

MR

PRIME

MINISTER

A selection of speeches made by Alhaji the Right Honourable Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, K.B.E. M.P., Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.



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Foreword

This collection of selected speeches of the Prime Minister, Alhaji the Right Honourable Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa needs no introduction because it eloquently speaks for itself.

It was felt that these speeches contain so much of the philosophy of Sir Abubakar as a politician, as a statesman and, above all, as a Nigerian, that it would be a great loss for the country, for Africa, and for the world at large, if they were not assembled together for easy reference.

I therefore consider it desirable to publish during this final year of Nigeria's first post-Independence Government, a brochure containing some of the more important speeches made by our Prime Minister since his elevation to his high office in 1957.

This has not been an easy period for Nigeria, nor for Sir Abubakar as Head of the Government, whose responsibility it has been to give life and meaning to the various thoughts and aspirations of the millions of people who inhabit this vast country. Emerging from a dependent to an Independent State, Nigeria has had to find her feet, as well as to declare her stand on many of the social, political and economic questions, both national and international, with which all new and developing countries are usually confronted.

Fortunately for Nigeria, the period has produced, in Sir Abubakar, not only a leader of his people, but their veritable spokesman on world affairs. His stand on such vital questions as apartheid, white supremacy—particularly in Southern Rhodesia—African Unity, South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth, and the European Economic Community, has earned for him and for Nigeria not only the respect of the rest of the world, but also the gratitude of millions of oppressed and underdeveloped peoples everywhere.

Although MR PRIME MINISTER contains mainly the speeches made by Sir Abubakar during his tenure of office as the first Head of Government of an Independent Nigeria, it also contains a few speeches which he made as the Second Member for the Northern Provinces in the Old Legislative Council in 1949, as well as some of those he made as the Central Minister of Works and of Transport, in 1952 and in 1955 respectively. It is interesting to observe that in all these speeches, Sir Abubakar has maintained a dignified consistency which is rare in most contemporary politicians and in political life generally.

A brief chapter has also been included and devoted to TRIBUTES paid to Sir Abubakar in appreciation of his services to his country and to the cause of African Unity and of world peace.

I commend this brochure to all students of Nigerian affairs, and I hope it will find an honourable place in all school and public libraries, both here and abroad, as well as in many private homes.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF T. O. S. BENSON, M.P.
Federal Minister of Information.

Lagos, 1964.



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THE LAST STAGE

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

This is a great day for Nigeria. It marks the beginning of the last stage of our march towards independence and all of us who are here today should be thankful to Almighty God who has given us the opportunity to witness the events of this most memorable time.

The next three years will see the culmination of a process which has been gathering momentum year by year ever since a part of what is now Nigeria first became a British Colony, ninety-six years ago. Many things have happened between 1861, the year of the annexation of Lagos, and 1957, the year in which two Regions in the Federation have been granted self-government and in which the independence of the Federation itself looms large upon the horizon. We have travelled a long way and we can congratulate ourselves that after thirty-four years of being associated with what I may loosely call a form of Parliamentary Government, we, the people of Nigeria, have reached the stages we have today. The old Nigeria Council which was established in 1923, and which survived up to 1951, though under the new name of Legislative Council, could well be regarded as the foundation of this, our House of Representatives. We should therefore express our thanks to those eminent Nigerians, dead and living, who played so great a part in that Council and who thereby made possible the important political advance which we are witnessing today. It was in 1952 that Nigerians were appointed Ministers and so for the first time in history, Nigerian politicians became directly associated with the formulation of Government policy. Then in 1954, as a result of the constitutional discussions of 1953, Nigerian Ministers were charged with both collective and individual responsibilities over departments and other Government bodies. But to me the most important result of the constitutional changes

Delivered in Parliament in September, 1957.

to create a balanced and, as far as is humanly possible, a self-sufficient economy.

Mr Speaker, I should like, on this historic occasion, to pay warm tribute to British statesmanship, which has granted to Nigeria the opportunity which we are celebrating today. Our association with the people of the United Kingdom has been a happy one and there has always been tremendous goodwill on both sides. Their system of democratic government has now become part of our own heritage and we should be wise to maintain our institutions on the British model, though, by this I do not mean that we should not make readjustments here and there to suite the peculiar circumstances of our country.

Nigeria's economy has been closely linked with that of the United Kingdom, and we intend to strengthen that link to the advantage of both countries. After independence, we shall continue to look first to Britain to supply those technical officers whose services we need so much. We are indeed grateful to the United Kingdom for many things, and it is our desire that our association shall continue even closer than now.

I now want to express our hearty thanks to all members of the Federal Public Service and our appreciation of the work they are doing. The stage the country has reached today has been brought about to a great extent by their sincere and loyal efforts, and no country in the world could expect to be served better than we have been. We all know that constant political changes must be a big strain on members of the Civil Service and that some officers may not find the new changes palatable, but I must emphasize that Nigeria has now taken this bold step forward and there is no question of going back so that on more than ever we must have the loyalty of all, be they local staff or expatriate, in helping us to make a success of this last stage before self-government is achieved. **I should like to reassure all our overseas staff of our sincerity in the pledges we have given, and to say to them that they need have no fears about their position under the new order.**

Nigeria also owes a debt of gratitude to all those non-Nigerian African Civil Servants from what is now Ghana, from Sierra Leone and from the West Indies, who have contributed so much to our success and progress.

Many other classes of people have served Nigeria well. I would particularly like to refer to the Christian Missionaries of all denominations who have done so much to encourage the development of our country. They have the distinction of being the first in the field in spreading Western education and providing our peoples with modern medical facilities. We greatly admire their efforts and we shall continue to be grateful to them for all that they are doing. Many of them are working in very remote places caring for the sick and suffering and I

want to assure them that Nigeria will never forget the work that they have done and are still doing.

Yet another group of people to whom Nigeria owes a great deal are the commercial firms and those employed by them who have helped to build up our economy to what it is today. Many of them have sunk big sums of money in a variety of undertakings and they have thereby provided a large number of our people with employment and with the type of training which we so badly need for the future. We thank them for what they are doing and we ask them to continue to do more and if possible to increase the training facilities already provided both in technical and in managerial skills.

But, Mr Speaker, having paid tribute to those who have helped us in the past and to those who are still assisting us today, I must return to my main theme. **The future of this vast country of Nigeria must depend in the main on the efforts of ourselves to help ourselves. This we cannot do if we are not working together in unity. Indeed, unity today is our greatest concern and it is the duty of everyone of us to work to strengthen it. Bitterness due to political differences will carry Nigeria nowhere and I appeal to all political leaders throughout the country to try to control their party extremists. Nigeria is large enough to accommodate us all in spite of our political differences. It is my hope that this House will give a lead to the country. It would, I know, promote unity if Members, would refrain as much as possible from criticising on the floor of this House, the activities of the Regional Governments. Those Governments no doubt get ample criticism in their own Houses of Assembly and there is no need for us to add to it.**

Mr Speaker, the eyes of the world are now upon us. We have many friends and well-wishers, but let us not forget that we have also enemies and that while our friends will delight in our success, our enemies would rejoice at our failure. Some time ago, I said in this House that Nigeria can exert a great influence in the affairs of the world if she is united, and none, if she is not. This country has a great future, and if we are careful to keep the goodwill of our friends and well-wishers, Nigeria will one day rank among the most powerful states in the world.

Mr Speaker, God has willed that those of us who are here today are those to whom destiny had entrusted the work of seeing the country through the last stages before independence. This is an exciting time for all of us and at a time like this we must all turn our minds to God Almighty and seek His guidance and assistance. Let us not be selfish, but let us try to do only what is right for the thirty-three million inhabitants of this country who now expect us to guide them. I am certain that we can do so and, by the grace of God, we shall succeed.

FIRST PRIME MINISTER

This has been a great day for Nigeria, and, as the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, I am proud to speak to my fellow-countrymen tonight. I am proud, and I am humble, too, when I think of the enormous responsibility which has been placed upon me, and my colleagues.

Today, we have set out on the last stage of our journey to Independence, and the next three years will see the culmination of a process which has been gathering momentum year by year, and will see us reaping the harvest of what we have sown. The success of the harvest will depend upon us, and that is why I am glad to speak to you tonight. Everyone of us has his part to play in the work of preparing Nigeria for Independence on the 2nd of April, 1960. I want everyone in Nigeria to realise that this is no easy task, and it cannot be performed by the Federal and Regional Ministers and legislators alone. It is a task for everyone of you because it is only by the personal effort of each individual that Independence for the Federation can become a reality in 1960.

We have declared our intention of attaining Independence for the Federation on the 2nd of April, 1960, and if we wish to take our place among the responsible nations of the world, we must make every effort to see that this aim is achieved, and achieved with an international reputation for good internal government.

Nigeria has now reached a critical stage in her history. We must seize the opportunity which has been offered to us to show that we are able to manage our own affairs properly. Every Nigerian, whatever his status, and whatever his religion, has his or her share to contribute to this crucial task. **I appeal to all my countrymen and women to cooperate with me and my colleagues to create a better understanding among our peoples, to establish mutual respect, and trust, among all our tribal groups, and to unite in working together for the common cause, the cause for which no sacrifice will be too great.**

I am convinced, and I want you also to be convinced, that the future of this vast country must depend, in the main, on the efforts of ourselves to help ourselves. This we cannot do if we do not work together in unity. Indeed, unity today is our greatest concern, and it is the duty of everyone of us to work so that we may strengthen it. This morning I said in the House of Representatives that bitterness due to political differences would carry Nigeria nowhere, and I appealed to the political leaders throughout the country to control their party extremists. To you who are listening tonight I repeat that appeal—Let us put away bitterness and go forward in friendship to Independence.

To further this overriding need for unity, my colleagues in the Council of Ministers and I have decided to give the country a lead by inviting the leaders of the Action Group to form with

us a truly National Government composed of members of the main parties in the country, and here I must pay tribute to Dr Azikiwe, to Chief Awolowo, Dr Endeley and to the leader of my own party, the Sardauna of Sokoto, for supporting me in this decision. I and my colleagues of the N.C.N.C. and N.P.C. hold out our hands in welcome to the Action Group members of the Council and I promise you that we shall do our utmost to ensure that the deliberations of the Council are held in an atmosphere devoid of strife and narrow party prejudice.

And now I would like to say a word to the civil service. We are grateful to all the civil servants, through whose work the country has reached the present stage of political development. I know that every constitutional advance puts a great strain on the civil service. Not only is there additional work to be done, but some officers find it hard to accept the new changes, but I must emphasise that Nigeria has today taken another important step forward, and if we are to succeed we must have the loyalty of all Nigerian and expatriate officers in this vital period before self-government is achieved. I should like to reassure all our expatriate staff of our continued sincerity in the pledges given over the last few years and to promise them that they need have no fears about their future. Their aim and our aim remains what it has always been—the welfare and prosperity of Nigeria. Our political advance will be of no value if it is not supported by economic progress. It is therefore most important that the development plans throughout the country should be carried out with vigour in order that we may have a proper financial standing when, in three years' time, we ask the world to regard us as an independent self-governing nation.

I would like to remind you of what a great American once said. It was this, **'United we stand, divided we fall'**. This statement is as true for Nigeria today as it has been for any other country. The peoples of Nigeria must be united to enable this country to play a full part in shaping the destiny of mankind. **On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardise the peace of the thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria.** It is the duty of all of us to work for unity and encourage members of all our communities to live together in peace and harmony. The way to do this is to create understanding, mutual respect and trust. It is important that we should first show respect to each other before asking the world to respect us.

Well—it is time for me to wish you good night, but first I would once more tell you how absolutely vital it is for your future and the future Nigeria which your children will inherit that, during this interim period before Independence, we should be united. Let us be honest with ourselves, and let us be sincere—we know what we want, and we are sure that we can get it, and get it at the right time, provided we are not delayed by selfish quarrels. At a time like this, we must all turn our

minds to Almighty God and seek His guidance and assistance—by His grace, we shall succeed.

COUNTING THE COST

Mr Speaker, Sir,

I beg to move that :

A Bill entitled 'A Bill for an Ordinance to make Supplementary Provision for the Service of the Federation of Nigeria for the year ending on the Thirty-First day of March, one thousand, nine hundred and fifty-eight, additionally to that made by the Appropriation (1957-58) Ordinance, 1957', be read a second time.

This, Sir, is not a full Budget Debate; and the Estimates before the House are Supplementary Estimates rather than Annual Estimates. Nevertheless, **this Bill marks a vital step forward in Nigeria's evolution in that this is the first occasion on which an elected Minister is presenting a financial measure on behalf of a fully representative Federal Government.** I naturally take pride in this manifestation of the advances that have been achieved as a result of the recent Constitutional Conference in London, and I look forward to next March, when the Annual Budget of the Federation will, for the first time, have been prepared under the personal supervision of the Federal Minister of Finance.

I think I should make clear now that I do not intend to indulge in the usual Budget Speech Marathon. As I have said, this is not a Budget in the true sense, but is rather an occasion for presenting to the House additional expenditure proposals which the Government feels are both urgent and capable of being financed in the light of the latest assessment of our revenue position. Many of the proposals are such as would in the past have gone to the Standing Committee on Finance. It has, however, become increasingly apparent that proper control over Government expenditure can not be retained if modifications to the Estimates are made piecemeal at frequent intervals in the course of the year. Nor does such a procedure give the House an opportunity for full and public debate, as is the case with the Annual Estimates. The Government has therefore decided to present Supplementary Estimates part-way through the year and this is the first of what I hope will become an annual occurrence.

This is not to say that the need for a Finance Committee will disappear. Occasions are bound to arise when it will be necessary to call a meeting of the Committee. Generally speaking, however, we shall try to include as much as we can in the Supplementary Estimates, so that the House as a whole can be fully aware of all our proposals and given the opportunity to debate them.

Introducing the 1957 Supplementary Appropriation Bill in the House of Representatives on September 4, 1957.



Congratulations by the British Governor-General, Sir James Robertson on his appointment as first Prime Minister of Nigeria



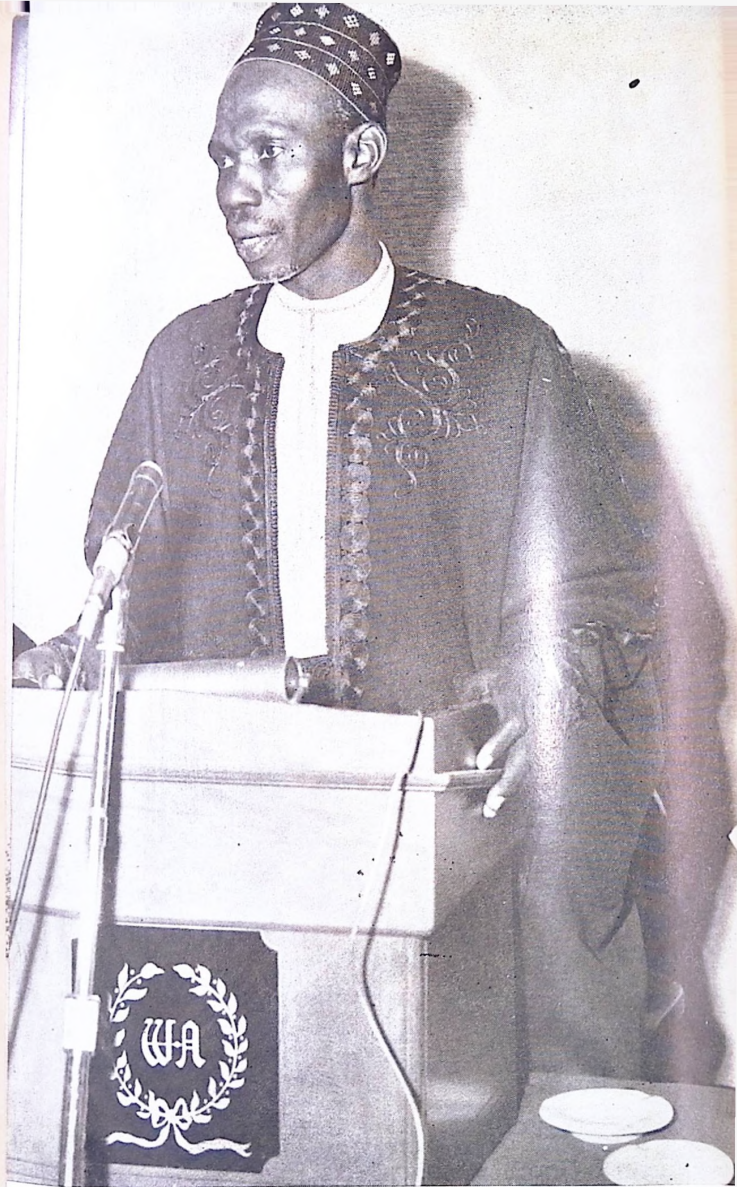
With President Sekou Toure of Guinea



With President Dwight D. Eisenhower of the United States during Sir Abubakar's visit to America: 1958

With Lord Akin Adeniji, then British Foreign Secretary, during Nigeria's admission as 99th Member of the U. N.





Addressing a press conference at the Waldorf Astoria in New York

There is one difficulty in presenting Supplementary Estimates at this time, namely that the accounts for the previous financial year will not be finally reconciled and closed until later this month. This delay is unfortunate, but arises from the fact that the Regional Governments make numerous and substantial payments on behalf of the Federal Government during the course of the year and we cannot close our Accounts until we have received statements of these payments, checked them and debited them to the numerous sub-heads concerned.

Now, Sir, I shall not pretend to the House that the Supplementary Estimates which support this Bill are my own handiwork. We all know that the preparation of these Estimates which are now before the House was commenced in June. Nevertheless, Sir, these Estimates represent the collective policy of the Federal Government and I commend them as such to the House.

Now, Sir, before proceeding to comment in general terms upon the Supplementary Estimates of Expenditure, I must say something about our revised revenue prospects. Members will see from page two of the printed Supplementary Estimates that our latest estimate of the supplementary revenue which may be expected to be retained by the Federal Government during this financial year is just over a million and a half pounds more than was previously forecast. This increase is made up of several factors. Firstly, it now seems to us, after taking the best advice which we have available, that our fears regarding a drop in Import Duties may prove somewhat exaggerated. Our original assessment of the situation was based on the assumption that a drop in the volume and in the world prices of our principal export crops, particularly cocoa, would adversely affect the purchasing power of the consumer and cause a consequential falling off of imports. This reduction in purchasing power has not yet proved to be as serious as we thought, partly because development expenditure by both the Federal and Regional Governments has continued at a high level, and partly because the current year's crop prospects, both as regards volume and world prices, are more favourable than could be forecast six months ago.

The second major factor affecting our revenue figures is the revision of postal and telephone charges. As my Honourable colleague, the Minister of Communications and Aviation will be explaining in detail later on, the increased revenue which we hope to obtain from this source for the last six months or so of this financial year is approximately £344,000. There is also a self balancing reimbursement of £154,000 by the Military Authorities. In future, army works will be carried by the P.W.D. instead of by the army itself and the unexpended balance of monies previously paid over to the army has therefore been refunded to Revenue and is being paid into the Development Fund.

Turning now to recurrent expenditure, the proposals contained in these Supplementary Estimates require additional provision of nearly one million, four hundred thousand pounds; of this by far the largest

commitment is an increased contribution to Her Majesty's Government on account of military expenditure in Nigeria, which accounts for £555,000. Honourable Members may ask why so large a sum is required in addition to the £1,295,000 already provided in the Approved Estimates: the answer is that, while we knew that sizeable additional provision would be required, even when the Approved Estimates were being prepared, no agreement had been reached on the exact figure and so the estimate was left unchanged. The House is aware that ever since the West African Forces Conference in 1953, Nigeria has been assuming an increasing share of the cost of the Nigerian Military Forces. For instance, for 1955-56 our total contribution was £1,720,000. For 1956-57 we have agreed to contribute £1,750,000; and for 1957-58 the figure is £1,850,000 to which must be added £75,000 as our share of the cost of the Military Training School at Teshie, in Ghana.

In accordance with the understanding reached at the recent London Constitutional Conference, it is envisaged that control of the Nigerian Military Forces will pass from the United Kingdom Army Council to the Federal Government in the near future. With it will pass also the primary financial responsibility for their upkeep, although this will be impossible without continued assistance by the United Kingdom Government, on the lines of the diminishing annual grant foreshadowed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

It is my duty, therefore, to warn the House that the cost of our Military Forces, as reflected in the Defence Head of the Estimates, is likely to show a further increase when the Estimates for 1958-59 are presented, although it is to be hoped that by then negotiations with Her Majesty's Government regarding the size of the United Kingdom contribution towards their cost will have been satisfactorily concluded.

Apart from this increase in Defence expenditure, the Supplementary Estimates of Recurrent Expenditure contain no outstandingly large expenditure proposals, although the policy implications of most of the staff proposals are of first importance. When the House last met, it approved the creation of a Nigerianisation Office and many stern words of advice were offered to the incumbent of the post of Nigerianisation Officer. Well, Sir, I think that Honourable Members will agree, if they look at the draft proposals contained in this volume in front of us, that he has not been idle. Virtually all the staff proposals put forward arise from the Government's Nigerianisation Policy, and I feel sure the House will commend this clear manifestation of the Government's determination to accelerate the Nigerianisation of the Public Service. On the other hand, there is a wealth of difference between the creation of posts and the filling of them—particularly in the Research Department; and Members will no doubt be gratified to see that this problem too is being tackled by the creation of an Emergency Training Scheme in Science Subjects under Head 76, Other Services.

Before leaving the Recurrent Budget I should mention that the Estimates in the hands of Members had to be prepared too long ago

for them to reflect the recent Constitutional changes. They do not, for instance, provide for the Prime Minister's office, nor for the changes involved in the substitution of a Ministry of Finance for the Financial Secretary's Office. These needs are being taken care of by means of a Special Warrant and will be reported to the Standing Finance Committee or to this House at a later meeting. Members will see that a block sum of £40,000 is included on page 51 of the Supplementary Estimates for Ministerial and Departmental Re-organisation.

Now, Sir, as I said earlier, the total cost of all the proposals contained in the Supplementary Estimates of Recurrent Expenditure amounts to just under one million, four hundred thousand pounds. In addition to this, proposals amounting to £131,000 odd were approved by the Finance Committee in May: and since then the Financial Secretary, in accordance with the powers delegated to him by the Committee, has approved revotes of unspent provision from past years amounting to £160,000 odd.

Total supplementary provision since the Approved Estimates came into force on the 1st. of April amounts, in fact, to £1,681,000, which compares with the supplementary revenue figure of £1,505,000. The effect of these two increases is to reduce the estimated surplus for the year from £911,000 to £735,000. This I consider satisfactory, although it must be borne in mind that the Recurrent Budget has not yet had to bear the impact of the heavy loan service charges which will be inevitable as our capital resources diminish and we come to depend to an increasing extent, on loan finance for the implementation of our Economic Programme.

Turning now to the Supplementary Capital Estimates, these provide for further expenditure from the Development Fund this year of up to £3,300,000. Honourable Members will find these proposals fully explained in the Memorandum on blue paper at the very end of the Supplementary Estimates volume. This sum is additional to supplementary provision already approved by Finance Committee or by Resolution of this House of just over £2m., and of re-votes totalling £650,000. If, therefore, the House approves the proposals now included in the Supplementary Capital Estimates, the total of all the sum of capital expenditure approved this year is just under £35m., as compared with a total of just under £29m., included in the Approved Estimates.

While the House has to be asked to approve these fresh items of expenditure so that particular projects may proceed, I am afraid it is wishful thinking to imagine that we shall spend £34m., this year. Works are not proceeding as fast as we would wish. In fact, the latest estimate of expenditure under the Capital Budget last year is that it was only just over £12½m., as compared with our earlier estimate of nearly £167m. Obviously a major programme of development such as the Posts and Telegraphs, harbours or road programmes, can not be implemented at full speed right from the start. An enormous amount of planning and preparatory work has to be done, for instance, on architect-

tural plans and contract documents; and orders have to be placed for stores and equipment, some of which take a long time to come forward. These delays in getting the full Economic Programme under way offer no real saving of money, nor any satisfaction: they merely delay the time when works are completed and the full impact of the Economic Programme expenditure will be felt. As regards the financing of the Economic Programme, it has always been made clear to the House that it is, in a major measure, dependent on the obtaining of loans. As Members know, a Mission from the International Bank is due to arrive in Nigeria shortly and I hope that the Minister of Finance will have more to say on our loan prospects when introducing next year's Budget. In the meantime, I am glad to be able to inform the House that it is now clear, from figures which only become available after the Supplementary Estimates in the hands of Members had been printed, that the contributions available for the Development Fund from last year's revenue are considerably greater than previously estimated.

During the last meeting, the House resolved in effect that the surplus of Revenue for the year should be paid into the Development Fund which finances the Economic Programme in addition to the contributions specifically provided in the Recurrent Budget. At the time this year's Estimates were framed, it was thought that the surplus, plus the specific contributions, would amount to a total of £11 million being paid into the Fund. I am now glad to be able to inform the House that the latest estimates, and I emphasise that they are still estimates and not final figures, indicate that the total paid into the Fund in respect of last year may be somewhere about £16 million; that is £5 million more than was estimated earlier. Approximately half of this additional sum comes from the present estimate of Revenue for last year exceeding the earlier forecast and half from Expenditure being lower than was estimated. The increase in Revenue is a matter for rejoicing, but the shortfall for expenditure is largely due to the difficulties in filling staff vacancies and providing the services we planned and the country needs.

As I said earlier, Sir, I do not intend to make a Budget Speech on the classical pattern. This is not the time to make a review of the financial and economic state of the nation, which will more appropriately be undertaken next March when the first Annual Budget prepared by our all-elected Cabinet is presented to the House for approval. I would, however, wish here and now to refer to one comparatively minor point of procedure and seek the House's approval of a change in our system of financial control which will be of the greatest assistance in expediting our Capital expenditure programme. As I mentioned earlier, the Standing Committee on Finance has in the past authorised the Financial Secretary to re-vote money unspent in previous years but which is still required to complete works in progress or pay for goods on order. This has saved an enormous amount of time and trouble, and has been of the greatest assistance in expediting development.

I now propose one further innovation. It quite commonly happens that with long-term projects work starts slowly but then proceeds much faster than could have been anticipated when the Annual Estimates were framed; in consequence, the sum approved for the particular financial year proves insufficient. Now, as Honourable Members are well aware from their examination of our Capital Estimates, there is always a final Column headed 'Balance to Complete'. This represents the actual balance of funds expected to remain unspent at the end of the financial year within the original approved Estimate of total cost of the project. In future, I propose that the Minister of Finance should allow such sums to be brought forward from this column, provided that a balance still remains, in order to allow work in progress to continue uninterrupted. Like the powers exercised in respect of re-votes, no applications will be accepted unless they are within the estimated total cost approved by this House; and in all cases the action taken will be reported to the Standing Committee on Finance or the House itself at the first opportunity, and be subject in due course to scrutiny by the Public Accounts Committee. This arrangement will save much valuable time which would otherwise be wasted while waiting for a meeting of Finance Committee to take place, and a saving in public funds will be the result.

So much for the Supplementary Appropriation Bill as such. I have not attempted to enter into the details of the individual Supplementary Estimates, as this can most easily be done in answer to the points that Honourable Members will raise in the Committee of Supply. Before I close, however, there are two general statements which I consider it necessary to make at this important stage in our advance towards full self-government. I have already spoken to the House about both these points but they are so important that I shall repeat in different words what I said on Monday.

The first relates to the position of the public service now that the Establishments Branch of the former Chief Secretary's Office is to be placed within the Ministry of Finance. We have inherited valuable traditions unimpaired. **All political parties represented at the London Constitutional Conference were anxious to see that the civil service remained insulated from political pressures, and to that end a number of safeguards have been written into the Constitution, particularly in regard to the responsibility of the Governor-General and of the Public Service Commission in the matter of appointments, promotions and discipline.**

Nevertheless, Constitutions by themselves do not always engender the spirit of confidence and mutual trust which they have been designed to foster; in the last analysis, their success is determined by the manner in which they are operated by those who have to take the day-to-day decisions—civil servants and politicians alike. **I want to assure the public service that I and my brother Ministers are determined to operate the safeguards embodied in the Constitution both in**

the letter and in the spirit; there will be no favouritism and no political pressure aimed at deterring a civil servant from carrying out his duties faithfully and impartially. For its part, the service will, I am confident, continue to serve as loyally as it has done in the past, knowing that only in this way will it be possible to create the strong and independent Nigeria which is our goal.

The second general point which I wish to emphasise relates to the financial and economic stability of our country and, in particular, the confidence which investors can feel in our future. It is natural that in times of rapid constitutional advance there should be some who wonder whether the removal of the Financial Secretary from the Council of Ministers and from this House foreshadows a radical change in the manner in which we handle our finances. We here know that this is not so. The financial policy of the Government in recent years has been a collective policy; and in so far as it has commanded the confidence of investors and of the world at large, this is an earnest of our ability to govern ourselves rather than of the historical accident that the portfolio of finance has hitherto been held by an expatriate official.

Nevertheless, it is proper that I should, as the first Prime Minister of the Federation, declare categorically that the Government which I am proud to head is determined to maintain wise financial policies that will perpetuate the high reputation that this country enjoys in such matters; and that it will not lend itself to any measures that would have the effect of lessening the confidence of overseas investors and of our own people in our financial and economic stability.

With these few words, Mr Speaker, I beg to commend this Bill to the House.

RETROSPECT

Another year is now over—and all of us are now ready to enter the new one with fresh ideas and hopes.

There have been many good things but there have been misfortunes too. No doubt, each of us has had his personal sorrows, as well as his successes, and so it has been with Nigeria. As a country, we have had our successes, but we have also had to bear a national calamity in the railway disaster at Lalupon, just three months ago. While we pity those who lost their lives and those who were injured, we must at the same time learn to accept such events as inevitable in this modern age, and to be thankful that they occur infrequently.

If, on the one hand, we benefit from the advantages which science has brought to us, from the medical progress which has reduced suffering and lengthened many lives, from educational advances which are

enabling Nigeria to train more and more of our own people, and not least from the developments in trade and commerce which have brought higher standards of living, then, on the other hand, we must realise that all these benefits bring new problems and new dangers.

It is by solving the problems, by meeting the dangers, and by learning from our mistakes that we shall be able to face the future without fear. Yesterday's failures can become tomorrow's successes, if we are wise enough to adapt ourselves to new circumstances and to profit from the lessons of the past, however painful.

In the course of the past two years, we have welcomed very many distinguished visitors to Nigeria. These visits are significant because they demonstrate the growing importance of our country. The visit of Her Majesty The Queen is still fresh in our memories, and recently we have been privileged to welcome the Princess Royal. Her Royal Highness was in Nigeria for a few days only, but the interest which she took in our country and the sympathy which she showed redoubled our loyal and affectionate respect for the Queen and Her family, who truly set an example of devotion to duty which we should all try to copy. By delivering Gracious Messages from Her Majesty The Queen to the legislatures of two Regions, the Princess Royal emphasised the constitutional advance which Nigeria made in 1957; and the opening of the Teaching Hospital at Ibadan marked an equally important step in our march to nationhood.

All of you who are listening tonight will know about the constitutional conference, and you will know of our determination to achieve Independence in 1960. I think it is appropriate for me to talk to you about it tonight, because the start of a new year is a good time to review our plans and to make sure that we are aiming correctly at our target. We must look back over the past year and examine what we have done, and then, having seen the results of our actions, we shall better understand the present and can plan the future more confidently.

To my mind the most important lesson from the past is that only if we are united can we achieve our goal in the proper way. You know that I am always talking about this need for unity, but I shall never stop asking you to realise its overwhelming importance. The fact that I repeat my call for unity again and again does not mean that I think it is lacking now, but that I am convinced it is the life blood of our existence as an independent nation.

When a man's blood is pure and strong, he is healthy and happy, but he does not remain happy for long if he is wounded, or if his blood is poisoned by some infection. So it is with a nation: as long as we continue to co-operate, the country will enjoy good health, but in order to preserve that health, it is essential that all who are leaders should not only work together with courage and diligence but should also exercise patience and tolerance and foster mutual respect.

There are many paths leading to our goal and it is not necessary for us all to follow the same path, nor should we condemn those who do not agree that our own path is the best. We simply cannot afford to waste our energy like that, or to allow petty quarrels to distract our attention from the real task.

And remember we have a dual task in Nigeria. Besides creating a new nation, we have at the same time to develop our economic resources. In carrying out this two-fold task, we shall meet many difficulties and many disappointments; but if we are really sincere in our desire for a prosperous independent Nigeria, we must never tire or lose heart. By overcoming our difficulties, we shall gain wisdom and courage to endure the disappointments.

But so much depends upon ourselves and we are human; roads, and buildings are lifeless things which can be constructed well or badly according to the quality of the materials used and the skill of the builders, but with human beings it is different, and in constructing a nation it is not possible to choose only the best material, so the strength of the whole depends on the quality of the individuals, and that is why I say to you tonight that although nothing can stand in our way in our advance towards self-government, it is the positive contribution of each one of us which will determine the quality of the nation which emerges from our labours.

We must put away selfishness and insincerity, conceit and jealousy, and the corrupt practices which weaken our society, and we must work together in all matters affecting the future of our country. Above all, we must be honest with ourselves and be prepared to learn from our mistakes—it is no good blaming the British any more when things go wrong: those days are gone, and increased political responsibility means that if things do go wrong we must blame ourselves, because we shall have made the wrong decision.

And remember too that what we do is not just our private concern in Nigeria. The world is watching us, waiting to see whether we can rise to the occasion and emerge as a powerful nation capable of playing a worthy part in international affairs. If other nations see that through unity we have acquired stability, they will be prepared to accept us as a partner and to help us in developing our resources, and I assure you that we do need their help if we are to have a prosperous and well-ordered economy.

I have spoken to you tonight mainly about our national ambitions, but I would not close without reminding you that spiritual as well as physical strength is necessary if we are to fulfil our destiny. Much too often we hear talk only of rights, but there are duties and responsibilities too, although these are overlooked by many. In any country on the verge of independence there are to be found people who regard independence as freedom to do what they like, regardless of law, and regardless of the millions of ordinary innocent people who will

suffer from the selfish folly of the few. Some of these people may be misguided enthusiasts, but I fear that most of them stir up strife and work mischief for their personal gain. Nigeria can never have a happy future if we allow such people to influence us. Whatever our religion, let us pray for courage to follow the right course and for God's help in overcoming our difficulties.

Let us now go forward into the New Year, boldly and with a good heart, trusting in God, the All-merciful.

MINISTERIAL GOVERNMENT

Mr Speaker, I beg to move that a Bill for an Ordinance to provide for the transfer of Statutory Powers and Duties to Ministers, and to make Miscellaneous provision for the manner of exercise and signification of such functions be read a second time.

This Bill marks an important step in our constitutional advance. All of us in this House are familiar with the formidable volumes which contain the Laws of this country. The last revised edition of the Laws, carried out in 1948, ran to eleven volumes, and this total has been steadily increased by new Ordinances and amending Ordinances since that time. Inevitably, a great many of the older Ordinances do not conform in certain respects with our present constitutional position. In much of this legislation, powers are conferred on the Governor, now the Governor-General, to make regulations or rules or bye-laws, or to undertake various other statutory duties. Today, these statutory functions are in practice performed by His Excellency on the advice of his Ministers, and this accords, of course, with our constitutional development. This outmoded procedure imposes unnecessary work upon both His Excellency and the Council of Ministers. Accordingly, this Bill is intended to provide the means for the transfer of statutory functions to the different Ministers who have become responsible for them under the Constitution.

One way of dealing with this problem would have been to scrutinise and amend every Ordinance on our statute Book, but the task would have been a very lengthy one, and the House itself would have had to sacrifice a great deal of time to an interminable succession of amending Ordinances. Instead, the Federal Government has preferred to proceed by way of this enabling Bill. As the text makes clear, His Excellency in Council will, if the House approves the Bill, be in a position to effect these constitutional changes in our legislation as and when the need arises. Honourable Members will note, from Clause 2 (3) of the Bill, that safeguards are introduced for His Excellency's reserve powers and also for statutory powers and duties conferred by law upon judges, magistrates, and other officers concerned with the administration of justice.

Clause 3 enables the Minister, in his turn, to delegate powers and duties, if he wishes, to various Government officers, whether they are officers of his Ministry or officers of a department which falls within the Minister's portfolio. This again accords with our constitutional position. Perhaps this provision may raise doubts in the minds of some Honourable Members, and I hasten to give them full-reassurance. This is not the beginning of a new 'Civil Service dictatorship.' The Minister cannot delegate his power to make regulations or rules, but only certain functions which follow from those rules. To give the House an example—Under the terms of this Bill, if approved, my Honourable Friend, the Minister of Transport, could, by Order in Council, be made responsible for the registration of shipping in Lagos. If he is not given the power to delegate, he will find that he is personally obliged to measure all ships requiring registration and to calculate their tonnages. I am sure that no Honourable Member in this House would be so stone-hearted as to saddle a Member of the Government with a task of this kind!

Mr Speaker, I beg to move.

