to make is this. The officials or the Directors of Dumez Company are likely to be deported from this country if France explodes another atomic bomb in the Sahara and why should you make a contract with such people? I think the Government should think twice about that.

An hon. Member : What about Ghana?

Mr Omisade : If you want to know about Ghana you should pass a Bill through this

House asking all Ministers and all high Government Officials to limit the number of properties they own. If you do that in this House then we will know that this is a progressive Government (*Hear, hear*).

Mr N. D. Ukah (Owerri North East): It is with immense pleasure that I rise to support the Second Reading of this historic Bill which has been aptly called "Sovereignty Budget" (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order. I think hon. Members should realise that with all these microphones, even the small discussions not under-toned can be easily magnified to the extent that the reporters will not be able to hear hon. Members speaking.

Mr Ukah: I hope hon. Members will give me a chance to marshal my points which I should like to do very quickly to ensure that other hon. Members have plenty of time to speak. At first, one is likely to ask what exactly had the Minister in his mind when he used the words "Sovereignty" or "Supremacy". Was he referring to the sovereignty of Parliament or the sovereignty of the people? (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member: It is sovereignty of Nigeria.

Mr Ukah: Yes, I agree, I agree. By careful analysis of the new taxation measures, one will easily find out that the Minister spread his Income Tax burden more fairly than ever before without any loss of revenue.

The reduction in the income-tax burden of the poorest sections of the community formed the keynote of his new arrangement. Viewed from this angle it is easy to see that the "Sovereignty Budget" is also the poor man's Budget—a progressive and popular measure emphasising the sovereignty of the people whose welfare and happiness will ever be the corner-stone of our Government.

I strongly suggest that this new pattern of tax reliefs for lower income groups be ultimately adopted by other Governments so as to ease the burden of the suffering tax payers.

On the provision of additional postal services, may I draw the kind attention of the hon. Minister of Communications to the urgent need for converting the Ahiara Postal Agency into a sub-post Office. This Agency has progressed

by leaps and bounds, transacting large volumes of business and getting excellent reports from official visitors. All this has enabled or rather encouraged the local community to erect a new permanent concrete building which has now come to completion. For the benefit of the numerous institutions and people around, may I earnestly request the Minister to use his good office to see that the new building is inspected, equipped and opened as a sub-post Office.

I should like to congratulate the Minister of Finance again for the stress he laid on domestic savings and the mobilisation of Nigerian resources for our development projects. But I should also request the Minister of Communications to see that existing restrictions are relaxed a bit so as to allow more Postal Agencies to have Post Office Savings Banks. These are the great needs of the Ekwerazu and Enyiogugu Postal Agencies, and I strongly commend them to the Minister.

Again the Minister of Finance must be praised for his proposal to secure more external assistance without strings: I mean loans, overseas loans, for which all the three Regional Governments have now applied, including the Action Group Government. The Minister also deserves credit for the steps he has taken to create within Nigeria the financial structure of a modern state—the creation of Capital and Money Market, Stock Exchange, Treasury Bills, Commercial Banks, etc.

It goes without saying that agriculture is the mainstay of our national progress, but how can we achieve this development of agriculture if the occupation continues to attract no attention from school-leavers and if the older generation now engaged in it cannot even convince anyone that it is a paying concern. I think the Federal Government should now initiate the setting up of a central organisation, say a National Agricultural Council, whose duty will be to advise the various Governments on bold agricultural schemes, to study the present methods of giving loans to farmers and how far such loans have actually improved agriculture and, if necessary, recommend new methods of improvement; to examine the experiments at the existing agricultural stations and to recommend changes, and lastly but not the least, to produce a bold programme capable of revolutionising farming in Nigeria and to explore the feasibility of the mechanisation of agriculture. (*Hear, hear*).

[MR UKAH]

The Government should protect the Nigerian farmer from exploitation at home and from monopoly abroad; get more and more countries to buy Nigerian produce, encourage greater competition abroad and this is bound to result in higher prices for Nigerian produce and greater happiness for Nigerian farmers.

I welcome the Federal Government's decision to invest in projects which will develop agricultural industries in the Regions. If properly carried out, the establishment of plantations will make agriculture fashionable and offer greater attraction to school-leavers than the "white collar" jobs which draw them to townships where they are ultimately faced with unemployment and congestion.

In the Eastern Region a great impetus has been given to agricultural development: thanks to the initiative and vigorous campaign of the young, progressive-thinking, hard-working Premier, Dr the hon. M. I. Okpara. He has set the ball rolling, and soon the other Regions will follow suit. This will result in an increase of our exports and will raise also our national income.

The development of our roads and railways will no doubt help agricultural development. I am happy the Government is determined to provide transport systems suitable to the rapidly growing needs of a newly independent nation. Improvement of transport will enhance agricultural development by facilitating and cheapening the evacuation of agricultural produce. In this connection, the Eastern Nigeria Government and the International Co-operation Administration of America deserve congratulation on their new road programme and I urge them to expedite action on the economic survey of the newly proposed Port-Harcourt Road which passes through Igrita, Okpala, Okwuato, Nguru, Ahiara, Ekwerazu and Umezeala Owerri where it joins the Okigwi-Umuahia Road. This will also provide the shortest connecting link between Port-Harcourt and parts of Umuahia Province, Orlu, Okigwi, Awgu, Awka and Enugu and will quicken the pace of agricultural development, trade and industry in these areas.

I strongly request that when the time comes for the Federal Minister of Works to take over Regional Trunk 'B' Roads he will take over this important road, as well as the old Owerri-Umuahia Road *via* Emekuku, Enyioyugu, Ahiara and Obowo.

I now come to the huge provision for Defence and the grave question of maintaining law and order in this atomic age when the fate of the world hangs on Africa and the hope of Africa lies in Nigeria. What we should do now is, in my own opinion, first to put our own home in order. I am happy that the Federal Government is determined to discharge this duty without fear or favour. We must support measures taken to check the activities of secret agents seeking to overthrow our Government by creating chaos and confusion and fanning the embers of mob violence. Ours is freedom under the law and not licence for rioting, looting and shameful behaviour.

The good name of Nigeria must be safeguarded not only to create a favourable climate for foreign investment but also to maintain international goodwill and exert a stabilising influence over the affairs of Africa and the world. (*Hear, hear.*) Secondly, we must assist other African nations. This I hope we can do best through the United Nations Organisation—the only world organisation today capable of restoring peace to troubled lands. We must not wantonly provoke other nations nor foolishly support any country or group of countries which seek to destroy the U.N.O. or render it ineffective. In grappling with complex international problems we should diligently dig for the truth, bear in mind our national interest and prestige and act with dignity and restraint. Thus by giving resolute support to the United Nations and spear-heading movements for the liberation of dependent countries we shall help to bring an end to Colonial era in Africa.

Mr Deputy Speaker: Order, order. May I remind the present speaker that the debate is on the economic and financial policy of the Federation.

Mr Ukah: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am talking on how the maintenance of law and order can influence our economy.

I come now to the position of the Police. I must give credit to the Nigerian Police men and soldiers in the Congo for their gallantry and edifying behaviour and to the hon. Jaja Wachuku for his courage and dexterity in handling the hydra-headed problems of the Congo Conciliation Committee.

Mr Deputy Speaker: Order, order. May I remind the present speaker that the debate is still on the economic and financial policy of the Federation. Details of foreign policy as to the

performances in the Congo, may perhaps be more relevantly raised during the committee stage when it comes to that particular head of the Estimates.

Mr Ukah : Yes, Sir, I agree and I now turn over to the economic angle of my speech.

I welcome the expansion of the Nigeria Police Force, but I am of the view that expansion must go with improved conditions of service and a rising standard of living. In Nigeria the Police Force has given much contribution to our progress. The Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech made sure that encouraging provisions had been envisaged for the Police. It is certain that new police posts will be established. Everything should be done to enhance their efficiency and increase the standard of living of the workers. Many new Police Stations seem to be poorly equipped. I do not know whether that is due to lack of financial provision. One of such new Police stations is at Mbaise—an area where lack of Police contact generally did great damage in the past. The area around was the scene of the 1929 and 1958 riots which resulted in loss of lives and property. Many of the evils suffered here were being blamed on the inability of the Police to deal promptly and amicably with the situations. I should say therefore that the new Police stations should be very equipped and effectively protect lives therefore that the new Police station should be very well equipped and should be provided with land-rovers to report important matters to the Headquarters and effectively protect lives and property.

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order. Please would Members lessen their interruptions and the present speaker please be more relevant to the economic policy.

Mr Ukah : I now come to our heavy responsibility with regard to the Social services. The Minister in this very Budget Speech talked of the Ashby Report on "Investment in Education". I am happy he recognises the need for the availability of manpower—that is of trained staff. Now particularly, I can safely assure him that trained staff will be got provided the Federal and Regional Governments will make the necessary financial provisions. I should also further recommend that Government attitude to teachers should

be drastically changed so as to undertake the gigantic programme which is the first of its kind, as suggested by Mr Ashby. He concluded by saying that Government should review the situation thoroughly and make enough financial provisions. His last words were "when money talks people listen". I think Government should take the queue from these words.

Lastly, I must express serious concern—I am now speaking economically (*Cheers*)—over the 1960 balance of payment figures. I must say that, economically speaking, such a burst of consumer spending was not in the best interest of Nigeria. A spending spree on consumer goods must be condemned as worse than useless, definitely harmful.

I hope the situation will improve with the promotion of local industries, and the establishment of a National Football Pool and the stimulation of export trade which I hope will be achieved by the proposed Economic Mission. This delegation should include men of experience and vision and not theorists high up in the clouds. Mr Speaker, I beg to support the motion.

M Ahmadu Ribadu (Adamawa East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, in supporting the second reading of the 1961-62 Appropriation Bill, I would like to congratulate the able Minister of Finance for his comprehensive speech on the Sovereignty Budget, more especially as regards the reduction in the income tax burden of the poorest sections of our community.

Mr Speaker, I believe this speech has embodied all the necessary and fundamental urgent needs for the present status of our great country. On this speech I would like to mention a few points. One is the question of the ever increasing number of first school leaving certificate holders. I spoke the other day in this hon. House on this point and I am here again to say with emphasis that I hope the Government will open a Federal scheme which would absorb them. Sir, Nigeria at the moment needs technicians more than any other educated professionals and because of this need I hope the Government will establish Federal Centres for technical education and trade centres.

The next point, Sir, is that in the Appropriation Bill there are excellent plans for improving the roads and rail communications. I am

[M AHMADU RIBADU]

very glad about these plans, but I find it a bit disturbing that nothing has been done about the survey of the River Benue which was undertaken by the Netherlands Engineering Consultants. Those living along the Benue river are suffering terribly during the high floods. I hope the Government will do something urgent to save their lives and property. The object of the survey was to find ways and means of helping the people who live along this river.

Another point, Sir, I would like the Government to start a dynamic reconstruction programme of housing for the Police Force. I particularly have in mind my home town Yola. Quite recently the Minister in charge of the Police Force toured that area, and was able to see the condition of the buildings in which these Policemen live.

Before I conclude my speech, Sir, I must congratulate the leaders and members of the coalition Government whose co-operation and hard work earned Nigeria her present stage of progress, and I must say that the nation is lucky indeed to be governed by these law-abiding and God-fearing politicians.

Mr S. J. Umoren (Uyo North) : Mr Speaker, Sir, in making my contributions to this Budget Speech, may I thank the Minister of Finance, for some of the excellent proposals which he mentioned in his Budget programme, and some development schemes which are being formulated in his plan. It has been the policy of the Government all along to centralise industrial schemes in most of the big towns in the Federation and as a result young school-leavers and unemployed from the rural areas keep on flocking to the townships thereby causing hardship. May I suggest, Sir, that in future. . . . (Interruptions)

An hon. Member : On a point of Order Sir, he seems to be a stranger.

The Deputy Speaker : Order, order, I believe the hon. Member who is raising a point of order is not trying to indicate his irregularities in attendance.

Mr Umoren : As I was saying, Sir, I am suggesting to the Government to spread out the industrial projects of the Government so that the acute unemployment which is mostly felt in the rural areas and the townships

would to some extent be alleviated. Also Sir, the Federal Government has a few schemes which would influence the voters of the electorate in remote areas outside big townships and that is all the more reason why the Federal Government should make its influence felt by trying to establish these industries in those places where the raw materials are most available. For instance, Sir, I shall give the details when we come to the different heads of the Estimates.

I have to say, Sir, that the civil servants of this country have tried their very best in carrying on the job which is assigned to them but it is not enough to praise them as there are some of them who are still corrupt, no matter to what section they are being put. I hope that the Ministers in charge of these different departments will see to it that whoever is corrupt in our civil service should be done away with completely.

Another thing, Sir, when the Minister was making his speech, he made the country believe that the Government had no plan to nationalise any of the industries in this country. It is not our policy, Sir, that the Government should nationalise every aspect of the industry in this country. When we talk of nationalisation at least at the moment we have in mind the insurance companies and we have every reason, Sir, for pressing for the nationalisation of these companies because so many insurance companies have sprung up here in recent months and the position is fraught with danger in that if the Government does not step in to nationalise this particular industry very soon, we shall have fraudulent insurance companies all over the country, collecting money under false pretences.

The Federal Government should as soon as it is practicable try to take over some of the roads which are regional responsibilities so that more money can be left in the hands of the Regional Governments to tackle most of the development projects, educational schemes and so many other things which the Regional Governments have in mind to put forward.

May I also request the Minister of Commerce and Industry to see that he has many experts in his Ministry, whose work will be to advise our people who are trying to engage in some of these industries. At the moment, Sir, most of these industries cannot command the respect of the

Federal Government. Consequently they cannot get loans to further their industries, because many of them are not able to proceed with the industries and for this reason, Sir, I think the Minister of Commerce and Industry will be able to advise our people on the precise way to bring their industries to the standard where they can get grants or loans.

An hon. Member : Are you an expert ?

Mr Umoren : I am not an expert yet. On the Ministry of Defence, may I suggest to the Minister that when he is thinking of making arrangements for the improvement of the lot of our soldiers, thought should also be given to those civil servants who are working in this Ministry. To the best of my knowledge we still have some expatriate civil servants in that Ministry. Some of them are sergeants who cannot even sign their names, do the work which Africans have been doing efficiently, and some of them are being taught by Africans and still they remain there doing nothing than to go to the office to turn over files and take fat pay at the end of the month. While we say that the Army should be completely nigerianised, we also ask that the civil side of the Army should be nigerianised as soon as possible.

May I also, Sir, appeal to the Minister of Works and Surveys to widen our major Trunk A roads particularly between Aba, Onitsha, Aba-Oron—although something is being done in part of the section between Ikot-Ekpene and Uyo but I feel, Sir, that we must be continuous in our policy and in our programme. Some time ago the Ministry was engaged in cutting down trees on the sides of the roads which had been responsible for many of the deaths on the roads but between Aba and Ikot-Ekpene nothing has been done and I hope that the Minister will not forget that side of it. First of all most of the trees have to be cut down.

The Deputy Speaker : Order, order. May I remind the hon. Member that the present point he is emphasising will be much better and more effectively made during the Heads of Estimates in Committee for the Ministry of Works.

Mr Umoren : We welcome, Sir, the proposals of the Federal Government to continue the Niger Hydro-Electric project. This, Sir, will greatly enhance industries in this country because at the moment many parts in this country can never be sited for industries simply

because we have not electricity. As soon as this project is taken in hand and electricity made available in many areas in this country, the better it will be.

The Ministry of Education has something to do. It is true that education is a regionalised subject but may I ask the Minister of Education and the Regional Ministers of Education to take over teachers examination and make it a federal matter ; and also make joint observations for an acceptable salary scheme throughout the country so that there will be what is known as "a National Salary Scale" for teachers throughout the Federation ?

May I say, Sir, that the Minister of Labour be praised for the proposals he is making for the workers of this country. That makes me remember what an hon. Member said sometime ago that some of our leaders do not attend their union meetings and so on. Workers in this country do not need unions, they do not live on unions. Trade Unions in this country are just feeding only a few—Secretaries of Trade Unions. While congratulating the Minister of Labour for the schemes he is putting forward for the workers of this country, I do hope that when funds become available more will be done for the workers.

About international trade—the Government is spending thousands and thousands of pounds to maintain preventive stations between Calabar and Fernando Po. It is a pity, Sir, that smuggling up to this time is still draining the pocket of the Federal Government in this way. I think the best thing for Government to do is to consider ways and means of regulating or legalising the trade between Fernando Po and Nigeria. Licences should be given to prospective traders or dealers in goods from these two countries. At the moment, the Government confiscates goods worth thousands of pounds and then these goods are destroyed. In this way, the money that the Government is using to keep this Preventive Service, is completely lost and nothing is gained at all.

May we suggest, Sir, that whenever these goods are captured on seas, something should be done so that money should come into the pocket of the Government ; and may we suggest, Sir, that licences should be issued to people who are prepared to trade between this country and Fernando Po. Thousands of people will no doubt apply for these licences,

[MR UMOREN]

the cost of which may be fixed at one to two hundred pounds annually per head. If this is done, Sir, Government will not need to keep this Preventive Service. Each individual trader carrying on trade between this country and Fernando Po will be acting as Government agent and Government will be given information of those people who are trying to carry out illegal trade between these two countries. So, I am suggesting very strongly that Government should consider this view. The people are suffering. These people who are dealing with trade in Fernando Po, I am sure they have nothing, nothing and thousands of lives are being lost and the Federal Government is losing both in money and man-power.

Also, Sir, may I mention this point, that it is an insult to an independent and sovereign Nigeria to keep on allowing Nigerian citizens to go and work in plantations for the Spanish Government in Fernando Po. It is very disgraceful. It is high time now, Sir, that Government should think of establishing a big agricultural project and some other projects so as to engage Nigerian citizens to work in this country and produce more food for local consumption and produce something more to be exported to the outside world which will bring dignity and money to this country, and those Nigerians who are now suffering under unfavourable conditions in Fernando Po should be repatriated to this country to serve this country.

I cannot end this observation, Sir, without making mention of the fact that this hon. House expects every hon. Member to come here and make some useful contributions to the Government for its use in ruling this country. It is high time that Members should stop coming here to discuss personality, to discuss political party, and to discuss this region or that region. Small minds, they say, discuss personalities but great minds discuss ideals. I think this House is such a place that people should come to discuss ideals, policies and programmes instead of attacking personalities. (*Hear, hear*). This, Sir, will bring up the standard of debate in this House and will make the people who cannot contribute useful ideas to the Government not to abuse their privilege. (*Interruption*).

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order, may I remind the hon. Member that the debate is on

the economic and financial policy of the Federation and not an admonishment of Members.

Mr Umoren : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr J. A. Akor (Ahoada North East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to congratulate the Minister of Finance for the able way he has presented the Budget Speech for this year. I consider the Budget Speech comprehensive, very progressive and encouraging. I can say without exaggeration, Sir, that the speech covers all that we require about the development of this country. I will have to say without mincing words that the Minister of Finance is the most brilliant and the most suitable person to handle this important Ministry. We should praise him.

Deputy Speaker : Order, order. Please may I appeal to hon. Members to refrain a bit more from side conversations as the hon. Member is not particularly advantageously situated considering the location of microphones. I am sure with more interruptions it will be more difficult for the Reporters to get him clearly.

Mr Akor : The most satisfactory thing is that there has been more surplus than was estimated last in the Budget Speech and that shows more efficiency in the revenue collection. I wish to register my appreciation with this Government for its achievement for the past year. The most important of which is the able way it has handled the Independence Celebrations in a very successful way.

I seize this opportunity to express my appreciation of the activity shown by the Royal Nigerian Army and the Nigerian Police Force in Congo. Mr Speaker, Sir, mention was made in the Budget Speech of the Federal Government plans to invest in projects which will be complimentary to developing agricultural industries of the regions. This in itself is a bold project to improve the standard of living in this country. Even in these days, when the world is richer than ever before, the people of Nigeria are dying from malnutrition. This is a fact which the Government should look into. It is of immediate importance to develop and expand scientific production of food, the improvement of health and the development of mineral resources and indus-

try. These are vital to the well-being of the inhabitants of this country.

I am stressing, therefore, the need for scientific research into the so many fields of development. Research in the Medical, agricultural and industrial spheres should at all times receive full support and consideration. The development of Tele-communication and the opening of more Post Offices in places necessary all over the country will open more avenue for yielding revenue to the Government. In this case, I have to remind the hon. Minister of Communications of my appeal last year for providing Eche Clan in Ahoada Division with one sub-post office. At present there are four postal agencies in this area but I feel the volume of business being transacted in these four postal agencies is sufficient to give a sub-post office as a means of communication.

The Government's plan for expansion of Nigerian Police is most welcome. For the maintenance of peace and order, it is good to scatter police stations all over the country and improve conditions of service and salary in the Police Force. I have in mind the Government's intention or decision to establish one police station in Eche Clan in Ahoada Division. This will save the people the trouble of trekking a long distance of 40 to 50 miles for postal transactions. Providing the people of Eche Clan with a sub-post office and police post will add to the glory of this good Government in the fair distribution of amenities. (*Hear, hear*).

I would also remind the Government that Ahoada Division has not been fairly treated in the distribution of Federal scholarship. In this respect, I would ask the Government to follow its policy to distribute Federal scholarship on the divisional basis. With these few words, I beg to support.

M. Saidu Zango (Zaria Central) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill which was ably presented by our able Minister of Finance. To begin with, Sir, permit me to agree with those who have been able to praise the hon. Minister of Finance for his eloquence. Surely, we have cause to encourage him with praises and to pray to God to guide him and to protect him and to bless us all.

Turning to the Bill itself, I have some few observations to make. Let me, first, express my admiration for the introduction of the

Money Market in this country and also the coming issue of treasury bills without which money market cannot function.

My first praise Mr Speaker, Sir, goes to the hon. Minister of Works and Surveys for widening the bridges along Zaria road. Some of these bridges are narrow and dangerous. Mr Speaker, Sir, I am now reminding the Minister about the straightening of a corner known as "corner mutua", tarring of Zaria-Kano road and reconstruction of miles 1 to 10 from Zaria to Mutua road.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is another appeal to the Minister of Commerce and Industry for establishing more industries in this country and I am also asking the Minister to do everything possible in his power to encourage our people to establish local industries throughout the Federation. I am also asking him to pay particular attention to my constituency, Zaria Central. Also, I am appealing to the Minister to do everything possible in his power to enquire into the method adopted by the U.A.C. Motors in their dealings with vehicle owners who take their motors to their works for repairs or overhauling. Mr Speaker, Sir, car owners are excessively charged. I myself was treated in the same way by the U.A.C. Motors at Kaduna where I took my car for repairs. The department's charges per hour for workmanship.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. May I remind the hon. Member that the debate is on general economic policy and I do not think this will be a proper occasion for personal redress.

Mr Saidu Zango : Another point, Sir, is a praise to the Minister of Communications and Aviation for providing my constituency with automatic telephone exchange and for the extension of Zaria Post Office.

To conclude, Sir, I should like to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the reconstruction of the Zaria Army Police Barracks and also the Zaria Police Office. To replace the round mud huts for the Zaria Army Barracks with a modern building as they are in the other parts of the Federation of Nigeria. Sir, I beg to support.

Chief E. O. Okunowo (Ijebu Central) : As a firm believer in the policy of giving to Caesar what is Caesar's I cannot help congratulating the Minister of Finance for the Appropriation Bill. (*Hear, hear*).

An hon. Member : You were not here ?

Chief Okunowo : I would like to thank the Minister of Finance for the Niger Dam Project about which much has been said by several speakers. This is a project that is going to do this country tremendous good because it is going to provide the chief electrical power, power for agriculture, also the improvement to our ports, airfields, roads and telecommunications.

Before I go further, Sir, I would like to thank the Government again for the Shagamu-Ijebu-Benin road that is now under construction. For many years, people in my own constituency have been clamouring for this road and I would like to ask the Government kindly not only to follow the old track but to see that the road is properly constructed. This is a road that is going to serve the Eastern Region and a considerable portion of the Western Region. According to the Minister of Works this morning, he told this House that the road from Lagos to the East is going to be reduced by about 140 miles ; which is something highly commendable. I pass through this road every now and then and I begin to see that no special attention has been given to some of the road and sharp corners.

About the expansion of our Defence Forces at the cost of £40 million, if you want peace, one must be prepared for war. That, I think all reasonable persons in this country will readily support the provision of this £40 million for the expansion of our Army and Police ; I would like to remind the Government or to appeal to the Government to see that our forces are not used for aggression but to see that they are always used judiciously. Well, in the case of the Congo, I think opinion about Congo is divided. After a few weeks of our independence, our men were on the battle field in the Congo. I do not think they lived in Nigeria to enjoy the fruit of independence, so that when we do improve our Defence Forces, I think care should be taken to see that they are used not for aggression and not to take sides either indirectly or directly in any matter that could be amicably settled.

The Minister of Information told this House two days ago that he was doing everything he could to project this country abroad. I do not see how this country could be properly projected if we still continue to use borrowed

buttons with an imperial crown forgetting that we have got our own Coat of Arms, "Unity and Faith." Therefore, I think that the badges for the Army and the Police should be changed. On the epaulettes they also carry the Imperial Crown. I think the time has come for our Government to see that in our Police uniforms, in our Army uniforms, they carry the coat of arms of this country. (*Hear hear.*)

I would like to turn to the Ministry of Transport. The Minister of Transport has always earned my sympathy, particularly about his assignment in the case of the Nigerian Railway Corporation. The Railway Corporation is a Corporation that should deserve the sympathy of this House for this reason. Times without number salaries in this country have been increased. Well it is very easy for the Ministry of Finance to increase the price of beer. It is very easy for the Ports Authority to increase the handling charges in the Customs. It is very easy for the Lagos Town Council to increase water rates. It is very easy for all the other Government Departments to increase any rates. But in the case of the Nigerian Railway Corporation they have gone steadily reducing their rates to compete with road transport. And when people were complaining about the Railway Corporation, that they are not making a headway, I do not think it is fair to them.

I think the time has come that the Government must do something about the Nigerian Railway Corporation. According to my information there are many superfluous officers in the Railway who should be retrenched—

An hon. Member : Redundant officers.

Chief Okunowo : Redundant officers that should be retrenched in the interest of this country, so that if we are going to pay them lump sum compensation we should pay it to them and see that they go, so that we can concentrate and build our Railway in a very strong position.

The Minister of Finance in his Speech referred to the shortage of manpower. I think that if the situation is to be eradicated it must be through the Minister of Education. There are many thousands of our young boys leaving the primary schools without gaining

admission into secondary schools. I therefore think the time has come that the Government of this country should be able to take a bold step—(Interruption).

I am glad that the Minister of Education will be able to supply an answer to the credit of the Government or even the Ministry, but—

An hon. Member : There is the competitive examination.

Chief Okunowo : Now, someone said there is a competitive examination. Suppose we have only ten vacancies in the school and there are 200 or 500 boys, what happens? You are going to fix only ten out of 500. Is that a competitive examination?

Some hon. Members : No.

Chief Okunowo : I am really happy that the Minister of Education is within the four walls of this House, so that he should note that the remedy for it is for the Government of the country to provide more secondary schools. In my opinion, many brains are being wasted, and much manpower is being wasted through lack of secondary schools (*Hear, hear*).

The Minister of Finance, during the debate on the External Letters of Credit Bill, possibly got me wrong. I was not suggesting that we should register all Nigerian companies as limited liability companies. My suggestion is that anybody who is going to trade overseas should be registered in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry before they are given a licence. It is a licence that I am advocating for, not that the people should be formed and registered as limited liability companies. I was suggesting that anybody who is going to trade overseas should be licensed in the office of the Minister of Commerce and Industry to whom references should be made from time to time in regard to all inquires about him. I am still confirming that, in the interest of this country and our good name, the Minister of Commerce and Industry should launch out a scheme by which all overseas businessmen are going to be registered in his office.

Reference has also been made, Sir, to the question of the smuggling of goods and I would like again to congratulate the Minister of Finance for the proposals put before this

House for consideration. A case is never settled until it is properly settled. I think that, with due reference to our legal practitioners, there is always a section in the laws of Nigeria that makes it an offence for anyone to keep secret to himself information relating to the arrest of a criminal. If anyone helps to bring a criminal to book he can make a claim. Therefore all village chiefs around our frontiers should be rewarded for such information, and our policemen should be told that they should not waste their time unnecessarily. Anybody who comes to give information should be treated well. They should not just ask him to sit down at the counter and say to him: "We are coming". Before the Sergeant comes, before the Sergeant-Major comes, the people will be disgusted and they are no longer able to come forward and give information.

Therefore the Policeman should know that, whenever people come to co-operate with him, he in turn should co-operate with the people. And also all the villagers around the area should be well informed. There should be a campaign by the Government to tell them that if you bring in information relating to smuggling you are going to be rewarded, but at the same time, if it is known that you have the means of knowing the whereabouts of a smuggler and if you do not report it, you too shall be liable to punishment. I can assure the House that it will be highly effective, because the money that this country is losing over these smuggling goods is enormous.

Another bad result that smuggling brings to the country is that the people who order their goods in good faith pay the Customs duty and everything. When these smugglers bring their cigarettes or any other goods into the country, they always sell below the market prices and the honest business people are always losing. It is necessary that the Government should eradicate the evil that is making our revenue leaner.

Now, Sir, coming to the trade deficit of this country, that is a very important item, I think our Government should be extremely careful, because he who goes aborrowing goes asorrowing. Now, we are buying more than we consume. I heard the Minister of Commerce and Industry say that they have already invited Japan to come to this country. I do not think there is need for it. If the Japanese people

[CHIEF OKUNOWO]
 feel like trading with us, it is their own duty to come and negotiate. In other words, it is their own duty to come to us and say they understand that we have such and such for sale, and that they are interested in them and want to buy them. They may say that they have also such and such for sale, and ask if we are going to buy from them? The Government should not close the door against other countries where we can get goods to buy easily at competitive prices. At the moment it seems to me that the Government is the one dictating what we should buy and where we should buy them. That should not be the case.

I am very happy that the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry is within the House. If you want to buy goods to-day from China or other countries, you are not given a licence just as you like it. Where you can trade and make a hundred thousand pounds the Government will not grant you the licence, but Japan is so open and we are forced to go to Japan against our wish, and that should not be the case. What should be done is that we should be allowed to buy freely wherever we feel that we can make a profit.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. While it is easy to appreciate the point the hon. Member is trying to make on economic policy, I think he is over-doing it by discussing in particular, trade with Japan, and I believe that might be more reasonably brought in during the debate on the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Chief Okunowo : Now, the £50,000 trade deficit is a figure that is alarming and I think the time has come that there must be some restrictions to be able to ascertain our requirements and not allow this country to continue buying more than we are selling to the outside world: last year it was the same thing, and also the year before the last. I should say that within the last five years we had steadily been buying more than what we are exporting, which is a very serious situation, and I think there is nothing now to prevent the Government from going back to the pre-1956 period when every year we always had credit instead of debit.

We are now independent. At the last Budget Session I made mention of the contract existing between this country and the Crown

Agents. I think the time has come that that contract must be broken. Ghana at the moment is not buying through the Crown Agents. Why should we continue to carry coal to Newcastle? The profits that should remain in this country go still to the Crown Agents. There are businessmen in this country. If this Government should give them support, I am sure they would be able to import these goods to our advantage, so that the time has come that this Government should put a stop to this.

The Minister of Finance made reference to buying of shares, investments, savings certificates and so on. Well, these projects are very good, but how can we do it if we were to earn profit to be able to buy shares in our own country and the door is not open to us? I would therefore like to appeal to the Government that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry should help the businessmen of this country to be able to trade to profit.

I cannot help at this stage turning to the Minister of Finance and the Government for the work that they have done during the last year and the various projects that they have embarked upon. It would be most unkind of any one to say that the Budget Speech is watery, particularly this very first Budget Speech after we attained our independence. I have listened attentively to my own side of the House, which is the Opposition, and although it is our duty to criticize, I think everyone is convinced that the Government has done a lot, and we will not be doing our duty if we come here to rubberstamp whatever has been done without congratulations. The Government has done very well. (*Prolonged applause*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

Chief Okunowo : I would like the Government to continue like that, but they should not limit a project like that of the Niger Dam only in the North. They should see that projects of that nature are all over the Regions so as to be able to give employment to our people, because the one that is now being done in the North is going to give employment to many people. I would like that one, if possible, to be in my own constituency Ijebu-Ode, and so Mallam Aminu Kano will be contended with the little

that he has been able to get now, and in the next one he will not grudge if it goes to my own constituency.

Mr Speaker, I beg to support.

Mr D. O. Ahamefula (Okigwi South West) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Bill so ably presented by the Federal Minister of Finance and in so doing, I shall start by thanking the Federal Government for the enormous achievements which it has made possible for this country in a period of twelve months, and secondly for the progressive economic and development plans it has prepared for the current year.

In appreciation of all these good services, therefore, I feel, like every other hon. Members, that this Government should be praised for, among other things, initiating a national economic plan in full consultation with the Regional Governments; the marked improvement on our roads and railways, and, in this particular respect, I seize this opportunity to thank the Federal Government for finishing the construction of a very dangerous bridge in Mbano area along Umuahia-Okigwi Federal road.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I feel that the Federal Government has done a lot of good things within this short period, among which is the successful scheme of operating internal loans whereby our economic programmes are financed more from Nigerian resources than from external loans. The Government's encouraging approach to industry is very commendable, and I praise the Government for decrying the deceitful nationalisation slogans of certain individuals or groups of people in this country which should have ruined our country at this stage. Finally, I would like to thank the Government for its ability to attract foreign investors and thus raise outside loans to help finance our project. All these good things should not have been done if the Government was not hard-working, sincere and ready to serve this country.

This, however, does not mean that the Government has not other responsibilities yet unfulfilled. What about the distribution of these amenities in some quarters? Here in this country, it is the habit of our Governments to continue to concentrate developments and amenities in urban cities at the expense of the rural areas. Take for instance Okigwi Division

from where I come. A police station which existed there since 1930 has not been considered fit to have a residential A.S.P. and, according to information a decision was reached two years ago to post an A.S.P. there, but up till the moment no action has been taken. The Police Station at Umuelemmi is poorly staffed and the few constables posted there cannot cope with the work; work is so high there that the area should be provided with at least a car to meet with cases of emergency which are always very rampant there.

At Mbano, the administrative headquarters of the District, in Okigwi Division, where there is a mighty general hospital, a Police station and a big commercial centre, yet there is no post office, telecommunication and electricity. The only postal agency here established by the former native administration since 1932 receives no encouragement from the Government. Sir, even though this important area requires a full post office, and telecommunication to cope with the Government and commercial establishments there, I understand that the existing postal agency has been converted to a sub-post office since two years ago and no action has been taken and no equipment was provided.

Okigwi is the only Division with its grade and size throughout the whole of the Federation that has no electricity throughout its area of authority. The attitude of the Government in this respect gives the false impression that hon. Members from this Division do not present the needs of their Division to the Government. I therefore appeal to the Government to pay special attention to this Division.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the importance of improving the Post Office at Umuahia cannot be overstressed. This is one of the oldest and most progressive Post Offices in the Federation making a lot of money for the Government, yet the Government did not think it wise to improve old building there. Mr Speaker, Sir, I feel that the time has been reached when something should be done to improve the building.

As mentioned in the Budget Speech by the hon. the Minister of Finance, the need for improving our agriculture is very essential. Many experts who have come to this country have always said that the economy of this country rests more on agriculture. I am therefore very happy to note the intention of the

[MR AHAMEFULA]

Federal Government to come to the aid of the Regional Governments to a certain extent in order to raise the economy of this country and ease the unemployment to a certain extent. It is my wish also that the Federal Government and other Governments of the Federation should try to scatter industries in the rural areas to arrest thousands of school-children who run to the townships every year in search of work. (*Hear, hear*). While we are trying to improve our agriculture and other resources, I appeal to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to endeavour to find better markets for our crops. Nobody is happy to hear about the fall of our trade.

Concluding, Sir, in an attempt to raise loans outside this country, care must be taken that we do not commit this country very badly. I understand that America is a difficult nation to bargain with. I am therefore appealing to our Federal Government to take great care in making any bargain outside in order to raise loans to finance the resources of this country.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

M. Yesufu Ilesha (Borgu): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the second reading of the Bill. In doing so, Sir, and although there is fear among small group of political people, the Action Group Party, that before long their Party will perish, the Federal Government will continue debating its good year's "Sovereignty Budget" speech ably conducted by the hon. Minister of Finance whom I congratulate.

Sir, Nigeria is an agricultural sovereign country. I have to point out that the majority of our farmers and traders seek the assistance of the Federal Government for providing better roads and communications to promote trading systems.

Sir, last year I pointed out that the people of Borgu need telephone communications to link Ilorin-Burra, and also tarring of Ilorin-Burra road. Sir, that road is the most important road through which most of the traders transport their goods for sale. Sir, I also understand that the road between Yawiri-Kontagora is a Federal one; the road in its present condition is bad and needs repair. The road is the only link for the people from Gusau and Yawiri to Kaduna and also for the important visitors going to Kaduna. I shall be very

grateful if the Government will take over most of the Regional roads of that area. The more and better roads we have in Nigeria, the more our wealth increases.

Sir, I beg to support.

Mr E. D. Akinbowale (Ijebu North): Mr Speaker, Sir, the voluminous Budget Speech of 1961 by the Minister of Finance has been delivered to this hon. House in a brilliant manner and for this noble performance the Minister of Finance deserves everybody's heartiest congratulations. (*Applause*). But examining his speech closely, one will be disappointed to observe that too much emphasis has been laid on the search for external finance again. Again, the Minister of Finance is getting ready to go out on an Economic Mission. It is only suggested, Mr Speaker, that this time the Minister of Finance should ensure that he does not raise loans again. We have had enough of loans from outside and the country is over-burdened with loans.

The Minister of Finance says that the composition of the Mission reflects the unity of the country. This I would call unity in diversity unless the assurance can be given that the Mission will include the Opposition in the composition.

Turning to taxation, it is welcome news that "Pay As You Earn" system is being introduced to serve as a relief to the majority of employed persons in Lagos. It is too difficult for workers to make two ends meet, much more to pay income tax when due.

The last year's Budget was called "Stability Budget" but in effect, there were so many Supplementary Estimates during the year which shows that the correct description would have been "Instability Budget". So too, this year the Budget has been called "Sovereignty Budget". For the reason that the Budget does not cover all essential grounds although it appears so comprehensive and voluminous, it should be called "Sovereignty Budget with a difference". A budget for an Independent Nigeria should be forthright in its context and stable in its programme.

Mass unemployment in the country is a big problem to which the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Commerce and Industry should address themselves, but it is being

proposed to carry out mineral surveys in the country within five years. The question should be asked, what surveys and why the surveys? There are two Government Departments; one is Geological Survey Department and the other one is Mines Department. These two Departments should deal with this problem and while these two Departments still exist, there should be no other surveys necessary. Perhaps it will be carried out in an area from where I come which is Ijebu Province where no mineral survey has already been carried out.

An hon. Member : Are you an Ijebu man?

Mr Akinbowale : Yes.

Further than that, sometime last year I referred to the incidence of Cerebro-spinal Meningitis which is prevalent in the Northern Region and this year it will be remembered that the Press has reported that about 2,000 lives have been lost from this Meningitis. It is important that the Government should take steps to eradicate this disease, otherwise if Cerebro-spinal Meningitis takes away 2,000 lives and perhaps other diseases each in its turn takes away another 1,000 lives, I wonder what will remain in the Northern Region within five years. The Government should consider these things.

Mr Speaker, Sir, with these few remarks, I support the Bill.

Dr P. U. Okeke : (Onitsha North Central) : I want to associate myself with the views of the previous speakers both on the side of Government and of the Opposition for the glowing tributes they have paid to our able Finance Minister, the hon. Chief Okotie-Eboh. In fact I have always held him a practical economist because he is a man who has acquired much knowledge in economics from fruitful business activities and he has done much better than many armchair economists.

An hon. Member : Like yourself?

Dr P. U. Okeke : Like myself, yes. I think it is a matter of wisdom to know who does much better than one can do and know in what areas one is much better, so that one can improve, otherwise if one does not know, one may not improve.

Before I continue I must say that we on this side of the House must not be misunderstood when we make certain utterances in this House,

because we do not submit ourselves to mass dictation, as some people in this House are prone to. We are free to say our minds, to praise when we have to praise and to criticise—when we have to criticise. This is a kind of self-examination, a kind of self-analysis, because when we can criticise our own Government and offer suggestions, then we are wise. Otherwise there can be no Opposition.

Many people have spoken very admiringly of the 1955-62 Economic Programme which has so overwhelmingly succeeded, and of the projected 1962-67 Economic Plan. In the early sessions of this House many Members, including myself, expressed disappointment that the Government had no plan for the economic advancement of this great country. It is indeed gratifying to note that the report given to us by the Finance Minister indicates great success in the achievement of these programmes which you have criticised, and this shows that our Government is willing to listen to our suggestions and improve their plan. That is what we are here for.

I would ask the Government to explore the possibility of looking beyond five years at a time. I had thought that it would be a wise thing for us here in this country to have a twenty-year plan—let me explain—

And it being 5.45 p.m. Mr Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 4 (3) interrupted the Business. Debate to be resumed—Wednesday next.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed : That the House do now adjourn (The Minister of Works and Surveys)

Mr Speaker : There are notice of questions to be raised. The first comes from Mr Chidozie.

Rents in Lagos

Mr C. Chidozie (Enugu) : Mr Speaker, I want a categorical statement on this burning question of Rent Control in Lagos from the Minister of Lagos Affairs.

The N.C.N.C.-controlled Lagos Town Council has passed a Motion praying the hon. Minister of Lagos Affairs to control house rents in Lagos. There is no doubt that many landlords charge house rents at £6 or £7 a month for a room of 12 ft. by 10 ft. in area.

[MR CHIEDOZIE]

The rent must be paid six months in advance. This rent excludes charges for electric light, conservancy fees, and so on. For workers in the lower income group these conditions are lamentable. I agree that the Minister of Lagos Affairs is doing his best by erecting decent houses for workers in Lagos, and by making them pay low rents in those houses. For this the Minister should receive our commendation.

We should also congratulate our Minister of Finance for his income reliefs for workers, but while our Ministers are working very hard, to ameliorate the economic conditions in this country, some avaricious landlords have, by excessive house rents been sapping the financial vitality of the workers. The Minister should be informed that the situation in Lagos at the moment is a pitious spectacle. With the rapidly increasing population and the acute housing accommodation, housing rents have sky-rocketed to unbearable proportions and the workers are groaning.

I want the Minister of Lagos Affairs to make a categorical statement on the Motion of the Lagos Town Council asking for house rent control in order to cure this rapacious economic problem of exorbitant house rents militating against the economic aspirations of the workers in Lagos.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Lagos Affairs : Mr Speaker, without sufficient houses to mitigate the present accommodation problem in Lagos, any measure seeking to control rents is bound to be a failure. The population of Lagos is swelling daily and there are always too many people seeking the limited accommodation available. So long as demand exceeds supply, tenants cannot help but be at the mercy of rapacious landlords who can dictate whatever rent they like. The poor tenants have no alternative other than to pay what is demanded.

The solution to this problem, Mr Speaker, Sir, is to build more houses. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Lagos Affairs : Government's low cost housing estate is the right approach to this problem and if Commercial houses and other employers of labour would only follow

this example, it would, at once, alleviate the housing problem and force down the exorbitant rents now being charged by landlords. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, no legislation can be effective unless those for whose benefit the legislation is enacted are willing to co-operate. Whilst the present housing shortage continues, landlords and tenants alike will find a way round any legislation that Government could devise. The answer is, as I have already said, the provision of more houses and I hope that employers of labour and commercial houses will note what I have said in this House to-day.

PRESS GALLERY

Mr S. O. Kolade (Oyo South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to raise this question on Adjournment and to request that a Press Gallery be built for our Pressmen, such as in our Regional Houses of Parliament, so that these Pressmen will be able to hear more clearly the speeches of some of the Members, because sometimes the hisses and jokes of people in the Gallery may be some form of a hindrance to them.

Sometimes when we read the papers we criticise the Press. (*Interruption*).

The Minister of Finance : On a point of order, Mr Speaker, I do not know whether my hon. Friend is raising a point on newspaper reporters or the House reporters or facilities in Parliament. I want to know exactly the appropriate Minister who is to reply. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. The hon. Member has agreed with the Minister of Information to raise this question on reporters in Parliament but whether that covers what the Minister of Information is replying to or not, I think we have to find better explanation from the hon. Member's remarks.

Mr Kolade : I have discussed the matter with the Minister in-charge, and I am speaking with particular reference to the proceedings of this House. My own observation, Sir, is that in all the other Regional Houses, particularly the Eastern and Western Regional Houses, there is a special press gallery, and I think it is very important that the same thing should be done here so that the pressmen will be able to report our speeches more accurately.

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[Adjournment :

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Press Gallery]

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Some of the reports of this House published by the press are not very accurate. This is not the fault of the pressmen, because no special place has been provided for them. I say, Sir, that as long as the pressmen sit in the public gallery, and as long as hon. Members continue to interrupt speeches to the extent that we ourselves do not at times hear what a particular Member is saying, so long shall we continue to have inaccurate speeches. If we want an accurate report of the proceedings of this House, we should have a special press gallery.

Alhaji Bello Dandago (Gwarzo East): Point of Order, Sir, what the hon. Gentleman is talking about has something to do with the building, and the building has nothing to do with the Minister of Information.

Mr Kolade : The point is that the Minister has approved of what I am saying. As I said,

Sir, I have consulted the appropriate Minister, who is the Minister of Information.

The Minister of Information (Hon. T. O. S. Benson) : I am sure, Sir, that it is not the intention of the hon. Member to compare this House, which is the mother Parliament of this country and the highest legislature in this country, to any of the Regional Houses. I have not up to now received complaint of any kind from any of the pressmen. However, I shall cause this matter to be investigated and appropriate action will be taken. (*Hear, hear*)

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House do now adjourn.

Adjourned accordingly at six minutes to six o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Tuesday, 11th April, 1961

The House met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

PAPERS

Mr Speaker : The following papers which have been published in the Supplement to *Official Gazette* No. 77 of 8th December, 1960, No. 78 of 14th December, 1960 and No. 79 of 15th December, 1960, copies of which have already been distributed to Members, are deemed to have been laid on the Table :—

(1) The Customs Tarriff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 8) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 195 of 1960).

(2) The Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 9) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 192 of 1960).

(3) The Customs Tariff (Duties and Exemptions) (No. 10) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 194 of 1960).

(4) The Excise Duties (Amendment) (No. 3) Order, 1960 (Legal Notice No. 193 of 1960).

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

MINES AND POWER

Tin Exports

O.82. M. Ahmadu Fatika asked the Minister of Mines and Power the percentages of tin mined and exported by expatriate and indigenous miners respectively.

The Minister of Mines and Power : For the year ended 31st March, 1960, indigenous miners won 4.5 per cent of the tin ore mined and exported, 4 per cent of the total quantity which was sold overseas. The balance was mined and exported by expatriate miners.

Mr W. Briggs (Degema) : Can the Minister tell this House what is the quantity of the balance ?

The Minister of Mines and Power : The Member is a good enough mathematician to know the balance after 4 per cent is taken out of the total.

Oil Prospects in Northern Nigeria

O.83. M. Ahmadu Fatika asked the Minister of Mines and Power how soon oil exploration will commence in Northern Nigeria, and in which areas.

The Minister of Mines and Power : No oil company has yet applied for any oil concession in the Northern Region. I am informed, however, that there have been a number of enquiries from reputable oil companies which might, if geological conditions were suitable, lead to an application for oil mining rights in Northern Nigeria.

My Ministry is doing all it can to encourage this interest in the Northern part of this country.

Mr V. E. Eze (Orlu North East) : Will the Minister inform the House what encouragement indigenous Nigerians are being given in the field of oil prospecting ?

Minister of Mines and Power : That question requires notice.

DEFENCE

Training of Military Personnel

O.85. Mr S. A. Yerokun asked the Minister of Defence what arrangements he has made with the British or any other Commonwealth Government for the training of the personnel of the Nigerian Military Forces.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence : My Ministry has arranged with the United Kingdom Government to make available training facilities for training for officer candidates and other ranks of the Royal Nigerian Army in such training establishments as the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, Mons Officer Cadet Court School, Aldershot, the Staff College, Camberley, the Army Apprentices' School, Aborfield, the Royal Army Medical Corps Depot and Training Establishment, Crookham, and the Military College of Science, Shrivenham.

In addition, the Government of Pakistan has offered one vacancy for a Nigerian officer to be trained at the current Staff College course at Quetta and this has already been filled. Active consideration is being given to securing training facilities in other Commonwealth countries.

Recruitment of Fighting Forces

O.86. Mr S. A. Yerokun asked the Minister of Defence how many suitably qualified boys applied to serve in the Nigerian Navy and the Nigerian Military Forces; and how many were accepted.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence: Both the Army and the Navy receive very many applications every year to enlist as soldiers and for selection as officers, and also applications from boys who wish to enrol in the Military School at Zaria. Many applications are in writing but many apply in person, particularly where Recruiting Teams visited their areas.

It is impossible to estimate the number of applicants a year or two ago. For instance, the Navy had more than 5,000 or more applicants when only 60 were recruited. With such large numbers there can be no question of recording each unsuccessful application. What happens is that candidates are selected on the basis of the qualifications laid down—age, height, physical development, freedom from disease and general physical fitness, and, in the case of the Navy, a competitive oral test and those numbers are recruited which are required to maintain the Forces in their approved strength.

It is not possible, therefore, to say how many suitably qualified boys are not accepted. All I can say is that only the best qualified are recruited and those not so well qualified are not. In 1960 the Navy recruited about 80 young men and the Army 661.

M. Ali Monguno (Kaga-Marghi): Would the Minister of Defence state how many of the 5,000 applicants are Northerners?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence: That needs notice, please.

Mr W. Briggs: What is the minimum academic qualification, if any, for entry into the Army?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence: The minimum qualification for entering Military School is Standard VI and for the Military College, General Certificate of Education.

An hon. Member: What about the Navy?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence: The Navy lays down the same conditions.

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South): Does the Minister of Defence intend to work in co-operation with the Minister of Education to ensure that the standard required in the Army will be a general one and from good schools and not just from ordinary schools? (*Interruption.*)

Mr M. B. Afanideh (Ikot-Ekpene South): Will the Minister of Defence not consider it necessary to establish a military camp in Calabar so as to combat the menace of smugglers?