APPRECIATION

Motion That this House congratulates Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for their foresight in planning to establish a Commonwealth Relations Office in Lagos to maintain the link between Great Britain and the Federation of Nigeria after Independence, and endorses the action of the Federal Government of Nigeria in granting Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom land for that purpose.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I thank the Hon. Members who have supported this Motion because it will allow Government the opportunity to express the thanks of the Federal Government to the British Commonwealth Relations Office for this very good gesture on their part; firstly for sending a representative from the Commonwealth Relations Office to advise the Federal Government on external affairs; and secondly, Sir, for the encouragement which they have given us by indicating that they will soon establish a High Commissioner's Office in Lagos.

I would like to correct this. There appears, Sir, to be some misunderstanding over the office which is to be established in Lagos. It is not a Commonwealth Relations Office, it is a High Commissioner's Office. It is not an embassy at all; not an embassy in the sense that we may have a foreign country establishing its embassy here on Independence. We belong, all of us, to the Commonwealth, and we maintain High Commissioners' Offices in the different Commonwealth Countries.

Now, I did not think that Members would take so long in speaking to this Motion, but I would like to cross swords with my hon. Friend, Mr Jaja Wachuku, because he appeared to give the impression, Sir, that we, when we become independent, would regard the United Kingdom as a purely foreign country. Now we have this club which is called the British Commonwealth of Nations, and it is our wish that we will continue to remain in the British Commonwealth even on our independence. Also Sir, we on our part, do not believe that anyone in any Commonwealth Country will establish a High Commissioners' Office in Lagos in order to spy on the activities of a member Commonwealth Country. Not only that, Sir, this idea seems to be eating into the mind of my Hon. Friend, Mr Jaja Wachuku, that now in this age of inventions a very tiny machine could be invented and installed somewhere so that when, for instance, the Prime Minister sneezes, the machine will carry out the message. Well, this can happen even if the High Commissioner's Office is thousands of miles away. My hon. Friend also suspected, Sir, that the bit of land which the Federal Government has donated to the United Kingdom Government might be the one he saw while walking along the Marina. I must tell him it is that bit of land.

Now my Hon. Friend, Mr Fani-Kayode said that he heard that the Federal Government is not only donating the land but is also putting up the building free of charge. I would say yes we accepted to do both. We have given the land and we have also agreed to put up the building or to give some money worth a certain type of building standard. I think altogether we said we would be prepared to pay for a house which would cost not more than £40,000. Now, hon members will agree that it would be very good on the part of Nigeria to show the United Kingdom that we appreciate all that they have done for us.

I have no doubt, Sir, that all of us will make it more or less a duty upon ourselves and upon those who may come after us that Nigeria should never be considered, in any part of a friendly country, as ungenerous. This free gift of the land and the building is not a precedent in Nigeria; other British Colonial territories which have become independent have made similar gifts. We are more or less following suit. It is just a welcome sign and we hope that we shall build upon this good relationship which has existed between us and the United Kingdom even after our independence.

Now, my hon. Friend, Mr Jaja Wachuku has spoken of land given to embassies as belonging to the territories from where the embassies come. That is true in International Law. Now we are hoping that when we become independent some countries in the world might like to establish embassies in Nigeria and that will be in Lagos, and apart from our desire to build the new Parliament Buildings on the Victoria Island, we are also anxious that part of the Island will be reserved for future embassies. So we are thinking quite a way ahead, and I would not like the House to go away with the impression that by giving the British Government this piece of land for a High Commissioner's Office that we are inviting trouble upon our Apapa Wharf. That is not the case, and I would very much like to say that we are very grateful to the United Kingdom and to the Commonwealth Relations Office for assisting us in our arrangements for the final takeover, because I have no doubt that as we have been brought up by the United Kingdom, and as their system of foreign relations appears to be one of the best, we shall find a lot of encouragement in learning something out of it.

Now, Sir, my hon. Friend, Mr Dosunmu, spoke about this move on the part of the United Kingdom Government to give us independence, and said that we might be taken by surprise. Well, I would just say on this question of independence, and of our being taken by surprise, that we should all be very happy to be taken by surprise if we were granted independence before the date we fixed. (Hear, hear).

Once more, Sir, I would like to thank the hon. Mover of the Motion and to say that Government accepts this Motion. (Hear, hear).

PREPARING FOR INDEPENDENCE

THREE REQUISITES

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

In his speech, His Excellency referred briefly to three matters of close interest to the House, and, indeed, to our friends outside Nigeria who are watching our progress towards independence within the Commonwealth. In the community of nations, a sovereign state is often judged by the conduct of its foreign affairs, by its defence policy, and by its management of public order within its own boundaries. It is with these matters that I propose to deal today. Honourable Members are aware that these subjects fall within His Excellency's reserved powers under the provisions of the Constitution, but, as I shall make clear, the Government has throughout been intimately associated in the formulation of policy and our considerable progress since the Government was formed last September owes much to His Excellency's sympathetic and wise counsel.

After independence, Nigeria will largely be judged by the quality of its representation overseas, its diplomatic service. It is easy to say that Nigeria should only be represented by the best; it is rather more difficult to define what the best is. **In determining the qualifications for this new service, Government has three considerations in mind. First, the candidate should be well educated: secondly, he must be, or should be trained to be, a civil servant divorced from politics: and thirdly, he must acquire proficiency in languages. To this I should, of course, add those qualities of character and good manners expected of all members of the Service.** Our training has been based on these principles.

Recruitment of our Diplomatic Service began in November 1956, and 12 men were selected by the Public Service Commission. Four

Delivered in Parliament on the Speech From The Throne by the Governor-General: 20th February, 1958.

were drawn from the Public Service of the Federation, two from the Public Service of each of the three Regions, and one direct from Oxford University. Government decided that those recruits whose whole education had been entirely within Africa should spend a year at Oxford on a course especially designed by the University authorities to provide them with a wider background before starting practical work. This course is specifically planned for men intending to make a career in diplomacy and includes language studies. Four men are now undergoing this training which will finish in June. Of the remainder, seven have already had considerable experience of administration in Nigeria and are at present posted either to the Nigeria Office in London or to the Nigeria Liaison Office in the British Embassy at Washington. The London group also underwent a short course for young diplomats at the Foreign Office. In April, the men now in London will be attached to the British Embassies at the Hague, at Bonn and at Rio de Janeiro and also the British High Commissioner's Office in Canada, where they will gain experience in the field. Facilities for learning languages are provided at Oxford, London and Washington, at Government expense. The twelfth man who has recently graduated from Oxford is spending a year in the External Affairs branch of my office to gain experience at headquarters before proceeding overseas.

I have gone into this question of training in some detail in order to convince Honourable Members that the Federal Government has the training of our future diplomatic service very much at heart and has given much anxious thought to ensuring that Nigeria will be worthily represented. **I know that the House will recognise with me the great debt which we owe to the British Foreign Office and to the proud and ancient University of Oxford for their most willing help in fitting our young men for their new career.**

Turning now to the future—the Public Service Commission is at present engaged in selecting the next recruits for our Foreign Service who will, in their turn, undergo the training I have already described. Provided that the present rate of recruitment is maintained, and provided that our diplomats in training are found satisfactory in their posts, I hope that we shall have some forty officers either fully or partly trained by 1960 at the time when Nigeria achieves Independence.

I have not so far mentioned the two Pilgrim Offices maintained by Government at Khartoum and Jeddah which, although we can consider them as the nuclei of future embassies or consulates, are at present highly specialised in their responsibilities. I do not propose to discuss them today, but the House will be interested to hear that Alhaji Muhammad Ngileruma, a former Minister of the Northern Regional Government, has been appointed to take charge of the Khartoum office, while that of Jeddah is already administered by a Nigerian Administrative Officer.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the House will recall that the London Conference last year considered the future of the Armed Forces of Nigeria. The

Conference recommended that the United Kingdom Army Council should relinquish control of the Nigerian Military Forces on the first of April, 1958, with the corollary that the Federal Government should assume the primary financial responsibility for them. On his return to Lagos, the Governor-General took the further step of setting up a Defence Council on which Ministers of the Federal Government, the Regional Premiers and also the Leader of Government Business in the Southern Cameroons have seats. I know that the House will welcome this innovation which enables the Governments to be very closely associated with defence matters.

I consider it my duty to give the House some account of our progress since then.

I am happy to report that the transfer of our military forces from the control of the Army Council will take place on the 1st of April. The planning of the take-over, which has set some very difficult administrative problems, has already been satisfactorily completed. This, Sir, is a notable milestone on our road to Independence.

We must naturally expect to bear the financial burden of the cost of our Forces, but we have noted that the United Kingdom Government has undertaken to consider sympathetically the continuance of financial aid on a diminishing basis if a case were made out, perhaps during annual negotiations. My Honourable Friend, the Minister of Finance, expects to go to the United Kingdom in the early part of the next financial year to make out Nigeria's case.

In November, the first meeting of the Defence Council was held. Two of my ministerial colleagues and I took our places in this new Council along with the Premiers of the Northern and Western Regions, the Acting Premier of the Eastern Region and the Leader of Government Business in the Southern Cameroons. I can assure the House that the meeting was most valuable. From its deliberations and, from those of the others to come, I hope that there will spring out our future Forces, shaped according to our needs and our means.

The Federal Government has been faced with the inescapable fact that the Nigerian Military Forces will require overseas military officers until they can be replaced by Nigerians of the necessary training and experience. In order to retain British Army personnel to serve voluntarily with the Nigerian Military Forces in the transitional period which lies ahead, the Government has offered special gratuities to them, similar to those paid to British Army personnel serving with the Ghana Military Forces. The employment of military personnel on these secondment terms is expensive and I look to a reduction in the numbers so employed through the re-organisation which is now in hand. There are also other measures, with which I do not propose to trouble the House, but the most important of these is obviously the training of Nigerians.

Sir, I must confess my disappointment that there are only thirty-two Nigerian military officers out of a total of about 250.

The United Kingdom has given every facility for the officer—training of our young men, but the plain truth is that they have not so far come forward in the numbers and at the standard required. The terms and conditions of service offered today to the young Nigerian officers are more favourable in some respects than those of the civil service. I hope that our young men will volunteer more readily now that the Military Forces are to be our own. It is a portent, I hope, that nearly four times as many candidates sat the recent entrance examination as on any occasion previously. The Government is, however, most keenly aware that the rapid multiplication of the numbers of Nigerian Military officers is a task that has to be tackled most vigorously and, perhaps, in new ways once the Nigerian Military Forces come under local control.

The recent, improved, response to the call for officer candidates is partly the result of the military training which has been introduced into Secondary Schools through the establishment of Cadet Units. At least three further units will be established in 1958-59. There will then be a total of ten. I believe, Sir, that the House will be interested to learn that the Boys' Company of the Queen's Own Nigeria Regiment, originally designed to produce potential non-commissioned officers, is now producing excellent potential officers, material and good results have been achieved in entrance examinations for United Kingdom military training establishments.

The House will also welcome the Government's proposal to establish at Kaduna a Nigerian Military Training School, to be in operation in mid-1960. Much of the present training for the Nigerian Military Forces is undertaken at Teshie in Ghana. We believe that Nigeria, with the largest military forces of the Commonwealth countries in West Africa, needs its own school, particularly if the rate of Nigerianisation is to be greatly increased.

There will have to be changes to fit these forces to our new needs, but it would be ungrateful not to recognise that Nigeria is inheriting sound and efficient Military Forces along with the considerable military equipment issued to the various units.

Our Navy is, of course, on a much smaller scale than the Military Forces. Much of the preparatory work has, however, been completed. **A naval base at Apapa has been established in a remarkably short space of time, which is a credit to the enthusiasm of the officers and men concerned.** The first essential, the naval training school, is already in operation, and a deep water jetty and other base facilities have been planned and I hope that work will begin during 1958-59.

The Federal Government has given careful consideration to the further development of the Navy and has authorised the acquisition of two of the latest type of anti-submarine craft which will be equipped with all modern equipment. Training facilities have been offered by the British Admiralty. The Admiralty has also offered to make available

a senior Royal Navy officer to advise and guide the Nigerian Navy in the new naval phase on which we are now embarking.

And now, Sir, I wish to say something of the Nigeria Police. The re-organization of the Force, initiated by the Inspector-General, will be vigorously pursued in the coming year and will, I hope, result in closer supervision in the field—the lack of which has, in the past, been a frequent subject of complaint by Honourable Members. The expansion of the Force, including the Motor Transport Unit, is also progressing satisfactorily and is at the same time being accompanied by Nigerianisation. The House will be interested to learn that one Nigerian has been promoted to Assistant Commissioner, four to Senior Superintendent, and twenty-eight to Assistant Superintendent-on-trial. In addition to the scheme of direct entry for officer cadets at the Southern Police College, Ikeja, to which His Excellency referred, no less than eleven Nigerian officers and fifty-one Inspectors, N.C.O.s and Constables have completed, or are attending, various training courses in England. **All this reflects great credit on the Inspector-General and I know that the House will join me in wishing him well in his task.**

As with the Military Forces, His Excellency has set up an Advisory Council for the Nigeria Police so that Ministers are fully associated with the formulation of policy.

At the beginning of this speech, I mentioned the three standards of foreign affairs, defence and public order by which an independent state is commonly judged by other nations. I have already, in an earlier statement to the House, given an assurance that the Federal Government will do everything in its power to maintain order and to uphold the authority of the law. I trust that Honourable Members will now agree that in shaping our future foreign service and our armed forces Government has made sound progress to fit us for the heavy responsibilities which full sovereignty will bring.

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

FREEDOM TALKS

Tomorrow, I shall leave Nigeria for London to attend the Constitutional Conference. For the next few weeks most of my Colleagues in the Council of Ministers will also be away from the country, and during that time we shall be discussing and planning the future political shape of Nigeria. It will be a time of great interest and perhaps anxiety too for you who remain behind; it will also be a time when the attention of other countries will be focused on Nigeria and on the way in which the people of Nigeria are conducting their affairs. And that is primarily my reason for speaking to you to-night.

The delegates of the different political parties in London are all aware of the great importance of this particular Conference. In spite of their differences in political outlook the delegates have one common bond, a burning wish to see the Federation achieve independence in April 1960, and we know that the Government of the United Kingdom is prepared, indeed anxious, to grant this wish provided that we can reach agreement amongst ourselves. Indeed, we shall all be held to most strict account before history if we fail to do so. **I hope that we shall all of us regard ourselves as Nigerians first and put the interests of our respective parties second to those of the country which we have been elected to serve.**

In expressing this hope I am heartened when I look back on the record of the National Government of which I am the Prime Minister. Indeed, we have made great progress in laying the essential foundations for any State which claims to be sovereign. The National Government has already provided the nucleus of a Foreign Service which will be ready to man our overseas posts and represent us worthily. We have provided for the issue of a Nigerian Currency and have already set up the Central Bank of the Federation. Since April the 1st of this year we have also resumed responsibility for our Military Forces. **Diplomacy, Finance, Defence—these are three of the standards by which a Sovereign State is commonly judged by others and, in so far as these are concerned, we should be ready in 1960 to assume our privileges, and our responsibilities as a full member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.**

This evening, I do not propose to speak of the recent achievements of the National Government in its preparations and forward planning for Independence. You can ask, as you have every right to ask, what we of the National Government intend to seek in London. Our answer is simple. It can be defined in one short word—**freedom. Freedom is our birthright and we shall claim it.** It was precisely for this that I formed the National Government last year and it has been the very foundation of our thinking and of our labours ever since. From the beginning of history the word 'freedom' has struck fear in the hearts of dictators and today in those dark corners of the earth where freedom is unknown that word is still the one which rulers most dread and which they strive to eradicate from the minds of their people. **In London we shall demand freedom. We know we can obtain it if only we have the courage to rise above the selfish conflicts of party and sectional interests. Tonight, I dedicate myself to this one task—and I give you my solemn word, in so far as one man is able—I shall not rest until success is won.**

At the last Conference the political parties referred certain intractable questions to Commissions which have since published their Reports, and, of course, we shall consider them carefully in London. In a country such as ours with its broad diversity of race, religion and culture, we cannot expect that the recommendations of these Reports will please

everybody. Whatever the Conference may ultimately decide on them some people are bound to be disappointed and I trust that they will accept those decisions in the knowledge that their delegates will have taken them in the interests of Nigeria as a whole, after long and anxious study. I must ask for the prayers of all of you, whatever your religion, that we may be rightly guided in our deliberations on these difficult issues.

Earlier I spoke of three standards by which a sovereign state is judged in the court of world opinion. There is also a fourth standard—I mean public order. A nation is certain to be judged by the quality of its diplomacy, by its financial strength and military power, but these things, excellent though they may be, are not enough. **Nigeria will also be judged by the way it conducts its own affairs within its own borders—whether the law is upheld, whether the liberty of the individual is maintained, above all, whether the people can go about their lawful occasions in peace and safety.** During the time that the Conference is meeting in London you will, no doubt, hear rumours and read inaccurate reports about what we are doing or have decided. Just do not believe them. I recommend that all of you who are listening to me tonight should await the final Report of the Conference before making up your minds as to whether we have justified your confidence or not. Great publicity will certainly be given to the Conference in London but at the same time the eyes of the world will be on all of you here at home. **Let us therefore so conduct ourselves that other nations will recognise the capacity of our people for tolerance and self-discipline which form the basis of all sound governments.**

In conclusion, I must say that we are sure of a warm welcome in the United Kingdom. There is a great fund of goodwill for Nigeria there, which will lighten the work of the Conference and will help us to resolve our political problems. It was, I think, an Australian Prime Minister who described the Commonwealth as the best club in the world. In terms of friendliness and understanding we shall enter this Conference with every advantage and it will be for us, the Nigerians, to demonstrate our fitness to assume our birthright as a free and sovereign nation. Our responsibility to you is most heavy. We shall need your support, your sympathy and, above all, your prayers to strengthen us in our task.

THE TASK AHEAD

Good Evening,

Once again it is my privilege to speak to you on the first evening of the New Year. I am grateful for the opportunity which it gives me to wish everyone of you a happy and prosperous future and to ask you all to do your utmost to ensure that we carry out successfully the tasks which lie ahead of us in 1959.

As I look back over the months which have passed since I spoke to you at the beginning of 1958, I am very happy to observe how much we have been able to achieve in preparing Nigeria to take her place among the free nations of the world.

First and most important, we now know when that day will be. For most of 1958 the date of Independence was not fixed; we had hopes, confident hopes, it is true, but nevertheless they were only hopes. Then in October, during the Constitutional Conference, a definite date was announced.

And here it is right to say a few words about the constitutional conference because it really did mark an important stage in our progress. It succeeded because of the hard work and determination of all the delegates, and also because of our unanimity in pursuing the one object on which we knew that the heart of everyone in Nigeria was set, namely the emergence of a strong independent nation.

What has impressed me very much during the past year is the goodwill and encouragement which we are receiving from our friends all over the world. An example of this was the loan which the World Bank made to us last April. That bank has sixty-seven members, all of them independent nations, and they lent us ten million pounds to help to develop our country by extending the railway through the north-eastern part of Nigeria right up to within a few miles of the border. It is good to have so many friends ready to help us and we should welcome these demonstrations of goodwill. At the same time we must also realise that as more and more countries in the world learn of Nigeria, so we ourselves have increased responsibilities. Those other people are ready to think well of us and our first duty is to foster their goodwill and to retain their respect by showing that we do indeed deserve it. This we can do if we really set our minds to it but much will depend on how we conduct ourselves inside the boundaries of our own country.

I want you to think for a moment in terms of farming—we are all familiar with farms—so I suggest to you that we in Nigeria are at present like a community which co-operates to turn a piece of useless bush into fruitful farmland. First we must clear away all the undergrowth of prejudice and sectional quarrels and burn up the weeds of internal dissension, so that when we plant the seeds of independence they will

all germinate and grow into strong and healthy plants. Farmers have to work hard if they are to reap a plentiful harvest; so too there is plenty of work ahead of us all. We cannot just sit down in the shade and wait for October the first, 1960 and then expect Independence to bring all sorts of blessings. **The sort of Independence which I want, and which I am sure all of you want, is one which will bring benefits to all the inhabitants of Nigeria—one in which we can all work together in freedom, and work for the common good.**

When Nigeria becomes independent she will, from the start, be one of the most important nations in Africa. This is due to our size and to the limitless resources waiting to be developed. Our aim must be to ensure the highest possible rate of development and at the same time to raise the standard of living. This cannot be done alone by borrowing money from overseas. The main effort must be made by us ourselves and I ask you all, whatever your occupation may be, to work really hard this coming year and let everyone of us try to see that he personally does not hinder the efforts which will be made by all the Governments to expand the economy of the Federation. Only in this way can Nigeria prove herself to be a real nation and make a positive contribution to the well-being of the world. Differences of opinion there are bound to be in any country, and in a free country they will be expressed openly and, I hope, fearlessly but let them also be expressed openly, and honestly and unselfishly. **The fear of God, honesty and tolerance are the foundations on which a nation can build peace and prosperity, honesty among those who seek to lead others and tolerance not only among the leaders but especially between the members of different religious and political parties.**

Many difficulties lie ahead of us, some of them not even in sight at present, but however great they may be I am confident that we shall overcome them provided that we have a sincere intention to work for the good of all and not merely for sectional and selfish interests, and above all if we are governed by the true fear of God. Good-night.

THE TARGET

Motion: That, pursuant to the All Nigeria Party statement made at the London Constitutional Conference, 1957, on the question of Independence of the Federation of Nigeria [vide paragraph 54 of the Report], this House mandates all the Federal delegates to the Resumed Conference to pursue the issue further to ensure that Nigeria attain her Independence on the 2nd of April, 1960.

Mr Speaker Sir, I thought it would be much better for Hon. Members if I came in very early in the debate on this Motion. I expected, Sir,

Statement in Parliament on a motion to ensure Nigeria's Independence on 2nd April, 1960: August 5, 1958.

that the Hon. Mover and the Hon. Seconder would try to give advice to the Government and to the Federal delegates who would be going to the Conference, and offer suggestions as to how to overcome some of the outstanding difficulties of which they are well aware.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Hon. Mr Kayode explained that this is a Motion for which no one single party can take credit. It is a Motion which, I am sure, will be supported by all the parties in the country. As I said in March, Sir, we have fixed the date 2nd April, 1960, for Nigeria's Independence, and it is our wish that we shall do all we can to see that this date becomes a reality. [Applause].

First of all, Sir, I would like to remind the House that before the grant of independence there are many questions which will have to be answered. I do not want to give the impression at all that I doubt whether it will be possible to settle all those questions. I think with the co-operation of the United Kingdom Government, and of the Regional Governments and the Federal Government, we shall be able to settle all these questions before the 2nd April, 1960.

The Secretary of State, Sir, as pointed out by my friend, Chief Solaru, did not commit Her Majesty's Government to any fixed date, and it will be, Sir, very good if, with your permission, I read out the statement which was made by the Secretary of State before I go into the details of some of the outstanding questions which we will have to settle before independence is granted.

Sir, out of the discussion of this very important point of the date of independence at the last London Conference, the Secretary of State made the following statement:

'I understand that it is proposed that some time about January 1960, the new Nigerian Parliament would decide a resolution asking Her Majesty's Government to give Nigeria Independence within the Commonwealth by a date in 1960, which will have been mentioned in the resolution. In any case the constitutional machinery would take time and you will no doubt bear this very much in mind in coming to a conclusion as to the date you should ask for. It might therefore be, as many of you have urged, a good thing for there to be some informal consultation with us as to what sort of date were realistic. On receipt of your resolution, Her Majesty's Government will consider it with sympathy and will then be prepared to fix a date when they would accede to the request. We cannot at this stage give any undertaking that the date would be the same date as asked in the resolution but we will do our utmost to meet the resolution in a reasonable and practicable manner. Delegates, I hope, know Her Majesty's Government very well enough to be sure that they would not invent reasons for artificially extending the date. Her Majesty's Government would of course be very much guided in their choice of a date by the way everything was going, by how the two Regions now about to enjoy self-Government have taken the strain of this great step forward and by how the Government as a whole has faced up to the problems of minorities for which a Commission'. etc

Sir, the House will clearly see that the Secretary of State did not commit Her Majesty's Government to the 2nd April, 1960 but he emphasised to the delegates Sir, that Her Majesty's Government would do everything possible to accede to the request.

Now, Sir, as I have said, there are some outstanding matters which will have to be settled. In the first place there will have to be election of the new House of Representatives. The Electoral Commission has to be appointed, and the arrangements for the elections have to be made, and possibly, because of the climatic conditions in Nigeria, the elections could not be held, I think, before November, so we expect that the new House might meet sometime possibly either towards the end of December or sometime in January.

Now, a resolution will have to be passed by the House asking for Independence and fixing the date. Now, apart from that, Sir, the Constitutional Conference in London recommended the creation of a Senate Chamber for this country. The Regional Governments and the Government of the Federation will have to frame regulations prescribing the selection or appointment of the Senators. All these will have to be done before the new House passes a resolution which would be sent to the Secretary of State. Now, there are other matters Sir. At present the Governor-General has certain powers. I take it then, when we become independent, the Governor-General will have to surrender these powers, and it will be a matter for discussion between the Secretary of State and the representatives of the Federal and Regional Governments, to sit together and decide which powers would no longer be exercised by the Governor-General.

Now, I am pointing out these difficulties, Sir, not because I feel that they will delay the coming of independence on the 2nd of April, 1960, but I would like the House to understand that there are some outstanding problems which will have to be solved. Apart from these, there will also have to be arrangements for the Act of the U.K. Parliament, and there will have to be arrangements for the constitutional instruments which will finalise the arrangements for independence.

Now, my Friend, Mr Fani-Kayode, also said the preparation for independence should start now. I will tell the House, Sir, that preparation for independence had started a long time ago. (Loud applause). The Federal Government is pursuing with vigour all it can do to bring about independence by the 2nd of April, 1960. At present, Sir, I am considering with the Governor-General ways and means by which all these difficulties which I have pointed out could be overcome so that independence will come on the date we have fixed.

Sir, I would like from the House advice on the steps to be taken to overcome these difficulties. Most of the Members of the House, I hope, will survive politically in 1959, and so they will have ample opportunity to express their views on what an independent Nigeria should be like. This debate is not one in which we should be told that this is what we shall not do. I expect that the debate on the present

Motion before us will be a debate in which Members will give advice to our delegates: 'These are the problems before you and these are the solutions to the problems which are before you.' And when we come back in 1959—those of us who survive in 1959—when the new House passes its independence resolution, Members will then be able to express their views on what they want Nigeria to be after attaining independence. I would like Hon. Members of the House to give the advice which I have asked for and to restrict their speeches as far as possible to finding the solutions to these outstanding problems.

Sir, the matter of independence is of the greatest importance to us in this country. I do not want any party or any individual to make any political capital out of it. I think, Sir, when we debate a motion of this nature we should debate it with calm and with a full realisation that we are debating it on behalf of the millions of people who inhabit this country. All of us have got our views about how to run this country and when the time comes for us to express those views we shall express them not with a view to winning anything but with a view to advising on the best means of carrying out our work of ruling the country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I know that all sides of the House will support this Motion, and I am very pleased to say that the Government accepts the Motion.

THE CHALLENGE

Motion: 'That this House authorises the Government of the Federation of Nigeria to request Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as soon as practicable to introduce a legislation in the Parliament of the United Kingdom providing for the establishment of the Federation of Nigeria on October first, 1960 as an Independent Sovereign State, and to request Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom at the appropriate time to support with the other Member Governments of the Commonwealth, Nigeria's desire to become a member of the Commonwealth'.

This is a solemn occasion, more solemn than may generally be recognised. Today, and during the next few days, we are going to take up a position from which there can be no withdrawal. We are taking upon ourselves the responsibility—the immense responsibility—of telling our thirty-five million fellow countrymen that in future we shall shape their destiny and that in future, whether the times be good or ill, they will not be entitled to rely on outside assistance as a matter of right.

The first point which I want to make is that this debate is different from the two which took place during the lifetime of the two previous

Houses. It is at first sight only a small difference, but on second thoughts you will agree with me that the difference is significant; I would almost say terribly significant.

On the two previous occasions the Motion in the House of Representatives was a challenge to the United Kingdom Government—a challenge by Nigerians to the controlling power. This time it is the other way round. The United Kingdom Government has challenged Nigeria. Let me read to you the final words of the Report by the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference in 1958. They are as follows:

'The Secretary of State said that with all this in mind he was authorised by Her Majesty's Government to say that if a Resolution was passed by the new Federal Parliament early in 1960 asking for Independence, Her Majesty's Government would agree to that request and would introduce a Bill in Parliament to enable Nigeria to become a fully Independent country on the first October, 1960. The Conference warmly welcomed the Secretary of State's statement. The Prime Minister and the Premiers made statements in reply to the Secretary of State's statement and expressed their desire that an Independent Nigeria should become a full member of the Commonwealth and that there should continue to be close co-operation between Britain and Nigeria.'

For the past fifteen months the challenge implicit in those words has been coming nearer and nearer; now we are face to face with it and if a majority of the three hundred and twelve representative Members drawn from every corner of Nigeria is confident that the time has come for Nigeria to be an Independent Sovereign State, then an Independent Sovereign State of Nigeria shall be before nine more months have passed.

I myself am confident that Nigeria is ready for Independence and I am confident of more than that—I am confident that this House will carry the Motion unanimously. But I also ask the House first to consider most carefully the terms of the Motion. It is not a mere formality, not just a necessary forerunner of the Independence celebrations. It is a solemn under-taking given publicly to our countrymen that we feel confident of being able to manage our own affairs prudently and justly. I remember it being said in a previous debate that it is better to govern ourselves badly than to be governed well. Perhaps, it is better, for those who do the governing, but we must think of those who are going to be governed by us. Will they be better off, or at least, no worse off? That is why I say we must approach the task with due solemnity and really make sure that we know what we are doing. Personally I am not going to be pessimistic and I am not going to talk about being satisfied with bad government. I see no reason why our government should be bad, and I am quite sure that we shall be worthy of the trust that has been given to us. Nevertheless that question of good or bad government is really the substance of the challenge now

made to us. The United Kingdom Government do not grudge us our Independence: they do not attach conditions. No, they merely ask us to affirm that we fully understand the course of action which we are about to pursue.

Resolutions on Nigeria's Independence have been debated more than once in the House of Representatives. On those occasions speeches were made referring to the historical back-ground of the events which have culminated in the resolution which it is my privilege to move today. The history of Nigeria's connections with the United Kingdom is well known and we shall not forget the hard work put in by British officers and by those officers who came from the other West African Territories, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and from the West Indies. All those officers contributed their share to the development of Nigeria and deserve our thanks for enabling us to have advanced so far. We thank not only those who are serving Nigeria today, but also those who are now retired, and we shall always remember the selfless service given by those hundreds of officers who are now dead. It is not my intention in a debate of this kind to repeat the history of Nigeria which I know to have been so well covered by several writers in various textbooks. My task in moving this resolution is to draw the attention of the House to certain important matters which are likely to affect Nigeria as an Independent country.

Now, there are two questions which we must ask ourselves before we can be quite certain that we are properly aware of the implications of this Independence Motion. Firstly, what is the meaning of the term 'Independent Sovereign State'? Independence is very different from being self-governing without being independent, although, of course, no country can be independent without being self-governing. Here in Nigeria we already have three self-governing regions, but they are not independent. In discussing this question of independence, people often describe our aim as the wish to exchange the place of a servant for that of a son. That is not the whole truth: we are in fact asking to become as a son who has left his father's compound and has now to make his own way in the world.

In moving this Motion today I am asking you to take an ir retrievable step. There can be no going back to dependent status, and I feel that I must place on record the fact that I am asking you to take this step with a full consciousness of all that it entails.

I sound this note of warning because of what I am about to say. The last two subjects which will be handed over to Nigeria's sole control are defence and external affairs. Both of these subjects are vitally important and our assumption of responsibility for them is the full measure of our Independence.

To deal with defence first—you may say that Nigeria is a peaceful country which has no territorial ambitions and no intention of attacking her neighbours—I agree. You may also say that there is no evidence

that we are going to be attacked. Superficially I should say that that view is correct, but I must tell the House frankly that in my opinion we are confronted by a very serious situation. Over the past year or so there has been a good deal of trouble going on in some of the countries which border on Nigeria and as I see it, the danger is that disaffected elements in those countries will come over the Nigerian border to hide and will then carry out sporadic raids on their own country. This could very easily lead to border incidents and to serious misunderstandings between Nigeria and her neighbours.

Our best defence is, of course, to show that as an independent nation we are united—I shall deal with this point later. But we must also have adequate Military forces to safeguard our long land frontier; for guaranteeing the inviolability of that frontier we shall, in future, be dependent upon our own resources. **It is my earnest hope that the visible strength of Nigeria will have a stabilising effect in this part of the world, and that our neighbours will soon settle down to enjoy the fruits of orderly government, but I must tell the House that this is going to be a new and heavy responsibility for us and while we are ready to carry it we must not underestimate its weight.**

Similarly the assumption of responsibility for the conduct of our foreign relations is not going to be easy. It is not just a privilege to be accepted light-heartedly. The establishing of embassies overseas and Nigeria's appearance at the United Nations Assembly are not mere advertisements of our political maturity. In the United Nations for instance, Nigeria will have a wonderful opportunity to speak for the continent of Africa. Provided that she is supported by a united Nigeria, our representative will be able to wield an immense and beneficial influence.

And another thing—we must not deceive ourselves into thinking that provided we ourselves are honest and well-intentioned it will be easy to follow a successful foreign policy. **First of all I want to make it clear that no country can afford to have an inflexible foreign policy, and whatever foreign policy Nigeria may adopt after Independence it will have to be capable of being adapted to the changing circumstances in the world.** (Hear, Hear). To carry on a foreign policy in the best interests of Nigeria, and of the many hundreds of thousands of Nigerians who are living temporarily in foreign lands, is not going to be easy at all, but we shall do it. I do not for one moment under-estimate the difficulties which lie ahead, and I have felt compelled to underline them today, but nevertheless given sincerity of purpose and goodwill we shall not fail, and on this score too I am prepared to say on behalf of my fellow countrymen that we are ready for independence. (Hear, Hear).

And now, I want to turn to another part of the motion now before the House, namely Nigeria's desire to become a member of the Commonwealth. Earlier, I read to you a passage from the report of the Resumed

Constitutional Conference, and reminded you that I and the Regional Premiers and, in fact, all the delegates to the Resumed Constitutional Conference had expressed that desire and had also hoped for the continuation of close co-operation between Britain and Nigeria.

First, let me say what I have said many times before. I am grateful to the British Governments with which Nigeria has been associated, and I am grateful to those officers who have helped us to catch up with the twentieth century. Many of those officers devoted the whole of their working lives to the service of Nigeria and dedicated themselves to our welfare.

We are also grateful, Mr Speaker, to the missionaries who have done so much to assist in the development of Nigeria, especially in the field of education and by the provision of medical facilities for so many of our people. The Missions can look back with satisfaction on many notable educational successes and, indeed, there are, I am sure, some honourable Members present today who are a living testimony to this. Nor shall I omit to thank the commercial firms for the part they have played in assisting us to develop our natural resources. By their efforts wealth has come to Nigeria which has made possible those developments which are now enabling us to come forward as a Sovereign State. On the whole, Mr Speaker, we and the British have got on very well together and the road to Independence has not seen any bloodshed or ill-feeling between us and the British. That is a remarkable achievement for which we must be truly thankful. In the future as we continue along that road — and I would remind you that Independence is not the end of it but rather a sort of political and economic development — I say that as we continue along that road, I hope that we shall find the British still walking alongside, and if it so happens that we are now on the right of them, well, I am sure that will not affect our happy relations.

But it is not only the expatriates that I want to thank. I am deeply conscious of the great contributions made to the progress of Nigeria by her own people. We must be grateful to the Nigerian traders and firms who have served Nigeria's commerce so well. Above all, we should be grateful to all the millions of farmers whose labours have produced the cash crops which have brought prosperity to our land. Without them Nigeria would not now be on the threshold of independence. To them and to all who have worked unobtrusively and away from the limelight, I offer our grateful thanks and I sincerely trust that Nigerians as a whole will also feel that they can and should thank those of their countrymen who have undertaken the responsibilities of legislators.

The reason why I personally want to see Nigeria taken into the Commonwealth is this: I know very well the immense opportunities and the great need for development in our country and I want to ensure, so far as is possible, that the development

is on sound lines. At present we are an under-developed country. In order to expand our economy we must seek investments from the richer and more developed countries, investments both of money and technical skill. It is going to be very difficult sometimes to sift the genuine from the self-interested, and that is one reason why I should warn that Nigeria must be careful in recognising her real genuine friends.

Another important reason is that for some time to come we cannot possibly be represented in every country in which Nigeria has interests, or in which Nigerians are living. Not only is the foreign service very costly, but it also requires our very best men and, at present, we cannot spare enough from Nigeria. But in those countries where Nigeria cannot be directly represented we shall have the other members of the Commonwealth to look after our interests.

And now I want to speak briefly about the need for national unity at this time and in the difficult years ahead of us. What do we mean by national unity? Thirteen years ago when a new constitution was introduced and for the first time Nigerians from every part of the country came together to legislate for Nigeria, there were also established the Regional Houses of Assembly, and we were told that the aim of the new constitution was to preserve the unity and strength of the country while decentralising government and bringing the making of laws closer to the people. Experience has shown that the aim was correct and with gradual modifications, such as the individual representation of every administrative division in this House, we have gradually built up a feeling of Unity. National Unity is an almost indefinable quality of spontaneously accepting a common bond of fellowship with others who live in the same country. I think that in Nigeria this feeling will grow all the quicker after we have our own Nigerian citizenship. I remember, and I am sure that any honourable Member present who also served on the Citizenship Committee of the Constitutional Conference will also remember, the remarkable unanimity with which we dealt with that subject. Whenever I read in the press that such and such a thing has happened to a Nigerian I do really feel that the essential national unity does in fact exist in sufficient strength for us to claim that Nigeria is now one nation. (Hear, hear). I am confident that when we have our own citizenship, our own national flag, our own national anthem we shall find that the flame of national unity will burn bright and strong.

Nigeria will be well advised to keep her written constitution intact. All the Governments in the Federation have a very vital part to play in bringing our country together into a united State. Provided that we follow the provisions of our constitution, I myself cannot envisage any serious friction arising between the different governments in the Federation. It is my hope that the Regional and Federal Governments

Constitutional Conference, and reminded you that I and the Regional Premiers and, in fact, all the delegates to the Resumed Constitutional Conference had expressed that desire and had also hoped for the continuation of close co-operation between Britain and Nigeria.

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is on sound lines. At present we are an under-developed country. In order to expand our economy we must seek investments from the richer and more developed countries, investments both of money and technical skill. It is going to be very difficult sometimes to sift the genuine from the self-interested, and that is one reason why I should warn that Nigeria must be careful in recognising her real genuine friends.

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Nigeria will be well advised to keep her written constitution intact. All the Governments in the Federation have a very vital part to play in bringing our country together into a united State. Provided that we follow the provisions of our constitution, I myself cannot envisage any serious friction arising between the different governments in the Federation. It is my hope that the Regional and Federal Governments

will do their utmost to co-operate with one another for the good of all. I pray for Inter-governmental co-operation, especially on the various councils and committees and boards on which all the various governments are represented. **We are all aware that a Federal system of government is always full of problems. We still have many problems in Nigeria. As we solve them more will arise to take their place. There will always be difficulties of one sort or another, but I see no reason to doubt that we shall overcome them, and perhaps the greatest single contribution we can make to Africa, and to the peace of the world in general, will be to show how a country containing so many diverse elements can find a peaceful solution to its internal difficulties.**

Only two hundred and sixty days remain before the day fixed for our independence. The time is short and there is much to be done. I take this opportunity of appealing to every one in Nigeria, whatever his profession may be, to work as hard as he can for the good of Nigeria. The success of Nigeria as an independent sovereign state depends to a very large extent on an efficient civil service and I therefore make a special appeal to all in the public service of the Federation to avoid every kind of waste, and that they ensure that the best use is made of the limited resources available to us in Nigeria.

Finally Mr Speaker, I pray for God's blessing upon our country, and especially upon this House. I pray that we here may find the faith and the courage to pursue the true good of Nigeria, and putting aside selfish motives, to carry the heavy burden of responsibility now laid upon us.

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

PROGRESS AND PROSPECT

I do not intend to give you a detailed account of all the progress achieved during the life of the present House but I want to concentrate on those aspects of our policy which either have directly affected the advance to Independence or have been adopted with the particular intention of enabling Nigeria to play a full part as an Independent nation right from the very start.

First, let me mention our own achievements. This House has written a chapter of Nigeria's history which will never be forgotten. The chapter is entitled 'The winning of Independence.' It may be said that Independence is still fourteen months distant, but I regard it as virtually won already and I think that we in this House may rightly claim to have played a large part in this achievement. We have indeed formally

Statement in Parliament on the achievements of the Federal Government in preparing Nigeria for Independence: August 15, 1959.

debated the subject but it was not that to which I was referring. For the past five years the eyes of the world have been on this House and we have been watched closely as we conducted our business. I think that we have every justification in saying that we have proved ourselves to be mature and to be capable of managing our own affairs. In fact I would say that we have set an example to the House which will come next, an example of which I for one am proud.

To return for a minute to the debate on Independence which took place during the Budget Meeting of 1957 just before delegates left for the Constitutional Conference. You will all remember the speeches made in this House. It was a memorable occasion when our unmistakable sentiments were voiced with a moderation which emphasised Nigeria's desire to become an Independent Nation. We knew the immensity of the task before us and we were, and still are, in no doubt of the heavy responsibilities we shall assume when we have the sheltered position of a dependent territory. But the unanimity with which the whole House approached this subject showed that, in the seven years which intervened between that debate and the General Conference on the Review of the Constitution held at Ibadan at the beginning of 1950, our unanimity, as I say, showed that there had been a remarkable degree of evening up in the constitutional development of the different parts of Nigeria. Much of the jealousy, envy, prejudice and such-like things which made it difficult to work together at the beginning of representative Government in Nigeria, had disappeared. Energies which had been directed towards confusion were being devoted towards construction and the good of Nigeria had become the aim of this Honourable House. We had shown to the world that we had successfully reached the stage where, having been given power, we were able to hold it responsibly. The great political experiment had not failed, and by the Grace of God, it will not fail.

I call it the great political experiment and I do so with good reason because this is not a small country where a political mistake could easily be put right. To embark upon representative government for a country of over thirty million people was a bold step and perhaps it was the greatest political experiment of this century.

In other countries the form of Government has indeed been changed but where else, I ask you, has it been done with the agreement of all concerned? In most cases you will find that a minority forced their will on their country, and that bloody revolution has left its legacy of bitterness.

Here is our greatest achievement: what we have done, we have done willingly. Compromise has been substituted for force. Power has not been seized, it has been transferred. Every group in Nigeria has sacrificed something and has given

way in order to reach unanimous agreement with the result that there is today a united country planning its Independence in peace and friendship.

Looking back over all the business which has been transacted by this House I am conscious of a very definite pattern as we have gradually assumed responsibility for our own affairs and the responsibility with which the elected representatives of the people have been charged has become a reality. That pattern is typified by one of the Bills before the House at our present meeting, a Bill which removed the need to obtain the permission of the Secretary of State for a certain course of action.

Here I should like to pay tribute to the help which we in Nigeria have received from Mr Lennox-Boyd. You will remember his speaking on the floor of this House in January, 1955, and some of us have seen him at the two Constitutional Conferences and everyone will agree that he has always been more than ready to assist us to achieve our national aspirations. I am sure that we in Nigeria shall never forget him.

In our advance to Independence it has been the constant preoccupation of the Federal Government to preserve the unity and strength of the country especially the economic strength. That is why so many of the measures considered by this House deal in one way or another with the economic development of Nigeria.

Our financial resources may be limited but we have tried to ensure that we make the best possible use of the money which we have, and I think that we may rightly claim to have met with success and to have established ourselves as a credit-worthy country. Last year we negotiated a loan with the International Bank for ten million pounds and this year, last month in point of fact, we negotiated for a further loan of fifteen-million pounds.

Now I am sure that we should not have been able to negotiate these loans if it had not been apparent that our policies were sound. We have paid particular attention to the need for co-ordinating development throughout Nigeria and in this respect I shall mention two bodies which the Federal Government set up in conjunction with the Regional Governments. The first is the **National Economic Council** which was established in 1955 with the aim of providing machinery for inter-governmental consultation on the many economic problems common to the Federal and Regional Governments. The National Economic Council provides a permanent basis for such consultations without encroaching on the authority entrusted to the respective Governments under maximum encouragement to the development of a national economic policy and to foster co-operation between all the governments in Nigeria in the field of economic development. The success which has so far attended the deliberations of this Council has contributed most effectively to Nigeria's reputation as a credit-worthy country.

The second body I would mention here is the **Loans Advisory Council** which is again an inter-governmental organization established

for the purposes of reviewing the amount of loan finance required to finance the development programmes of all the governments up to the 31st of March, 1962, and after examining the prospects of obtaining the money required its task is to estimate the amount to be borrowed and to recommend whether it should be raised by an internal or an external loan, and finally it recommends in what proportions the loans should be shared among the various governments.

Only eighteen months ago this House passed the legislation to set up the **Central Bank of Nigeria**. This Central Bank, which is an integral part of our programme for Independence, was opened last month and you now have tangible evidence of it in the new currency in circulation.

But the role of the Central Bank is not confined to the issue of currency: it has already entered on its other tasks, the most important of which is to promote a sound financial structure in Nigeria and to act as financial adviser to the Federal Government. I am glad to say that the Governor of our Central Bank was present in London to offer advice throughout the recent negotiations for the fifteen-million pound loan.

He is also giving the benefit of his professional skill and experience to the Joint Planning Committee of the National Economic Council. I am sure that we are all very grateful to the Bank of England for making it possible for the present Governor of the Central Bank to launch this most important project.

And now I want to say something about what we have done to ensure that after Independence Nigeria exercises an influence in international affairs commensurate with her importance. One of the first tasks which the Government set itself was to recruit and train staff for the diplomatic posts which an independent Nigeria must establish overseas. The Nigeria Office in London was established some time before the election of this House but it was this House which voted the funds for expanding it and for setting up additional offices in Washington and Khartoum.

All three offices, London, Washington and Khartoum, are now busy looking after the interests of Nigerians as well as training new entrants into the foreign service.

At the same time the **External Affairs Division** in my office has now been established as a self-contained unit which may without further re-organization be transformed into a Ministry of Foreign Affairs in October next year. In addition the Nigeria Office in Ghana will be opened in Accra in two months time and next month an office will be established in New York. This will in course of time be the headquarters of our delegation to the United Nations, as well as dealing with questions of trade, economics and the dissemination of information about Nigeria.

Looking back over the past four years I am really encouraged at the progress we have been able to make, and what is most important is that the progress has been steady. The staff has been chosen with great

care and in their various attachments to embassies in foreign countries they have won golden opinions.

This is very important because it means that when Nigeria becomes independent her representatives will have the advantage of a good reputation in the diplomatic world, and whenever the Nigerian Government considers it necessary to express a view on some topic of international interest, it will be accorded the importance which it deserves in every one of the countries in which our staff have undergone a part of their training.

In Nigeria itself there have been important developments of an international nature. Early this year the conference of the **Council for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara**, colloquially known as C.C.T.A., accepted our invitation to move their Headquarters from London to Lagos and in May the Secretary-General arrived with an advance party.

The **International Labour Organization** has set up its African Field Office here, and the **World Health Organization** has set up its Western Area Office, while the **Area Representative for U.N.I.-C.E.F.** has been stationed in Nigeria for the past two years. So you see that Nigeria has gradually and almost imperceptibly been taking her place as the leading state in this part of Africa.

Another international organization which has been of importance to Nigeria is the Council which operates the **International Tin Agreement** and on which this country now is represented by a Nigerian. The agreement was brought into operation because of the probable collapse of the tin market owing to over-production. By accepting the terms of the agreement the Federal Government succeeded in stabilising the labour situation in the Plateau minesfield.

Although there was a substantial reduction of Nigerians and expatriates in the labour force, the mining industry was able to survive and the voluntary restriction in output has been successful in maintaining an economic price for tin metal and has enabled most of the operators to continue profitable production.

This leads me to what may well turn out to be the most important economic event in the whole history of Nigeria. I refer to the discovery of oil by Shell-B.P. The period under review has seen the birth of a **Nigeria oil industry**. Oil was first found in January, 1956 in Brass Division. In November of the same year a second strike of oil was made east of Port Harcourt, and the first export shipment was made in February last year.

Broadly speaking the prospects for the oil industry are reasonably hopeful. Bearing in mind the development which a successful oil industry would make possible and the financial resources which it would make available to Nigeria the government has done everything in its power to encourage the company and is confident that its policy will prove to have been in the best interest of Nigeria.

And now I turn to the part played by the **Federal Public Service**. I wish to commend the manner in which the civil service, taken as a whole, has adapted itself to the new conditions and has worked hard and loyally to give effect to our policies. Many officers work long hours in their offices, unseen by the public, in order to ensure that the business of Government is carried on smoothly. We ourselves know something of the pressure at which the staff of this House works so that we may carry on our parliamentary business without delay and we appreciate their co-operation in dealing with our many needs. **Not only to them but to the whole of the Civil Service I place on record our gratitude and acknowledge the debt which Nigeria owes to them.** As I said, this House has assumed responsibility for the conduct of our affairs, and similarly great advances have been made in the training of Nigerian manpower and in the Nigerianisation of the Public Service. The progress may have been disappointing at times but qualifications cannot be earned in a minute. **The University College of Ibadan has developed enormously in the past five years. Graduates from the College are now coming into the public service in increasing numbers—there are some in my office and in the Foreign Service and I can assure you that we have every right to be satisfied with the quality of the graduates being produced by Nigeria's University College.** The Federal Scholarship scheme which was approved at the first budget meeting of this House is now bearing fruit. This operation of nigerianising the public service is one of enormous complexity in the rapidly expanding economy of the country and we have had to share the available candidates with commerce. I must say that I think the commercial houses have done very well themselves in training their Nigerian employees to fill managerial posts and to undertake work which had previously been done by expatriates.

The same may be said of the statutory corporations, the Electricity Corporation, the Ports Authority and the others. If we compare their present staff with those of January 1955 it is quite amazing what progress has been made. A lot of credit is due to those who have used their energies and their imagination in supervising the various training schemes.

Our armed forces too have been shaped to fulfil the needs of an independent nation. One of the early tasks of this House was to pass an Ordinance changing the designation of the military forces which had been part of West Africa Command, and to introduce the designation 'Nigeria Military Forces'. Last year Nigeria took over full responsibility for these forces from the United Kingdom Government. In order to make the force an efficient guardian of our frontiers and to enable Nigeria to undertake any commitments which may devolve upon us as the result of our future membership of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations, the establishment of the military forces has been enlarged and brought up to date. Steps have been taken wherever possible to co-

ordinate the requirements of the military forces with those of the Nigeria Police in matters such as transport, wireless equipment, and weapons.

To attract the type of soldier required in these modern times we have expanded the Boys' Company of the Queen's Own Nigeria Regiment into the Nigeria Military School and for the training of Officers we are building—it is now very nearly completed and should be opened in January—the **Nigeria Military Training College**. Nigerian cadets have been sent in increasing numbers to the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and to the cadet school at Aldershot. Besides these we have been sending commissioned Officers to the United Kingdom to attend specialised training courses. By these measures we have succeeded in increasing the number of Nigerian Officers from a mere handful five years ago to forty today. British Warrant Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers have gradually been reduced as Nigerians have been trained, and our success in this field can be measured by the figures over the past two years. Whereas in 1957 there were 122 of these British Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers, today there are only twelve.

Our land forces now have their counterpart on the sea. The Royal Nigerian Navy has come into being and only last month took over its first real warship, a frigate appropriately named **H.M.N.S. Nigeria**. With both military and naval forces we have progressed as far and as fast as our financial resources have permitted and **I am confident that upon attaining Independence we shall be able to defend our frontiers in the event of disturbances arising in neighbouring territories.**

As with External Affairs, a self-contained **Defence Division** is now established which will be readily transformed at Independence to a Ministry of Defence. Furthermore, the Governor-General who is at present responsible under the Constitution for all defence matters within the Federation and for all matters relating to the Nigerian armed forces of the Crown, has set up a **Defence Council** which includes the Prime Minister of the Federation and two other Federal Ministers and the Regional Premiers. It is His Excellency's policy to consult this Council on matters of importance affecting the general administration and development of the armed forces so that there may be an easy transference of responsibility in October, 1960. I should add that while in London for the resumed Constitutional Conference we came to an understanding with the United Kingdom Government on matters of mutual defence interest and this will be embodied in a **formal agreement upon the attainment of Independence.**

We are seeking not only political but also economic independence. It is not our intention to be at the mercy of more powerful nations because we need their financial support, so we must have a healthy economy. This will depend on transport to a much greater extent than is commonly realised. Very spectacular progress has been made with every form of transport—road, rail, water and air. The facilities offered

at ports generally, and at Lagos and Port Harcourt in particular, have enabled the enormous increase in both imports and exports to be handled without delay and this has appreciably increased the standard of living and amenities throughout the country. The Railway has carried much more revenue-earning freight and at the same time larger tonnages have been carried by road and on the rivers. This progress is very remarkable and I remember that in 1955 when I was Minister of Transport and visited the United States of America I studied the manner in which that great country had tackled the problem of competition between rail, road and water transport. At the time I thought that we in Nigeria would not be worried by these problems for some time—about fifteen years, I thought—but now, just four years later, I find that the problem is already with us, so swift has been the pace of our economic development.

It is our policy to organise the expansion of transport facilities in such a way as to provide the greatest possible benefit to the economy from the money which we are able to allocate for this purpose. The co-ordination of all transport plans is of the utmost importance and this subject is now being carefully examined by the Joint Planning Committee of the National Economic Council as one of its most urgent tasks.

Honourable Members will have read with interest the sessional paper containing the statement of policy for the Niger and Benue, those two great natural assets of this country. The report of the consultants is the fruit of four years of practical investigation and will be invaluable to future Governments not least in making proper use of these two rivers to enable the transport of produce and merchandise to be organised efficiently and economically.

The ever increasing volume of exports and imports will call for more harbour facilities. We have so far as is possible anticipated these needs, by embarking upon the Escravos Bar project, by enlarging Port Harcourt, by re-opening Koko port and by taking steps to encourage the development of an oil terminal on Bonny Island.

We have also made the industrial development of Nigeria one of our main objectives in order to increase the wealth and the standard of living of the people and to provide new sources of employment. The most spectacular success in this field is undoubtedly the cement factory at Nkalagu which was financed largely by Federal Government money.

This House has played an active part in stimulating industrial development. You will remember the various ordinances which have been passed in this House with the object of attracting overseas investment. In 1957 there was the Industrial Development (Import Duties Relief) Ordinance authorising in certain cases the refund of import duties on raw materials used in industry, and in 1958 the Industrial Development (Income Tax Relief) Ordinance which extended the benefits allowed to

Pioneer Industries. I mention these matters now because it is essential that an Independent Nigeria should have an expanding economy.

I have not mentioned the achievements of the Posts and Telegraphs or the many buildings which have been constructed by the Federal Government, some of them larger than any we expected to see in Nigeria. We have built offices, the Central Bank, Army and Police barracks, police stations, post offices and the rest, all in order to keep pace with Nigeria's growing needs.

And in doing all this I am happy to say that we have met with co-operation from the Regional Governments. We have always taken care not to trespass into Regional subjects and have sought to work harmoniously with the Regional Governments to plan the political and financial economy of Nigeria. Perhaps it is in our relations with the Regional Governments that there is the best evidence that Nigeria is ready for Independence. Any idea of rivalry between the Federal and the Regional Governments has been banished and we have tried to make them truly complementary to one another and have protected the unity of Nigeria by acknowledging the necessity for decentralisation of authority.

Independence is not an end in itself. It is the means whereby we are determined to ensure that Nigeria plays her full part in world affairs and whereby Nigerians are enabled to enjoy a higher standard of living both materially and spiritually. In working for independence we are creating a National self-respect.

There are critics who say of countries such as ours when they are seeking to become independent, that only a small minority of the population wants Independence and that the vast majority are ignorant of what is at stake. It is therefore all the more necessary that we, the politically-conscious members of this huge country, should realise the burdens which we are bringing on ourselves. Personally I have no hesitation at all in replying to such critics that we are not only willing but eager to carry that burden of responsibility. We shall be all the stronger spiritually as a free and independent nation, and the need to protect the interests of those whom we represent will be an incentive which will give us the courage to overcome all our difficulties.

What the future holds no man can tell but I do most earnestly call on everyone in Nigeria, whatever his position, whether he be Chief, or politician, businessman or trader or farmer, whatever they be I ask them all to strive their utmost to assist in building up Nigeria into a strong, united Nation so that she may fulfil her destiny as the leader of the African continent.

Finally I wish to thank the members of this House for the support which they have given to the Government, and for their assistance in planning the future of this great country. Gathered in, as this House is, from every corner of Nigeria, it enables us to be kept informed of what is

needed in every Division and of what is expected from the Federal Government. I thank them and I pray God that the Members who form the next House of Representatives will not only work like them for the Federation of Nigeria, but will also take the wider opportunity which will be theirs after Independence to labour for the good of all mankind.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

Today is Independence Day. The first of October 1960 is a date to which for two years every Nigerian has been eagerly looking forward. At last, our great day has arrived, and Nigeria is now indeed an independent sovereign nation.

Words cannot adequately express my joy and pride at being the Nigerian citizen privileged to accept from Her Royal Highness these Constitutional Instruments which are the symbols of Nigeria's Independence. It is a unique privilege which I shall remember for ever, and it gives me strength and courage as I dedicate my life to the service of our country.

This is a wonderful day, and it is all the more wonderful because we have awaited it with increasing impatience, compelled to watch one country after another overtaking us on the road when we had so nearly reached our goal. But now we have acquired our rightful status, and I feel sure that history will show that the building of our nation proceeded at the wisest pace: it has been thorough, and Nigeria now stands well-built upon firm foundations.

Today's ceremony marks the culmination of a process which began fifteen years ago and has now reached a happy and successful conclusion. It is with justifiable pride that we claim the achievement of our Independence to be unparalleled in the annals of history. Each step of our constitutional advance has been purposefully and peacefully planned with full and open consultation, not only between representatives of all the various interests in Nigeria but in harmonious co-operation with the administering power which has today relinquished its authority.

At the time when our constitutional development entered upon its final phase, the emphasis was largely upon self-government. We, the elected representatives of the people of Nigeria, concentrated on proving that we were fully capable of managing our own affairs both internally and as a nation. However, we were not to be allowed the selfish luxury of focussing our interest on our own homes. In these days of rapid communications we cannot live in isolation, apart from the rest of the world, even if we wished to do so. All too soon it has become evident

Speech delivered at Tafawa Balewa Square on the Independence Ceremony on Saturday, October 1, 1960.

that for us Independence implies a great deal more than self-government. This great country, which has now emerged without bitterness or bloodshed, finds that she must at once be ready to deal with grave international issues.

This fact has of recent months been unhappily emphasised by the startling events which have occurred in this continent. I shall not labour the point but it would be unrealistic not to draw attention first to the awe-inspiring task confronting us at the very start of our nationhood. When this day in October 1960 was chosen for our Independence it seemed that we were destined to move with quiet dignity to our place on the world stage. Recent events have changed the scene beyond recognition, so that we find ourselves today being tested to the utmost. We are called upon immediately to show that our claims to responsible government are well-founded, and having been accepted as an independent state we must at once play an active part in maintaining the peace of the world and in preserving civilisation. I promise you, we shall not fail for want of determination.

And we come to this task better-equipped than many. For this, I pay tribute to the manner in which successive British Governments have gradually transferred the burden of responsibility to our shoulders. The assistance and unfailing encouragement which we have received from each Secretary of State for the Colonies and their intense personal interest in our development has immeasurably lightened that burden.

All our friends in the Colonial Office must today be proud of their handiwork and in the knowledge that they have helped to lay the foundations of a lasting friendship between our two nations. I have indeed every confidence that, based on the happy experience of a successful partnership, our future relations with the United Kingdom will be more cordial than ever, bound together, as we shall be in the Commonwealth, by a common allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, whom today we proudly acclaim as Queen of Nigeria and Head of the Commonwealth.

Time will not permit the individual mention of all those friends, many of them Nigerians, whose selfless labours have contributed to our Independence. Some have not lived to see the fulfilment of their hopes—**on them be peace**—but nevertheless they are remembered here, and the names of buildings and streets and roads and bridges throughout the country recall to our minds their achievements, some of them on a national scale. Others confined, perhaps, to a small area in one Division, are more humble but of equal value in the sum-total.

Today, we have with us representatives of those who have made Nigeria: Representatives of the Regional Governments, of former Central Governments, of the Missionary Societies, and of the Banking and Commercial enterprises, and members, both past and present, of the Public Service. We welcome you, and we rejoice that you have been able to come and share in our celebrations. We wish that it could

have been possible for all of those whom you represent to be here today. Many, I know, will be disappointed to be absent, but if they are listening to me now, I say to them: **'Thank you on behalf of my countrymen. Thank you for your devoted service which helped to build up Nigeria into a nation. Today we are reaping the harvest which you sowed, and the quality of the harvest is equalled only by our gratitude to you. May God bless you all.'**

This is an occasion when our hearts are filled with conflicting emotions: we are, indeed, proud to have achieved our independence, and proud that our efforts should have contributed to this happy event. But do not mistake our pride for arrogance. It is tempered by feelings of sincere gratitude to all who have shared in the task of developing Nigeria politically, socially and economically. **We are grateful to the British officers whom we have known, first as masters, and then as leaders, and finally as partners, but always as friends.** And there have been countless missionaries who have laboured unceasingly in the cause of education and to whom we owe many of our medical services. We are grateful also to those who have brought modern methods of banking and of commerce, and new industries. I wish to pay tribute to all of these people and to declare our everlasting admiration of their devotion to duty.

And, finally, I must express our gratitude to Her Royal Highness the Princess Alexandra of Kent for personally bringing to us these symbols of our freedom, and especially for delivering the gracious message from Her Majesty The Queen. And so, with the words 'God Save Our Queen', I open a new chapter in the history of Nigeria, and of the Commonwealth, and indeed of the world.

NIGERIA'S STAND

Mr President,

Last Saturday the country which I have the honour to represent, the Federation of Nigeria, became independent and assumed the rights and responsibilities of a sovereign state. Today, Nigeria has been admitted into the United Nations Organization and assumes still more responsibilities.

On behalf of my countrymen in Nigeria I thank you all most sincerely for accepting us as a fellow member in this organization. We are properly grateful for this recognition and for the generous and friendly gesture made by so many members who sent very distinguished delegations to join us in celebrating our accession to independence.

I am particularly pleased that so many important representatives could come to Nigeria on that occasion because they will be able to inform their Governments of the genuine desire which Nigeria has to have friendly relations with you all.

Before proceeding to deal in detail with the many questions which are of interest to my country, it may be better to state briefly the principles which we have accepted as the basis for our policies in international relations. **First, it is the desire of Nigeria as I have said already to remain on friendly terms with all nations and to participate actively in the work of the United Nations Organization.**

Secondly, Nigeria, a large and populous country of over thirty-five millions, has absolutely no territorial or expansionist intentions.

Speech delivered at the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York on the occasion of the admission of Nigeria as the 99th Member of the United Nations Organization: October 7, 1960.

Thirdly, we shall not forget our old friends and we are proud to have been accepted as a member of the Commonwealth, but nevertheless we do not intend to align ourselves as a matter of routine with any of the power blocs. We are committed to uphold the principles upon which the United Nations Organization is founded.

Fourthly, Nigeria hopes to work with other African States for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence.

It is perhaps natural that I should speak about Africa first. We in Nigeria have been fortunate in achieving our independence without bloodshed or bitterness and I hope that this will lend weight to the proposals which I am about to set before you.

The recent tragic events in the Congo Republic must be uppermost in all our minds, and it is about that country which I wish to speak to you first.

I frankly admit that there are many features of this seemingly intractable problem which remain obscure to me. I am in some doubt as to the exact manner in which the constitution granting independence to that country was drawn up by the Colonial power which formerly administered the territory, and as to the degree of consultation which there was with the Congolese people themselves, and at what levels that consultation was carried out. I do not know how widely the provisions of the new constitution were known in the country at large, or whether there is any pattern of administration going up from the village to the provincial and national level.

Many other questions present themselves, which require to be answered if we are to find a solution to the present problems. For instance, was the new constitution imposed from above or freely accepted by the Congolese, and what are the human resources in the country and what sort of Government machinery is available to execute whatever policies may be decided upon by the Congolese Government.

Nevertheless, with the information which is available to us, we in Nigeria feel that there are several important factors to be constantly borne in mind in dealing with the problem. The first of these is that **Africa must not be allowed to become a battleground in the ideological struggle; for this reason the Congo situation must be a matter to be dealt with primarily by African States at the political level.**

Secondly, we believe that in dealing with the problem of creating a real political life in the country itself, it will be necessary to start at the bottom by seeing that local and provincial authorities are established, while maintaining the essential unity of the country.

We also believe that the Congolese people were right to appeal to the United Nations Organization for help and advice in rebuilding their country rather than to turn to any individual power.

Until achieving our own independence we have hesitated to add our

voice to the general discussion about the Congo lest we should merely add to the confusion, but now I feel that it is my duty to put before you and to ask for your sympathetic consideration of the possible solutions which have suggested themselves to us.

We warmly applauded the immediate response of the United Nations Organization to the Congolese disaster. The speed with which troops were sent to maintain law and order was most commendable but the mere sending of armed forces is not enough. I consider it essential that the United Nations Organization should thoroughly investigate the root causes of the troubles which have arisen there, and I suggest the appointment of a fact-finding commission to look into the circumstances which caused the present crisis. Without a proper and thorough diagnosis, it is idle to pretend that an effective remedy can be prescribed.

And here I would say that to my mind it is most important that none of the great powers should be represented on the fact-finding commission because however honest their intentions it would be inevitable that they would be regarded as having a particular interest in the problem.

The first essential is to find a government capable of governing and for this it will probably be necessary to hold new elections. When these have been held there will be some properly authorised leaders with whom the United Nations Organization can co-operate. I think it important that the United Nations should work only with those whom I have termed the authorised leaders. They may seem to some of us to be far from perfect and to some even objectionable but if they are duly chosen by a majority then they must be supported. It would be the height of folly to attempt to impose a government which was not founded on popular support—the result would only be even greater confusion.

I have studied various suggestions which have been put forward and I can tell you that some of those which appear at first sight attractive are really quite impossible. For instance, there can be no question of the United Nations taking on the role of an administering power, or of the Congo Republic being regarded as a United Nations trusteeship territory. The Congo Republic has been declared independent, and if a practicable plan is to be worked out, we must accept that fact and arrange that the assistance and advice which the United Nations Organization gives is given on an agency basis, without infringing on the sovereignty of the government.

It is true that elections cannot be held overnight: it is an arduous and lengthy task to arrange elections in such a large territory, and some immediate action is required in the meantime, so I think that the United Nations must take a much firmer line than hitherto and quite firmly support the central government in maintaining law and order, and in keeping the machinery of day-to-day government moving. This will entail giving additional powers to the United Nations Force and to its

other agencies, but only for a limited period until new elections have been held.

Once the people have chosen their representatives, it will be possible to organise discussions to find out the form of government which will be generally acceptable. Whether the result be a confederacy or a federation, the root of the problem will lie in revenue allocation, and here the United Nations can be of the greatest assistance by providing the necessary experts to inquire and advise. And in all its activities it is most essential that the United Nation should make use of only the most able and experienced experts. I am not, for one moment, criticising any of the United Nations staff now serving in the Congo, but I do want to emphasise that if this problem is to be solved, it is absolutely necessary to procure the services of men who are really knowledgeable and capable of working out practicable means of dealing with the various questions.

I have said already that much of the present situation in the Congo is obscure, but from what I have heard, I believe that the situation is not so desperate as is sometimes thought. I am told that the lower branches of the civil service are efficient, that the public utilities continue to function and that there is a fair amount of executive capacity. It seems to me important to ensure that the ordinary day-to-day government is kept working because if that is allowed to collapse, the difficulties will be increased a thousandfold.

To man the higher positions it will obviously be necessary to train Congolese and, to this end, I propose that those African States which hold the same view as Nigeria should combine with us to find places in secondary and technical schools for some hundreds of Congolese boys. I do not think that ignorance of the language of instruction would be much of a problem, and I am sure that the effect of a large number of Congolese seeing how other African countries manage their own affairs would have a beneficial result and would help the Congolese to take a wider view and to realise fully the importance of not allowing a breakdown of the constitution to take place.

African states can also help by taking a limited number of Congolese for sub-professional training in community development, co-operatives, agricultural extension work and the like, and by sending short-term advisory missions to survey the requirements of the Congo in building up from what exists there already. Nigeria is prepared to make her experience available and to send technical experts to assist in planning developments for the future. We can also lend professors and teaching staff from time to time to give short courses and lectures and I assure you that many qualified Nigerians are eager to take part in such work during their school and college vacations.

These are but a few of the ways in which the Congo can be helped. I am sure that late though it already is, it is not too late. We African States should come together to assist the Congolese to solve their problems, and I feel sure we can do so but it must be collectively and not merely as so many individual states. We must do it together and we must be

entrusted with this responsibility by the United Nations and given their full backing.

Nor would I limit the advice and assistance to African countries but would welcome the participation of other states though I repeat that I think it would be advisable to exclude the great powers.

And now to deal with the more general problems of Africa, problems which are bound to arise as those powers which colonised Africa in the last century are now relinquishing their control and granting independence to their former colonies.

The most serious problem in these cases seems to me to be that, in itself, political independence is totally inadequate if it is not accompanied by stability and economic security and if there is no genuine personal liberty with freedom to express one's views and to profess whatever faith one desires.

Economic weakness lays a new country open to every kind of pressure and results in other countries depriving its people of the freedom to choose the form of government which they feel suits them best. Straight political propaganda or more insidious infiltration through technical assistance can virtually rob an underdeveloped country of its freedom.

I therefore feel that if the advanced nations of the other continents are really desirous of seeing the new African States stand on their own feet and make their own particular contribution to the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind, they should make a real effort to desist from fomenting trouble in any of the African countries. The best way for them to assist us to reach maturity is not by spreading ideological propaganda, in whatever form it may be disguised, but by helping us with real goodwill to develop our resources and to educate our human material up to those standards which are necessary for proper development. Many of the new African states are indeed potentially rich and could contribute to improving the world but for the fact that they lack the technical knowledge and the financial capital necessary to develop their resources.

It is especially in this field that I commend the many schemes which the United Nations Organization has sponsored for assisting the underdeveloped countries; indeed I wish that there were many more of them. I would not necessarily limit technical assistance to the United Nations but I do seriously suggest that it is in the best interest of world peace for assistance from elsewhere to be given only to those countries which, although still underdeveloped, are politically stable and have a properly constituted government which is capable of understanding the risks of accepting aid from another country. I certainly deprecate direct assistance being given by individual powers to countries which are not yet able to stand on their own feet, or are politically unstable because such aid will only give rise to suspicions and in the end the receiving country may find itself involved in the ideological war, a thing which as I have already said we in Africa must do everything in our power to prevent.

I wish to make our position plain beyond any manner of doubt as regards the African continent. We in Nigeria appreciate the advantages which the size of our country and of its population give us but we have absolutely no aggressive intentions. We shall never impose ourselves upon any other country and shall treat every African territory, big or small, as our equal because we honestly feel that it is only on that basis of equality that peace can be maintained in our continent.

The colonising powers of the last century partitioned Africa in a haphazard and artificial manner and drew boundaries which often cut right across the former groupings. Yet, however artificial those boundaries were at first, the countries they created have come to regard themselves as units, independent of one another—you have seen them all separate States. It is therefore our policy to leave these boundaries as they are at present and to discourage any adjustment whatever.

I hope that this policy will bring about an atmosphere of trust and that if each country is given proper recognition and respect as a sovereign State it will be possible to have effective co-operation on all matters of common concern to us. I hope that priority will be given in the various geographical groupings—I refer to the West and the North and Central Africa—to joint consultations about non-political matters such as the co-ordination of transport and communication systems, research in connection with natural resources, and above all education. I should like to see students being freely admitted into the universities of other neighbouring countries, and I am sure that by such steps we shall entirely eliminate any desire or need to station armed forces on the frontier.

However I must say that I do not think myself that ideas of political union are practicable in the immediate future. I do not rule out the possibility of eventual union but for the present it is unrealistic to expect countries to give up the sovereignty which they have so recently acquired and I am quite sure that it is wrong to imagine that political union could of itself bring the countries together; on the contrary, it will follow as the natural consequence of co-operation in other fields. So I wish to state that I think it will be the greatest threat to peace in Africa if any country sets out to undermine the authority of the properly chosen leaders of another state, with a view to imposing political union. In that way there can only be trouble. In the fullness of time as political relations develop and there is more and more consultation between the states of a regional grouping, then political union may well be the natural result, but it would be wrong either to impose it or to seek to hasten the process unduly.

So far I have concentrated on the problems of Africa. Please do not think that we are not interested in the problems of the rest of the world; we are intensely interested in them and hope to be allowed to assist in

finding solutions to them through this organization, but being human we are naturally concerned first with what affects our immediate neighbourhood.

We do indeed believe in this United Nations Organization as providing perhaps the only effective machinery for inducing world peace, but, while proudly and gratefully accepting membership of this supreme world body may I frankly say that we who have waited for admission have sometimes been concerned lest our older and more powerful brethren are losing sight of the objects which in founding this organization they sought to serve.

If I think correctly the whole purpose of the United Nations Organization is to enable the different countries to work together in a friendly atmosphere to procure the peace and progress of mankind, and that this co-operation is meant to link all the member nations no matter what sort of government each individual country enjoys within its own boundaries.

It was also, I believe, the intention of the original promoters to see that countries which are now backward should be assisted in every possible way to develop so that they become world assets and not liabilities. I do not think that it was ever the intention of any of those countries which were responsible for the creation of this United Nations Organization to turn it into an arena where party politics could be played at the highest level and where ideological differences would obscure the main objective of securing peace between the nations and stability in the world at large.

We in Nigeria are a populous country—there are nearly forty millions of us—and our territory is relatively large. We are willing to learn before we rush into the field of international politics, but we are totally unwilling to be diverted from the ideals which we think true. That is the reason why we shall not be found to align ourselves as a matter of routine with any particular bloc; indeed I hate the very idea of blocs existing at all in the United Nations—it seems to me to be a contradiction in terms.