Mr Speaker: That question requires notice.

Mr W. Briggs (Degema): Will the Minister of Defence say whether one of the qualifications needed for entry into the Navy should be ability to swim and coming from waterside area?

Strength of the Armed Services

***O.87. Mr F. A. M. Amadi** asked the Minister of Defence, what arrangements he has made to increase the strength of the various armed services of the country, with a view to nigerianising the rank and file.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence: The hon. Member's question refers to two issues which do not necessarily follow each other. Increasing the strength of the armed forces is one matter, and nigerianisation of the armed forces is another.

My Ministry has plans for increasing the strength of the armed forces so as to enable our country to discharge its obligations in respect of its own security and those connected with its role in world affairs.

On nigerianisation, I have to say that the rank and file in the Royal Nigerian Army and the ratings in the Royal Nigerian Navy are Nigerians.

TRANSPORT**Railway Corporation**

***O.88. M. Ahmadu Fatika** asked the Minister of Transport what steps he is taking to prevent the recurrence of the great loss

sustained by the Nigerian Railway Corporation during the year 1959-60.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport: The first step taken to prevent the recurrence of the great loss sustained by the Nigerian Railway Corporation during the year 1959-60 was the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the administration, economics, and industrial relations of the Corporation under the Chairmanship of Dr T. O. Elias. The Report of this Inquiry together with the Federal Government's statement thereon—(Sessional Paper No. 7 of 1960)—have been laid on the Table of the House and will be familiar to the hon. Member.

Among the more important measures recommended by the Elias Commission and accepted by the Federal Government were the appointment of industrial consultants and the institution of a group study into the question of standards and costs of the Railway Capital Development Programme, including the Bornu Extension. I am glad to be able to report that industrial consultants have been appointed by the Corporation and will start work shortly; and that a team of Railway experts from India, whose services are being kindly provided by the Indian Government under technical assistance terms, are expected to arrive in Nigeria soon to carry out the group study into standards and costs.

The economy of the Railway has also been the subject of study by the Stanford Research Institute, which has prepared a report on the economic co-ordination of transport development in Nigeria for the National Economic Council. The Stanford report is at present being studied, and I am confident that the careful analysis of the Railway's economic position contained in this report will materially assist in restoring the finances of the Railway to their former healthy position.

In the meantime the Corporation, is under my general direction, taking steps to introduce a number of immediate economies in its administration. It is considering the introduction of a rationalised system of rating which it is hoped will attract to the Railway a greater measure of traffic than it carries at present.

with a higher degree of operating profit; and is concentrating on improving its public relations with Railway users.

The unfavourable factors which caused the heavy loss of 1959-60 continued into 1960-61, and I regret that in that year, too, a large loss has been sustained. However, the remedial measures that have been put in train during the past six months will start to make themselves felt in 1961-62, and I have every hope that the Railways' deficits will from now on be progressively reduced until a position of profit can once more be attained.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South). What steps will the Minister take now, or in the near future, to dispense with all the redundant officers.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport: There are no redundant officers.

LABOUR

Service Conditions in Private Firms

*O.89. **Mr F. C. Ogbalu** asked the Minister of Labour, if he is aware of the appalling conditions of service in most of the private expatriate firms in this country with particular reference to leave, promotion and salaries, and if he will consider, as a matter of urgency, the introduction of legislation to remedy the situation.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour: No, Sir, I have no reason to believe that conditions of service in most of the private expatriate firms in this country are appalling.

It is the policy of this Government to encourage the settlement of conditions of service by employers and workers through voluntary collective bargaining procedures. Nevertheless legislative powers exist under the provisions of the Wages Boards Ordinance whereby Government may intervene to regulate such conditions where wages are unreasonably low or where no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation of wages or other conditions of employment of workers.

M. Aminu Kano (Kano East): While I understand that the Minister is not aware of this position, I would like to know whether it will not be possible for the Government

to find out the reason for the appalling conditions that exist to-day and to tell us whether intervention by the Government will not be necessary. There is no doubt that at present, Government's action is not effective at all.

Mr Speaker : I think that is rather too long a question.

Dr K. Ezera (Bende East) : Is the Minister saying that he is not aware of the appalling conditions of Nigerians serving with Indian and Lebanese firms ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : The hon. Member has been informed in my answer that legislative powers exist under the provisions of the Wages Boards Ordinance whereby Government may intervene to regulate such conditions where wages are unreasonably low or where no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation of wages. There is adequate machinery existing and the workers in these firms are requested to avail themselves of this machinery.

M. Aminu Kano : Will the Minister be prepared for me to furnish him with instances of the appalling conditions imposed by Syrians and Lebanese and other foreign traders, which the Government says it knows nothing about ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : It is the duty of every hon. Member in this House to bring such information to the notice of the Government and I shall welcome such information from the hon. Member.

Mr P. E. Ekanem : Is the Minister aware that the labour upheavals in this country are, in almost all cases, caused by the appalling conditions of our boys and girls employed by Lebanese and other continental firms ?

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North Central) : Does the Government not consider it necessary to take the initiative in finding out the working conditions of our boys and girls in these firms or is the Minister not concerned with their working conditions ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : My Ministry is concerned, but it is the duty of hon. Members of this House to bring such information to the notice of my Ministry.

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South) : Now that the appalling condition of service of our people working with the Indian, Syrians, and even African firms has been brought to the knowledge of the Minister of Labour, will he consider it necessary to go into the case now ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : Any information given to the Government will be dealt with on its own merit.

Mr J. O. Odeunmi (Egba North) : What is the minimum wage paid to Federal Government labourers ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : That is a new question.

Juvenile Employment

*O.90. **Mr S. A. Yerokun** asked the Minister of Labour, if he is aware of the increasing anxiety concerning the availability of employment opportunities in this country, especially for young people ; and what steps are being taken to alleviate the problem.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : Yes, I am aware of this anxiety. I would refer the hon. Member to the Answer to Question No. *O8, given by me on the 4th April, 1961, regarding the steps being taken by this Government which aim, among other things, at increasing employment opportunities throughout the Federation.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : Is the Minister aware of the fact that his Employment Exchange is not functioning ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : I am aware that my Employment Exchange is functioning.

M. Aminu Kano (Kano East) : What steps will the Minister take, or is trying to take, in view of the fact that every dry season, when the harvest is over in the Northern Nigeria, there is an influx of labour from Niger, Chad and some part of Upper Volta coming from the French-speaking areas ? They come and flood the country and take all the labour from the young people of this country.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : I need notice of that question.

Mr Ekanem : What steps is the Minister taking to absorb the 7,600 teachers that have been dismissed by the Eastern Nigeria Government ?

Mr N. E. Elenwa (Ahoada West) : Point of order, Sir. The hon. Member has spoken twice on this very Question.

Mr Speaker : He is asking questions and unless you are telling him the Speaker's decision to give him the right, I think he should ask his question.

Mr Ekanem : What is the Minister doing to give employment to the 7,600 teachers who have lost their jobs in the Eastern Region.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : As for the first part of the question, I am not aware; and then the second part does not arise.

Dr Kalu Ezera (Bende East) : Would the Minister take this question of employment as a very, very serious matter that concerns not only this House but the whole country ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour : The establishment of the Ministry of Labour is sufficient proof that this Government is taking these labour matters in all seriousness.

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I am surprised to hear this from the Minister, that his Department is doing its best; but he formerly said that there were some questions put to him that he did not know about. What steps is he taking now that he knows about them ?

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC BILLS

COMPANIES INCOME TAX BILL

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

INCOME TAX MANAGEMENT BILL

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

PERSONAL INCOME TAX (LAGOS) BILL

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

ROYAL STYLE AND TITLES BILL

The Minister of Justice (Dr the hon. T. O. Elias) : *Second Reading*—This day.

BORSTAL INSTITUTIONS AND REMAND CENTRES (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Internal Affairs (Alhaji the hon. Usman Sarki) : *Second Reading*—This day.

Mr W. O. Briggs (Degema) : Point of order, Sir. I am really very surprised that all the Ministers decide that the Bills should be taken this day. To-day is Private Members' Day and, as far as I know, there are about six Motions on the list and for about six bills to be read to-day is an infringement upon the rights of Private Members and I think the Leader of the House must have to amend the Standing Orders before such an infringement could be allowed.

Mr Speaker : Well, that is not a point of order. It may be a point of procedure; that will depend on the wishes of the Government and the House.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, we see right down at the tail end of the Order of the Day that we are having night sitting. I am asking the Leader of the House that... (*Interruptions*)

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Sir, the hon. Member cannot anticipate the Order of the Day. When I move the Motion, if he has anything to say he can do so. He is out of order.

Mr Speaker : You are quite right. I think he will have to wait until we come to the Motion on the business for the day.

NOTICE OF MOTION

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that, at this day's Sitting, Government Business shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 4 (Sittings of the House), and such Business shall be taken at the following times—

(a) on the interruption of Business of Private Members or after the completion of proceedings on Private Members' Motions, whichever is the earlier, till 6.00 p.m.; and

(b) from 9 p.m. onwards.

I have amended 6.45 to read 6.00 p.m.
Sir, I beg to move,

The Minister of Mines and Power (The hon. Maitama Sule): Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): Mr Speaker, Sir, last week, that is on Saturday, it was agreed that this House should rise on the 20th and we also agreed that there should be night sittings. And we are quite prepared on this Side of the House to do night sittings to any hour of the morning. But we are opposed, and every Member of this House who has conscience should be opposed to a Private Members' Day being interfered with by Government business. This is an undue interference. This is our day, not *your* day; we never interfere with your day. Unless the Minister of Finance is prepared to tell us that Tuesday, Wednesday or any day after to-day he will allow Private Members' Motions to come to this House we maintain it is a way to sort of make our Motions lapse.

We want night sittings quite all right, but that should not unduly disturb Private Members' Day.

Mr M. A. Omisade (Ife Town): Mr Speaker, Sir, I think it is an infringement of the Private Members' Day and it is becoming the habit of the Government to guillotine bills through this House. Why do you have six Bills in a day without giving Members the opportunity of having a full discussion, and this is dealing with income tax. It is a very thorny issue and I suspect that if the Government Members want to go away for the North Regional Election they can go, but let the House be sitting. Indeed, we can extend the adjournment from the 20th to over two weeks.

We on this Side of the House have always pressed that there should be longer sittings of the House, but we just come here each time to pass Motions all in a rush. We oppose this Motion, Mr Speaker.

Mr A. O. Ogunsanya (Ikeja): Mr Speaker, Sir, I have no objection to the Motion before the House, but what I wish to say is that rushing through all this legislation in a day means that the Bills will not be given sufficient consideration. I do not agree that the Motion is an interference with the Private Members' Day at all, because the stated Government business will be taken late in the evening; but what I am saying is that all this legislation should not be taken in one evening.

Take the case of the Companies Income Tax Bill. This is a Bill which can be discussed for two, three or four hours, and my apprehension in this is that once there is too much rush with the passing of legislation now, apparently we cannot escape having to bring untimely amendments and, I think, Sir, that the general demand is that whenever new legislation of far reaching importance is coming up we should not rush it, although I do not agree with the point made by the Opposition. (*Interruptions*).

The Minister of Finance: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am really surprised at my hon. Friends opposite contradicting themselves. My hon. Friend Mr Ekanem agreed that he is prepared to sit till the early hours of the morning and, if that is so, I cannot understand how the argument of rush can be brought to bear. Surely, if you are going to sit throughout the night then there is no rush. You have enough hours in the night from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m., in which to sit here to debate these Bills, unless of course, you have other private interests which you have not declared.

As regards the Companies Tax Bill, I can see the frowning on the faces of my lawyer friends in this House who perhaps have got to guard against injury to the interests of their clients under the Companies Ordinance (*Interruptions*).

An hon. Member: You are joking. I have no Company client.

The Minister of Finance: It is not a joke. If you have not got a company as one of your clients then you are not a good practising Barrister. I am sure, my hon. Friend Akin-Olugbade will agree with me in the proposition that there is enough time for us to-day to debate these Bills. After all, they are non-contentious Bills. If you examine the Bills you will see that they are non-contentious. I know, and I am satisfied, that they are non-contentious Bills and I hope that Members will contribute to the Bills intelligently.

As for my hon. Friend on this Side of the House, I really cannot agree with him at all that because we put Bills down on the Order Paper, there will be no time to debate them. We are at the mercy of the Legislators. If you are prepared to debate one Bill for the whole night, naturally you are entitled to do so but only if the Speaker of the House will allow you to do that.

Mr P. U. Umoh (Abak South East): Mr Speaker, Sir, the Minister of Finance gave no answer to the charges made by the Opposition. How long a sitting can last is completely within the province of the Government and, so, the Opposition has no control over the matter. Bills like the Companies Income Tax Bill, the Income Tax Management and the Personal Income Tax (Lagos) Bills are of the utmost importance and, therefore, their provisions must be given the closest consideration and scrutiny. So, a rush of the Bills will be detrimental.

For these reasons, I beg to oppose.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved: That, at this day's Sitting, Government Business shall be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 4 (Sittings of the House), and such Business shall be taken at the following times—

(a) on the interruption of Business of Private Members or after the completion of proceedings on Private Members' Motions, whichever is the earlier, till 6 p.m.; and

(b) from 9 p.m. onwards.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Mr F. A. M. Amadi (Nsukka Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, That this House recognises the importance of a diversified system of secondary education and therefore regards as a matter of urgency the establishment of secondary schools with a technical bias, and calls on the Government not only to see that such schools are opened in the Federal Territory, but also to use every constitutional means to persuade the various Regional Governments to do the same.

In commending this Motion to the House, I am guided by a fundamental principle, the role which a benevolent Government should play in a truly democratic society. It is the duty of such a Government through education to prepare its citizens to live full and happy lives. A reflection of the variations in the mental capacity in man should feature in a balanced system of education. Only by so

doing can we eliminate, at least, to some extent, that class of people referred to by that great poet of the silver age, Alexander Pope, from whom you may permit me to quote :—

“The bookful idiot ignorantly read with loads of learned timber in his head”.

The answer is technical education, the kind of education, the purpose of which is to fit an individual to pursue effectively a recognised profitable employment.

In the early decades of the present century, the Americans experimented on what may be called the Co-operative system of education, whose aim was to make work educational. The United States Bureau of Information expresses this point in the following words and here again, with your permission, Mr Speaker, I quote: “There is no particular cultural value in a boy milking cows for instance or cultivating corn if he has done it a few times, but, if he will do a certain amount of reading in connection with the work, keep records of yield and costs and make experiments which require him to think that are educational”.

One of the consequences of passing the Education Act in England in 1944 was the birth and growth of what they call the secondary modern school and later on the comprehensive school. One purpose of such schools is to lay the foundation for productive competency. Under the system, boys and girls acquire basic skills which are no substitute for, but are rather preparatory and supplementary to, apprenticeship.

Now let us turn to the Nigerian picture. From the Annual Abstract of Statistics of 1960, which incidentally gives us only figure up to 1958, we find that in the Federal territory of Lagos there were 99 primary schools with a population of a little over 56,000; 19 secondary schools with a little over 4,500 and only two technical or vocational schools with a population of 1,578. In the Western Region there were 6,670 primary schools with a population of over 1,000,000; 379 secondary schools with 62,000 students and two technical or vocational schools with only 250 boys. In the Northern Region there were 2,204 primary schools with a population of 230,000—round number, very striking—31 secondary schools with 4,000 students and 9 technical or vocational schools with a population of 965. And in the Eastern

Region we had 6,620 primary schools with a population of over 1,000,000, 82 secondary schools with 13,960 students and 21 technical or vocational schools with a population of 3,361. But I must point out that in the Eastern Region these 21 technical schools are not really technical in the real sense because they include what are known as commercial colleges.

The figures I have quoted, Mr Speaker, have certainly changed considerably since then, but I submit that the overall picture remains the same.

Thousands of boys and girls leave our primary and secondary schools ill-equipped to take their places in a fast-moving and highly mechanised world. The establishment of farm settlements in the Western and Eastern Regions is a step in the right direction, but it is only a half way out. I submit, Sir, that it smacks of totalitarian regimentation. Let us have more secondary schools in which boys and girls of low or average intelligence or of slender financial resources can prepare to earn a respectable living. Whilst we try to produce experts and top-grade men, let us remember that the skilled factory worker is as important to industry as the mechanical engineer. Let us remember that the educated farm labourer is as important to food production as the parasitologist, perhaps more so. Automation is very far away yet.

The figures just quoted suggest that the number of unemployed and unemployables from the primary schools will increase by leaps and bounds from year to year in view of the fact that all the Governments of the Federation are now pursuing a policy of free primary education. One way by which this manpower could be directed into productive channels is by the introduction of a diversified system of education. To-day the slogan is for an agricultural revolution and the establishment of primary and secondary industries. The secondary schools must lay the foundation for the supply of skilled manpower which will make the revolution a reality.

It is therefore in the interest of the nation to diversify our secondary schools system to overhaul our secondary school curriculum. We must liberate the young from the tyranny of examinations. We must show a re-oriented and co-ordinated educational system, that the

education of the hand is no less important than the education of the head. By this system of integration we should produce skilled workers who know both what they do and why they do it, not robots and automatons. We shall also be helping to solve the problem of unemployment by raising the standard of living and increasing the productive capacity of the nation.

The young discover their interests and aptitudes early in life and are able to take up jobs where they will do the greatest good. Those are some of the reasons why I propose, Mr Speaker, this multilateral system of secondary education.

I know, Sir, that the various Governments of the Federation have technical institutes and trade centres and even technical wings in some existing grammar schools. I know, Sir, that some commercial firms, shops and even Government Departments have various forms of in-service training. These are forms of apprenticeship, but I am appealing to the Government to approach the problem of technical education in a different, bold and imaginative way. Recognising the importance and magnitude of the problem, the oil companies operating in Nigeria, the Shell Company and the British Petroleum Company, each donated a quarter of a million pounds for the training of Nigerians in the intermediate technical grades.

The basis of such training would be laid in the type of secondary schools which I envisage. It is the responsibility of this Government not only to lay the foundation for this wise development policy but also to advise and persuade *in loco parentis* the other Governments of the Federation to follow its example. The dignity of labour, the importance and honour of being able to use one's hands must be brought home to the rising generation. In the present stage of educational advance in this country, the place to do this is in the secondary schools, because our boys leave the primary schools very young.

The days of the white-collar job are fast declining. Clerkship and such like sedentary jobs should go more and more to girls to whom they properly belong. But even the young girls, like the boys, require help and direction before launching into the uncharted sea of life.

[Mr AMADI]

Opportunities for self-discovery and self-realisation must be offered to the young through a diversified system of secondary education. The Federal Government has set the pace. This pace must be accelerated and the Regional Governments persuaded to fall in.

Sir, I beg to move.

Dr B. U. Nzeribe (Orlu West) : Mr Speaker, Sir, in seconding this very important Motion I want to say with pride that the mover was responsible—

Mr Speaker : Please speak louder in order that you may be heard clearly.

Dr Nzeribe : Sir, in seconding this very important Motion I want to say with pride that the mover was responsible for my own secondary education. (*Hear, hear*). It is therefore, logical and natural that I should second the Motion he has so ably made.

Sir, the keystone of progress in every society is education but it will be idle rhetoric if we mix the materials of the keystone badly. It is almost an axiom that the curriculum of the school in every society should be based on social realities. What are these realities in Nigeria? They are: (1) We have a rapidly growing population *vis-a-vis* a stagnant technology of production; a primitive agricultural system being used by over 70 per cent of the population of farmers while the population is growing at an alarming rate. (2) We have a crying need for industrial raw materials. (3) We have unprecedented unemployment in this country; last December alone over 140,000 school leavers were thrown to the open market; half-baked products of the colonial order; most of them unemployed and unemployable—they have no marketable skill. (4) At the same time, the various Governments at various levels are initiating, howbeit willingly, projects which may now or in the near future make heavy demands on skill—agricultural projects, cottage industries, construction of various types and undertakings which must make demand on skill and semiskill.

Permit me, Sir, to quote what Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Governor-General of this nation, said on education at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, "To stand the pressure brought to

bear on the Arch of Progress,"—that is education—"by the hurricane of material development, by the storm of civilization and by the windily tornadoes of political agitation, the keystone"—that is education—"must be well and truly laid and composed of solid materials". Any system of education that is not channelled towards the solution of these problems in a country is bound to be faulty.

The supreme importance of the educational system of a society is that it moulds the attitude of the people towards work, towards leisure and towards a general philosophy of life. The importance of education as a social institution promoting or hampering economic and social development cannot be exaggerated. Development makes great demand on all classes and levels of educational facilities—primary, secondary, university, technical and professional. For instance, a large scale agricultural development programme would demand the whole array of technicians, builders, mechanics, surveyors, electricians, business administrators and public administrators. In this light, Sir, we shall now examine the existing system of education and show how it may expedite the rate of development in this country or else deter it.

A look at the educational set up in the country shows immediately that education as a consumer service has been disproportionately cultivated to the detriment of education as a capital good. Emphasis has been rather heavily placed on primary and secondary education of the academic grammar school type. Generally, education is too literary and not sufficiently practical or vocational to provide the support it should for rapid economic and social advancement. Armstrong, in his detailed examination of the system, observes that: "The wheel is not known as a principle in Nigeria. I have been unable to discover any general word for "wedge". Without an understanding of the principle of wedge and the related principle of the inclined plane, the operation of camming devices of all kinds, notably the camshaft will be impossible. They have essentially magical attitude (that is the idea of wheel and the principle of wedge)".

Also, Sir, with your permission, may I quote the Phillipson Report on Education (Department of Education Annual Report,

1953, page 52)—“Technical education is of primary importance in a country which is thirsting for economic and social development. The aim of technical education must be to provide for the requirements of industry, commerce and society and to adjust itself to the changing demands of the territory. The curriculum and organisation must be adapted to meet national and local needs and not adhere to fixed immutable forms”.

Our chief concern, however, is the attitude that this sort of education, that is the grammar school type and the literary type, engender because primary education is mainly a rote system. It turns out a crop of boys and girls who are neither prepared to live in the villages nor are qualified to do any skilled job in the cities to which they invariably migrate. Their attitude towards rural life in general and agriculture in particular is that of snobbery and negativism. Parents reinforce this attitude on the part of their children since most of them go to extreme sacrifices to prepare their children for those clerical occupations that in the past have been responsible for the attractive positions enjoyed by the “educated” class.

Another result of this system is that it drains the rural section of the country of the cream of the crop on whom much of the future development programme in Nigeria must depend. Generally, it is the more venturesome that are the footloose and most ready to drift to the cities in search of lucrative jobs.

Again, because secondary schools are half predicated on the industrial British grammar school system, the training given does not always have any bearing on the immediate problems of the people of Nigeria. Rather, things indigenous are snubbed; for example, working with ones hands. The great weakness of the system, therefore, is that it engenders dittelementalism and negative attitudes towards practical work. This attitude is carried up to the university level where a greater percentage of the students tend to gravitate to literary subjects.

The colonial education system also imbues the elite class with a negative attitude towards handiwork. Those in the limelight of society, that is, the elite class that form the nucleus of the prosperous middle class happen to be the products of by-products of this traditional system of education: the lawyers, the politicians

and the civil servants;—the urban man. They are not technicians. This situation, therefore, places a significant psychological and attitudinal obstacle on the programme that must draw heavily upon the existing educational facilities.

Again there is a predilection on the part of the government to perpetuate the system of education that consumes resources and turns out half-baked semi-illiterates at a time when by contrast with other parts of the world political view on educational priorities are changing and investment types of education are receiving a stress which they never had before.

We are also interested in examining the likely bottleneck that the prevailing type of education and the type of behaviour it engenders will create *vis-a-vis* a large scale development programme which must require a new attitude towards both labour and life in general.

Shortage of skills not only prevents people from utilising capital and other resources fruitfully but may often prevent them from using them at all. Conditions in Ghana, for example, indicate that development programmes have to be stopped because of shortage of skilled labour. More than 60 per cent of the work needed for expanded agriculture would consist of work in building, construction, technology and other specified skills. Expansions of skill in turn depends to a large extent on training and, failure to put training into the foreground of development programme accounts for much of the frustrations occasioned by such programmes, which often lag behind in performance because of the physical difficulty of carrying them out.

Sir, I would recommend that the Federal Government uses its position of influence to get the Regional Governments to make a ruling that no one, no school boy or girl, gets through a Secondary School, whether a Grammar School or an ordinary Commercial School, without at least having passed in one of the elementary skills. This may be typing, may be technical or mechanical drawing, or agriculture, or wood-work, or metal work, or elementary architecture or simple survey principles, and so on. After all, in England one cannot pass through a Secondary School without passing in English Language. Also in the G.C.E. examinations in this country one cannot pass unless one passes also in English. In America one

[DR NZERIBE]

cannot get one's degree in a University, or obtain a certificate in a Secondary School unless one passes an examination in the history of America or the history of American constitution. Therefore, Sir, I strongly urge the Minister of Education to consider the possibility of making it a ruling that before any boy or any girl is issued with a certificate in a secondary school he must pass a test in any of the specialised subjects I have enumerated above.

In the rural areas folk schools of the type founded in Denmark by Bishop Grundig, "next steps" technology should be added to the high schools in the rural areas. The idea is to enable the students not only to acquire some next step technology on how to use tools with their hands but also to enable the rural people living in that area to use school as a local centre of gravity. Techniques learnt in the school, whether this be crop rotation, or use of fertilizers, or use of plough, or utilisation of local materials for building, may pass on to the rural people by means of local schools.

May I suggest, Sir, that the Federal Government should either initiate the move itself in the Federal territory or use its influence to induce the Regional Governments to open some training schools. The latter it can easily do by making tied-in grants or, what is better still, undertake a joint responsibility project with any of the Regional Governments or local communities in Nigeria willing to co-operate with the Federal Government. Such a joint responsibility project may be based on the principle of the Federal Government contributing technical experts and the Regional Governments contributing cost of building and equipment and local communities contributing land and free labour. In fact this is a great opportunity for the government to put into practice the idea of inter-Regional secondary schools proposed last year. Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

The Minister of Education (Hon. Aja Nwachuku): Mr Speaker, Sir, like the mover of this Motion, in replying to it I am also guided by the fundamental principles. The seconder has rightly said and from the quotation of a section of the Progress Report of my Ministry we are thinking farther than what the mover of this Motion has in mind.

The hon. Member who moved this Motion has amply demonstrated the important part to be played in Nigeria to-day by technical education at the secondary level; and he has been ably supported by the other hon. Member. This importance is fully recognised by the Federal Government, and I think it will be useful if I inform the House of what we are doing now and to indicate how we are going to tackle the problem in the future.

In the Federal territory of Lagos we already have two secondary technical schools. Attached to the Yaba Technical Institute, we have a four-year secondary technical course. This takes a stream of twenty-five pupils yearly and every fourth year it takes a second stream of 25. Then there is St. Finbarr's Grammar/Technical School which is now taking two streams of 25 pupils a year for a four-year technical secondary course. In addition we have four secondary commercial schools which take a total of two hundred and fifty pupils a year.

An hon. Member: Where are the schools?

The Minister of Education: At Apapa; do you want to go there?

I think it will be apparent that it is already the Federal Government's policy to diversify secondary education. As hon. Members may recollect, this is explained in the White Paper on Education which was tabled in 1955. This stated the Government's intention of providing post-primary education for 25 per cent of those who successfully completed the primary stage, in institutions best suited to the aptitude and inclination of each pupil. We are already very near this target. For those who leave the top forms of primary schools in Lagos this year, we have places in secondary grammar schools for nearly 13 per cent and in secondary commercial and technical schools for some 5 per cent, apart from places in the Trade Centre and in girls' modern classes which together provide places for another 5 per cent. All this is apart from the various technical training schemes of public and private enterprise.

We are now giving thought to our policy for the future; and in my next development plan I am planning to establish some comprehensive secondary schools. These will have ten streams, that is, each will have an annual intake of 300 pupils, who will be divided according to their aptitude into grammar, technical and commercial streams.

An hon. Member : Where ?

The Minister of Education : In Oron ; in addition to your museum.

As the House is well aware the Ashby Report has dealt very thoroughly with the post-school certificate and higher education which follows on secondary grammar school education. Technical education was not within their terms of reference though they emphasised its importance. I quote from page 94 of the Report : "If a sufficient number of Nigerians are to be attracted to the opportunities afforded by an expanded system of technical education, there must be a change in the public attitude towards manual skills and technical pursuits." This can be brought about only by the correction of a lack of balance in the education provided in Nigerian schools.

I have been in close consultation with my Colleagues, the Ministers of Education in the Regions, on this matter and, with their full support, I am arranging for a short, but expert, survey to be made of the needs for technical and commercial education below professional level in Nigeria. (*Hear, hear*).

The Ministry of Education in the United Kingdom has been most useful and helpful and, later this month, I am expecting two of their experts on technical and commercial education to come, under the Technical Assistance Scheme, to consider and advise on plans for developing technical and commercial education, on the supply of teachers and students and on all the costs involved.

I therefore assure the House that both the Federal and Regional Governments are fully aware of the importance of technical education at the secondary level and that I am working, together with my Regional Colleagues, to ensure that Nigeria's needs are met.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I fully support the Motion. (*Applause*).

Mr P. U. Umoh (Abak South East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, it is not very necessary to dwell long upon the matter. One thing is certain and that is that a variegated system of education is of the very greatest importance to Nigeria. In fact it is a paramount necessity.

Now, Sir, we all know that Russia is now occupying a very important position in the world. It proves its pre-eminent position in

the advancement of scientific technology. We are told that the system of education in Russia is being concentrated on the technical side. At the same time, Russia holds an even balance between the other aspects of education.

Although the Minister of Education has indicated that plans are afoot to advance technical education, I would like to assure him that it is not possible for the Ministry of Education to formulate educational plans for Nigeria in a vacuum. Whatever plans the Minister has in mind must be geared to the nation's needs.

Now, Sir, how can this need be brought to light ? It is a very simple process, and that is by appointing a high-powered commission of inquiry to go into the matter with the following terms of reference : to examine the needs of Nigeria in the fields of professional, technical, scientific, commercial and academic education ; and to make recommendations. The Ashby Commission of Inquiry was acting within very circumscribed terms of reference. I feel that the ambit of their task ought to have been expanded to enable them to formulate something that would be really of benefit to us.

The importance of the commission of inquiry I am envisaging cannot be over-emphasised. When the relative needs of the nation are examined against the background of the national need, it will be possible for us to know what particular aspect of education should be emphasised. I repeat, Sir, that this commission of inquiry is very important and it must be appointed without any delay, otherwise the Minister of Education will have nothing to get the facts from in formulating the educational policy of the Federation. It is quite necessary that we must know how many technologists are required for our services, how many professionals we want, how many scientists we want, and the number of people versed in academic education is also very important.

At the moment, there seems to be an unfettered flair for academic education, and it appears to me that that is about the easiest form of education we can give, and that is why it holds such attraction for many of our youths. Something has got to be done in order that there may be a change of outlook. If we drift at this rate, our national needs will not be fulfilled in the foreseeable future.

[Mr P. U. UMOH]

Finally, Sir, I commend this proposal to the hon. Minister of Education, and I hope that he will take appropriate action.

M. Shettima Ali Monguno (Kaga Marghi): Mr Speaker, Sir, in view of the ministerial statement made by the Minister of Education, I have nothing to say against, but for the speech made.

Until recently, there was justification for people going in for the study of law rather than for other courses. But things have changed and we have realised that there seems to be (begging the pardon of the lawyers, of course) too many lawyers in the country. (*Interruptions*). We have just realised the importance of unity. Gone are the days when we easily picked up quarrels and invited lawyers, for at this moment we need, more than anything, technicians to man our industries which have just begun. Therefore, I would like more emphasis laid on our technical education rather than on literary education.

Unemployment among young school leavers is swelling, and this is mainly because the unfortunate youngsters have nothing of technical education in them. I would like to see more inter-regional technical secondary schools established and spread over the entire country.

Scholarships awarded, Sir, if I may say, should be restricted, and applications for pursuance of technical education should be given more favourable consideration. However, one cannot help but thank the Minister of Education for the future plan and also for what has been achieved during the past in the way of promoting technical education in this country.

Sir, I beg to support.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved: That this House recognises the importance of a diversified system of secondary education and therefore regards as a matter of urgency the establishment of secondary schools with a technical bias, and calls on the Government not only see that such schools are opened in the Federal Territory, but also to use every constitutional means to persuade the various regional governments to do the same.

ANTI-BRIBERY MOVEMENT

Dr B. U. Nzeribe (Orlu West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise with humility to move the motion which stands in my name on the Order Paper,

that is to say, "That this House calls on the Government to take immediate steps to initiate an anti-bribery and anti-corruption movement in the whole Federation of Nigeria."

Sir, to the great majority of Nigerian citizens the bribery and corruption problem has distinctly negative connotations. It suggests something difficult (if not impossible) to leave alone. It is embarrassing. It makes for moral uneasiness. It is an anomaly in the very structure of our society. To many of us this takes on the proportion of a menace—economic, political, social, cultural and moral. This anxiety is mingled with a feeling of individual and collective guilt. A few people see the problem as a challenge to true leadership and statesmanship.

Sir, in this debate, I shall use bribery and corruption inter-changeably as a portmanteau term also covering graft, inducement, nepotism, influence, embezzlement, favouritism, extortion by public officers, trafficking in offices, or to use a soft euphemism, you may call it "dash". It really needs no definition.

I must say right away that I do not intend to embarrass anybody by this Motion. I am absolutely in sympathy with the basis on which this evil stands, that is, the sad realities of an array of socio-economic circumstances that have combined to give bribery and corruption currency in this society, namely, the impact of poverty, development of cash nexus, mass civil illiteracy, frustration in Civil Service, casual attitude towards other people's property caused mainly by colonial mentality and so on. I do not intend to go into the analysis of these factors.

Sir, we need not feel that we are washing our dirty linen in the public. Rather we should praise our courage that we are able to face squarely our own problems and lift ourselves up by our own bootstraps. All great Powers passed a stage of trial such as we are passing. For example, from the early days of East Indian Company to the American War of Independence was full of stories of scandal and corruption, abuse of office and so on and so forth.

Even Parliament was corrupt. Chief Enahoro, moving a motion of thanks for the appointment of the Speaker last January mentioned *inter-alia* "The third speaker Sir

John Trevor was expelled from Parliament in 1695 because he took a bribe of 1,000 guineas". British conquest of Nigeria was full of stories of tortuous practices of bribery and corruption.

If you go to America in the 19th Century and 20th Century, it was full of political graft and corruption. Corruption and graft burst into the open during the present Grants second term of office (1873-1877), for example, the Whisky Ring and Credit Mobilier—a company which built the Pacific Rail road and paid fabulous grants and dividends to members of the Legislature, for example, politician Tweed who plundered the nation through systematic thievery and invisible government.

In 1878, a bribe expert in America boasted in the open that he had reduced graft and bribery to exact science paying each taker exactly what he was worth and no more. Gordon, writing on America in the 19th Century, I quote, Sir, with your permission: "The treasured heritage of democracy has gradually slipped into a dismal swamp of corruption. Democracy seems to have disappeared without people even being aware of it". Horatio Seymour, an American author said in one of his books "Our people want men in office who will not steal but who will not interfere with those who want to steal".

France before and immediately after the French Revolution was full of corruption, both political, in business and social. Nazi Germany was full of tortuous practices and Russia during the Czarian era was full of nothing but corruption. So we should not be ashamed of discussing our problem in the open; the only thing we are trying to do here is to present an objective analysis of the problem and initiate a movement which will prescribe a cool-headed approach to the solution.

In West Africa, for example, Nigeria is not the only country having the trouble of bribery and corruption. Liberia is corrupt. John Gunther says "As to corruption in Liberia that, too, like the rains, is really something. It exists at all levels. Money is let, let us say, assigned to some government departments for a worthy project. But it is rare for the entire sum to reach its proper destination. Underlings help themselves to a share of appropriation as it moves along, like mice nibbling at a piece of cake". And again he says "In the field of political corruption, Liberia has had some wonderful distinctions. One President of the

Republic (not Mr Tubman) got 243,000 votes in a certain election, where only 15,000 persons were privileged to vote". Ghana is corrupt. One of the authors—Mr Warner—writing about Ghana says:—

"Corruption is another characteristic. . . . If you have business at the post office it may cost you an extra penny or two to get attention. Late in 1953 the Minister of Communications in the then Gold Coast suddenly reported to the Government that he had taken bribes from people doing business within his Ministry, that he had conscience about it and wanted to make a clean breast and amends".

He took a bribe of £2,000. As you can see, a crooked European firm seeking contracts for road building was involved. The Minister resigned. Everybody was involved in the bribe. Egypt and Ethiopia—bribe—but, Sir there is a big difference between bribery and corruption in England, America, France, Germany and the bribery and corruption in Nigeria to-day. The big difference, Sir, is that ours is systematic bribery and corruption. The danger lies in bribery and corruption becoming an institution as holy as the marriage and the family.

Britain, U.S.A., France could and can afford bribery at that time. There was in the midst of the evil, in England and America for example, a surge of public indignation. These countries—(Interruption). . . .

Mr Speaker : If the hon. Member insists on persistent interruption I shall have to mention his name.

Dr Nzeribe : These countries' reputation at the time mentioned above did not rest wholly on the morals of their businessmen and their politicians. Learning, literature, the arts and higher education made large gains everywhere even though corruption and bribery were condemned as antisocial and venomous. Politics was scorned and abandoned to men of doubtful character. Mr Quay, one of the most corrupt American politicians, made as much as £2 million a year and in spite of his unique generosity and open-handedness was snubbed and disdained by the public. In this country he will be hero worshipped and made an example for the public; that is the difference. Nigeria is a

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country in a hurry. Mere trappings of democracy cannot take us to our goal. We need the spirit as well as the body of democracy. Democracy is the state of the mind—fair give and fair take in political fight, in economic struggles, in religious behaviours, in ethics and social life. It cannot be mutilated. Democracy recognises no half measures and yet like God it is jealous.

Let us now briefly examine the nature, pattern and scope of corruption and bribery in Nigeria. I would now quote from one of the most popular writers in West Africa who says :

“The official turns over the packet you are trying to clear through customs. It is not dutiable. He knows it is not dutiable. You know he is waiting for “dash”. You do not offer it. Slowly, painstakingly, he opens the packet, scatters its contents on the table, examines each item methodically. Your hand stays out of your packet. His face sours. Slowly he stamps the packet and leaves you to restore the contents. You have wasted fifteen minutes. Time is money, and so is “dash”.

“The clerk at the catering rest-house looks through his list of bookings and shakes his head sorrowfully. “Sorry, Sir, no booking. All full up. Very sorry”. He waits patiently. Equally patiently you point out that your name is chalked up legibly behind him on the public booking board. He signs and gives you your room. You have wasted ten minutes, because you refused to give “dash”.

“Dash”, “Dash”, “Dash”. It is the universal language of West Africa. It is the polite euphemism for a bribe. If you require a driving licence—bribe; if you require a driving test—bribe; if you go to election—bribe. (*Laughter*). If you want promotion—bribe. If you want leave of absence—bribe; if you want scholarship—bribe; even if you want to bury a dead man in Lagos—bribe. (*Laughter*). If you require a political appointment—bribe; and you have to pay instalmentally after promotion has been achieved. If you are in hospital and in danger of death and before you get the filling clerk to issue you a card you have to offer bribe. (*Laughter*); if you want to change your name from Tshombe to Kasavubu—bribe.

I had an experience some time ago when one of the bribe scorners was trying to justify bribery in terms of what happened in Congo. He said to me : “If the Congolese had known the art of bribery, Lumumba would have been saved; somebody would have taken money and gone to reveal to Lumumba at midnight what plot was being made against his life”. Bribery and corruption has become part and parcel of the social institution of this country.

Let me now, Sir, try to analyse some of the economic consequence of bribery and corruption in a country such as ours. Lewis, the renowned economist of Manchester under the heading “Roads to stagnation” distinguishes 9 ways in which a growing country could stagnate or decline.

- (1) By failing to maintain order.
- (2) By promoting exploitation of one class or another.
- (3) By placing obstacles in the way of foreign intercourse.
- (4) By neglecting the Public Services.
- (5) By excessive *Laissez-faire*.
- (6) By excessive control and by embarking on costly wars and
- (7) By plundering the citizens.

(*Interruption*).

I will still describe it myself, I will discuss it with my own effort. I would like you to know that.

Plundering the citizens may come about from many sources. Politicians by their prestige and their power are advantageously placed for such plundering either known to the public or unknown because most local people are ignorant of the intricacies of modern Government. Plundering may take many and various forms : it may be by bribery or corruption, or by embezzlement, or by nepotism, or by awarding favourable contracts.

The native courts, the local governments, the corporations, certain stages of the Administrative Service, the Police are the seats of such abuses. I regret that there is no time for me to read a very lengthy series of communications between myself, the Heads of the Police and the N.P.A. both here and in Port Harcourt enumerating various categories and levels of abuses. For example, one shipper—a friend of mine—discovered that over a period of twelve months he paid more in bribe to collect

his goods than he paid to the N.P.A. authorities. At one time he paid £1-9s-0d in bribe and paid £1-7s-0d for N.P.A. charges and he keeps a record of all he did over this period of twelve months.

An hon. Member : For what purpose ?

Dr Nzeribe : For the purpose of arming me with objective letters to discuss my thesis as a scholar. I cannot discuss this just off hand. It is much more than sentimental thing ; it is a moral issue. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : These interruptions are very unnecessary.

Dr Nzeribe : The reports of the various Commissions.

Mr M. B. Afanideh (Ikot-Ekpene South) : On a point of order, Sir, May I ask the hon. gentleman to tender these documents to the Speaker, Sir.

An hon. Member : No, to the Police.

Mr Speaker : That is not a point of order.

Dr Nzeribe : The reports of the various commissions and the practical observations of the working of these bodies, I mean the various levels of Government and even the firms, bear out the statement that the problem of integrity is one of the greatest obstacles to progress in this country.

It is, for instance, estimated that over 29 per cent of the assessed taxes in Nigeria is evaded. Most of the taxes collected do not reach the exchequer. Tax collectors, tax clerks and a motley array of middlemen that enter into the picture often by concerted action appropriate a large portion of the taxes to themselves. Assessment officers are corruptible : money is paid to have one's name put on the list of tax collectors.

Commissions of Inquiry into the working of the native courts in the country—some have been made in the Western Region and some have been made in the Eastern Region and so on and so forth : this is not the particular technique of Government but a general thing—reveal that very large sums have to be paid to the court members by way of bribes and the highest bidder always wins. Successful litigants are called upon to pay so much more than what they get from the suit. It is a secret crime and always hard to detect.

The same, if not worse, is true of the local government bodies where debauchery, nepotism undue indigence, lack of supervision, awarding of contracts to themselves or to those who bid privately are a rule rather than an exception.

People say that bribery and corruption may be a temporary phase caused in part by the illiteracy and ignorance of the masses and lowness of salaries, but it has its impact on economic development and social growth, especially as this practice has become an institution. This is a dangerous phenomenon especially when the relationship between the Government and the public is not well-understood and where the Government is expected to undertake large development projects the efficient execution of which will depend on the degree of confidence that exists between the people and the Government and among the various groups of leaders in the area.

The danger of bribery and corruption becoming a part of the machinery of Government is also a serious one. In this case, and with the concomitant evils of nepotism and favouritism, they lead to grave misallocation of resources and thus to stagnation and deterioration. For instance, in one of the local councils it was recently discovered that jobs were dished out on the "sons of the soil" principle and with no regard to the qualifications and personal character of the applicants. Scholarship awards to secondary schools were made on the basis of payment of over £100—a sum much higher than the total annual cash income of four average families in Nigeria. This policy certainly rules out candidates and applicants who otherwise have superior natural abilities than the nation could tap for rapid development work.

Another example of misallocation and inefficiency may be examined. In one of the bribe-ridden areas in the country, it is reported that local authorities hire teachers and other employees for a charge of 50 per cent or 80 per cent of their gross national income and successful candidates in the interviews are periodically called upon to pay certain levies to the councils to ensure their security and promotion. The result is that to-day most of the teachers in local council's schools in Nigeria are ill-qualified to handle their teaching responsibilities.

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An hon. Member : It is true ?

Dr Nzeribe : That is true. And, of course, we all know what this means to the country. Nepotism and bribery do not allow the superior way of doing things to displace the inferior ; do not allow new blood to flow into the society. They lead also to inefficiency and the consequent total loss to the society as a whole. Moreover, they breed class struggle as they tend to concentrate power and prestige in a few hands. Another grave deterring effect is that they rule out the "latecomers" from substantive position in government and business, especially in Nigeria where local feelings are still very keen.

The fear that the fruits of one's endeavours would not be plucked by the sower, and the fear that state officials and their henchmen and accomplices might encroach on one's "fortune", are sufficient to scare prospective entrepreneurs out of the country, and this may be true both of indigenous businessmen and foreign. Above all, bribery and corruption breed a class of social and economic parasites who do not contribute to the productive process. These people live conspicuously, dissipating their ill-gotten goods on display and fiestas, large families and politics. They set a wasteful, albeit attractive, pattern of life which their less privileged compatriots may try to emulate.

Perhaps the heaviest burden that low integrity on the part of the leaders and civil servants may impose on social and economic growth is the lack of confidence and faith which it engenders. A graft-ridden government and its leaders cannot command public confidence. May I repeat, Sir, a graft-ridden government and its leaders cannot command public confidence. In a development programme in a country like Nigeria in which the Government is expected to play a leading role no progress can be expected unless these malpractices are eradicated or at least ameliorated. For example—

Mr Speaker : We hope the hon. Member is winding up : he has two more minutes.

Dr Nzeribe : Thank you Mr Speaker. May I then conclude by making a number of concrete suggestions for fighting the evils of bribery and corruption : (1) I would ask the Federal Government to set up a non-partisan high-powered Commission of Inquiry into

the nature, scope and pattern of corruption in this country. (2) Reinforce and extend to the Regions the already created embryonic Advisory Committee on the Eradication of Employment Corruption. (3) Initiate a mass movement based on democratic process of public education, using all available media of communication, *viz.*, N.B.C. commercial and mobile films, the press, the pulpits, the schools, posters, cartoons and everything that can be used to reach the dynamic love of the entire Nigerian people. The chief cause of bribery is civic illiteracy. Its logical therapy is thorough understanding of duties and rights of the citizens.

4. Leagues of bribe scorners akin to that of S. K. Ladipo should receive government recognition and reinforcement,—in schools, churches, departments, etc.

5. Government will define 'Bribery' so that we might know the boundaries and limits of the words "Bribery and corruption".

6. The Federal Government should itself take the lead by insisting that no violence is done to the integrity of the leadership of those top officers and Ministers. Dubious characters should be purged pronto.

7. An immediate concerted attack on mass unemployment. Poverty is not the cause of bribery.

8. There should be established employment agencies similar to the Public Service Commission whose record is reported to be excellent for screening and employment of the lower grade workers.

9. It is urgent that the laws of the country be revised. I have in mind the Criminal Code section 98 (1), 114, 115 to remove obstacles in the way of investigations. Terms of sentence for convicts should be tightened, including immediate dismissal.

10. A special branch of the police akin to Scotland Yard, or the American F.B.I. Central Intelligence Agents composed of highly trained and well educated Nigerians—Nigerians of high calibre who are well talented and capable of being promoted—should be created forthwith. I am happy to note that the C.I.D. at the Lion Buildings here have been doing an excellent job in the past three months.

Sir, I beg to move.

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[Anti-Bribery Movement]

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[Anti-Bribery Movement]

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Dr Kalu Ezera (Bende East): I rise to second this motion which has been so ably proposed by Dr Nzeribe, but before I speak on this I would like to make a very serious appeal to our Members on the other side to take this motion very seriously. I would imagine that this is a non-partisan motion, that it cuts across partisan boundaries and that it affects the whole country.

Mr Speaker: Order, order, I would not like any more interruptions on my left.

Dr Kalu Ezera: If this Legislature which is the highest in the nation takes the issue of corruption so lightly, and makes mockery of it, then we are doomed. Oh! I am very much distressed to look across and see my hon. Friends giggling and making jokes over an issue which we on this side think so very seriously about.

Mr Speaker, Sir, if our Friends on the other side take this matter seriously then they should show by their actions that the country is bound to benefit thereby and that it is not a partisan issue at all. I am making an appeal once again to all parts of the House to take this piece of legislation very seriously. What are my reasons? There is no doubt, Sir. Let us face one fact, let us face one clear fact. Corruption has eaten into the fabric of this country like a cancer worm very deeply. It has eaten in high places, in low places in the country. In an under-developed country that ignores this danger great harm is in the making. That is why I want the Opposition and other Members of this House to have sympathy so that the public will know that we are determined to make all efforts to stamp out this evil.

Sir, corruption definitely is a very great evil. I am reminded of comments made by an expatriate friend during the independence celebrations. He said: "Oh yes, we give you political independence, but so what, we know we still control your economy and we know we can still always influence your political decisions. Even though we cannot influence it we can always buy through our agents whatever you decide in your secret rooms." Now perhaps this is a very mild thing on the political side. We have very able Ministers, but this man is so confident that he can always steal either through the process of typing or mimeographing whatever documents they call our

decisions and ideas. Well on our part that means we ought to have a counter effort. But above all, Sir, corruption is everywhere. As I said it is in high places, it is in low places, but my concern is for the common man, the man in the street, who cannot offer a bribe to get a job, who unless he gives a fabulous amount of money cannot get the job of the gardener or even labourer or to work in any factory. This, of course, should be checked.

Above all, Mr Speaker, a student going abroad cannot get his passport. Come to the passport office now, and see what things happen there. If they know that you are an hon. Member they listen to you. But what of the poor student who has a limited amount of money which is just sufficient to take him through the period of one year in Britain or elsewhere in Europe? He is wanted to pay almost three quarters of the amount into the pocket of one of the officers there before his passport is issued. I am disappointed that the Government has attempted to amend this by saying that it is impossible to accomplish a successful decision. The Federal Government should be determined to set up strong machinery to combat bribery and corruption, not only an amendment directed towards the stamping out of this evil. I do not agree, Sir, that the Government has indeed made a determined effort to stamp out bribery.

Mr Speaker: If the hon. Member had wanted to speak on the amendment, he would have to wait until the amendment has been moved, and in this respect I should consider that the Member is speaking in anticipation of the amendment.