This Assembly is the supreme conference in the world, if the ideals on which it is based are really accepted then one would expect every representative, no matter from where he comes, to feel absolutely free to express the mind of the country he represents, to feel that he is in no way restricted, either by the lobbying of other representatives or in the case of underdeveloped countries by being put under an obligation through technical and financial aid. Each representative should be strong enough to resist all efforts to deflect him from the path of truth as he sees it.

We in Nigeria honestly believe in the principles of the United Nations, and we believe that with a change of heart among the members and especially among the more powerful nations, there is no reason why there should not be peace and happiness. I think that all will agree that

the present tension is due to mutual suspicion and to the efforts made by groups of countries to impose ideological notions of one kind or another on their neighbours.

I am speaking frankly to you because this is the first occasion on which my country has been able to speak out in the councils of the world.

One great advantage which we new nations have is that the accession to independence makes a clean cut with our past, and presents us with the opportunity to enter the field of international relations untrammelled by prior commitments. It is probably the one occasion in the life of a nation when it is possible to choose policies for their inherent qualities of goodness.

And so as we gratefully take the place to which you have invited us we feel an immense responsibility to the world whom you represent. We see nation wrangling with nation and we wonder how we can help.

Just one week ago as the clocks were striking midnight and Nigeria was on the threshold of independence there was a brief ceremony at which the leaders of three different faiths each said a brief prayer. We then realised, all of us, that however much we might imagine ourselves to be responsible for the happy accession to independence, we realised that above all there is a divine providence, and I do honestly believe that one primary essential to international friendship and co-operation is for each man to be true to his religious beliefs and to reaffirm the basic principles of his particular creed. It may be that then, when we hear the world crying out for peace, we may receive the inspiration to deal with these intractable problems and be able really to devote all our resources to the advancement of mankind, by applying those eternal truths which will inevitably persist long after we ourselves are utterly forgotten.

THE U.S. CONGRESS

Mr Speaker, I regard it is a signal honour and privilege to be invited to address this world-famed gathering, not only because the United States of America is one of the leading nations of the world and one of the most powerful and advanced on earth today, but also because I believe that those who have struggled and worked to achieve independence will share with you and the great country which you represent a special meaning of liberty, of freedom from outside control, and opportunities for the fulfilment of one's national desires and cultural heritage.

Sir, this is my third visit to your great country; the first was in 1955 when I came to study River Transport on the Mississippi. I was then my country's Minister of Transport. My last visit was last October

when I came to witness the admission of my country into the United Nations Organization. It is with a special sense of affinity that I have the great pleasure of visiting your country on the invitation of President Kennedy. **Our affinity with the United States is two-fold. We share with you a history of common struggle to achieve freedom from anything that is oppressive to the human spirit. We also share with you a blood affinity with some twenty million of your citizens of African descent. Between our two countries, there resides the largest concentration of peoples with African blood. Therefore, my Government and the people of Nigeria watch with great interest the gallant effort which your Government and Administration are making to remove those elements in your social institutions which have in the past caused us great anxiety. We in Nigeria do appreciate your difficulties in tackling this most delicate and complicated problem. We congratulate your Government for its courage in facing up to its responsibilities in this sphere and we can assure you that as long as your administration continues in this effort it will always have our sympathy and understanding.**

My colleagues and I have been overwhelmed by the kindness which we have found on all sides and the hospitality with which we have been received since our arrival. We have been struck by the spirit of understanding we have found in discussing with those to whom the American people have entrusted the care and control of their national affairs and we are highly gratified that in this part of the world, far away from our own home, we have found friends willing to listen to our own point of view and to understand the purpose and impulses that underline our actions and our faults.

No one who visits the United States of America will fail to notice the effects of a free society and of a democratic system of Government in which the rulers are the embodiments of the will of the people and where the activity of those who rule are reviewed frankly from time to time by the entire population. We admire the American way of life and we respect the people of the United States for their love of freedom. Like you, we in Nigeria cherish freedom and individual liberty. **Our policy as has always been stated is one of friendship with all the nations of the world. We do not wish to identify ourselves as a matter of routine with the policies of any particular country or groups of countries. We will continue to base our attitude to the problems of the world on an unflinching respect for truth and the desire to find out and strive to support what is right. It is our determination in all our dealings within our own country and with the outside world that we uphold the dignity of man everywhere. We shall endeavour with every means at our command to make certain that in our own country the freedom which we have attained and which we so dearly cherish shall extend to all who are still under the domination of other people.**

We know fully well from our own experience that the preparation of a people for freedom and nationhood in the modern world requires some effort and sense of purpose among those on whom the freedom is to be conferred. We realize also that some planning and training are always necessary for the establishment of a successful independent state. In many cases the governing power of these dependent territories have not accepted the principle of the right of self-determination for these peoples and, as a result, training and preparation are not forthcoming from them in the hope that the territories under them will remain in perpetual bondage. Nigeria is emphatically opposed to this attitude. **Our own freedom can only have meaning to the extent that we utilize our efforts and goodwill to achieve the same for all Africans.** I am happy today to have the opportunity of expressing these views before the Congress of a country which all through its history has had the high reputation of being the one leading nation of the world which has consistently been opposed to the domination of one country by another.

In Nigeria today, we are engaged in the exciting task of nation building. Like many of our neighbours we are faced with the problems of raising the living standards for our peoples and of expanding our social services. **Members of the Congress of the United States of America, I would like to say how very much we in Nigeria appreciate your assistance and the ready help we have received from the Government and people of the United States.** An example of this is the assistance which you have recently given to enable us to have a gigantic Programme of Education based on the Ashby Commission Report. This Educational Programme foreshadowed by the Ashby Commission Report is only a part of the major Five Years' Development Programme which my Government is now engaged in formulating. In this connection, the United States Government showed its great interest by dispatching a team of four experts in Economic Planning to study how the plan is progressing. I am sure that your Government must have received by now the report of the four experts. Mr Speaker, the Government and people of the United States have tremendous responsibilities, not only to the citizens of their own country but to the entire world.

Nigeria looks at the international situation with increasing anxiety. Since World War II, the great powers have been trying to find ways by which the peace of the world could be preserved. For many years now the great nations have been holding series of conferences with a view to achieving everlasting peace for mankind. So far, Mr Speaker, there has been no spectacular result. I think this is due largely to suspicion and distrust. I believe that such conferences by the great powers are useful, and I also believe that exchange of ideas between the different peoples of the world is good. However, it is my view also that the most effective way of creating understanding and removing suspicion and distrust is by closer association of peoples at all levels by

exchange of ideas and by personal contact. The East must understand the West not only at the high Government level but also the ordinary people from the East must be encouraged to visit the West and see how the people there live in their ordinary day-to-day life. The people of the West must also be encouraged to visit the East to see and learn what life is like there. Sir, we in Nigeria think that the United States of America and other big nations could really preserve world peace without necessarily engaging in the traditional way of waging war. The dangers of war are so great today that all nations, big or small must do everything they can to stop an armed conflict.

Mr Speaker, we in Nigeria have faith in the United Nations and it is our wish that the United Nations Organization should be greatly strengthened so as to make it impossible for any nation to ignore its authority. We think that the whole structure of the United Nations needs to be re-examined and the Security Council should be composed in such a way that the new independent African countries can have an effective voice. We believe the United Nations Organization is the only one sure guarantee of preserving the sovereignty of all states that are weak. The United States of America working in co-operation with the other nations has a very important part to play in bringing this about. My presence in the United States of America today is a mark of genuine international co-operation and friendship. We in Nigeria fully realise that in the modern world, no nation can shut itself out from the rest of mankind and that mutual co-operation between nations for the preservation of peace and the development and progress of society is inevitable. While consolidating our long established friendships and making new ones, we have not failed to make it apparent that for us our continent of Africa is a very special place. You will have heard of our recent efforts in Africa to come together and to examine ways by which all the various states in our continent can co-operate in a joint endeavour for the development of their resources, for the improvement of communications and general movement towards closer association. When the representatives of twenty African countries met recently in Monrovia, we tried to lay the foundation of what we thought would make for lasting association based on respect for each others' feeling and understanding of each others' point of view.

We cannot under-estimate the tremendous difficulties and the enormous task before us in Africa. We are conscious of the trials and the complications which we must face before our dreams materialise. In furtherance of this knowledge and determination, our experts are now meeting at Dakar in an air of friendship to put up concrete proposals for the establishment of an effective organization for the implementation of the resolutions of the Monrovia Conference. These proposals will be submitted to the resumed conference to be held in Lagos later this year. The Africans today are determined to foster

greater co-operation among themselves; so that while drawing on the advanced techniques and the skills from the other nations of the world, they will, on their own, develop their own resources and their own culture in order to make their own contribution to the general progress of mankind.

Gone are the days when Africa was viewed only through story-book pictures as a remote and dark continent. Today, Africa is awake and alive to the problems of the world and the difficulties of modern government. Many African countries are now becoming independent, and I hope, Sir, that the people of America should appreciate that many of those countries have been under colonial rule for over 100 years. Therefore, each one of them after achieving independence should be given the chance to consolidate its new position, because independence brings with it much excitement and the transfer of power from colonial regime to self-rule is not always very easy because not all the colonial powers are of the same temperament. We are yearning for means to foster self-sustained economic growth, and we expect help from the enterprising people of the United States. We need every possible assistance because we think we share with you, the American people, a faith in the destiny of mankind. Nigeria in particular, and the African countries in general, present tremendous opportunities and we earnestly hope that the great American nation will be alive to the importance of Africa in its making the fullest contribution to the peace and happiness of mankind. **The spirit of freedom, Mr Speaker, which was kindled in the hearts of the founders of your great nation and has impelled you to great feats in moments of national emergency as well as in your daily activities, that same spirit has shown itself in Africa and we are determined that the flame of freedom once alight shall not go out again in our Continent.** Once more, I thank you, Mr Speaker, and Members of the Congress of the United States of America, for this great opportunity to address you this afternoon. Our experience in your country will long be remembered in Nigeria.

AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

I am glad to be back in Nigeria after an official visit to the United States of America at the invitation of President Kennedy. The visit was for a duration of only one week but I think it was of crucial importance to us in Nigeria and to the African continent.

First, let me recount my experience in that great country. In spite of his arduous duties and pressure on his valuable time, President Kennedy and I had a series of cordial and frank discussions, particularly on the question of world peace and world order without which our plans

Broadcast to the Nation on his return from a tour of the United States: August 2, 1961

for social and economic development would be meaningless. I found him to be a man of understanding, sympathetic and willing to assist us in the pursuit of our aims and objectives.

Later I was privileged to address the American House of Representatives. You will have read the speech which I delivered on that occasion. But I would like to repeat some of the things I said. **First, we share with the United States a history of common struggle for freedom and independence. Secondly, with Nigeria's population of some forty million, and some twenty million American citizens of African descent, Nigeria and the United States have the largest concentration of people with African blood, something we will do well always to remember. Thirdly, Nigeria's cardinal policy is one of friendship with all nations of the world and closer association of peoples at all levels. And, fourthly, our determination to see the United Nations grow from strength to strength in the furtherance of international peace and discipline.**

With the completion of our programme in Washington, my colleagues and I paid brief visits to Chicago and Knoxville, Tennessee. There we met the ordinary men and women of the United States whom we found to be hospitable. We owe them a debt of gratitude for their contribution in making our visit successful. While in Chicago we visited the Northwestern University and the Deering Library where we were shown the University's Programme of African Studies. This is of importance in Nigeria and it is my earnest hope that by exchange of students and other means Nigeria and other States will make use of the results of research for social and cultural developments in Africa.

The Tennessee Valley which we later visited was an economically weak region in 1933, when the T.V.A. came into existence. Its rivers were undeveloped; its forests were suffering from over-cutting; its soils were eroded and drained of plant food; its people were on a low subsistence level and were also faced with the problems of malaria incidence, flooding and with navigational difficulties. As you know we have similar problems with the river Niger and its tributaries; and you will understand why we went to Tennessee to see what lessons we can derive from the great experiment in this Region which was started over twenty-five years ago.

Today, Tennessee has become a gigantic inland waterway carrying agricultural products and manufactured goods to a growing market with links with other waterway systems serving the whole American nation. It is contributing more and more to the general welfare and common security of the United States of America. Dams and locks have been erected on the river and these are providing efficient and economic water transport systems all the year round, providing cheap electricity for new and growing industries, irrigating large areas of land and increasing the yields in agricultural production. In this way, the

T.V.A. has made possible the agricultural and industrial development of the Region.

Herein lies the significance of our visit. Nigeria and the United States share not only a common historic experience but also common economic problems. My personal acquaintance with President Kennedy and our meeting with the Congress and American people have convinced us that the United States is not only a friend of Nigeria but also a nation with immense resources which is prepared to contribute in a substantial way to the development of Nigeria.

But, in the pursuit of its legitimate aims to raise the living standards of its people, Nigeria has to play its part in the maintenance of peace in Africa and in the world as a whole. For this reason, I took the opportunity to discuss with President Kennedy current world problems and Nigeria's attitude to those problems. All nations, big and small, have a stake in world peace and stability to enable them to devote their whole effort to the betterment of their peoples. It was with this approach that I discussed with President Kennedy and his Secretary of State, Mr Dean Rusk, the problems of Disarmament, Berlin, Angola and the Congo, and the deplorable bombing of Bizerta by France. Problems such as these should be brought before the United Nations where all member-nations can genuinely make their contribution to their solutions in the interest of mankind generally. This brings me to our discussions on the United Nations Organization as an instrument for world peace. But I am sure you will first want me to tell you of my discussions relating to Africa.

The continent of Africa holds a special place in our hearts. Next to safeguarding and promoting the interests of the Federation and its citizens, the Federal Government is committed to the preservation of peace and tranquility in Africa, and to its social, cultural and economic development. We do not seek the immediate union of African states because it is not practicable. Many of these states, including Nigeria, are still filled with the excitement of independence and are naturally determined to maintain their sovereignty. It is therefore in the interest of all to ensure that territorial boundaries in Africa are not interfered with and that no nation should seek by undesirable means to absorb smaller states simply because they are weak. It is a different proposition if an African state of its own free volition asks to join another state for economic, political or other reasons. This, in my opinion, is the best principle to be followed in order to keep our continent free from what I always call the ideological war.

There is also the great need for closer association of African states, more understanding and exchange of ideas and increasing co-operation in a joint endeavour for the development of their resources, for the improvement of communications and a general movement of communi-

cations and a general movement towards the realisation of an African community. The aim is to find ways and means, not to create another bloc in the world, but to facilitate a general social and cultural awakening based on a sound economic and political stability as African contribution to the general well-being and happiness of mankind.

It is with these considerations in mind that I now turn to the United Nations Organization and its Agencies. The history of that Organization since the last war shows that its structure was based on a wrong conception that only the great powers should have the last say in world affairs. But the general movement since the war has been towards closer association of nations from all over the world. What we now want is to reduce the differences between nations and to bring the world together. The United Nations Organization I think is the best instrument for this purpose and it is my hope that African countries will be given an effective voice in that Organization. Our presence in the Security Council will, I am sure, have a salutary effect on the great powers and will enable us to make our contribution to the cause of world peace. It may be that we can also act as a catalyst in the settlement of disputes over which the great powers, left to themselves, can never reach agreement.

For these reasons, **I would like to see a change in the structure and composition of the Security Council and I would like to see the disappearance of the veto power. I think to all independent countries the United Nations is the one sure guarantee of their freedom.** I emphasised to President Kennedy that we in Nigeria do not agree with the idea of nations forming themselves into blocs because we consider that this was never the intention of the formation of the United Nations from the beginning. I think it will be wrong for Nigeria to follow the current fashion of attaching itself to a bloc. Of course nations, like persons, have the gregarious instinct. **But it is my considered view that Nigeria must be free to judge each problem on its merits and to follow the path of truth wherever it may lead. If the United Nations is reorganised and if it is strengthened in such a way as to make it impossible for any nation, big or small, to ignore its authority, it is only then that there will be international discipline and security for all nations. Distrust and suspicion will give way to an atmosphere of peace and tranquility leading to disarmament and the pursuit of happiness for all mankind.**

There can however be no world peace until all the remaining colonial powers in Africa change their dangerous theory that some parts of Africa are integral parts of the metropolitan powers. Nor can the equally dangerous apartheid theory in South Africa be practised for long without disrupting peace in Africa. I made it plain to the Americans that Nigeria is opposed to this attitude and that our own freedom could only have meaning to the extent that we utilize our efforts and goodwill to achieve the same for all Africans, no matter where they are. **First, the**

governing powers of dependent territories must accept the principle of the right of self-determination for these peoples. Secondly, there must be a programme of planning and training so that these dependent territories may be freed from domination and enabled to achieve their independence in the minimum time possible. It is under these conditions that the world can have peace.

I impressed on the Americans that Nigeria has the largest concentration of people in Africa and is rich in economic resources. I made it clear that we are one people and that the welding of diverse forces here is no greater than what the United States was confronted with earlier in its history. It is not very long ago since we set about the task of nation-building entirely on our own. I found during my short visit that the Americans are prepared to assist in our social and economic development. Like many new states in Africa, we are now faced with the problems of raising living standards and expanding our social services. I discussed such important projects as the Niger Multi-purpose Dam which, if realised, can bring about a transformation in Nigeria as significant to our national economy as the Tennessee Valley project is to the Americans. **The Niger River development would mean cheap electricity for domestic and industrial purposes, flood control to prevent erosion, water for irrigation and a navigable waterway opening up the country to traffic and trade all the year round.**

This brings me to the question of international aid in relation to our foreign policy. Of course, it goes without saying that Nigeria must seek Overseas aid in order to ensure her economic growth. But Nigeria is determined to remain on friendly terms with every nation which recognises and respects its sovereignty and we are not prepared to follow blindly the lead of anyone. We prefer to remain only on the side of truth. It is in this spirit that we shall seek and expect aid from abroad.

Let me repeat what I said in America as regards financial technical aid. The whole aim of assistance should be to make life happier for the recipients not as a nation but as human beings. If the United States or any other nation really cherish freedom and liberty they should come to our assistance. **The purpose of my visit to the United States was to honour President Kennedy's invitation and not specifically to seek for aid.** But I found that the President showed keen interest in our social and economic development and that the United States Government was prepared to assist Nigeria in a substantial way in the implementation of our Development Plan which has now reached an advanced stage in its preparation. Such assistance we would gladly accept and we would welcome it from any source so long as it is given in a spirit of genuine desire to make life happier for mankind.

There is no greater need today than closer association of peoples at all levels, by exchange of ideas and by personal contact. My personal

contact with President Kennedy, and the readiness of the Americans to listen to our points of view, will not only strengthen the bonds of friendship between our two countries, but will also pave the way to closer co-operation among mankind generally. **We in Nigeria believe that the gap between the East and the West must be bridged by ordinary peoples of the world coming closer together. For this reason we shall do all that lies in our power to increase understanding and mutual respect for all men and women everywhere.**

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Mr President,

We have now come to the end of a historic occasion in the life of this Parliament. The ceremony we have just witnessed is symbolic of the growing need for co-operation among the developing nations of the world.

It is fortunate that the visit of the Indian Prime Minister should take place at the end of a most important Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, and that I should thus have this opportunity of reporting to Senators and honourable members on the Conference, and to place before them the full facts about the far-reaching changes which are likely to occur in the economic life of this country.

During the last session of Parliament, Honourable Members expressed their views on Nigeria's relations with the European Economic Community when debating a motion on the subject. I followed, with the greatest interest, the various points that were made but because of the then impending discussions with other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, it was not possible for me to explain in detail the views of the Government. I must say, however, that the suggestions which were made at the time proved invaluable to the Government in its consideration of the matter.

You will recall that in 1957 six of the leading countries of Western Europe—France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg—decided to establish a European Economic Community. This decision was the culmination of a long process of consultation and discussion which had begun with an attempt to establish a political union of Western Europe. The period following the failure of this attempt was taken up with efforts to establish an economic union as a first step. The Community is thus foreseen as the economic foundation of a political European union. Already, in fact, steps are being taken to develop this aspect of the Community. The primary object of these steps is to restore Western Europe as a leading economic, political and military force in the modern world, capable of pursuing her

own purposes with a greater degree of independence of the other two major world powers than is now possible for the individual states of Western Europe.

There were three broad but necessary conditions for this restoration. Firstly, a rapprochement had to be established between Germany and her neighbours, especially France. Secondly, it was becoming obvious that the fragmented structure of the Western European economy was a serious impediment to the building up of her economic strength. Therefore national obstructions to the free movement of capital, of labour and of goods had to be eliminated. Thirdly, a protective economic barrier had to be raised against the rest of the world. This barrier is reflected in the three general principles on which the Community rests: a common external tariff which sharply discriminates against imports from non-member countries; a common agricultural policy which would promote the interests of the agricultural sector of the member countries as a whole against the agricultural interests of non-member countries, and a common commercial policy which would ensure that in regard to relations with non-member countries, the Community would act as one. One last point to bear in mind is that membership of the Community is restricted only to countries within the geographical region known as Western Europe.

There is a valuable lesson which I would like to draw from this before I go on, and that is the readiness with which European peoples can sink their differences in the pursuit of what they consider over-riding common interests.

In developing their concept of a united Europe, the European countries took special account of what they considered to be the interests of their dependencies in Africa. They felt that it was essential to provide for these countries a means of participating in the Community on special terms. These special terms form Part IV of the constitution of the Community, which is popularly known as the Treaty of Rome.

It is necessary to recall at this point that the United Kingdom Government, after full consideration, declined to join the 'SIX' in establishing the Community. The chief reasons advanced in the United Kingdom against her participation were broadly that the Community's operational rules would damage the economic interests of Britain's Commonwealth partners; that the Community could easily become a closed society of the rich organized against the poor; that the deliberate turning inwards to Europe required of members of the Community ran counter to Britain's outward approach to world trade; that the political implications of the intended union were far-reaching and would alter Britain's relations with rest of the Commonwealth.

The United Kingdom Government therefore sought to demonstrate the advantages of an alternative form of association and actively assisted in the establishment of what became known as the European Free Trade Area whose members were made up principally of those European States which had remained outside the Community.

As I have already said, special arrangements were made to bring in certain African countries as associate members of the Community. The decision of the United Kingdom not to be a member of the Community, therefore, meant that, in fact, only the dependencies of France, Belgium and Italy in Africa were offered, and accepted, associate status before they became independent. Since then, there have been two important coincidental developments. The first is that the former dependencies of France, Belgium and Italy have become independent and this has made it necessary for new terms of association to be negotiated for the five-year period of association beginning on the 1st of January, 1963. The second development is the decision of the United Kingdom, for reasons relating to her own future, to seek entry into the Community. Quite clearly if the United Kingdom should succeed in effecting entry, this would cause a considerable change in the pattern of trade between her and other Commonwealth countries. Instead of enjoying the protection of Commonwealth preferential tariffs in the United Kingdom market, Commonwealth countries would not only lose these preferences but would be faced by a formidable tariff wall. Furthermore, where they managed with considerable loss to surmount this wall, their exports, if competitive with commodities produced within the Community, could be crippled by quotas and other devices. These devices were designed to check not only agricultural commodities but manufactures and semi-manufactures, on the exports of which many developing countries were coming to depend as a counter balance to the long term decline in the prices of their exports of agricultural primary products.

Soon after the United Kingdom Government notified us of their intention to seek entry into the Community, this Government began a serious study of the question of Nigeria's future relationship with the European Economic Community. The crucial issue was whether or not it was in Nigeria's overall interest to seek associate status.

In regard to trade, if Nigeria declined association, the following of her commodities would be subjected to discriminatory tariff; cocoa 5.4 per cent; palm oil nine per cent; groundnut oil five to fifteen per cent; timber and plywood ten per cent. We would also in the long run be confronted with the possibility of growing competition from the associated African countries to whom the European market would be available without discrimination. Furthermore, if the Community, as is expected, should institute the practice of managed marketing, our exports of groundnuts and groundnut oil, palm kernels, palm kernel oil and palm oil, might be subject to control by quotas. It has to be borne in mind that this would affect not only our trade with the existing 'SIX' but also with the United Kingdom if she joins.

Another consideration was that if Nigeria abstained from association she would not have access to the Development Funds set up by the Community for assistance to countries associated under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome. It is, however, doubtful whether these funds will make

as substantial a contribution to the economic development of the Associated Countries as has been claimed.

Moreover, the Government does not believe that the present pattern of our economy can be changed simply by intensifying existing economic relations with Western Europe. For example, a large part of the allocations from the Development Fund are intended to expand the output of tropical products which are either now in over supply or expected to be so in the near future. But the alternative of industrialisation would hardly succeed if it has to rely on a market already saturated by the products of Europe and from which efforts are being made to exclude the products of Asia. **Our most urgent need, like Latin America's, is an internal market large enough to absorb the products of growing industries, and this need points towards local co-operation and harmonisation of African economies.**

With regard to the commodities which, as I stated earlier, will be subjected to the common external tariff of the Community, the Associated countries cannot for some time meet the full requirements of the Community. It will therefore be possible, in spite of the Common External Tariffs, for third countries like Nigeria to continue to export to the Community. In these circumstances, it will be the Government's chief objective in the coming negotiations with the European Economic Community to seek to eliminate or modify these tariffs.

Although the institutional arrangements for the Association are being currently negotiated, it is certain that there will be a committee of Association made up of officials, a Ministerial Council of Association, a Parliament and a Court of Justice. The Government was convinced that participation in these institutions, which constitute part of the structure of the Community, would be incompatible with Nigeria's policy of non-alignment.

The Government also believe that if Nigeria were to seek and obtain associate status, she would not be able to make her full contribution towards promoting African unity. We were unable, in London, to accept the thesis advanced by the United Kingdom Government that association would remove the barriers which now divide African countries. We could not see how, in order to seek unity in Africa, we had to go to Europe, particularly as the African countries had already been making efforts in this direction themselves.

Repeatedly we were assured that association would not involve African countries in the political objectives of Western Europe, and was only designed to provide specifically for economic relationships. We are unable however to conceive of a Community such as that which Western Europe envisages in which it will be possible to separate political and military from economic implications. As I pointed out earlier, it is upon the economic foundation of the Community that a political union is to be constructed.

It was against this background that the Government took the decision not to seek associate status under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome. The Government, therefore, sought an alternative course which, while promoting our trade with the European Economic Community, would leave us free to make other trade arrangements with the rest of the world. In considering this middle course, we were encouraged by a communication which was received from the Conference Secretariat of the European Economic Community. It was stated in the note that in the event of certain independent Commonwealth countries in Africa and the Carribean not becoming associated, the Governments of the member states of the Community and the British Government would consult, with a view to the possible conclusion of other arrangements.

We are glad to note that arrangements other than association would be welcomed by the Community. In fact, negotiations between India, Pakistan and Ceylon and the European Economic Community have been conducted on a commodity by commodity basis, and the question of association has not arisen. These Governments have therefore been able to take a direct role in negotiating trade agreements with the European Economic Community.

Considering the changing pattern of world trade and the need for diversification of our economy, and also our declared policy of non-alignment, I believe that this House will endorse the Government's decision to open negotiations with the European Economic Community to secure a guarantee of access to its market, and to a reasonable share in the expansion of that market for those commodities that would be particularly affected by import tariffs and quotas.

These views together with the conclusion of the Government that Nigeria will, in no circumstances, seek association were clearly stated at the Conference. We declared at the Conference that the issue of the United Kingdom's entry into the Community was a matter for her to decide in the light of her national interest and that Nigeria had no wish to stand in her way but, to the extent that we conceded to the United Kingdom the right to make this decision, to that same extent we considered ourselves entitled to make our own decision. I went on to make the point, Mr President, that the problems which now confront developing countries are of so far-reaching and so profound a nature that the issue of association or non-association with the Community had become relatively insignificant. It was our view that the most pressing requirement of developing countries was expanding world markets for their export products at reasonable prices.

This theme was developed during the Conference as can be seen from the following extracts from the final Communiqué which I would like with your permission, Mr President, to quote:

'To meet the needs of the developing countries they will support policies designed to raise the living standards of the peoples of these countries and to help them to achieve the economic, social and cultural progress to which they aspire. To this end they consider that improved opportunities and conditions for trade are even more important than financial aid. They recognise the need for the developing countries to have easier access to outside markets for the products of their industries as they become established and the desirability of this being reflected in the policies of the more developed countries.'

'To meet the needs of the producers of agricultural commodities, Commonwealth Governments will support policies and initiatives designed to maintain and expand world trade in these commodities and to improve the organization of the world market in a manner fair alike to producers and to consumers. They will support a fresh and vigorous approach to the negotiation of international commodity agreements to this end. In any such approach principles of price, production and trade access would need to be applied, on a commodity by commodity basis, so as to encourage maximum consumption without over-stimulating production and to offer to efficient producing countries adequate access and stable prices at a fair and reasonable level. They believe that, in the disposal of any surplus of agricultural products, opportunity should be taken, to the fullest extent compatible with the legitimate interests of traditional suppliers, to meet the needs of those peoples of the world who are in want.'

'The Prime Ministers expressed the readiness of their Governments to join in comprehensive international efforts by all available means to expand world trade in both primary products and manufactures. They recognised the important contribution which the European Economic Community and other regional groups could make in such efforts. They hoped that the general objectives set out above would be shared by the members of the European Economic Community. They also took note, in this connection, that legislation was at present before the United States Congress which could materially assist in this aim.'

Finally, the Communique referred to the need for securing adequate safeguards to protect the essential interests of Commonwealth producers of primary products for which zero tariffs or other alternatives had been requested by the Conference.

Mr President, we have been told that negotiations with the European Economic Community would be difficult and that the easiest way out for us in Africa is association. This advice is not acceptable to this Government for reasons which I have already stated. Our bargaining position is not so weak as to oblige us to accept an offer the full political and economic implications of which neither the members of the European Economic Community nor the United Kingdom Government can at this state foresee. Nevertheless, I would like to express our thanks to the United Kingdom Government for their efforts to secure for Commonwealth countries the best possible terms for the sale of Commonwealth commodities in the European Market in the event

of the United Kingdom joining the Community. All the Commonwealth Prime Ministers expressed similar sentiments at the last Conference. We, however, unanimously agreed that there was considerable scope for further negotiations in the interest of Commonwealth trade. It is therefore our intention to press for measures aimed at stabilising world prices of agricultural commodities coupled with assured markets in the European Economic Community and the rest of the world.

Mr President, I would not feel that I have discharged fully my duty to this House and to the Nation if I did not make some reference to the possible consequences of the decision which the Government has taken. I must frankly tell you that we may have to go through a period of great difficulty. We shall probably suffer some loss in revenue from our exports during the next few years. We may not succeed in attracting the volume of foreign aid which we had earnestly hoped to obtain from countries of the European Economic Community. These possibilities will without doubt affect our ability to carry out our National Development Plan. It is my hope, however, and that of my colleagues, that our friends of the West will not be led to deny us reasonable and fair conditions of trade and of economic assistance; and, in particular, that the United Kingdom will exert every effort to induce the Community, if and when she enters, to pursue liberal policies towards developing countries of the world irrespective of whether or not they are associated with the Community. It is only just that we should point out that to penalise the countries of Africa which have declined association would be no more to the advantage of the Community than it would be to these countries. For after all, it is in the interest of the industrial as well as the developing countries that the standard of living and purchasing capacity of the latter should improve. How can we buy the manufactured goods from the European Economic Community if we remain poor? As I recently told the Overseas Development Institute in London, the more well-off the underdeveloped countries become, the greater their demand for the industrial products of the advanced countries.

Mr President, I have tried to outline some of the problems arising from the new situation developing in Europe. We must now come face to face with the economic realities of the world in which we must live. I have already indicated in general terms some of the measures we intend to take. Some others await further developments in the policies of the European Economic Community towards non-associated countries. I can, however, say at this stage that our future policy will be directed towards a search outside the E.E.C. for supplementary markets. It may be necessary to exercise greater control in the marketing of our main export products. A survey of Nigeria's resources (especially

petroleum and minerals) will have to be intensified as it is in these commodities that our future lies. In addition to these, I propose to make full use of our diplomatic connections in Africa and the rest of the world to explain our policies.

COCOA

At such an auspicious time in the history of our country it gives me great pleasure to send a message of welcome to this first meeting in Nigeria of a study group of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. It is especially appropriate that the concern of this study group should be cocoa, for cocoa is Nigeria's most valuable export crop; moreover, the organisers of this conference should be congratulated on choosing Ibadan as your meeting place, for Ibadan is the commercial centre of this most important agricultural industry.

The United Nations exists in order to foster and maintain good relations between the countries of the world. **In the past, the interests of the producer countries and of the consumer countries have tended to clash. I trust that this meeting will succeed in harmonising the interests of all who are engaged in what is, after all, a single industry.**

I wish you every success in your deliberations, and I trust that the results of this conference will help Nigeria in playing her part in providing the world with cocoa and will at the same time help her to achieve for her farmers a fair and steady return for the fruit of their labours.

TRADE

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This is the first Canadian Trade Fair taking place in Nigeria, and I am happy to be here today to open it. I am grateful to Mr Diefenbaker, the Canadian Prime Minister, for his message which has just been read, and I would like to convey through Your Excellency the appreciation and gratitude of myself and the Government and people of Nigeria for organising this Fair. Canada has shown by practical means her determination to cement and foster the happy relations existing between our two countries.

As members of the Commonwealth, we share a lot of things in common. In these days when technology and the search for security are inexorably bringing together the nations of the world, it is most gratifying that two nations located far apart should be using this particular medium to increase mutual understanding and co-operation between their peoples.

Just as an ordinary market is of the greatest importance to any local community, however sophisticated, so is an international trade fair of the utmost importance to participating nations. A periodical market for one kind of merchandise or another not only brings together people from different environments; it not only brings forth from the individual all his latent gifts and skills with which he perfects the raw material at his disposal; but it also widens his horizon and enriches him by exchange of goods produced from other lands. And lastly, it brings about an increasing awareness that all people of the world are one, working towards the fulfilment of all that is best in man.

It is in this spirit that I welcome to Nigeria the Canadian businessmen, Government Officials and others who have travelled here to establish personal contacts and to exhibit Canadian goods and services. I hope that you will also take advantage of your stay here to ascertain what is available in Nigeria to satisfy Canadian wants, so that trade between our two nations will expand.

Reference has already been made to the existing favourable balance of trade between Canada and Nigeria. Our Trade and Economic Mission which went overseas last year had a specific mandate from the Federal Government to explore ways and means of improving trade, particularly with those countries which are anxious not only to sell their goods but also to exchange them with goods supplied from Nigeria. Balanced trade development makes for genuine partners. And I am happy to say that Canada has shown by concrete example that she is prepared to co-operate with Nigeria in this field and that the recent overseas visit of our Economic Mission is already bearing fruit.

Speech made at the opening of the Canadian Trade Fair in Lagos: January 17, 1962.

Here on this Fair-ground are exhibited facets of Canadian industry. Here are represented over a hundred Canadian firms who are showing a variety of goods and services. This is an opportunity particularly for Nigerian businessmen and all others who are interested. It is my hope that as many as possible will travel from different parts of Nigeria to see this Fair and make it a success which it undoubtedly deserves.

It is with great pleasure that I now declare open this Canadian Trade Fair.

WORLD COMMERCE

At the beginning of this year, the Government of Nigeria launched a Six-Year Development Programme with the main object of improving the health, prosperity and education of the Nigerian people. To fulfil this ambitious project costing nearly £700 million, much sacrifice will be required from Nigerians and, in addition, substantial assistance in the form of loans and of capital goods will be needed from abroad.

It is fortunate that the first Nigerian International Trade Fair should be held during the first year of the Development Plan. The Fair will enable manufacturers from all over the world to show what they can contribute to the future development of Nigeria. In the Nigerian pavilion behind you, the Federal and Regional Governments are demonstrating some of the results of such co-operation which have already been achieved and the main opportunities for further joint development. Nigeria welcomes investors, and offers a number of financial inducements to those wishing to set up approved new industries.

I cannot over-stress the importance of co-operation between the manufacturing countries of the world and of those such as Nigeria which are still at the beginning of their industrial history. We both have much to gain by working together. As the prosperity and purchasing power of the developing countries improve, so we can buy more manufactured goods. If, however, we remain poor we can buy little of what the industrialised nations produce. Commercially we are members one of another. Prosperity, as well as peace, is indivisible.

It is for this reason that I welcome to this first Nigerian International Trade Fair, businessmen from every continent. I am certain that with vision and the spirit of co-operation the commercial problems of the world can be solved. I trust that this Fair will make a substantial contribution to world prosperity and understanding, and I have great pleasure in inviting His Excellency the Governor-General to declare the Fair open.

Speech at the opening of the Nigerian International Trade Fair October 27 1962.

THE RULE OF LAW

Mr Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am grateful to you for according me this opportunity to say a few words on the occasion of the opening of this Conference on World Peace through the Rule of Law organised by the Committee of the Lawyers of Africa and the Middle East, and attended by such distinguished jurists from many parts of the world.

The aim you have set yourselves is a noble one—the achievement of World Peace through Law, which presupposes a World Order or a development towards the attainment of that goal. It is no exaggeration to say that, provided you exercise patience and tact, the movement you have started is capable of bringing humanity back to the right path, thereby increasingly ensuring peace and stability in the world.