Dr Kalu Ezera: I am sorry, Sir, I am speaking purely on the motion. I want to say, Sir, that the Government has not done enough to stamp out this evil. We feel that if the Government is determined to do it, it can do it. There are many ways of doing this and I know the Government can do it. If you go to the commercial firms—I am sorry to say, Sir, that the most corrupt influence in our midst to-day are the Lebanese and Syrians and Indian merchants. They believe that they could bribe their way round and get anything with it. (*Some hon. Members*) *They do it, and they do it very well too.* They tell you quite openly that they can get anything

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because they have the money to give Africans who can render any injustice provided they have got some money for it. These foreign merchants are very proud of their activities. They come mimicking around your doors and offer pound notes which they have to a great extent. The Government should therefore not only support the anti-corruption movement, but should on its own set up machinery to combat it. There are some of us here and I know that there are many of us in this country who feel very much disappointed about this vil in this country.

As my hon. colleague the mover of the motion has already suggested, I would like to say, Sir, that the Central Investigation Department which is attached to the Police is not an effective machinery to combat corruption. It is by no means an effective machinery to combat corruption. I think everybody will agree with me, here, Sir, that there are some honest men among them. They may be well-intentioned but the very fact that they are attached to the Police and many people are criminals already known to the Police makes their jobs almost impossible because when a C.I.D. man comes in the criminals will run away.

I will give you one example. About two months ago somewhere in the Eastern Region, I think in Aba, a case cropped up about a high official of the Judiciary who wanted to take bribe in order to slant the side of justice. Now this information was known and the C.I.D. was contacted in Port Harcourt and in fairness to the C.I.D. they did the right thing. They sent in two car loads of C.I.D. men and drove into Aba. Someone was sent to the house of the suspected criminal and another was sent to a corner to watch when the money would be handed. As soon as these cars arrived, an informant went and told this gentleman and gave him some information. This man was chased right and left by the C.I.D. men but he refused to accept although he had definitely agreed negotiating to accept so much money in order to slant the way of justice. I mention this case, Sir, as one solitary example of the ineffectiveness of the C.I.D.

As I said they may be well-intentioned but the very fact that they are themselves within the Police system which everybody knows makes their work less effective and therefore, I would suggest along the lines of my hon. colleague the Mover, the introduction of a Criminal Investigation Department or what the United States call "Federal Bureau of Investigation" or what they call in the United Kingdom "Scotland Yard" attached not strictly to the Police but attached to the Ministry of Justice. This department should be designed solely to check bribery and corruption and other notorious practices. Furthermore this department could be charged with the onerous task of safeguarding our internal security against subversion.

But, Sir, is the present C.I.D. effective in combating corruption? Everybody knows it is not and Government should not close its eyes to it and pretend it does not know. It knows that there is corruption everywhere. As the Mover of the Motion has said, the point is what to do to check it and we hope that the Government will accept this Motion. Let us just take a few examples from the United Kingdom and the United States. Somebody might say that these countries are developed and that we are undergoing development and therefore this is a transitory stage in our development. I refuse to accept that, Sir. We cannot remain for hundreds or thousands of years before reaching the standard which Britain or United States have reached. We want to take a short cut and I hope everybody will agree to that and unless we take that short cut we will never find ourselves at the top of the ladder.

It reminds me, Sir, of what I read that a United States Director of Internal Revenue, I think his name is Mr Curdle, a man at the top, was convicted some years ago for evading tax. I asked a friend if he knew who caught a man so highly placed to be convicted. He said, "Of course, the F.B.I. system". This is their investigation branch and is a distinct set-up, they pay them so very well, take men of integrity into the posts so that at least they are impervious to corruption. This man was arrested and there was nothing on earth to save him. He had evaded paying tax and to set an example he was convicted.

Now, Sir, it was impossible to find out this other than through the avenue of a very effective and well-integrated investigating department. Similar to the one we have as C.I.D. here, but the difference is that our C.I.D. is attached to the Police Department. I do not think as I said before that it does make it an effective organ of checking bribery and corruption since everybody knows who the Police are. In fact the C.I.D. themselves sometime are placed in a very difficult position to arrest the policemen who indulge in fraud. But a similar body as we are suggesting here could very confidently do so. They enter the bus, they take the trains so that if the bus conductor wants to take bribe he does not know whether the person whom he is taking bribe from is an F.B.I. man or a C.I.D. man. Everything just goes on smoothly, so, Sir, I think we can take an example from these countries and we can do a lot to raise our integrity. What is needed for the development of this country is not only economic, social or political advancement. All this will mean nothing if we are corrupt within. If we are corrupt within we will land in decay sooner or later; and I hope that our aspiration to lead Africa will be in vain. I would have thought that this Motion is a harmless one and that it should be accepted as it is. I commend it again to the Government and the whole House to give it the consideration it deserves with all seriousness so that we can fully feel that we have done our duty to posterity and not allow our own children to come up and do it for us. There is no reason why we cannot do it. Let us clear our bowels, lay our hands bare, place our cards on the table and forget whether you are a big man or you are a small man, and remember that corruption does not pay. It eats into the fabric of society and destroys the whole country.

Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

The Minister of Internal Affairs (M. Usman Sarki, Sardaunan Bida): While, Mr Speaker, Sir, I listened attentively to the speeches of the Mover and the Seconder, it appears that they only made what I may call a noise. Why I say that (*Interruptions*).

Dr K. Ezera (Bende East): On point of Order, Sir. I take serious objections, Sir, to such remarks regarding the speeches of hon. Members on the floor of the House at such.

Mr Speaker: Such remarks really are not matters to be raised on point of order.

The Minister of Internal Affairs: If the hon. Mover and the seconder ask the Government to accept the Motion as it stands they are not trying to enlighten the public as to what the Government is trying to do. So this is very important and is something that you must take note of. In view of that fact, I am moving this Amendment which I hope all sides of this House will support. The amendment reads, That this House notes with satisfaction the determination of the Federal Government to use existing legal machinery to combat bribery and corruption and to co-operate with any popular movement directed towards the end.

In moving this amendment, Mr Speaker, I have to say from the start that this Government is not out of sympathy with the hon. Dr Nzeribe's Motion: we are in sympathy, but what we are not agreed on is the machinery by which any such movement could be initiated.

Now, where it exists, bribery and corruption is a cancer that eats into the body politic and destroys the moral fabric of the nation. This Government believes that the first line of defence against this evil does not lie in police forces and C.I.D., but in the hearts of you and me and every other citizen. The problem is moral. Its solution requires the strengthening of the individual's moral courage to the point where he says to himself and to the world: "I will neither offer nor seek nor receive bribe".

Now, at one time the Western Regional Government appointed an Anti-Corruption Officer, whose sole job it was to investigate and deal with such matters in the public service. I do not know what success attended his efforts and I think it is likely that, like many of the other efforts of that Government, the office was ushered in with great publicity and thereafter its existence either forgotten or its final results lost in the obscurity in which that Government would like to bury its failures.

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We have no confidence in Anti-Corruption Officers or chains of C.I.D. with the special job of detecting bribery and corruption. These are criminal offences: the police and the Judiciary are there to deal with them and we must say to these bodies: "It is your duty to deal with these things; the country depends on you." If the individual's own mind is the first line of defence, our police force is the second line. We cannot appoint another force. Now, the initiation of any such movement must lie with the community, but here I will say we are so short of leaders in the community who, in their own surroundings, can initiate an anti-bribery and anti-corruption campaign? Are there no religious leaders who every week or every day seek to set their people the highest moral values? These are the people, and you Members of this House, as individuals, who must spearhead such a movement—it is not a matter for the Government as a Government.

The first line of defence as I have said, is in the heart of the individual and it is to the individual heart and conscience that you must appeal. I recognise that there is, within the Federal Ministry of Labour, a Committee that considers the eradication of bribery and corruption in reference to obtaining employment. But in my mind, that is a very narrow field, and indeed we wish them all success; but on a National level such an evil can only be fought by individuals; by parents teaching their children; by religious leaders teaching their followers; by Trade Union leaders; by school teachers, and by you and me in our public life.

We remember with thankfulness the League of Bribery Scorners that was formed in Lagos under active individual leaders. How far it is effective I do not know, but this is a battle in which there should be no rest; it is a battle that has to be fought by the individual in his own locality; it is a battle in which success can be achieved, not merely by great public beginnings, but by each individual continuing in the fight right to the end.

Now, this Government is behind the spirit of the Motion, and the purpose of the amendment is to ensure that the House recognises where the fight against these twin evils must begin. We are determined to co-operate with any public movement. We are determined to root out bribery and corruption in high

and low places within the Public Service, and we will give all moral support to all leaders of the people who will take upon themselves the task of educating the people to the highest standards of moral values.

I therefore move the amendment set down on the Order Paper and I commend the amendment to the House for support.

Amendment proposed.

Chief Ayo Rosiji (Egba East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment. I would like to say, first of all, Mr Speaker, that this matter is not a party political matter at all. It is a matter of general interest to the whole country whatever party anybody may belong to because it does not matter which party rules the country. If there is corruption in the country, that corruption affects the Government of that country, it does not matter which party is in power; and more than that it is a matter of which we should all be ashamed because when people talk of corruption, we do not know who of us is corrupt; the stigma attaches to all because those who are corrupt, are corrupt behind the scenes not corrupt openly, and we cannot, therefore, put our fingers on the really corrupt one who is indeed the guilty party when people say that Nigerians are corrupt. Therefore, it is important that we should attach the greatest importance to this matter. Dr Ezera said in his opening speech that we seem to take this matter lightly. We do not know.

I made a lot of gibes when Dr Nzeribe was talking but my gibes were directed at the connivance which has been going on in certain quarters, and if we speak in condemnation of corruption in this Chamber, when we go out we should also condemn it with equal vigour. It is not enough to come here and talk and then to go out and do something different. I do not intend to multiply the examples of corruptions, I go straight to business and try to say what we can do to eliminate this corruption. It has been said here that there is corruption in high places as well as in low places. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Will the hon. Member please address the Chair?

Chief Ayo Rosiji: Mr Speaker, Sir, it has been said that there is corruption both at the high and low levels. I agree entirely but I

would like to say that what is important is to remove corruption at the high level first then it could be removed from the low level.

If you had a chief clerk in an office who took £5 from a junior to engage him, and somebody comes in to look for the job of a messenger; what do you think the clerk will do if the approach is made to him. He will also ask for a bribe, but if the chief clerk is clean, the junior clerk will also try to be clean. If he is not, then the chief clerk can fall heavily upon him. If the junior clerk is not clean, how could the chief clerk who is corrupt fall heavily upon him? The junior clerk will simply laugh at him. The important thing is to remove corruption from the top rung of the ladder first then the junior people will follow suit. That is the most important thing and may I say that the leaders of this country must set an example.

Similarly, when we know that people are corrupt, we should not cover them. We are not setting a good example if we condone corruption in some people and, instead of exposing them, we make them Chairman of a public corporation or elevate them to the Senate. That is wrong. We are laying bad example to the younger generation. Furthermore, Sir, I would like to say that we all want supporters in our party, I want people over there to come to my party and I know that people over there will like people here to come over to their party. For God's sake, do not let us do it just any how.

An hon. Member : That is one of your evil practices.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. Chief Rosiji.

Chief Rosiji : Now, I do not intend to take this as a joke at all. It was said somebody on this side was threatened with legal action for stealing money from a local authority long long ago and this was used to coerce him to cross over to the other side. If you want something very badly, please do not let us go after it at all costs. If you go after it in that manner it may not pay us because the person who simply crosses over to your party because you offer him an opportunity at that time will go back to where he came from at the least opportunity. I feel that the first line we should follow is to remove corruption from high places.

There has been talk and we all heard about it. I read a New York International Magazine

in which charges of corruption were levelled at the officials of the Nigerian Government. This is a matter of great shame. It is in a magazine circulated all over the world. There is no point in my bringing such a thing here to read. It is wrong for the people at the top to keep preaching to the people below when they themselves are not clean. This is wrong and I think that the next thing that we should do is to expose, on all occasions, any corruption or bribery in operation.

I remember some years ago, a Minister who was travelling in his car saw a policeman taking a bribe from a driver. He got out from his car and chased the policeman into the bush. The policeman was prosecuted. The Minister was Mr Awokoya when he was in the Western Region. You all heard about it. I think, Sir, that if we do this sort of thing and we try all we can to remove corruption in high places and if we expose corruption from whatever level and we encourage other people to do the same, we shall have gone a long way. I agree with the Minister. This question should be everybody's. It is not a question for policemen alone. Policemen themselves are corrupt. How can you ask a corrupt man to go and charge another corrupt man? I would like to say, Sir, that the oftener we talk about this matter here the better. Maybe one day, God will do his wonderful work and remove this evil of corruption from the minds of our people, from the minds of all of us.

Now the reason why I am opposed to the Minister's amendment is that no expression can be too strong in the matter of corruption. The amendment of the Minister whittles down the whole thing. I do not want it whittled down.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think there is very much noise from my right hand side. It must stop.

An hon. Member : Their conscience is worrying them.

Chief Rosiji : Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like the Government to think hard about this matter. They must be able to take some drastic steps; some steps have been taken in other places like India where officers of the Government who earned a certain amount of salary are charged when they have

[CHIEF ROSIJI]

property which is completely out of tune with what they earned. They were charged and queried as to how they got the money. That sort of thing should be done here. The Government should consider doing something similar. There was an announcement a few days ago from the very good friend of our hon. Prime Minister, President Nkrumah—

The Prime Minister : Yes, he is my good friend.

Chief Rosiji : The Prime Minister's good friend, that no Ministers or members of Parliament should use their position in business. That is an effort on the part of President Nkrumah to remove bribery and corruption from the life of Ghana. Let us also do something. I do not say we should copy Nkrumah. We should be original and do something. The Prime Minister should think and do something for this country. Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to oppose.

The Prime Minister (Alhaji hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa): Mr Speaker, Sir, I thank the hon. friend Chief Rosiji. When I saw the notice of this motion, Sir, I thought this is an opportunity where members of the legislature will express their views and give some concrete suggestions as to how we should combat this very bad operation.

I am very sorry, Sir, to hear the speeches of the mover, the seconder, and my hon. Friend, Chief Rosiji. Now, of course, this House can debate anything under the sun, but we must not forget that our speeches are read the world over, and if hon. Members, through our democratic ways, through freedom of speech, which is very important, will get up in this House and make generalisations about corruption and bribery and condemn every aspect of our life, the Civil Service, Ministerial appointments the composition of the Senate and the House of Representatives, I am afraid that very soon the world will begin to think again about us. As my hon. Friend has rightly said, if anyone of us is labelled as corrupt, he will be regarded as a Nigerian outside and not as an individual, and so all of us will be regarded as corrupt. And what I think is wrong is that Members should stand up here and make general remarks, more or less hiding certain things which they want to say, which we all clearly know they want to say.

Really, Sir, if you want to find a remedy for anything you had better really examine it and say it in full force. Why be afraid to say it? Why? We must not generalise. People say there is bribery at the top and at the bottom. If they are in possession of this information, why do they not go to the right quarters to report?

My hon. Friend, Chief Rosiji, for example, spoke of an hon. Member on that Side who is a thief.

An hon. Member : What!

The Prime Minister : Of course that's what we were told, that he stole a Native Authority's money!

Some hon. Member : Shame, shame.

The Prime Minister : Sir, the hon. Chief Rosiji referred to an Action Group Member who was elected on an Action Group platform, according to him, and they knew he was a thief.

Chief Ayo Rosiji : On a point of explanation, the hon. Prime Minister is using his privileged position to explain things beyond my submission.

The Prime Minister : Sir, I think the House is the best judge in this case, because he spoke about a Member on that Side who, simply because he stole a Native Authority's money, was told by some people that if he did not cross over to their side they would take him to court.

An hon. Member : Did he say that?

The Prime Minister : He said so. Now, if my hon. Friend, Chief Rosiji, is in possession of this information, and there are many like that, and my hon. Friend is not a commoner, he is a Chief—(Hear, hear.)—why does he not report this to the Police? Of course, the allegation generally is that the Police are also corrupt. I want to curb cases of bribery and corruption. That is why we say we will use the existing machinery. If Members of the House are prepared to come forward and give information of the corrupt practices of whoever it is, you can be sure that nobody is above the law, the people will be prosecuted. But I do not want hon. Members to make general remarks which will not help the country at all.

There are different kinds of corruption. You can do it through many, many ways, and all of us hear a lot of rumours of what is going on, but we cannot act on rumours. If there is a definite, specific case it is for all hon. Members to bring these cases to light, and if they do so I assure them that they will have the full support of the Government.

An hon. Member : That is not enough.

The Prime Minister : Well, it is not enough, according to you, but so long as people are not prepared to come out and say they received or they gave it will be very difficult to stop this evil practice. As I said I do not want this Federal House to give the impression that Nigeria is corrupt, as they appear to show.

I remember a television interview in London in 1958 when some pressmen asked me whether it was true that one had to buy everything in Nigeria ; that to get things one had to pay money. I said to them that I did not know why they asked me the question. What did they expect me to say ? To say yes, or to say no ? In all countries of the world, in England, in America, anywhere, one hears of corruption in any part of the world. I do not want anybody to single out one country and say that is a corrupt country, but perhaps other countries might be more indulged in that evil than the other, and that is why I say that it takes different forms ; and that is the reason for the Federal Government's amendment. If we use the existing machinery, if any organisation outside is prepared to come out openly to fight bribery and corruption we shall support the organisation.

I shall tell the House of something. I think they know about it. I heard that there was an organisation somewhere, an anti-bribery something or the other. I understand that in that organisation the members were going round to say : "Well, Mr so and so, give us this, if not, we shall expose you." ! (*Laughter*). But mark you, the very name of this organisation, I think, is "anti-bribery" something.

As I said, we know ourselves in Parliament. We can debate anything, and I hope that when we speak on an important matter like this, which is affecting the whole integrity and the name of our nation, we must really speak in a way that the world should not regard us as people who are living in this dirt all the time.

People should not regard us as being in the hands of anybody who brings in a small sum of money to *dash* us.

I remember what some people said they were told during the Independence Celebrations : "Well, you are getting independence, all right but we will control everything by buying you up." If anybody who claims to be a nationalist and who can bear to hear such a thing from a foreigner without coming to blows with him, I wonder what he is. What is such a person ? What is his use ? (*Loud applause*). Anybody saying that is speaking ill of the whole of the Nigerian nation. He should not be allowed to get away with it. Sometimes we rather get quite emotional about these things ; they are very important.

I think my hon. Friend, Chief Rosiji, referred to an American publication. I read the publication myself and I would say that it is completely untrue. One American paper, I think, suggested and I think the suggestion was made from Nigeria, perhaps the suggestion came from Chief Rosiji. (*Laughter*).

Chief Rosiji : On point of order, Mr Speaker, I think the hon. Prime Minister is deliberately maligning me, and I ask for your protection.

The Prime Minister : Sir, we are all under your protection. I quite remember, that that magazine published the information, and that my hon. Friend was on a two-month mission to New York.

Chief Rosiji : No, no. It was five months before.

An hon. Member : But you were there, you were there.

The Prime Minister : Sir, that information was given and it was false information. I had a press conference and a friend of mine who is a journalist asked me that question and I explained to him the reason of the Government's reaction and he brought me a copy of the publication himself for me to read, which I read and found to be untrue. Well, that is an inter-national thing which was boldly refuted. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order. It is out of order to persistently interrupt a speaker. I cannot see any reason why the hon. Member (*Chief Rosiji*) is so uneasy.

The Prime Minister : It is guilty conscience, Sir ! If a man is sitting on something and he knows that people know what he is sitting on and when people try to drag him up, I think he feels rather uneasy.

However, Sir, I think that on a matter of this kind affecting the whole nation, we should be very serious, more serious than we have been. I want us to see that any discussion on this takes quite a different form, with Members from all sides contributing their ideas on how we can stop this evil ; it is an evil. Most of us who have religions to which we belong know very well that it is really very sinful and, apart from our religious beliefs, you cannot allow yourself to be bought ; your intelligence, your position and everything to be bought by a small sum of money, or by nice words : they are also bribery.

One cannot allow oneself to be bought by these methods, and, therefore, I think that the only way to do this is by education. When I say education I do not mean necessarily education in the class room, though this would help very much, but by the Members of this House, by the members of the public bringing to light all these corrupt practices. When you hear of corruption, please come forward and make it public.

I think, therefore, that the Government's amendment is in order. We should be prepared to help any organisation which is out to fight bribery and corruption. We should support any individual who brings to light those evil practices, and so, Sir, I support the amendment. (*Applause*).

Alhaji Bello Dandago (Gwarzo East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to support the amendment, and to say that people who live in glass houses should not, I emphasise, not throw stones.

Here we are in a country of people who for the first time in our parliamentary practice brought money into the show. The Action Group brought money into politics. Before the Action Group started campaigning for election, the electorate, the people who voted them did not know anything about this bribery and corruption, they did not know anything about this bad practice. (*Laughter*).

Some hon. Members : It is true, it is quite true.

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

Alhaji Bello Dandago : Mr Speaker, it is the people like Chief Rosiji who take part in corrupting the people of Nigeria. I am in sympathy with the amendment but I have this to say. Bribery and corruption are of many kinds and we will do something about it. Bribery and corruption are as old as mankind. But it does not mean that because bribery is old in the world we will not do something about it. I am saying, Sir, that the example Chief Rosiji gave that in one of the magazines....

(*Interruption*).

Chief Ayo Rosiji : Why do you keep calling my name ?

Alhaji Dandago : Because you are one of the architects of bribery and corruption (*Laughter*).

Sir, wherever that magazine might have gone it did not go to any country where they are immune from bribery and corruption. Sir, as long ago as the 22nd Century B.C. King Hamunbiri of Babylon tried to cope with this bribery with his Judges but he never was completely able to stamp it out.

Mr Speaker, Sir, no amount of legislation can stamp out bribery. If I want to bribe somebody I must bribe him. It is the change of mind ; it is a change from within and not from without. So, I am saying that as Legislators we should try to educate ourselves, to educate our people about the evils of corruption and bribery. Government cannot do it alone. You are the Government. I do not know why people talk like this, Sir. The Government is your Government. We say the Government can do this, the Government can do that.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I repeat this word. No amount of legislation can stamp out bribery and corruption. I have this to say, Sir. The hand of the giver is on top, like this (*Laughter as Alhaji Dandago demonstrated with his hands*). In a case like this, Sir, it is not the question of the receiver that matters ; rather, it is the question of the giver that matters. The hand of the receiver is like *this* (*Laughter*). Sir, I might not receive bribery if somebody does not incite me. It is the man who incites that is responsible, human nature being what it is. I think that this is a serious matter. The Action Group incite people ; they are like that. They borrow money with which to bribe people at elections.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we do not want Nigeria to be known as a corrupt nation. No, we are not. But we have to correct ourselves we have to change and we have to teach our people.

Mr W. O. Briggs (Degema) : How are we to teach them ?

Alhaji Dandago : By your useful co-operation, hon. Briggs. We can do it if we want to. Sir, I suggest we teach our people to stop giving. Somebody cannot receive unless he is given.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support the Amendment.

Amendment put and agreed to.

Original Question, as amended, put and agreed to.

Resolved : That this House notes with satisfaction the determination of the Federal Government to use existing legal machinery to combat bribery and corruption and to co-operate with any popular movement directed towards the same end.

Sitting suspended : 1. p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3.13 p.m.

ORON-CALABAR FERRY SERVICE

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, "That, in view of the importance and financial potentialities of the ferry service between Oron and Calabar which are at present owned and run by Elder Dempster Agencies Ltd., this House is of the opinion that such services could be run at less cost to passengers, and calls upon the Government to take over this service forthwith".

Sir, I would like to go very briefly over the past history of Calabar-Oron ferry service.

An hon. Member : We know it.

Mr Ekanem : I hope I will not be unduly disturbed by those who think that anyone from Calabar, or the C.O.R. area for that matter will not have a voice in this House. I would like to make it abundantly clear that we, whether on the Government Bench or in the Opposition, have equal opportunities to speak in this House. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order.

Mr Ekanem : You have been there, Sir. The Prime Minister has been there, and so have many other people. The distance from Oron to Calabar is fifteen miles. As far back as 1910, the cost of crossing by ferry from Calabar to Oron and *vice versa* was nine pence. After a time, it was increased to one shilling, then to one shilling and three pence, then to one shilling and six pence and then one shilling and nine pence. The fare has been increasing every year and to-day it is two shillings and six pence. This fare of 2s-6d is charged indiscriminately irrespective of age. A seven-year old child pays 2s-6d, and a man as old as Methuselah pays 2s-6d.

I need not tell you, Sir—for you might have read it in the newspapers—of the sufferings of the inhabitants of the whole area surrounding the Calabar river. Part of this area includes the Southern Cameroons which is inhabited by a clan up to the boundary of Mamfe East and West. All the people in this area used the Calabar river to connect the mainland to Enugu. It is my belief that any good government would take care of the whole area. It is difficult for the people living in Calabar and the areas I have mentioned to go with ease to Oron. The same thing applies to the people occupying the mainland of Ibibio, which is one of the largest tribes in the Eastern Region. It is impossible for them to go to their former capital of Calabar with any degree of ease.

Only two months ago, because of the congestion in the boats and the difficulties of crossing the creek, people had to resort to the use of dinghies. I hope, Sir, that you will agree with me that we have to introduce certain measures in order to improve the situation. These are just some of the difficulties, Mr Speaker.

Another point is in respect of cars ferried across the rivers. In 1930, it cost £1 to ferry a car across. The cost has been gradually increased since then to £1-5s-0d, £1-10s-0d, £1-17s-0d, and to-day it costs £2. I am sorry our Prime Minister is not here to tell you of his difficulties with the Elder Dempster Lines on his way to Calabar.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Mr S. Lana): I was there.

Mr Ekanem: I think those who have been to the House of Commons will bear me out that it is the tradition of that House, after which this House is fashioned, for Parliamentary Secretaries always to maintain silence, and I am therefore opposed to a Parliamentary Secretary unduly disturbing me. (*Interruptions*). I want these people, and this Government in particular, to know that Calabar is the cradle of education in this country.

We in Calabar province, and in the C.O.R. area for that matter, look up to the Federal Government as our father, and we strongly maintain that we should not be discriminated against.

This is a matter which is very vital to our people and it should not be dismissed by this Government.

I have said in my Motion that it would be a source of revenue to Nigeria. I want the Minister of Transport and Aviation to tell this House—he has been overseas—where in the world an alien dominates the internal transport of a country. We have a ferry in Onitsha run by the Government. If the Federal Government can run a ferry between Asaba and Onitsha and from Onitsha to Asaba, I maintain very strongly, Sir, that what is good for the goose in Onitsha is good for the gander in Calabar. I am convinced that if this ferry service is taken over by the Federal Government, it will bring in more money to the coffers of the Federal Government. We need more money for the development of this country and here is a project which the Federal Government can undertake to get more money. The Federal Government should tap the resources at home before going overseas to borrow money or receive grants.

The amount of money realised by the Elder Dempster Lines running this ferry service from Calabar to Oron need not be over-estimated, but I can tell you that in a year this firm realises about £250,000. Why should this Government not use this to help the people, the forgotten people, the down-trodden people of the C.O.R. area?

There is a proposal at the moment to build a bridge across the Niger and, I think, the contract for the construction of the bridge has

already been awarded. At the moment, we have two ferries at Onitsha going from Onitsha to Asaba and back, I am appealing to the Federal Government to relieve us of some of our burden. I hope when the bridge across the River Niger is completed the Federal Government will remove the two ferry boats to ply from Calabar to Oron. If the Federal Government feels that as we have been asking for the nationalisation of many industries in this country they cannot consider the Calabar to Oron ferry with it, they should try and go into partnership with private *entrepreneurs*. If it will take up to five years to build the bridge across the Niger, I am suggesting that the Federal Government should go into partnership with private companies like the Elder Dempster Agencies but, the partnership should be of a 50:50 basis. The Federal Government should own at least 50 per cent of the shares and private companies 50 per cent.

If the Federal Government accepts this Motion—Thank God there is no amendment—I think this is a sign that the Motion has been accepted in principle. Government should either provide two launches to carry passengers across as a temporary measure or go into partnership with private companies like the Elder Dempster Agencies. As an alternative the Government can also withdraw one of the launches plying the Onitsha to Asaba route to Calabar.

The people of the C.O.R. area are suffering. We are opposed to the Federal Government giving amenities to some people and leaving other people to suffer. Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not want to waste the time of this House but I will only say that my hon. Friend the Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr Lana, when he came to Calabar, was sleeping when the launch left Calabar and did not wake up until the launch got to Oron. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister is not here to confirm what I am saying.

My hon. Friend, O. J. Eminue, called on the Government to improve Oron port. We are now appealing through the Minister of Transport and Aviation to the Federal Government to come to Calabar and help us. The Federal Government should come over to Calabar and help us by taking over the ferry service there and thus save the lives

of our people. This will go a long way to ease the difficulties experienced by the people of Calabar. If this is done, we shall be proud of the Federal Government and this will help the down-trodden people of the Calabar area. The people of the C.O.R. area are appealing to the Federal Government to help them and something should be done to help them.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I commend the Motion to the whole House and I beg to move. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr I. A. Brown (Uyo South West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to second this Motion. This is a Motion that requires the sympathy of all Members of this House and particularly that of the Minister of Transport. I cannot just remember having seen the Minister use this ferry service between Oron and Calabar for once.

Mr Speaker will remember that last year on the Floor of this House, during the debate on the Speech from the Throne, I appealed to the Prime Minister that it would be something wise if an all-party delegation could be constituted by Members of this House to afford Members the opportunity of knowing all parts of this country before we undertake the trouble of going abroad. The pity of it is that many Members, particularly those of them from that Side of the House—I do not even talk of the N.P.C. side many of whom have never been to the Eastern Nigeria—many of them have never taken the trouble to know many parts of this country, and when a Motion of this nature comes to this House you find it difficult to get the co-operation of some Members because they do not seem to understand what we are talking about.

There is a proposal by the Federal Government now to establish a naval base at Calabar and it is going to cost the Federal Government several thousands of pounds crossing equipment for this naval base to be established there to combat smuggling. All this money is going to be paid out to a foreign private-owned company running these services across these waters. If the Federal Government could undertake to run this ferry service, all this money will only be paid into the coffers of the Federal Government.

As a matter of fact, I must say that every month we are bound to suffer loss of life along this creek because the prices charged by the companies owning this ferry service are so high that many of the passengers prefer to travel by ordinary canoe and these canoes are not quite safe. As the mover of the Motion has said here, one can see that within a period of two years we have had almost about three or four increases in the fares of passengers using this ferry service. In fact, Sir, this matter is not a local matter. The greater number of traders in the Calabar area who use this route are Ibo traders. Even when the Queen visited this country, you remember that the last place she visited was Calabar and the Queen used this same ferry service and you may remember the inconvenience even the Queen had. When the Prime Minister embarked upon his recent tour of this country, Calabar was the last station he visited and if the Parliamentary Secretary attached to the Prime Minister's Office will be honest to tell this House the truth he will tell you how many hours it took the Prime Minister to cross from Calabar to Oron.

I can notice that even the Minister of Transport, as he is looking at me now, is prepared to support this Motion on behalf of the Government, and so I would now appeal to hon. Members on all sides of the House that, since the Minister of Transport is in sympathy with us and is prepared to support this Motion, it is now left to all Members to support this genuine request.

Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku): Mr Speaker, Sir, in speaking to this Motion I would first of all like to assure the mover that the Motion has been considered by Government without any bias at all and is being debated purely on its merits. The mover, no doubt, has the best of intentions, but I am afraid he has not got all the information necessary for him to form a reasonable conclusion. He says that "in view of the importance and financial potentialities of the ferry service between Oron and Calabar"—well, from that one can reasonably infer that he thinks that it will be easy for Government to get into this business and make money out of it. That is one point.

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The second point is that he says that "this House is of the opinion that such services could be run at less cost to passengers. . . ." Well if I do not tell the House exactly what it is likely to cost Government if Government took over this service then I will be failing in my duty because it is only when the House is apprised of the probable cost that they will be able to say whether the service could be run at less cost to passengers if Government took it over.

Now, having considered all the implications some of which I am going to mention, I am afraid that in spite of the sympathy that I have with the intentions of the mover and the seconder, Government cannot accept this Motion. I do not, for a moment, underrate the importance of the ferry service between Oron and Calabar. It is a service which is enjoyed not only by the people in the so-called COR area, but by people in all parts of Nigeria who have any business to do with Calabar or any of the surrounding areas.

I would first of all like to say that it is the policy of my Ministry to run ferries within its sphere of responsibility where genuine needs exist and where no private company or individual is prepared to operate it. We are not out to compete just for the sake of competition with private enterprise—

An hon. Member : Compare Onitsha with Calabar.

The Minister of Transport : Well, I will be drawing a comparison between the service operated at Onitsha and that operated between Oron and Calabar. As a matter of fact, if it were possible for the Federal Government in the early stages to get private enterprise to operate efficiently the ferry service between Asaba and Onitsha the Federal Government would not have gone into it. Therefore in deciding whether Government should operate a ferry service or not, one of the most important considerations is whether private enterprise would be prepared to go in and supply such service. If any private enterprise would be prepared to do so, and do it efficiently and at reasonable cost, then the Federal Government would rather leave it to private enterprise.

Now, as regards this particular ferry service, that is Oron-Calabar ferry service which is operated by the Elder Dempster

Agencies, I think it is true to say that that service is run efficiently for so far as I am aware only one complaint has reached my Ministry about this service within the last six or seven years and that was as far back as 1956. And when it was investigated the complaint was found to be unfounded.

An hon. Member : What was the complaint ?

The Minister of Transport : It had something to do with the fares and I am going to give you the comparative cost so as to convince you that the cost at the moment is not exorbitant.

First of all, the hon. Mover suggests that when the Onitsha Bridge is completed the ferries there could be withdrawn and used between Oron and Calabar. Well, that sounds like a good suggestion but surely you need more than two ferries to carry on the service. At the moment, there are three river craft operating four to six services every day in each direction. The rates which are charged compare favourably with the rates charged even by Government in other places and I think that it is true to say that a fairly high degree of efficiency is maintained in the services. But the only service operated by Government which could be compared with the Oron-Calabar ferry service is that of Onitsha. The Onitsha-Asaba ferry service does not set out to offer, I think hon. Members will agree, the same degree of comfort as on the longer journey between Oron and Calabar.

The hon. Mover has already told us that between Oron and Calabar the distance is about 15 miles and that between Onitsha and Asaba it is about 3 miles. So, when you are comparing costs you must have that in mind, that is five times. So, when you talk about costs you must multiply the cost for Onitsha-Asaba by five.

Sir, the ferries that ply between Onitsha and Asaba are mainly for vehicles. One or two passenger-ferries also operate but the more important aspect is the carriage vehicles. I think on the Oron-Calabar service the emphasis is on passengers because of the length of the distance between the two ports—Oron and Calabar. I think that since the Mover has made so much of the high cost as he thinks

that so much is being charged, it might be of interest to Members if I mention a few figures by way of comparison. Between Onitsha and Asaba, a distance of about 3 miles, the fare for a passenger is 6d and between Oron and Calabar the fare is 2s for a deck passenger.

An hon. Member : It is now 2s-6d !

The Minister of Transport : Even if it is 2s-6d now it is exactly at par comparatively. The other rates are : bicycles—6d on the one and 2s-0d on the other ; motor cycles in the Onitsha-Asaba ferry—5s-0d but in the Oron-Calabar ferry—6s-0d for 15 miles ; motor cars, kitcars, trailers up to 1 ton in the Onitsha-Asaba ferry pay 15s-0d but in the Oron-Calabar ferry they pay 37s-6d and this is proportionately cheaper than between Onitsha and Asaba. And the whole way down, vehicles from 1 to 1½ ton—20s-0d on the one and 40s-0d on the other ; 1½ to 2 tons—35s-0d for the one and 50s-0d for the other. Then as regards lorries, the same thing happens—you find the same regularity of increase. For lorries weighing 2 ton, if empty—30s-0d and if laden 40s-0d but on the other ferry the cost is 100s-0d and this is just a little over double the first. So that the whole way down you will find that proportionately the cost is not prohibitive and does not compare unfavourably.

There is one other aspect which the Mover emphasised and that is that Government should take over the ferry service. Is it possible ? Even if it were economically attractive, will it be possible at the moment for the Federal Government, that is the Inland Waterways Department, to take it over ? Before a ferry service of this nature can be taken over and run efficiently there must be provided engineering and other repairing facilities which the Inland Waterways Department have not got either at Oron or at Calabar and that will be an added difficulty. And also there is the question of executive capacity—the people employed to run this service. Sir, I think I ought to inform the House that at the moment the Inland Waterways Department is very heavily committed by its existing services and I doubt its capacity to undertake any additional ferry service even if conditions justify such a move.

Another point that I really ought to touch on is whether it will pay us. So much has been said about the service being a lucrative one if Government took it over. I would like to

quote a few figures here to show that supplying ferry services is not an easy way of making money by the Government. The ferry service run between Lagos and Apapa is not run profitably. Well, I quote the 1958-59 figures. In this case, it was run at a loss of £50,000. The ferry at Sapele, for the same period, incurred the loss of £11,500 ; the one between Lokoja and Shintaku incurred the loss of £4,000 and the one of Atimbo incurred the loss of £2,800. It is only the ferry service between Onitsha and Asaba that is run at a profit and in that year there was a profit of £49,000. It carried mainly vehicles, because of the heavy traffic between the Eastern and Western Regions, strong vehicles between Eastern Region and the Western Region.

Experience, therefore, shows that the Oron-Calabar service is not likely to be a money-making affair for the Federal Government but that is not the reason why I am not advising that Government should take this over. I have given the reasons. The main reasons are that it is being run by private enterprises, at the moment, efficiently and at a reasonable cost taking all the rise in wages and cost of living generally into account. I think the price that is charged at the moment is fair and I doubt whether any other private enterprise could run it as efficiently and charge less. If government were to take it over it would mean very heavy capital expenditure to get the craft, and also heavy capital expenditure to provide engineering and repairing facilities either at Oron or at Calabar. Again, Sir, there will be the question of getting the extra personnel to carry on the service. Taking all these points together, Government considers that it is unreasonable to interfere with this enterprise which at the moment is being provided by Elder Dempster Agencies.

Mr Speaker, I think I have said enough to convince my Friend, the Mover, that although he has the best of intentions in moving this motions, that is to say, that he thought it would be profitable for Government to run the service and also that Government would be providing such a service at a cheaper price to the public, which is an important thing, I am afraid that none of these conditions which he presupposed are existent and that being so Government does not consider it expedient to take over the the service for reasons which I have already given. If at any time, however it

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becomes expedient to do so, and the circumstances prevailing show that either the public is being cheated or that the service is being run rather inefficiently or that Government could provide a service at a cheaper price to the public, I have no doubt that Government will reconsider the matter. As things stand at present, Sir, the Government cannot interfere with this service because it is efficient and the price charged to the public is fairly reasonable.

For these reasons, Sir, I beg to oppose the Motion.

Mr E. C. Akwiwu (Orlu South East): Mr Speaker, Sir, it is just one point that prompted me to rise to speak on this Motion, and that is where the present service has been described as full of financial potentialities.

Mr Speaker, frankly speaking I feel that we may be asking too much from the Federal Government. It is a popular saying that if you want a child to achieve nothing give him too many errands at a time. The result is that he will become so confused, and no errand is done at all, or that none is done efficiently. Sir, everyday on the Floor of this House we hear of many things that we want the Government to do for us. I think it will be a very sorrowful situation if the people of this country should take it into their heads that everything they can do for or by themselves should be left only to the Government to do for them. (*Hear, hear*).

Now, Sir, I do not think the Calabar-Oron ferry system is the only one in this country. It is neither the first nor will it be the last. The ferry service between Onitsha and Asaba was started by the Government. People found the financial potentialities and they went into it. The Government does not stop anybody from going into it. Rather than that the Government has encouraged people to go into it. In the heat of the competition the Government has been obliged to improve its own services. The E.R.D.C. is there to advance loans to interested parties; Opobo Boat Yard is there to build boats of suitable designs for the service; the Federal Loans Board is there; the Federal Revolving Loans Fund is there. Mr Speaker, I do not know what prevents the people from Calabar area from engaging in this business?

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South): On a point of order, Sir, the hon. Member, I am afraid, should not come to the Floor of this House to pour insults on us and remind us of the poor condition which they have placed us in Calabar.

Mr Speaker: Order. There is no insult in the hon. Member's speech.

Mr Akwiwu: Mr Speaker, Sir, what I was trying to get at is this. The Onitsha-Asaba ferry traffic was making a lot of profit for the Government. The Government advanced from £10,000 to £20,000 to the Ericco Transport Company to start their own ferry service and they ran it efficiently and the service was paying its way while that of the Government was going on. After that, another private individual, one single person, applied for loan and received it, and operated his own ferry service which has been going on profitably. There is even a third one. (*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker: Order; I do not want to bully hon. Members but I feel they should show more respect for the ruling of the Chair.

Mr Akwiwu: There is a third one which has only been out within the last eighteen months—Udo Tracco. That one is another ferry service plying between Onitsha and Asaba. If the Calabar people should ask Government to take over the ferry service, what of those who do not go by ferry? What will happen if we also start demanding that Government should take over lorry transport? (*Laughter*). Mr Speaker, I feel that whilst one may feel some sense of justification for the demand of Government initiative or Government participation in some line of activities I think, Sir, that the prospects, the probability, or the possibility of our persuading the Government to do something is no excuse for people who ought to start doing something for themselves to fold their arms, sitting down and calling on Government to do everything for them.

My stand in this matter is this. Quite frankly I do sympathise with the Mover but I feel that the situation is such that the Government should demand evidence of self-help

from the people demanding services before it should be in a position to give any favourable consideration at all or any receptive hearing to what is being said. As some of my hon. Friends usually say, "Heaven helps those who help themselves".

On the other side of the case, the company now operating this ferry service is an expatriate company. As I have said earlier, Sir, one would expect that people from that area should have made some effort themselves. But knowing the commercial and economic climate in this country, it is not going to be a very easy thing for anybody to start competing with Elder Dempster Lines on that ferry service without some sort of encouragement. And I think that is why one should appeal to Government in matters of this sort. There are scores of activities in which expatriate firms have dug in very deep; really developed very unshakable tap roots, and I think that in case of Oron-Calabar service if our indigenous people can demonstrate some readiness, some realistic intention to participate in the business, the Government should give them every protection and encouragement.

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak in support of this Motion, not because it comes from the side of the House that I belong to, but because of the sympathy it should be given. Left to me, I would have relied on the explanation given by the Minister of Transport that he is in sympathy with the mover of the Motion but that at present Government will not be able to do anything. This project will yield something to the economy of the Government. If the Minister will give the assurance that, under the Development Programme, all will be well, not immediately but in the near future, the mover of the Motion will leave it like that.

I do not think that people who have got their own trunk A roads should come to this House to speak against the case of those who come from that part of the country where there are no roads. Apart from going to Calabar by air, one can only go to Calabar with one's families by crossing by ferry, and people come here to say that this should not be reviewed!

This is the first time that the Minister of Transport (*Some Opposition Members: has fallen short of expectation*). I would not say has fallen short of expectation. I believe he is in

sympathy with the Motion, but if the Government will not be able to do it now, it should be kind enough to say that it will be done in one of the development programmes in future. But for people who live in Sokoto, who have got trunk A roads, and people living in Oshogbo, like Lamuye, to come here to talk like that, I think is not good.

I do not want this Motion to be contentious, but I would like the Minister to make a statement or put it in mind that in future this service being run by the Elder Dempsters will be taken over by us. Who are the Nigerian directors in the Elder Dempster Company? If the Elder Dempsters make profit there, it will go to their country, and you are not ashamed of yourselves, you people from Oguta, who come here and talk of people who have the effrontery to come here and tell the Government to take it over from the Elder Dempsters instead of their doing so themselves. If it cannot be done now, it should be done sometime in future.

Question put and negatived.

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN ZARIA

M. Ahmadu Fatika (Zaria North West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move, That, in view of the unemployment situation in Zaria resulting from the transfer of the locomotive works from this town, this House urges the Government to invite foreign concerns to establish industries there in order to remedy the situation.

Mr Speaker, this Motion is very important and non-controversial. I call it important and non-controversial because I am aware that during every session of this House many Members talk of the need for the industrialisation of this country, and also it is the intention of every hon. Member to see that our dear country is well developed and that the standard of living of every individual is raised, economically and socially. That is why I am moving this Motion to-day, although I am afraid it may be said that I am selfish in bringing this very important Motion and mentioning only one particular place. It is necessity which forced me to do so.

In 1959, the Nigerian Railway Corporation transferred all their locomotive staff in Zaria numbering about 500, and if their wives and children are included, it is almost 1,500

[M. FATIKA]

persons who left Zaria. As a result of this, many houses in Sabon-Gari became vacant with no tenants to live in; the trade became dull, and for this reason many prominent traders left Zaria for other parts of Nigeria. The situation is becoming worse and worse all the time. Such a situation in the Province has made many people to become a nuisance to the public; many houses are broken into by gangs of thieves; lives and property are not safe, and it is such an awkward situation that forced me to bring up this Motion.

Mr Speaker, Zaria Province is situated almost in the centre of Northern Nigeria, with a population of about one million people, with grassland and forests covering about 16,488 square miles. There are many rivers in the Province and the climate is favourable. The means of transport is easy, as there is a railway station with railway lines from Kano to Lagos *via* Zaria, from Kano to Enugu *via* Zaria, from Zaria to Gusau and to Kaura Namoda, and also from Zaria *via* Kaduna to Jos. Zaria is also served by trunk A roads from various important towns such as Kano and Kaduna to Zaria, Zaria to Enugu, Maiduguri *via* Jos to Zaria and there are many trunk B roads also coming to Zaria.

In the field of education, Zaria is the centre of education in the whole of Northern Nigeria. There is a College of Arts, Science and Technology, Zaria; Samaru Agricultural School; Government College, Zaria; St. Paul's College; St. Peter's College; the Institute of Administration—the first in West Africa; the Military Training School, Zaria, and many secondary schools both owned by Government and private enterprise, and many other institutions in Zaria.

Mr Speaker, besides easy means of transport, both by rail and road, there is a big power station in Zaria which will co-operate with any factory established there. And in regard to raw commodity, Zaria is not behind. We have abundance of cotton, groundnut, sugar-cane, ginger, pepper, hides and skins and even bamboo, as stated by my respected Friend, Mr Eneh, for making papers, and with your permission, Sir, I should like to analyse the total figures of tons of cotton and groundnut bought during the years 1957-60:

COTTON

	tons	
In 1957	13,530	
In 1958	11,570	
In 1959	9,652	
In 1960	20,700	(which is nearly three times more than 1959 output.)

GROUNDNUT

In 1957	12,650
In 1958	11,792
In 1959	9,600
In 1960	8,194

Mr Speaker, I quoted these figures in order to show that if factories are established which will utilise our resources, I am sure the farmers will get more effort to double the present tonnage of cotton and groundnut and this means an increase of revenue to the Government.

Sir, as I said earlier in my speech, Zaria is the centre of education in Northern Nigeria where many educated boys leave schools every year seeking employment and, in my opinion, this kind of place such as Zaria is a good place where many industries should be established not only to give our boys and girls something to do, but also as being in the centre of Northern Nigeria with easy means of transport with raw materials which will help the industrialists not only in cheaper transport, but also in labour too. I know Sir, it is the intention of the Federal Government to raise the standard of living of the people of this country in order to enjoy our Independence and the prospects of raising the wealth of this country and the level of the National income rests largely on the possibility of increasing our exports and establishing the industries in this country, but it is the policy of this Federal Government to concentrate the industries only in Lagos and a few places in this country.

As a result of this, Lagos becomes congested, because many people have to leave their towns and come to Lagos seeking for jobs and what my Motion is seeking, Sir, is that this House urges the Federal Government to invite foreign concerns to establish industries here in order to remedy the present awkward situation.

Mr Speaker, political freedom without economic freedom is meaningless and I am pleased to bring this Motion at the stage when every hon. Member is eager to see that Nigeria is well developed socially and economically.

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I therefore commend this important Motion to all sides of this House and I pray that the Government will accept my Motion in principle.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

Mallam M. S. Zango (Zaria Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to second this timely and non-controversial Motion, but before I go further, with your permission I should like to make some quotations of some of my speeches which were delivered on the floor of this House:

"In expressing my views, I would like to remind the Government of the situation in some towns where the population is greatly diminishing due to lack of sources of employment. These towns, for example, Zaria, Enugu and Jos should receive urgent attention. In as much as I would support the fair distribution of development projects, I should like the Minister concerned to mark these towns as danger spots on the plan. This will enable urgent attention to be given when any alarm is raised".

One other speech, Sir, with your permission I quote:

"When last I addressed this House, I made mention in my speech of some towns in this Federation; they were Zaria, Enugu and Jos. I even quoted these areas as danger spots and called the attention of the Government to the fact that the population in these areas is greatly diminishing due to lack of employment. If you go to Zaria Sabongari, you will find many houses vacant and rooms to let. Also, house-breakers are increasing everyday due to lack of sources of employment".

I still maintain that the Government should do everything possible to establish more industries throughout the Federation, especially in those areas which I have mentioned. I have mentioned these towns because of the retrenchment of coal workers in Enugu, miners in Jos and the removal of locomotive engines at Zaria. I was informed also that it is the intention of the Government to remove Railway Motors at Zaria down to Lagos. If this is true, Mr Speaker, surely the situation will become worse in this area.

Again, Sir, with your permission, I should like to quote what the Minister of Commerce and Industry said on the floor of this House on the 8th instant:

Mr Speaker, Sir, in the industrial field, I had the pleasure of receiving a delegation from the Federation of British Industries. This delegation was indeed a high-powered one and was led by the Director-General of the Federation, namely, Sir Norman Kipping. They gained very favourable impressions of the opportunities for investment which Nigeria offers. They were completely impressed by the size of the market and by the stability of the country. And I think here we can take justifiable pride in the knowledge that the Government of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. have done a lot of good for the country.

"In their final report to me, Sir, which they rendered in confidence before they left the shores of this country, and which has since been published, they gave an indication of a number of important and specific projects which they have in mind and which are likely to come to fruition as a direct result of this Mission. They have since reported to me that no less than 21 industries which are in various stages of establishment in Nigeria are now going ahead in their industrial projects and plans for Nigeria."

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is a suitable site is Zaira for any kind of industrial project (*Hear, hear*) because we have light and water on this site. Sir, all what this Motion is seeking in only a replacement of locomotive engines which were removed from Zaria together with a total of 1,500 workers including their families. Mr Speaker, Sir, in view of what I have said and what I have quoted from my speeches and from the speech made on the Floor of this House by the hon. Minister of Trade and Industry, I wholeheartedly second this motion and I do hope that both sides of this House will support it and give it their blessings.

Sir, I beg to support.

Question proposed.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move the amendment standing in my name on the Order Paper that "this House notes the opportunities for industry which Zaria affords and urges the Government to continue to bring these opportunities to the notice of persons considering the establishment of industries in Nigeria" (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member : Ah ! Oga you are too clever for us here.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : Mr Speaker, Sir, I have listened attentively to the speech of the proposer and the seconder and I was happy to note that they have appreciated the good work being done by the Northern Regional Government and Federal Government in making Zaria a centre of cultural and other activities and I should also explain that the closing of the locomotive for the Railway was done as a result of the dieselisation policy of the Railway Corporation, the labourers and employees were re-employed and as a result nobody suffered. According to the record which I received from the Labour Department there were only 73 registered unemployed in Zaria. (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member : Only 73 ?

The Speaker : Order, order.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : Mr Speaker, Sir, I note the suggestion made by the seconder to the effect that cases like Zaria, Jos and Enugu should be carefully noted and help should be given. I am glad to say that this Government has gone further than their requirements and as a result of activities there may very soon be a glass industry in Enugu. There is already established a Tin Smelting Industry in Jos and a new one is coming into production very soon giving employment to thousands (*Interruption*). In Zaria, there are proposals for a Tannery to be built to process the local hides and skins. There is another Cotton Seed Crushing Plant which will also give employment to the country. It is my determined intention and, with the help of hon. Members, we shall see to it that most of our raw materials are processed here so that we export either completely finished or semi-finished products. (*Hear, hear*).

I will give you an example. Before 1947 India was one of the greatest exporters of raw hides and skins ; to-day not a single raw skin is exported from India, either tanned or manufactured. When I was in Sokoto only a few weeks ago, I went and saw the experimental Tanning Factory. I asked and they told me that a raw skin would cost about 4s and when tanned locally it would fetch immediately 11s. Look at this, 4s changing to 11s at once. Suppose it was made into a pair of shoes it will cost 4 guineas. This is how my mind is working.

The most important thing is this ; industrialisation is not possible without our people working together and saving money. When Germany was defeated and the country was crushed to smithereens, the people worked and saved ; to-day Germany is completely rebuilt. Why should we not do this ourselves ? Why should we not contribute money ? Why should we not form big companies and work our own salvation ? People who depend on others for their salvation often groan and remain at the bottom of things. Believe me, in Nigeria we do not intend to grumble and groan. We must work our own salvation. (*Hear, hear*). Since there are possibilities for a Tannery in Zaria, there are also possibilities for a Cotton Seed Crushing Factory in Zaria. The issues are now being processed in my Ministry ; Members are not supposed to know everything.

In view of this I hope the hon. Member will agree to my amendment and will give me his moral and other support to help me go ahead with my plan in order to industrialise the country and diversify our economy. Sir, I beg to amend.

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

Amendment proposed.

M. Balla Mohamed Dutsinma (Yandaka) : Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion as amended by the Minister. I am interested in this motion, Sir, because I notice that the Minister or the Government has undertaken to bring to the notice of the people considering the establishment of industries in Nigeria all the places which afford good opportunities for industrialisation. For this

reason, Sir, I would like to point out to the Government that there are many places in this country which afford very good opportunities for industrialisation but have so far escaped the notice of the Government. This is particularly true in the extreme north of the Northern Region.

Places like Katsina, Sokoto and Bornu Provinces will provide good opportunities for industrialisation. For example, Sir, these three provinces are the largest producers of hides and skins in this country and in particular, Sir, I happen to know that goats skins from Katsina Province and Sokoto Province are among the best skins recognised by the world merchants, and this means that there is a very good opportunity for certain industries, for shoe factories and other leather industries.

Another development, Sir, is the cattle trade in Katsina Province and Bornu Province. Almost all the beef eaten in this country comes from one of these two provinces and this means, Sir, that chilled meat industry can be set up in these provinces.

Again, Sir, I am sure that the Minister himself is aware that Katsina Province is the largest producer of cotton and groundnut and these provide very good opportunities for establishing cotton and groundnut manufacturing industry. For this reason, Sir, I appeal to the Minister to explore every opportunity of establishing all these industries in Katsina Province.

Alhaji Daura (Maska) : Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment. In doing so I would like to associate myself with the views of the mover of the motion.

I would like to call the attention of the Government to this fact of appearing to locate the industries in the urban districts, seeming to forget about the rural areas. There are some places which are neither urban nor rural. These I will call semi-urban areas. Such places are places like Funtua and Katsina. These places, Funtua for example, have recently been supplied with electricity—thanks to the efforts of the Federal Government and particularly the Northern Regional Government who supplied the funds and thus made the project feasible.

In Funtua, Mr Deputy Speaker, the electricity supplied recently there could be made use of in establishing new industries. Electricity, we all know, is the foundation of industries and with the electricity we can put up industries like the tanning of skins and the tinning of meat. In Funtua again, Mr Deputy Speaker, there is a big cattle market. From there cattle are railed down to the South. Why waste time and waste energy by railing the cattle down to the south? Why not put up an industry there by which we can tan the skins and tin the meat and thus provide employment for thousands of people? In Funtua too, which is the biggest cotton producing area in the North and indeed I may say in the whole of the country and where the first ginnery in the country has been installed thousands of people are still without employment and the setting up of these industries will give employment to these thousands of people.

I think the Government should do something to improve the situation if at all it keeps its word of saying that it would try its best to employ or exploit all the resources of the country. Here, where electricity has been supplied, if nothing is done with it means that the Government is not keeping to its word and it is not making use of what is available.

With these words, Mr Deputy Speaker, I beg to support.

Question, That the words proposed to be left out be left out, put accordingly and agreed to.

Question, That the words proposed to be inserted be there inserted, put and agreed to.

Main Question, as amended, put and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House notes the opportunities for industry which Zaria affords and urges the Government to continue to bring these opportunities to the notice of persons considering the establishment of industries in Nigeria.

NIGERIANISATION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND SECURITY SERVICES

Mr Deputy Speaker : Before calling on Mr Eneh to move the next motion may I draw Member's attention to Standing Order 32 which provides that the Speaker may not call upon any Member to speak if the Member is not sitting in his allocated seat. It is noticed that a lot of confusion is imposed upon the Speaker by Members standing at random.

Mr C. O. D. Eneh (Abaja and Ngwo): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, "That, in view of the fact that, to make a country truly independent, it is necessary that top posts in its armed forces and security services should be held by indigenous officers, this House calls upon the Federal Government to Nigerianise the top posts in the Armed Forces and all posts in the Security Services as soon as possible."

One might ask, Sir, which are the Armed Forces of Nigeria and which are the Security Services to which this Motion refers, and also which are the posts to which this Motion refers?

The armed forces of any country, Sir, are the Military, the Navy and the Air Force. In the case of Nigeria, it is the Royal Nigerian Army, the Royal Nigerian Navy and the projected Royal Nigerian Air Force. The Security Section includes the Police, a section of the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. The posts which this motion discusses are as follows: in the Nigerian Army and Navy, the post of Major-General, the Post of Brigadier, Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels; Commando, Captain and Commanders. In the case of the Police Force the Inspector-General, the Deputy Inspector-General, Commissioners, and Assistant Commissioners. These are the posts to which the motion refers. The motion before you is not contentious, not controversial and I hope it will receive the full support of this House. The motion does not seek the termination of the appointment of the officers enumerated to be automatic. This motion, therefore, seeks to turn most of these officers into advisers and make Nigerians hold the substantive posts. This can be arranged and very easily too.

When ministerial system of Government was being introduced people laughed and said 'How can Africans govern themselves?' Now we have independence, it is no longer a question of Ministerial system of Government. It is now a question of ruling ourselves, and in an independent country it is necessary that all the public services should be manned by the indigenous people that run the Government.

Now, Sir, I wish to refer to an incident which occurred quite recently in the Congo. When our Inspector-General of Police went

there on inspection, the Congolese could not understand why a European is the Inspector-General of Police of an Independent Nigeria. And for that reason, Sir, certain incidents occurred which are now history. Also, Sir, our army in the Congo is being looked after by an officer who is not a Nigerian. Well, Sir, one can hardly understand the situation. It is like putting a man from another country at the head of the Service of an independent country like America. You will appreciate, Sir, that an expatriate civil servant has two loyalties: loyalty to his country of origin and loyalty to the country that employs him.

Quite recently British Army officers and civil servants in Ghana were faced with the choice of either toeing the line of the Ghana Government or resigning their appointment, because their loyalty to the Government was divided. This does not in any way detract from the fact that we have great respect for the integrity, sense of duty and devotion to the Civil Service of the expatriates, but the fact remains that Nigeria must always be first and other countries can be second. In view of this, Sir, it is only necessary that this Government should examine this question of having expatriate officers manning the top posts in our Armed forces and Security Service.

One might ask what was the reason for the rebellion in the Congo army. The fact was that the politicians told the soldiers that immediately after independence they would be in responsible positions. Eventually, immediately after the independence, these people found themselves placed in positions as they were in the Colonial days. They did not like it and the next thing was rebellion.

Well, Sir, the question of putting expatriate officers at head of affairs in this country after independence is, altogether out of date. It does not make for promotion in the Civil Service for the Africans. Most of these people tell us that it will take us some years at least to see that our own men are put in the right places. The Government should reshuffle the whole situation altogether and introduce a method which should make most of these expatriate advisers to Nigerians who

should take their posts immediately. Appoint a Nigerian Inspector-General of Police and make the present holder an adviser paying him his very salary.

An hon. Member : No, he must go.

Mr Eneh : The Government should continue to pay those that already hold the posts until their contract expires so that we can make chances for our own men. The issue is that we make arrangements for people who want to retire to retire. They can avail themselves of the lump sum compensation or they could remain in the Service and be advisers to the Federal Government in one way or another.

But the question of telling this House that it will take another eight years to produce a Deputy Inspector-General of Police ; and that it will take us twenty years to produce a Brigadier in the Armed Forces is all fantastic. The days are gone when such things can be accepted by the people of Nigeria. What we want to-day is that the Civil Service, the Army, the Police and the Navy should be manned by Nigerians and this should be done as quickly as possible. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

Mr F. C. Ogbalu (Awka North) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the Motion ably proposed by the hon. Mover. The Motion, I hope, will be acceptable to the House and to the Government, bearing in mind that there is a phrase there that is "as soon as possible". We do not really say that the whole of the Armed Forces should be over-turned overnight so that Nigerians might head the various departments. But we are appealing that the pace at which Nigerianisation is being carried out in the Armed Forces should be accelerated and that the Government should explore the possibilities of finding ways and means of expediting this very important aspiration and yearning of all the citizens in this country.

The proposal has mentioned several ranks and posts in the Armed Forces which need be Nigerianised. Well, it will be quite unacceptable for somebody to say that Nigerians are unqualified to hold important posts in the Armed Forces either in the Navy or in the Army or perhaps in the proposed Air Force. We learn by deeds. It was not until Nigerians were given the chance to demonstrate their

ability in various fields that they proved that they were actually capable of holding their own in this country. In the same way, I hope if Nigerians are appointed to hold important offices or the topmost posts in the Armed Forces they will equally prove themselves capable. They could equally serve and be able to carry their own in the midst of whatever difficulties that might confront them.

It is very important that the Security Service or Services should be carefully guided. The hon. the Prime Minister has on one occasion told this House that the Security Services were quite active and up-to-date and that every information would be open towards the members in this House. But what we are trying to say is that we do not doubt the integrity or the ability of our Security Services but that it is very imperative that the Security Services should be headed by a Nigerian. It might even be good for us to recommend that we can appeal to bodies like the United Nations to help us to train our Security Services in order to produce qualified Nigerians to hold that department.

Bearing in mind the long coastal line of Nigeria and also the land frontier, it becomes very important that the Armed Forces should be given the right consideration which it really deserves. An Independent Nigeria cannot afford to place its security and its very being in the hands of the expatriate officials or officers. We do not mean to say that we distrust our expatriate friends or that we regard them as enemies, but we are trying to say that both in our own interest and in their own interest it is incumbent that we should hold our own especially in important fields like this.

There are often occasions when their replies from various departments say that there are no Nigerians qualified to hold such posts because I know that if the Minister perhaps gives an order to the department and says can one or two Nigerians be recommended for this or that post—The answer will be that there are no qualified Nigerians without adequate scrutiny or investigation to find out whether there are really Nigerians who are experienced or qualified to hold such positions. I hope that the Minister in charge will carry out a detailed investigation and find out qualified Nigerians and have them to hold such important positions.

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Well, patriotism is very important too and I cannot really think of a Nigerian who would, given the opportunity, be tempted either by filthy lucre or gold or whatever it is to betray this country, but it is not completely ruled out when an expatriate officer is holding such a position. History has demonstrated on several occasions countries being betrayed because their Armed Forces are in the hands of people who are very doubtful in integrity. Well, Nigeria is an Independent country, however young it is. We have got sufficient men to fill the posts and in the Navy too we cannot afford to get our ships left in the hands of expatriates. There must be an appreciable number of Nigerians who are holding topmost posts and in fact the Motion commends itself to this House that the Government should do its best as soon as possible to explore the possibilities and have these posts Nigerianised.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed

The Minister of Defence (Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Ribadu): Mr Speaker, Sir, there seems no reason to oppose the Motion which merely calls upon the Federal Government to Nigerianise the top posts in the Armed Forces and all posts in the Security services "as soon as possible". There are already plans approved by the Defence Council and the Council of Ministers for the Nigerianisation of the Royal Nigerian Army, based on Nigerianisation as soon as possible. Before April 1962, 100 per cent of the subalterns in all the battalions, 50 per cent of the Company Commanders and Company Seconds-in-Command, and 25 per cent of staff officers in the Headquarters will be Nigerians.

As regards the Navy, less than three years after its formation there are twenty Nigerian Officers including two Lieutenant-Commanders. The last meeting of the Defence Council supported in principle a plan to produce a total of sixty-four Nigerian Officers during the years 1962 to 1967.

I think it is evident from these figures that good progress has been made in the last year or two in Nigerianisation in the Armed Services. Our professional advisers have stressed the risk involved in pressing on too fast in disciplined Services, but have, I think, shown themselves willing to take calculated risks in the accelerated advancement of Nigerians.

There is no suggestion any longer of Nigerians being held back. They have been put into positions of responsibility early and given the appropriate rank, even at the risk of some impairment of efficiency.

The terms of the Motion show, however, that there are certain misconceptions in the minds of Members as to the nature of the Armed Forces and their administration which the Motion gives an opportunity to correct. Among the more important are the following:

(i) the Motion suggests that the General Officer Commanding, Royal Nigerian Army, and the Commodore, Royal Nigerian Navy, determine Army and Navy policy. This is not so. Policy, both in broad outline and also in considerable detail, is fairly and squarely in Nigerian hands, those of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, and the Ministers of State for the Army and Navy, as advised by the Nigerian Defence Council, and a Nigerian Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Defence.

Apart from questions of major importance which are brought to this Council, the administration and management of the Army and Navy are matters for the Army Council and Navy Board, of which I am Chairman and on which there are other ministerial and civil service representatives in addition to the General or the Commodore.

The Motion underrates the difficulties, the qualifications and the experience required for the efficient running of a modern Army and Navy; our best professional advice, with which I see no reason to disagree, is that it takes from seven to ten years to produce a really competent and well-trained naval officer capable of discharging the duties of a Lieutenant-Commander. I am assured that even during the World War II promotions to Lieutenant-Commander were not made earlier than after eight years commissioned seniority in the Royal Navy, and that a reduction in this period can only be at the cost of the efficiency and fighting capabilities of the force. I do not think these arguments apply with the same intensity to the Army, but there is no doubt that experience is essential there too, and that there is a limit to the number of short-cuts which can be adopted in acquiring the necessary experience.

Army and Navy officers' training requires well-equipped and well staffed training colleges: until Nigeria has her own military academies,

we are dependent on the number of places we can get for suitable candidates who offer themselves. The United Kingdom Government has so far found places for all we have been able to provide in the way of suitable candidates, and we are investigating the possibilities of training in other Commonwealth countries, as well as the problems of a Nigerian Military Academy, and recruitment publicity and propaganda. The hon. Member does not appear to have considered these aspects which are complex aspects of a large and important problem.

It is important that nothing should be said to deter likely candidates from joining the armed forces: the terms of the Motion do not indicate the undoubted fact that educated young men who join the Army and Navy have extremely good prospects of first-class training, good salary and conditions, and rapid advancement in the service.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Mover of the Motion himself said the trouble in the Congo was caused by the politicians who brought politics into the Armed Forces, and that they told members of the Armed Forces all sorts of lies and then afterwards their lies were falsified and that led to trouble. Sir, I do not want such a thing to happen in Nigeria. The Government is doing its best to nigerianise as much as possible the Armed Forces, but Sir, as I said in my speech experience is very very important, because we do not want to have another Mobutu in Nigeria (*Hear, hear*).

I am sure if Members listened to the radio yesterday or if they have read newspapers this morning, they would have seen that one officer has been promoted to a high rank in the Army. We are not sitting idle, we are doing all that we can to nigerianise the Armed Forces, but, Sir, I appeal to both sides of the House not to bring politics into the Armed Forces; it would not do us any good. Because one has a brother in the Army he should not get up and say, "Nigerianise the Armed Forces." Well, Sir, with this explanation I will appeal to Members and I hope everybody will agree that there is no need for bringing up this Motion at all.

The Deputy Speaker: Order, order. In view of the statement made by the Minister of Defence and considering that we have got some more Motions for to-day, I think I had better put the question. Does Mr Eneh intend to withdraw? (*Interruptions*). Order,

order, the simple question that was put to Mr Eneh was not intended to create any excitement. Does Mr Eneh intend to withdraw? (*Prolonged interruptions*). Order, order. I do not think anything will be lost in putting the question. The reply of the Minister indicated an acceptance and I think we had better put the question.

Question put and agreed to.

Resolved: That, in view of the fact that, to make a country truly independent, it is necessary that top posts in its armed forces and security services should be held by indigenous officers, this House calls upon the Federal Government to nigerianise the top posts in the Armed Forces and all posts in the Security Services as soon as possible.

HIRE PURCHASE SYSTEM

Mr F. C. Ogbalu (Awka North): Sir, I rise to move the Motion standing in my name, That this House calls upon the Government to institute a commission of inquiry into the operation of the hire purchase system in this country with a view to regulating it for public interest.

Mr Speaker, Sir, hire purchase is a system quite distinct from an ordinary credit sales. For the fact that the articles purchased remain the property of the seller till payments have been completely made, that is to say, it is a rental agreement combined with an option to purchase. The system operates in the hands of specialists and in this country is held in the hands of expatriate firms and combines. This Motion, Sir, does not seek the abolition of the system, rather it seeks for Government investigation into the manner in which expatriate bodies do in practice operate the system. It seeks that the Government should not adopt a *laissez faire* attitude towards the system but should step in to regulate it.

Hire purchase system is a very important system, Sir, in fact in the country, a great proportion of sales of varying commodities are carried through the system. In the United States of America, for example, about sixty per cent of consumer goods are sold through the hire purchase system and a great proportion of capital goods too. Some commodities easily lend themselves to the hire purchase system, for example, motor cars, wireless, radios, electrical equipment, refrigerators, pianos, organs, houses and land and so on. This is a vindication of the usefulness and

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importance of the system to the community. It enables individuals, particularly people of low income group, to buy consumer goods on credit by enabling them to acquire them with relatively less sacrifice by spreading the expenditure required over a longer period instead of a short one. A period of important saving is unpleasant to people of limited means because the marginal utility of income is not constant but rather increases through the working of the system. The main advantage is the immediate satisfaction of our want, the actual increase in real income of the consumer, at least for the time being.

You may ask, Sir: "Why should a system beneficial to the community be brought under Government Regulations?" The system, by being so, is fraught with numerous dangers to the consumer and if the system is left wholly unregulated in the hands of unscrupulous expatriate firms and monopolies, woe betide its consumers.

The greatest criticism of the system is the uncertainty of the income enjoyed by purchasers with uncertain incomes. The consumer is tempted by instalmental purchases to buy and live beyond his means. Occasions instances are numerous of working class families who are indebted in respect of over a dozen items: motorcars, radios, electric fans, grammophones and many other things that can be bought on credit at the same time, reckless buying in which many families find themselves in regret, misery and sorrow.

The point to be emphasised is that the balance of powers between the salesman and the consumer is bound to be offset. An experienced and practised salesman, by playing on the mentality of human beings can make the purchaser entangle himself in difficulties.

Now, Sir, I have to turn the attention of this House from more or less academic consideration of the hire purchase system to its working in the world of practical reality in this country. There are now several countries which have introduced the hire purchase system and it will be out of place either to enumerate them or to give their numbers. We have firms with motor cars, lorries, and agricultural equipment, in fact, almost every item is now coming into the hire purchase system. The terms are awfully one sided and vindicate the invincibility of the seller in relation to the buyer.

One of the most damnable parts of the agreement terms is that if the consumer breaks his part of the agreement for regular payment, the buyer forfeits his right as stipulated in the contract agreement even by the smallest amount, and the buyer cannot reclaim the article irrespective of the payments already made, thus enabling dealers to pounce on cars, lorries and other vehicles sold on hire purchase system. It enables the firms to lay down conditions under which the goods have to be used by those who bought them and if these hire purchase regulations are not adhered to, the firms carry away their goods. It has become necessary for Government to step into the operation of hire purchase system and, therefore, an enquiry into the operation of the system must be considered by this House as a desideratum.

There are many other hire purchase systems in this country, such as the Insurance Policies of many concerns in this country, which are fraudulent, one sided, selfish and exploiting. Terms of the agreement should be scrutinised by the Government, especially, as most of our citizens are getting in touch with the system for the first time. Government protection is imperative and long overdue. Apart from all this argument the experience of advanced countries, where hire purchase system has been brought under the eye of the Government and has been subsequently regulated, is *prima facie* evidence that this country needs a similar regulation.

In Britain an equitable procedure with reference to the hire purchase system was followed up till 1938. The common law of purchase and sale with its maxim, *caveat emptor* was considered an adequate protection for the purchaser under a hire purchase contract. In 1938, Sir, Governmental investigation led to the introduction of a private Member's Bill by Mr Elvin Williamson. The Bill stresses the conditions under which the whole of the goods under a hire purchase system and agreement could be reclaimed by the vendor if any portion, however small, of the purchase price of the whole assessment of goods, fell into arrears. Sir, what I am urging this House is that the purchaser under a hire purchase agreement should be given protection by the law against losing the whole of his purchase as a result of a minor default in repayment.

In the interest of our citizens who are, for the first time getting in touch with the system, I think that it is quite a good thing if the Government will accept the Motion and look into the whole business. I am not asking for the abolition of the system, but for a regulation in order to safeguard the ordinary citizen from the unscrupulous dealers in the hire purchase market.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

Mr Elenwa (Ahoada West): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to second this Motion so ably proposed by my hon. Friend. According to the mover, the Motion is not controversial and I hope that it will receive its due blessing from the Government and the House. In the first place, it was just last year that a similar commission of enquiry was instituted into the workings of the insurance companies and the findings are now history in this country. I strongly urge the Government to institute a commission of enquiry into the operations of hire purchase system in this country with a view to regulating it for the interest of the public.

Hire purchase in Nigeria has lost its real meaning and has lost its value because of many dishonest companies with different policies operating in Nigeria. Hire purchase in Nigeria can also be described as a canker-worm that has eaten deep into the commercial fabric of this country. This evil effect can only be described than imagined. Many Nigerian businessmen and motor magnates, have been wrecked and driven out of markets because of many atrocities committed by these companies in the guise of hire purchase system.

For instance, the manufacturers' price for *Vauxhall Cresta* is about £350 to £400 overseas. Overseas dealing price is £400 to £500. Lagos price is £985! Mr Speaker, Sir, you will see for yourself that these firms are making a tremendous profit. They are robbing Nigerian businessmen to the point of collapse. These profits vary from one firm to another and from the smallest type of car to the biggest lorry. The profit of the U.A.C., the agents of *Vauxhall* varies from that of the S.C.O.A., the agents of *Austin* as well as the C.F.A.O., the agents of *Morris* and the U.T.C., the agents of *Opel*.

The most unusual aspect of the hire purchase system is that some of these firms, like

the M. and K. and the U.T.C., have monopoly over the spare parts of the vehicles, so that the hirer will be compelled to send his motor-car or his lorry to them for repairs. It is here that the remaining pound of flesh from a Nigerian motor businessmen is being extracted. It means that a car that one can normally repair outside with about £10, because of the monopoly position of a dealer in relation to the spares of a special make of the car, the hirer is compelled to take his car to his dealer for repairs with a bill of about £72 to £100.

The most ugly and most disgraceful of this hire purchase system is that when a hirer disappoints for a week or two the dealer chases the lorry or the car with a duplicate key, pushes the driver and the occupants of the car down and takes control of the vehicle. This is what the motor magnate and other men who deal in hire purchase suffer day in and day out.

I appeal to our Government to come to the rescue of these motor businessmen and other hire purchase men. It does not stop there; after the vehicle has been taken away, the money so far paid by the hirer is confiscated by the dealer. These business imperialists are determined to suck and drain to death our poor motor businessmen. The *post mortem* examination of every motor businessmen in this country has always pronounced that debt was the result of the excessive charges in hire purchase.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second. (*Hear hear*).

Question proposed.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Zanna the Hon. Bukar Dipcharima): Mr Speaker, Sir, the need for legislation to cover hire purchase agreements is already recognised both by my Ministry and by the Ministry of Finance, and active steps are being taken to introduce such legislation. (*Hear, hear*). But I appeal to hon. Members and other members of the public that if their pockets are lean they should not go and buy vehicles. These hire purchase people are not ignorant men. They have studied us properly. They think that we Nigerians are not self-controlled and thereby tempt us to lose our money to them.

Some Members of this House will recall that the former House of Representatives on the 10th of February, 1959, debated and

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accepted the Resolution moved by me as an Amendment to the one submitted by my Friend, Mr J. A. O. Akande.

An hon. Member : He is dead.

Some hon. Members : He is not dead, he is alive.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry : The Resolution, which, with your permission, Sir, I will read, is in the following terms : "That this House calls on the Government to examine the needs to introduce legislation on hire purchase agreement in Nigeria on the same line as the law regulating such transactions in the United Kingdom."

Since that time there have been consultations between my Ministry and the Ministry of Finance, and it has been agreed that any Legislation must make provisions not only for the regulation of hire purchase agreements to protect the interests of both the hirers and owners, but also for the control of hire purchase credit, so as to provide two things. (a) Safeguard any money deposited to Finance Houses by depositors, so that they may not squander it unnecessarily, and (b) powers to control the amount of credit extended by hire purchase arrangements, because this is vital to my friend, the Minister of Finance, who looks after your finances so beautifully.

But it has also been necessary to consult the Regional Governments because constitutionally the Federal Government cannot legislate for the whole country in respect of credit control, and you know the Regional Governments have some of their jurisdictions in this matter. Knowing, of course, that there is a danger in Lagos alone then all that the people would do is to migrate to Ikeja and continue with their activities, and it would not help Nigeria at all. Legislation would, of course, have been introduced in the Federal Territory, as I told you earlier on, but I wrote letters to the Regional Governments, East, West and North, soliciting their co-operation so as to enable me to do something. Unfortunately only one Government has replied. But when you need co-operation you have to wait and ask. You cannot dictate. You cannot force, and it is better that we all come a long willingly and co-operatively than that we force one or the other, which they may not like to do. This is a Federal Constitution as we have freely accepted,

and we intend to abide by this, and that is why Nigeria is to-day a strong, united and happy people.

Debating the Motion now before the House, I consider that there are no grounds for appointing a commission of inquiry. We are all quite clear in our minds as to what control is needed, and we are only prevented from introducing legislation by the fact that our powers under the Constitution are limited. But I thank the hon. mover and the seconder for their concrete suggestions, and I undertake that when we join forces with the other Governments to make the regulations, these suggestions will be taken into consideration. If only for that the hon. Member has done a very useful thing for his country, and I think that is why he is here.

Mr Speaker, Sir, because of the constitutional nature of the thing, because I am not capable of introducing a law which will operate throughout the whole of the Federation without the co-operation of the Regional Governments concerned, I beg to oppose. We cannot simply introduce something which we know that we are unable to do. Sir, I beg to oppose.

Mr F. C. Ogbalu (Awka North) : In view of the able explanation which the Minister has given, I beg to withdraw.

Motion by leave withdrawn.

COMPANIES INCOME TAX BILL

Order for second reading read.

The Minister of Finance (Chief hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move, That a Bill for an Act to be known as the "Companies Income Tax Act, 1961" be read a second time. During the second reading of the Bill for an Act to be known as "The Income Tax Management Act, 1961" I informed Parliament that two complementary Bills were soon to be laid before the House. This is the first of the two Bills, and it brings up to date the law governing the taxation of companies other than those prospecting for oil in Nigeria, the latter being governed exclusively by the Petroleum Profits Tax Ordinance, 1959.

The main purpose of the Companies Income Tax Bill is to set up a new code of company taxation which will adapt or modify, where necessary, the existing provisions of the

Income Tax Ordinance, 1943 (Cap. 85) and the Income Tax Administration Ordinance, 1958 (insofar as they relate to company taxation) to dovetail into the provisions of the new Income Tax Management Bill, which deals, in part, with personal taxation, but overlaps with company tax in such matters, for example, as capital allowances, deductions allowable or disallowable, *et cetera*.

With the enactment of an Income Tax Management Bill and the separate Regional (including Lagos) enactments containing the machinery and provisions for its applications, the taxation of personal incomes will be removed entirely from the scope of the Income Tax Ordinance, 1943 (Cap. 85) and the Income Tax Administration Ordinance, 1958.

These Ordinances will then apply only to company taxation throughout Nigeria, but—

(a) material amendments will be necessary arising from the Management Bill, for matters where company and personal taxation overlap, for example for the deduction of tax on the payment of company dividends to share holders, or for retirement benefits schemes;

(b) other amendments are desirable on their merits in the light of recent developments and experience of the working of the Ordinances in relation to companies; and

(c) the Ordinance will, unavoidably, retain much that is irrelevant to company taxation.

It is therefore desirable that a new code for company taxation should be drawn up, and that a law should be enacted concurrently with the Bills for the Management Act and for the taxation of personal incomes in Lagos.

There are obvious advantages in being able to present to companies interested in investment in Nigeria an up-to-date and basic company taxation law, supplementary by the pioneer relief provisions of the Industrial Development (Income Tax Relief) Ordinance, 1958, and by the special provision for oil mining contained in the Petroleum Profits Tax Ordinance, 1959. Indeed, demand for copies of company tax legislation have been so persistent that the print of the unofficial consolidation of the then existing laws, which was completed towards the end of 1958, is already exhausted. As a first step, therefore, a Bill for a Companies Income Tax Bill is desirable and is recommended for the approval of the House.

Mention has been made of the separate enactment which will be required so as to tax personal incomes in Lagos under the umbrella of the Management Act. That separate Bill is drawn up on the assumption that detailed provisions for the establishment and functions of the Federal Board of Inland Revenue, the body of Appeal Commissioners, and Scrutineer Committees, among other matters, will be included only in the Companies Income Tax Bill, to which that separate Bill, to be known as "The Personal Income Tax (Lagos) Bill", will be referential only in those matters. Under section 70 subsection (1) of the Nigerian Constitution, the taxation of companies is an exclusive Federal matter, thus confirming the position under the existing law.

Thus, while the three bills—that is, the Income Tax Management Bill, the Companies Income Tax Bill, and the Personal Income Tax (Lagos) Bill—are inter-dependent in varying degrees, the Companies Income Tax Bill stands almost entirely on its own feet, assembling together all the basic law with respect to company taxation, as now existing in the Income Tax Ordinance and Income Tax Administration Ordinance, with the changes which are considered desirable as a result of many years' experience of administering company taxation in Nigeria.

Opportunity has been taken of tidying up many of the administrative provisions of the existing legislation so as to improve the law of taxation of companies, removing doubts here and there by re-phrasing, and introducing new provisions to give statutory force to concessions found desirable in practice in order the more to encourage the formation in Nigeria of local subsidiaries of foreign companies. The most important of these changes is in sub-clause (9) of clause 30 of the Bill which seeks to remedy a serious defect in the existing legislation which is hampering the formation of Nigerian companies to take over the assets and trades of overseas concerns, with a view, in some cases, to the issue of shares in Nigeria. The difficulties arise from the cessation and commencement provisions (sub-clauses 30 (3) and 30 (4) and to the partial loss of the benefit of capital allowances (Third Schedule) which apply on a sale of a business by one company to

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another. The Board had overcome the capital allowance difficulty in the past by concessional treatment, but is not prepared to continue to do so.

Sub-clause (9) therefore provides specific authority for the former concessional practice, and also removes the deterrents of the cessation and commencement provisions, in such cases as the Board sees fit to admit in conformity with Ministerial policy in this matter from time to time. Appropriate safeguards against tax avoidance on any such transfer of a business have also been provided, and these provisions will have a positive value in combatting tax avoidance in addition to their protective role in the genuine case.

Another important change for the better is in clause 33. Small company relief under the existing legislation was intended to allow a small local company to build up its reserves, during the first six years of trading, out of retained profits either not taxed at all, or taxed at a reduced rate. But any director-controlled company, no matter how large or profitable, can gain maximum relief by charging directors' salaries, *et cetera*, in such amount as will leave the residual profits below the ceiling fixed for relief, and any public company, including a statutory corporation, will be treated as a small company if its profits, by coincidence, emerge below that ceiling in any of the six permitted years. Moreover, the objects for which the relief is given can be totally frustrated if the relieved profits are paid away in dividends.

The Clause, therefore, incorporates the following much needed reforms—

(a) relief is restricted to private companies;

(b) the Board may treat as residual profits any part of a director's remuneration which appears to be excessive having regard to the services given by that director or the business being done (this will operate so as to restrict or cancel the relief where directors' fees, *et cetera*, have been fixed with a view to obtaining such relief rather than in accordance with reasonable commercial practice);

(c) where relief has been obtained on profits which are subsequently paid away in dividends, the Board may make such assessments to tax as will counteract that relief;

(d) where relief has been obtained on profits and the company is put into liquidation for any reasons which, in the opinion of the Board, include the transfer of that relief to the shareholders, the Board may make such assessments as will counteract that relief.

Hitherto many companies had succeeded in delaying the payments of their tax by prolonged objections and appeals. While the right of appeal has not been tampered with, there have been a general tightening up and a recasting of the existing provisions for appeals in a more logical sequence. Part XI deals with the matter of appeals generally.

Clause 58 provides that no further appeal shall lie from a decision of the Appeal Commissioners unless the tax payable by a company as determined by the Commissioners exceeds £200. The limit in the existing Ordinance is £100 for both companies and individuals. Under Clause 59 appeals from decisions of the Commissioners are confined to the High Court of Lagos, since it is possible that the Federal Inland Revenue Department may not continue to maintain offices in the Regions once the Income Tax Management Bill is fully operative.

The Board may now appeal to the High Court of Lagos against a decision of the Commissioners, irrespective of the amount of tax involved. This is necessary in case, in the opinion of the Board, an adverse decision of the Commissioners involves an important principle which should be considered by the courts, even though the amount in dispute may be small. At present taxpayer can appeal to the Federal Supreme Court against a High Court decision if the tax payable by that decision is £150 or more, and the Board may also appeal if it claims that the correct tax payable is at least that figure. Sub-clause (11) will now prevent any appeal by a company unless the tax payable is £500, but will not preclude the Board from appealing in any case involving an important principle.

In order to protect a company from undue costs of litigation, where the Board appeals to the Federal Supreme Court (in what in practice may be a test case) it is provided that no costs be awarded against the company unless the tax

payable on the High Court decision was £500 or more. It is better to accept possible loss of costs in small cases than any restriction upon the Board's access to the highest court when important principles are involved. The paucity of taxation case law in West Africa may be due in part to the present restrictive provisions.

Not all the changes have been for the benefit of the Revenue alone. The position of the taxpayer has also been improved where necessary. For example, Clause 61, sub-clause (3) provides that the benefit of payment in 2 instalments remains intact upon the settlement of an objection before 21st February, provided that one-half of the tax as finally determined has been paid within the original time limit of two months. Hitherto the right to pay current year's tax in two instalments is prejudiced if the taxpayer enters an objection. The objection could arise from an error by the Board in the notice of assessment, and be settled within a day or two of service of that notice.

Sir, heavier penalties have been imposed for continued failure to furnish a return, statement or information, after a conviction by a court. The penalty is increased from £5 to £20 a day in sub-clause 67 (1). In the case of deliberate fraud, proceedings will lie against the company under clause 68, but the individual responsible may incur a fine of up to £500, or be imprisoned for up to five years, or both, under the provisions of clause 69. This clause detaches the amount of the fine from the total tax payable by the company, which is an anomalous penalty in the existing Ordinance, but increases the maximum fine from £200 to £500 and the maximum sentence from six months to 5 years, so that there will be no need to rely on the proceedings under the Criminal Code in the case of a serious offence.

I shall not attempt to mention every clause where there has been a change from the provisions of the existing law purely for purposes of clarification of doubt, as this has been done in the phraseology of many of the clauses.

Since it deals purely with the machinery for administering company income tax in Nigeria and personal income tax in Lagos only, the Income Tax Administration Ordinance, 1958,

has been excluded from the Income Tax Management Bill and included in this Bill. Its provisions are incorporated in Part II of the Bill and insofar as they also affect the administration of personal income tax in Lagos, the Personal Income Tax Bill has been made referable to Part II of the Bill, to avoid repeating those provisions in the personal Bill. No major departure from existing practice has been made but anomalies have been rectified in accordance with practical experience over the past two years.

The Bill as now presented contains the law as hitherto, duly brought up-to-date and amended where necessary to fall in line with the taxation policy of the Government. It now isolates under one legislation all company law to the exclusion of such matters as personal reliefs and allowances which concern only personal income tax and not companies. It provides in a concise form a piece of legislation that may be supplied to enquiring companies abroad who are interested in investing in Nigeria, without encumbering the reading matter with extraneous personal tax provisions as in the combined taxation law at present in use. Read as a complement to the Income Tax Management Bill it is a neat piece of composite legislation for company taxation.

We have here achieved a practical and much improved company tax law which I can with confidence recommend to hon. Members for approval as the result of much seasoned deliberation both by the officials of my Ministry in which the lay draft was put up and by the Ministry of Justice whose representative has given the Bill the legal language in which it is couched. I am sure that hon. Members will give their full support to this sound Bill.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Zana the hon. Bukar Dipcharima): Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Mr E. C. Akwivu (Orlu South East): Mr Speaker, Sir, this Bill is very welcome. I think it is very timely, particularly when one recalls the statements made by the hon. the Minister of Finance during his speech on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill. I think, Sir, that we of this country can hardly be

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blamed, or it can never be said that this country is not co-operative with companies in promoting their business or giving them necessary facilities or protections.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there are alarming revelations in the speech of the Minister of Finance which I earlier referred to. If I may quote, with your leave, from paragraph 3 of page 30. The Minister said :—"Of course, we welcome investors in Nigeria, but we do not welcome investors who do not play fair with our tax authorities". And the Minister did not stop there : he went further to show some concrete evidence—"I think we ought to remind ourselves and the world in general what we have done in an attempt to make life easier for companies because we want investments in this country".

As the Minister of Finance himself pointed out, only two years ago, Sir, we had to reduce income tax to 8s in the £ in order to encourage the growth of commercial and industrial activities in the Federation. Now, in addition to that we have the Industrial Development Income Tax Relief Ordinance No. 8 of 1958 which makes it possible for a company established in this country not to pay tax for the first two years, and if it can show sufficient evidence supported by capital investment, the company might even be exempted from paying tax for the first four years, and if it should show any losses, for as long as it has shown losses during such tax-free period, we will grant it commensurate years in extension. Also, Sir, we have the Industrial Development (Import Duties) Ordinance of 1957 which grants them protection and the relief from import duties, which is aimed at making business more prosperous for them when they are threatened by goods from outside the country. Again, we have the Customs Duties (Dumped and Subsidised Goods) Ordinance. That is intended to protect the companies operating with subsidies in this country from dumped goods from abroad.

Now we have also gone even further to make provision, as contained in the Customs Regulation of 1958, for importing firms to claim back duties already paid and, even worse still, as I have already tried to point out on the Floor of this House the other day, we are even

going to the extent of allowing them liberal latitudes in acquisition of land in this country, which I personally do not support.

If I may explain a little on that question of acquisition of land, some of the expatriate firms, in the guise of getting land for their staff, are now becoming landlords, building houses and letting them out to other expatriates. I will dilate more on that when we come to the appropriate Head of Estimates. If an expatriate takes land, if he cannot use it himself he must either surrender or sell out.

It is unfortunate that, with all the liberal gestures we have made in order to assist and encourage companies, many of them have not played fair with the Government of this country.

Now the Minister himself referred to the case of a company operating here in Lagos which, in the course of years beginning from 1952, has only paid £1,000 income tax, and has gone on to show from year to year losses, and apparently that shop is one of the most expensive in West Africa. No poor man goes into that shop because there is hardly any item of merchandise there that costs anything less than a guinea.

I think that the company which readily comes to my mind and which I believe is the relevant one is *Danasil*. It is situated at Nnamdi Azikiwe Street in Lagos. As I was saying, one who seeks equity must do equity. If a company continues to show that it is running at a loss from year to year in order to evade tax, then we ought to respond in fitting terms. If the company is running at a loss then there are resources of the country being wasted and the company should fold up and go. Therefore, I feel that companies like that ought not to be allowed to carry on, and it is really gratifying that this legislation has come in time and we do hope that it will take care of companies like that.

I wish to draw attention to some companies, originating from countries in the Commonwealth, who tend to abuse the Commonwealth privileges which they enjoy. In this respect, I will be more specific and mention the well-known Indian firms of K. Chellaram and J. T. Chanrai. Their accounting system is a

mystery to anybody in this country to-day. There is no doubt that, in practice, they do not declare anything more than ten per cent of the profits they make. They export money from this country in very large quantities, in very devious ways, and besides, their business is a completely closed shop. Why must they have Indians as salesmen? Does it mean that an Indian salesman sells much better or is a much better salesman than the Nigerian salesmen at the U.A.C.? Does it mean that the Indian salesman is more intelligent than the salesgirl in Kingsway? I think that we must come down really very heavily on these nebulous and unscrupulous foreign firms. (*Hear, hear*).

When we tighten up on tax, we must also make sure that what goes out by way of salaries goes to those who will pay tax in this country, and not unemployed or frustrated people in India, brought here and kept in hostels rather than employing, in fact, more capable Nigerians who would render service for the money they receive and also make a realistic contribution to the progress of this country. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, I appeal to the Minister of Finance not only to make sure that these people pay as much tax as they should do, but also to make sure that they employ Nigerians. All Indian employees must go unless they have any expert knowledge. The rest of them must go. (*Applause*).

Then, when we blame these expatriate firms, it is also necessary for us to plead with our own men who are either accountants or tax assessment clerks. A lot of evasion cannot take place without the active co-operation of tax assessment clerks. We appeal to the Minister of Finance to go through the Inland Revenue Department. If the staff are in any way underpaid, if their conditions of service require improvement, he should kindly improve them as quickly as possible but, in return for that being done, it must be made sure that the tax assessment clerks work in co-operation with the Government rather than with tax evaders.

Finally, there is also the question of the Chartered Accountants. The accounting profession is a respectable and reputable one. I

do not want to attack the profession as such, but every profession, like every human institution, has its own "black legs". There are some accountants whose occupation is wangling accounts for the convenience of evading expatriate companies. I think that should be carefully looked into and that the Ministry of Finance should make very close observations on any accounting practitioners of that class and, if need be, recommend their loss of licence.

In conclusion, Sir, how are we taxing the shipping companies? It is known and it is a common practice, that ships pay their tax in the country where they are registered. It is not enough having XYZ (Nigeria) Shipping Company Limited, if all they pay their tax on is the little administrative financial transaction that takes place here for clearing or forwarding goods to a value of not more than £10,000. I think it is very important that, if they are going to do business in Nigeria, if they are going to carry ninety per cent of the produce going out of this country, they must be registered here and pay tax here. (*Hear, hear*).

Question put and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a second time.

Mr Speaker: It is already 6 o'clock and under the Order of this House this morning, the Debate stands adjourned until 9 o'clock.

Sitting suspended : 6.00 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 9.00 p.m.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.

The Chairman: I take it that, with the permission of the House, I shall take the clauses in groups.

Mr A. O. Ogunsanya (Ikeja) : Mr Chairman, Sir, I propose to suggest an amendment to section 3 (2) by the insertion of subsection (e) and (f) in the following terms :—

(e) up to one further member appointed by a notice in the Gazette by the Minister from among persons appearing to him to have had experience and shown capacity in the management of a substantive trade or business or the exercise of a profession in Nigeria ;

(f) any persons appointed under the foregoing subsection shall hold office for a period of three years from the date of such appointment.

I beg to submit this amendment for the single purpose that all the members of the Board under section 3 are officials, that is, persons who are holders of offices under the public service of the Federation. I think, at least, one other member who is not such a person holding office under the Crown will be of some assistance to the Board. In these terms, I propose the amendment.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : Mr Chairman, Sir, I accept the amendment.

The Chairman : The hon. Mover moved the amendment without my stating what the amendment is that you are supporting.

Amendment proposed.

The Minister of Finance : Mr Chairman, Sir, the amendment is accepted.

Clause 3, as amended, put and agreed to.

The Chairman : Order, order. Mr Ogunsanya.

Mr Ogunsanya : The other amendment is section 68 and it is still a long way off, Sir.

Clause 4 to 67 agreed to.

Clause 68.

Mr Ogunsanya : Sir, my idea of Clause 68 (2) is that it sounds like a drafting error. It says : "No company or other person shall

be liable to any penalty under this section unless the complaint concerning such offence was made in the year of assessment in respect of or during which the offence was committed or within six years after the expiration thereof." I think the purpose of this is to limit the time within which positive steps can be taken to six years. It seems ambiguous to say within a shorter period or within six years. That is just the observation I wish to make.

Amendment proposed in line 37 to leave out from the word "made" to the end and insert the words "within six years from the commission thereof" instead.

The Minister of Finance : With respect to my hon. learned Friend, I am afraid that even though I agree he could be a good lawyer, surely, he is not a draftsman. I think that that section is very clear. There is no ambiguity in it at all. It says "within the year of assessment someone could be prosecuted". I am sure that my hon. Friend realises that there is what we call the *Statute of Limitation* in law, and this statute is applicable within the period of six years. Therefore, I oppose the amendment.

Mr E. C. Akwivu (Orlu South East) : Sir, we feel obliged to our expert legal draftsmen, but one wonders whether the expression "Statute of Limitation" is being used in this case as is applicable to civil law or criminal law. In my humble knowledge and experience, the Statute of Limitations of six years applies to civil proceedings and not criminal proceedings and, normally, revenue proceedings are regarded as being quasi criminal.

Mr Chairman, Sir, I think that it is a matter upon which the Minister of Finance and the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice could give further reflection because, to say that a complaint is not tenable unless made within one year or within six years, is a negation in terms. If you want to say within six years, say so, if you want to say within one year, the Government should come out plain and say that. It is no use our passing a Bill which would necessitate a further amendment within six months.

Amendment put and negatived.

Clauses 68 to 74 agreed to.

Schedules 1-5 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

Bill reported with an Amendment, read the third time and passed.

INCOME TAX MANAGEMENT BILL

Order for second reading read.

The Minister of Finance : Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill for an Act to be known as "The Income Tax Management Act, 1961" be read a second time. The Bill is the first of three pieces of composite legislation on income taxation which I will lay before hon. Members during this meeting of Parliament. As already pointed out in my Budget Speech and in the Memorandum to the Bill, the background of the legislation is that the 1958 Fiscal Commission Report recommended that, for the purpose of securing a measure of agreement between the Governments of the Federation on main principles as well as on the detailed provisions to be covered, the Federal Government should arrange for a draft Income Tax Management Bill, embodying the relevant provisions of the existing Federal and Regional laws with adjustments necessary to form a consistent whole. The Bill is to form the model for laws to be passed by the Legislature of each of the territories in respect of its own area of jurisdiction, thus avoiding internal double taxation of individuals throughout Nigeria, and providing for settlement of inter-governmental wrangles over technical issues connected with personal income tax where the interests of two or more of the governments of the Federation are in conflict.

The Fiscal Commission's recommendations were accepted by the Governments of the Federation and embodied in the Nigerian Constitution, section 70 subsection (2) of which empowers Parliament to make laws for Nigeria or any part thereof in respect of individuals for the purpose of securing, among other things, uniform principles of taxation throughout the Federation in respect of personal incomes and uniform principles of

computing incomes or losses, depreciation of assets, *et cetera*. This power does not, however, extend to the imposition of any tax or penalty or the prescription of rates of tax or personal allowances and reliefs other than for residents of the Federal Territory of Lagos. Each region is, therefore, free to enact laws for its own tax or penalty and to lay down its own rates of tax or personal allowances and reliefs, provided that the regional law as a whole is not in conflict with the broad principles laid down by the Income Tax Management Bill enacted by the Federal Parliament in pursuance of section 70, subsection (2) of the Constitution.

In accordance with the recommendations so the Fiscal Commission, therefore, a conference of federal and regional income tax officials was held in February 1959, and on three subsequent occasions up to 14th December, 1960, followed by a final conference at ministerial level on 7th March, 1961. As must be expected the negotiations leading to the desired measure of agreement were difficult and protracted, and although complete agreement could not be reached on a few matters of technical detail which will be reviewed in the light of experience over the next few years, the Bill here presented embodies the majority conclusions and agreements on the framework for future taxation of personal incomes in Nigeria, whereby internal double taxation will be avoided, and the rival interests of the various governments of the Federation reconciled.

The Income Tax Management Bill is, therefore, an umbrella legislation and requires a complementary Bill to regulate the taxation of personal incomes as far as Lagos is concerned, as well as another Bill to regulate the taxation of companies throughout Nigeria.