Throughout the history of mankind, organisations, whether social, economic or political, have tended to grow bigger and bigger. We do not need to despair of this tendency which often brings in its train and in varying degrees curtailment of personal freedom and national sovereignty so long as we keep steadily before us respect for the dignity of the individual and the securing of the betterment of mankind. These worthwhile ideals are enshrined in the concept of the Rule of Law which all nations of the world will do well to exemplify in their actions.

An essential ingredient of this concept is Equality before the Law, whether as individuals within a State or as individual States within the World Community.

There are many other fields—social, economic and scientific, in which there must be increasing co-operation among States if mankind is to progress. Here, the United Nations Organisation comes to the fore. It does not seem to me that all nations are giving of their best to this Organisation and its various Agencies. At the Monrovia Conference, we all pledged our support to the United Nations Organisation and, in accordance with our policy of non-alignment, we affirmed it to be our aim to bring the East and the West together, seeking always to enlarge the areas of agreement between them and to confront them with the economic and industrial problems of today which can be solved only by the joint efforts of both the East and the West and, indeed, of the whole world.

If we seek truth and justice, we must look for it in the spirit of man. We need to resolve the conflict in men's minds: Man must have inner peace if there is to be World Peace: he must return to the things that matter.

As I have said earlier, the aim you have set yourselves is a noble one, and I pray that your deliberations at this Conference, which I now

formally inaugurate, may lead to some definite steps being taken towards its accomplishment.

In the name of the Government and people of Nigeria, I welcome you all to the Federal Capital of Lagos and offer my best wishes for a successful Conference.

FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS

I am particularly happy to have been invited to address this distinguished gathering of jurists, firstly because you are meeting in the hall which we use for our House of Representatives, and in which, therefore, we make our own laws, and secondly for the rather academic reason that the equivalent in English of my surname is Blackstone: this will explain why I appear to be so much at home here this morning, giving a talk on law.

But this is a very serious conference, and I am going to address you frankly on the difficult question which you have chosen to discuss.

I think it was the Emperor Justinian who reduced the whole doctrine of law to three principles—**that we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to everyone his due.** Now I suggest that this conference in discussing the fundamental principles of the Rule of Law, as they apply to the general question of Government Security and Human Rights, cannot have a better starting point than these maxims of Justinian. In their brevity and their directness they are, after all, rather wonderful. It is a remarkable feat to be able to sum up the rules which should guide our lives, if we are to be counted as civilised beings, in those three short sentences: '**That we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to everyone his due**'.

A few weeks ago in this very hall, I was addressing the African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organization, and I told them that in my opinion we in Nigeria were justified in regarding ourselves as leaders in the fight for the recognition of fundamental human rights. Now, I remember that during the constitutional discussions which preceded our Independence, the question came up of enshrining in the constitution those human rights which we believe to be fundamental in a civilised society, and it was pointed out that most of those rights were already included in the laws of Nigeria.

And here, I must say that people should know better than to make capital out of these fundamental rights by misrepresenting them to others and not explaining that the exercise of these rights is always subject to the provisions of the law. It is a great pity that people should deliberately cause confusion about such a vital matter.

As I said, these rights were already safeguarded by individual laws; nevertheless, we felt that this was a subject of such tremendous importance that the human rights should not be left hidden here and there in a legal maze, and we insisted on having a special chapter of our Constitution devoted to the exposition of those fundamental human rights. It is chapter three of the Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria and you can find there not only the rights which we consider to be fundamental but also the provisions we have agreed upon for derogating from those rights in an emergency.

We felt so strongly on this matter that it was agreed, and agreed unanimously, that the whole of this chapter three should be entrenched, which means that no section can be altered without the prior consent of both Legislative Houses of at least two of the Regions, and furthermore, any change requires the support in the Senate and the House of Representatives of not less than two-thirds of all the members of each House.

Perhaps you will wonder at these precautions; it is not that we mistrust ourselves, but that elsewhere we have witnessed all too frequently the ease with which Governments representing only a sectional interest have been able to twist and change the shape of their laws, and to deprive even a majority of their citizens of their rights. In some cases this deprivation of rights has been carried out methodically and in cold blood, but in other cases resort has been had to the excuse that Government Security justifies the action. Well, you are going to discuss this second aspect and I must not steal your thunder, but I warn you that I shall study very carefully every word which is spoken in this conference and I reserve the right to come and address you again.

Gentlemen, I do really wish that I could be present and take part in the whole of this conference. It is a subject very dear to my heart and I am always mindful of that terrible saying that **power corrupts**. We, who find ourselves in positions of authority, have a responsibility to preserve law and order, and at the same time to guard the laws of eternal justice even while we are being guided by them—and how difficult it can be in practice as opposed to theory.

I know that you will enjoy your discussions. I hope that you will have time to see a little of Nigeria and to meet many of my fellow Nigerians, and that your stay with us will be pleasant and rewarding.

COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARIANS

Your Excellency, Mr Chairman, Mr President of the Senate, Mr Speaker, Honourable Delegates.

First of all, I should like to thank Your Excellency for kindly accepting to open this Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association of Nigeria. Now, I would like to welcome all delegates to the Federation of Nigeria. I understand that you have just returned to Lagos from your tours of the Regions and I hope that you have enjoyed your tours and that you will find the rest of your stay in Nigeria worth-while and interesting. Your visit to the Regions, I am sure, will give you some idea of the problems with which we are faced in trying to carry out the building of a sound and national economy, and in trying to create a new nation.

I think nothing can be more beneficial than personal contact and exchange of ideas between the people of the world. (*Applause*) I see that your Agenda covers quite a range of subjects. I shall be particularly interested to know your views on the 'Role of the Commonwealth in the modern world'. (*Applause*).

I think our Commonwealth has not been given sufficient publicity, because I feel that it is an organization which has got quite a lot to contribute to the stability and to the peace of the world, (*Applause*) and I hope all of us who are in the Commonwealth will try to give sufficient information about our Commonwealth and about our set-up to the rest of the world. It is true we have got the United Nations, but if we can have groups like the Commonwealth which stand for peace, which stand for human understanding, which stand for free exchange of ideas, I feel we shall go a long way in trying to find solutions to the problems of our difficult world.

'The role of the Commonwealth in the modern world' is a very interesting subject, and I also say that the world, I think, has got quite a lot to learn from our example in the Commonwealth. I have attended the Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers twice now, and I was very highly impressed with the amount of frank and family atmosphere in the discussions that we held, and I think there is great hope for the future, if the leaders of the different nations can come together and discuss their affairs in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual respect.

The world is passing through a very difficult and trying time—only some days ago it appeared as if we had almost reached the end when mankind was about to destroy himself and civilization. There are explosive places in the world; I refer particularly to Cuba and Berlin, and as I speak to you now, one of us, the Republic of India, is engaged in a bitter struggle to rid its territory of the Chinese.

Speech at the Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in Lagos: November 5, 1962.

If this Conference could discuss methods and means by which the problems of the world could be solved peacefully, the Commonwealth would have contributed quite a lot to the future of mankind and to the future of civilization. I have no doubt that you will do so.

The international situation, though really not good as we can say, has been a little eased as far as I can see it. By the signs, the great nations appear to recognise the importance of the World Organization; I refer to the Americans putting the matter of this Cuban crisis to the Security Council and also the willingness of the Russians and the Cubans to allow the Secretary-General of the United Nations to intervene. I think this is an encouragement, and I hope that all men of goodwill, throughout the world will do all in their power to assist the continuance of this kind of intervention by the United Nations Organization.

To us the small nations of the world, that Organization is the only guarantee of our freedom. We never believed that might is right, and that is why I am particularly pleased to see that you are going to discuss in your Conference the question of alignment and non-alignment.

If I may be permitted, Mr Chairman, I will like to say that Nigeria has adopted a policy of non-alignment. We are not neutral, but we do not believe that we should ally ourselves to either of the two blocs, because we feel that at this very critical moment in the world history, there should be at least some people who could tell either side that they are wrong or they are right, and that we should do it fearlessly. That is why Nigeria has adopted a policy of non-alignment. But wherever truth is concerned, I must say that Nigeria will find itself in the camp of truth. (*Applause*).

Our greatest need today in this world is international peace, and I hope that the nations of the world will continue to search for methods of solving all our problems by peaceful means. Now this Commonwealth can give examples to the world, here we are.

Many countries are scattered all over the earth with different colours, different races, different religions, but because of certain common ideals and common traditions, we agree to come together and discuss our common problems on a common platform. This is an example which the rest of the world should copy. Our organization is a free association of independent sovereign states.

I do not want to take up too much of your time. One can stay for a long time, speaking about the Commonwealth, about the world situation, but all of you are very well aware of what the position is. What I can do is to pray that the spirit of give and take which the Conference of Prime Ministers has gained in the world, may feature prominently throughout your deliberations and that this Conference may produce a useful contribution not only to the unity, strength and growth of the Commonwealth, but also to the stability and the peace of the world.

Once again, I welcome you all delegates to Nigeria. (*Loud applause*.)

BOMB TEST IN SAHARA

Mr Speaker, first of all I must say, Sir, that the mover of the Motion and the seconder appeared to me to confuse the issues. The Motion, Sir, speaks of the explosion of hydrogen bombs and the mover continued to mention atomic bombs and, secondly, made reference to the rockets which France, we are told, was about to launch.

Sir, I would very much like to tell the House that I have a great deal of sympathy for the mover of the Motion, but before there is any further discussion I think it will be best to get our facts straight. The possibility about exploding any form of bombs in the Sahara is very scanty, but I can state, quite categorically, that no one has ever suggested exploding a hydrogen bomb in the Sahara. Hydrogen bombs are, as every hon. Member will know, immensely more destructive than atomic bombs, although atomic bombs are terrible in themselves. I think that the Motion is probably intended to refer to a speech General De Gaulle made last year when he said that it was his hope that France would become an atomic power and would carry out atomic bomb tests in the Sahara.

Now, Sir, bomb tests of any sort are matters of great concern to all people living within many hundreds of miles of the scene of the tests, and I think that the mover of this Motion is quite right to take an interest in any such proposal (*Applause*) and also to bring it before the House. **This Motion Sir, affects the relation of Nigeria with a foreign power and Members will realize that this is one of the reserved subjects for which the Governor-General will remain responsible until Independence. However, I am happy to inform the House that the Governor-General has said that he is willing to bring this Motion, or this debate, to the notice of the Secretary of State, and to ask him to arrange for the French Government to be informed, if he considers this necessary (*Applause*). The apprehension felt by this hon. House, I hope, will be communicated to the French Government.**

I am sure, Sir, that no Government would undertake these tests without due consultation with the neighbouring territories so that adequate measures can be taken to ensure that there are no harmful consequences, **but there is nothing to be lost by making it clear that Nigeria would expect to be consulted before any such tests are carried out anywhere in Africa.** (Hear, hear).

I hope, Sir, that in view of the undertaking given by the Governor-General, the mover will agree to withdraw his Motion.

NIGERIA'S PROTEST

Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to enter the debate at this stage and to say, Sir, that the Government is one and the same with hon. Members of this House as regards this matter. (*Loud applause*).

Sir, this matter was discussed last February in this House. I gave an undertaking that I would send our representation to the United Kingdom so that the French authorities would be informed of our apprehensions. The Governor-General sent two despatches to the United Kingdom. We did not have enough information on the real intentions of the French authorities. But I must say, Sir, that we are still not satisfied and we will continue in every constitutional way to insist on the United Kingdom making representations on our behalf, (*Applause*), because we feel that this is really a serious matter.

I myself, Sir, received many resolutions from different organizations in the country protesting against this test and I can remember not long ago I also received a demonstration of people who were really very, very afraid that this test would bring a lot of harm to the people of Nigeria. Sir, in order to assist the House to know some of the information which we received from the United Kingdom—and I am not saying that, by giving these facts, I am trying to say that we do not regard the thing as serious—I am just giving the information for the interest of the House and for the country as a whole; according to the information we received, the French atomic test in the Sahara is unlikely to cause very serious harm. Also, we are informed that it is the intention of the French to make a similar bomb test like the one of the United States and the United Kingdom. The American test, I understand, was carried out in Nevada, 100 miles from Las Vegas, and 250 miles from Los Angeles. The British test is similar to the test which the French intend to carry out, and this was carried out in Australia, about 350 miles from one city.

Now, we are not in possession of the details of where the French intend to carry out the test in the Sahara, but we are told, Sir, that they intend to carry it out somewhere about 900 miles away from the Nigerian border. Now, if that is so, the site for the French Test would be nearer to Spain and Portugal than it is to Nigeria. (Several hon. Members: What of the wind?). But because of the wind we feel that it is still very dangerous to carry out the test. (*Applause*).

The hon. mover of the Motion, Sir, and Mallam Maitama Sule, mentioned that the French are intending to carry out Debate in Parliament on the French Government's decision to carry out this test on the 7th of September. Well, I am very sorry to say that we are not in possession of this information yet. **I really want to assure the House that we in the Federal Government will continue in our efforts to see**

Statement in Parliament on motion condemning intention of France to explode an atomic bomb in the Sahara: August 11, 1959.

that the test is not carried out. (*Applause.*) If, as my hon. Friend Mr Kayode said, whatever we do the French will explode the atom bomb, I must say that the Federal Government must seek the assistance of the British Government to make arrangements by which, once the test is carried out, we should be able immediately to know whether there will be harmful effects to Nigeria. (Prolonged interruption. Hon. Members: After we are dead?) I want Hon. Members to be realistic in this matter. When you die, you die only after every assistance has failed, it is not good for you just to agree to die without kicking. In case the bomb is exploded it will be foolish on our side if we do nothing to find out whether the results of it will be harmful or not. So far we have been told that there will be no harmful effect, but we do not agree with that (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if the bomb is tested, we must be in a position to know whether it is harmful, and prepare for it. Even though we do not want any test to be carried out at all, I want hon. Members to understand that we go by certain ways in our dealings with other countries. Nigeria is not independent. Our foreign policy, our dealings with outside countries are conducted, on our behalf, by the United Kingdom. All that we can do is to protest, in the strongest terms possible, to the Government of the United Kingdom, and this is what we are doing and will continue to do. (Hear, hear.) The Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs was here only a few days ago, and I took the opportunity to speak to him on the fears of Nigeria in the clearest way that he could understand, and I hope that he will convey these fears to his Colleagues in the United Kingdom.

Once again Sir, I want to assure the House that Government is fully aware of the justification of the fears of the people of Nigeria about this test and that we will continue to make our protest to the United Kingdom. We hope that the French, if they have any regard for the people of Nigeria, will stop from going ahead. Sir, I beg to support (*Applause*).

THE NEW COMMONWEALTH

I must first of all thank the organizers of this luncheon for asking me to be your guest speaker today. I understand that this has become an annual event and an occasion when a number of eminent men in industry and commerce who show a keen interest in matters affecting the Commonwealth come together. I am, therefore, very much aware of the honour done to me and my country by being asked to speak about Nigeria's position, attitude and efforts in relation to two communities of nations in which she is an active and, I trust, constructive member.

Speech on NIGERIA, THE COMMONWEALTH AND AFRICA delivered in London under the auspices of THE 'NEW COMMONWEALTH' TODAY: July 9, 1964.

It was no doubt with good reason that I was asked to speak about this subject. For there are two forces in the world today which strongly influence the policies of all nations. **These are the forces of universality which find expression in the United Nations and its agencies for co-operation amongst all nations, and the forces of regionalism which compel countries in different areas of the world to take advantage of economies of scale on a continental basis in order to create greater material prosperity for their peoples.** These latter forces drive such organizations as the European Economic Community, the Organization of American States and, of course, our own Organization of African Unity. Both forces operate beyond the confines of immediate nationalism.

We are always conscious of the fact that a major cause of Africa's weakness in the nineteenth century was its lack of cohesion and its divisions. These factors retarded growth at a time when the miracles of modern science and technology were beginning to transform other regions of the world. In the twentieth century, we have a great opportunity to exploit even the vaster promise of the second industrial revolution. But this will remain only a promise, if we do not make a concerted effort to remove obstacles in our way. The developing countries, with a few exceptions, do not constitute readily viable units for modern economies. Many of the new industries which we have must require regional markets embracing several countries. To bargain effectively for good prices for our commodities, we must set up international Organizations. The meagre number of our trained manpower demands the greatest economy and efficiency in its development. In order to develop rapidly enough to meet the rising expectation of our peoples we must build up an effective machinery for co-operation on a continental scale.

This is why Nigeria has whole-heartedly worked for a multi-national organization for all African countries, which has culminated in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity at our meeting in Addis Ababa last year. The Charter of the Organization establishes institutions for co-operation in all spheres-economic, social, cultural, political and so forth. **We have always held the view in Nigeria that African Unity must first express itself in intra-African co-operation in those spheres which will raise the standard of living and foster the well-being of the peoples of the continent.**

We are just beginning; but there are, already, demonstrable results of the effectiveness of such co-operation. At the United Nations and in other world forums, the Organization of African Unity has succeeded in giving greater force to African opinion. It has undoubtedly given more impetus to the movement towards the complete liberations of African countries and territories still under foreign control. Time will yield more examples of our united political action.

In the economic and social spheres, with the full participation of my country, studies have been initiated for harmonising the establishment

of new industries, for the expansion of educational facilities, and for co-ordinating the transport and telecommunications systems. These programmes and projects have been approached on a regional basis or through the specialised commissions of the Organization of African Unity. As an additional example, a commission representing the Republics of Nigeria, Niger, Chad and the Cameroun has recently been established to harmonise the development of the resources of the Chad Basin. As an interim measure, and as a means of bringing about the development of inter-African relations, Nigeria has concluded many bilateral agreements—establishing new trade, telecommunications and air-service links between Nigeria and several African countries. Mutual assistance and co-operation are developed through the exchange or supply, where possible, of experts and personnel in various fields. There is also provision of educational facilities to students from other African countries, some on Nigerian Government scholarships. Other African countries are developing similar schemes.

In relating these national and regional developments to the larger world outside, I have come to the conclusion that the Commonwealth can play a vital role. Firstly, by throwing its weight behind our struggle to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism from the African continent and to abolish, once and for all time, all traces of racialism. Secondly, to demonstrate more effectively its support for the ideals and principles of justice and freedom. Thirdly, by intensifying Intra-Commonwealth assistance so that we may achieve better results from our concerted efforts to abolish poverty and tensions generated by gross inequalities of wealth.

In this spirit, the Commonwealth must approach the present difficulties in Southern Rhodesia and also meet the challenge in South Africa with faith in the ideals for which it has always stood. In the transition of countries and nations from dependence to sovereignty in the commonwealth, power has always been transferred to the representatives of majority opinion in the countries concerned. It has been truly said that the stability of any democracy depends not only on economic progress, but also on the effectiveness and the legitimacy of its political system. This is not only democratic and correct, but it ensures a basis for stable government responsive to progressive opinion within and outside the confines of these areas. Were the Commonwealth at any time to condone the usurpation of power by a minority it would lose the power to influence the world for good.

In her relations with the United Nations and other international organizations, Nigeria's aim is so to direct her policy as to accord with universal desires and ideas and, more particularly, so as to be identified with the legitimate pursuit of the primary and vital interests of as many other nations as possible. One realises how difficult it sometimes is for a nation to pursue a course of action which may not altogether serve her own particular interests. But if the world community as a whole is to

move towards greater prosperity and well-being of its peoples, then every nation must conform to certain generally acceptable standards.

The great problem of our time is to find a solution towards narrowing the economic gap between the developed and developing countries and even within the Commonwealth itself. It is our hope that the special potentialities in the Commonwealth could be harnessed for the betterment of mankind. Both the Commonwealth and the Organization of African Unity have accepted the principle of equality of member States. In pursuance of this policy, the practice exists in the Organization of African Unity of shifting the conferences of Heads of State and Government from one country to another so that member-States may have the opportunity of playing hosts to other governments. It would be in the interest of the Commonwealth to borrow a leaf from what we are trying to do in Africa. I sincerely believe that the bonds which tie the members of the Commonwealth will be greatly strengthened by the adoption of a similar practice of holding our periodic conferences at the capitals of the various Commonwealth countries.

This is how I see the relationship between Nigeria, Africa and the Commonwealth. I have no doubt that in meeting these three challenges of national development, regional integration and world-wide comradeship, Nigeria will continue to have the confidence and goodwill of the two communities which must work closely together if we are to see a prosperous and peaceful world in our time.

THE HAVES AND HAVE-NOTS

I am pleased to be invited to lead your discussions this afternoon. The Royal Institute of International Affairs has made significant contributions to the general understanding of various international problems through discussions, studies and publications on various issues. As some of you are aware we have established in Nigeria a similar organization, the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, to promote the study and understanding of international problems within the African context.

I understand that the tradition of the Royal Institute of International Affairs is for your discussions to be based on a topical international problem. I have chosen therefore to speak on **liberalization of world trade**, one of the most important topics in the developing countries today.

The world economic scene is often dominated if not determined, by the political questions of the day. During the colonial era many African countries were compelled to trade mainly through the metropo-

Speech entitled: LIBERALIZATION OF WORLD TRADE delivered at a luncheon in London under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs; July 14, 1964.

litan powers who assumed responsibility for the distribution of their products to other parts of the world. Such restrictive practices very much inhibited the free flow of trade with the result that at the height of the cold war certain commodities from developing countries could not be supplied to other parts of the world where they were needed. **It thus appears to us that the economic interest of the developing countries was sacrificed in the Western attempt to contain the communist world.** One of the consequences of these restrictive practices in trade, is that today the developing countries find themselves caught in a fix. With political freedom they aspire to trade with the whole world but they find at every turn barriers created out of political consideration or narrow interest of some regional economic grouping.

I should like to mention a fundamental conflict which the leaders and people of the industrialised world do not seem to appreciate fully from the onset. At least, we have not always been convinced that they have seen this conflict in the right perspective. **The industrialised countries are accumulating wealth at a much faster rate than the developing countries.** On one side you have technological advance and rapid economic progress, while in the poor nations of the world we have relative economic stagnation. In spite of the fact that in Nigeria, with our £1,000 million Six-Year Development Programme, our economy has never been and is not likely ever to become stagnant; yet our rate of growth is not even sufficient to maintain the existing gap between us and the industrialised countries.

There is indeed no greater threat to international peace and security than the ironical situation where the rich nations are growing richer and the poor nations remain poor even when they produce more. The situation is all the more explosive because the division between rich and poor nations is gradually becoming synonymous with divisions on racial lines. I admit that there are many factors responsible for this economic inequality; nevertheless, restricted opportunities in trade have greatly impaired our earning capacity.

I wish not to refer specifically to the marketing arrangements for primary products as this is a subject which concerns my country as a major primary producer. I understand that this subject was extensively discussed during the recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva. Following the attitude of certain developed countries who endeavoured to maintain the misting patterns of trade, developing countries were compelled to come together in a group of seventy-five. This incident underlines my fears about the world being divided into two economic or social factions.

The problem as I see it is that the present system for marketing primary commodities is so organized that their prices fluctuate so widely that primary producers have never got a fair deal for their exports. To reduce the effect of this fluctuation

we in Nigeria have also organized producers alliances for certain commodities like cocoa. But all these have failed to bring about a lasting solution which we believe can only be found through international or global efforts.

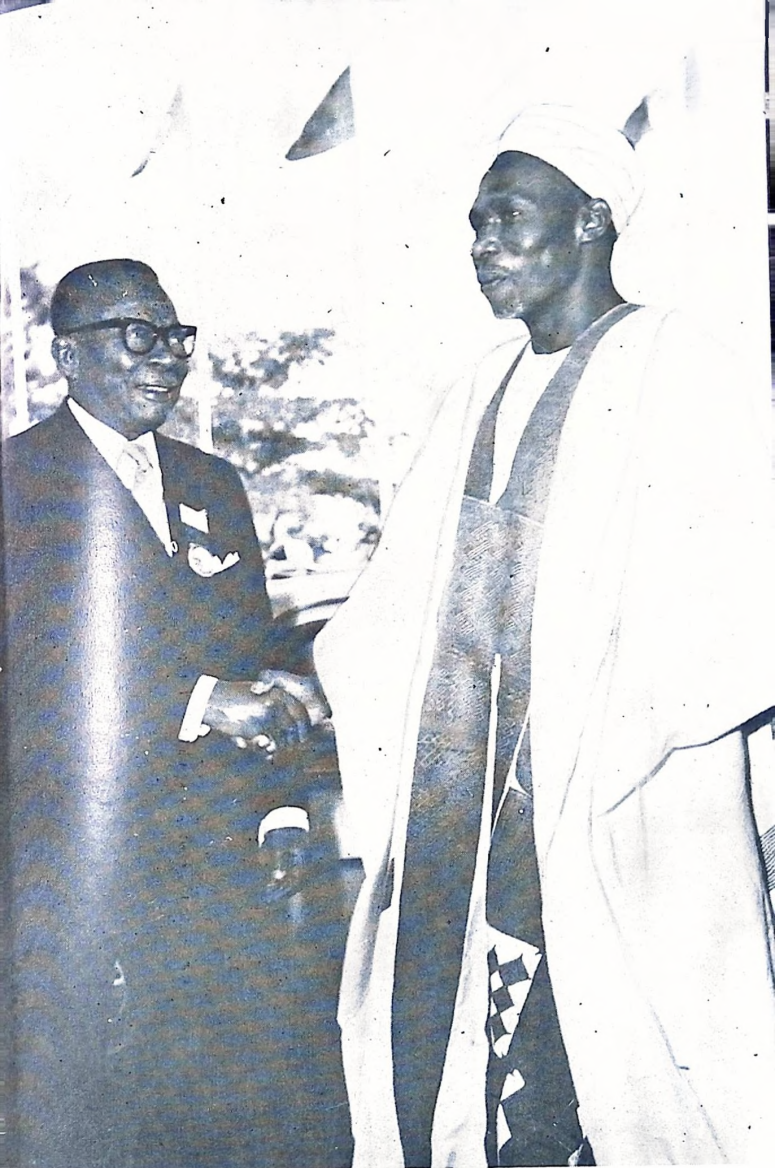
I speak as a layman on these matters but I understand that one of the principal causes of the foreign trade difficulties currently facing the developing countries is the slow rate of growth of their exports. This slow rate of growth of earning from primary exports is, in part, the result of the slow growth in the volume of trade of the developing countries, and in part, the consequence of the persistent tendency for prices of primary commodities to weaken in relation to those of manufactured goods. **In other words, the terms of trade have been moving against primary producers for the past decade in spite of the slight improvement in the prices of a number of commodities since 1962.**

Another aspect of this problem is the relative importance of aid as against trade in economic development of the primary producing countries. Much as we welcome aid, I believe—and I am sure you all will agree with me that self-reliance is the basis of happiness both for individuals as for nations that foreign aid or assistance to developing countries should really therefore be regarded as a temporary phenomenon. It is on account of this that throughout the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the emphasis of the developing countries was on the expansion of their trade with all countries of the world. This can be done by ensuring increase in the volume, as well as in the value, of the exports of the developing countries.

We would like to see the products from developing countries granted freer access to the markets of the developed and industrialised countries including regional economic groupings. We would like to see tariff barriers lowered or even removed. We would like free access given to processed and semi-manufactures of developing countries as a means of assisting the diversification of their economies.

Restrictions and managed markets should be dismantled. These are some of the solutions which readily come to my mind. I hope our discussions will assist the search for lasting solutions.

May I end by saying that we in Nigeria would like to see in reality the world as one economic unit. We also like to see in this unit an opportunity for all its peoples to progress socially and politically through properly integrated systems on a global scale, each country, each economic grouping, contributing what it is best suited, for the betterment of mankind.



With President Tubman of Liberia



With President Hamani Diori of Niger Republic



With the Emperor of Ethiopia, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie II



With President Moktar Ould Daddah of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

AFRICAN UNITY

MONROVIA

Good evening to you.

I am taking this opportunity, immediately after my return from Monrovia, to speak to you about the conference which has just taken place there.

It is, of course, not possible for me to reveal exactly what conclusions we reached, but I very much hope that the full report of the conference will be ready in the next few days and then the resolutions which we passed will be published, and you will see for yourselves why we who attended the conference as the representatives of Nigeria have come home again so happy at the encouraging measure of success which was achieved.

And it was not only in the conference that we succeeded: of equal value were the intimate contacts which were made with the leaders of the twenty other African countries. Considering the diversity of those twenty nations and the enormous distances which separate some of us, I think that it was truly amazing how we reached agreement without difficulty on such a wide variety of subjects. That in itself is a most encouraging sign of what is possible, and shows that the new African nations can provide an example to the rest of the world in settling their differences. I was indeed so impressed by the harmony which characterised our discussions and the value of them to those who took part that I now appeal to all who love Africa to do everything they can to encourage this coming together of African leaders, not only political leaders but leaders in all walks of life, in order to enable us to understand each other

Broadcast to the Nation on the Monrovia Conference of African and Malagasy Heads of State: May 13, 1961.

better and to appreciate the problems with which each country is confronted.

Now the object of the conference in Liberia was not primarily to settle differences between the nations who attended but to try to create the right atmosphere for international co-operation in political, economic, cultural and scientific matters. Successful co-operation in all these things will result in better relations between us all and in greater efficiency which in turn will help to raise the standards of living in our countries and to bring happiness and security to the millions of ordinary men and women.

All these matters are equally important and it would be wrong to stress one rather than another. Take, for example, our different forms of national art, literature, paintings, music, dances and so forth, which are the heritage of each nation and the sum total of which make up the national culture. At present, mainly owing to difficulties of communication, each African country enjoys its culture in isolation and the only arts which reach several countries are those brought in from outside the African continent. We must put an end to this cultural isolation because by understanding the cultures of the other African nations we shall better understand their people and learn to co-operate to our mutual advantage.

Better communications are absolutely essential and one of the first barriers to mutual understanding which we must remove is that of language, and it was generally agreed that as well as its national or official language each country should encourage the teaching of the French and English languages in order to make it easier to exchange ideas.

Apart from this problem of language, there is at present in Africa great difficulty in communicating with countries which were in a different group before their independence. For instance I can speak on the telephone to the Nigerian High Commissioner in London, or to the Nigerian Representative at the United Nations in New York, but I cannot speak by telephone to my friend, Sylvanus Olympio, although he lives only about 100 miles away in Lome. This is the sort of thing which hinders economic co-operation and expansion. It is the same with the other forms of communication, with road and rail systems, and to a lesser extent, the air transport and shipping. If we are to make international co-operation a reality we must study how to overcome all the obstacles which exist at present.

We also discussed the principles of scientific and technical co-operation. Some of you may think that this is rather an academic subject which should be left to the scientists, but I assure you that we were all very conscious of the fact that our ultimate aim is to ensure a proper standard of living for every single person in each of our countries, and we realise that the exchange of information gained at the various research stations scattered throughout our different territories will assist in improving the crops and livestock of all.

I have purposely dealt with the other matters before coming to the political questions, and I know that you will all be listening eagerly for a statement about the bomb tests in the Sahara. Well, I must ask you to be patient for a little while longer and to wait until the report of the conference is published. But I can tell you this evening that we succeeded in getting a specific resolution adopted by the conference, and adopted unanimously. I am really very happy about this particular item and I am sure that it was worthwhile waiting for this conference in order to get an agreed policy towards such tests.

As regards the principles which must underline any realistic political co-operation between the countries of Africa, I am glad to tell you that the declared policies of the Federal Government received universal support. Effective political co-operation must depend upon the way in which we regard each other and behave towards each other, and I again stress the need to recognise the equality of sovereign status and to respect the territorial integrity of all independent states. It is also vital that every state shall refrain from interfering openly or secretly in the internal affairs of any other state. If this principle is not strictly observed then there can be no real co-operation and no real progress.

When the full report is published, you will see that the conference covered many other subjects, but time will not suffice for me to deal with them all tonight. The conference at Monrovia was only a start, but a most successful start, and it will be our pleasure to welcome the participants here in Lagos in order to carry on with this important task, and I may say that we shall be very glad if those who did not attend the Monrovia conference will decide to accept our invitation to come to Lagos.

Before I finish, I want to appeal to all my countrymen, in whatever walk of life, whether they are at home or abroad, I appeal to them to do their utmost to strengthen understanding between the African peoples and to work for our unity and for the recognition of African brotherhood. Nigeria herself has a very special part to play in bringing about all these things, and I have no hesitation in telling you that it is towards this country that the others are looking for help and leadership. We must not disappoint them, and I know that with God's help we shall be worthy of our destiny.

Goodnight.

LAGOS

Your Imperial Majesty, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria I rise to propose the toast of African Unity. **I know that I am speaking on behalf of us all when I say that we are deeply dedicated to the preservation of peace, security and stability in Africa.**

Nigeria is not the first country to play host to a conference of renowned African leaders. Ever since the last war, leaders of African states who have emerged from colonial subjection have been making genuine endeavours to consolidate their independence and to help liberate their less privileged fellowmen who still remain under the colonial yoke. It would be wrong to regard these endeavours as negative in their concept. Rather, they are genuine attempts borne out of the desire to recover their natural rights which for centuries have been denied them. Having regained these rights, it is only natural that these leaders should wish to collaborate as to how to ensure the best means of making the most of their new-found opportunities in international living.

Africa, with its ancient civilisations, has been blessed for centuries with rich cultural traditions which give it the necessary social cohesion for economic and political development. Given its abundant natural and human resources, there is no doubt that Africa is capable of making an important contribution towards the peace and progress of mankind.

But Africa is today confronted with various threats and dangers which, if not faced in time can shake the whole continent to its foundation. I have particularly in mind the danger of economic exploitation by outside powers. This is why one of the supreme requirements of the present is to build on a sound foundation of mutual trust and genuine goodwill.

Our instinct should, therefore, be for our respective countries, large and small, to move forward together from common ground to agreed objectives. We must strive to bring sincerity and vitality to our aspirations, and to cultivate the spirit to acquire deeper knowledge of ourselves. This is the only way in which we can help to re-write the history of our continent; it is the surest way to bring about a rebirth of Africa. **If we would pool our wisdom, vision and experience, there is no doubt that we should be able to convert the misfortunes of the past into the greatest benefits of the future. We must be prepared with the true African spirit of brotherly love to concede to the other fellow the right to his own point of view and to give him the benefit of the doubt; we must make no room in our minds for acrimony and rehearsal of past wounds and bitter-**

After—dinner speech in honour of visiting Heads of African and Malagasy States at the Federal Palace Hotel, Lagos on January 26, 1962.

ness. We shall thus be able to overcome those things that divide us as well as give strength to those organic forces of cohesion that unite us. This is not the time for apportioning blame, but one for accepting the challenge of reconstruction.

We express our sincere appreciation to the conveners of earlier Conferences held in various parts of Africa, and salute them in their efforts to bring about the needed atmosphere for collaboration among those who have present responsibility for reshaping the destiny of this continent. None of the Conferences so far held in Africa could be described as a failure, or as negative in its results. Our objectives have always been the same, since we have always had the same common goal — which is, the upliftment of our peoples. In my candid opinion, there have never been substantial differences among African leaders as to the ends to be achieved. Different methods of approach there have been and will always be. This factor all too often entails differences only in regard to timing; but even this can usually be resolved by more frequent meetings and consultations.

Among the basic sources of strength in our favour may be mentioned:

- (i) a common historical experience of the impact of Western Europe;
- (ii) a similar cultural heritage in art and craft no less than in social and spiritual values;
- (iii) a readiness to welcome and accommodate new ideas, a burning desire for progress and a profound belief in the efficacy of human effort;
- (iv) a natural candour which is allied to a strong sense of fairplay and justice;
- (v) a capacity for surviving arduous conditions even where these include the deliberate infliction of hardship and cruelty;
- (vi) Above all, an irrepressible sense of humour and gaiety, of charity and hope.

If we would dwell more often upon these common bonds of brotherhood and racial identity, we should be readier in our common endeavours to revive all that is good in Africa.

The growing number of independent countries within the last decade should strengthen us in our resolve to create common attitudes to the various challenges of our age, and to ensure that we achieve our common objectives with a singleness of purpose. Africa with all its diverse and unique problems cannot, under any circumstances, afford to be divided; nor can it afford dissipation of energy resulting in speaking with diverse voices in a world already torn with strife. It is therefore imperative that all the diverse efforts that have been made so far in various directions should now be co-ordinated and pursued by all African states, *together*.

The rapidity with which events are taking place on this continent is great. With the increasing number of independent African states it is

our earnest hope that all those countries which are not yet independent will soon achieve their freedom.

Your Imperial Majesty, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, please rise and drink to the toast of African Unity.

ADDIS ABABA

Your Imperial Majesty, Mr President, Your Excellencies,

First, I want to express the thanks of my country to your Imperial Majesty, the Imperial Majesty's Government and the people of Ethiopia for the warm reception which they have given to my delegation and myself. The presence of almost all the Heads of African States and Governments in Addis Ababa is a great tribute to your Imperial Majesty personally. The history of the new Africa will always have your name in the forefront, because the unity which we are trying to build in this conference is going to have quite a lot to do with the name of the capital city of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

Mr President, His Imperial Majesty sustained a double loss not long ago in the death of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, and Prince Sahle Sellasie. During your period of sorrow which you have sustained with very great fortitude, our hearts were with you. Mr President, may I ask all of you, Your Excellencies, to rise and observe two minutes silence in memory of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, and Prince Sahle Sellasie.

Mr President, it is very difficult, after so many eloquent speeches which have exhaustively dealt with the subject, for me not to make some repetition of the points made. However, sir, I will try to explain the views and the stand of Nigeria as far as African unity is concerned. I feel that the mere presence of all the Heads of African States and Governments here shows the success of the Conference, and I have no doubt that all of us will leave Addis Ababa satisfied that we have done something.