The main purpose of the Income Tax Management Bill, in addition to transferring the taxation of non-Africans resident outside Lagos on 1st April, 1961, to the tax authority of the region of their residence, is the elimination of double taxation within Nigeria. This is done by prescribing a common tax year for all territories, laying down the basis period to be taken for assessment in each tax year in respect of each source of income, and assigning each taxable individual, with respect to all his income wherever it arises, to only one

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tax authority for each income tax year, on the basis of his residence or deemed residence at the commencement of the year.

The Bill also ensures uniformity in the measurement of taxable income by all tax authorities without in any way trespassing upon the constitutional right of each Government to exempt income or to prescribe its own rates of tax and personal reliefs. It is recognised, however, that in the practical administration of the income tax laws of the various territories there is bound to be conflict of interests between one tax authority and another. The Income Tax Management Bill seeks to resolve any such conflict either by mandatory provisions or, in the main, by the creation of a Joint Tax Board which I shall speak about later on in this speech.

This opportunity has been taken to do away with certain anomalies now present in our income tax law and I shall deal with some of these changes in some detail.

Clause 3 (3) takes daily-rated wage earners and other individuals, who move from place to place in Nigeria, with incomes not exceeding £300 per annum, out of the general class of taxpayers subject to the unavoidably complicated residence tests, and permits them to be taxed wherever they are found, subject to their being given relief by a tax authority for any year equal to any tax already paid by the individual to some other authority for the same year. This provision will remove most of the difficulties which would otherwise arise in dealing with mobile or itinerant workers in the low-income group.

Clause 8 seeks to remove uncertainty in the existing Income Tax Ordinance as to the derivation of employment income from Nigeria, *e.g.*, during any period of overseas leave, or when an employment is partly exercised in Nigeria and partly in other West African territories. It incorporates the standard Double Taxation Arrangement provisions for temporary visitors working for an overseas employer and for employees of a Nigerian employer who work outside Nigeria. It also retains in charge the emoluments of Nigerian officials working in countries outside

Nigeria which, under the Double Taxation Arrangements or by diplomatic usage, exempt those emoluments from overseas tax.

Clause 19 remedies an omission in the existing Income Tax Ordinance by bringing into charge any waiver or refund of a liability already allowed as a deductible expense in computing income or loss.

Clause 20 (5) places all employment income and income from pensions, derived from Nigeria, on a current year basis of assessment so as to permit the operation of P.A.Y.E. schemes wherever desired. In particular, it has been necessary for this purpose to specify that exceptional emoluments from any employment, such as a bonus or commission, shall be income of the day on which paid, and to provide for such payments made after the employment has terminated to be treated as income of the last day of employment.

Clauses 24 and 25 repeat the existing Income Tax Ordinance provisions for treaty agreements to be made with overseas countries in respect of double taxation, and for carrying those agreements into effect. For the removal of doubt, sub-clause (6) of Clause 24 is declaratory that all existing agreements will be applied throughout Nigeria. New agreements will fall to be made, as desired, by the Federal Government pursuant to its constitutional powers in the field of foreign affairs, and the use of the Joint Tax Board as an advisory body is contemplated in this respect.

Clause 27 sets up a Joint Tax Board as envisaged in paragraph (g) of subsection (2) of section 70 of the Nigerian Constitution. The constitution, powers and duties of the Board are subject to agreement by all the Governments which will be represented on the Board. With the linking of the jurisdiction to tax to the residence of a taxpayer there will be a few cases where that jurisdiction will be likely to change within Nigeria from one year to another. Yet, as in all taxing ordinances, many matters which have a continuing effect for one or more subsequent years fall to be determined in computing the statutory income of a taxpayer for a year of assessment. Hence decisions by one tax authority may have repercussions subsequently upon the revenues of others. This is true, also, of many decisions

of the Federal authority under its company tax law where those decisions reach out to a company's directors, employees or shareholders who are resident outside Lagos.

The scheme of the Bill is to decentralise the taxation of individuals to the maximum extent compatible with the Fiscal Commission's recommendations; but, without a domestic forum in which matters affecting the revenues of more than one Government can be settled, it would be necessary to include in the Management Bill many more detailed provisions regulating decisions on those matters. Moreover, in any dispute on such matters the taxpayer would, on appeal, become the focal point in the courts for public wrangles between tax authorities, to the general discredit of the whole tax system. For these reasons alone the creation of the Joint Tax Board is fundamental to the success of the new legislation.

Executive functions are, therefore, assigned to the Joint Tax Board initially in the following clauses—

- 14 (2) —Artificial transactions, *et cetera*, where more than one tax authority is involved.
- 17 (1) (f)—Approval of Pension and Provident Funds for all tax authorities.
- 20 (2) —Change of accounting date when more than one tax authority is involved.
- 31 (3) —Decisions having a continuing effect where more than one tax authority is involved.
- 31 (5) —Conflicting conditions attached by various tax authorities to the existing approvals of Pension and Provident Funds,

and also the question of residence and capital allowances.

Clause 28 gives the widest possible powers for the exchange of information between tax authorities, and for the procurement of information from any person as to the income or personal circumstances of an individual, and provides for the disclosure by banks of interest exceeding £15 per annum paid or credited to depositors, but otherwise protects the traditional relationship between banks and their customers. The effect of this

provision on the development of banking in Nigeria has been very carefully considered in my Ministry and I am satisfied that it is in the interest of the nation to take the power of disclosure as is done in other countries of the world, in order to counteract wide-scale tax evasion.

Clause 31 provides that decisions properly made by one tax authority, or options duly exercised by an individual, shall be recognised by all other tax authorities where they have some continuing effect and there is a change in the territory of residence of the taxpayer concerned. For example: the residues of unrelieved capital expenditure agreed to or determined on an assessment in a Region will be adopted as the opening balances for the next succeeding year by any other tax authority into whose jurisdiction the taxpayer may have moved for that year.

The main body of the Bill has been streamlined and kept within reasonable bounds by excluding therefrom certain specific matters and assembling them in "schedules" to the Bill:—

(a) The First Schedule deals with the determination of residence and makes very detailed provisions for this, with a view to meeting such cases as those of persons outside Nigeria on 1st April in the year of assessment, or on leave in one territory from a seat of employment in another.

(b) The Second Schedule lays down details for the determination of the incomes of trusts, settlements or estates.

(c) The Third Schedule assembles in one convenient form all the incomes regarded as exempt from income tax.

(d) The Fourth Schedule provides for a means of ascertaining what deduction may be allowed for contributions to pension and provident funds.

(e) In the Fifth Schedule is repeated, duly modified in the light of experience of the computation of capital allowances since its introduction in 1952, the provisions of the existing depreciation allowances on fixed assets used in a taxpayer's business.

(f) The last Schedule, the Sixth, lists all the Arrangements which have been made or adopted by Nigeria with other countries with a view to avoiding double taxation.

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Sir, the lay draft of this Bill was prepared in my Ministry by an official very well qualified to undertake the job, and has been fully and carefully scrutinised by a representative of the Ministry of Justice who, because of his previous experience of a similar major undertaking in our sister-country, Ghana, has been specially assigned to the task of putting it in its present legal form. The Bill represents a practical code of taxation for the whole Federation without going into the detail of personal income tax rates, personal allowances and reliefs and other matters which are, by our Constitution, within the jurisdiction of each Region. It is a cementing legislation for income taxation in Nigeria and goes a long way towards underlining the oneness of our great country. Any foreign investor may now invest in any Region of Nigeria in the full assurance that the intricacies of taxation will be no greater than if he had invested in any other country with a unitary form of government. I wholeheartedly recommend it for the approbation of the House.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Works and Surveys (Alhaji the hon. Inuwa Wada): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to second.

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.

The Chairman: I take it that it is with the wish of the House that I should put the clauses in groups. If any hon. Member wishes to speak on any clause, he should mention the clause.

Clauses 3 to 15 agreed to.

Clause 16.

Mr F. U. Ihe (Okigwi North East): Sir, I wonder if the Minister of Finance would consider exempting from tax, in addition to the list of persons entitled to be exempted from income tax, the stipends of ministers of religion irrespective of their nationality and also missionaries engaged either in church, educational or medical work?

The Minister of Finance: Quite frankly, Sir, I do not understand my hon. friend.

But if I get him rightly, correct me if I am wrong, my hon. friend is suggesting to the House that salaries or other emoluments of ministers of religion should be exempt from taxation. Is that right?

Several hon. Members: Yes!

The Minister of Finance: If that is what he is saying then I would say that much as I am very religious I do not support the idea of ministers of religion laying up their treasures in heaven and leaving nothing here! (*Interruptions*).

Clause 16 agreed to.

Clauses 17 to 32 agreed to.

First Schedule agreed to.

Second Schedule.

Mr E. C. Akwivu (Orlu South East): Mr Chairman, Sir, the one point I would like to make is that there is something that does not become readily appreciated in the Schedule. Sir, if one works out on the Table here one finds that a man whose income is £2,900 would pay a tax of £655. Now, the position is that we cannot have our cake and eat it. We have not said that we are launching out on a completely socialist economic system. We talk of Nigerians going into business.

The Minister of Finance: How did you arrive at that figure?

Mr Akwivu: Sir, if it will not bore the House I can read it out. The point is this, that our Government has said that they will interest themselves in business directly.

The Chairman: May I draw the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that the Second Schedule concerns Settlements, Trusts and Estates.

Mr Akwivu: Sir, are we not on "Personal Income Tax (Lagos)"?

Several hon. Members: No!

Second Schedule agreed to.

Third Schedule.

Chief O. B. Akin-Olugbade (Egba South): Mr Chairman, Sir, under (c) in the Third Schedule—"Income Exempted"—it is stated, "The emoluments payable from United Kingdom Funds to members of Her Majesty's Forces and to persons in the permanent service of the United Kingdom Government in

Nigeria in respect of their offices under the United Kingdom and the emoluments payable to members of the armed forces of any power or body allied to, or associated with, the Federation, including the emoluments payable to members of any civilian component, and the income of any authorised service organisation, accompanying any such visiting force provided that this exemption shall not apply to any individual who is a citizen of Nigeria or who ordinarily resides in Nigeria". May I know from the Minister why these people are being exempted when citizens of Nigeria are not going to be exempted.

The Minister of Finance : Mr Chairman, Sir, I am surprised that a man learned in Law should ask such a question. The answer is simple. You have read it quite clearly and you will find that this is the principle everywhere in the world. As you have exchange of diplomatic officials who are exempt from taxation in other countries, you are now suggesting that if a diplomat is a Nigerian who is exempt from tax, therefore, all Nigerians like you, whether wearing red cap or not, must be exempted from tax. The provision is clear that where members of the armed forces of other countries are allied to our forces here, that is, that they are here to work with our soldiers, they will be exempt from the provision of this Ordinance. That is clear. I do not think it needs any expansion by me at all. It is in international usage as regards military conditions.

Chief Akin-Olugbade : Mr Chairman, Sir, I am not particular about the members of the diplomatic corps here but I think that there are groups of people mentioned under that Clause (c). If it is for the reason that the funds are not being provided by the Nigerian Government then I will understand but the Minister of Finance says that because some of them belong to diplomatic corps, therefore they are exempted from paying income tax. For instance, what of certain Nigerians who are ex-servicemen or were in the military forces of Her Majesty's Government and are now resident in Nigeria? They are Nigerians and they receive their pensions here. But will they be exempted from paying income tax? They are Nigerians and they receive their money from the United Kingdom Funds.

The Minister of Finance : With very great respect, Sir, my hon. Friend has read this particular clause. I suppose you have refused to see the gravamen of the particular clause you have read. It is not referring to all sorts of military men in Nigeria but if you read it carefully you will find that "United Kingdom Government in Nigeria in respect of their offices under the United Kingdom Government and the emoluments payable to members of the armed forces of any power or body allied to, or associated with, the Federation", provided the proviso is dealing with citizens of Nigeria and nothing to do with these people. What I am telling you is that it is in usage and if the armed forces personnel are allied to or associated with the military personnel or forces of the Federation of Nigeria then they are exempt. What is wrong in that?

Chief the hon. Obafemi Awolowo (Ijebu-Remo) : Mr Chairman, Sir, I think the hon. Minister of Finance is running away from the fact. Is it not correct to say that this is a very clever variant of the provision to the same effect contained in the Visiting Forces Annex to the Defence Pact?

The Minister of Finance : With very due respect to the Leader of the Opposition, I must say that it is not so because the Pact that he is referring to deals with Nigeria and the United Kingdom. It can be seen that this provision says "Other armed forces". Other armed forces does not deal with the United Kingdom alone.

Chief Awolowo : I want to ask, Sir, whether the Government is abandoning its policy of non-alignment? It is not speaking of forces allied to the Federation of Nigeria? (*Laughter*).

Schedule 3 agreed to.

Schedules 4 to 6 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair).

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

PERSONAL INCOME TAX (LAGOS) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that a Bill for an Act to be known as the "Personal Income Tax (Lagos) Act, 1961" be now read a second time. I hope, Sir, that in view of certain newspaper remarks that have been made on this particular Income Tax Bill hon. Members will give me the indulgence to speak on this a little bit at length.

Under the Nigerian Constitution the taxation of individuals is a matter within the jurisdiction of the Region of residence of such individual. The Personal Income Tax (Lagos) Bill therefore relates exclusively to residents within the Federal territory of Lagos and has no application whatsoever to persons resident in the Regions. The Bill as presented before the House re-enacts the provisions of the existing Ordinances with suitable amendments to bring them up to date and to give effect to the changes which experience of administering personal income tax in Lagos for the past 32 years has dictated.

The Bill is to be read as one with the Income Tax Management Bill which, under section 70 of the Constitution will regulate the taxation of income other than of companies throughout Nigeria, so as to prevent double taxation. It is also, for economy in drafting, referential to the Companies Income Tax Act in some of its administrative provisions. As already stated, this Bill re-enacts most of the existing provisions of the law as it stands and so I shall not touch upon matters which remain unchanged, but will rather invite the attention of hon. Members to those portions in which important changes have taken place.

The first change worthy of note is the introduction of the Income rate. In order both to ensure that every citizen pays a proportionate share towards the purse of the state and also to relieve the Federal Inland Revenue Department of the unremunerative work of attempting accurate assessments on the lower income group of taxpayers, an income rate to be levied on all taxable persons is introduced, ranging from 10s per person on incomes not exceeding £100 to £3 on incomes in excess of £203. My original intention was to confine this income rate to taxpayers earning £300 and below, who do not therefore come under the general income tax provisions, but it soon became clear that if that was done grave

anomalies would arise, whereby one taxpayer with the same family circumstances and reliefs as another but with income under £300 would be paying more tax than the other taxpayer with a higher income of over £300 who is exempt from the income rate. The extension of the income rate to all classes of individuals above £300 a year (in addition to the income tax payable by them) ensured that, whatever may be the total personal reliefs due to an individual whose income exceeds £300 a year he will pay at least £3 to the nation's purse, which is not less than the amount paid by other taxpayers with income below that figure. The details have been carefully worked out so that in no case will a person with a higher assessable income be left with a smaller net income (that is, after deduction of income tax and income rate) than the net income of another taxpayer with a lower assessable income. It is emphasised that where a taxable person's income is £300 or below, the income rate is all that will be payable by him; but where his income exceeds that figure the income rate is in addition to the income tax payable by him.

Another major departure from the existing practice is the separate assessment of husband and wife. Hitherto a married man living with and maintaining his wife was required to declare as part of his own income, to be taxed in his name, the income of his wife. Owing to the fact that many husbands did not even know how much their wives earned, and to the fact that where a man had more than one wife it was not clear which was to be regarded as his wife for this purpose, considerable administrative difficulties were experienced. In fact many husbands simply forced the law to lapse by default, and as the Inland Revenue was in no position to discover the omission of the wife's income, it brought the whole system largely into ridicule. This position has now been rectified by the omission from the Bill of any provision requiring a wife's income to be treated as the husband's as hitherto. The Bill therefore seeks to tax every taxable person separately, thereby facilitating the operation of any Pay-As-You-Earn system.

Clause 18 provides that a personal relief of £300 is to be deducted from the income of every individual in arriving at the net income on which his or her income tax is to be charged. This effectively rules out of the pure income

tax scheme all persons earning £300 and below, and confines them to the income rate mentioned already.

Clause 19 provides additional relief for expenditure incurred in maintaining or educating children or in maintaining dependent relatives, and the costs of life assurance, broadly on the existing lines, but with certain modifications which are noted below.

At present no personal relief is given to a single man, but £200 is given to a husband. Under the proposals, the £300 basic personal relief will be given to a single man and a married man alike (and that is why I am going to be a friend of the bachelors, and an enemy of spinsters) together with an additional allowance of one hundred pounds for a married man as provided for in paragraph (a).

At present, where a wife has any income in excess of £200 which is exempted for all women, that excess is added to the husband's income and taxed in his hands, effectively at the highest rate in the progressive tax scale which then applies to the aggregated income. On the new proposals the income of a wife, if it exceeds £300, will be subject to a separate income tax assessment at the scale rates applicable to her separate income as an individual, in addition to the income rate payable by all taxable persons.

Paragraph (b) of sub-clause 19 (iii) increases the existing basic child relief from £40 to £60 for each of up to four unmarried children either under 16 years of age or still being educated, and extends that relief to any person who in fact maintains a child, whether or not it is his own child, legitimate or otherwise, and without any test of legal adoption as at present required. (*Hear, hear*). Surely, Sir, this is quite progressive.

Paragraph (c) replaces additional relief of up to £210 for each such child being maintained or educated out of Nigeria with additional relief of up to £190 for costs, in excess of £60 per child, incurred directly to any recognised educational establishment in respect of such child, wherever the child may be. Thus, the maximum relief for a child remains at £250 in all, the basic relief is increased to a more realistic figure, and the additional relief is made available for all exceptional educational

costs but not for mere maintenance of a child out of Nigeria.

Paragraph (d) clarifies the intention of the existing law to restrict the relief to any taxpayer for a dependent relative, or any number of such relatives, to £100; and by sub-clause (1) of clause 22 it is also made clear that the relief to be given in aggregate to a husband and wife shall not exceed that figure, despite the separate assessment of the spouses under the new proposals. Hitherto, no relief was due in respect of a dependent relative whose own income exceeded £150 per annum; this restriction has been eased by increasing that limit to £300.

Paragraph (e) deals with reliefs for premiums on life policies taken out by a taxpayer on the life of himself or his spouse. The relief remains as at present, except that it is no longer considered appropriate to allow relief for premiums paid on such policies or contracts taken out before 12th November, 1948, in addition to the maximum of £1,000 otherwise prescribed for all reliefs and deductions to be allowed with respect to provision for death or retirement benefits.

Clause 40 introduces, in sub-clause (c), a new requirement that an appellant who has failed to render proper returns and accounts, when so ordered by the tribunal or court of first instance shall deposit with the Board an amount equal to the tax charged on him for the previous year, or half the tax against which he is appealing, whichever is the greater, as a condition precedent to the full hearing of his appeal. If he fails to comply with such order, the assessment will be confirmed and he will lose all further right of appeal against it.

The penalties position has also been strengthened. The penalty for late payment of tax has been increased from 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the tax outstanding. Clause 56 increases the basic penalties for deliberate fraud from a fine of £200 and imprisonment for six months, to £500 and imprisonment for 5 years respectively. If an offence under the clause is committed by any person in relation to his own tax affairs, the fine may be £500 or treble the tax chargeable, whichever is the greater. If an offence is committed in relation to the tax affairs of a third party, the basic penalties may be imposed, and the amount of the fine no longer depends in part on the tax

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liability of the person committing the offence, a provision which has always been anomalous in the existing Ordinance.

In order to obviate the doubt which has been expressed as to the right of Inland Revenue Officials to enter premises to obtain information, clause 64 now clearly permits a Tax Collector to enter peaceably upon houses or other premises during daylight, and to demand oral information of its occupants which he requires in the course of his duties. Clause 65 makes obstruction of a Tax Collector in the course of his duties an offence punishable under the Bill, while clause 66 protects a Tax Collector from proceedings arising out of the lawful execution of his duty.

The new income tax rates have been designed to fit in with the much increased personal reliefs introduced in this Bill, and are contained in the Second Schedule to the Bill, Table 2. Applied in combination with the new rates of personal reliefs and allowances, these tax rates, even after adding the income rate levied on every taxable individual, yields on the whole a more equitable distribution of the burden of taxation than the existing Ordinance. The actual amount of tax payable by an individual depends, of course, not only upon the tax rate but also upon the personal reliefs. Thus, although the first impression from a comparison of the proposed rates with the existing ones might be that there would be a substantial increase in an individual's tax liability because of the higher rates, this is in fact not the case.

The effect of the combination on the various categories of taxpayers may be summarised as follows:—

(a) All those with incomes under £300 will in practically every case have a substantial and welcome reduction in tax payable. The bulk of the exceptions will be found among women with incomes below £200, who in the past had enjoyed an illogical advantage. But even then the maximum income rate payable is only £3.

(b) For all those with incomes over the £300 mark the correct basis for comparison is by way of grouping taxpayers under their entitlements to personal reliefs, so as to compare their new with their old liabilities in the same circumstances.

(i) Single men have gained right down the scale on account of the fact that they are now, like everybody else, entitled to personal allowance of £300 which they did not enjoy in the past;

(ii) Single women, although they now pay the same as their male counterpart right through the proposed scale, pay more now than they did in the past because they then enjoyed an indefensible privilege of the total exemption of the first £200 of their income to the exclusion of the menfolk.

This differentiation is not made in any other country of the civilised world, and, whatever may have been the cause for its introduction many years ago, it is only fair that any illogical distinctions should now be removed in the present stage of the advancement of our nation.

(iii) A married man without children pays less under the new scheme than under the existing rates if his income is £1,250 or below; more or less the same if his income is between that figure and £4,700; and slightly more than at present if his income is above the £4,700 mark.

(iv) A married man with one or two children pays less than he does at present up to the £4,700 mark, and beyond that figure he pays slightly more under the proposed rates than under the existing ones.

(v) A married man with three or four children pays less under the proposed scheme of taxation than under the existing, because of his larger family reliefs.

The overall position therefore is that with the solitary exception of the single woman, who in future will be treated on exactly the same basis as a single man, the liability of the very lowest income groups will be substantially reduced, that of the middle groups will be slightly reduced, whilst the wealthier tax-payers will, in general, pay slightly more unless they have large families. This, I am confident, is an equitable distribution of the tax burden.

I am also confident that hon. Members will agree that we could not have done better in the very first Budget change since the attainment of independence by our country, than

to show that the welfare of the "under-dogs" is the prime concern of this Government.

Before I conclude my speech, I shall endeavour to answer briefly the misinformed criticism of an hon. Member who, in spite of the force of the fact presented by a comparison of figures, stubbornly insists on misleading the House by asserting that under the present legislation males with incomes not exceeding £60 enjoy exemption from tax. I do not know from where the hon. Member obtained his figure, but it is certainly not from the Income Tax Ordinance (Cap. 85); but for the information of the House I shall repeat the rates of tax exactly as they are imposed on the lower income group under the First Schedule of the present Ordinance.

	s	d
The tax on total income not exceeding £24 is	6	0
If it exceeds £24 but not £30 the tax is	8	0
Where it exceeds £30 but not £35 the tax payable is	10	0
Where the income exceeds £35 but not £40 the tax is	12	0
Incomes in excess of £40 but not exceeding £45 yield	15	0
Where the income exceeds £45 but not £50 the tax is	18	0
And where the income exceeds £50 but not £150—4½d on every pound.		

Need I comment further on these self-evident figures? Do they not clearly and sufficiently give the lie to the deliberately misleading assertion by the hon. Member that males with incomes under £60 are at present exempt from tax in the Federal territory of Lagos?

The hon. Member also goes on further to moan about the fact that women will no longer enjoy the total exemption of £200 which they previously enjoyed to the exclusion of the menfolk. Not finding any reasonable cause which gave rise to the discrimination in the past, I can only attribute it to the days when the Nigerian woman was merely regarded as chattel to be ignored in the scheme of things. They were generally so poor financially that they depended entirely on their menfolk for every penny of their livelihood, and so it was considered just as well to ignore the large numbers

of them rather than encumber the then less efficient machinery of income tax with the names of thousands of women whose incomes in their own right probably never exceeded twelve pounds a year, if at all. But those hard old days are gone for ever, and there are now thousands of wealthy Nigerian women rubbing shoulder in business with their menfolk, and in many cases even surpassing them. They are wealthier than the hon. Mr Dosunmu himself; they have more landed properties; they have fat salaries and you are saying that they should not pay tax.

Those days are gone when a woman was appointed clerical assistant while her fellow male human being—who might even be a poorer student in the same class as the woman—was appointed a full-fledged third class clerk with a much higher salary. Why should expedients introduced in those olden days be perpetuated in our income tax laws? What is the justification for it in present-day Nigeria? None as far as I can see.

Be that as it may these women with incomes not exceeding £200 for whom the hon. Member displays so grave a concern are merely being asked to pay sums ranging from only TEN SHILLINGS to ONE POUND in a whole year—which is the total amount due from them under the new income rate discussed above. Can anybody seriously say that untold hardship is being caused to Lagos women because they will each pay 10s or £1 as the case may be? On the contrary, I think that the hon. Member is insulting our women, and should not be taken seriously at all in his bid for cheap popularity.

In concluding, Sir, I emphasise the point that I here present to this hon. House a well-balanced income tax legislation for the assessment of individuals in the Federal territory of Lagos. The Bill before you represents a practical income tax structure which seeks to spread evenly and fairly the burden of income tax, without necessarily increasing Government revenue from personal income tax or throwing away revenue. Sir, it indicates once again that this Government led by our respected Prime Minister is prepared to champion the cause of common men.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation : (Mr R. A. Njoku) : I beg to support.

Question proposed :

Mr L. J. Dosunmu (Lagos Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, it may be true that this law contains some admirable provisions (*Hear, hear*) but it is equally true, Mr Speaker, that there are abominable provisions in it. (*Shame, shame*).

In the first place, I would like to make one point abundantly clear. Rights that are enjoyed by the citizens of the country should not be lightly taken away from them. No good Government will ever lightly take away rights citizens have been enjoying and that is what I am going to say in relation to the last statement by the Minister of Finance in relation to women in Lagos, who hitherto have not been paying tax in respect of incomes less than £200.

I challenge the Minister himself to deny this fact that in certain parts of the Federation of Nigeria women earning below £300 are exempted from tax liability. It is the correct thing to do, you see the point that I am making (*interruption*).

Mr Speaker : I do hope that members interferring will allow the hon. Member to make his speech in peace.

Mr Dosunmu : N.C.N.C. members are used to bleating in this House. Mr Speaker, Sir, I want to make one point very clear. Sir I am not pleading for those who are earning £300. It is true that there are women who are even richer than the Minister of Finance who is considered the wealthiest Nigerian to-day. I am not disputing that, those are entitled to be taxed and taxed heavily. There are women who are making £500 a year. I am not pleading their causes but I am talking of the generality of the Lagos women whose incomes do not lend themselves to ready assessment. Thousands and thousands of women who are making between £100 to £200, it is that class of women that I am speaking for and I am saying Sir, that it is not right of the Minister to strongly put his sledge hammer over the top of these women for he himself has said "for many many years past, these women. (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member : Do they have husbands ?

Mr Dosunmu : The answer is, if they have none, let them go and marry or let Minister provide them with husbands (*laughter*). These women, as I said, for many years in Lagos have never paid tax ; it is these same people on my left who are gloating all over the globe that women are paying tax and therefore should be relieved of the burden.

Hon. Members : No. No !

Mr Speaker : Order Order !

Mr Dosunmu : Women in the Western Region making less than £300 are completely exempt from tax liability (*interruption*). If people in the Western Region are now relieved, why should we bring into Lagos what has not been obtaining before ; that is the point that I am making. (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : I do not think we have so much time to waste.

Mr Dosunmu : Mr Speaker, Sir, I am sure you are used to the bleating of the N.C.N.C. men.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information (Mr M. Amechi) : Point of order. To me, it is highly unparliamentary for one to refer to hon. Members as bleating.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I am sure he is not so serious.

Mr Dosunmu : Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall content myself with just saying Sir, that if the Minister continues to be hard as he appears to be, I will leave the matter like that ; but I only invite him to certain provisions of the Law itself which grant him power to grant exemption to people who are otherwise taxable ; perhaps in the cooler moment when he begins to appreciate the difficulties of these women, he will make use of those provisions of the Law and exempt the generality of the women.

The other point that I am making is this, Sir, which is even a more serious point. The Minister attempts to draw distinction between people who are earning £300 and people earning more. He was clever enough to refer

to taxes below £300 as "income rate" and taxes above that figure "income tax". You will find throughout the speech of the Minister that he did not proffer any good reason why, in addition those of us who are in the higher bracket and will be paying income tax, will still again be called upon to pay "income rate".

Now the other point and perhaps a stronger point to me is that I do not know what obtains in other part of the Federation but I know that in the Western Region income tax collected by the Local Authority—(Interruption). Some people who do not like to be told that they are bleeding continue to behave less than human beings.

Mr Speaker : I do hope that hon. Member will not insist on improper language in referring to other Members.

Mr Dosunmu: Mr Speaker Sir, the rule, as far as I know—I do not know what obtains in the East—in the West, a proportion of the income tax collected by the Local Authority is retained by the Local Authority for its own use; but it is the other way round in Lagos. We have come to the stage now where the Minister himself agrees that the Lagos Town Council will be used at a certain time as Collecting Agents for the Government; but that is the provision of the law. They will be your Collector. Section 12 is abundantly clear.

If I can get the assurance from the Minister that "income rates" collected will be retained by the Lagos Town Council for its own purpose, that will end this aspect of my speech because it is a general rule that Local Authorities retain a certain proportion of the rates collected but that is not so in Lagos. It appears the Lagos residents are paying the highest rates, they are paying 10s in a pound and if we can look up to the Minister, at least we are paying 10s out of a pound in Lagos. If the Minister will be kind enough to allow the Lagos Town Council to retain for its own use this portion of "income rates" that will be collected, it will help to lighten the burden imposed on us at present by the Lagos Town Council and as I said, it is a matter of principle and the revenue of the Federal Government may not be as buoyant as one may expect but if anything rightly belongs to the Local Authority, the Federal Government ought to release the portion of the revenue collected by them. It is not sufficient to make

them Rate Collectors, it is not sufficient to make them Agents for the purpose of collecting revenue for the Government.

It must be abundantly clear, Sir, that they will retain at least a large portion of this amount or rightly, the whole amount collected from this lower income group. Surely if the Minister will agree to that point, he would not only have helped to lighten the burden of those of us who are residents of Lagos as a result of the heavy rates that the Lagos Town Council impose on us, but will also make sufficient revenue available to the Municipal Authority to carry on its social services. As I said at the outset, it is true that there are very very many good provisions in this Law, I do not condemn them completely but still there are some ugly provisions in this Bill and if the Minister cannot bring himself to changing some of the provisions now, I know he will be wiser when the time comes. With those reservations Sir, I support the Bill.

Mr S. A. Babatunde (Ilorin Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Bill *in toto* but I want to make some observations on the opinion of the last speaker. I take it as opinion because he is trying to use this place for electioneering campaign. Most of us know that all women are not house wives, most of them are traders. You see what the newspaper reported about a woman who collected money from two insurance Companies. We trust that those women with plenty of money will certainly pay tax and I am sure that if members of the Opposition are lucky to hold the reigns of the Government they will do exactly the same thing. But they come here now so as to give mischievous advice to the Government to see it collapse.

Last year they accused the Minister of Finance for imposing tax on some commodities and at the same time they said we should not borrow money from abroad. I do not know what they expect the Government to do. (Applause).

The last speaker, Mr Dosunmu, without any authority is pointing to the Western Region. He has never been there; he was not born there; he does not stay there. I do not think he has ever practised there. (Prolonged Applause). Throughout the whole of Nigeria everybody is well aware that the Western Regional Government was the first Govern-

[MR BABATUNDE]
ment that imposed tax on women. At least I heard of women paying tax first in Ijebu land and because I have lived in all parts of Ijebu I know that women actually pay tax. I do not know why Lagos should be exempted. Instead of hon. Members trying to rally round and give constructive suggestions about this and pass on to other subjects, Mr Dosunmu started to say exactly what he knows is the contrary.

An hon. Member : Give your advice.

Mr Babatunde : My advice is that all women with taxable income everywhere should pay tax to the Government. With these few remarks, Mr Speaker, I beg to support.

Mr A. O. Ogunsanya (Ikeja) : Mr Speaker, Sir, anyone who listened to my good friend, the hon. Dosunmu, would realise at once that his worry is more because several women in Lagos help him to pay his own tax.

Several hon. Members : Sorry, sorry.

Mr Ogunsanya : Mr Speaker, Sir, I must thank the Federal Government and the Federal Minister of Finance for conferring this duty on the Lagos Town Council. Mr Dosunmu must be unhappy because he no longer has anything to do with the Lagos Town Council.

An hon. Member : He was voted out.

Mr Ogunsanya : We thank. *(Interruptions)*.

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order.

Mr Ogunsanya : We thank the Federal Minister of Finance and I can assure him that any time this power is delegated to the Lagos Town Council.

Chief O. B. Akin Olugbade (Egba South) : On a point of correction, Sir. There may be some foreign reporters in this House and it is very unbecoming for a Member of this House not to be properly dressed when addressing this House. *(Applause)*.

Mr Deputy Speaker : It is a pity there is no standard dress in Nigeria, otherwise I would have been able to.

An hon. Member : He does not wear shoes.

Mr Deputy Speaker : I do not know what the hon. Member calls shoes but I can see something like that.

Mr Ogunsanya : As I was saying, whenever this delegation is given to the Lagos Town Council, as it is at present constituted, I can assure this House that the Lagos Town Council will live up to the expectation of this hon. House. *(Applause)*.

The hon. Dosunmu exposed himself as a Member of Parliament who knows nothing at all about the Western Region of Nigeria. When we were campaigning against the payment of rates by women in the West we were referring to women who had no means of livelihood at all and there is no doubt that the rates which were imposed—Mr Dosunmu is an amphibian, he is partly on water and partly on land and he does not know an amphibian's role under the Lagos lagoon. As I was saying, the women we freed from the rash imposition of tax by the Action Group were those women who had no income whatsoever and the rates in the Western Region before their abrogation some time before the August 1960 Elections were imposed on women who had no means of livelihood at all and the rates imposed under the Local Government Law 1957 had nothing to do with income and I say this, in Ijebu Waterside, that is the position. In the Ijebu Waterside, it is so; in Ijebu-Igbo, which is bush, it may be different. Those of us on this side of the House.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : On a point of information, Sir, we would like to know what the hon. Gentleman means by the word "bush".

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order. "Bush" can mean many things, you know.

Several hon. Members : Shame, shame.

Mr Ogunsanya : Afterall, I understand the language of the hon. Member but he does not understand mine otherwise he would have known that the word "Igbo" in Yoruba means "bush" and the hon. Member to whom I referred is a Member for Ijebu-Igbo. *(Applause)*.

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order. I think we have had enough jokes. Let us get down to some more serious business.

Mr Ogunsanya : As I was saying, Sir, *(Interruptions)*.

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order.

Mr Ogunsanya : Mr Speaker, as I was saying, Sir, the intention of this Bill is to make certain people with a certain income irrespective of sex pay a certain rate of tax. I say that my hon. friend should be quite satisfied that a lot of his supporters who are women with certain addresses in Lagos are not at all offended by this Bill. I take it, Sir, that this Bill is designed to make certain people who are in the upper stratum of society pay tax. My learned friend is trying to play a great deal of campaign in this House. I think he is degenerating into the lower abyss of hypocrisy, because I realise, Sir, that he fully realises the purpose of the Bill. It is usually the stock-in-trade of the Action Group. Where there is no fault they try to create one and I think the hon. Dosunmu has been long enough in this House to be able to be very, very responsible.

Furthermore, Sir, the women of Lagos have been told the contents of this Bill and they are responsible people. They are not irresponsible people. In any event, this Bill is designed only to make women who are on the higher stratum of society with whom hon. Dosunmu is associated, not the ordinary market women of Lagos whose income is nothing more than £50 to £100 per annum pay tax. And I think hon. Dosunmu should not twist the fact. If he wants to campaign, Isalegangan is very near his house. He could obtain permission from the Minister of Lagos Affairs. The ban will be lifted for him and he could talk over there.

I think everybody will support the purpose of this Bill. It is also intended that whenever any exemption is desirable the Federal Minister of Finance, who is a very simple man, in spite of the extreme provocation from the opposition, will always consider any deserving case. The Lagos Town Council will collect the tax. I can assure you it will do it satisfactorily. You will not be asked to collect.

Mr Speaker, Sir, with these words I beg to support the Bill.

Mr Akin-Olugbade (Egba South): Mr Speaker, Sir, the Minister of Finance has tried to make this Bill look as if it is manna falling from Heaven on the laps of the lower income group or the people he chose to call the common people. When we look at the Schedule we find that the fact that a man is expected to be earning £24 per annum in this country is a

very sordid state of affairs. A person who is earning £24 per annum will be paying 6s. The one who earns up to £30 per annum will pay 8s and a man who earns up to £35 per annum will pay 10s. I think it is a very sordid state of affairs that we still have people in this country who earn only £2 a month. How on earth does the Minister expect somebody with the present cost of living index to live on £2 in thirty days? And he wants the whole world to believe that this Bill is made for the benefit or to relieve the tax burden on the so called common man.

When we come to realise that every Federal Minister in this House earns practically not less than £5,000 in salary and allowances every year.....

The Minister of Finance : Point of Order, Sir. I am sure that no one would like any hon. Member to mis-inform this hon. House. My hon. friend cannot prove here that Ministers of this Federal Government are earning £5,000. Therefore it is unnecessary and very irrelevant for him to raise false alarm here. Perhaps this is done to catch the headlines of the Daily Express.

Mr Akin-Olugbade : It is common knowledge that all Ministers both in the Federal, in the Western, in the Eastern, earn not less, by way of salaries and allowances, than £5,000 per annum, that works out at the rate of an average of £18-13s-4d every day.

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order. Is the hon. Member analysing Ministerial salaries or making an argument relevant to the present Bill? (*Several hon. Members : Shame, shame.*)

Mr Akin-Olugbade Mr Speaker, has asked me a question, but I am only trying to break down the salary and allowances of the Ministers.

Well, Mr Speaker, Sir, one other point, Sir which the Minister of Finance made on the second reading of this Bill is that the so-called common man in Lagos will be paying far less than his counterpart in the Western Region or in the Northern Region. But when we realise Sir, that the minimum wage of each worker in Lagos a day is only 5s-2d as against 5s-11d being paid to a worker in the Western Region (*Interruptions—It is a lie*) we find that a worker earning about £100, which works out at the minimum rate of the

[ME AKIN-OLUGBADE]

pay of a worker in the Western Region of £100 per annum is going to pay £1 when his counterpart in the Western Region is going to pay £1-17s-6d, but his salary is £11-5s greater than that of the his counterpart in Lagos. The workers in Lagos should be prepared to get £11-5s. We on this side of the House have always advocated a higher minimum wage for workers. We have done it in this House, we have done it in the Western Region and in the Eastern House. We have always advocated it. Well the worker...

Mr D. N. Abii: Point of Order. Mr Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Member in order to discuss the minimum wage now?

Mr Deputy Speaker: Order, order. I was wondering myself as to the proximity of the remarks to the debate in issue, but I thought at one time that it was a passing remark.

Mr Akin-Olugbade: Mr Speaker, Sir, when the Deputy Speaker was outside the House the Minister of Finance gave us the scale of salary up to such and such an amount, and the tax up to such and such amount, and in the second schedule he cited figures. I am going by the figures which the hon. Minister of Finance cited. This is by way of explanation.

I dare say, Sir, that apart from the fact that the Federal Government does not care for the interest of the so-called common man in this country, the Bill contains certain improvements upon the old rates particularly with regard to the higher income group and I think that if the Minister of Finance will continue like this it will not be long before he will be one of us on this side who have the interest of the common man uppermost in our hearts.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh): Sir, I would like to reply to one or two irrelevant points made by my hon. Friend on the other side but before doing so, I would like to say quite frankly, Sir, that it is very improper and uncalled for for an hon. Member to play politics with a debate of this kind. Especially, Sir, when hon. Dosunmu had invited the Action Group Women Leader in Lagos to come to the Gallery to watch the debate. (Interruptions).

Mr Deputy Speaker: Order, order, will hon. Members listen to the Minister of Finance in silence.

The Minister of Finance: Another reason, Sir, supporting my argument that politics is being played by the hon. Members of the Opposition is the point made by my hon. and respected Friend, Akin-Olugbade by comparing the salaries of Ministers with that of the common man. I want to tell him that we Ministers here receive less salaries than the Action Group Ministers in the West. And I want to tell him too that as regards allowances they get more allowances than we do. I will also give two examples—the basic allowance on their cars is more than that of the Ministers of the Federal Government. They draw 1s per mile for their cars whilst we draw 6d per mile. So, Sir, I only make these points in order to show that we are not here to play politics and I want to go further to say, Sir, that we always like to come out in our true colours. We do not impose tax or give relief on tax to people on the eve of an election and after the election is won go back and impose it in another name. What do we say, Sir? We say that instead of increasing tax on the poor workers it is essential to spread the tax on many more people who should pay. We are not saying that a woman who has nothing to do should pay tax. What we say is that if Government want more money and they want to impose tax instead of asking the workers to pay more tax, let our womenfolk who also earn some money like men pay. After all women can gain by night or by day. (Prolonged Laughter).

An hon. Member: On point of Order, Sir, will the Minister withdraw the comment?

The Minister of Finance: All that we are saying is that our sisters can also help in the development of the country. What is wrong in that. We are asking only 10s and £1 respectively. They either pay 10s if the income is less than £200 or if it is up to £200 per annum only £1 into the coffers of their country in order to develop their country. Is there anything wrong with that?

The only important point that was made by my hon. Friend, Mr Dosunmu is the question of the Lagos Town Council collecting rates. My hon. Friend no doubt is aware that the Federal Government grants certain subventions to the Lagos Town Council for Education, for

Health and other contributions. Naturally, what we propose to do is to ask them to take responsibility for collecting taxes from £300 downwards and we can then pay them with the subventions that they receive and work it out in such a way that they do not lose but rather gain more. I think that my hon. Friend will agree with me that it is the proper system so that they will know that they have more responsibility.

Sir, there is everything in this Income Tax Bill to commend it to all reasonable people and I take it that my hon. Friends on the other side are very reasonable and that the points they have made are just for the purpose of contributing to the debate for which we are grateful to them and hope that while we are voting for it they will vote solidly with us realising that this is the age of the common man and this Government is providing for the common man.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1-14 agreed to.

Clause 15.

Chief O. B. Akin-Olugbade (Egba South): Chairman, Sir, under Clause 15, "There shall be exempt from tax—

(a) all income exempted under any provision of the principal Act;

(c) allowances paid to any member of the Council of Ministers or of Parliament for attendance at meetings of either such body, or of any committee thereof."

Now, why do we single out the Ministers and the Members of Parliament, what of Chairman of Boards and Corporations? I would like to know whether their allowances will be taxed. They are full-time Chairmen of Boards and Corporations.

I have another question under (d). "Any otherwise taxable person, or class of taxable persons, and all or any income of such person or class of persons as the Minister by Order may prescribe." May we know, Sir, which type of taxable persons the Minister has in mind.

Clause 15 agreed to.

Clauses 16-21 agreed to.

Clause 22.

Mr A. A. Ajibola (Egbado South): I want to refer the Minister of Finance to line 6 in section 22 where he says, "but in no case shall the aggregate of such deductions allowed to any husband and his wife or wives exceed the amount which would be allowed if such individuals were treated as one and the same individual." This is on deductions for taxation. The Minister refers to a wife. I think he will be able to consider somebody who has more than one wife because his responsibility when he has more than one wife is greater than when he has one wife. Moreover, allowance is made for only four children. If somebody has more than one wife, it means he may have more than eight children and if he is going to have allowances for just one wife, will the Minister not consider somebody who has more than one wife and give him greater reduction?

Also in the last line, it is in the absolute discretion of the Board to decide when there is a dispute as to how much will be given. Will the Minister not consider again if the husband of the wife will have an appeal to a court of somewhere else.

(The Chairman resumed the Chair)

Clause 22 agreed to.

Clauses 23-34 agreed to.

Clause 35.

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North Central): Mr Chairman, Sir, it seems to me that this clause 35 is noted. It places a lot of burden on the taxees. Now it says in section 2:—

"(2) An assessment shall not be impeached or affected—

(a) by reason of a mistake therein as to—

(i) the name of a taxable person or of a person in whose name a taxable person is chargeable; or

(ii) the description of any income; or

(iii) the amount of any income tax charged or shown to be payable;

(b) by reason of any variance between the assessment and the notice thereof."

The point I am making, Sir, is that whatever mistakes the tax assessors make will be charged against the taxee. It means that the office makes too many mistakes and if there is any mistake whatever the man who is charged to

[DR OKEKE]

pay the tax is held culpable and I think that this particular section is too weighted in favour of the person who makes the mistakes.

The Minister of Finance : Chairman, Sir, I have no intention under that clause to tax taxi drivers, but honestly, Sir, to tax people like Ajibola who stays half in Owode, half in Ilaro and half in Lagos.

Clause 35 agreed to.

Clause 36.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : Mr Chairman, Sir, the period intended for appeals is too short. We know that some of the people who are paying tax are illiterate and may inevitably go to see the hon. Minister of Information who is a lawyer. So I am pleading here with the Minister of Finance to consider the advisability of extending the time limit.

Clause 36 agreed to.

Clause 37 agreed to.

Clause 38.

Mr A. A. Ajibola (Egbado South) : Mr Chairman, I just want to mention a point on the question of Appeal Commissioners. When the Minister of Finance is appointing these commissioners he should see that they are people who will be fair and impartial and people who will not be all of a particular political interest against certain sections of the community.

Clause 38 agreed to.

Clause 39 agreed to.

Clause 40.

Mr I. S. Onwuchekwa (Ahoada Central) : Mr Chairman, Sir, it would not be to the satisfaction of the Appeal Commissioners of course, hearing an appeal in the first instance that the appellant has, for the year of assessment concerned failed to comply with any notice given to him under this Act. If the said Commissioners adjourn the hearing of the appeal and then order him to pay, it seems that the purpose for which the appeal had been launched is defeated because the man could not pay it hence the appeal. So I think that some more explanation would be given to this clause.

Clause 40 agreed to.

Clauses 41 to 53 agreed to.

Clause 54.

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North Central) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I want to call the attention of the Minister to the excessive penalty attached to offences here. A penalty is supposed to be a deterrent to action but when it becomes so excessive, it does the opposite of what it is intended to do. Let me quote a little extract here. "Any person guilty of an offence against this Act or any person who contravenes or fails to comply with any of the provisions of this Act or of any rule or regulation made thereunder for which no other penalty is specifically provided shall be liable on conviction to a fine of one hundred pounds and where such offence is the failure to furnish a return, statement or information or to keep records required, a further sum of twenty pounds for each and every day during which such failure continues" that is the point.

Now suppose the failure continues for two years, you charge him £20 for every day for a period of two years and then in lieu of that payment, he goes to six months jail. I think that the jail of six months is much smaller than the amount to be collected. And if he chooses to go to jail we are not getting the money that we are supposed to be getting.

In section 2 on page C230, it says : "No person shall be liable to any penalty under this section unless the complaint concerning such offence was made in the year of assessment in respect of or during which the offence was committed or within six years after the expiration thereof." This particular section eludes my understanding and I cannot understand "six years and one year" here if the complaint is found out within one year or six years. I cannot understand this particular clause.

Clause 54 agreed to.

Clause 55 agreed to.

Clause 56.

Mr B. N. Ukegbu (Owerri South East) : Mr Chairman, Sir, in clause 56, we have a provision for the punishment of anyone who makes false statement of income or produces false accounts. The provisions as they stand here are very adequate but one wonders how the Board of Internal Revenue proposes or is able to detect these false statements. It is all right to make these provisions for heavy fines or heavy imprisonment but we all do know that everyday these false statements are

sent to Internal Revenue and false accounts are kept by some of those companies and they are allowed to go free because there is practically no organisation effective enough to detect these fraudulent practices.

I would like to suggest to the hon. the Minister of Finance to arrange to organise a section or a squad of investigators or detectives in the Board of Internal Revenue who would be charged with the duty of finding out about returns sent by the companies and individuals. I think that if this is done and a number of offenders are dug out this may serve as a sort of deterrent to those who would send false returns. Otherwise, we do not see very much use in a fine of £500 and so many years imprisonment when everyday people are doing it and are allowed to go free.

The Minister of Finance: I am very grateful to my hon. Friend. I think all he is trying to do is to bring to the attention of hon. Members that section of my Budget Speech in which I told this House that we are setting up an investigation branch in the Internal Revenue Department. Members will remember that I said then that I was going to bring experts from places like Israel. (*Interruption*). And Australia. (*Hear, hear*).

The Chairman: Surely, members will agree with me that this noise should not go on.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Speaker, Sir, I think hon. Members will agree that companies that hide away their tax and especially if they are expatriate companies do not need to operate in this country, and I think that this should be properly investigated. As soon as we set the machinery in motion, Members will see that those companies that will not be fair to us will come within the warm embrace of the Criminal Code. (*Hear, hear*).

Clause 56 agreed to.

Clauses 57-61 agreed to.

Clause 62.

Clause 63 agreed to.

Clause 64.

Mr D. E. Y. Aghahowa (Benin West): Clause 64 reads that: "Whenever necessary, for the purposes of obtaining information in relation to any person who is or may be liable

to the tax imposed by this Act, or the income, occupation or domestic circumstances of such person, or for the purpose of collecting any such tax, a Tax Collector may, during daylight hours, enter into and upon any house or premises, providing he may do so without damage to such house or premises, and require any person found therein to give all such information orally to him."

I would say that this is a nasty provision. Our law must take into consideration the circumstances of our environment that in most cases in this country most of our people are married to illiterate women. What would be the situation in a case where a man, say a worker, is married to an illiterate woman? At least, a Tax Collector comes in there and poses questions of a very intricate nature to this woman, and she is expected to give oral answers. Where she fails the next course is that she has committed some offence.

I would say, Sir, that only the person chargeable for the income tax should be the person from whom the enquiry should be made. It should not be all and sundry in the home. We may take another case, for example, that in a house where there are so many tenants it will be unfair to go to one tenant and ask him for particulars concerning another tenant in that house. I would say, Sir, that it would be helping to make the Act work if at least the Minister would consider making the enquiry to be supplied in writing by the person taxable.

Mr E. C. Akwivu (Orlu South East): Mr Chairman, Sir, it is just one little point I want to make here. Unfortunately, the Minister of Finance complained earlier to-day that there is a scarcity of decided cases in revenue matters in Nigeria. Well, I think it does seem as if these provisions we are passing to-day are certainly very pregnant with litigation. There are expressions made in these Bills that would certainly lead to a lot of unnecessary litigation.

Now, even ordinary grammatical matters here, Sir, one is not used to seeing a thing like this: "enter into and upon any house or premises, providing he may do so". Why should it be "providing"? I think, Sir, that the Minister might bring it to the attention of those who drafted this law to correct all such grammatical mistakes to avoid unnecessary ambiguity in interpretation.

Chief Akerele (Oyo East): The thing I quarrel with here is this "during daylight hours". I think when one has to consider this Immunity Clause in section 66 it will be only reasonable that what the Minister means by daylight hours may be defined, so that we know what time, because the Immunity Clause in section 66 is very wide, and so the time the daylight hours should be must be defined.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Chairman, Sir, I do not know if it seems to me that my hon. Friend, the hon. Akwivu, having left Cambridge for such a long time, and having been so much engaged in the work of the legislature has forgotten his grammar, and then he is saying that the proviso used there is wrong. I am advised by my Advisers that what is there is correct.

And my hon. Friend, Akerele, just waking up from his sleep, stands there to tell us that daylight cannot be defined by a lawyer of his calibre, Akerele and Awolowo Limited. I do think that my Friend, Akin-Olugbade, has told him that daylight means 6.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m.

Clause 64 agreed to.

Clause 65.

Mr A. O. Ogunsanya (Ikeja): Mr Chairman, Sir, I think, as was said by one or two of my Learned Friends in respect of this law, there is a lot wrong with it. The language is horrible. The legal aspect of it is terrible. Now, we find this, and we must be able to warn the House that this is bound to lead to multiplicity of litigation, and I am sure that the Draftsmen are the worse. Here it is, section 65: "Any person who, having been required to give information under the provisions of the preceding section wilfully obstructs a Tax Collector in the performance of his duties by neglecting". If a man neglects it is negative he obstructs. I really mean, Sir, I think either the Legal Draftsman—

The Chairman: Please refer your comments only to the Clause rather than to the Draftsman.

Mr Ogunsanya: I am sorry for this, Sir. It is impossible to obstruct by neglecting and by refusing. In the language of the layman it

may mean something, but in the language of a lawyer it raises a lot of contentions, and as has been pointed out also there seems to be a lot of ambiguous interpretations to this section.

What I said before was just by the way. Anyway, I think, it is going to cause a lot of trouble. It is a pity we cannot spend more time on it. We could have proposed some Amendments. But I am sure the House has no intention of putting Government officials in a position whereby they may be involved in civil litigation. We are expected to have a law in this country similar to the Crown Proceedings Act, in which case the Crown will remain liable for certain tortious Acts of Civil Liability.

Now, that is precisely what we have in mind as lawyers. We feel we must be able to contribute to this as Members of this House in order to warn the House.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Chairman, Sir, I am deeply grateful to you for saying the Legal Draftsman, and I hope that my hon. Friend will not deviate from the point and attack someone who is not in a position to reply on the Floor of this House. I am not a lawyer, but he has gone under cover of the reply I was going to give to him by saying that what is said in this Clause may have some meaning to the ordinary educated man but to the lawyer it is different meaning. I do not understand what that means.

In any case, Sir, the Clause is quite clear as to what is meant either in their political pronouncement or in any other form. What is meant by obstructing a Tax Collector in the performance of his duties is by neglecting or refusing to give such information. I do not see anything there that contradicts itself. If the man refuses to give information or to co-operate, then he could be penalised under that section of the law. The position is this, if the law as drafted is going to bring any amount of litigation surely those who should complain in this House should not be lawyers who will benefit from such litigation. All that my hon. friends, Mr Chairman, are trying to do here is to draw the attention of the members of the public to this seemingly anomaly only to make them charge their fees whether they win the case or not. (Laughter).

The Minister of Justice (Dr T. O. Elias) : All I can say is that the interpretation put upon that particular Clause cannot be correct. We always take the utmost care to examine any piece of legislation before releasing it for consideration in this House.

Chief O. B. Akin-Olugbade (Egba South) : Mr Chairman, Sir, I am not quarrelling with the interpretation or with the grammatical construction, but there is one danger in this clause: "Any person who, having been required to give information under the provisions of the preceding section wilfully obstructs a Tax Collector in the performance of his duties by neglecting or refusing to give such information," and that one refers to line 11 that is "Whenever necessary for the purposes of obtaining information in relation to any person who is or may be liable to the tax imposed by this Act, or the income, occupation or domestic circumstances of such person, or for the purpose of collecting any such tax, a Tax Collector may, during daylight hours, enter into and upon any house or premises, providing he may do so without damage to such house or premises, and require any person found therein to give all such information orally to him." "And require any person found therein to give all such information orally to him." That is the danger, Sir. If the Tax Collector goes in and finds a stranger from Abeokuta, or Bauchi and asks him to give information about somebody who is to be assessed in that house and he says 'I don't know,' especially now that we are going to tax women and there are some beautiful women in certain houses. (*Laughter*). When the Tax Collector goes in he says: "Well, I know Mr So, So and So, lives in this place, can you give me an information as to where he works, how much he earns" and things like that, and if the man or any person found in the house says 'I don't know' he will be committing an offence. I think the Minister of Finance should look into this refusing or neglecting to give information" in that particular section.

Mr D. E. Y. Aghahowa (Benin West) : Mr Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful for the explanation of the Minister of Justice, but I would still say this, Sir, that we do get confronted a number of times with legislation of this nature which admits of ambiguous interpretation or otherwise. I would say, Sir, that taking the ordinary grammar meaning of it, that is subsection (a) of clause 65 "Any

person who, having been required to give information under the provisions of the preceding section wilfully obstructs a Tax Collector in the performance of his duties by neglecting or refusing to give such information." I would say that when one obstructs, at least, he connotes the positive act, it is not a negative act. When you obstruct, you can only obstruct by doing something. I would say, Sir, that in the ordinary dictionary meaning of the word, it is incomprehensible that one could obstruct by a mere refusal or neglect to answer questions. In fact, certain provisos are even required, that is, if the information is within the knowledge of the person so refusing or neglecting. If the information is not within his knowledge, maybe he is totally a stranger, how could he obstruct by refusing or neglecting?

With the given interpretation by the Minister of Finance and the Attorney-General, I would still say, Sir, that this particular section is pregnant with difficulties and I would take this opportunity, Sir, to say, with all due deference, that lawyers do not merely make money out of litigation, they help to build the society by defending the rights of society. (*Hear, hear*).

The Minister of Justice : This particular section will be found almost word for word in the legislation of Great Britain, Ghana, and about four other Commonwealth countries and it has not produced any ambiguity. (*Hear, hear*).

The Minister of Finance : They do not know. (*Laughter*).

The Chairman : Order. It seems to me that hon. Members are using the same argument over and over again. This is out of order and I think I must put the question to the House.

Clause 65 agreed to.

Clause 66.

Chief P. D. Dame-Oboh (Ishan West) : "A Tax Collector shall not be liable in any action or proceeding, whether civil or criminal, for anything done or said by him in the lawful exercise of the powers conferred upon him by section 64." By this, Sir, though I am not a lawyer, I would like to know by what means will these Tax Collectors be known; are they to wear special uniforms to be identified each time they visit people's houses?

[CHIEF DAME-OBOH]

Because anything they do, civil or criminal, they cannot be liable. They can simply jump into people's houses, they can chase your wife, they can do anything in your house and anything at all they do is not liable. I want the Minister of Finance to clear this point.

Mr B. Ukaegbu (Owerri South): Mr Chairman, Sir, Clause 66 confers a very wide immunity in that connection; in fact, it is almost a universal immunity. It says: "A Tax Collector shall not be liable in any action or proceeding, whether civil or criminal, for anything done or said by him in the lawful exercise of the powers conferred upon him by section 64." The only thing that can be regarded as a proviso here is the words "in the lawful exercise." Lawyers will know that there may be several interpretations of the phrase "lawful exercise". If a Tax Collector goes into a premises to get money from a defaulter in the lawful exercise of his power, is he entitled to do anything, is he entitled, for example, to knock the head of the wife of the defaulter if she says her husband is not in or she does not know where the husband has gone. There are several things he could do and I think it will be very dangerous to confer immunity upon him for anything he does.

There is also another point and that is "for anything he may say." Is he entitled, for example, to call a tax defaulter or his wife a thief? We all know that there are too many privileged people in Nigeria, such as the people in the Nigeria Police. They are all privileged to do anything, they can say anything to you if you are a criminal, they can kick you and can say anything to you.

There were people in the Army who used to think that they could go into a market and take things that they like because they were soldiers. So, I think it is dangerous to confer so wide an immunity on tax collectors. The question we would like to ask the Minister is whether this immunity is actually necessary. Is it necessary for the efficient collection of tax? If it is absolutely necessary, one would advise that consideration be paid to it, because once a man is a Government official—a Sanitary Inspector, a Labourer in the Sanitary Department—he thinks he can go anywhere and do anything, he thinks he can go anywhere and say anything.

Therefore, to make specific conferment of almost absolute immunity on tax collectors as to what they may say is, to my mind, fraught with many dangers.

Chief A. Akerele (Oyo East): Mr Chairman, Sir, when I read this section along with section 64 it appears that the protection being given under section 64 deals with the tax collector requiring certain persons to do certain things. But, here the section seems to give immunity to him when he says something which is not covered by section 64.

The Minister of Finance: Mr Chairman, Sir, in the first place, I am sure that my hon. Friend, Mr Ukaegbu will agree that people who are engaged in such difficult tasks like tax collection must be given some sort of immunity, and such immunity as perhaps one would agree that is necessary to be given to the members of the Police Force (that is Constables) in the discharge of their duties.

As regards section 66, although the word "said" was not used in section 64, it is provided "anything done or said by him in the lawful exercise of the powers conferred upon him by section 64." With respect, Sir, I do not see what my hon. Friend is quarelling about. Whatever is done or said in the execution of powers stated there in section 64, whether the word "said" was put there or not, does not negate the force of what is required to be achieved by section 66.

And my hon. Friend behind Chief Akerele was afraid whether a tax collector without uniform was going to chase his wife! (*Laughter*). I am afraid that no tax collector would do such a thing, and my hon. Friend wanted to know whether they will have anything to identify them when they are executing their duties. All I can ask my hon. Friend to do is to read section 63 of the Ordinance, which says that "For the purposes of this Part a Tax Collector means a duly authorised official of the Federal Inland Revenue Department or, at any time during which the collection of the income rate is delegated to the Lagos Town Council, a duly authorised Official of such Council, and in either case wearing an official uniform or badge by which he may be identified as such". I am sure that my hon. Friend is satisfied now.

Mr D. O. Ahamefula (Okigwi South West) : Mr Chairman, Sir, in my opinion I feel that section 66 confers a very big power on the tax collectors. section 64 gives the power to enter any premises or house. One cannot be sure of people's character. Supposing on the lawful execution of this duty a tax collector gets into a premises, sees a piece of gold, for instance, picks it up, puts it into his pocket and goes away ; and in the course of his walking out somebody gets on him and says "Well, my friend you have stolen my piece of gold". Supposing he goes to court? Do you not think this section exonerates him from being punished because he picked up the gold when he was executing his lawful duty.

Mr E. C. Akwivu (Orlu South East) : Mr Chairman, Sir, the only one point I would like to make on this Bill is this. It might well be, I think, that the experts who copied this thing out may not have realised that this provision even goes beyond the protection given to the Police in the Criminal Code ; the Policeman is not protected from what he says. There are certain circumstances in our Criminal Code that constitute obstruction. I think the most we can do is to give them the same amount of protection that is given to Policemen under the Criminal Code and not to go beyond that.

Clause 66 agreed to.

First Schedule agreed to.

Second Schedule.

Shettima Ali Monguno (Kaga Marghi) : Mr Chairman, Sir, after having carefully gone through the two tables under this Schedule, I could not help foreseeing a possible danger ; the danger of a possible influx of unemployed people into the Federal Territory, and it may be desirable to introduce a similar legislation in the Regions to check it.

Second Schedule agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

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

ROYAL STYLE AND TITLES BILL

Order for second reading read.

The Attorney-General and Minister of Justice (Dr T. O. Elias) : Sir, I beg to move that the Bill for an Act to provide for alterations of the Royal Style and Titles be read a second time.

As hon. Members may well be aware, at present the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Crown has this formula : "Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other realms and territories ; Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith". This formula included Nigeria up to the 30th September, 1960. Since independence it has become inappropriate for Nigeria to be described in this way under the Royal Style and Titles, and so the Bill has been drafted to provide, as in the schedule attached to the Bill, so that the new Style and Titles will read, "Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Nigeria and of Her other realms and territories, Head of the Commonwealth".

This Bill provides for a more suitable Royal Style and Title and, if assented to and passed into law, will be brought into effect by a proclamation of the Governor-General.

I think it is clear that this Bill is short, simple and non-controversial. Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation : Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : We on this side of the House have nothing to oppose in this Bill. Mr Speaker, Sir, we support the Bill.

Mr M. A. Omisade (Ife Town) : Mr Speaker, Sir, as the Attorney-General rightly said, there is nothing contentious in this Bill. It only reminds us of our position which, to my mind, still detracts from our sovereignty.

The Minister of Finance the other day called his Budget the Sovereignty Budget. This only brings home to us what amount of sovereignty we have up till now. I hope the day will not be long, Mr Speaker, when we shall be able to amend or repeal this law.

Mr B. Ukaegbu (Owerri South East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to say how happy we are to note that the Minister of Justice has brought this Bill, because we like to hear it said that we are independent, as we are, but we are Members of the Commonwealth and we have the Queen of England as our Head of State. Therefore we would not like to hear the Royal title of "the Queen of England" but we should like to hear "Queen of Nigeria". (Interruption).

Mr Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member must be heard in silence.

Mr Ukaegbu: Thank you, Sir. The Royal title should read "Queen of Nigeria". I also want to bring to the notice of the Minister of Justice one glaring act of omission and that is the continued use of the British Standard by our present Governor-General.

If the Queen is Queen of Nigeria, as she actually is, we should use our own Standard. The Queen in Nigeria or the Queen's Representative in Nigeria should not use the British coat of arms, the lion and the unicorn, but should use the Coat of Arms of Nigeria—Unity and Faith.

I do not know how many hon. Members have noticed that on the invitations which we received lately from the Governor-General inviting us to a garden party is the British Standard. What I am saying is that the Queen in this country and everything pertaining to the Queen in this country should be "Queen of Nigeria" and, in Nigeria, the Queen should use our Standard. We should not see the lion and the unicorn of Britain but we should see our own coat of arms showing Unity and Faith.

I do not see how we can be independent and at the same time we are using the coat of arms of a foreign nation which happens to be a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

This is a very serious point and I would like the Minister of Justice to look into it. It is absolutely disgraceful.

Mr Kolade rose—

Mr Speaker: Order. There is hardly anything more we can say on this Bill. I think I must put the Question.

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.

Schedule agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair).

Bill reported without Amendment, read the third time and passed.

BORSTAL INSTITUTIONS AND REMAND CENTRES (AMENDMENT) BILL

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Internal Affairs (Alhaji the hon. Usman Sarki): Sir, I rise to move that the Bill entitled "A Bill for an Act to amend the Borstal Institutions and Remand Centres Ordinance, 1960" be read the second time. The Bill is quite short and, I trust, will be non-controversial.

Hon. Members will have seen in the Memorandum attached to the Bill that its purpose is to provide for the Minister being able to appoint as Borstal Institutions only land which has been set aside or acquired for the public purposes of the Federal Government.

As the Ordinance now stands, it might be taken to mean that the Minister was entitled to declare any land or building, no matter to whom it belonged or where it was situated, to be a Borstal Institution and while this Government certainly would not attempt to appoint as a Borstal Institution any property that did not belong to it, the fear was expressed in certain of the Regions that they might do so, and it is to allay these fears that I am now proposing this short Bill to amend the Ordinance; so that if this Bill is passed into law, section 3 (1) of the Ordinance will eventually provide that "The Minister may, by Order, declare any building or place situated on land which has been set aside or acquired for the public purposes of the Federation to be a Remand Centre or a Borstal Institution."

By bringing in this Bill, the Federal Government wishes to show quite clearly that it

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respects Regional rights and has no desire to infringe on them in any way and as such, I commend the Bill to this hon. House.

Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Health (Hon. M. Waziri Ibrahim): Sir, I beg to second.

Question proposed.

Question put and agreed to.

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

Bill immediately considered in Committee.

(In the Committee)

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2.

Mr A. O. Ogunsanya (Ikeja): Sir, I only want to seize this opportunity to ask the hon. Minister to build more Borstal Institutions in the Western Region for our delinquent friends. *(Laughter).*

Clause 2 agreed to.

Bill to be reported.

(Mr Speaker resumed the Chair)

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

ADJOURNMENT

Mr Speaker, adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order 4 (10).

Adjourned accordingly at 12 midnight.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NIGERIA

Wednesday, 12th April, 1961

The House met at 10 a.m.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
COMMUNICATIONS

Messrs Cable and Wireless

*O.65. Mr D. Senu-Oke asked the Minister of Communications, what financial or other relationship exists between his Ministry and Messrs Cable and Wireless Ltd.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications: External telecommunication services to and from Nigeria are operated by Messrs Cable and Wireless Ltd. under licences from the Federal Government. The present licences expire on the 31st December, 1962, when further licences, which were granted in July 1959, for a further fifteen years, come into effect.

The charges made for the services are fixed by international agreement of the countries concerned, and co-ordinated under rules laid down by the International Telecommunications Union. The charges are made up of terminal charges paid to the administrations at each end of the circuit, and a charge paid to the organization providing the connection between the two countries; in the case of Nigeria, this organization is Messrs Cable and Wireless Ltd.

In the case of ordinary overseas telegrams the Ministry receives 2d a word; in the case of international telex and telephone calls to the United Kingdom the Ministry receives 4s-6d for a three minute call, the United Kingdom receives a similar terminal charge, and the balance of the total charge of £3 for three minutes is retained by Messrs Cable and Wireless Ltd. As the majority of overseas telephone and telex calls are originated or received in Lagos, where the cost to the Ministry of handling these calls is relatively small, the terminal quota paid to the Ministry is more than cover Posts and Telegraphs costs.

The Ministry and Messrs Cable and Wireless Limited each have a part to play in handling overseas telecommunications services, and they work in close co-operation to make these services efficient and to extend their scope.

Dr Kalu Ezera (Bende East): In view of the very heavy loss to the revenue of the country would the Minister assure the House that this transaction with Messrs Cable and Wireless which is tantamount to a monopoly would be scrapped long before the expiry date?

Mobile Post Office

O.66. Mr D. Senu-Oke asked the Minister of Communications, if he will provide a mobile post office at Ajegunle in Araromi District Council area in Badagry Division as a temporary measure, pending the erection of a suitable post office in the area.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Communications: It is regretted that a van is not available for temporary use as a mobile post office at Ajegunle. It is not considered that a mobile post office would be suitable in an area which is largely residential, nor would it significantly improve the services at present provided by Postal Agencies in the area.

A Sub-Post Office would be more appropriate to the needs of the area and I am fully prepared to authorise the upgrading of the Ajeromi Postal Agency, which is currently transacting 83,000 units of business annually, to Sub-Post Office status provided that the Ajeromi District Council will agree to sponsor the project under the terms of Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1957. This would not prejudice in any way the claim of Ajeromi to a full departmental Post Office to which consideration will be given as soon as funds are available.

Post Office at Iseyin

*O.91. Mr S. A. Yerokun asked the Minister of Communications what is the cause of the delay in building a post office at Iseyin, in spite of previous assurances given by his Ministry.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications: I would remind the hon. Member that, in my reply to his Question No. 13 which he asked in

March 1960, I stated that the Postal Agency at Iseyin was eligible to be converted into a Sub-Post Office, and that it would be so converted if the authorities at Iseyin fulfilled the conditions set out in Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1957. One of these conditions is that the local community should make available a suitable building to house the Sub-Post Office. In Iseyin, the existing Postal Agency building is inadequate for this purpose and the local community have therefore been asked to provide alternative accommodation. A Senior Officer of the Posts and Telegraphs Division has visited the area in this connection on two occasions, but the local community has not yet offered to make available a suitable building for this purpose. I should be grateful if the hon. Member will bring this answer to the notice of his constituents in Iseyin.

Telephone Facilities in Nsukka Division

*O.92. Mr F. A. M. Amadi asked the Minister of Communications, how soon it is proposed to implement declared Government policy to instal a telephone call box at Aku, Enugu-Ezike, and other centres in Nsukka Division.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : Telephone call offices will be provided at Aku and Enugu-Ezike towards the end of the current financial year. The only other centres in Nsukka Division that are mentioned in Sessional Paper No. 8 of 1957 are Nsukka and Amufu, both of which have already been provided with telephone service.

Improved Postal Facilities in the North

*O.93. M. Ahmadu Fatika asked the Minister of Communications, the number of post offices in each Region, and what steps he is taking to provide more post offices in Northern Nigeria, in view of its size and population.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : There are 58 Post Offices in the Northern Region, 56 in the Western Region, 53 in the Eastern Region, and 10 in the Lagos Area.

In the course of the current Development Programme, 23 new Post Offices, including one major extension to an existing Office, have

already been built in the Northern Region. 18 of these have replaced existing Post Offices, and 5 have replaced Postal Agencies.

The Programme for the Northern Region provides for 4 more new Post Offices to replace existing Offices, and 4 to replace Postal Agencies.

Mr J. O. Taiwo (Oyo North West) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to ask the Minister this question. Do we build post offices on account of the size and population of a town or on account of the number of units of business ?

Mr V. E. Eze (Orlu North East) : Will the hon. Minister state the guiding principle in allocating postal facilities to the Regions ?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : May I refer the hon. gentleman to Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1957.

Zaria Post Office

*O.94. M. Ahmadu Fatika asked the Minister of Communications, whether he will improve the post office building and postal facilities in Zaria in order to ease the present congestion there.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications : Yes, Sir. A large new Post Office has been designed to replace the existing Post Office in Zaria and construction is expected to begin early in May 1961. When completed, this new Office will significantly improve the postal services in the area and will provide much more counter accommodation for members of the public than at present exists.

Poliomyelitis Vaccination

O.97. Mr S. A. Yerokun asked the Minister of Health, what action he is taking to provide facilities for vaccination against poliomyelitis.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health : Vaccine is available and there are facilities for any Nigerian or Expatriate to get the necessary vaccination against poliomyelitis at Creek Hospital, Lagos, by appointment.

A survey carried out a few years back in this country established the fact that Nigerian children carry antibodies against Polio Viruses

Types I, II and III by the time they reach the age of five years. This fact shows that Polio is endemic in this country and that by the time the children reach five years of age they are immune against the disease. Therefore it is not considered advisable nor desirable to vaccinate against Polio as a routine.

This view is of course subject to re-examination in the light of the development of live attenuated Polio vaccine.

Nigerian children who are born abroad should, before or immediately on return to Nigeria, be vaccinated.

Expatriates have been advised to have themselves vaccinated before coming to Nigeria. They are advised to have at least two vaccinations before leaving their own countries and the third here in Nigeria, six months after the second.

Workers' Salary Structure

O.77. Mr F. C. Ogbalu asked the Minister of Establishments what proposals he has for the establishment of a fairer salary relationship among the Nigerian working population with a view to bridging the gap between the senior and junior grades.

The Minister of Establishments : Mr Speaker, Sir, as the subject matter of this question lies within my portfolio it has been referred to me by the hon. Minister of Finance. The wording of the question is in terms almost exactly similar to that of the Motion moved by the hon. Member himself at the sitting of this House on the 22nd of November, 1960, to which I replied at some length on the same day. I cannot usefully add to the comprehensive reply then given and so I would refer the hon. Member to the *Hansard* of that date.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS

The Minister of Communications (Hon. Olu Akinfosile) : Mr Speaker, Sir, hon. Members will no doubt have read in yesterday's newspapers a statement by the Public Works Aerodrome Technical and General Workers' Union of its intention to call its members out on strike from midnight to-night. Discussions took place yesterday between the hon. Minister of Labour and the representatives of the Union, and subsequently between the Union and my colleague the hon. Minister of Establishments and myself.

As a result I am happy that the Union has agreed to suspend strike action to allow for further talks between the Union and Government. The strike, Mr Speaker, would have affected the landing of aircraft at aerodromes of this country. (*Heat, hear*).

ORDER OF THE DAY

APPROPRIATION (1961-62) BILL— THIRD ALLOTTED DAY

Question again proposed, That the Bill be now read a second time.

The Minister of Defence (Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Ribadu) : Mr Speaker, Sir, again the Minister of Finance has sprung a big surprise by presenting a budget with which nobody can find any fault or in which nobody can find a hole to pick. The Budget has been nicknamed the "Sovereignty Budget"—

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North Central) : On point of Order, Mr Speaker, I was speaking on Monday when the debate was adjourned. I spoke for only three minutes.

Mr Speaker : Order, I think the hon. Member is entitled to continue his speech until he has exhausted his time. He started at 5.42 p.m. until a quarter to six on Monday.

Dr Okeke : Thank you, Mr Speaker. As I was saying on Monday—(*Interruptions*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order, it is with the wish of the Minister that I call Dr Okeke to continue his speech.

Dr Okeke : Sir, I hope that my hon. Friend, Mr Ekanem, will desist from incessant interruptions. As I was saying on Monday, I called upon the Government to look beyond five years in its economic programme. I was saying that in the interest of continuity of our economic programme the Government should develop a concentric economic plan which looks twenty years ahead. Then the twenty-year programme could further be divided into two ten-year programmes and the ten-year programme could be sub-divided into five-year programmes. Then, in order of importance and priority we start with the five-year plan working towards the ten-year plan. For example, the Niger Bridge was first mooted

over four years ago. Now, if this Bridge has been a five-year programme, the time would have elapsed and this would have called for another plan which would include the same project. The same thing will apply to the Niger-Delta Development Board in respect of the dam which is to be built in that area.

If we look ahead for twenty years and think in terms of the project we are going to accomplish and the time it will take us to accomplish such a project we will not be short-sighted in having to plan every five years. Our economic programme must be foresighted in order to co-ordinate long term and short-term projects and give the country a broad economic vision to see beyond the immediate and the expedient.

Sir, when I spoke on the first Budget presented to this House I implored the Government to explore the possibility of raising money from Nigerian sources before we look for loans abroad. Members of this House were of the same opinion and I am happy to note that the Finance Minister has twice called upon this country to subscribe money for the immediate projects of this country and twice the answer was overwhelming. We must express satisfaction that over eighty per cent of the Government's current expenditure is derived from Nigerian sources. This shows the buoyancy of our economy. Many younger countries operate on deficit finances. In fact, the buoyancy of our economy is reflected in the surplus revenue over our expenditure reported to us in the Budget Speech. Of course, the hon. Members on the Opposition side will not say the truth because they do not want to accept the truth even if it were told them. The truth is that our economy is buoyant and they cannot deny that.

Our country is credit-worthy and it is easy to attract foreign loans for our capital projects. Thanks to our hardworking Minister of Finance who has toured many countries on economic missions and yet his health has remained good. If you doubt it you just behave like the Finance Minister, tour the whole world, come back and see whether your health will not break down. He has outlined how he could marshal private savings, foreign investments and Government expenditure for the economic development of this great country but I must emphasize that while

we are seeking loans abroad we want them without strings attached. Now, I will not be quite happy when we get some loans which have fifty per cent of strings attached. I simply do not think that any country that gives us a loan and turns round to ask us to use the money in purchasing the goods from that country is doing us any good; rather the country is actually enticing us to spend more money abroad to the detriment of our own indigenous products.

Sir, we need a new philosophy of life; economic sufficiency is not enough. If we achieve all the economic programmes outlined here by the able Finance Minister we may still remain divided and disunited because we have not yet developed a Nigerian outlook towards life. Nigeria must develop her national outlook on life. We have, hitherto, been riding on the back of other people's beliefs, philosophies, and ideologies. We need a philosophy of life. We need an ideology and something to serve as a new uniting force in this country. We must plan it, we must develop it, we must popularise it, we must teach it to ourselves.

Yesterday, we were held together by sheer force of British arms, to-day we are held together by the personalities of our leaders—persons like Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Sardauna of Sokoto, the Prime Minister here, and Chief Awolowo. These personalities held Nigerian people together because we looked towards them and they won our admiration. I will always respect them. Tomorrow, Sir, it will be difficult for our children if we do not to-day give them something to live for, something to hope for, and something to believe in, as we yesterday believed in the supremacy of the British, and to-day believe in the charm of our leaders and their personalities. Tomorrow, it will be difficult for our children to believe in any one person because already one sees what is happening—it seems that we are all coming up to feel that we can lead, and no one to follow. Yesterday, these leaders made great strides in achieving unity for us here. We should begin to find to-day a new uniting force for our children because tomorrow they may not be willing to submit to any one person's leadership because they feel that they have a right to lead.

Mr Speaker : The hon. Member is getting away from the essence of the Bill, which is the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. If hon. Members make long speeches, and not to the point, it will be difficult for many hon. Members to get into the debate. I would like the hon. Member to please speak on the point.

Dr Okeke : Mr Speaker, Sir, the youths of this country must be given something to live for. Many of our school-leavers have no job to do. It has been a great complaint that when these boys and girls leave school they look for jobs which they cannot find.

I do not, Mr Speaker, subscribe to the view that they must be given jobs for the simple reason that they are too young to work. What kind of job can they do? They cannot make a living earning £5 a month. The government must open schools for these boys to be given further training. It is a gross wastage to human labour in this country to allow these boys and girls with very low educational qualifications and certificates to be employed today and displaced tomorrow. It is a great injustice to these boys and girls by losing them in the labour market at such a malleable age. They are not qualified to work as clerks; they will simply mix up the files in the office, and they cannot work as labourers, they cannot even use shovels. The Government must provide opportunities for training them either in grammar schools, in commerce, in industry or mechanical arts. Trained personnel in these fields is badly needed in this country now.

Before I conclude, Mr Speaker, I must mention something which disturbs my mind greatly. This government has not been making adequate use of Nigeria's intellectual resources. Intellectual leadership has not been given the prominence it deserves in the scheme of things in this country. It is a sad commentary that in this 20th century when modes of living and the arts of government are becoming highly mechanised and technical and intricate our intellectuals in the main are left out of the picture. As is the practice in civilised countries the government must bring our top brains in many fields together to discuss many facets of Nigeria's problems and offer suggestions to the government. These people should meet other intellectuals from abroad and discuss programmes of intellectual importance to this country. This is the way to survival; this is

the way to greatness. Our country trains her men and women but never uses them. It is a wastage.

On foreign policy, Mr Speaker, the Government must be congratulated on the role it has played at the United Nations Organisation and the Prime Ministers' Conference. Credit must go to our Prime Minister. But let me register a great tribute to the Minister of Economic Development, Mr Jaja Wachuku, on the role he plays at the U.N.O. That man, more than any other person has done much to place Nigeria on the map overseas. It seems that the government has found his presence at the U.N.O. so indispensable hence it has kept him there for a while.

Mr P. E. Ekanem (Enyong South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, that does not appear to be a proper contribution to the Budget Speech. This is the time for the Budget Speech, not Speech from the Throne.

Mr Speaker : I have told the hon. Member that it is merely a waste of the time of the House to divert from the scope of the Bill.

Dr Okeke : Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not disputing the Speaker's ruling but I feel that foreign policy concerns the budget of the nation.

I will mention one thing before I conclude and that is the economic mission to be led by the hon. Minister of Finance. This is a very welcome Mission. This Mission would have been facilitated if we had opened Embassies in many of the countries the Mission will visit, to prepare the ground for the Ministers and other members of the Mission. I hope that in choosing delegates to this economic mission the government will look far afield in order to pick our top brains wherever they may be found in this country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I hope that in internal security our top policy-making posts and top executive posts will be manned by Nigerians. (*Hear, hear*). In the present condition of things it amounts to carrying water in a basket as far as tackling subversion is concerned. If expatriates of doubtful loyalty are allowed to continue in top offices of the government of the land, whether in the Regions or in the Federation, our borders must be strictly guided.

Let me conclude by making reference to the welfare of the masses. Our Government has paid more attention to the civil servants in the past to the neglect of other workers in this country. This has made an unbalanced salary structure in this country and has given much undue publicity and acclaim to white collar jobs unlike what happens in other countries where the gap in the salary structure is not so wide. Between civil servants and other grades of workers one can find that the rates of employment, people seeking jobs in many places, are balanced. For example in America it is easy for a person who is working in a garage to make more money than a school teacher. In this country it is inconceivable that any labourer will make more money than a civil servant. Our salary structure must lay emphasis on mechanical work ; work in which people use their hands, and these people must be given equitable salary so that we will offset this tilt towards the academic.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

The Minister of Defence (Alhaji the hon. Muhammadu Ribadu): Mr Speaker, Sir, again the Minister of Finance has sprung a big surprise by presenting a budget with which nobody can find any fault, or in which nobody can find a hole to pick. The budget has been nicknamed "Sovereignty Budget" and this name superbly befits it. From the speech, not only have we learnt of the buoyancy of the finances of the Federation, but there are numerous bold schemes and measures enunciated all of which will go to further strengthen the economy of the country.

It is also encouraging to realise how the nation as a whole has become alert to the responsibilities which independence has brought upon us. I refer in particular to the signal success which marked the effort to raise the sum of £10 million internally. That this was achieved in so short a time is proof positive of the faith of the people in the Government of the Federation. They have every reason to be confident of the Government which has maintained a stable Government and healthy economy.

Now if we go abroad to borrow it does not mean that we live from hand to mouth but that we have adopted a course which will quicken the pace of our economic development

and help us to raise the standard of living of the people in a shorter time. Nigeria has a great future, politically, economically, and otherwise. What I said in 1952 is not only true to-day, but the truth has established itself with indisputable clarity. Nigeria is very similar to America. It has abundant resources of minerals and at the same time vast agricultural potentialities. When these have been fully developed Nigeria will be another America on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. From Progress Reports, all the various parts of the country are ticking with development and we are well on the way to becoming an economically great country. During the transitional period of our development, we have to rely to an appreciable extent on foreign assistance for financial and technical aids. This rule is not peculiar to Nigeria: it is a necessity and all under-developed countries are obliged to do the same. The highly developed countries that we know to-day have at one time or the other in their history been faced with similar circumstances, and it is a fact of history that they have had to do what we are now doing.

Government will continue to encourage Nigerian partnership in all new ventures and may be directly interested in some of them, but the Government cannot be expected to participate in all and every venture, because the resources at our disposal have to be economised and spread over various services. Secondly, some of the economic ventures require large capital and highly skilled technicians, and trading conditions are uncertain and risky. It would not be wise to tie up the limited resources of the Government in such enterprises.

Industrialisation is the pressing need of all governments to-day. This is very essential because of two things, namely, to halt the growth of unemployment and, secondly, to enhance our balance of trade. With regard to the former, the Government is fully conscious of the need for industrialisation so as to provide occupation for the ever-increasing number of school leavers who would otherwise be unemployed. To this end Government may introduce measures which may be unpalatable but, nevertheless, may be very necessary to protect local industries.

Attention has to be paid to the widening gap of balance of payments if we are to survive as a nation with any economic wealth. As

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the standard of living rises, the tendency is to increase the consumption and the need for luxury. We cannot continue this without some change. The only alternative is the establishment of local industries that would, as much as possible, satisfy the needs of the people without having to import from outside. We ourselves may then find some surpluses to export and thus improve our balance of payments position.

In addition to the foregoing, the Government is also taking steps to launch in the near future a high-powered economic mission to be headed by the able Minister of Finance himself. (*Hear, hear.*) The aim of this mission is to find new markets for our raw materials and to attract other industries to the country. Nigeria has abundant goodwill abroad and there are many people from all corners of the world who are willing to help in all ways possible, but we ourselves must refrain from any word or deed which may turn away from us the sympathies and the interests of our well-wishers.

Now, I turn to my Ministry. (*Hear, hear.*) The Ministry of Defence is a new creation. Many aspects of its functions can be likened to a business that is being started from scratch. Unlike other Ministries which produce something tangible or conspicuous, what it produces is much more fundamental to national existence. Under the protection of our armed forces national life finds opportunity for expression and development. Without them, social activities will be crippled and national life will become charged with uncertainty and fear.

Formerly our Army formed part of the British Army, but now that we are an independent nation we have to defend ourselves. During the last three years good progress has been made with the training and re-equipment of the Royal Nigerian Army and the Royal Nigerian Navy; this period has been devoted to a methodical consolidation of their strength. I am more than encouraged by the realisation by the nation of the importance of defence. I receive nearly every day numerous letters from all sections of the community, including school boys, all making enquiries about the armed forces and all anxious to be associated with the defence of the country upon our attainment of independence. (*Hear, hear.*)

As I said yesterday, Sir, Nigerianisation has been pushed forward, and a stage has now been reached where Nigerians are being appointed to command, and to the senior staff posts in the Army. In the Navy, the number of Nigerian officers will have increased from 22 to 33 by the end of this year. Here I must make mention of the British officers who deserve our thanks and appreciation for the keen interest they have shown in the training of Nigerians for posts of higher responsibility in the Forces.

Although not large when compared with other armies, the Royal Nigerian Army has been built up since 1958 into a highly trained, efficient and compact force. All this has been accomplished because there has been no lack of sound material on which to build, and here, with your permission, Mr Speaker, I would like to pay a tribute to the Nigerian soldier. Challenging, yet friend in peace, unyielding, yet chivalrous in war, he has, in the course of two world wars, established a reputation for valour second to none amongst the world's fighting men. (*Hear, hear.*)

On the 1st of May this year, the Royal Nigerian Navy will be three years old. In the 1958, as the Nigerian Naval Force, it was operating small un-armed craft. To-day, as the Royal Nigerian Navy, it is operating warships and maintaining from its own resources all the complicated equipment that goes with a modern vessel of this type. It has been actively engaged during the past year in operations against smugglers in Nigeria's eastern waters and has been conspicuously successful in making life increasingly hazardous for those who seek to deprive the Federation of a substantial proportion of its revenue each year. (*Hear, hear.*)

Shortly before Independence, H.M.N. Ships *Sapele* and *Calabar*—two ex-Royal Navy Minesweeping Motor Launches which had been purchased from the United Kingdom Government—were placed in service, while in December last year H.M.N.S. *Lokoja*—an ex-Royal Navy Landing Craft (Tank) also acquired from the United Kingdom Government—received her first commission in the Royal Nigerian Navy. This latter vessel, which is capable of lifting a company of infantry, or an equipment force of Police, with its

vehicles and equipment, is of a type particularly suited to Nigeria's needs, as its shallow draught befits it for use either in coastal waters or in the inland waterways.

Further progress has been planned for 1961. By the end of April construction of the first phase of the Naval Base at Apapa will have been completed. This phase covers the major portion of the work on this project, and has been designed to provide all the repair and maintenance necessary for supporting the fleet after the Navy's expansion to its full planned strength.

Due to take place in July is the launching, at Gosport, England, of H.M.N.S. *Enugu*, Nigeria's first Seaward Defence Boat. The acquisition of this vessel marks a noteworthy step forward in the Navy's development, as she will be the first of its warships to have been built specifically for Nigeria's needs. She is expected to join the fleet in Lagos in September or October.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would ask hon. Members to remember that in time of war a well-led, well-trained and fully self-supporting Navy will be essential to Nigeria's survival. Without it, Nigeria would be devoid of any means of dealing effectively with hostile warships (including submarines) seeking to prevent Nigerian merchant vessels, and those of friendly nations, from entering or leaving our ports. A Navy capable of guaranteeing the freedom of our ports cannot be built up overnight on the outbreak of hostilities; it can only be developed and trained progressively in time of peace.

At present, we have no Air Force and we shall have to start from scratch. As stated in the Speech from the Throne, it is proposed to seek expert advice on how best to set about it and also in regard to training personnel

It is fitting that in this our first year of independence, we should consider carefully whether our armed forces are sufficient for meeting the requirements of the changed position in which Nigeria now finds herself.

No longer in an emergency can we call upon the forces of the United Kingdom to come to our aid. We now stand or fall on

our own resources. Nigeria does not and will not seek to employ her Armed Forces to threaten or to impose her will upon any other State in Africa; but the fact remains that unless we possess the means, as well as the will to preserve the integrity of our frontiers, our hard-won independence will quickly become meaningless. Nor is it enough that our forces should be organised for meeting our own responsibilities only. As a member of the United Nations, it is incumbent upon us when called upon by that Organisation to be prepared to contribute a Nigerian contingent to any force organised for the preservation of World peace. (*Hear, hear.*)

This consideration has led the Government to believe that the present size and shape of Nigeria's Armed Forces, and especially of the Royal Nigerian Army, do not match Nigeria's new responsibilities. For that reason, the Government further believes that some strengthening of the Army must be called for in the near future, and the facts by which that can be accomplished are at present under active consideration. We must, however, realise that defence is very expensive and although necessary, we must also pay attention to the orderly development of other governmental activities.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Shettima Ali Monguno (Kaga Marghi):
Mr Speaker, Sir, it is exactly a year ago when I stood up on the Floor of this hon. House to appreciate the efforts not only of the Minister of Finance himself but of the members of his entire Ministry, for producing such a wonderful Budget. It has been termed appropriately the "Sovereignty Budget", based on the previous Budget which was also appropriately called the "Stability Budget". Critics might have anything to say against this, but certainly looking at it one could see that it caters for the common people, the ordinary layman, than for the privileged few, and this is in my opinion a step taken in the right direction. May I, therefore, congratulate the Minister of Finance and the Government for having steered the ship of State through stable Government and producing the 1961-62 Budget.

[SHETTIMA MONGUNO]

But while I appreciate the Budget, I cannot help making a few suggestions because I would be doing neither myself nor the Government nor the entire Nation any good if after all I have suggestions to make but fail to make them or bring them to the notice of the Government.

First of all, Sir, the revenue-accruing Ministries should not allow dishonest people to get away with possible money which should accrue to the Nation somehow. This is mainly concerned with Customs, licensing authorities, and the officials concerned should have the interest of the nation at heart and work for the nation, rather than—as I think happens in the case of a few dishonest individuals—cater for personal gains.

Secondly, Sir, I would like to say that if a Trunk A road could be built to link Maiduguri and the southern shore of Lake Chad, linking indirectly also the Atlantic to the Lake Chad; we have along the Chad basin or along the shores of Lake Chad millions of heads of cattle and we have also millions of fish in the water, and it is very possible indeed to start an irrigation scheme with a view to growing a very large quantity of wheat. Factories should be established for meat canning. The fish would still invite factories for tinning fish and the wheat, if grown on a large scale, which is very, very probable, would make the Chad basin a granary for the Nation. I cannot see, Sir, why so large a quantity of fish should be imported from overseas when we have millions of fish in our own water; nor can I see why we should import unnecessarily tinned meat from overseas when we can—after all we have agreed to borrow money overseas to quicken our development projects. Why can we not have our own factories established? These are, of course, suggestions, and I think it a duty on my part to bring them to the notice of the Government.

Thirdly, Sir, more markets should be looked for our produce, certainly not necessarily in the countries with which we are friendly now. We can make new friends, and there is no reason why we should not have new markets. After all, our foreign policy is non-alignment.

Another thing of importance, Sir, is price control. It is all good to give the common man tax relief, but unless there is a certain degree of price control the common man is still competing against the more privileged individuals, and they will have to look for livelihood competing for the same price and the common man with very low income would certainly be at a disadvantage.

On Economic Missions I have this to say, Sir. They should be more frequent and to various countries and the composition of the members going should not be restricted only to Ministers but they should also include our reputable businessmen.

I have to say a word of thanks and congratulate also the Prime Minister whose foresight is, I think, going to make it possible for an international conference, a conference of Independent States South of the Sahara in Africa, on economic, social and cultural negotiation.

I am saying this because I happen to belong to one of the two Goodwill Missions sent out from this country last September and during our stay in Fort Lamy the Government of the Chad Republic in the first place asked us whether we were on an Economic Mission but we had to say we were on a Goodwill Mission, and that showed us how anxious that Government is to negotiate for economy ties. But that is only the first time. I also happened to be invited to the Independence Celebrations of that particular country, the Chad Republic, and secondly again, Sir, it is purely on personal grounds but an indication was made.

I have had a person-to-person talk with the President of the Chad Republic Government who expressed a wish to see, in person, the Prime Minister of Nigeria himself and this, in fact, in my opinion went to confirm the wish expressed for economic ties when we first visited the Chad Republic.

Over external loans, Sir, I have nothing against them and I have repeatedly said in this House that I have nothing against negotiating for loans overseas to speed up the Development Programme, but on this occasion I have to seize an opportunity to congratulate the Minister of Finance for having raised the

£10 million internally, as he did recently. This is, in fact, a confidence in the Government and it has very greatly raised the morale of the entire nation.

Finally, Sir, Nigeria has been enjoying political, economic, social and religious freedom and a stable Government, as she has now, and I cannot see what else a nation could look for better than the freedom which she has enjoyed since Independence, and with this, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr S. U. Idiong (Ikot-Ekpene North East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the second reading of the well-worded Budget Speech, soundly delivered by the energetic Minister of Finance. I can say, Sir, it is indeed difficult to find anyone in this hon. House who could boldly say that he is not in praise of the manner in which the Budget Speech is composed, the proposals and plans contained therein or the way in which the Minister himself delivered the speech. I thank the Minister of Finance for this gesture.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I must not forget to impart a share of this thanks to the officials of the Ministry of Finance whose efficient service and co-operation has promoted this wonderful Budget Speech. (*Hear, hear*).

The speech, as I see it, is comprehensive and I can well conclude that it is second to none. (*Hear, hear*). (*Interruption*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. These interruptions merely waste our time.

Mr Idiong : Mr Speaker, Sir, I am referring to the wording. . . . (*Cries of "Fire ! Fire !"*)

Mr Speaker : Order. This word "fire" is very unparliamentary. I think that it should not creep in again.

Mr Idiong : Mr Speaker, Sir, it is gratifying that the Federal Government has deemed it fit and proper to introduce a new Bill which, in effect, must reduce to the lowest basis the rate of tax payable by residents in Lagos.

Sir, in my own mind I feel that by the introduction of the Bill the Minister of Finance is in consultation with the Premier of Eastern Nigeria and also with those of the other Regions because, in the Eastern Region, anybody, whether he has anything to do, whether he has any money, as soon as he grows to the age of 14 or 15 is liable to pay tax.

(*Shame. Shame*). In the Eastern Region everybody pays income tax. Whether or not you have any money, in the Eastern Region, as soon as you are of taxable age you will be dragged about, ropes will be tied round your neck and if you evade income tax you will be put into prison. But here, the Federal Government has made it possible for people who have not much money to be exempt from tax. In the Eastern Region, whether you have one shilling or two shillings, once you are able-bodied you have got to pay tax and, for that matter, have to pay very high tax. (*Shame. Shame*).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I cannot see the point in an hon. Member shouting at the top of his voice at another hon. Member, asking him to sit down. That is entirely my own duty. If it is left to me, then, perhaps I shall be able to deal with it more properly.

Mr J. U. Udenyi (Enyong North) : Point of Order, Sir, the hon. Member is dwelling on the affairs of the Eastern Region, which I think is irrelevant.

Mr Speaker : I would like the hon. Member to speak on the Appropriation Bill.

Mr Idiong : I think I am speaking on the Appropriation Bill, Sir. I am only making reference to tax assessment in the Eastern Region. You will be surprised to know that anybody who earns £60 per annum in the Eastern Region pays £9 tax, and this I say, Sir, is very bad.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. The hon. Member is criticising taxation measures in the Eastern Region, which I suppose is a regional matter. We are discussing the financial and economic progress of the country now.

Mr Idiong : I was only making reference to taxation. All the same, Sir, I am happy that there are plans for the expansion and nigerianisation of the Police Force. What I think the Government should now do is to establish a police post in my own constituency in Eastern Ibibio-Ikono area, formerly in the Ikot-Ekpene administrative division, and now transferred to Enyong Division in Uyo Province.

Mr Speaker : The hon. Member is going to details which he might be able to discuss later during the Committee stage.

Mr Idiong : Sir, it is hoped that the Government will soon instal electricity from Aba to Uyo and Oron. The people of this area are very anxious to have this amenity.

Another point is the extension of the Nigerian Railway in the Eastern Region. It is the hope of my people that the railway should be extended either from Umuahia or Aba to Oron so as to help the people in that area to evacuate their palm produce.

With these few remarks, I beg to support.

Mr Speaker : I think there is too much noise on my right which is unwarranted.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation (Hon. R. A. Njoku) : Sir, it is with very great pleasure that I rise to speak to this debate on the Motion for the second reading of the Appropriation Bill which has been so ably moved by my friend and colleague the Minister of Finance. I am quite sure that hon. Members would like Ministers to tell them how they are carrying on the work entrusted to their care in the various ministries; and this debate on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill offers an ample opportunity for Ministers to give this account. I do hope, therefore, that hon. Members will bear with us to-day as we try to carry out this duty.

The interest taken by Members of this House in transport matters is always a source of great encouragement to me. There is clearly a general awareness of the vital part that transport plays in Nigeria's economy, and when I address the House on this annual occasion when funds are voted for me to carry out my task, I am always comforted by the thought that Members on both sides of the House, although they may sometimes disagree on individual items, are unanimous in their understanding that Nigeria's economy must be based on efficient means of transportation.

Hitherto, the transport system has been developed with two principal economic objectives in view, namely, to carry our agricultural exports to the sea and to facilitate internal trade. We have now, however, reached a point in our history when we must look to wider horizons. In the first place, we must plan our transport system to meet the growth of industrialisation in Nigeria, and we must make provision for the transportation of

Nigeria's manufactured products not only within Nigeria itself, but to export markets in the surrounding territories of the African continent, and to countries overseas. (*Hear, hear*).