It has always been our view in Nigeria that personal contacts, and the exchange of ideas are the basis of mutual understanding. I am pleased to say that, from now on, there will be no question of the so-called Monrovia and Casablanca Blocs. **We all belong to Africa.**

There have been quite a lot of views on what we mean by African unity. Some of us have suggested that African unity should be achieved by political fusion of the different states in Africa; some of us feel that African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation, and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before

embarking on the more complicated and more difficult arrangement of political union. **My country stands for the practical approach to the unity of the African continent.** We feel that, if this unity is to last, we must start from the beginning. Nigeria's stand is that if we want this unity in Africa we must first agree to certain essential things: The first is that African States must respect one another. There must be acceptance of equality by all the States. No matter whether they are big or small, they are all sovereign and their sovereignty is sovereignty. The size of a state, its population or its wealth should not be the criterion. It has been pointed out many times that the smaller States in Africa have no right to exist because they are too small. We in Nigeria do not agree with this view. It was unfortunate that the African States have been broken up into different groups by the Colonial powers. In some cases, a single tribe has been broken up into four different States. You might find a section in Guinea, a section in Mali, a section in Sierra Leone and perhaps a section in Liberia. That was not our fault because, for over 60 years, these different units have been existing, and any attempt, on the part of any African country to disregard this fact might bring trouble to this continent. This is the thing we want to avoid and, for this reason, **Nigeria recognises all the existing boundaries in Africa, and recognises the existence of all the countries in Africa.** This I think, Sir, is the basis of the unity which we in Nigeria pray for on our continent.

As I have said, we have to start from the beginning. I have listened to speeches in this conference, and there have been only very few members who spoke on the desirability of having a political union. Almost all the speeches indicate that a more practical approach is much preferred by the majority of the delegation. I am glad to say that the stand we have taken right from the beginning is the stand of nearly almost all the countries in this conference. It appears from the speeches as if we were just sitting idle and doing nothing towards the achievement of this unity. For our part, in Nigeria, we are already co-operating with some of our neighbours. For example, the other day, my friend, the President of Malagasy said he could not contact Lagos by telephone from Cotonou. This is no longer the case. Now he can speak direct. What we are trying to do is to link up with all our neighbours by means of telecommunications and by exchanging more postal facilities; and we are already entering into bilateral agreements with many of our neighbours. We are discussing this matter with the Republic of the Cameroun, discussing our common problems with Tchad, Congo Leopoldville, with Dahomey, and also we have direct link with Togo. We hope to continue in this work because we feel that, if we are to unite, it is important that our communications system should be excellent and transport facilities should be such that it would enable us to move freely around, to move not only ourselves but to move our goods to different parts of the continent.

Also, we have been trying in Nigeria to join other states in trying to discuss common problems—educational and scientific problems.

We feel that it is very important for the nationals of different African countries to have the opportunity of mixing at all levels, not only at the Heads of States and Governments level, not only at the Foreign Ministers level, but also at all other levels. Let our peoples travel to different countries in Africa; let them get to know themselves and to understand themselves. This, I am sure, will bring great understanding among all the peoples of this continent. So far, our communications system is not what we would like it to be; our transport is bad. This is not our fault. It was the fault of the Colonial Powers because they designed everything for their own purposes. It is up to us now—those of us who shape the destiny of our countries—to do what we can to improve matters.

Many of the speakers have told us that mere resolutions, mere condemnations is not enough; it is time for action. I would call upon the conference that we now start on the real work. It is in our hands to build, to create and to develop a new Africa, which all of us are anxious to do.

Now, Mr President, the Hon. President of the Sudan, I think, when he spoke, told us that we should be frank. I think it was the President of Malagasy who said that we in Africa do not want to speak the truth. We have a saying in Nigeria, which is that 'Truth is bitter'. Mr President, I want to be frank; I want to tell the bitter truth. **To my mind we cannot achieve this African unity as long as some African countries continue to carry on subversive activities in other African countries.**

Sir, many of the members have spoken very strongly on the decolonisation of the continent. I want to say that we in Nigeria are prepared to do anything to secure the freedom of the continent of Africa. There has been a suggestion that we should pull our resources together, that we should make arrangements, if necessary, to help the nationalists in different countries in Africa, which are still dependent, to fight their way to independence. **We in Nigeria are prepared to do anything towards the liberation of all African countries.** I have observed that when we give assistance to another country which is fighting for its independence, some of us are in the habit of imposing obligations on those States. That is wrong. If we give assistance to African people in any dependent territory, we should not ask for any obligation on their part; because that would come almost to the same point that many of the speakers have made that they would only accept foreign aid without any strings attached. I do not believe that any aid, no matter from where it comes, is without strings attached to it. Let us not fall into the same trap. **If we assist any dependent territory in Africa, we must see to it that we do not attach conditions to our assistance.** This is very, very important if we want to es-

establish the solidarity of the continent of Africa, to make sure that any form of assistance we give is free.

It is good, Sir, that we have a common pool, but a conference like this cannot discuss the details of such an organization; and it is our view that, immediately after leaving this conference, or before we leave, we should appoint a committee—a standing committee—to go into the details of this matter. **On the question of colonialism and racial discrimination, I am afraid that we in Nigeria will never compromise.**

Now, I come to a very vital matter, which is the development of the continent. The African continent is very rich in resources but, unfortunately, these resources are not developed yet. We are born at a very difficult time: we have not the necessary capital, the necessary equipment, or the necessary know-how for the development of our continent. Therefore, we find it absolutely necessary to rely on outsiders for the development of the African territories. I would like to tell the conference that we must take every care to know whom we invite to assist in the development of our resources, because there is a fear, which is also my personal fear, that, if we are not careful, we may have colonialism in a different form. Colonialism can take many different forms. Our countries can be colonised economically, if we are not careful. **Just as we have fought political domination, it is also important that we fight against economic domination by other countries.**

Let us not forget that we in Africa are part of the world. We have our international obligations as well. Whatever we do, we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. Therefore, in all that we do, and in all that we say, we should be careful because we belong to one human society. **Mr President, I always tell people that I do not believe in African personality, but in human personality. The African is a human being and, therefore, we have to see to the development of the human personality in Africa. I think any talk of African personality is based on inferiority complex. I do not regard any human being—red, white, brown, yellow or green—as superior to me. I regard myself as equal to anybody. I am a human being.**

Now, some people have suggested, and this is a thing which is already underway, the establishment of an African Development Bank. I hope that, when the Ministers of Finance of different countries of Africa meet in Khartoum, they will be able to produce something which should be of benefit to all of us. Also, a suggestion has been made for the establishment of an African Common Market. This is a very good idea; but I must say that we in Nigeria feel that it is a very complicated matter. We want an African Common Market. But, can we do it by taking the continent as a whole? Or can we do it by certain groupings in Africa? What appears to us to be more practical is that

we should have an African Common Market based on certain groupings. We are thinking, Sir, of a North African grouping, which will include the Sudan; a West African grouping which will extend to the River Congo; and an East African grouping, which will include almost all the Central African countries. If we base our examination on these groupings, I think we will arrive at a very successful establishment of an African Common Market, because I think it is good for the trade of Africa. For example, the inter-State trade in Africa is 10%, while 90% is done with countries outside Africa. There is no reason why we should not increase the inter-State trade on this Continent. I think, Sir, that if we are able to establish an African Common Market, we shall overcome many difficulties and we shall be in a position to stand on our own in relation to the other parts of the world. **My fear of our being colonised will disappear if we are able to establish this African Common Market.**

The question of disarmament was raised by several speakers. I think all of us feel strongly about this question. Although some feel that disarmament can never be achieved, still others feel that it is most important that the great Powers will continue to talk about it; because the more they talk about it, the less danger there would be of an open clash. I am glad that they have seen it fit to invite some of the African countries to participate in their disarmament talks. The most essential thing which is desirable, is to effect disarmament. It is desirable to ban nuclear testing; it is most important that we exercise every possible influence we can upon the great Powers to destroy those bombs which they have already got. If there is a war now, there would be nothing left—everything would go. We are now just starting to develop our countries. The mere fact that Africa has been declared a nuclear-free zone will not make Africa free in the event of a world war. If there is war, we in Africa will be directly involved. **It is our concern that there should be peace in the world, and that there should be understanding among the great Powers.** Some people have suggested that we should organise ourselves into a Defence Bloc. Well, Mr President and Your Excellencies, all of us have been talking about the bad nature of the armament race. It has been suggested that we should embark on an arms race in Africa. All of us know very well that we are at present incapable of joining in such a race. Our idea is that we should not be talking about an arms race. All we should talk about, Sir, is how to stop it, and I would not suggest that we should join in that race at all.

A suggestion was also made that we should come together as a bloc in the United Nations. Well, that is a very good idea; but I must tell the conference that we in Nigeria hate the idea of blocs, and we do not like it. If we can find some kind of name for it, such as African committee or an African 'something', it will be much better, because the whole idea of blocs is revolting.

I think we should try to find better names for these different groupings. I think that we have been working for sometime now in the United Nations where our different representatives meet and discuss matters of common interest. May I suggest to the conference that it is time now that we find a permanent small secretariat for such an African Committee in New York? That does not mean, of course, that we will instruct our delegates to close their eyes to the wider issues of world problems. But, as a Continent which has suffered for so long and also as a people who have suffered for so long, I think we have to do everything to get our proper position in the United Nations Organization. Some of us have suggested that we should seek greater representation in the Security Council and also in all the bodies of the United Nations Organization. Well, this has been our stand all the years we have been independent. I said so in New York; I said it in Monrovia. **It is absolutely essential that the African continent must have more appropriate representation in the Security Council and all the bodies of the United Nations, because we have more to gain thereby. That world organization, I have always maintained, is a sure guarantee of the independent sovereignty of our African states.**

Mr President, many of the points have been made. Many members have said that we cannot leave Addis Ababa without a charter. I hope we shall not leave here without some kind of charter. I hope our Foreign Ministers will produce a charter before we leave this city.

May I thank Your Imperial Majesty again and may I ask the conference to forgive me for being a little bit frank. I think that is the only way by which we could achieve understanding among ourselves. **It is important that, when we meet on an occasion like this, we try to tell each other the hard facts, the truth about matters, instead of speaking about them behind. It is most important that we become frank in Africa.** We are just beginning to know ourselves; and I am very happy, Mr President, for having the opportunity to meet the very distinguished members from all parts of Africa. I hope that this conference will pave the way to the unity and solidarity of the African continent.

THE O.A.U.

Good evening. Last night I returned from Addis Ababa where the African Summit Conference had just taken place. I am therefore taking this first opportunity to render an account of what happened there and its significance to us, to Africa and the whole world.

For the first time in African history, representatives of thirty-one independent States, North and South of the Sahara, met in the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia.

As you are all aware, the meeting of Heads of States and Governments was preceded by the Preparatory Conference of Foreign Ministers of the thirty-one countries.

From the moment that the main Conference was declared open on Wednesday, 22nd May till the closing session on Saturday, the 25th, an atmosphere of brotherhood and inter-dependence pervaded the Conference and it was not long before everyone realised that even though our methods of approach may differ, our primary objectives remained the same. **There was unanimity in our determination to take all practicable measures to ensure the liberation of the remaining countries of Africa from colonialism.** We all realised that for as long as parts of Africa suffered under the humiliating yoke of colonialism and apartheid, our freedom and independence would not be complete. It was therefore not surprising that the Conference took far-reaching decisions on how to assist our fellow Africans who are now fighting in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa and other parts of the Continent to regain their lost freedom. This was the dominant theme of the Conference.

The Conference appointed the 25th of May, the day the Charter of African Unity was signed, as **Africa Liberation Day**. This will be an annual occasion to remind us of our responsibility to our African brothers who are yet not free. Moreover, as an earnest of our intention, it was decided that a delegation from the Conference should speak on their behalf at the next meeting of the Security Council, and that this year's celebration of Africa Liberation Day should take place on the day on which the General Assembly meets in September.

The most important achievement of the Conference was the adoption of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. This Charter which we signed has two main characteristics. First, it defines Africa to include all the Continental African States, Madagascar and all the islands surrounding Africa. Secondly, it lays down that it is the inalienable right of all Africans to control their own destiny and recognises their aspirations for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences.

Just as we in Nigeria have been laying down one stone after another in the process of nation-building thus ensuring that a solid foundation is laid, just as we are determined to preserve our unity in diversity; so the Addis Ababa Conference concentrated in those fields where the links between our states can be reinforced and strengthened, and where new links can be forged while recognising the fact that unity should not be tantamount to uniformity.

Africans throughout the Continent can now speak with one voice, that is, the complete liberation of Africa and the harnessing of their natural and human resources for the total advancement of our peoples in all spheres of human endeavour. This is a great accomplishment not only for Africa. It is also a significant contribution to world peace and stability. For the world cannot be at peace unless there is development of communications, industrial techniques and so forth, which in the end can lead to the development of continental economies. What Africa needs is economic development as a means of transforming the nature of its economies so precariously balanced on the uncertainties of international trade in primary products.

The Conference considered the changing pattern of world trade and the need for an internal market large enough to absorb the products of growing industries and this need points towards international co-operation and harmonisation of African economies.

In my address to the Conference I developed this theme on the economic development of the African continent. Because we have not the necessary capital, the necessary equipment or the necessary know-how for the development of our continent, we find it absolutely necessary to rely on outsiders for the development of the African territories. But I warned the Conference that we must take every care to know whom we invite to assist in the development of our resources if we are not to have colonialism in a different form. I emphasised that just as we had fought political domination, it was also important that we fight against economic domination by other countries.

Another aspect of the theme on the economic development of the continent which I dwelt on is the proposal to establish an **African Common Market**. I suggested that what is more practical is that we should have an African Common Market based on certain groupings—a North African grouping, which will include the Sudan; a West African group which will extend to the River Congo; an East African grouping, which will include almost all the Central African countries. There would of course be co-ordination between the various groupings, and in this way I suggested that we would arrive at a successful African Common Market which should increase the inter-State trade on this Continent. Let me quote my concluding statement on this issue:

'If we are able to establish an African Common Market...we shall be in a position to stand on our own in relation to other parts of the world. My fear of our being economically colonised will disappear...'

The Conference welcomed the proposed establishment of an **African Development Bank**, details of which will soon be worked out when the Ministers of Finance of different countries of Africa meet in Khartoum. It also welcomed the forthcoming **World Conference on Trade and Development** which is to examine international trade problems in relation to the economic development of emerging countries. The Conference finally decided to appoint a preparatory economic committee to study, in collaboration with governments and in consultation with the Economic Commission for Africa, the various economic African problems and to submit their findings to Member States.

A matter which received the specific attention of the Conference is the establishment of a technical arm for the Organization which can ensure our industrial progress. **The Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa** already has the resources, and the Conference decided to maintain the C.C.T.A. and to bring it within the scope of the Organization as an instrument for technical, scientific and cultural co-operation.

The Conference expressed its desire to strengthen and support the United Nations, but regretted that Africa as a region is not equitably represented in the principal organs of the United Nations. It demanded that Africa as a geographical region should be represented not only in the Security Council but also in the United Nations Economic and Social Council and its specialised Agencies. I have always maintained that the United Nations is a sure guarantee of the independent sovereignty of our African States. In my address to the Conference I stated that we in Nigeria hate the idea of blocs because we can not close our eyes to the wider issues of world problems. But, as a Continent which has suffered for so long, I suggested and it was accepted that we should set up a permanent secretariat with a small full-time staff for an African Committee or Group representing member states who can take more effective action on matters affecting African interests at the United Nations.

I also informed the Conference that we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world; that we belong to one human society; and that we believe in human personality be the colour yellow, brown, white or green. I added that we must be careful not to give the impression that the African has a different personality and that we should see to the development of human personality in Africa. The Conference was unanimous on the need for education to be accorded a high place in member countries so that illiteracy may be wiped out and our peoples helped to realise the opportunities being made available to them to develop their economic, social and moral obligations.

But there is a lingering fear expressed at the Conference that the advancement of our peoples and the advancement of their legitimate aspirations might be impeded by the present arms race, particularly in nuclear weapons. If there is war, we in Africa will be directly involved.

It was therefore the concern of the Conference that there should be peace in the world and that there should be understanding among the Great Powers. To this end a Resolution was passed in the form of an appeal to the Great Powers to use their best endeavours to put an end to the arms race.

I have purposely dealt with other matters before coming to the provisions of the **Charter of the Organization of African Unity**. I know that you will all be anxious to know what it is all about. I must, however, ask you to be patient until the Charter is published in full. But I can tell you this evening that the Charter provides for an Assembly of Heads of State and Government to discuss matters of common concern to all Member States, with a view to co-ordinating and harmonising the general policy of the Organization. It also provides for a Council of Ministers which will be responsible to the Assembly, prepare conferences for the Assembly and co-ordinate inter-African co-operation in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly. There are to be an Administrative Secretary General of the Organization and Assistant Secretaries General who will be responsible for the administration of the Secretariat. Pending their appointment, however, it was decided that a Provisional Secretariat should be established immediately to examine the various Resolutions passed by the Conference and to submit their recommendations to the Council of Ministers which is meeting in Dakar as soon as possible. I am glad to say that Nigeria is one of the countries whose representation will serve in the Provisional Secretariat in Addis Ababa. **The Charter also provides for a Commission of mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration and member States pledged to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means.** The Charter finally provides for specialised Commissions including economic and social commission; educational and cultural commission; health and nutrition commission; defence commission, and scientific, technical and research commission.

The Conference unanimously decided that there should be no delay in the implementation of the provisions of the Charter. To this end, they decided that all Heads of State and Government should meet at least once a year, and that extraordinary sessions be held as and when necessary.

From this brief account of the proceedings of the Conference, you will see, firstly, that all the decisions reached accord with the policies of the Federal Government. And I am happy that our stand has been vindicated.

Secondly, I return from the Conference full of hopes for the future because all the Heads of State and Government who attended the Conference were dedicated to the unity, the progress and the happiness of the entire peoples of the African continent, and were determined to carry out the international obligations to which each member State is committed.

Thirdly, although the Charter was signed by every State represented at the Conference, and I signed on Nigeria's behalf, it will not come into force until it has been ratified by two-thirds of the member States, all of whom are expected to ratify it before the end of September. I therefore intend to submit the Charter to Parliament when it meets at the end of July.

Finally, you will all notice that there are definite obligations in the Charter to which Nigeria is committed. It is my earnest hope that the people of Nigeria will agree to enter into these commitments in order to consolidate our hard-won independence, and in the interest of the advancement of the African peoples.

E.C.A.

It is with pleasure that I send this Goodwill Message to the Fifth Session of the Economic Commission for Africa which is convening in Leopoldville today. I am particularly happy that the E.C.A. has proved to be a formidable bulwark in the advancement of the social and economic development of the African Region which it serves. The Commission has, since its inception in 1958, provided a forum for frank and constructive discussions among the various African countries, and these have served as a basis for solving common economic problems of a Region where economic and social development are only just beginning. I am also happy that the Federation of Nigeria has been associated with the E.C.A. from its inception, and has particularly taken an important part in its activities in the last two years since Nigeria was admitted as a full member.

It is my belief that the interest shown by Nigeria will continue to grow and, as in the Fourth Session, she will again play a vital part in the deliberations of this Session. I wish the Fifth Session every success and hope that the Commission will live to offer more useful years of service to the people of Africa.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, It is for me a great privilege and joy to welcome you all to the City of Lagos, and to open this Second Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity.

Exactly nine months ago, the Organization of African Unity was born. When the Heads of State and Government assembled at Addis Ababa last May, little did we realise that this Organization, the product of the sincere and genuine desire of African peoples to come closer together, could have achieved so much in so short a time. Many things have happened and many a challenge has been met to prove the immense historical significance of the achievement at Addis Ababa. Our dreams are gradually but steadily being translated into realities.

The First Session of the Council of Ministers was held at Dakar within three months of the adoption of the Charter of our Organization. It was an important meeting. It reviewed the work of the Liberation Committee and adopted its proposals for further effective action. It received a report from the Special Deputation of Foreign Ministers to the Security Council of the United Nations. These Ministers were charged with intensifying our efforts within the world forum to assuage the injustice of South African apartheid and Portuguese colonialism, and also with obtaining more equitable African representation in the major organs of the world body. I am happy to observe that significant successes were attained on both issues, though the struggle goes on.

Distinguished Delegates, you were able at Dakar to arrange for the First Sessions of the Specialised Commissions of our Organization, which have since taken place. These Commissions are indeed the institutions whose activities, with proper direction and healthy development, should affect directly the daily lives of the citizens of our countries who certainly need the benefits of modern science, technology and organization. The reports of these Commissions, I believe, are before you now.

Let no one under-rate the importance of the work you are doing. Millions in Africa are today yearning for the fruits of Independence. There is increasing recognition on the part of us all that Independence would be meaningless if we continued to live in fear and want. We must give our peoples freedom from fear, freedom from poverty and freedom to live in peace with their neighbours. I, therefore, appeal to you, Distinguished Delegates, to tackle your difficult assignment in the full realisation that millions all over Africa expect from you, not words, but actions. You must give life to the five Commissions—the Economic and Social Commission, the Educational and Cultural Commission, the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission, the Defence Com-

mission and the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission in order that the noble aims and purposes enshrined in our Charter may be realised.

The task before you is great. Our Organization has the tremendous responsibility as well as the opportunity to create a new image for Africa in the modern world. Never before in the history of our Continent has the need for constructive leadership been so keenly and so widely felt.

Africa has in recent months, had its moments of trial and is likely to continue to have them for some time yet. There have been stresses and strains here and there. There have been differences between neighbouring sister countries. Certain issues of pressing importance still remain to be resolved. This is as it should be. We are witnessing those symptoms usually associated with growth and progress. And at any rate, they cannot be entirely eliminated in our international relations. The task before you is to devise ways and means of resolving these crises within our Organization without resorting to outside help, with all its complicating consequences.

Two Extraordinary Sessions of the Council of Ministers have been held since the conference in Dakar, one in Addis Ababa and the other in Dar-es-Salaam. The results of both Extraordinary meetings encourage our faith in the future of the Organization. You will be called upon during this Conference to contribute further to the permanent solution of the border problems between member States of the Organization. Again, in the context of African self-help, you will explore possible arrangements for using the machinery of the Organization to preserve law and order and to sustain constitutional government in Member States requesting such assistance.

Distinguished Delegates, despite the dark clouds which hang over parts of our great Continent, it is heartening to note that each new difficulty finds us more truly resolved to come closer together; each new problem is a challenge to our growing sense of unity. We now appreciate more than in the past that we are our brother's keeper and that whatever affects one of us, affects us all. We can no longer remain indifferent to the fortunes of anyone of us. It is in this spirit that all our countries have tried ceaselessly within the frame-work of this Organization to help solve existing differences between some of us. Our determination and efforts to assist those of our brothers still under foreign rule to gain their Independence have equally been dictated by this feeling of common brotherhood. We appreciate, and quite rightly too, that it is only through pooling our resources together, only through joint and common endeavours that we can hope to achieve our major objectives, including that of restoring and maintaining the dignity of man on our Continent.

The Organization of African Unity should play a crucial role in this great endeavour. It should, therefore, seek as speedily as may be possible, to establish its authority and effectiveness in the ordering of

our affairs. To achieve this, it must base itself on the solid foundations of consent, legality and fraternal honesty. We must uphold and preserve the Charter as well as observe all rules and decisions jointly adopted. Our logic and our zeal, and sometimes our sentiment, must be tempered with wisdom, seeking at every stage, to obtain the willing participation of all parts of our Continent.

As I said in Addis Ababa last May, it was unfortunate that Africa was ruthlessly broken up into different groups by the colonial powers, with the result that a single ethnic group had been divided among four different states. We in Nigeria believe that by taking genuine practical steps in the economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation and by trying first to understand ourselves, we would get nearer towards the solution of the problem of re-establishing unity and cohesion. Any precipitate or false step would militate against the early attainment of this objective. In my opinion, it would be a mistake not to take cognisance of the great diversity in Africa today. We must not let the ordinary people of any of our countries regard the Organization of African Unity as an assembly remote from their everyday life and indifferent to their ultimate destiny. We cannot afford to fail.

Before closing, I should like to pay tribute to the Foreign Ministers and other Ministers of Governments who have had to attend two major meetings in Dar-es-Salaam and in Lagos within so short a time of each other. Some have even attended many more conferences in North, East, West and Central Africa since last May. More meetings will, no doubt, be held during the coming months. These meetings have, no doubt, been very useful in providing for us a forum for the exchange of views for the search for solutions to the various problems facing our Continent, and for the forging of an invaluable bridge towards better understanding between our countries. It would appear that the time has come when all of us must take stock in order to ensure that we are getting as much as we should from these conferences, especially in the light of our limited resources and the pressing needs for the realisation of the economic, social and political progress of our various countries.

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, on behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria, I welcome you all to this Conference. May I welcome Zanzibar and Kenya to the rank of Independent African States. And we look forward to having new additions soon. I trust that you will be guided in your deliberations by the knowledge that you are entrusted with great responsibilities and that your contribution will not be limited only to the immediate problems facing our continent, but should be viewed as extending also to our relations with the other continents. You are all mature statesmen seasoned in the conduct of international transactions, tempered by humility before history, and inspired by a vision of our goal of unity and of the full restoration of the dignity of man in Africa. I have every confidence in your ability to achieve real success at this conference.

May God guide you in your deliberations.

CAIRO

Mr Chairman, Your Majesties, Your Excellencies!

May I be allowed to bring the fraternal greetings and affection of the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, and to express to them also the deep gratitude of the Nigerian delegation to this first session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government now being held in this ancient and beautiful city of Cairo. All members of my delegation have nothing but admiration for your generous hospitality and the willing co-operation of all those variously detailed to look after them from the moment of their arrival here.

I wish, with your permission, Mr Chairman, to welcome and to congratulate warmly our colleagues from Kenya and Malawi on their attainment of independence since we met in Addis Ababa. I am sure that at our next meeting, Gambia and other territories will have been freed and that their Presidents or Prime Ministers will be with us to take part in the work of our next session.

We regret the sad death of Sir Milton Margai whose counsel had contributed to the inaugural meeting of this Organization. We welcome his brother, Mr Albert Margai, as well as other Heads of State and Government who are participating with us for the first time.

I recall, Mr Chairman, that just over a year ago, at Addis Ababa, we succeeded in establishing the machinery for achieving real unity and solidarity in Africa. **The Organization of African Unity has come to stay, and is already presenting us with challenging prospects of peace and progress in our continent.** The main executive arm of the Organization has so far been functioning only in a provisional capacity, and it has yet to work in its permanent headquarters and with its full complement of staff. It should, therefore, be one of our foremost aims at this meeting to put matters on a permanent footing, so that our Organization may soon begin to fulfil some of the more urgent of its assigned tasks.

It is necessary, however, to acknowledge here the commendable achievements of our Organization which, in spite of its teething troubles, are already a measure of its dynamic growth. I would also like to express, on behalf of my delegation, sincere appreciation and gratitude to all concerned for the success that this Organization has so far achieved. In particular, I would like to single out for special thanks our Foreign Ministers and the Provisional Secretariat for the indefatigable efforts they have made in their respective spheres to further our aims and objectives.

It gives me great satisfaction to note that we have been able to devise, within the existing framework of the Organization, the necessary

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machinery for realistic and functional co-operation in all the main fields of our continental endeavour. All the specialised Commissions of the Organization have concluded their first series of meetings and submitted proposals in respect of their individual patterns of organization and programmes of work. The Council of Ministers have thought it necessary and desirable to recommend to us the creation of the Commission of African Jurists as the sixth of our Specialised Commissions. I hope that, before we leave Cairo, we shall have taken decisions which will enable the Specialised Commissions at their next round of meetings to make careful estimates in respect of their financial requirements and to examine more closely ways and means of effectively operating their institutional machineries.

I am confident that once we agree to give them the green light, we shall have set in motion forces which are capable of transforming our everyday lives and giving Africa a new dimension of creative living and thinking. Of particular importance in this connection is the question of their permanent location on such a fair geographical basis as to bring the work of the Organization into close relation with our peoples all over the continent. The United Nations' pattern of organization in respect of its own commissions and agencies should be a useful guide to us.

Until we are able to wipe out the triple blight of poverty, ignorance and disease from our national lives and from our continent, our task will yet remain undone. Our teeming millions want all the benefits of modern civilisation. They see self-government and independence in personal terms. They are impatient for results. But, very often, there are not sufficient resources to match their desires and aspirations. Because of our recent histories, we have not invested enough in human capital or even in physical assets. We are yet to cultivate and foster the spirit of adventure and inventiveness.

Consequently, we have had to wrestle mostly with problems of growth and development involving the maintenance of law and order, stability and security. Fortunately, I see in our Organization and its Specialised Commissions a fine opportunity for our peoples to tackle these problems together on a fraternal basis and to develop a feeling of self-reliance and growing confidence in the control of our own destinies. That is why I regard the resolutions of the Specialised Commissions, which outline practical steps towards effective organization of our co-operative efforts, to be of paramount importance.

To my mind, the most significant achievement of our Organization has been the fact that we are able to gather again in peace and brotherhood to discuss our common problems — problems of the growing pains of adolescence, of economic and social regeneration, of national well-being and unity.

Our Charter has set our sights high, and we must strive strenuously to justify the confidence reposed in us by our peoples. We would do well, however, to appreciate in the course of our deliberations that there are

still obstacles and difficulties in our way and that it is only through strict adherence to the principles of our Charter and through increased contacts between our peoples at all levels that we can achieve unity in Africa.

It is in this context, Mr Chairman, that I welcome and congratulate warmly our colleagues from the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar on their attainment of unification since the last meeting of this Assembly.

I am deeply concerned about the situation in South Africa. It is very sad that, in a continent where millions go hungry and uneducated, South Africa has chosen to waste its tremendous wealth on military means in an attempt to crush the undying spirit of man in the name of apartheid. The Afrikaner suffers from neurosis and fear of being destroyed if the black man gets the vote. In order to make the Government of South Africa see reason we have most of us imposed sanctions and boycotts.

I have no doubt that if these acts of peaceful protest failed to induce a change of heart in the rulers of that unhappy country, people would be forced to resort to other means. And that would be a tragedy. It is to be hoped that, at this august meeting, we shall all support practical and positive actions calculated to restore the dignity of man in the Republic of South Africa.

In this context, my thoughts naturally go to the gallant nationalist leaders of Southern Rhodesia where the settlers through fear and greed are assuming defiant postures. It seems to me that good sense will prevail only when fear is replaced by confidence, and hate by love, in the mutual striving after the great and common things that lie in store for all the races in Southern Rhodesia.

The yearnings for freedom in the mind of man can never be confined in prisons or detention camps. I cannot see the wisdom or the feasibility of the present Government declaring independence unilaterally. Nothing but misery and untold hardship could result from the pursuit of so foolish a course.

Mr Chairman, I and some of my colleagues have just returned from the London Conference where the question of independence for Southern Rhodesia was fully discussed. We made it clear to the British Government that it was their responsibility to safeguard the interest of the three-and-a-half million Africans in Southern Rhodesia and to ensure that a constitutional conference leading to independence is convened without delay.

Our stand was made clear that the proposed conference must include all shades of political opinion in Southern Rhodesia and that a pre-condition is the release of all African political leaders either in prison or in detention. We had in mind, Mr Chairman, the resolution adopted at our last meeting at Addis Ababa, urging the British Government not

to transfer the power and attributes of sovereignty to the minority Government imposed on the African people.

Mozambique and Angola continue to be a challenge to our sovereignty and independence. I am happy that Mr Holden Roberto's Provisional Government-in-exile now commands the recognition it deserves. The struggle in Angola has, therefore, entered a new phase. **It is good to note that the yearning for freedom generated by our resolutions on decolonisation, apartheid and racial discrimination have produced fruitful results everywhere.**

It has given courage to our brothers in their noble struggle for self-determination.

On the other hand, we have proved our capacity to influence events in the various councils of the world by the unusual degree of unanimity that now exists on the issues of apartheid and Portuguese colonialism in Africa. **South Africa and Portugal have become the black sheep of the international community.**

In this connection, I wish to congratulate, for their invaluable services, the delegation of the Foreign Ministers which we sent to the Security Council and the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. In the light of the progress already made, I sincerely hope that all African States will assist in the speedy liberation of the remaining territories by making their contributions to the Special Fund, which we have established to supply the necessary practical and financial assistance to the various African liberation movements. It is sad to note that some of our member-States have yet to pay up their dues.

Because of some of the hangovers from our recent colonial past, there have been unfortunate differences between some of our member-States over border disputes and frontier incidents. There have been civil and military commotions in some others of our member-States over border disputes and frontier incidents. I am glad that we are succeeding in resolving these varied crises of confidence within the framework of our Organization, and without resort to external assistance.

Much of the credit for these happy results must go to our colleagues whose enlightened statesmanship made them seek solutions to their problems in this way. I hope that we shall lose no time in approving the draft protocol of the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration which has been drawn up for us, so that we may all continue to uphold the principle enshrined in our Charter that all disputes must be settled by peaceful means.

As we say back home, in the company of brothers there is no privacy. This Organization of ours cannot survive if we only meet to exchange polite courtesies and vague platitudes and return home to nurse secret grouses and pet dreams about what the Organization might have been. Let us be frank with ourselves and exchange honest views about our hopes and aspirations for the greatness of Africa. We must be true to

State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, and under the shadow of a general election in Great Britain this October, the threat of a unilateral declaration of Independence by the white minority Government of Southern Rhodesia, the worsening of relations between Malaysia and Indonesia, and the Cyprus problem.

Despite the pessimism and fears expressed in some quarters before the meeting, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers met in an atmosphere which could not have been more cordial, and exchanged views on the various subjects on the Agenda with characteristic frankness.

As you have read from the newspapers, one of the most important items on the agenda was the question of Southern Rhodesia. We, the African Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, did not disguise our dislike for the trend of events in that country. We were supported by other Prime Ministers in urging the British Government to take appropriate measures to ensure that democracy and natural justice prevail in Southern Rhodesia. We called for the release of Southern Rhodesian nationalists now in prison or under detention, and recommended that a constitutional conference be convened as soon as possible and that African nationalist leaders must be permitted to attend it and to participate fully in its work on the basis of equality. It is our hope that the white minority government of Southern Rhodesia will take note of the strong views we expressed in this regard, and abandon their reckless threat of a unilateral declaration of independence.

The meeting next condemned apartheid practised by the Republic of South Africa and the denial by Portugal of the right of self-determination of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique. Although we did not all agree on the imposition of economic sanctions against the two countries, I hope that the unanimous condemnation of these two countries in London, and soon after in Cairo, would compel them to mend their ways before the situation gets out of control.

The Cyprus problem was examined and the meeting noted the efforts currently being made under the auspices of the United Nations to bring peace once more to that Island, and at the same time guarantee its independence and territorial integrity. I hope that a solution will be found which would enable the two principal groups on the Island to live together in peace.

We then moved to a consideration of the significance of China for South-East Asia. With her teeming population of over 650 million people and her vast resources, no lasting peaceful settlement could be reached in that part of the world without the participation of China. Her existence must be recognised and we reiterated our view that she must be admitted to the United Nations so that she may play her part in that Organization.

But by far the greatest achievement of the Commonwealth Conference was the appreciation of the danger to world peace brought about by

the widening economic gap between the developed and the developing countries. We agreed that the Commonwealth could in a modest way give a lead to the rest of the world in the economic field. It was generally recognised that there is need for more aid on easier terms and on a continuing basis to the developing countries, and that their products should have greater access to the markets of the developed countries. We agreed that the Commonwealth should support, with all the resources at its disposal, the institutions which were set up during the last **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva**.

We did not, however, overlook the need for strengthening the ties between members of the Commonwealth. In this connection, the United Kingdom Government introduced six proposals. These proposals ranged from the joint participation by all members of the Commonwealth in providing financial assistance for **Commonwealth Development Projects** to the convening, next year, of a **Commonwealth Medical Conference**. The time at our disposal was limited and we could not examine the proposals in detail. We, therefore, approved them in principle and decided to give them further study later. There were also other proposals like the establishment of a **Commonwealth Secretariat** for the purpose of providing some continuing machinery for closer understanding between Commonwealth Governments on common problems. These proposals were likewise to be examined later.

The Commonwealth, as a multi-racial community, is an important factor in world affairs. It is in a position to make a unique contribution to peaceful development. But I venture to suggest that the days that lie ahead for the Commonwealth are not likely to be easy. With the continuing increase in its membership, new and perplexing problems are bound to arise. However, with a spirit of tolerance and understanding, such as was shown at that meeting, and by the **genuine acceptance of the principle of equality of peoples irrespective of their race or creed, the Commonwealth can be made a living organism and a shining example of international co-operation.**

At the conclusion of the London meeting, the African members of the Commonwealth, including myself, travelled to the ancient city of Cairo to attend the meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. Our meeting was preceded by the meeting of the Council of Ministers, and we had before us reports and recommendations submitted by them on the work of the Organization since the historic Addis Ababa meeting of May, 1963.