Secondly, we must recognise the fact that the attainment of independence by the other African territories around us can lead to an adjustment in channels of trade which were previously dictated by colonial policy, and that Nigeria is well favoured geographically to transport traffic to and from the territories that surround us. It is clear that the possession of an efficient transport system is going to be even more important in the future than it has been in the past.

For this reason, I attach great importance to the study into transport co-ordination in Nigeria by the Stanford Institute of Research which has been initiated by the National Economic Council. The Institute's report, which is now being studied, will undoubtedly be of great value to us in carrying out our forward planning in the field of transport for the future.

During the past year the form of transport that has been most in the public eye has been the Railway. This time last year I informed the House frankly and fully of the financial difficulties into which the Railway was running and of the malaise that existed in its industrial relations. Since then a Commission of Inquiry, under the chairmanship of my distinguished colleague, Dr T. O. Elias, has reported on the administration, economic, and industrial relations of the Railway. Members of the House will be familiar with the contents of the Report and with the Government statement thereon, and I need not repeat them now.

An hon. Member : Repeat it.

The Minister of Transport : A few comments on the progress that is being made will, however, I am sure be welcome. I am glad to say that industrial consultants have been appointed by the Corporation, and that they will start work shortly. I have great hopes that their investigations and advice will lead to a material improvement in the efficiency of the Railway and a reduction in costs.

Secondly, a study into the standards and costs of the Railway's capital development programme, including the Bornu extension,

will soon be carried out by a team of Railway experts from India, who have been generously provided by the Indian Government under technical assistance terms.

Generous assistance has also been afforded by the United Kingdom in providing the services of Professor Robson of the London School of Economics and Political Science to advise on questions affecting the relationship of the Corporation—and of other statutory bodies, too—with the Government, the Legislature, and the Public. And, as I have already intimated to the House, the economics of the Railway have been the subject of a careful study by the Stanford Institute of Research.

In the meantime it has clearly been necessary for the Corporation to take immediate steps to effect economies, and I have therefore given the Corporation general directions to this end. The Corporation is giving careful consideration to the many detailed recommendations on improvements in administration, public relations, etc., which were made by the Elias Commission.

I am glad to say that in doing so, the Corporation is taking the Trade Unions fully into confidence, and that the Trade Unions are displaying a co-operative spirit which augurs well for the future. (*Hear, hear*).

The remedial measures that are being taken will need time before their effect can be felt, and I regret that for the financial year 1960-61, the actual deficit is of the order of £2½m. In 1961-62, it is estimated that the deficit will be reduced to £1.028m., and the annual estimated deficits thereafter are expected to diminish progressively, until a profit position is once again reached in 1965-66. (*Applause*).

These estimates are calculated without regard to the probable effect of some of the remedial measures that are being taken, and I hope that this time next year I will be able to tell the House that they were unduly pessimistic. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to conceal from the House the thoroughly unsatisfactory position into which the Railway's finances have progressed in recent years.

It is particularly unfortunate that operating deficits should occur at a time when the Railway is relying on profits to meet part of the cost of its capital development programme. The position can be maintained by drawing on loan moneys from the Federal Government,

but this process increases the already heavy interest charges which have to be met by the Corporation. These charges, which are exclusive of amortisation, will amount to £1.683m. in 1961-62 and will increase to £2½m. by 1963-64.

However, there is, I am glad to say, a brighter side to the picture. Good progress has continued to be made on the Bornu Extension and it is intended that the line as far as Bauchi should be opened in the middle of this year and I hope a number of hon. Members will be able to make their first journeys to Bauchi when the Railway opens. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, recent figures indicate that much of the traffic lost to road transport, both freight and passenger traffic is being recovered, and the Corporation hopes to consolidate its position by a rationalisation of its rating system.

The Corporation's affairs are now under the determined and energetic direction of its first Nigerian Chairman. Since his appointment he and his colleagues on the Board of the Corporation are working very hard and for much longer hours in an effort to bring the Railway back on its feet. They are working almost full time and I am sure that the House will join me in wishing the Chairman, members and staff of the Corporation every success in their difficult task. (*Applause*).

As the House is aware, it will soon be possible for me to appoint a Nigerian to be Chairman of the other statutory Corporation under my charge, the Nigerian Ports Authority. He will, I am glad to say, be taking over an organisations which is in good shape and whose finances are basically sound. (*Loud applause*).

The Authority's principal Achievement in 1960/61 was the opening of the Port Harcourt Wharf Extension by Her Royal Highness, Princess Alexandra of Kent. Two berths of this Extension are already in use, and the remaining two will be in use by the latter half of this year.

I hope that the commissioning of these new berths will, to a certain extent, relieve pressure on the port of Apapa which is once again beginning to find difficulty in coping with the increased

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 volume of shipping. The Authority is from its own resources already engaged in constructing an additional berth at Apapa, which will be used for the discharged of grain for the flour mill but will also be available for general cargo. I recognise, however, that pressure is soon likely to increase to such a pitch that it can only be met by a further major extension to the port, and I am glad to say that plans for this further extension of the Apapa Wharf are already receiving my attention.

Work on the Escravos Bar project goes ahead and in spite of certain difficulties of industrial unrest, the progress has been fairly satisfactory. This project is due to be completed in October 1964, and in order that we may be sure that port facilities in the Western Delta will be adequate to meet the increased volume of shipping that will be able to enter the Delta after the bar has been brought under control, a survey will shortly be carried out of port requirements in the Western Delta.

Future needs in the Western Delta will to a certain extent be met by the construction of a deep water berth at Koko, designs for which have been drawn up and the construction of which will form part of my programme for 1961-62.

I have also made provision for a survey to be made of the port of Baro in the Northern Region so that its development can be planned to meet the increased volume that is likely to be carried on the Baro Rail-River route in the years ahead. (*Hear, hear*).

Work on improving navigation on the Niger and Benue Rivers continues. There have been progressive improvements to the buoyage, river patrol and information services. Test-dredging has recently been carried out at the Lokoja Confluence, and the control of this difficult piece of water will be the subject of special study by our consultants at the Hydraulic laboratories in Holland. Work is also at present in progress on clearing the rocky Bajibo Rapids, which form a serious obstacle to navigation north of Jebba.

I am informed that the Nedeco Report on the Eastern Delta will shortly be available, and this report when received will provide a basis for the development of ports and inland waterways in the Eastern Nigeria during the next Economic Programme.

In the meantime the Inland Waterways Department has been able to embark on a programme of reconstructing piers—I hope the people who live in the Creek areas will listen to this—in the Eastern Nigeria, and this programme will be continued in 1961-62. Arrangements are already in hand for reconstructing piers at Opobo, Egwangwa, Ngo, Brass, Nembe and Yenegoa, and during the next 12 months this programme will be extended to other piers both in the Eastern and the Northern Nigeria. (*Applause*).

The Department's new dockyard at Warri will be completed during the year, and a contract has been let for the construction of quarters for the Department's staff. Good progress is being made on new ferry hards and lighter berths at Sapele, and both of these will be completed during the year. Hon. Members from Lagos will note that provision is being made for another ferry-boat for the Lagos/Apapa ferry service.

The past year has seen some major developments in the sphere of Aviation. The attainment of independence by Nigeria has increased our responsibilities in this sphere significantly.

Measures have been taken to improve traffic control at the two international airports of Lagos and Kano to bring them up to international standards. Owing to shortage of staff in the Civil Aviation Division of my Ministry it has been necessary to engage the services of a commercial organisation for this purpose, namely, the International Aeradio Limited. I am glad to say that a comprehensive scheme has been launched with the co-operation of this commercial organisation to train sufficient Nigerian Air Traffic Control Officers ultimately to assume full responsibility for our commitments.

During the coming year I hope to be able to put a similar scheme in train for training Nigerians in aeronautical telecommunications with the same end in view.

Good progress, Mr Speaker, was made during the year in improving facilities at the major aerodromes in Nigeria. New modern terminal buildings were opened at Kaduna, Enugu and Port Harcourt just before the Independence Celebrations and I am glad to say that a new terminal building at Ibadan will be built during this year and will give the airport of the Western Regional capital a new and befitting look. (*Prolonged Applause*).

A major undertaking which must be carried out this year is the reconstruction of the runway at Calabar Airport. This runway has shown serious signs of deterioration and it has, in fact, been necessary to restrict the all-up weight of Nigeria Airways' aircraft using the runway. There is a danger that the runway will break up altogether, although I can assure the House that the position is being carefully watched and at present the runway can be used without risk. But clearly I must take steps immediately to put matters right as soon as possible and I have therefore decided that this runway must be reconstructed during the current financial year rather than take the risk of making funds available during the next Economic Development Programme. This shows that the Government does not discriminate in any way at all against any part of the country.

An event of major importance in 1960-61 has been the opening of the Federal Flying Training School. This school, which is equipped with 4 Chipmunk and 2 Auster Training Aircraft, and has its own landing ground at Apapa, has recently absorbed its first intake of students, and has got away to a satisfactory start.

Students at this school receive *ab initio* training which takes them to their Private Pilot's Licence level. If they are successful, they then go on to more advanced training which is being arranged for them in the United Kingdom.

It is my ultimate aim that all the pilots, engineering, and managerial staff of Nigeria Airways should be Nigerians, both on the internal and international services. I am therefore glad to be able to inform the House that arrangements are being made with the British Overseas Airways Corporation to place their extensive training facilities at the disposal of Nigeria Airways with this desirable end in view.

While the attainment of independence has increased Nigeria's aeronautical obligations, it has also made it clear that she must have complete control over her air services. With this in mind I have approached the commercial partners in W.A.A.C. (Nigeria) Limited with a request that they should dispose of their shares to the Federal Government, and withdraw from the Company. This, I am glad to say,

the commercial partners have readily agreed to do, and as from 1st April of this year, W.A.A.C. (Nigeria) Limited has been wholly-owned by the Federal Government. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker : May I warn the hon. Minister that he has five more minutes.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation : In the past this Parliament had been called upon on many occasions to approve heavy subsidies for Nigerian Airways and I am glad to say that the Airways is now able to operate profitably not only on the internal route but also in the internal services.

It is expected that in the year 1960-61, on the international route, Nigerian Airways would have made a profit of a quarter of a million pounds; also on the Internal Services, the Nigerian Airways will either break even or make a marginal profit. This is the first time that this sort of achievement has been made.

Lastly Sir, I must make mention of the Nigerian National Line. I notice that a number of speakers have already commented on our National Shipping Line. This Company has been operating very successfully since its inception. In the first nine months of its operation, it made a clear profit of £154,000 and this year the profit is expected to be very much higher. The Company has brought its ships up to 10, 5 of which are owned and 5 are on charter. The Board is now considering placing an order for 2 new ships to be built, and I hope that during the next Economic Programme the size of the fleet will perhaps be doubled.

I have noted with interest the comments of various Members about the ownership of the Nigerian National Line. Sir, while our commercial partners have rendered us invaluable service in the setting up of the Company and operating it efficiently in the early days, I am convinced that Nigeria as an independent Nation should be the sole owner of her National Shipping Line, (*Hear, hear!*). Sir, I feel confident that our commercial partners in the Line will willingly offer their paid up shares in the Company to the Federal Government when requested to do so. Now I am already making plans to get the money which will enable us to buy up their shares which amount roughly to One million pounds.

[MINISTER OF TRANSPORT]

Finally, Sir, I would like to assure the House that it will continue to be my policy not only to expand, but also to modernize, the various transport systems of this country to the very limit of the financial resources available to my Ministry. For instance—Mr Briggs will be happy to hear this—I am thinking of the possibility of using amphibious planes to make the Delta and Creek areas more accessible (*Hear, hear!*) and to accelerate the development of those areas. It is, Sir, my earnest hope that when the time comes hon. Members on both sides of the House will readily vote the necessary funds for the vital schemes which I have in mind and on which the overall economic development of this country so much depends; and so I beg to support. (*Hear, hear!*)

Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Ijebu Remo): Mr Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I would like to make two observations, first of all, I notice that the Federal Government, in collaboration with the Regional Governments, is sending a trade mission to several parts of the World—China, Russia, United Kingdom, U.S.A. *et cetera*. This is in accordance with the suggestion made on more than one occasion by my colleagues and myself on the Opposition Bench. I hope, I sincerely hope, that those who are in charge of the detailed arrangements of this overseas mission which, judging from the size of its composition and the extent of the globe it plans to cover, is bound to be extensive; I do hope that those in charge of the detailed arrangements of this mission will ensure that it is indeed a trade mission and that every minute of the mission is made, in the course of it, to be filled with 60 seconds of hard and favourable bargains struck for Nigeria.

The second observation I would like to make is this, I am very glad to note that there is almost a meeting of minds between the Government and the Opposition on the vital importance of agricultural development in our economy. Last year in the course of my contribution to the debate on the Appropriation Bill, and on one or two other occasions thereafter, I said that the basis of our wealth is agriculture and that, therefore, the first priority should be a bold and rapid development of our agricultural economy. This proposition was not then well received by many hon. Members including the hon. Minister of Finance himself. Indeed I was asked by a

number of Members to go and tell it to the Regional Government. In a speech delivered last week, however, the hon. Minister of Finance had this to say—I quote from page 2 of the printed speech:

“The development of agriculture is fundamental to the progress of the Nation; without a flourishing and expanding agriculture, the growth of industry will be retarded—

That is what the hon. Minister of Finance said. In my view, however, this consensus of minds, which has been happily induced by the Opposition so far as Government is concerned, only begins and ends with a recognition of the fundamental importance of the development of agriculture in our economy. But it is clear from other points made on the subject by the hon. Minister of Finance in the course of his speech, that Government is still regrettably untutored as to what is meant by agricultural development; what its proper role in this basic development should be, and the tremendous fillip which the development of agriculture could give to our economy.

At page 2 of the same speech the hon. Minister of Finance quotes with approval the following statement by Lord Netherthorpe. I quote with your permission: “No investment by Nigeria herself could yield greater dividends nor contribute more effectively to her economy and industrial development. That is not to say that Nigeria should content herself with a purely agrarian economy. Indeed, the contrary is true, since, every increase in the national income and particularly in the level per head increases Nigeria’s attractiveness as a potential market for industrial goods. Thus an expansion in agricultural exports by raising the national income could probably do more in a short time to encourage industrialisation than anything else.”

My first reaction, Mr Speaker, Sir, to this passage in the hon. Minister of Finance’s speech was that a conservative capitalist of the deepest dye like Lord Netherthorpe can only think in terms of our export products which provide British industries with the much needed raw materials at cheap and depressed prices.

But on further research I discovered that the hon. Minister of Finance had quoted this passage from the report of the Federation of British Industries on Nigeria's industrial resources. I also discovered that he has quoted this gentleman out of context. In this connection, I refer to page 29 of the report by the Federation of British Industries. The passage quoted by the Minister of Finance is contained at page 30 but at page 29 the Federation of British Industries, or the delegation of the F.B.I., has this to say: "Apart from investment in plantations there is no scope for overseas investment directly in agriculture. Nevertheless, as I see it, agriculture is the key to the prospect and rate of Nigeria's industrialisation". That is the opening portion of the chapter from which the hon. Minister of Finance has quoted the passage which suggests that Lord Netherthorpe is thinking more of our export produce than of the entire range of our agricultural economy.

I, therefore, wish to emphasise this short statement which I have just quoted. I wish to go further and re-inforce the stand which the Opposition takes, that the bed-rock of our economy in this country is the development of our agriculture. I proceed to quote one or two other passages. I refer, Sir, to the Ashby Commission, and I will quote from pages 21 and 101 two short passages from its report.

At page 21 the Ashby Commission has this to say on agriculture: "Three out of every four Nigerians work on the land. Seventeen shillings out of every pound earned from Nigerian exports come from agricultural products. Investment in agricultural improvement and agricultural education could double Nigeria's yield, yet investment in agriculture is inadequate and is rarely in the public eye. Publicity goes to industrialisation, construction and the like."

Then at page 101 this is what the Commission says, I quote again: "In Nigeria agriculture bears three burdens not borne by agriculture in more highly developed countries. It is relied upon as an occupation for about 75 per cent of the working population; it constitutes what may be described as a built-in social security system and it provides Government with the bulk of its revenue constituting at least 85 per cent of the country's export

and more than 50 per cent of its gross product. Despite the extent of agricultural exports, foods grown and consumed locally comprise 80 per cent of total agricultural production. That agriculture is vital to the economy and well-being of the country is beyond dispute, but when one looks at the producer, the man on the land, and his enterprise one finds low income, hand tools, small acreage, wasteful site usage, poor crop varieties, low yields, unproductive livestock and family living conditions and diet which, even by the simplest standards, leave much to be desired." That is what the Ashby Commission, appointed by the Federal Government, has to say on our agricultural economy and lastly—

An hon. Member : On what page ?

Chief Obafemi Awolowo : On pages 21 and 101. And lastly I will quote the authority of Arthur Lewis who at one time was asked by the Ghana Government to advise it on industrialisation. He submitted a report on "industrialisation and the Gold Coast", now Ghana, and this is what he has to say in the course of his report: "In unenlightened circles" (I hope the hon. Minister of Finance does not belong to these circles), "In unenlightened circles agriculture and industry are often considered as alternative to each other. The truth is that industrialisation for a home-market can make little progress unless agriculture is progressing vigorously at the same time to provide both the market for industry and industry's labour supply. If agriculture is stagnant" (and I want the entire members of the Federal Government to note this important point), "If agriculture is stagnant industry cannot grow."

It must be emphasised that our agricultural economy does not consist only of cocoa, groundnuts, oil palm, cotton, rubber, timber, cashew-nuts as some people on the Government Bench make it appear. Our export products, cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, *et cetera*, are of great importance as they are very big earners of foreign exchange with which we pay for our imports. They, therefore, deserve the utmost attention. We must seek to increase both their yields and variety and try to secure better prices for them in the world market.

[CHIEF AWOLOWO]

It must be borne in mind at the same time that our export products only contribute 20 per cent of our national income derivable from agricultural and allied products. For instance, it would interest many hon. Members to know that from yams alone we derive as much as £95.4 million. This is the computation of our national income for the year 1956-57 and I am quoting from the Economic Survey of Nigeria 1959 which was conducted on the authority of the Federal Government. Yams alone contribute as much as £95.4 million to our national income as against £30 million from groundnuts or £25 million, for instance, from cocoa. Cassava and gari, also contribute as much as £86.1 million. Guinea corn, contributes almost as much as groundnuts' £25 million, and so on and so forth.

It will be discovered that our food crops contribute as much as 45 per cent of our gross national products. It is imperative, therefore, that whilst we do our best to concentrate our attention on pushing the production and sales of our export products, we must at the same time do everything we can to increase the productivity of those farmers who are engaged in the production of yam, gari, cassava, guinea corn and other grains. What then is the duty of the Federal Government concerning agriculture?

It does not appear to me that the Government appreciates what its duty should be in this connection, and may I refer again to the speech of the hon. Member, the Minister of Finance. At page three, he has this to say. "The contribution to be made by agriculture should not be minimised, but industrialisation is bound to figure prominently in our plans. Industrialisation will of course provide new avenues of employment for our people, but this can only be exploited to the full if manpower training is properly directed". In order words, whilst at the opening part of his speech, the hon. Minister of Finance agreed that the development of agriculture is fundamental to our national economy, he then goes on to place agriculture in the second grade, at least that is what he has done by implication.

He proceeds further to suggest that one chief means by which employment can be provided for our boys and girls is industrialisation. I think, Sir, that Government must shake itself out of this sort of erroneous

thinking. A large number of our boys and girls are now leaving school and seeking employment. It is true that they will not under these circumstances, go back to farming as is at present being done by their fathers and their mothers. Our methods of farming are still primitive and antedeluvian. The educated young people would like to adopt methods which are scientific and modern. Therefore, it is possible to find jobs for these boys and girls provided agriculture is considerably improved and modernised. It is wrong for the Government to imagine that the only avenue for employment is industrialisation.

Agricultural development will also be an avenue for employment for our young people. If it is agreed therefore that the foundation of our national prosperity as has been said by the Minister himself rests on agriculture, then it must be agreed also that the foundation must be well and truly and solidly laid. It would be shirking its duty, indeed one of its primary duties, if the Federal Government were to pass the entire buck of agricultural development on to the Regional Governments. The Regional Governments, in my view, are doing their very best in the task of improving our agricultural economy. But their best needs the bold, imaginative and enlightened support of the Federal Government if that best is to be good enough for our purpose. This will help the Regional Governments to develop and diversify the economy of our country and promote the welfare and happiness of our people.

My suggestion therefore to the Government is this. First of all, the Federal Government should set up, immediately, an Agricultural Development and Finance Corporation. The duties of this Agricultural Development and Finance Corporation will be, among other things: (1) to subsidise the Regional Governments in their pursuit of agricultural development and expansion, particularly in their efforts to set up farming institutes and co-operative farm settlements; (2) to establish, on its own, industries for the processing of agricultural products. My second suggestion is that special and studied encouragement should be given to those industries which plan to undertake the processing of our agricultural products for export.

We have heard of protective duties being imposed in order to enable a Flour Mill to be established in this country. But the raw

materials for the plant will have to be imported from abroad. I do not know whether Government has really sat down carefully to work out the economy of this Flour Mill. I am myself of the opinion that sooner or later Government will be called upon to impose additional duties to protect this industry. Wheat grains will have to be imported from abroad and the wastes which are the bye-products of the Flour Mill which are used as cattle feeds will have to be exported from this country to other countries for consumption; whereas, it would have been a different matter if the Government had seen to it that we have in this country a wheat plantation from which we can get our wheat and also have cattle ranches that can make use of the bye-products from the Flour Mill. All this has not been attended to by the Government and yet protective duties are imposed.

I will have more to say on this subject when I come to the proper Head during the Committee of Supply. But the fact I want to make, and emphasize at this moment, Sir, is that Government should, instead of imposing protective duties in favour of the Flour Mill, encourage entrepreneurs to establish industries in this country which will undertake the processing in a big way of our groundnuts, cotton, cocoa, palm kernels and so on and so forth. If entrepreneurs are not willing to come on their own then Government should invest in such industries on its own account. For instance, our tomatoes or some of our beans can also be processed for export.

It is imperative therefore that agricultural development and industrialisation should both feature in our future Development Programmes. Let us recall the words of Professor Arthur Lewis that "if agriculture remains stagnant, industry cannot grow."

Sir, I trust that the last word has not yet been said by Government on the issue of setting up an Economic Planning Commission—

The Deputy Speaker : Order, order; may I remind the Leader of the Opposition that he has got only three minutes more.

Chief O. Awolowo : In this connection, may I say, Sir, that it is not correct for the hon. Minister of Finance to say, as he said the other day, that there is no organisation of a similar nature in Western Nigeria. There has always been, and there still is, I believe, an

Economic Planning Committee consisting partly of officials, who are qualified in economic matters, and outsiders who are economists or businessmen.

In view of the short time at my disposal, may I repeat my previous suggestion and I am repeating it simply because the Government has not yet seen fit to accept this very valuable suggestion. First of all I think that the National Economic Council should be reorganised so that the Premiers of the Regions would be members of that organisation together with their Ministers who have charge of economic matters. At the moment the National Economic Council is too low-powered to formulate any important policy. Secondly, I think that the Joint Planning Committee should be converted into a high-powered Economic Planning Commission, consisting partly of officials, who are qualified in economic subjects, and also outsiders, all of them Nigerians, who are businessmen and who are also known economists.

Now the duty of the National Economic Council, as re-constituted, will be to set out policies regarding targets and priorities, and also to co-ordinate the economic activities of the entire Federation. The Economic Planning Commission, on the other hand, will work out detailed programmes and, from time to time, will review any Five Year Programme during the currency of that Programme. I do not doubt the competence of the economists employed in the Ministries of Finance, Commerce and Industry and Economic Planning, but they are civil servants and in any case their efforts which at present appear to me to be diffuse must be canalized. This is possible, in my view, only through the agency of a reorganised National Economic Council and a high-powered Economic Planning Commission.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support. (Applause.)

The Minister of Education (Hon. Aja Nwachuku) : Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, later during this—(Interruptions).

The Deputy Speaker : Order, order; I wish to remind hon. Members that the Speaker is aware of the impatience of Members, and it is appreciated that many Members would like to have the opportunity to say something,

[DEPUTY SPEAKER]

but I think Members will be availing themselves more opportunities of saying something if they will listen more silently, and help to make what would otherwise be long debates shorter than they need be.

The Minister of Education : Sir, later during this meeting I hope to bring a White Paper before this House setting out the Federal Government's plans for the future development of education. This White Paper will review the recommendations of the Ashby Commission on Post-Secondary and Higher Education and a resolution will be moved asking you to approve the Federal Government's proposals. Hon. Members will be asked to look forward and shape the future of generations to come.

At this present time, however, I propose to remind the House of what we set out to do when we approved the White Paper on Education of 1955. I ask them to look back and review the past few years—what has been done in them; and what is the present position—in this, the last year of the current Economic Programme of 1955 to 1962.

First, I shall deal with the discharge of my responsibilities for education in the Federal territory of Lagos and then I shall say something of the contribution which is being made by the Federal Government to educational development in Nigeria as a whole.

In 1955 we set ourselves the goal of universal free primary education in Lagos. There were then 33,000 children, about 63 per cent of those of primary school age, enrolled in primary schools; in 1960 there were over 72,000 and this year the enrolments are estimated at over 80,000. Despite an annual increase of 3 per cent in the number of children of school age presenting themselves for registration, none is refused admittance, though there remain a few who do not seek entry. Thus we may claim that primary education is free and universal for all who want it. There remains the step of making it compulsory, so that all our children are not denied their birthright of equality of opportunity in independent Nigeria.

To achieve this result my Ministry had built by January this year 80 new primary schools or extensions to primary schools, 6 schools are now under construction and plans for 5 more are at various stages. Nor have we

neglected those unfortunate children for whom special schools are necessary. Last month, a school for the deaf and another school for the blind were ready for occupation.

In post-primary education we set ourselves the task of providing places in post-primary institutions for 25 per cent of those who complete their primary education. In yesterday's debate on a Private Members' Motion I gave the House some percentages regarding secondary education and I need not repeat them now. We had planned to create 4,640 post-primary school places in secondary schools, modern schools and teacher-training colleges. Over half of these had been provided by the end of 1960, 1,420 were under construction and 870 had been planned.

Altogether thirteen new post-primary institutions or extensions have been completed, five are under construction and four are in various stages of planning.

All these buildings have been carried out under my Ministry's supervision by private architects and building contractors and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the extremely satisfactory work which has been done and for the excellent co-operation we have received from the voluntary agencies. (*Hear, hear*).

I also wish to thank those commercial firms who have marked the celebration of our Nigerian independence with generous gifts to further the cause of education. Provision for the expenditure of some of these gifts has been made in the capital estimates now before us. There you will see them listed—£½ million from Shell-B.P. for technical education—this is being used to expand Yaba Technical Institute; £50,000 from Mandilas and Karaberis for the building of an institute for technical education; £20,000 from Paterson Zochonis—this is being used to set up a teachers' reference library, so that our primary school teachers can refresh themselves from this well of knowledge.

There are also some gifts which you will not see listed since these are not going to be directly administered by my Ministry. Elder Dempsters have created a trust fund of £50,000, the income of which is to be used for awarding scholarships in Nigerian universities.

The Indian Merchants' Association have expressed the intention of setting up a fund of £20,000, for similar purposes. We are most grateful for these gifts for objects which are so close to the hearts of the Nigerian people.

The recital of these benefactions has already brought me to the second part of my review of progress—that is, to my Ministry's contribution to Nigerian education as a whole. I shall speak first of the work of the Scholarships and Students Section. The last year has seen a colossal increase in the work done. The number of Federal Scholarships awarded increased from 180 in 1959 to 526 in 1960 and a similar number is being offered this year. There are at the present time no less than 1,030 students at institutions of higher education now financed by Federal scholarships—in Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Iceland, Australia, Switzerland, Western Germany and Italy. Apart from them, many more university students are receiving financial assistance in one form or another from my Ministry's scholarship vote. During the past financial year nearly £7,000 was given in loans or grants to Nigerian students abroad who were in financial difficulties during the last year of their courses, making the total of outstanding loans nearly £25,000.

Apart from this, during the past year the Federal Government assisted with grants to pay for passages and outfits of students who had received scholarships from overseas Governments and organisations. Nearly £8,500 was paid in respect of 50 students in this category. Nigeria has indeed been fortunate in the number of scholarships and post-graduate fellowships which have been offered to our young people from abroad. Last year 66 such awards in all were taken up, of these 39 were given, mainly under the Commonwealth scheme by countries of the Commonwealth—29 by the United Kingdom, others by Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India. Twenty-four scholarships were given by universities in the United States, others by Israel and Italy. These awards are those actually taken up, many more have been offered by these and other countries and by firms established in Nigeria, and in addition there have been a large number of teacher training bursaries awarded by the United Kingdom and taken up.

I am most grateful, Mr Speaker, to the members of the Federal Scholarships Advisory

Board for the time and trouble they have freely spent in the public interest in selecting candidates. I am also grateful to my staff in the Scholarships Section who have devoted hours of unpaid overtime to the interests of applicants for scholarships and of private students.

In the sphere of higher education, the University College of Ibadan under its new and able Principal, Dr Kenneth Dike, continues to grow from strength to strength. (*Hear, hear*). Additions to the buildings are virtually complete and this year for the first time there is spare accommodation for students. It is now an internationally recognised centre of African learning and many are the international conferences and seminars which have been held there during the past year.

At the three branches of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology a new programme of building is being carried through, made possible by a final grant from the United Kingdom in 1960 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme. These buildings will be invaluable in the new role which the College is to play in the future and about which I shall be making an announcement later.

The Federal Government has also provided the West African Examinations Council with new offices, quarters and computing machinery. The expansion of the Council's work over the last few years has been staggering. In 1955 the Council had 10,000 candidates from Nigeria for its examinations; in 1960 this figure had increased nearly ten times to over 95,000. Much assistance in dealing with this great increase in the number of candidates has been derived from the use of machines. An electronic calculator has now been installed and this will not only help to process the data relating to entries and results, but will give much useful additional information. Thus we find the products of modern industry harnessed to our service, so repaying in some measure the debt which modern industry owes to education.

Let me conclude by a brief reference to the work done on behalf of Regional Ministries—by the Federal Advisory Service, and by the Joint Consultative Committee and its Reference Committees on Teacher Training, Technical Education and Secondary Education. These organisations, reinforced by the Institutes of Education of the university institutions, have played an invaluable part in the co-ordination

[MINISTER OF EDUCATION]
of educational policies and the inter-change of expert opinion on educational methods. The services of the Advisers have also been greatly in demand for inspecting secondary schools and teacher training colleges in the Regions. They are now headed by a Nigerian Chief Federal Adviser on Education, while a Nigerian Permanent Secretary has also been appointed in my Ministry, to take charge of my Ministry on his resumption of duty after leave.

With this I conclude my review of my Ministry's work over the period of the present economic programme. The planning of the next programme has already been begun and I am sure the House will be pleased to note that the two top officials responsible for its implementation are to be Nigerians. (*Hear, hear*).

Mr Speaker : Mallam Aminu Kano. (*Interruptions*) Order, order. The thing is that it would have been better if more time were given to the hon. Members. I think the Business Committee which has just been appointed is not well aware of the fact that more time is required in view of the size of this House. It seems to me that Members should also note that if they continue their 30 minutes speech, very few will be able to speak to-day. I am not defending myself, but I think I must explain.

M. Aminu Kano (Kano East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I begin by congratulating the Minister of Finance for his great and comprehensive Budget Speech.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I have received a message from the reporters that they cannot hear the hon. Member properly. I believe he is doing his best; maybe his position in relation to the microphone is rather bad. I might, with the permission of the House allow him to draw nearer to the microphone.

M. Aminu Kano : I say comprehensive because it contains new features that not only make this year's budget quite unique but reflect the characteristics of our independence.

In supporting the second reading of this Bill Sir, may I be permitted to emphasise those new features and if need be, digress a little bit for the sake of elucidation. May I say with gratitude therefore, Sir, that as a newly independent nation, we are faced with

very new and enormous problems. Many of us Mr Speaker, have always maintained that independence does not simply mean the removal of foreign rule from the soil of our country. But rather it means adequate food, adequate health and sanitation; adequate work and leisure; capacity to rule and more opportunity for all. (*Hear, hear*).

We maintain Sir, that those are the things that make independence. So that what we believe had actually happened on October 1st, 1960 was the opening of doors to Nigerian independence by removing its main obstacle, namely foreign rule.

By debating this Sovereignty budget, therefore, we are simply given the first opportunity after independence to show to our nation and the world how we are going to translate this independence into economic terms. That is our duty to-day, Mr Speaker, and I doff my hat to the Minister whose luck it has been to be the first Finance Minister after the attainment of nationhood.

I make bold to assert Mr Speaker, that one of the few but major things that characterise the British brand of colonialism is gradualism in economic progress in a given territory and in this imperialist technique Nigeria has not been an exception. A British colony, after gaining independence has to start economic planning afresh. The primary duty of a Minister of Finance in a country like ours is to grapple with the problem of poverty that stares us nakedly in the face. We are left with some economic colonial or (do you prefer) colonial-economic legacies that have been purposely designed to make us remain a semi-colonial country. These are some of the reasons why we are keen to probe not only the budget speech but the budget itself. That is why the majority of the members of this House are anxious to contribute in this debate.

I want to start with economic development. The aim of our economic programme must primarily be the total elimination of hunger and poverty from our midst until we come to a stage whereby nobody, no child in any nook or corner of this country goes to bed without a meal. The programme must be interpreted to mean the expansion of our society, must take

into account the psychological peculiarities of our people and must be precise and direct to the target. I have always wondered Mr Speaker, whether we are doing enough to change the outlook and mentality of our people—outlook and mentality which tend to make us behave as if we are rich and neglect the essentials. We suffer from the psychological outlook that everything British or foreign is good. We waste our money on foreign goods. We allow millions of our hard-earned income to leave the country. We neglect the essentials and take delight in copying ridiculous customs and habits that are un-Nigerian and un-African—customs and habits which cost us millions, thousands of pounds of our money go to the Indian Films. Millions of our money is drained through pools which nobody ever wins.

We have been misled and trained to believe that only when we go shopping in Kingsway do we look important. Only when we ride huge and expensive cars do we feel fit to be called minister. All these have an adverse effect on our economy and on the effort to raise our standard of life.

Our country depends to a large degree on agriculture and our people's economy is basically agricultural. The old rural economy is fast breaking down without an equally effective money economy to replace it. One look at any section of our rural area economy is enough to show that the picture is alarming. Majority of our farmers still use the orthodox, immemorial, methods of farming, while thousands of our revenue go to experiment and research. But I am not unmindful of the tremendous effort being made to-day for improvement.

For the expansion of our economy the Federal Government must improve our transport system. Side by side with this there should be railway extension to the newly explored regions of our country. Efforts must now be made to make Lagos-Kano line a double track so that goods and passengers could take half the time of travel between these two centres. There is a need for a railway line from Kano to Katsina and an urgent need for the nationalisation of foreign assets such as the shipping lines.

I am particularly glad to note that the Federal Government is bent on the mobilisation of Nigerian resources for the development of the

country as a whole—here of course mobilisation will include more sacrifices in paying the taxes and cutting our coats according to the size of our cloth, since development depends very largely on the upsurge and domestic effort of a people in a given territory.

It is here, Mr Speaker, that I deem it right to lay emphasis and elaborate on the activities of a company in this country—a company that is least known and whose activities are least publicised, but whose economic importance is far reaching. I refer to the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Limited. The Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Limited which is soon to absorb the staff of the Department of Marketing and Exports is little known in this country. But remarkably enough this organisation handles Nigeria's export of about £93 million annually and controls 85 per cent of the country's economy. Moreover, such organisation is a private limited company and is outside the control of the Federal Government.

Our complaint is this, Sir, that although the registered office of the Company is in Nigeria the actual marketing of Nigerian produce is undertaken in London. What guarantee has the Federal Government that this set up is in the best interest of the country?

The old colonial practice of establishing West African Boards in London has been noted not to be to the best interest of the countries from where the produce originates. Nigeria is no longer a colonial country and must therefore contemplate on how to remove the selling organisation from London to Lagos. (*Prolonged Applause*). And this has to be done very quickly, because this is a serious complaint raging in the minds of many Nigerians.

Not only that, Sir. One would like to know the number of Nigerians in this establishment that hold key posts. One would like to know what guarantee the Federal Government has that British companies are not given preference over other foreign companies, since the selling operation in this company is undertaken and controlled by British directors.

I believe that it is time—it is high time, Sir—that the Federal Government undertakes every measure to set the country on a fully economic independence, and that is that Nigeria should be able to sell its produce direct to any other country without the necessity of going through London. And this must

[M. AMINU KANO]
go side by side with the reduction of heavy dependence by Nigeria on the British shipping companies in the carriage of Nigerian exports.

It is important that we make our independence a reality not a window dressing or a judo-show by leaning too much economically towards the old colonial and decadent past.

Finally, in this regard, I urge the Federal Government, through the Ministers, and particularly through the Minister of Finance to take steps to redeem the Nigerian reserve of about £210 million now with the British Government. (*Hear, hear*). I know it is not an easy thing to transact this business because of the deterioration of value of this reserve when it is to be transferred, but this money cannot lie indefinitely in a foreign country while there is a pressing need for the improvement of life in our country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, reference is made in the Speech of the hon. Minister of Finance to the great question of African unity. I agree with the Minister, Sir, that one of the primary needs is to begin by developing economic relations—the expansion of greater trade not only among the countries of West Africa but of all Africa as a whole. The Federal Government must make the move and the approach to start the venture. We would like to see an all-African Airways, an all-African Land Transport Service, so that Dakar is linked by road with Lagos, with Maiduguri, with Leopoldville, with Khartoum, with Adis Ababa, Cairo, or Nairobi. Or a well built road linking Bamako, Casablanca, Tripoli, down to Stanleyville.

An all-African Bank is necessary and all-African Trading Companies are also overdue. This is the only way to awaken the African masses, to raise their standard of living, restore their dignity the world over, and eliminate the last stronghold of European colonialism and the hated policy of South Africa together with the Portuguese policy of slavery and serfdom.

Nigeria must find the initial cost for these ventures, must have the trained men and the diplomacy to persuade others to come along with her in this renewed crusade. Here I must say that unity and faith is not enough. It must be accompanied by work—unity, faith, and work—because without the ability, training and determination to work unity and faith will mean little. The history of nations is

a testimony to this, and Nigeria is not an exception.

But I must warn, Sir, and here I want to quote my honourable leader of happy as well as pitiful memory, the late Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu, who said :—

Many hon. Members : Ade, Ade, Ade. (*Prolonged interruption*).

M. Aminu Kano : This is what he said, Rosiji : “The greatest single stumbling block to the realisation of our laudable ambition is not necessarily white officialdom but black treachery. We must know them, unmask them and declare total war on them. They are more dangerous than foreign foes, because they accept our conclusions without submitting to our argument. They permeate all spheres of our national life. They penetrate into all nooks and corners of the country and the Continent of Africa. They infiltrate into all our social institutions. They go a long way in agreeing that responsible self-government is the ultimate goal and shrink from the herculean task that we must set forth in order to translate this empty shibboleth into reality.”

Mr Speaker, Sir, when I made reference to the speech of the late Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu I have in mind people like the die-hard separatist and loyal agent of colonialism and imperialism, Mr Tshombe of Katanga—

Many hon. Members : Tshombe, Tshombe, Tshombe of Western Nigeria.

M. Aminu Kano : The cold blooded and calculating native tyrant, Kasavubu, and the rabble leader and head of the society of thieves and pick-pockets, ex-Sergeant Mobutu. People who take pleasure only when they dine with colonialists, whose sole intention is the disunity of Africa and African leaders.

Mr Speaker, Sir, may I end by making a little reference to the work of the Scrutineer Committee? This Committee, I understand, scrutinises accounts of firms and individuals who make returns on their incomes to the Inland Revenue Department. I understand also that this Committee keeps all accounts and their work has been increased and their meetings much more often and regular. And yet, Sir, the Board of Inland Revenue, which is the counterpart of the Scrutineer Committee and which meets only once or twice in six months, have their members on higher allowances than the Scrutineer Com-

mittee. I am, therefore, suggesting to the Minister that this anomaly be looked into that he should raise the honorarium of the members of the Scrutineer Committee, especially in view of the fact that a Bill was passed in this House last year amending the Income Tax Ordinance which has given more power to this Committee.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I hail the second reading of the Bill and I support it.

Alhaji Bello Dandago (Gwarzo East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. The Bill has been so masterly arranged by the Leader of the House and Minister of Finance and, it is a first-class workmanship, and I have very little to add. I feel the Federal Minister of Transport and Aviation will do a yeoman service—

Mr A. F. Odulana (Ijebu South) : On a point of Order. We all love to hear the hon. Alhaji Bello Dandago, but as much as we love to hear him, he is not speaking up.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. I think if I am able to hear the hon. Member and, having received no complaints from the Official Reporters, the hon. Member should also hear him.

Alhaji Bello Dandago : Mr Speaker, Sir, as I was saying, the Federal Minister of Transport and Aviation will do a yeoman service if he will clear the minds of many people in Kano concerning a certain rumour which is gaining ground and itching the minds of people that the Kano Airport, which was opened a few years ago, the 13th in the world, although 13 is unlucky number, that arrangements are afoot that aircraft which used to land in Kano will no longer touch Kano. There will be a direct flight from London to Lagos.

I would say, Sir, that I do not know how far that is true and, if it is true, the Kano people in particular would like to know the reason for this venture. In the course of his speech, the Minister of Finance mentioned that he proposes to present to the nation comprehensive and intensive plans. Sir, as far as the Kano Airport is concerned, nothing is comprehensive, nothing is intensive to the nation if the plan about it goes through; that is to say, a change of mind by the Government for no reason whatsoever is made for aircraft to start a direct flight from London to Lagos. What is the reason Sir?

In the course of the debate on the Budget Speech somebody mentioned the possibility of price control. It is within living memory that some years ago, here in Lagos, the system of price control was introduced. Somebody called Mr Fulham was asked to look after that sort of thing. The result was that one of the local dailies in those days published a headline—"Might is right" in its editorial. That was what was said here by a local paper. Therefore the moment this Government meddles in controlling prices, it is the common man who suffers more than anybody. Black-market goes on, even yellow Market! So, Mr Speaker, I ask the Government not to introduce the system of price control.

Sir I beg to support.

Mr B. A. Ajayi (Ekiti South) : Mr Speaker, Sir, lots of people have actually congratulated the Minister of Finance on his Budget Speech; I will associate myself with them. I consider it a feat to read such a voluminous speech of 33 pages without any temporary loss of voice. The Budget Speech of this year is different from the previous ones and those who listened to the Stability Budget and the Responsibility Budget and also listened to this, which was called the Sovereignty Budget, will see a world of difference.

There is no doubt that the Minister of Finance has struck a new note and has changed his position. The Responsibility Budget or the Stability Budget was based on what we called or what we regarded as faulty economy, because it concentrated greatly on external borrowing, but the Sovereignty Budget, as I said, lays less emphasis on borrowing. The Minister of Finance did mention that the fact gives the lie to the statement of those who said that last year's Budget was based on borrowing because 80 per cent of the revenue which the Government used came from internal sources. We do not dispute that.

We agree with him that 80 per cent came from internal borrowing, but 20 per cent is a colossal figure and consequently, we regard it as faulty and that he depended mostly on external borrowing. At any rate, it is gratifying for the first time in the history of this Parliament for the Minister of Finance has

[MR AJAYI]
changed his heart and he is heartily welcomed as a new convert to the policy which has always been given to him from this side of the House. (*Hear, hear*).

As I said, the Sovereignty Budget is different, supreme because it is the best of the lot; but because I said it is the best of the lot does not mean that it is the best we can get, but it is cheering. Although this is the best, it should be noted that one's best may be another's poorest, I want that to be truly understood. When I said that was his best, I did not mean that that is the best for me but, of the Budgets which I have heard him present to this House, the Sovereignty Budget is the best because he listened a little to some of the suggestions which the people on this side of the House gave him and I support it.

About internal loans, there are certain aspects of loans which cannot be implemented owing to the absence of the Central Bank such as Stock Exchange and such as Treasury Bills. All these actually cannot operate unless there is a strong Central Bank, but as a result of our suggestions here the Minister of Finance has been roused from his state of stupor, and consequently, has been able to implement certain systems of internal loans which he could have done before now.

Sitting suspended : 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed : 3 p.m.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. Will Mr Ajayi please continue his speech?

Mr Ajayi : Mr Speaker, Sir, this morning I tried to say that as a result of the incessant pressure from this side of the House it has been possible to some extent for the Minister of Finance to be a little amenable and that the situation seems rather hopeful. For example, it was on this side that the suggestion was made that an Economic Adviser was needed. Happily we have one to-day, and the improvement which is shown in the Budget Speech can partly be attributed to him.

In the second place it was as a result of the battering which the Minister of Finance had on the Stability Budget that he had the courage to think of raising an internal loan as high as

£10 million. This he could have done two or three years ago if he had faith in internal borrowing. When even he tried to do so at first he had enough courage only to raise just £2 million.

There are other things which this side of the House feels the Minister of Finance should do. For example this morning the Leader of the Opposition pressed seriously the point of the Economic Planning Commission. I am surprised that the Minister of Finance was able to say that because there was nothing of that nature in the West, therefore the Federal Parliament should not initiate it. It cheers one of course when such gestures come from one like the Minister of Finance because it supports belief that the Western Nigerian Government is the leading Government in the country. (*Hear, hear*). But it sickens one to note that the Minister of Finance is not trying as much as possible to use his initiative.

It is expected of the Federal Government to take the lead. Furthermore this Economic Commission is supposed to assemble facts, arrange them and plan broad policies with the Regional Governments. I got it from the speech that the Ford Foundation and some economists in the Ministry of Finance are busy with the five-year development programme. The Ford Foundation, I am sure, offers these men just temporarily and the economists in the Ministry of Finance are too busy with other things. The economic plan of the five-year development programme is a vital one, one that requires time more than the civil servants can afford, one that requires co-ordination with the previous plans and one which should envisage the prospects for the future. So, to give it to a temporary body is not sufficient. I still insist that for the interest of the country the Minister of Finance should change his mind, as he has done on some other things, and appoint an economic commission which will be a permanent one.

Sir, as regards mobilization of internal resources, measures, can fall into two categories. The fruits of some are yet to be seen but some, within a short time, will definitely bear fruit. Two internal loans have been raised and have been very successful but there is this very

important point which, of course, the Minister of Finance pointed out in his speech and that is the response of the individual savers. Although the two loans were contributed to the full, the individual private saver is yet to be educated with the idea of investing in Government ventures. Here, I think the Ministry of Information should be of tremendous help to this House and to this country. That Ministry has been accused of inertia several times and I think that this is a good opportunity for it to exert itself and make its influence felt by popularising to the masses by means of brochures, brochures and advertisements the idea of saving.

Another point is in respect of post offices. It is good that the government is making photographic identification of depositors but, I am sure, that alone cannot help in the increase of deposits. It might be true that many of the counter clerks are rude but until such time as a depositor can come to the post office and take as much as he wants without waiting to receive instructions from Lagos, I do not think we can get considerable revenue from the post office.

With regard to insurance, it is happy news that the Minister of Commerce and Industry is going on with an investigation. This is an essential means of earning revenue for the Government and if there is any allegation about the practices of the existing insurance companies and it is possible for the Government to realise considerable sums of money from these companies, it is fair for the Government to nationalise them and use the proceeds for investment or whatever development projects Government has in mind.

Sir, as regards the direct taxation, the Minister has said a lot but there is a point I would like to make about the tariff imposed on flour. The Leader of the Opposition, mentioned only one aspect of it this morning. It is untenable and I just do not understand why this is so just because a foreign company is coming into the country, tariff is imposed, even though the company has not come. I can understand the imposition of tariff when the company is formed and in order to protect the industry. But to use that tariff and give us the explanation that it is to protect an industry

which has not yet been established is, to me, far-fetched.

As to direct taxation, the pay-as-you-earn system is nothing new in Nigeria. In fact, I thought the Federal Government should have implemented it long ago. But this taxation of young girls is, I am afraid, an unpopular one.

Sir, I would like to make a point about the Government Press. It is a very simple expression that our needs are many but our means are limited. I regard this idea of setting up a press as rather premature. The hon. Minister of Works told us in his speech some time ago that he was hampered because of lack of money but not lack of manpower. Suppose we give him the £400,000, will that not tar many miles of roads; make many bridges which will be used by many people? Or, if we hand the money over to the Minister of Communications, at least with the amount he will be able to build very good and well-equipped post offices. In my area we have one post office and if we are given two, that will be quite all right for us. So I regard this project as untimely and I want the Government to change its mind about it. In any case, the major parties that form the Government have their own papers and their ideas are expressed through those papers and even the Opposition papers are not all that hostile to the Government. I have not heard of a sensational case that will warrant the Government building its own press. After all, who will read it? It is the same people that will read the parties' papers. This paper may be mismanaged in a manner that will not bring in profit. I shall be very happy if Government will think again and hand over the money either to the Ministry of Works or to the Ministry of Communications.

It is happy news that a team of experts and experienced businessmen will be going all over the world. I am glad to note that this time it is not confined to the West but all over the world. While this is a very good idea, I hope we too will try and think very seriously about the trade recess. Cocoa does not sell well now and the same thing is happening to groundnut from the North, and palm oil from the East, and I think it is high time the Research Section of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry tried to experiment seriously on these three commodities, if not on others.

and out ways and means by which manufacture either chocolate or margarine or soap on a larger scale for internal consumption and export.

Sir, with these points I beg to support.

The Minister of Labour (Hon. J. M. Johnson): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. Labour, being a subject on the concurrent legislative list, necessitates the closest co-operation between the Federal and Regional Governments in order that labour law and practice may be uniformly applied throughout the Federation. This co-operation is, I am happy to say, a reality. This is demonstrated by the frequent meetings I hold with my Regional colleagues at the Regional Headquarters in rotation. These meetings result in agreements being reached over matters of policy, as well as in their execution. My Regional colleagues and I are determined that this co-operation shall continue.

With the attainment of Independence and the emphasis which all Governments within the Federation are placing on industrial and economic development, labour has come to occupy a place of high importance in the country. One of the greatest single elements that will contribute to our advancement is the wealth we possess in our manpower resources. The proper use and conservation of our manpower, particularly in the development of its skills, constitute the key to our economic and social progress. The Ministry of Labour, in association with other Federal and Regional Ministries, is concerned with the effective utilisation of this manpower. With the increasing pace of industrialisation, and with the need to develop our natural resources to the full, it is vitally necessary to plan our needs to ensure that our skilled men and women are able to play a full part in the prosperity of the nation.