We considered and approved the draft Rules of Procedure governing our meetings as well as the **Protocol of Mediation, Reconciliation and Arbitration**. The adoption of the latter document represents another milestone in our progress towards African unity. Border disputes have arisen in various parts of the Continent; for example, between Ethiopia and Somalia, between Kenya and Somalia, between Algeria and Morocco and between Ghana and Upper Volta; and a

measure of success has already been achieved in settling these disputes within the framework of the Organization of African Unity. The Protocol on Mediation, Reconciliation and Arbitration offers a formal machinery for the speedy settlement of any disputes that might arise in the future.

Consideration of the report of the **Decolonisation Committee of Nine** provided an opportunity for the examination of the progress made in freeing Africa from foreign domination. **As at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers meeting in London, all the Heads of State and Government were unanimous in their condemnation of Portugal and South Africa, and agreement was reached on the form of assistance and contribution that all Member-States should make towards the speedy liberation of territories still under foreign rule.** Some of my colleagues and I had earlier reported to the Assembly on the discussions we had in London on the Southern Rhodesia question, and the Assembly finally appointed a special Committee to pursue the matter at the United Nations.

The Assembly also considered other recommendations, including a proposal for the establishment of a **Union Government of Africa** and an **African Military High Command**. The consensus of opinion was that the various Specialised Commissions should first examine the fundamentals of such a Union. **I made it clear to the conference that, given the conditions prevailing in our Continent today, Nigeria will not voluntarily surrender her sovereignty to a Union Government. Unity can only be attained in stages through genuine co-operation, particularly in the economic, social and cultural fields.**

In the course of the examination of these matters, the Heads of State and Government made very frank observations on the obstacles in the way of attaining real unity. I expressed the view that the Organization would not survive if we only met to exchange polite courtesies and vague platitudes and returned home. I am glad to say that in Cairo, controversial issues were discussed freely, and the conference was very successful in providing a friendly forum for airing differing views and seeking concrete solutions to problems. **In my view, the most significant thing about the Organization of African Unity is the fact that so many leaders of Government are able to meet regularly for a serious examination of common problems.** For an instance, the conference considered a report on the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva. A common theme was the economic development and expansion of inter-African trade and co-operation. **All the leaders reiterated the urgent need for raising the living standards of our peoples through joint planning of our trade and development.**

Since my arrival back home, I have already made a brief statement to the Press on two issues on which there seem to have been wide speculation. I refer to the siting of the permanent headquarters of the Organi-

zation of African Unity and the appointment of the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization. Once again, I wish to make it clear that there was no question of Nigeria having lost the Secretariat or the post of Secretary-General but that it was the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State that Addis Ababa should remain the permanent headquarters of the Organization; and that Mr Diallo Telli of Guinea should be appointed Administrative Secretary-General.

Nigeria has undoubtedly made, and will continue to make, her contribution towards the strengthening of the links which now bind 34 independent African countries within the Organization of African Unity. We will continue to give assistance, within the limit of our resources, to those sister African countries who seek our help. -

I believe that the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth have a leading role to play in meeting the twin challenge of our time, that is, the political and economic emancipation of mankind. I left London and Cairo satisfied that each meeting has been very successful. In our quest for freedom, in the search for solution to the economic and social problems of our time, the leaders of Government both in the Organization of African Unity and in the Commonwealth have shown real awareness of the dangers inherent in any failure on our part. This, in my view, augurs well for the future of Africa in particular and of mankind in general.

TRADE UNIONS

I am very happy to welcome you to Nigeria, and to this capital city of Lagos, as delegates and guests, from various parts of the world attending the African Regional Trade Union Conference. It is particularly opportune that the second meeting of this Conference is being held here at this time. A large number of small Trade Unions in Nigeria are now coming together to build a strong Trade Union Movement through the process of amalgamation into a national body, and there is increasing evidence of a get-together of similar bodies in West Africa. This augurs well for a country on the verge of becoming independent.

This is one of several developments taking place in Nigeria today, but it is particularly important because Nigeria's greatest resource, manpower, is at present largely illiterate and untrained. It is my hope that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions through this Regional Organization will contribute towards trade union solidarity in this part of the world. There is also an equally important contribution to make in assisting to put forward

Message to the second African Regional Trade Union Conference held in Lagos: November 9, 1959.

of manpower. **In your efforts to increase the standard of living of workers I am sure you will make every endeavour to see that such increase is matched by a similar increase in production. In maintaining a sense of balance between the two claims lies the true happiness and welfare of the worker.** As a responsible body it is my earnest hope that you will keep this ideal constantly before you in facing your various tasks now and in the future.

Many of you are seeing Nigeria for the first time. I hope that you will benefit by the free and frank exchange of views; that you will also learn something of our problems and aspirations, and that this present Conference in Nigeria will be the forerunner of many more to come.

Once again, on behalf of myself and of the people of Nigeria, I welcome all of you taking part in this Conference, and I pray that success may attend your deliberations.

WOMEN

I welcome you all to Nigeria and hope that those of you who are visiting us for the first time will take this opportunity to see our country and make friends with Nigerian men and women who are not participating in your Conference.

We in Nigeria are always happy to welcome visitors, especially those who have come to examine the various social forces which are changing the face of the African continent. These changes can only be for the better if people like you ensure that our youths do not imbibe the wrong sense of values in the name of the so-called modern way of life.

All the societies and communities on the Continent of Africa are undergoing rapid changes. Our traditional way of life is constantly being subjected to outside influences. We can only face the problems of these changes if our women provide the stabilising influence.

Women have an important role to play both in the modern set-up and in our traditional way of life. They look after our children, our homes, and ensure that the moral fibre of our young generation remains intact. Even the modern career woman must be prepared to discharge this honourable role.

I want to impress upon you the importance of the saying—‘Educate a man and you educate an individual, but educate a woman and you educate a family’. The problems of change are very complex and those who provide stabilising influence in our society must face these problems and find solutions.

I am very happy that the Economic Commission for Africa, has invited you all, both in your personal capacities and as leaders of

Goodwill message to the seminar on the Role of Women in Urban Development held in Lagos.

women organizations in Africa, to come to Lagos to discuss **the role of women in a changing urban Africa** as seen by women themselves. Your discussions and conclusions will be of great interest to us and other African peoples.

I wish you success in your deliberations.

LABOUR

On behalf of the Federal Government and people of Nigeria, I take this opportunity to welcome you on this occasion of the first All-Africa Conference of Labour Ministers opening today in Lagos. We deeply appreciate the honour of playing the part of host to this important conference of distinguished representatives of African states.

During the last decade, more and more emergent African States have been admitted into full membership of the International Labour Organization. We all recognise the increasing role which these African nations could play in the furtherance of the work of this Organization. This role could be best carried out by consultation and inter-governmental co-operation among the member African states of this important world Organization. It is my earnest hope that all the countries attending this conference will give their fullest support towards the realisation of the objectives of this meeting, for the best interests not only of Africa but of the International Labour Organization as well.

I am sure that my Government and yours will show by this conference our faith in mutual co-operation for the benefit of our great Continent. **I would like to emphasise here, as we have done on other occasions, that the unity of Africa is a fundamental issue to Nigeria.** We believe that a meeting of this nature which permits friendly contacts and exchange of ideas on common problems is a step in the right direction.

It will give us all great pleasure if, during your short stay with us, you will take every opportunity of seeing as much as you can of our country and its people.

SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

I want to talk to you this evening about the Southern Cameroons, so that you may all understand quite clearly the position of the Federal Government in this matter. I hope that my words will reach those people in the Southern Cameroons whose votes are going to decide the fate of the whole population, the fate not only of those alive now, but also of generations as yet unborn.

In three weeks' time, those people in the Southern Cameroons who have registered will vote either to rejoin the Federation of Nigeria or to join forces with the Cameroon Republic. This is a serious matter, more serious than any which most men are ever called upon to decide in the course of a whole lifetime. **So I want to make it quite clear what will happen if the majority of voters choose to rejoin Nigeria—and I emphasise this word 'rejoin' because, until last October, we had been together for forty years. And for the past fifteen years the representatives of the Southern Cameroons have played an active part in the government of Nigeria through their membership first of the Legislative Council and then of the House of Representatives and in the Council of Ministers.**

Many of you who are listening to me this evening will be familiar with the recent history of the relations between the Southern Cameroons and the Federal Government, but I shall repeat the outlines so that you may be reassured that you, through your Governments, have treated the Southern Cameroons fairly and, indeed, with favour. So far from exploiting the people of the Southern Cameroons, as has so often been alleged, the Federal Government of Nigeria and its predecessor, the former Central Government, has in fact done all in its power to assist the territory in its development.

I need not remind you that the territory of the Southern Cameroons is a Trust Territory, a mandated territory which the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations Organization, entrusted to the United Kingdom. This mandate started in 1922 and from that year the Southern Cameroons was administered as an integral part of Nigeria, sharing to the full the services which the Nigerian Government provided. **Indeed they received more than the share which was strictly due to them and it is a fact—a fact which cannot be disproved—that in every single year from 1922 until 1949 the Central Government subsidised the Southern Cameroons.** And even after that, when the financial position of the Southern Cameroons improved, the Central Government made special arrangements to ensure that the surplus each year in respect of revenue and expenditure attributable to the Southern Cameroons should be devoted exclusively to the welfare of the people in the Trust Territory. Not only did the Central Govern-

ment do all this, but only two years ago, the Federal House of Representatives decreed that the amount of advances made by the Federal Government to the Southern Cameroons, should be completely written off, together with the interest which had accrued from year to year, and also that the advance of working capital which the Federal Government had made to the Southern Cameroons should be converted into an absolute gift. That was plain evidence of our goodwill towards the people of the Southern Cameroons.

Before I recount the material benefits which the Trust Territory has received from its partnership with Nigeria, let me tell you of the political undertakings which we in Nigeria have given to its people so that they may know exactly what their status will be if they choose to rejoin us. In this connection, I would remind you of the policy which independent Nigeria has, since last October, proclaimed towards all her neighbours and to the other states in Africa, namely, that whatever their size, whether they be small or large, they will be treated as equals. So it is with the Southern Cameroons. **This small territory with a population of under one million, will have the full status of a Region, equal with the huge Northern Region, equal with the Eastern Region with its population of over eight million and the Western Region with its six million people. While the number of elected Members of the House of Representatives will be in proportion to the population, the full allowance of twelve Senators will be accorded to the Southern Cameroons, just the same as the North and East and West.** I know I speak for my colleagues, the Regional Premiers, when I say that we do indeed desire to procure the friendliest relations. There is absolutely no question of any feelings of hostility or of any ill intensions. We feel that they and we are members of one family and nothing would give us greater pleasure than to welcome them home again.

If I may speak for a moment direct to the people of the Southern Cameroons, I ask you to examine very, very carefully the issues which are at stake. On the one hand you can choose certainty and security: an honourable status as an integral part of a big nation in Africa with your future assured. With Nigeria you can look forward to sharing in the tremendous economic development of our country, to sharing in the massive schemes for expanding education to an extent hitherto beyond our dreams, and to the social benefits which we are now beginning to enjoy. Above all, you can be assured of the security of the rule of law, the protection of your lives and houses and farms, and to the guarantee of your human rights. All this is waiting for you if you choose to come back to Nigeria. And now ask yourselves what is the alternative. You would throw in your lot with a country whose government has made no firm promises to you and has given no undertaking, a country which unfortunately has been torn in recent years by civil wars.

It pains me to mention these things, and believe me I take no joy in the misfortunes of our neighbours, but it is my duty to warn you of the dangers which lie ahead of you if you go down that road. If you do so then you cannot expect as of right to live in peace, to cultivate your farms in peace, or to receive the same justice which has been provided for you until now. Instead of peace and prosperity, instead of more schools and hospitals and improved communications which you may genuinely expect from reunion with Nigeria, you will risk losing everything. If you vote against Nigeria I cannot see how you can avoid living a life of poverty and hardship, and under the constant shadow of violence which the government cannot control. You will be putting yourselves under a country which has different laws and a completely different attitude towards life. Just think carefully of all this, I do most sincerely ask you, because it is not only your own immediate future which will be affected, but the very survival of your families.

I shall now give you an outline of the economic and financial benefits conferred on the Trust Territory by the Nigerian Governments during recent years. I must do this, not to boast of our generosity, but to refute the shameful lies which have been circulated in order to deceive the people who are going to vote on their future next month.

The League of Nations mandate was conferred in 1922. From that year until the outbreak of war in 1939 the former Government of Nigeria spent approximately three quarters of a million pounds more than it received in revenue from the territory. By 1948 this figure had been increased by a further million pounds, and what is more, the Cameroons Development Corporation had been established with capital provided by the Nigerian Government. For five years from 1949 when the revenues improved and exceeded expenditure, the annual balances were credited to a special fund for the benefit of the Territory, and were used to finance the large road development plan under which, in particular, the Victoria-Bamenda road was vastly improved.

Then in 1954, the Southern Cameroons was created into a separate unit and participated in the revenue allocation scheme, with this difference from the other three Regions, the difference that in order to make the territory viable it was given a proportionately larger share of the revenue than any of the other three Regions and, in addition, the sum of £300,000 was provided as working capital for the Government of the Southern Cameroons.

And this was not the end of the assistance which we gave. Many of you will remember that in 1955 the Cameroons Development Corporation ran into difficulties. The Southern Cameroons Government depended on that Corporation for most of its revenue and if the revenue from the Corporation fell below £580,000 a year the Government itself would be in difficulty, so we guaranteed that figure and in two years made advances of £450,000. Two years ago all that debt of £450,000

together with the working capital of £300,000 was written off. What we did was to make a present of three quarters of a million pounds to the people of the Southern Cameroons.

We in Nigeria feel proud, and I think we are justified in feeling proud, of the way we have treated the people of the Southern Cameroons. The record is there for all to examine—we have nothing to hide: far otherwise—if time permitted I should like to tell you of the benefits brought by the Posts and Telegraphs, by the Electricity Corporation and through other activities of the Federal Government.

Well, it is time for me to stop now, but once again I do most sincerely ask you, especially the people of the Southern Cameroons, to think very carefully about the future. Think of all that is at stake and make your decision solemnly with all the responsibility you can command. Good Night.

RESEACH AND TRAINING

Mr President, your Excellencies, distinguished delegates,

On behalf of the government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I welcome you all to Lagos. We are, indeed, highly honoured by your presence here today. I should therefore like to take this opportunity to thank both UNESCO and the Economic Commission for Africa for honouring our invitation to hold this conference in Nigeria. I do sincerely hope that your deliberations will be fruitful and that the countries here assembled will derive great benefits from such recommendations as may emerge from the conference.

Three years ago at Addis Ababa, the countries here today held a conference on the development of education on our continent. At that meeting the grand design of the shape of things to come in the field of education was formulated. Last year in Geneva, over 100 countries met to consider nearly 2,000 documents on the application of science and technology for the benefits of the less developed countries. Today, you are all meeting here to consider the organization of research and training in Africa in relation to the study, conservation and utilisation of natural resources.

No occasion can be more opportune for facing this gigantic task. The whole world knows that Africa is rich in resources. The sun that shines above us is a major source of energy still to be fully exploited. The water that fills our streams and oceans is a resource still to be fully utilized. The earth below us with its ores and minerals, its coal

A Message from the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria delivered to the Conference on the Organization of research and training in Africa in relation to the Study, conservation and utilisation of Natural Resources: July 29, 1964.

and diamond, its uranium and thorium is a treasure still largely to be unlocked. Our forests and timber, our farms and agricultural produce, our sheep and cattle, our birds and fishes are still to yield the protein of which we are so terribly short. But in order to derive maximum benefits from these resources with which nature has so liberally blessed us, we must acquire and apply the knowledge of science and technology.

Mr President, the countries of Africa have never faced, at any time in their chequered history, a challenge so awesome and so frightful. If by our joint endeavour we can solve this problem the future will become roisier than ever before. The challenge of apartheid will give us no longer any concern. The turbulence and turmoil embroiled by racial segregation in schools and employment will cease to have any meaning. For at the base of all these troubles is the fear of economic and physical domination. **The countries of Africa are not interested in any domination. We have no territorial ambition.** But we all want to live our lives in peace and derive maximum benefits from the resources which nature has given to us.

How can we face this challenge? Ad hoc solutions will not suffice. We want to rouse the nations of Africa to face the technological challenge. The rousing must be persistent and continuous, otherwise some people may sleep again and all may be lost. We want to plan permanently so that we may be able to face the ever-growing challenge. **We want to train and develop our manpower, our greatest resource of all.** This generation and those following after must be trained. We must have not only high-level manpower, but also the intermediate and the lower category of trained manpower in the whole spectrum of scientific and technological disciplines so that the resources of our nation may be surveyed, processed, utilized and conserved. We want to feed and house our nations. We want to clothe them and look after them in sickness and in health. We want to communicate with our neighbours and the rest of the world. We want to conquer space and move as we have never done before, by sea, by land and by air. We want to build treasure-houses of knowledge in universities and other educational institutions. We want to be able to know what the other nations of the world are doing and contribute our quota to the world heritage of scientific and technological knowledge, so that we may move along with the rest of the world in peace, brotherhood and concord.

Africa will not come into its own in the world community until it has learnt to harness, for purposes of development (economic, social and cultural), its resources, human and material. The survival of the African race and the solution of many African problems depend largely on the success which attends its efforts in this direction. Here, at this Conference, distinguished delegates have assembled to have an opportunity of providing a concrete basis for African Unity. I wish this Conference every success in its deliberations.

THE HOME FRONT

LAYING THE FOUNDATION

Your Excellency, Sarkin Musulmi, My Lord, Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This Hall will provide temporary accommodation for the enlarged House of Representatives and we hope it will also play a central part in the Independence Celebrations and can later be adapted for use as a much needed public hall or a national theatre.

As His Excellency has said, the problem we put to the Ministry of Works to devise such a Hall was not an easy one. I congratulate the Federal Minister of Works, his staff and their consultants on a solution which I am satisfied has solved this difficult problem. When I see the shell of a building such as this I marvel at the skill and imagination of those who design and construct it. Theirs must be great satisfaction and pride when the job is finished—and well done.

When this ceremony was planned we did not know that we would have the honour of having Her Majesty's Minister of State for Colonial Affairs and his wife with us. Lord Perth is well-known to many of us here through his chairmanship, on occasions, of the Constitutional Conference. We know him to be a friend of Nigeria. And on behalf of the Federal Government I extend to him and to Lady Perth a very warm welcome. We are glad to have them in our country.

Nigeria's history has had two main phases. Firstly, one of rule by traditional Chiefs; and in more recent times a period of rule by the British Government. On this occasion the Sultan of Sokoto is representative of the former era and Lord Perth of the latter. Together they are taking part today in the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of a building which will symbolise Nigeria's entry into a third major phase in her

Delivered at the laying of the Foundation Stone of the National Hall in Lagos by the Sultan of Sokoto on August 7, 1959.

history—that of an independent nation. And here will be the meeting place of her first Government as an independent nation in the British Commonwealth.

Sarkin Musulmi, the Federal Government felt very honoured when you accepted our invitation to come to Lagos and lay the Foundation Stone of the National Hall. His Excellency has explained why the invitation was sent to you. But apart from that, it is, of course, also a very great pleasure to welcome you personally to the Federal Capital. I convey to you, on behalf of the Federal Government, an expression of our highest respect and esteem and it is my pleasure to invite you now to lay the Foundation Stone of our National Hall.

LOYALTY TO IDEALS

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR SPEAKER, HONOURABLE MEMBERS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is just three years ago since Her Majesty The Queen visited us in the House of Representatives. We all remember that notable occasion as vividly as if it had occurred last week. It was for me one of the most inspiring of all the functions during the visit of our Queen.

Although we ourselves require no reminder of that great day, it is right and proper that it should be commemorated by this Statue which will bear witness to succeeding generations of our steadfast loyalty. And I hope those succeeding generations will carry on that loyalty. It is, after all, something to be proud of: to my mind it is a loyalty not only to the person of the Queen but also to the ideals which she symbolises, both as a constitutional monarch and as the head of the Commonwealth. I think it is particularly fitting that the Statue should stand outside our Legislature and that when the new Parliament buildings are erected on Victoria Island, the Statue will be moved there to a place of honour.

There is a further reason to be proud of this Statue. It has been moulded by a Nigerian sculptor, Mr Ben Enwonwu. We are very happy that he has been singled out for this honour. It would be out of place for me to praise individual aspects of his work but I am sure that I speak for all in Nigeria when I say that I am deeply conscious of the international reputation which Mr Enwonwu has won for himself by his inspired work.

In asking you, Sir, to unveil this Statue I am mindful of the fact that almost the first thing you did after your appointment as our Governor-General was to persuade Her Majesty to visit Nigeria. I shall not

Delivered at the Unveiling Ceremony of Her Majesty the Queen's Statue in Lagos on February 5, 1959.

embarrass you today by recalling the many fine qualities which we admire in you. We hope that you and Lady Robertson will remain with us for a long time yet before we have to pay our farewell tributes to you both.

I now invite you, Sir, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria, to unveil this Statue of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

REMEMBRANCE DAY

This is a day set aside each year on which we remember all those who have fought in two world wars, especially those who have laid down their lives in the defence of their country and the Commonwealth. Such men from various parts of Nigeria, and from abroad, have shown by their example the true meaning of love that knows no barrier. As comrades in arms with a common aim, they died that we might have freedom.

Theirs is a shining example, the true meaning of which must be made evident in our march towards Independence: they have taught us how to live without regard to colour, class or creed. And if we follow in their footsteps, no matter what our calling, then we need entertain no fear when this great Federation starts a new life next year as a free, independent sovereign state.

Today we remember these men, and I am sure that each and every one of you will contribute generously to the Appeal Fund. But let us not only give, but think about them this day. Those who died leaving dependants behind; those who have become deformed and maimed; and those who are in need of employment. Let us help them in whatever way we can, and so derive satisfaction ourselves in the art of true living.

Message delivered on the occasion of Remembrance Day, Sunday, November 8, 1959.

RAILWAY EXTENSION

Your Excellency, Honourable Premier, Honourable Ministers, Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I consider it an honour and a high privilege to cut the first sod for a project of far-reaching importance to the economy of the country. I hope in a few years time we shall once again be assembled in Maiduguri to witness the arrival of the first train. Sir Ralf Emerson has kindly paid tribute to myself and my staff for our support in this enterprise, but we all know that the success which has attended it has been entirely due to his vision and drive. Sir Ralf came to this country after a distinguished career in the Indian Railways and in the short space of five years he has left an abiding mark on the transport system of Nigeria. I think that this new railway, which he has now brought from a dream to a reality, will be the most enduring moment to his fame in Asia and Africa.

I must pay tribute to Messrs Stirling-Astaldi for the splendid way in which they have entered on this new enterprise. The contract was only signed early in May in London, barely four months ago, and to-day we see the equipment, the staff and the materials assembled for the work. This remarkable feat of organization promises well for the future, and I wish them every success in their heavy task.

May God make this railway a blessing to the whole Nigeria.

Speech delivered on the occasion of cutting the first sod for the extension of the Nigeria Railway in Maiduguri: 1958.

INTERNATIONAL LOAN

Mr Speaker, Sir, I know that Members on all sides of the House are closely interested in our project to extend the Nigerian Railway to Maiduguri in Bornu Province.

As Members are aware, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development sent a Mission to Nigeria last October to examine in detail the plans for this extension prepared by the Nigerian Railway Corporation. Since then, discussions have been in progress with the Bank and also with Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

These discussions were intended to prepare the ground for an invitation by the Bank to send a team consisting of Federal Ministers and advisers to conduct final negotiations with the Bank. They were also concerned with the manner by which Her Majesty's Government could guarantee the loan if it were to be forthcoming, as required by the statutes of the Bank.

I am happy to be able to inform Honourable Members that the Federal Government has just received a telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies indicating that an invitation to visit Washington can be expected before very long. It is therefore clear that Her Majesty's Government is willing to guarantee a Nigerian loan from the International Bank if, as we all hope, the outcome of the Washington negotiations is a successful one. **This helpful attitude on the part of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is a tribute to Great Britain's confidence in the Federation of Nigeria both before and after independence. I can think of no more fitting confirmation of the faith expressed by my Honourable Friend, the Minister of Finance, when introducing his Budget last Saturday.**

Statement in Parliament on the granting of a loan to Nigeria by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: February 27, 1958.

SELF-CONFIDENCE

Mr Speaker, Sir, I made a statement to the House on the 27th of February concerning our prospects of a loan for the Nigerian Railway Corporation. Honourable Members will be pleased to hear that yesterday I received a letter from the Vice-President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, notifying me that the Bank is now ready to enter into negotiations for a loan with representatives of the Federal Government. His letter continued with an invitation to the Federal Government to send representatives to Washington.

The Minister of Finance and the Minister of Transport will jointly represent the Government of the Federation on this occasion. They will be supported by their advisers and by Sir Ralf Emerson who, with two members of his Corporation, will be travelling in the United States on other Corporation business at that time. Arrangements for the journey and other matters are now being worked out. I should, however, warn the House that the negotiation of the actual terms of the loan and their approval by the Executive Directors of the Bank as well as by the representatives of the Federal Government will take a little time, but I have good grounds for believing that, if the negotiations proceed as satisfactorily as we all hope, an agreement can be signed with the Bank in early May.

Mr Speaker, the House will be asked in the course of this Meeting to approve an Ordinance authorising the Federal Government to conclude an agreement for a loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In view of the Bank's invitation which I have reported to the House this has now become a matter of some urgency.

In conclusion, the Vice-President wrote to me—and I quote the actual words of his letter—'I welcome this opportunity of the Bank's being associated with Nigeria's continued development'. Mr Speaker, Sir, I must ask all the Honourable Members of this House, irrespective of party, to join with me in warmly welcoming this association with the International Bank which augurs so well not merely for our economic development but for world confidence in this Federation.

NIGERIA'S COMMITMENTS

Good morning. To my fellow countrymen in Nigeria; to all Nigerians wherever they may be; and to all our friends and well-wishers both at home and abroad, I send this message of goodwill.

We thank God for making it possible for us to see through the first year of our independence without undue hardship or unhappiness. It has not been easy for anyone of us but I think we have all lived through this past year more matured and more experienced, and with the will and determination to do better in this new year of Nigeria's independence.

Let us celebrate the event with joy and merriment. But let us also find some time for reflection on the past and show our sense of gratitude to all those men and women who have laboured for the good of Nigeria. Each and everyone has contributed to the successful conclusion of our first year of independence which has just ended, and I thank you all for your contribution. The labour of every man has the same value inasmuch as we all have the same right to earn our livelihood from our labour. **I would particularly like to express our gratitude to all who are in the Civil Service throughout the Federation because they are the backbone of the Government machine.**

Let us remember also the aged and infirm in our community, and all those who are suffering or are in pain: that their condition may be alleviated in the year we are now entering.

We have experienced and shared in the past year a common outlook and desire to serve our sovereign motherland and to build a nation which is being accorded increasing respect and prestige in the comity of nations. I regard it as an achievement for Nigeria to operate successfully a federal system of Government. Though a Federal system is a complicated one anywhere, I believe that here in Nigeria it has created unity and has brought about closer understanding and satisfaction to our diverse communities. The Federal Government, I think, can modestly claim that it has piloted the ship of state in our first year of Independence on an even keel through rough waters. It has shown to the world that with tolerance, Nigeria is specialising in doing what others think impossible, creating in this vast and commercially important country a versatile young nation. It argues a reasonable conviction that what affects Nigeria may likely affect other neighbouring countries in Africa.

Let us therefore examine our way of life afresh. It will only have value if it reveals itself in the distinctive expression of our genius and customs—for example in our literature and art, in housekeeping, in the bringing up of children, in conversation and festivals, in clothes and food and business, in all those things which make the stamp of us as one people different from another. To our well-known spirit of tolerance let us add flexibility of outlook so that we may be able to meet the challenges of our times. Herein lies the secret of progress, for no material consi-

Broadcast to the Nation on the occasion of the first Anniversary of Independence: October 1, 1961.

deration will then be able to rob us of our way of life. As a society of freemen and women we shall then be consciously giving our service for the benefit of all.

And now I want to say a few words about the international situation, which is very grave. The primary danger to international co-operation and peace lies not in the advent of nuclear weapons but in the fears engendered by the division between the so-called capitalist and communist states. The grave international situation makes it more necessary for us at home to be more united so that we may present a really effective voice in the United Nations where world peace will be discussed. It also makes it necessary for Nigeria to increase and foster the organic forces of cohesion in the global community so that the whole world comes to regard the United Nations as an international authority capable of commanding the respect and obedience of all nations. **The one remaining hope is that the recognition by both sides, East and West, of being involved in the nuclear dilemma may create a new community which could be enlarged by various forms of mutual co-operation.**

My mind now turns back to last October. I have always considered freedom to be a right. Therefore I didn't think, when we had it, of indulging in a mere wholesale condemnation of imperialism or colonialism. I thought that the tasks that lay ahead were heavy and more exciting and that, instead of engaging in violent speeches against those 'isms' we should direct our energies to shouldering our new responsibilities.

My thoughts still remain the same. Nigeria has an important duty to perform. We are irrevocably committed to seeing that all territories under colonial domination are freed. We are committed to the idea of African unity through mutual co-operation, respect and understanding. In this regard we must, if we are to succeed, cultivate the art of timing. We are committed by our membership of the United Nations to bring about world peace and to bring about understanding among all nations. These tasks we must face seriously and fearlessly.

I do not believe that mere emotional or sentimental vituperation will help us. We need to be constructive and cultivate the right attitude of mind. We must not exploit the political division in the world but bridge the gap by practical measures. We must stand by what we say so that Nigeria as a nation will not be taken lightly by other nations of the world.

Our independence came at a time when the world was and is still facing many problems. The unfortunate situation in the Congo, Angola, South Africa, Algeria and the situation in Tunisia over Bizerta and the very unpleasant situation in Berlin; added to all these we have a very grave situation regarding the future of the United Nations which appears to me to be at stake now, following the death of Mr Dag Hammarskjöld.

His death could scarcely have come at a worse moment. We shall enter our second year of freedom with a lot of problems. But I think that courage and a real sense of responsibility on our part could go a long way to help us to surmount difficulties in the way and also help in our search to find solutions to these problems.

On the first day of our independence year I promised you, my fellow countrymen, to dedicate myself in all humility to the service of Nigeria and her people. I asked you to join your Government in the great adventure of nation building with faith and confidence. I added that there was no time for ill-will or factionalism. Let us then assess in broad outline what we have achieved. **Nigeria has been peaceful and stable. Our economy has continued to expand. Our Federal system is working satisfactorily and relations between all the integral parts of the Federation are improving. True national spirit has been generated and fostered. And Nigerians have now come into their own in Africa, ready to serve our sovereign motherland.**

We have sent our representatives to attend important international conferences. They have been sent abroad to make contacts and inform other lands about Nigeria's aspirations and about the opportunity awaiting any willing nation of mutual co-operation with Nigeria in every field of endeavour.

At this moment we have our Economic Mission in the second stage of its tour. And on their return we shall be ready to put the finishing touches to our plans for the next five year development period. For the first time in the history of Nigeria, we hope to be able to present to the country a fully integrated national plan of development which will, when carried out raise our standard of living and make a significant contribution to our economic independence. The four Governments of the Federation have been working in concert in preparing this development plan to which we have devoted our energies in order to provide a basis for the solution of unemployment and to bring benefits to us all.

The most important thing is now to forecast the future and in doing this we should not disregard the past nor forget the present. Emotion or sentiment has never been a characteristic of us Nigerians. Our way of life is based on principles which extend beyond life itself. Its activities are based on a realistic approach and it has a direction consistent with what we believe to be supreme values. So long as we keep our own criteria of character intact and independent we should have nothing to fear.

I wish you all the true joy and happiness of this first anniversary of our independence, and may the year we are now entering bring peace and goodwill to all mankind.

NIGER DAM

Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to move—That a Bill for an Act to establish Authority to be responsible for the construction and maintenance Dams and other works on the River Niger and elsewhere, to provide for the use in connection with the works of water power for generating electricity, and of water for the purpose of improving navigation and providing fishery and irrigation, to establish a Niger Dam Authority Council and for the purposes connected with the matters aforesaid be read a Second time.

The purpose of this Bill is to establish an Authority known as the Niger Dams Authority, to carry out with speed and efficiency the work of constructing the dam and commissioning the electrical power produced by the dam for public distribution.

The Niger Dams Project, the biggest project we have included in our six-year Development Programme, has gone through further stages of preparation. Our engineering and cost accounting consultants have more or less completed their feasibility studies of the project and their estimates are being studied and brought into a final shape by our officials and experts. The preparation of designs for the construction of the Dam is in the hands of our engineering consultants and a decision will have to be taken shortly by Government as to the year in which to undertake the commissioning of the Dam or, in other words, to make electricity from the Dam available for public consumption.

We have had recently a technical mission from the World Bank to make an appraisal of the whole project with a view to enabling the World Bank to consider financing the project through a loan to the Federal Government of Nigeria to the extent of the foreign exchange costs involved in the construction of the project. Although the World Bank Mission's study and the official view of the management of the Bank will not be available until late in the year, we have no reason to think that the project will fail to make an appeal in terms of its economic viability and usefulness to the economy of Nigeria, and in terms of its capacity to pay for itself eventually.

We are therefore pressing ahead with the preparation of detailed plans for this project. In this connection, the time has now arrived, in our judgement, to consider the establishment of a Niger Dams Authority to undertake the immense responsibility of constructing and managing the Dam across the River Niger and all the ancillary works that will facilitate navigation and irrigation.

The construction of the Dam is a complex engineering feat and requires highly trained and experienced technicians whom we have to obtain from different parts of the world. We have already approached some of the friendly governments to help locate suitable men with

experience on works of this kind, and to assist the Government of Nigeria in the construction of this Dam.

There will be three such men who will be the heads of the Authority proposed in the Bill which is before the House for approval, with two Nigerians who will be laymen and will keep a watching brief for the Government in regard to the construction work of the Dam. The Draft Bill is based on legislation in several other countries, relating to authorities of this kind.

The project is an enormous one involving the interests of various ministries of the Federal Government as well as the interests of the regions, which will all benefit by the flow of power from the Dam. In view of this, it is proposed to place responsibility for the development of the project in the hands of the Prime Minister assisted, as may be necessary, by an appropriate strengthening of the Prime Minister's Office.

The Bill broadly proposes that the Prime Minister should have responsibility for the making of policy for the Dam Authority, for controlling its finances, appointments and the award of contracts. In this work he will be assisted by an Advisory Council, broadly representing government departments and other public interests, while the Authority itself will be in sole charge of the actual carrying out of the construction work with speed and efficiency. This legislation provides rather wide powers to the Prime Minister compared with legislation in respect of other corporations in Nigeria and this was done deliberately to retain the essential elements of policy making in the hands of the Government. In the making of such a policy, there will be consultations with all the ministries concerned in the Federal Government, and where necessary also the regional governments, so as to achieve the best possible co-ordination of effort in construction and economy in the overall cost of the project.

Further rules and regulations for the working of the Authority would have to be worked out in detail and some parts of the legislation itself may have to be revised in the light of experience. However, it is important for us at this stage to have the basic framework of an authority established so that the actual engineering works and the planning and preparation of those works can now be proceeded with by people who would have the eventual responsibility for construction.

For the purpose of this Bill this House earlier on passed a Resolution declaring that the River Niger and its affluents are sources of water affecting more than one territory. It is important to enact this legislation as early as possible both in order to give an idea to prospective candidates as to the kind of body on which they are being invited to work, as well as to prospective financing agencies who would wish to know how firm and efficient are the arrangements contemplated by us to carry on this work.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN

I am grateful to the Overseas Development Institute for giving me this opportunity to say something about Nigeria's development plans. At this time when the question of Britain's entry into the European Common Market is exercising the minds of all member countries of the Commonwealth, I can not think of a better occasion to discuss the first National Development Plan of Nigeria. The Common Market, with Britain inside or outside, has far-reaching implications in its economic relations with Africa.

As you will all know, we have for the last two years been engaged in an arduous exercise of drawing up an integrated plan of economic development of the Federation of Nigeria. This effort required great skill, effort and understanding of all those who took part in it because it is not an easy thing to devise an integrated plan into which can be fitted, without difficulty, the individual needs and objectives of four Governments. Nevertheless, this was done and done successfully.

However, I should like to say a little about previous efforts at planning in Nigeria. The first attempt at any form of development planning in Nigeria was made in 1945, when the Colonial Office requested the local administration to submit a **Ten-Year Development Plan**. This was in connection with Colonial Development and Welfare funds. The plan submitted by the Nigerian Government was subjected to a thorough examination by the House of Commons Select Committee on Estimates, and that Select Committee observed that the Plan was a patch-work of individual projects, unrelated to any overall economic objectives, and could not by its nature, however sound the individual projects, produce any clearly foreseen effects on the economy as a whole.

In 1951, 'The Ten-Year Plan' as it came to be later called, was superseded by a Revised Plan covering the five-year period 1951-56. Both the **Ten-Year Plan** and the **Revised Plan** suffered not only from the fact that they were made up of a series of unco-ordinated projects, but they placed the main emphasis on the development of Government Departments, rather than the economy as a whole, and devoted a great deal of resources to the expansion of the transport and communication system and of export crops of Nigeria. These objectives, though very valuable in themselves, tended, of course, to produce something of a lop-sided economic pattern.