Many problems confront us. The problem of unemployment, particularly in respect of school leavers, is one that is uppermost in our minds. This problem is a matter that is causing us great concern in Lagos. Lagos holds singular attraction to young men leaving school or wishing to change their environment. The result is that we are faced constantly with a large influx of young men and women who are

determined to try their luck in the Federal Capital. Employment opportunities are necessarily limited and cannot be artificially created to suit a set of circumstances such as those with which we are confronted. Members will be aware of the liberal approach of the Federal Government to the free movement and mobility of the individual person throughout Nigeria. There is no discrimination exercised against people who wish to move about of their own volition. It is to be hoped that with the diversifying of the economy, both agricultural and industrial, greater employment opportunities will be offered throughout the country.

However, to assist in meeting the challenge of this economic revolution, my Ministry has launched an Employment Market Information Programme with technical assistance provided by the International Labour Organisation. This Programme is designed to collect, analyse and disseminate information on our manpower supply and demand. This information will be available to all sectors of the economy and will provide vital information to the Ministry of Economic Development, with whom my Ministry is closely associated, which will have the overall co-ordinating responsibility for all aspects in the field of manpower in our economic programme. With the assistance of the International Labour Organisation, a comprehensive national occupational classification system based on international standards is also being introduced. This system will, amongst other things, determine precisely the scope of each occupation and will enable the placement service to determine more accurately the capability of persons seeking employment. This, in turn, will play an effective part in conserving our manpower and putting it to its best use.

To enable these programmes to be effective, it will be necessary for the basis of our placement services to be broadened in the future. This matter is receiving the highest priority in my Ministry.

Mr Speaker, the destructive power that bribery and corruption has on the social and economic well-being of a nation is well known. This wicked practice, unfortunately, flourishes amongst a certain class of persons who have influence in the procuring of employment for job seekers. In view of the continued public condemnation of this form of corruption,

I have established a committee for the eradication of corruption in Lagos in the obtaining of employment. The committee is shortly submitting its recommendations to me and I trust that we will be able to take positive measures to root out this evil from our society. It is encouraging, however, to note how strong public opinion is forming against these practices.

In the field of labour management relations, the principles of voluntary joint consultation and free collective bargaining, which it is the policy of this Government to promote, are receiving increasing acceptance by trade unions and employers alike. This trend may be observed in considering the figures of trade disputes which were brought to my notice during the past year. 146 trade disputes were brought to my notice but in only 10 cases was it necessary to appoint conciliators formally in accordance with the provisions of the Trades Dispute (Arbitration and Inquiry) Ordinance. There were no cases referred to arbitration. The remaining 136 cases, or 93 per cent of the total, were disposed of either through informal intervention by officers of my Ministry, or through the normal machinery of joint consultation and collective bargaining established within industries. This is of course the trend which we would like to see.

This picture, however, is still not as satisfactory as it should be. Unfortunately, further development of effective industrial relations and especially in the development of sound trade unionism is being seriously hampered by the continued disunity in the central trade union movement and within the ranks of individual unions themselves. During the 1960 Budget Session, I mentioned that the long standing breach in the movement had happily been resolved; but it is a matter for regret that another crisis was soon promoted and the central trade union movement, once more, divided into two rival factions. Repeated efforts at reconciliation have been made by my officers and despite the personal intervention on the part of the hon. Prime Minister and myself, it has not been found possible to resolve the difference. This dissension is a source of embarrassment not only to the Government but to the nation as a whole. It reflects little credit on the leaders of the trade union movement at a time when it is essential to demonstrate our national unity in all walks of life. The effects of this dis-unity

are far-reaching as there is some evidence that the effectiveness of trade unions in promoting the economic and social well-being of their members, is being affected. Mr Speaker, Sir, I am sure hon. Members of this House will join me in urging our trade union leaders to sink their differences and devote themselves to the interests of their members.

Unfortunately, a large number of our trade unions are still not sufficiently strong to develop effective relations with employers. One fault lies in the multiplicity of trade unions. There are 359 registered trade unions having a total membership of 263,025. A further reason for this weakness lies in the financial instability of the unions. It was with this aspect in view that the Labour Code Ordinance was amended at the last Session of Parliament to enable the Check-off system for the payments of trade union dues to become legal. Hon. Members will recall the safeguards built into that amendment which aimed primarily at providing adequate benefits for the members who contribute.

Hon. Members will note that in the Estimates Head 50 Sub-head 108, provision is made for £4,000 to assist in trade union education during this year. This amount is primarily to develop educational resources within Nigeria. The Government is examining what further assistance can be given to training of trade unionists under the various schemes of external assistance.

The Nigeria Employers Consultative Association is becoming a strong influence amongst employers, both Nigerian and expatriate, for the general improvement of Labour management relations. There are however, some employers who have not yet appreciated the importance to themselves, their workers and indeed to the general economy of the country, of the need to improve their mutual relationship.

In particular, certain instances have come to my notice where employers, for a variety of reasons, have refused to recognise either the union which represents their workers or, if they recognise the union, then they refuse to accept its accredited representatives. In accepting the principle of freedom of association, which is enshrined in our Constitution, the Government has a responsibility to ensure

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that a suitable climate exists for it to be a reality, and although the Government accepts the fundamental principle of the voluntary development of sound labour/management relations, it may have to consider what steps should be taken to ensure that the principle of the right of the worker to organise and to choose his representatives is effective. (*Hear, hear.*)

Amongst employers, it is gratifying to note the greater attention being paid by them to working conditions. Much remains to be done, however. The Factories Ordinance which became effective on September 1st, 1956, sets the standards for safety, health and welfare in our factories. It may be recalled that at the time of its introduction into this hon. House, it was emphasised that in the first instance, Factory Inspectors would rely largely on the goodwill of factory occupiers and thereby influence an improvement in conditions.

Hon. Members will, I am sure, be the first to appreciate that a high standard of health, safety and welfare is vital to the well-being of workers and has a great influence on their productive capacity. The Ordinance has now been in force for four years and it seems to me that the time has come to bring pressure on those factory occupiers who do not measure up to the required standards. I will ensure that these standards are achieved and maintained.

An important outcome of the attainment of our independence was the accession by the Federation to full membership of the International Labour Organisation on the 17th of October, 1960. Nigeria has benefited immensely from the work of this Organisation and it is accordingly the intention of the Government to take a full and active part in its work. To this end, a fully representative tripartite delegation will represent Nigeria at the 45th Session of the International Labour Conference to be held in June of this year.

At this Conference, it is the Government's intention to move a formal resolution inviting the Governing Body to call upon the Union of South Africa to withdraw from the International Labour Organisation (*Applause*) in view of their apartheid policy which is inimical to the principles on which the I.L.O. was founded,

The International Labour Organisation held its first all-African Regional Conference in Lagos in December, 1960. We have reason to be proud to have been able to play host to such an important international conference so soon after the attainment of independence. Mr Speaker, I am sure that hon. Members will agree that the sacrifices in terms of finance and other commitments which this country made to ensure the success of the conference have been fully justified. Indeed, it is significant that the role which Nigeria can play in promoting the unity of Africa and of the world could not have been more effectively underlined than on the platform of the African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

The International Labour Organisation has continued to be an important source of technical assistance which I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge. We have received valuable assistance to enable officers of my Ministry to study overseas on a fellowship basis. A number of I.L.O. experts have visited the country to assist in the following specific schemes: the establishment of the National Provident Fund, Employment Market Information, Occupational Classification schemes and an emergency training scheme for hotel and catering workers prior to independence.

Along with these developments, I am also giving further consideration to ways of improving the conditions of workers in this country by both legislative and administrative actions.

A Draft Bill will be laid before Parliament during the present sitting which will enable a National Provident Fund to be introduced. I am confident that workers in this country can ask for no better gift as a commemoration of the first anniversary of our independence than that such a scheme to provide for their old age should be introduced on the 1st of October, 1961. The Federal Government has made provision to meet the initial expenses of setting up the Fund by way of a grant.

A Bill for the re-enactment of our principal labour law, the Labour Code Ordinance, is also under preparation and will be presented to Parliament in the near future.

Regulations will be brought before the House to protect workers against dangerous occurrences in factories. It is further intended

to extend the provisions of the Factories Ordinance to require the reporting of accidents in the building industry, where I have reason to believe that the accident rate is high.

The rates of pay and conditions of work of Nigerian workers in Fernando Po (*Hear, hear*) also continue to receive my close attention. (*Applause.*) The Government intends to seek a revision of the Agreement made with the Spanish Government with a view to securing general improvements. It is my intention to visit Fernando Po in May of this year in order to report on the conditions, and I propose inviting the Minister of Internal Affairs, Eastern Nigeria, and one hon. Member of the Senate to accompany me. (*Interruption.*)

Mr Speaker : Order. I shall not allow any more interruptions.

The Minister of Labour : I will now turn to the work of the Social Welfare Division of my Ministry. Every effort is being made to develop the Adult Probation Service whose main task will be to assist first offenders to resume a normal life and to arrest in them further criminal tendencies. The attachment of Probation Officers to Magistrate Courts has proved very effective and it is now proposed to increase the number of such officers so that there shall be one available for duty at each Magistrate's Court in Lagos.

Premises have been purchased for three new Remand Homes and a Centre for handicapped children which will be established soon. (*Applause.*)

In the Juvenile Court the stipendiary magistrate is assisted by two lay assessors at each sitting. I would like here to pay a particular tribute to these ladies and gentlemen. There are twenty lay assessors on the panel and they offer their services voluntarily and receive no fees. (*Hear, hear.*) Their devotion is an example of service to the community of a very high order.

My Federal Social Welfare Parliamentary Advisory Board which was appointed three years ago has been very active and is now giving consideration to three outstanding matters: the need for registration of marriages con-

tracted under native law and custom in Lagos; the problem of the beggars on the streets of Lagos; and the adoption of children. (*Hear, hear.*)

The importance of the service provided by the Social Welfare Division is demonstrated by the constant and increasing calls made upon it for help. The assistance provided embraces marriage guidance, community development work, organising of youth services, institutional care of delinquent and handicapped children; and Social Welfare staff are always on hand to relieve disasters which affect the community. The recent fire at Elegbata will be recalled where officers of the Social Welfare Division combined with the officers of the Ministry of Lagos Affairs and the Lagos Town Council to minimise the shock and discomfort to those affected.

Apart from providing adult probation services and the institutional care of delinquent children, it is my hope that in the future, we will see established in all residential districts in Lagos at least one community and one youth club. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that the development of Co-operative Societies of all types in Lagos has continued to receive my earnest attention. A Co-operative Fishermen's Society was recently organised with the assistance and guidance of the Co-operative Division of my Ministry; and, with a loan from the Federal Loans Board, arrangements are being made to acquire modern fishing equipment and boats for the society.

Every effort is being made to develop urban credit unions in Lagos which will grant loans to workers on small incomes. I hope that this will help to liberate workers from the clutches of the more avaricious money lenders. (*Hear, hear.*) Consideration is also being given to the development of properly organised credit societies for market women.

The success of a Carvers' Co-operative Society has been very encouraging and my Ministry is now examining ways in which other artisan societies, such as tailors, shoemakers, motor mechanics, etc.—can be given a start. It is my belief that only in this way can every group in our society be assisted by Government to develop, through co-operation,

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in which they participate fully and democratically, the spirit of self-reliance which reflects the true independence of this great country. (*Hear, hear*).

The Government will continue to give financial support to the voluntary bodies who have played so big a part in raising our national prestige in the field of sport. Hon. Members will observe that provision is made in the Estimates for a subvention towards the development of a coaching scheme, started last year, which has as its primary object the training of Nigerian coaches in football, athletics, boxing, cricket, hockey, lawn tennis and table tennis. Together with this an annual subvention is given to the various national bodies to assist them with their administrative expenses.

In addition, the sum of £80,000 will be given to the National Stadium Board to enable them to continue with the project for the development of a national stadium which will be worthy of our status both at home and in the international sphere. (*Applause*).

I intend to consult my Regional colleagues over the desirability of establishing a National Sports Council which could co-ordinate all aspects of sporting and recreational development.

Hon. Members will be pleased to know that a National Council for the Blind has been established with the financial support of all the Governments of the Federation. The Federal Government administers the Nigeria Farmcraft Centre, Ikeja, on behalf of the Federation who contribute towards its maintenance.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would not like this occasion to pass without a tribute being paid to the services rendered to Nigeria by the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind and, in particular, to their very active Director, Mr John Wilson, whom we have frequently had the pleasure of welcoming to this country.

Sir, I beg to support.

Mr D. N. Abii (Owerri East): Mr Speaker, Sir, I am very pleased to rise to speak in support of this Motion. You will agree with me that this progressive Government, if it continues as it has done before, the time may soon come when there will be no Opposition in this House (*Prolonged interruption*).

Mr Speaker: Order, order. There is too much noise on my right.

Mr Abii: As I said, Sir, the Government has satisfied even the Opposition in carrying out the programme of the Government.

Last year, the Budget was specially named "Stability Budget" and after that speech a few ungrateful Members of the Opposition started to say that it was not stable, that the Budget should not be called Stability Budget. But, Sir, this year has shown that the name given to the Budget last year was the correct one, and that is why this year the Budget has been specially called "Sovereignty Budget".

I think it is necessary to be very grateful to the Prime Minister of the Federation because it was his special wisdom to allocate portfolios to certain members of his Cabinet; and one of the most important portfolios is that of the Minister of Finance. If he alone can quieten the talkatives on the Opposition, then I think it is a credit to the Government.

Sir, the exposition of the fiscal policy of the Government is very clear and it shows that the Government is progressive. The accomplishment of the 1955-62 Programme is also an ample chance for the wise plan for the development of the present 1962-67 Development Plan. I trust the Plan will not be so simple as the programme we have completed. It must be bold, bolder than the last one. That is why I am supporting all the words said by the Leader of the Opposition this morning. The Government has been doing well, but it must get ready now to do better.

The question of industrialisation is a very important one in the heart of everybody in this country, and I want to say that if history is useful to us we must make use of it. If we go back to the time when Britain wanted to become self-sufficient, you will agree with me, Mr Speaker, that the people went so far as to make regulations affecting their domestic life; they wanted to make the people of England fishermen. They ruled that nobody should take meat on Friday, in order to force the people out to the sea to catch fish.

What are we doing now? If we want to industrialise, we must not attach great importance to that section of our Constitution which seems to say that the Federal Government

cannot embark upon mechanised agriculture. I am of the opinion that if there is to be any real industrialisation in the country there must be an effective mechanised agriculture. The other day, when the Minister of Finance was speaking, I could realise he was in a difficulty to explain to this House the trouble with our balance of trade. He was saying that it is not easy to balance our imports with our exports, and I think we can never balance our trade until the Government has made it a duty to embark on industrialisation allied to mechanised agriculture in order to keep up the production of our raw materials.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Government has been saying that we have started industrialization. May I humbly say to them that I do not believe we have started. What amount of our ground-nuts, or palm oil and kernel or cocoa do we utilize in manufacturing some other things? If we have industrialization we must be able to use our raw materials in the manufacture of other things which we may use and may also export. Until that is started, I will not agree that our Government has really embarked upon real industrialisation. It is very easy to do so if they mean to do so. The Minister of Finance is able and this country is credit-worthy. He is able to borrow money and embark on our industrialisation.

If that is started work will be created for our people? Our raw materials will be utilised, we shall be able to produce what we want and be able to export some that we do not want.

Moreover, if we do not take care of this mechanized agriculture the time will come when our people will begin to suffer from hunger.

Take, for example, the schools. When the Minister of Education was speaking, I did not hear him talk about this. There are important changes in our educational system. Let me give you one example. King's College is having about twenty or twenty-five graduates. They have very rarely one single stream. Every year they send about twenty-five or twenty-eight candidates for the school certificate and all of them pass with one hundred per cent. Other schools in the rural areas send sixty and they produce about fifty passes. That is something worthwhile.

I have always said that we do not want this strict specialization. We want mass production of educated people. In our educational system the boys take their holidays during summer and that was planned when Europeans were teaching there, so that they could go home during the Summer, and our boys now come home during Summer, in July, during the rainy season. They come home and do nothing. Is that a proper holiday time in Nigeria?

There is another point. In the field of agriculture what we really want is people to go back to the soil. Our boys are turned out of school and they have no work. What work are we going to get if we do not make it possible for the boys to go back to the soil? I have to praise the Western Government for that. (*Applause*). The Eastern Government is taking the same line of action, the Northern Government is thinking the same way, but here is the Federal Government. I sincerely ask my Government to go into this question and ally practical agriculture with industrialisation.

Mr Speaker, Sir, just a few days ago an hon. Member from the Opposition Bench was trying to criticise the Government's policy on taxation. The point I want to make here is that we from the rural areas of this country do not understand at all why any citizen of the country should not pay tax. Mr Dosunmu was telling us that there were people exempted from paying tax but, Sir, you will be surprised to hear that he said that some people were exempted and he went on to call that a "right". In the rural areas, people pay tax, all the people, whether they are employed or not, they pay tax and they pay rates. In every district throughout the whole country they pay rates and pay tax; they pay their tax direct to the Regional Governments and rates direct to their Local County Councils. These people are not employed and are able to pay. But when people come out to these cosmopolitan areas like Lagos, they want to be exempted from taxation.

I want to make it abundantly clear that, once a man is a citizen of this country, he should be ready to pay his tax, if he claims the right to any thing at all from the State, and, for that reason I am pressing the Minister of Finance to

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ensure that all people who are earning any income, pay tax, no matter how little it is. If there were some women secretly kept out by the Action Group, especially when they were in power in the Town Council, I now urge that Government should bring them out and tell them to do their duty, because if you have a right to live under the protection of a State you should do your duty, and one of those duties is payment of tax.

I wish also to congratulate the Government for making it possible for all the people of this country to save their money. I sincerely feel that the Minister of Finance has done very great work in making it possible for those who did not know how to save to start now to save. But it is not enough to create all these facilities. It is necessary also to let the people know what facilities exist and make it possible for them to utilise those facilities. I really feel that the explanation he has given about Treasury Bills and the Savings Bank facilities and the National Provident Fund should be publicised throughout the whole Federation in order to let more people know of them and so enable them to take advantage of these facilities.

Sir, another important matter on which I want to touch is that of labour. I do not claim to be a labour expert but I feel that every adult interested in human beings should know when they are suffering from want, should know when they are suffering from inadequate wages, and should know when they are suffering from bad conditions of service. For that reason, I listened very closely to the Minister of Labour when he was making his speech. I hope that he will have an opportunity of letting us know the conditions of service of Nigerians serving in Fernando Po. He should do that immediately because the feelings is gaining ground that these people are in Fernando Po as sub-slaves. If he finds out that that is so, it is better for these people to die here in Nigeria than to go to Fernando Po and die as slaves. I do not agree that it is better to send a human being abroad from Nigeria, under the false impression that he is going to do some work, and he goes out to Fernando Po to spend two complete years without any return for his labours. If this is so, Mr Speaker, it is better to close up this avenue of employment.

The Minister of Finance : On point of information, Mr Speaker, Members should realise that this country is free now and in international markets we must state the facts before this hon. House.

No one forces anybody out of Nigeria to go to Fernando Po for any job. Every labourer going to Fernando Po signs, on his own volition, and when he has spent two years there he is repatriated and, on his own volition again, he signs on and goes back there.

If he does not want to go no-one will force him. That is the point I want to make.

Mr Abii : While I am bound to take your ruling, I think it is not out of the way to explain that human beings are an item in wealth, and if we are discussing the fiscal policy of a country, we must not forget the population of that country.

Mr Speaker : I think you can better discuss that when we come to the Head of Labour in the Committee Stage.

Mr Abii : I thank you, Sir, for your ruling. I now turn to another important point. I feel that the economic mission that is to be sent out, and which is to be led by the Minister of Finance has one other duty to do. It has been said that the Mission is going to find markets for Nigeria and, perhaps, explore the possibility for further loans. I think the Members of the Mission should remember also the possibility of recruiting people with the technical know-how for industrialisation. As I have said, the Members should not confine themselves to exploring suitable markets only for our raw material. You will agree with me that the question of sending out our raw materials is quite different from the question of turning our raw materials into something we can use ourselves and perhaps export to other countries. I therefore feel that the Minister of Finance and the members of his team should really explore the possibility of recruiting people who will come out to Nigeria and teach us the art of manufacturing things from our raw materials.

For example, we say we are now brewing the "Star Beer" here in Nigeria, but the fact is that it is being brewed by the U.A.C. Last year, the Minister of Finance increased the taxes paid on some commodities, and what

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happened? Immediately the U.A.C. increased the cost of beer. If it were our responsibility, we could easily have sold a bottle of beer for one shilling.

Several hon. Members : Then you will have to close down your factory !

Mr Abii : Let me finish. The point is that the nation could afford to run any business initially at a loss in the interest of the masses, but it is certain that in course of time the loss would be offset when the business begins to make profit. The same thing applies to a trader.

The Minister of Finance (Chief the hon. F. S. Okotie-Eboh) : May I ask my hon. Friend, Sir, how much is the cost of a bag of *Nkalagu* cement ?

Mr Abii : I am very happy that my Minister has asked me that question. The fact, Sir, is that the whole country has not embarked on a single project. If the country had embarked on the establishment of one factory to produce cement, it could produce enough bags of cement to warrant a reduction in price. (*Applause*). What I am suggesting is that the nation should embark upon a gigantic production of a particular product. Such product could be sold at a loss at the beginning and gradually, the cost would be increased, and there is no gainsaying that the product would finally sell at a profit. On the question of beer, I suggest that as many bottles of beer as possible should be produced in order to stop the importation of beer and any foreigner in this country buying beer should be prepared to pay whatever we pay, if even it is one shilling.

Another point, Sir, is the question of trade. We are all aware of the existence of certain European trade blocs. I feel that to-day, when Nigeria is independent, and some other African countries are also independent, one of the most important works our Government should embark upon is to create a market among the African states. We should find out what their raw materials are, co-ordinate them with ours, and begin to manufacture things for ourselves. By so doing, we shall have, in a very few years, our own trade bloc in Africa. There is no reason to quarrel with

European states; they will always continue to form these blocs in order to expand their trade. It is their duty to do so and it is our duty to organise ourselves in our own continent, to employ our raw materials for the production of commodities and then to find a market for our goods.

In the creek areas, our people manufacture gin from palm wine, but the Government says the gin is poisonous. What efforts is the Government making to refine it ?

Sir, I want to refer to the Audit Report of 1960. I have to thank the Government again because it was only a year or two ago that it introduced the system of self-accounting into government departments; and I think that is why it is possible for us to-day to have the Report of the subsequent year before us during this Budget Session. We have been in Parliament for some years and there is no year, except this year, that we have had the report of a subsequent year. I have to thank the Minister of Finance for this system of accounting which has made that possible.

But there is one danger in the Report. There is a long list of losses in our various departments in the 1960 Report and one may ask, Sir, why are the losses so numerous? The reasons as given in the Report are due to negligence, fraud, mis-classification of vouchers or in some cases, non-availability of vouchers. You will agree, Sir, that it is very shameful to find that a government of the calibre of our Federal Government should lose millions of pounds because vouchers are not available or through negligence, and so on. Another kind of loss according to the Report is that a certain lorry was coming from the North to Enugu... (*Loud Interruptions*).

Several hon. Members : Was it stolen ?

Mr Abii : It is possible for a thief to steal a lorry. I am however, not blaming the Minister of Finance. I would only like him to be very firm, and to make sure that nobody passes any voucher for payment without his signature. I think his kindness has given way to people to make away with government money. I am asking him, very sincerely, to look into all these anomalies and rule that in future no payment should be made without

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 authority. Any payment made without authority is nothing short of stealing. Any payment made is nothing short of stealing. I should like to point out, Mr Speaker, that the Minister of Finance should find a remedy to these things. The Permanent Secretaries will be dealing with these things in the way they like and they will be sitting down there biting their teeth and you get these loss of revenue and loss of stores without recovery.

Take for instance, more than half of this book is filled with losses. The Minister of Finance may one day go to his own office and find the whole money removed! Therefore it is necessary that we should find a solution to these things. It is not only that. There is another kind of loss, Mr Speaker: they have gone into what they call loss of stores. It was the P.W.D., the public waste department, that we were always suspecting of this kind of theft, but now it is getting broader and broader throughout the Departments.

The Minister of Finance: It has nothing to do with me.

Mr Abii: I quite agree that it has nothing to do with the Minister of Finance, but they are doing away with money which is placed in his charge. The Minister should call the heads of departments to assure him that they will take proper care in their control of money. I am not putting the blame for all these losses of revenue on the Minister of Finance at all, I am putting it on those who control the finances of this country. If there is anybody whose responsibility it is to control the finances of this country, why should he not do it properly? I feel that while it is not the specific duty of the Minister of Finance, he has got to get these people to be careful with the control of money. If there is any loss due to negligence on the part of these people, they should be called upon to pay it.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Alhaji Aliyu Bissalla (Abuja): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Second Reading of 1961-62 Appropriation Bill that the hon. Minister of Finance named the "Sovereignty Budget". Sir, I congratulate our able Minister of Finance in the person of the hon. Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh and the entire staff of his

Ministry for the valuable work they have done and the time they spent in compiling this historic Budget. It is historic because it is the first Budget ever presented after the achievement of our independence.

This year's Budget Speech contains very many important and useful things in which both our present achievements and the future years' plans of the Federation of Nigeria are well explained. To begin with, the 1955-62 Development Programme has been successfully carried out towards the lasting economic betterment of the people. I should like to say that our Council of Ministers, and all those who took part in making these projects become a reality, must be praised and congratulated.

Now, speaking on the 1962-67 Five Year Development Plan, we are looking forward in the stronger belief that our Council of Ministers are going to do better work and give us sound and up to date economic development, and along with this, mobilising our resources and managing to obtain a substantial inflow of capital from abroad, but being careful to see that capital from abroad is without strings attached.

In the coming Five Year Development Plan, I wish to ask the Minister of Communications through you, Sir, to build a post office in Lapai, with a view to commercial, educational and social advancement of Lapai people, while in Abuja, we only require an automatic telephone system. Again, in view of the need for industrial growth, social and economic development, and commercial enterprise in the following towns; Kontagora, Zuru, Abuja, Lapai and Agair, we wish the Minister of Mines and Power would see to it that electricity is supplied to these towns.

As regards expenditure on Foreign Affairs, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, for the two conspicuous achievements which he has made for us. The first one is in respect of the successful way in which he conducted our affairs in the United Nations and the other during the Prime Ministers' Conference in London. I congratulate the Prime Minister, Sir, for these two things which no one else could have done better than he did them.

Sir, I beg to support.

Law Reform (Contracts) Bill. This Bill will deal with two matters: first, with contracts which for various reasons are frustrated in their operation. The English common law, which still applies in Nigeria, provided that

or personal status.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr Deputy Speaker: Order, order. As

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The Attorney-General and Minister of Justice (Dr the hon. T. O. Elias): I rise to support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. I would like to give a brief description of the work of the Ministry of Justice.

As hon. Members are no doubt aware, the Federal Ministry of Justice is a creation of the Independence Constitution of Nigeria, and has had to be gradually put together since October 1960. The former Legal Department and the new Division of the Director of Public Prosecutions have been reorganised, while I took the earliest opportunity to familiarise myself with the affairs of such non-Ministerial Departments as have been assigned to my Ministry or for whose affairs I am answerable in Parliament.

To this end, I made an early call on the Chief Justice of the Federation and another on the Chief Justice of the High Court of Lagos in order to discuss with them such problems as they felt should be brought to my notice. It is pleasant to report that these discussions were most fruitful and helped to establish proper liaison between my Ministry and the Judiciary.

In my first week in office, I visited various Magistrates' Courts in Lagos, Apapa, Ebute Metta and Yaba. The main purpose of these visits was to find out for myself the conditions under which Magistrates administered justice and to discuss with them their various problems. I also visited the Federal Administrator-General's Department and had discussions with the Federal Administrator-General.

I believe that hon. Members would not want me to trouble them with the details of my findings during these visits. I would like to re-assure them that, on the whole, the machinery of justice in the Federal Territory is functioning satisfactorily. (*Applause*).

An hon. Member : Able Minister !

The Minister of Justice : I am, however, conscious of the need to provide for the appointment of more Judges, Chief Magistrates, Magistrates and law officers, the expansion of library facilities for Magistrates and providing them with new court buildings, and generally meeting the conditions of service of all who are engaged in the administration of justice.

In regard to the appointment of more Judges, Chief Magistrates and Magistrates, I am glad to say that the Government has given the matter some thought and during the current financial year two additional Judges, Chief Magistrates and more Grade I Magistrates will be appointed for the Federal Territory of Lagos. It is the view of the Chief Justice of the High Court of Lagos that if these appointments are made, it will promote speedier administration of justice and also help to relieve the congestion in the courts, which, I am told, has been growing less and less in the last two years.

During my visits to the Magistrates' Courts, I was most struck by two major problems. The first is the general absence of adequately stocked law libraries. With the co-operation of the authorities concerned, I am able to report that steps are being taken to ensure that each Magistrates's Court will at least be supplied with the essential reference books and that there will also be one reference library each for the two Chief Magistrates' Courts in Lagos and Yaba.

The second defect is the state of the buildings in which Magistrates sit to administer justice. Some of these so-called courts are not fit for human habitation (*Hear, hear*) and, because of their dilapidated condition, constitute a danger to both the Magistrates who sit in them and members of the public who have business there. It is gratifying to be able to report that the Council of Ministers have provided funds for the building of two sets of Magistrates' Courts in Lagos and for the Magistrates' Courts in Ebute Metta to be extended and modernised. The two blocks of Magistrates' Courts to be built in Lagos along Igboere Road will together accommodate eight courts. The general idea which I am investigating at the moment is to see to what extent it will be possible for us in the future to create a kind of court premises around the present buildings of the High Courts of Lagos and to see whether it would be feasible to build chambers that could be let out to lawyers and so facilitate the work of the courts and of the lawyers.

New courts. There is also an immediate need to provide extra court rooms for the use of the new judges of the High Court to be appointed shortly. As hon. Members are aware, the Court building which occupies a

Mr Afanideh : Whatever is the case, Sir, you will see that it has been discovered that the Minister of Finance has written off millions of pounds in the years 1950-60, that in the years ahead there will be nothing left to be written off. The Government and the Minister of Finance are, therefore, responsible for the losses and I think they do not deserve my praise in this matter.

I suggest that much care should be taken in future and stricter economy exercised in order to preserve the country's economic stability.

The next point I want to touch upon is the Niger Bridge. The project was approved last year and hon. Members praised the Government for the approval and I think the Eastern Members who come here suffer a lot of untold hardship to pass from Onitsha to Asaba. Therefore, it is very good that the Government should start the project as soon as possible because procrastination is—

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order. There are too many interruptions.

Mr Afanideh : And I urge the Minister of Works and Surveys to see to it that this important project is started without any further delay.

Another important thing I want to talk about is education. It is unnecessary for anybody in Nigeria to underestimate the importance of education. We thank the Federal Government for the proposal to establish inter-regional secondary schools which was contained in the programme last year, and I hope it will be better if some institutions could be established for our girls. Because girls are playing an important part in our social development. (*Interruptions*).

I would also like to thank our soldiers for their performances in the Congo, and I think if the Police in other Regions will render services as it is done in Lagos it will help us greatly. When we come to that stage about the Police, I shall have to speak on the attitude of some of our policemen (*Interruptions*). It is a pity that the Member of the Government whenever we want to expose them, begin to shout (*Prolonged Shouts*). We must be prepared to call a spade a spade.

Furthermore, Sir, I thank the Minister of Labour for the proposal to employ many of our boys, because the problems of poverty are not only abject penury, leading to vagrance and soliciting, but also unemployment, loss of employment due to the way certain hard pressed industries under-employ, and low standard of living arising from high cost of living. I wish the Government could establish these industries in rural areas and not confine and concentrate all the important projects in Lagos, Port Harcourt, Ibadan, Kaduna and other important towns. I hope the only thing that will make us feel the influence of this Government will be when the people of the rural areas get some kind of help given by the Government. That is when they establish industries in rural areas so as to give employment to our boys.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a pity that time does not permit me to continue my speech, but with these few remarks I beg to support.

M. Balarabe Tafawa Balewa (Bauchi Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to support the motion, and in doing so I would like to pay tribute to our able Minister of Finance for the excellent speech that he delivered last week and for the efficient way and manner in which he discharged the duties of the Federation within the last twelve months. (*Cheers*).

The Budget speech was really a masterpiece, because it left no stone unturned in the social services of the Federation. The speech embodied—

Mr Speaker : Order, order. In keeping with the appeal I made several times, I was expecting that the hon. Member might finish in five minutes, but at the rate at which interruptions are going on, I do not know whether it will be possible for him to do so, but I am appealing to him to try to do so.

M. Balarabe Tafawa Balewa : Mr Speaker, Sir, I am afraid I cannot confine my speech to the time given, so I just suppose I can keep my speech to the Committee Stage.

Mr H. O. Chuku (Bende Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the second reading of the Appropriation Bill, and in doing

had views expressed which will be a kind of light to guide my feet, and have had admonitions which will be of assistance to me, and I am grateful to all of you who have thought

whether the Military driver is taking the lorry away or not. Surely, you do not want a Military man to shoot me down (*Laughter*).

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so Sir, I have to associate myself with the previous speakers who paid deserving tribute to the Government and the Minister of Finance, Chief the hon. Okotie-Eboh.

Sir, we have been told the importance of industrialisation in this country and I feel the essence of industry is to create employment for our people and also to improve the standard of living and the general development of our national wealth. We have been told also of the plans of our Federal Government to establish industries, such as flour industry, Sugar industry, iron roll industry and salt industry.

There is no doubt, Sir, that this is a welcome news, but the Federation must be very careful in going into partnership with some foreign investors in some of our local industries. There are already too many newly established industries owned through partnership by the Government of the Federation and foreign investors. I shall suggest that in future, if there is any new industry which any of the Governments of the Federation considers necessary to establish in this country, but cannot do so on its own due to lack of technical know-how and finance, Government should endeavour to recruit the technical-know-how from overseas and pay them well, and borrow money from anywhere possible to establish such industries. This will not only enable the Government to have full control of the industry, but also help to eliminate to a certain extent unnecessary and undue external influence in the running of such an industry. If our Government continues to allow the policy of partnership to exist in most of our essential industries, I am afraid, Sir, that we shall live to regret the repercussions in the very near future.

The Commercial activities of some of the foreign firms in this country leave much to be desired. Some of them have a funny way of evading the payment of their income tax, mostly the Syrians and Lebanese firms. The Syrians might have only one Nigerian in their shop. This boy will do the work of the cook, the steward, messenger, shopping clerk and mail runner and he will be paid the salary of a shop boy. But when they make their income tax declaration, they state in their declaration the salaries of shop boy, Accountant, Messenger, Office Clerk, Cook, Steward, Shop clerk and so on and so forth.

Some hon. Members : Whereas they do not exist.

Mr Deputy Speaker : Order, order, I believe the hon. Member may not have forgotten so easily the appeal I made to his predecessors. I do hope he will be able to keep to time and be brief.

Mr Chuku : Mr Speaker, the time has come when the Federal Government must do something to stop this evil practice which if allowed will greatly affect the revenue of this nation. The Minister of Finance stressed the necessity for agriculture in his speech. We must all agree that it is the livewire of any nation. But unfortunately, Sir, this is a regional subject which may not be debated on the floor of this House. But there are other ways in which the Federal Government can help the Regional Governments which have taken bold steps in agricultural development.

The Minister of Finance also urged in his speech the Members to encourage their constituencies to make some savings in the banks. I agree with him, but this encouragement must not be one-way traffic. If we must encourage our people to make savings in the banks, the Federal Government must also encourage our people to enjoy all the financial facilities from the Federal Government, such as grants of loans to the people from our constituencies, where the applicants are considered credit-worthy.

You might be surprised to hear that some of these banks you are asking us to patronise will not grant our people any credit facilities, even where the people are credit worthy. But rather they will prefer to recognise an expatriate who may not have even a penny in the bank. There are so many ways in which the Federal Government can help the Regional Governments—one of them is by the granting of loans. We are aware that good roads, electricity and telecommunications are very essential for agricultural industries. I wish, therefore, to request the Federal Government to take over some Trunk B roads from the Regional Governments particularly the Eastern Region which has already spent so much on agricultural development.

The Deputy Speaker : Order, order, it is now 5 o'clock and it is my intention to call three more Members before it is 5.15.

[MINISTER OF FINANCE]
want to assure him that the type of exhibition of doctorate degree in economics as was seen lately in Nigeria by a man whom I know too well and who was a teacher in my college at a time when he was not even able to balance his budget—a man who cannot balance his own budget has no right to criticise the Budget of the Federation. The sooner you tell your economics friend to be quiet, the better for him.

Chief Akin Olugbade : (Egba South) : It is wrong for the hon. Minister of Finance to attack a person, who apart from the fact that he is not a member. . . . (Interruptions).

Mr Speaker : Order, order. Chief Akin Olugbade is out of order because he is speaking from another seat.

The Minister of Finance : Mr Speaker, Sir, this morning, Chief Awolowo talked about what he terms the "Trade Mission". I should like to point out that it is not a trade mission we are sending overseas, but an Economic Mission. I repeat, Sir, an Economic Mission. I admit that the promotion of trade will be one aspect of the work of the Mission, but there will be other equally important matters to be covered by the Mission. In the first place, we shall be seeking to make these important countries really aware of Nigeria, the Nigerian economic scene and the vast Nigerian potential in human and natural resources. We shall also be looking at these countries to see to what extent they will be able to contribute to the success of the tasks of development which confront us.

An hon. Member has also deplored the omission of the United Arab Republic from the list of countries to be visited by the all-Nigerian Economic Mission. I wish to emphasise that in selecting the countries to be visited by the Mission, the Federal Government has paid no regard to religion. As I have already explained, the countries have been selected on the basis of existing trade, the desirability of promoting new export markets, or the possibility of obtaining capital and technical assistance from them. Consideration is being given by the Government to a further Mission which will be directed towards countries in the African Continent, and I have no doubt that when the time comes, consideration will be given to the suggestions made by the hon. Member.

Now, Sir, on the subject of agricultural development, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, has quoted this morning from my own Budget Speech ; he has quoted from the Report of the Federation of British Industries Mission, he has quoted from the Ashby Commission ; he has quoted from Professor Lewis on the importance to Nigeria of agricultural development. I welcome these extensive quotations. But Sir, all that the hon. Leader of the Opposition has cited goes to reinforce point three of the ten-point plan for the financial and economic policies of Independent Nigeria, which I laid before the House a year ago. Point three committed the Federal Government to giving, and here I quote—"every support to increase agricultural production".

I have listened with great interest to Chief Awolowo's suggestion that we should form an Agricultural Finance Corporation. This is obviously a proposal worthy of examination, but we must not forget that under our present constitution agriculture, save for certain of its research aspects, is an entirely residual subject. I think Chief Awolowo will remember that this is part and parcel of the constitution which he helped to create. It seems to me to be a little late in the day for him to suggest that the Federal Government should now assume the general responsibilities of the Regional Governments for agriculture. Be that as it may, we in the Federal Government will do all that lies within our power to support the promotion of agriculture.

I can point immediately to the Niger Dam Scheme, which we believe will open up vast and exciting possibilities for the development of agriculture. We also propose to play our part to the full in the promotion of the Sugar Cane Industry in Nigeria. It is also my hope that in our discussions with international financial and other aid institutions, we shall be able to find some means of providing external assistance to help the Regions discharge their agricultural responsibilities.

Chief Awolowo has also drawn attention to the need to promote industries which process local agricultural produce. Here again, I have listened to him with great interest. This is indeed a form of development which all Governments are anxious to assist. We

the hon. Member who has just intervened can never be appointed the Minister of Finance. Certainly my hon Friends on this side and on that side are not going to support a Tshombe—

of the Minister concerned, to make a categorical statement on matters relating to the organisation or introduction of industries in any particular area; it is also in the best interests of our nation to congratulate the Bornu

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in the Federal Government are doing what we can to promote local investment in industries for the manufacture of local milk, butter and cheese, in tanneries, in groundnut milling and in tyre and tube industries which will process locally grown rubber. I agree that initially the flour mill will process imported wheat, but in the long run it is our firm resolve that if at all feasible the mill should process locally grown wheat. I understand that in the Northern Region there are plans for an expansive irrigation scheme for the growing of wheat, especially in Sokoto, Katsina, Kano and Bornu.

Now, Sir, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has spoken of the need to ensure the National Economic Council becoming a more high-powered body. I would like to remind the House that while the Economic Council is a Ministerial level body, there is nothing to say which particular Ministers should represent their Governments. If Regional Premiers so wish there is nothing to prevent their attending meetings of the National Economic Council. It seems to me, Sir, that the matter lies very much in their hands.

Sir, turning to the small savings, my hon. Friend Mr Dosunmu of Isalegangan belittled the efforts which the Federal Government is making to encourage small savings. First of all I want to repeat that during this meeting the hon. Minister of Labour will be introducing a Bill for setting up a National Provident Fund. We hope the Fund will begin to operate on the 1st of October—the anniversary of our freedom. This will constitute a major way of mobilising savings of the working classes, apart from providing them with a very real measure of social security.

I must also refer to the continuing efforts which the hon. Minister of Communications and I are making for improving Post Office Savings Bank amenities. The only portion of our savings plan not yet in operation is the issue of National Savings Certificates or Bonds. In the last few days, however, I have heard that encouraging progress is being made in securing expert assistance for setting up the scheme. It is my earnest hope that we shall have it in operation by the time I introduce my next Budget Speech.

There have also been suggestions that the working man is very little interested in the Stock Exchange and Treasury Bills. This is true

up to a point, but it is up to us to ensure that investment facilities are available for institutions for firms, for co-operative societies, for the banks and for people of all classes, and often, though they themselves do not realise it, the accumulated savings of the masses are reflected in investment by banks and other institutions.

The issue of Treasury Bills has been criticised on the grounds that this is feathering the nests of the rich. But what do the hon. Members who make these criticisms have to offer as an alteration? Do they wish us to continue in the old Colonial ways where Nigerian institutions with temporary surplus funds had to remit them to London for short-term investment to the benefit of the London money market? The fact is that bodies of all sorts in Nigeria have funds temporarily surplus to their immediate requirements and they naturally seek an outlet for their investment. What is better than to provide a Nigerian outlet which, as I said in my Budget Speech, offers considerable advantages to the Government of the Federation?

As regards the Stock Exchange, it is my hope that we shall see in the long term a general broadening of the interest of Nigerians of all classes in investment. In the developed countries in recent years there has been a great expansion of investment by ordinary men and women through the medium of such devices as unit trusts. This is a development which I think we should encourage here in Nigeria, though it is not something which will happen overnight.

Now, Sir, on External Loans and Assistance. Some hon. Members, particularly Mr Dosunmu, have made out that I am still the "Loans Minister". This is very surprising for I cannot believe that any fair-minded person studying my speech could come to any other conclusion than that I have laid the greatest possible stress upon the mobilisation of Nigerian domestic resources. Foreign investment, I agree, has its place, but as I said in my speech, the main effort must come from us. We seek external aid only when we have satisfied ourselves that we have mobilised to the full all available local resources.

I sympathise with the points which have been made about tied loans. There is, however, no dodging the facts of the situation. As I have

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made and Question proposed, That this House do now adjourn.—(The Minister of Transport and Aviation).

THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

Dr Kalu Ezera (Bende East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, the issue I would like to raise on this Motion for Adjournment is the concern over our national anthem. By concern, I mean the widespread disrespect which is shown to the national anthem especially when it is sung in most public houses. As Members are well aware, at the end of a cinema show, when the national anthem is sung one finds many Nigerians and aliens walking in defiance of the national anthem.

We must remember, Sir, that the national anthem is the soul, the symbolic soul, of a nation and, in most civilised and independent countries when the national anthem is sung, people clasp their hands on their chest and show respect to the anthem. I would, therefore, urge that something be done so that we show the due respect which our national anthem deserves and which is befitting to a great nation.

I would also like the Minister of Internal Affairs, to make a statement on this issue.

The Minister of Internal Affairs (Alhaji the hon. Usman Sarki) : Mr Speaker, Sir, the Government has not up to date had their attention drawn to any marked measure of disrespect being shown to the national anthem by people within Nigeria, and if the disrespect is as wide-spread as the hon. Dr Ezera has suggested, then it may well be that there is some cause for taking steps in the matter.

There are, of course, a large number of aliens coming to the country, who may not recognise the national anthem, and I will ask cinema proprietors and others concerned to indicate by general notice at what stage of the entertainment the national anthem will be played. I believe a similar situation arose some time in the Republic of Ireland, where legislation was introduced, making it an offence to show disrespect to the national anthem.

We have taken steps to protect the national flag, coat of arms and the royal coat of arms, and I would have no hesitation, if it were necessary, to propose that similar legislation be passed for the protection of the national anthem.

I deeply regret that, from the terms of the question, it appears that Nigerians themselves are not innocent in this matter. We have come a long way over the last five years and one of the milestones in our history is our national anthem. These milestones were not reached easily, but after great endeavour and self-sacrifice on the part of many Nigerians. Though our independence came smoothly, it was not won smoothly and the outward marks of our independence, those things that proclaim us to be an independent nation such as the national anthem, must be, and will be, protected.

I will take steps now to investigate how widespread this form of misbehaviour is. A feeling of respect should spring from the heart of man and not be enforced by legislation, but if it is necessary to preserve our national anthem and the outward evidence of our nationhood from acts of disrespect, then such legislation must be introduced.

Chief Ayo Rosiji (Egba East) : Mr Speaker, Sir, on this matter of the national anthem, I would like to support Dr Ezera that quite often people do not do as they should do when the national anthem is being played, but I would like to disagree that it is intended as a matter of disrespect. I think it all arose out of ignorance. When we had the British national anthem people walked away in the same way and for the reason that it was a foreign style. I think that what is required is that the people should be told more about the national anthem. There should be further education. Let it be announced on the radio what people are supposed to do when the national anthem is played. I think that by so doing we will get the people to respect the national anthem the way they should do.

It is not by legislation.

I do not believe that it should be done by legislation, but by educating the people. Once the people know what it stands for, once they know that it is the dignity of themselves and of their country, I think they will react properly.

Mr F. C. Ogbalu (Awka North): Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to make a concrete suggestion with regard to our national anthem. I feel that if the N.B.C. could be asked to give instructions to the public about the import of the national anthem, that would be very useful. I am in support of what the hon. Chief Rosiji has said, that most of the disrespect shown is due to ignorance. In the schools we try to make the children understand the fact that they have to stand at attention and so on when the national anthem is being played, but it is different to get at the ordinary man in the street. So I think that if the N.B.C. and the Government organs and the Press could be used, our people will certainly show respect to the national anthem since the objection to it has more or less subsided.

So I beg to support.

Mr S. A. Babatunde (Ilorin Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support everything that has been said about this national anthem but my observation is that we ourselves in this country did much evil to this national anthem when it was being introduced. It is very hard to clean something which one has soiled. People criticised it to the extent that if the Committee charged with the selection of the national anthem had not had a stout heart they would have changed it to another thing. But now everyone is singing it. Therefore, I support the idea that the N.B.C. should broadcast it and let people know that it means much more than just singing it.

The Minister of Internal Affairs (Hon. M. Usman Sarki, Sardaunan Bida): Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not know what Members are worried about. I say I will have the case investigated—*(Interruption)*

Mr Speaker: Order, order. Surely we must listen to the Minister.

The Minister of Internal Affairs: I will have the case investigated—*(Interruption)*

Mr Speaker: Order. I do not usually allow a challenge to my decision.

The Minister of Internal Affairs: I was saying, Mr Speaker, that I would like to go through that again and find out exactly what is required. If it is education of the public

which will be necessary for them to respect our national anthem, I will certainly find ways and means whereby this will be done. If any legislation is necessary I will not hesitate to bring it to this House

SECURITY OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH DATA

Dr P. U. Okeke (Onitsha North Central): Mr Speaker, Sir, I want to raise a matter which is fundamental to the economic development of this country. Rumours are spreading that a group of economists from the Ford Foundation planted in the Ministry of Economic Planning are passing some vital economic research information to our expert economist, Dr S. A. Aluko.

I know Dr Aluko quite well, he is a good friend of mine. The point is that when such facts are passed to such a formidable writer, whose writings are not always in the best interests of the Federal Government and certain Regional Governments, he may use them the way he thinks fit. And furthermore, if such economists doing research work could pass such information to such a man, by the same token they might pass it to somebody else outside Nigeria.

So in the first place, if this rumour is founded, I want the Minister to make a statement. If the rumour is not founded, I apologise promptly to Dr Aluko and the economists—*(Interruption)*.

Mr M. B. Affanideh (Ikot Ekpene South): On a point of Order, Mr Speaker, I think it is improper for the hon. Member to be attacking somebody who is not on the Floor of this House to defend himself. Also he has said that he is basing his allegation merely on rumours. He should bring facts and figures and not bring rumours to this House.

Mr Speaker: Order, order. It is true that the hon. Member is basing his argument upon rumours, but at the same time we might allow some latitude for the statement by the Minister.

Dr Okeke: I have another point to make, Sir. We are all clamouring for non-Nigerian Permanent Secretaries to leave our Ministries, and now I would also want the Minister to make a statement whether it is advisable for such economists from foreign countries to be planted in any of the Ministries. They are

[DR OKEKE]

doing vital work for this country, I agree, but they may do it outside. And if they will associate with their ilk in this country and outside to pass vital secret information, well it is a matter for the Minister to make a statement on.

The Minister of Economic Development (Hon. J. C. Obande): Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not aware that information on planning research has been passed to Dr Aluko by the economists from the Ford Foundation working in the planning organisation in my Ministry.

As regards the second question, as hon. Members are aware the team of Ford Foundation economists are on loan to my Ministry at

the request of the National Economic Council to strengthen the executive capacity of the planning organisation working on future planning targets. These experienced men are giving devoted service to this task as well as assisting in the training of Nigerian economists working with them.

I will, of course, always be willing to investigate any specific allegation which the hon. Member may wish to place before me.

Mr Speaker : Order, order. It is now six o'clock, and pursuant to Standing Order 4 (7) the House stands adjourned till tomorrow.

Adjourned accordingly at six o'clock.