The next attempt at planning is represented by the report of the Mission sent out by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. Unfortunately the report came out on the eve of considerable constitutional changes which, I am sure, had some effect on the implementation of its recommendations. Nevertheless, **one important outcome of the Bank Mission's Report, which is relevant to the**

present Plan, was the recommendation for machinery for close consultation on economic matters between the Governments of the Federation. The National Economic Council which was set up in 1955, consequent upon this recommendation, has been the cornerstone of the effort which led to the present National Plan.

I should now like to go back to the main theme—the First National Development Plan. This Plan differs from its predecessors in a number of ways:

Firstly, it was jointly drawn up by the four Governments of the Federation, unlike previous plans which represented the separate economic intentions of each Government.

Secondly, the overall objectives of the Plan were jointly determined. It thus places emphasis on National, rather than on sectional, needs.

Thirdly, the Plan is founded on the assumption that it is first of three or four such plans which we hope will take Nigeria to that point at which she will be able herself to generate the bulk of the resources she needs for development; to provide the bulk of the skilled manpower that is essential, and to supply the main dynamics of development herself. This is generally described as a 'take-off' stage.

The achievement of this stage, of course, involves a radical change in the structure of our economy which is again generally described by Economists as 'diversification', but it would not be possible to achieve these desirable aims without ensuring also a certain measure of stability, both political and economic. This stability, we fully appreciate, is a necessary condition for another factor on which we are counting, that is, the role of the private sector. We are anxious to see a large and vigorous private sector developed, but we are anxious that our own people should take an increasing part in the development of this sector. For this purpose we are planning to provide them with training facilities, with advisory services, with technical and market information and with additional sources of capital.

Most of you will know that we are planning expenditure in the public and semi-public sector of £675 million over a period of six years, that is a little over £100 million a year. To carry out this programme, we are planning the fullest mobilisation of our domestic resources including those held abroad. But we also need a considerable volume of foreign aid. This aid we estimate at about £3000 million. We are looking forward to the help of the World Bank and other United Nations agencies, as well as to those countries which have signified their willingness to assist Nigeria in carrying through this Plan. The World Bank has already helped us to establish a Consultative Group of these countries. But so far only the United States has given an unequivocal assurance of the size of aid they propose to make available to us throughout the six years of the Plan. The United Kingdom also has made a definite commitment for a limited period.

It must be obvious that unless we know with a fair degree of certainty what we can expect as aid from friendly countries over the Six-Year period, maintaining the Plan's shape and priorities will become extremely difficult. At the express request of our friends in the West, we have gone to a great deal of trouble in drawing up this Plan and are ready to proceed with its execution. But I am sure that you will all appreciate the kind of feeling we have at this time when we find ourselves paralysed by lack of positive indications of assistance from those friends. If nothing is forthcoming in the future, we shall, therefore, have no alternative but to consider how best we can go forward with this Plan on our own. You will yourselves know that as political leaders, we simply cannot announce to the country a Plan and then do nothing. We do appreciate that the other countries from whom we expect assistance have problems of their own but, nevertheless, we will find ourselves in increasing difficulty unless we are put in a position to go forward with the execution of the National Plan in a brisk and businesslike manner.

I will now proceed to mention briefly the main features of the Plans itself: we have enormously shifted the emphasis from projects in the social and administrative sectors to those which will most readily generate substantial real incomes. For this reason, we have given priority in the Plan to agriculture, industry and technical education.

The strategy of our Plan is to carry out in the early years those projects which will increase the national income and taxable resources at the maximum rate to enable us to carry out in later years other desirable projects in the Plan. This means that we have to be highly selective in choosing projects in the productive sectors and integrate with these projects in the social sector which are necessary to support the generation of income in the productive sectors.

Members of this audience who are familiar with the problems of planning will appreciate the intricate nature of the machinery for keeping such a Plan moving forward and in balance.

I spoke earlier of our intention of fully mobilising our own domestic resources for financing the Plan and I should like to indicate what this means. **We hope to raise funds to meet the requirements of the Plan from the following sources, namely: taxation; the internal resources of statutory corporations; the external reserves accumulated by Nigeria in earlier years; the reserves and expected surpluses of the Marketing Boards; domestic borrowing; foreign loans and grants.**

In regard to all these, we have been taking steps to impose some orderly control over external and internal publicly-held resources. We are at the same time developing schemes for an intensive small saving drive in addition to other forms of domestic borrowing. In assessing potential resources for the Plan we have been reasonably conservative in our estimates.

We have taken note of the apparent long-term downward trend of the prices of agricultural commodities in international trade, and of the persistent adverse terms of trade from which countries exporting agricultural primary products suffer.

Similarly, in estimating the amount of foreign grants and loans required, we struck a balance between what is desirable and what is realistic. We assumed that foreign aid could take the form of not only grants but also of loans. In fact loans, rather than grants, constitute the larger part of anticipated foreign aid. Loans raised would have to be serviced, however, and they are not easy to come by because the demand for foreign aid far outruns the supply. **We estimated that Nigeria should be able to meet from her own resources all her recurrent expenditure commitments together with one-half of the total cost of the capital programme, while the other half could be met from foreign aid.**

We are conscious of the fact that spending money is not by itself economic development, and that as a developing country the execution of the Plan might be limited by such factors as lack of executive capacity; bottlenecks in the economy such as lack of good roads, and other physical problems; basic services required by industries, absence of credit facilities; lack of or limited foreign currencies with which to pay for the imported capital equipment, and so on. In drawing up the Plan, therefore, we drew upon our own past experience and that of other developing countries. We have provided for a certain amount of flexibility which would be compatible with the main national priorities and objectives.

Having explained, cursorily, the objectives of the Plan and how we arrived at most of the projects included in it, I would now like to make the following observations. Since the Plan is the Development Plan which all the Governments of the Federation of Nigeria have drawn up, it has the advantage that all foreign aid into the country is channelled through a single organization. It has placed emphasis on such projects as withstand economic tests of costs, output and profitability. It hopes to attract foreign aid by showing our friends that we are determined to execute a well-drawn plan, and that we are prepared to finance half of the capital and all of the recurrent expenditure from our own resources. This means that we welcome foreign capital and skills and, at present, in need of external loans to the tune of £300 million. The Plan includes areas of the economy which engender a profitable investment climate for the foreign investor who wishes to make substantial investment in Nigeria. I think it would be useful to mention some of our efforts to create this climate. There are economic incentives provided for private investors by legislation granting income tax holidays, import duty relief, and the like. There is provision for direct Government participation in industry and partnership with foreign investors in certain industries which are clearly stated in the Plan.

I think this is reasonable because of the relatively underdeveloped state of Nigerian private business. We are now embarking on a more comprehensive survey of manpower needs but are, at the same time, expanding facilities for technical and university education. We hope, through the Kainji Hydro-electric Project, to provide ample supplies of cheap electricity.

Great care has been exercised to cut expenditures on what some would call prestige projects to a minimum and to limit them to those which have inherent practical value and which are considered necessary as symbolising the aspirations of our people who we as leaders must carry with us in the implementation of the Plan.

We realise that Nigeria is predominantly an agricultural country, and that the improvement of agriculture is a necessary condition of development in general. Perhaps I should recall again that the National Plan gives first priority to Agriculture.

I should like at this point to refer to a point of some importance. It has occasionally been suggested that the National Plan is too large, is ambitious, etc. It seems to me that questions of this kind can only properly be considered against a broad background. We must take account of the enormous backlog of development which has to be made up. We must take account of such dynamic factors as population growth and of the level of living which our people actively desire. We must take account of the fundamental changes which are now taking place in the pattern of international trade and of its impact on the individual and collective welfare of our peoples.

In conclusion, we should not lose sight of the single fact that the development of the underdeveloped countries of the world offers considerable long-term economic benefits to the advanced countries. The more well-off the underdeveloped countries become the greater their demand for the industrial products of the advanced countries.

GROWING PAINS

We have cause to thank God for bringing us through the second year of sovereign nationhood. Many events and changes have taken place.

You will all remember the Lagos Conference of African and Malagasy States of last January which was attended by twenty-one Heads of States and Governments. The main reason for convening that Conference was to exchange views among African leaders at the highest possible level for the unity of Africa and for the peace and orderly progress of its peoples. It was the first time in Nigeria's history that so

Broadcast to the Nation on the occasion of the Second Anniversary of Nigeria's Independence: October 1, 1962.

many heads of States and Heads of Governments have assembled to confer among themselves.

We in Nigeria regard such conferences as of great importance because they afford the African leaders the opportunity of getting to know each other better and they also help to make all concerned become aware of the many problems now confronting all parts of our continent. The conferences also prove conclusively that African aspirations, irrespective of political alignment, have always been the same. The salvation of this continent, as I have had occasion to say before, lies in such periodic meetings and consultations among African leaders. And I look forward in the third year of our nationhood to further conferences which will fulfil the original aim of all African countries to build up this continent as a liberal and balancing force in this distracted world.

Another major event is the recent meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. Although the primary object of the meeting was to review the progress made in the negotiations in Brussels about the conditions on which Britain might join the European Economic Community and to examine the question of safeguards for the trade of other Commonwealth countries, I discerned in the course of the Conference a new pattern for the future, and I returned convinced that Nigeria has to adapt herself to the new pattern.

I saw fading away the idea that the Commonwealth might form a closer economic unit to meet the challenge of our times in world trade and industry. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers were assured that the kind of European unity which Britain foresaw and in which she hoped to participate would not be incompatible with Britain's position in the Commonwealth. I myself share this view that because the Commonwealth's ideals and traditions stand for the fundamental unity of mankind, it will long endure after technology and mechanisation have been put in proper perspective in the world's search for the happiness of mankind.

But the greatest need today is to secure the end of strained relations between the Communist and Western blocs. It is my belief that the best way to achieve this end is to accelerate the process of bringing the world together through the development of trade and commerce. Such development, which is of particular relevance to Africa and other developing groups of countries, is the best means of bringing about economies of scale and specialisation in industrial techniques. The aim should always be to reduce the gap between the poor and the rich countries and thus obviate the most potential source of war in the world today. Such development will be the shortest road to freedom and the emancipation of men on a global scale. For when all men are comparably well-off the condition would have been created in which the spirit of man will prevail and the present inequality of opportunity and of freedom will become a thing of the past.

It is with these considerations in mind that I return from London to look afresh at our problems in Africa, in general, and Nigeria in particular. It should be noted that the European Economic Community comprises some 170 million people and is expanding. Their conditions are different from those obtaining in Africa. But the twenty-one states which were represented at the Lagos Summit Conference have a combined population of 135.1 million, are rich in untapped resources, human and material. Although they are primarily agricultural producing countries there is scope for the development of large markets and for the break-down of trade barriers.

Such an African group can contribute to the prosperity and progress of mankind. It will increase the prospects of world-wide commodity agreements and facilitate the establishment of modern industries essential for their economic growth because industries would be enabled to flourish on a much larger base. It is through this process of co-operation between African countries that the transformation of their traditional economies could speedily be ensured and the beginnings of a world co-operative commonwealth secured.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference coming after the Lagos Conference of Heads of African and Malagasy States forms a natural sequence in our history, and the third year of nationhood into which we are now entering will see the pattern of the future unfold.

I do not look at the years ahead with ease. The 1962-68 National Development Plan involving the expenditure of nearly £700 million was examined by the National Economic Council last February and its component parts have since been approved by the respective Legislatures. This is the first Development Plan since Nigeria became independent, and the first in a series of National Plans to enable us not only to raise the standard of living of our people but also transform our National Economy into a diversified and self-sustaining system.

To carry out this programme, we are planning the fullest mobilisation of our domestic resources, including external resources. But we also need foreign assistance to the extent of about £300 million. If nothing is forthcoming in the near future, we shall have to consider how best we can go forward with this plan on our own.

Whether or not Great Britain joined the European Economic Community, our agriculture would have to go through a period of re-adjustment. There is in evidence a fundamental reshaping of world trade and a movement towards world-wide commodity agreements. Nigeria, which has hitherto depended on the exports of primary agricultural products, must come to terms with the realities of the present world situation and seek outlets for her exports in all parts of the world if she is to survive. As I have said earlier, we must also co-operate with other African states in developing our economies, so as to secure economies of scale and to foster the growth of industries.

Uncertainty about the extent of foreign assistance we can expect, coupled with the difficulty we shall encounter in the re-adjustment of our trade pattern, means that all Nigerians must exert their energies, husband their resources, and be prepared to make necessary sacrifice to carry through our National Development Plan successfully.

There are years of hard work ahead. I am therefore asking you all to do your duty and to be prepared for toil and some inconvenience.

There are unlimited opportunities for Nigeria in the future. As we are enabled to create a strong and stable economy so we shall offer assistance, material and otherwise, to other countries less developed than ourselves in furtherance of our aim of African unity. The gigantic educational scheme we are embarking upon will provide supervisors, technicians, administrators and managers, and also an informed electorate. And we are determined that our doors shall be left open to our sister countries who wish to avail themselves of the opportunity for such training.

I will now turn to an important mishap which has occurred in our body politic. For the first time we have had to declare a state of emergency in Western Nigeria. As I said on that occasion, it is sad that such a measure should have been forced on the nation at this time in our national endeavour to develop our country and make it a place of increasing happiness and prosperity for all our people. I hope and pray that no Nigerian Government will find it necessary to take this measure again.

Anniversaries are usually occasions of happiness and thanksgiving. Nigeria has been born at a very difficult time. When I accepted the office of Prime Minister of the Federation, I did not expect things to be easy. But the strength of the Prime Minister of any country derives from the encouragement and support he can get from his fellow countrymen. I have received such support and encouragement from the generality of the people. And I hope I will continue to receive it in the difficult task of nation building to which we are all dedicated.

I cannot conclude this broadcast without making a brief statement regarding certain events of recent weeks. For some time past the Government has been aware of the violent intentions of certain persons and of the fact that young men were being sent abroad for militant political training, preparatory to an attempt to destroy our Constitution completely and overthrow the Government.

On the 15th of September Police searched a house at Mushin, near Lagos, and found a number of firearms, including sub-machine carbines, automatic pistols and revolvers, and a large quantity of ammunition. As a result of further investigation by the Police, a man who was known to have received military training abroad and who brought the arms to Lagos was arrested. Further arrests and seizures of arms followed.

In the course of their investigations the Police have procured evidence of a plot to seize arms and explosives, abduct members

of the Government and stage a coup d'etat. This plot has been foiled owing to the vigilance of the Government and the Nigeria Police Force. Investigation is proceeding with a view to bringing those criminally involved to justice.

Three men have been charged with unlawful possession of firearms or explosives and are in custody; twelve others known to be implicated are detained under the Emergency Regulations, pending further investigation. But the three men principally implicated in the organization of the plot have absconded and are now abroad.

I have said on previous occasions that the Government was determined that law and order should be maintained. The primary aim of government is security and I am determined that security, in the sense of protection of life and property, shall continue to be maintained. **In my first National Day broadcast I stated that the cardinal aim of those in Government was to achieve their objectives by persuasion—I repeat by persuasion—which is a higher art than compulsion. This remains the policy of my Government.**

I am pleased to say that, throughout the recent investigations into the plot against the Government, members of the public have greatly assisted the Police and have shown thereby that they are at one with the Government in rejecting violence and intimidation as a means of achieving political aims.

For security reasons, and in order not to hinder investigation, I can not at the moment provide any further information. But I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to any person who has any knowledge of such treasonable acts as I have mentioned to contact the Police immediately. Meanwhile, I earnestly beseech you all to be vigilant. You may rest assured that the Government has the matter well in hand and that there is no cause for alarm.

Our problems in Nigeria can no longer be considered in isolation. Our country can easily be reached from any corner of the earth. Today, the world is being put to the test over a number of major problems. I have already mentioned the problem of bridging the gap between the rich and the poor countries. **I have also spoken about the need for recognition by national Governments that it is in the individuals, not in the state, that ultimate value is to be sought.**

Another major problem is that of the question of disarmament. The world is becoming smaller day by day as the result of advancement in technology and in modern communications. We have a part to play in bringing about stability in the world, particularly by reducing the fears engendered by the division between the capitalist and communist blocs.

I ask you all not to look back nor tire in our dedicated task of building one united nation. It takes time and requires from us all patience and tolerance.

To you all I send my special greetings on this our National Day; and to all Nigerians abroad I wish God speed and safe return home. May God Almighty bring peace, prosperity and happiness to this young Nigerian nation, which is only two years old today.

REPUBLIC

I have given an undertaking to make a statement during the present sitting of Parliament on the subject of Constitutional changes leading to a Republican form of Government in this country. I am therefore very glad to take this opportunity to make a statement on this very important issue.

In fashioning the present Constitution which came into effect on the 1st of October, 1960, the Leaders of this country decided on their own volition to maintain the formal link with the Queen as Head of State. This position, it will be generally agreed, was useful in the early stages of independence, for it was regarded as an interim arrangement. It is evident from the views widely expressed in this country that it is the wish of this Parliament and of the people of Nigeria that the time has come for a review of the present position in order to reflect more realistically the independence and sovereignty of Nigeria. **I am therefore glad to inform this honourable House that after consulting the Regional Governments, the Federal Government has decided to take necessary steps in bringing about the desired changes in the Constitution to make Nigeria a Republic by October, 1963.**

Accordingly, His Excellency the Governor-General has communicated this wish of the Government and people of Nigeria to Her Majesty the Queen. At the same time, I have also informed all Heads of Governments in the Commonwealth of this decision, in accordance with the usual practice within the Commonwealth.

In taking this step that will affect our present constitutional position with the Queen, we do not intend to sever our relations with the Commonwealth or to abandon our membership of that free association of sovereign States. It is our intention to continue as a full member of the Commonwealth and, in common with all other countries in this unique institution, to accept the Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth.

We have also communicated this intention to all other governments of the Commonwealth, and I am glad to report that our proposals in this respect have met with favourable response from all quarters.

Honourable members will have ample opportunity to debate whatever proposed changes we have for a Republican form of Government which we hope to have. The Federal Government also intends to produce a White Paper which should be debated not only in the Federal Parliament but in all the Regional Legislatures, and which will also form the basis of the constitutional framework.

NATION BUILDING

Good evening.

I wish you all health and happiness in this New Year. We have cause to be grateful to God for keeping our country peaceful throughout last year and for the steady progress we are making in our individual lives and in the life of the Nation. This is another opportunity to rededicate ourselves anew for the tasks that lie ahead realising that all our hopes of future years rest on us collectively and as individuals.

I am grateful to each and every one of you for your contribution to the peace and progress of the country. I am also filled with pride for you all that we are pressing on, regardless of difficult passing phases, in the certain and unconquerable hope that we shall succeed.

I have often said that, in the best of times and places, a Federal system of Government—though admirably suited to our needs—is not easy to work. More so where there are difficulties of language and different historical circumstances. And yet, this unity in diversity is simultaneously our source of strength and an article for export in a world more seriously divided than perhaps at any time in history.

Nigerians are becoming increasingly aware of themselves not only within Nigeria but also in Africa and the world as a whole. As our new state is fraught with difficult problems so is our Continent of Africa, and indeed the world, particularly with organizational aspects of man in a world determined to make technology solve the problems of poverty, disease and squalor.

In performing these exciting tasks those of us at the head of the Federal and Regional Governments, I and my brother Premiers, need the support of the country as a whole. I know that I speak for them when I say that we are grateful to you for patience exercised and sacrifice made in the course of last year to make our country law abiding and the envy of others outside. I am appealing to you again to continue to work hard, honestly and with pride. By work I mean activity of any kind that will make Nigeria a better place for us all to enjoy and hand over to our children.

The building of a nation is necessarily slow. That is why I would particularly appeal to all of you to sympathise with the intentions and policies of all the Governments of the Federation and to realise that the experiment in which we are engaged is of crucial importance not only to Nigeria but to Africa and the world. You should always remember that the cardinal aim of those in Government is to achieve their objectives by persuasion which I think you will agree with me is a higher art than compulsion.

We are soon to embark on another Programme of Economic Development which will cost large sums of money, and which is specifically directed towards the development of our resources, human and material. In this task we need the co-operation and assistance of all genuine friends of Nigeria. **I am particularly happy that just as we are about to start, we have received a generous offer of aid of over £80 million from the Government of the United States of America as their contribution in financing this Programme.**

The condition under which this grant is being made is that Nigeria should continue to enjoy social justice and freedom for all. There can be no better evidence of justification and confidence in what we are doing than this. Throughout history the more technologically advanced has always lent a helping hand to the less developed. I would like, therefore, to take this opportunity to assure you all that the proposed aid is to be given without any condition inimical to the interests of our nation. Indeed, we are deeply grateful to the American Government and people.

Before the end of this month we hope to have in Lagos a Conference of Heads of African and Malagasy States, and preparations are in train towards this end. Many of them will be visiting us for the first time, and I am sure that all of us, and particularly those of us with whom they will come in contact, will display our characteristic warmth of friendship and hospitality so that their visit may be as memorable to them as it will be to us. **We shall take the opportunity to strengthen our relations and foster the aim of African unity which is the common goal of all of us in Africa and, by this means, also ensure the unity of the world in general.**

Nigeria needs men of service not only to our country but also to humanity in general. Doubtless we are Nigerians first, but we must also realise that Nigeria is a part of the World Community which is becoming more and more united everyday, in spite of the present division between the East and the West. This schism is no more than that which divided the world in earlier centuries and which subsequently proved to be a temporary phase in the human and historical march towards progress. Matters in one place are now bound to influence events in other places, and the only known practical policy that any nation would do well to follow is the love of humanity.

I would like especially to praise the role of our Army and Police particularly in the Congo under unfamiliar and difficult conditions. They are constantly in our minds and they may rest assured that we shall not keep them there longer than is necessary. We earnestly hope that the new moves that are being made will soon hasten the restoration of peace in that part of Africa.

In looking back over the year which has just ended, certain events come readily to mind. In March, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference witnessed the first attendance of Nigeria's Prime Minister. In that Conference momentous matters were discussed and certain

attitudes were defined and adopted which led to the withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from the Commonwealth.

Then in May, Nigeria, with other African States, tried for the first time, an international experiment in Monrovia, where a number of African States met on an equal footing to discuss matters of common concern. A foundation was laid for future co-operation in many fields between independent African States. It is my earnest hope that the meeting in January will secure for all African States a foundation for African social, economic and political independence and prove to be a beacon of hope to all Africans and peoples of African descent everywhere.

In the latter part of last July, at the official invitation of President John Kennedy, I and some of my colleagues visited the United States of America. Whilst there, the people of the United States demonstrated their warm feelings of friendship and hospitality to the full. And, in Knoxville, we learnt much from the Tennessee Valley Authority which has harnessed a river to turn a poverty-stricken area of the United States to one of the foremost developed areas. In this achievement are to be found lessons of practical application to the development of the River Niger Delta.

And, last month, at the invitation of President Sekou Toure, I visited the Republic of Guinea. I and my party received the warmest welcome from the President, the Government and people of Guinea. We noted with admiration the distinctive contribution to African development that is being made by Guineans in many fields. **I formed the impression that the President is determined that both men and women should participate in the Government of their country and that various associations particularly in the cultural field should be nurtured and fostered so that a new African Individualism in art and culture may be revived, improved and demonstrated to the world as African contribution to human progress.**

I would like to end on the note with which I began this message. Now that we have passed through the excitement of ushering in the New Year, let us rededicate ourselves anew to the tasks before us. We need goodwill in every heart so that we may press towards our goal of true happiness and prosperity for all. May God grant us peace and tranquility throughout this year.

NIGERIANISATION

The Member for Ife Town (Mr Omisade) also said that we should Nigerianise the whole civil service. That is, of course, our aim, but I do not like the impression that will be created in the minds of the people that the non-Nigerians in our service are disloyal. I do not like it at all because, whatever happens, it would be so for a long time. **Whatever happens, our own aim is to Nigerianise completely, but Nigeria cannot do without certain non-Nigerians; even, for all time, if we Nigerianise, we must use some foreigners. We must employ some foreigners at a certain time, and there is no reason why we should try to discriminate against them simply because they are not Nigerians.**

I think my hon. Friend, the Member for Adamawa North-West (Mallam Yerima Balla) also suggested that seventy-five per cent of our civil service is non-Nigerian. I completely disagree with him. We are doing our best, and I want to assure the House that we have got things fairly under control, and hon. Members should not fear very much. We are keeping very close watch on what is going on, and I want to assure the House that we will try as much as possible to see that this country is not sold away.

Answer to questions in Parliament on August 18, 1962.

THE PRESS

I am most grateful to the Press—the newspapers, the radio and the Federal Information Service—for their proper coverage of the Conference in general and the Nigerian delegation in particular. The newspaper editors, in co-operation with the Federal Minister of Information, Honourable T. O. S. Benson, and his Publicity Officer, did very well both inside and outside the Conference Hall to make things easy for my delegation.

I am most grateful to you, Nigerian Press, and proud of your role, because any embarrassment from you would have led us to public disfavour and upset our path.

Tribute to the Nigerian Press for its role at the Summit Conference of Independent African States held in Addis Ababa: May 29, 1963.

NATIONALISATION

My attention has been called to a recent speech made on the Floor of this House by a Minister in my Government. In the course of his speech, the Minister advocated the Nigerianisation of certain sectors of the economy, and in particular referred to Retail and Wholesale Trade, to Banking, to Insurance and to Road Transport.

It is evident from newspaper comments and reports that the speech in question has been widely interpreted as an expression of Federal Government policy and that it foreshadows nationalisation of these sectors of the economy. In view of the considerable publicity given to the speech, and of the inferences which have been drawn from it, I have decided that it is necessary for me to state in public that Government's policy remains unchanged. **Believing as we do in an economy in which free enterprise and private capital can play their full part, we welcome the investment of private foreign capital in productive areas of the economy, and we recognise that the investor is entitled to look for a reasonable return from his investment. We acknowledge the role which foreign firms have played over the years in building up the nation's commerce and, in more recent years, by their contribution to the establishment of many industries.**

We have never concealed our belief that Nigerian enterprise and Nigerian capital must play, and must be enabled to play, an ever-increasing part in the economic life of the Nation. It must be obvious that no Nigerian can be content so long as any major sector of the economy is controlled by foreigners. **But we are realists, and we say that so long as there is a dearth of Nigerian capital, so long must there be opportunity for foreign capital in Nigeria. We do not seek the withdrawal of foreign capital from any area of the economy before Nigerian enterprise is able to replace it. When the time for withdrawal has come, due notice will be given.**

THE OPPOSITION

First of all, I would like to thank you, Mr Speaker, for trying to clear some of the confusion which has been hanging over the Opposition Bench since August when you kindly asked each Member on the Opposition Bench to tell you to which Party he belonged, and on the opening of the House on the 5th you gave us the number belonging to each Party on that side.

It is quite plain that at present, as far as we are concerned in this Government, with the present state of the Parties, we do not recognise anybody as the Leader of the Opposition. The Opposition Party, which was originally the Action Group, has now 20 Members. The new Party, the U.P.P., has 25. Another Party which does not know where it is, the U.M.B.C.—it is not with the Action Group, it is not with the U.P.P., it does not know where it is; it is just a Party in suspension—has 9 Members; and there are 3 Members sitting on the fence. So, what I would say is that I am not in a position to say whether we would give official recognition to any of the Opposition yet, but I must say straightaway that it will be wrong for us now to recognise the former Leader of the Opposition as the Leader of the Opposition in the House.

The whole idea of an Opposition, I think, is that the Opposition should provide an alternative government. That is the question. A handful of twenty people here cannot provide an alternative government. The Opposition, as we know in all world parliaments, is mainly suitable in places where there is a two-party system. And here on that side, we have got about four parties now. Well, I hope before finishing the meeting of the House towards the end of the week, after consulting my Colleagues, I may be able to give what we think is the best for us to do as far as the Opposition in the House is concerned.

We would very much like to have an Opposition, an effective one. We do like a leader of the Opposition who will be effective. Well, we hope we shall get one before long.

AUSTERITY MEASURES

Mr Speaker, there has been much discussion recently both in the Press and elsewhere on what has become known as 'austerity measures'. I dislike this term 'austerity measures' because it does not all express our intentions.

Hon. Members will, however, agree that the success of the National Development Plan depends, to a large measure, upon the willing co-operation of all the peoples of Nigeria and their willingness to accept present sacrifices with a promise of a better future. Willingness is the important word.

The Federal Government believes that the leading members of the community will be ready and willing to give a positive lead to the people by accepting voluntary sacrifices over and above those which will affect all the peoples of Nigeria. The offers which they can make however must be realistic. I will say it again, Sir: the offers which they can make however must be realistic.

Genuine sacrifices are not merely dictated by political considerations.

Secondly there must be the fullest consultation with those affected on the measures to be taken, for our Constitution and, indeed, our whole philosophy of life is based upon respect for the rights and feelings of the individual. A democratic government cannot ride rough-shod over them.

With this consideration in mind, I am pleased to be able to announce to the House certain voluntary sacrifices which have already been accepted by those concerned as a measure of their determination to play their full part in making possible the success of the National Development Plan.

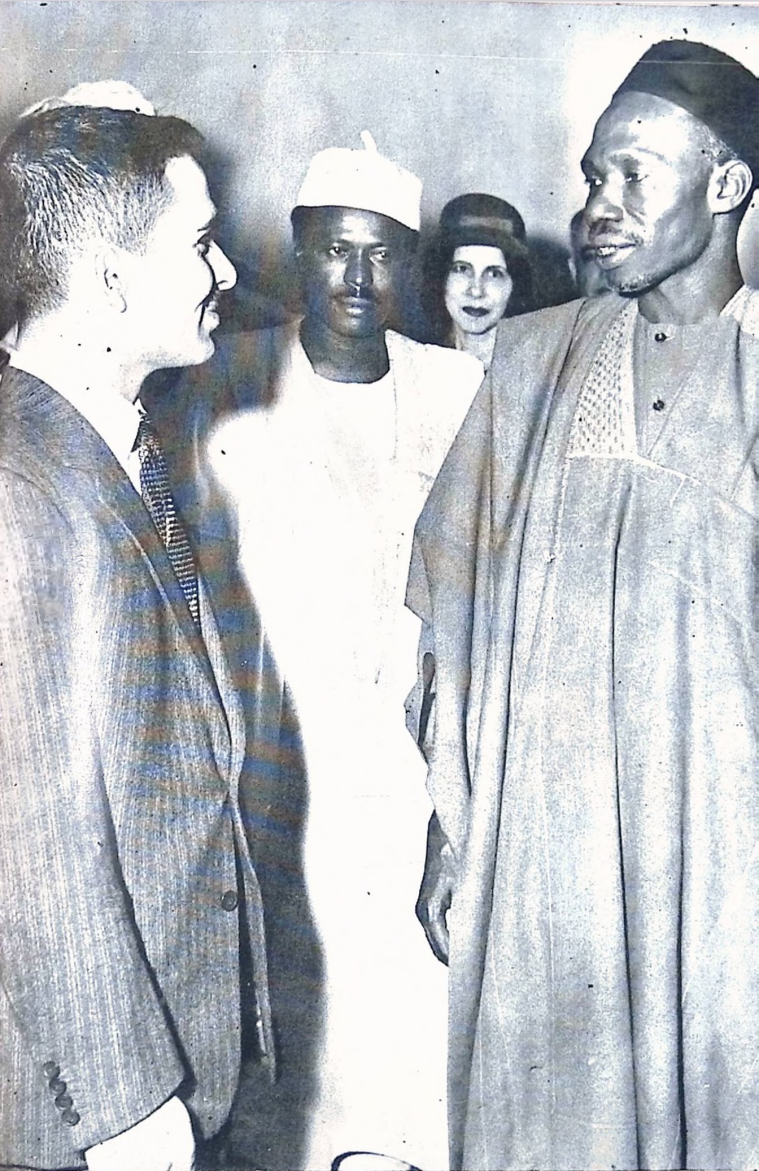
With effect from the 1st of April next, the salaries of the President of the Senate, of you, Mr Speaker, of all Ministers including the Prime Minister and the Parliamentary Secretaries, will be reduced by 10 per cent. (Hear, hear).

At the same time, the allowances which they now receive for drivers will be completely abolished and the Government will institute tighter control over the use of official cars.

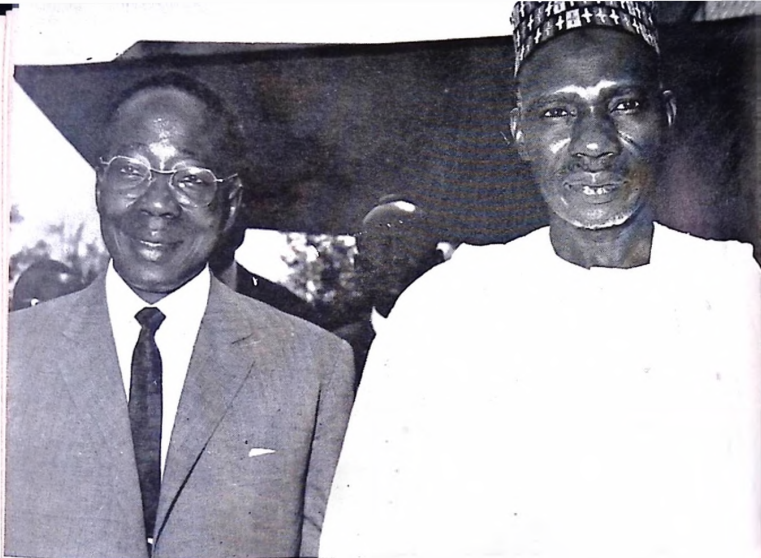
Salaries of the Chairmen of the Statutory Corporations and the companies controlled by the Federal Government will also be reduced by 10 per cent, except where the present salaries are already less than £1,000 per year.

Similarly, the salaries of Members of the Boards of these Corporations and the companies will be reduced by 10 per cent where they at present exceed £400 per year.

Finally, as a result of consultations which have taken place between representatives of both Houses of Parliament, I am able to announce that the salaries of all Senators and hon. Members of this House, will be reduced by 10 per cent from the same date. (Hear, hear).

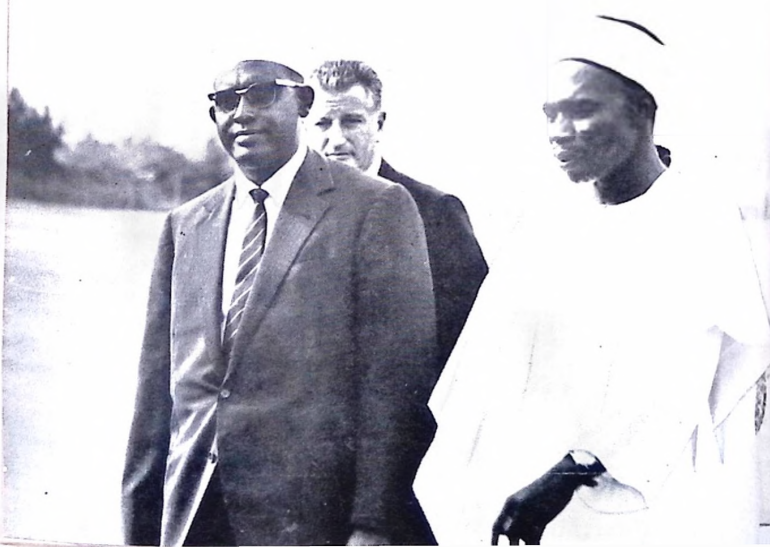


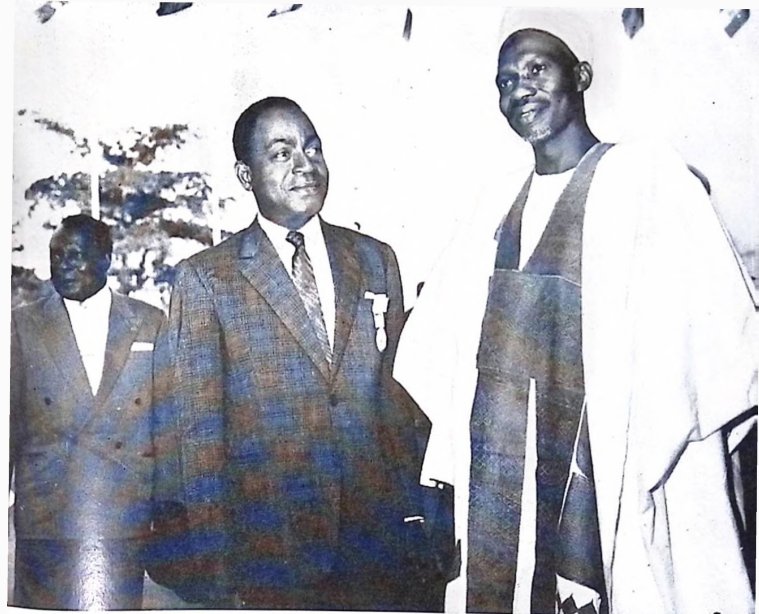
With King Hussein of Jordan



With President Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal

With the Prime Minister of Somalia, Dr Abdirashid Ali Shermarke





With President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast

With President Philibert Tsiranana of Madagascar and President Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroun





Receiving the traditional gift of kola nuts from the women undergraduates of the University of Ibadan

I wish to emphasise once again that these measures are designed solely to demonstrate to the peoples of Nigeria the readiness and willingness of their leaders to accept sacrifices over and above those which will be required of the rest of the nation. (*Applause*).

INTERNAL SECURITY

DEFENCE

Mr Chairman, the points which have been raised about the officers, Nigerian officers, in our military forces, are somewhat true. It is true, that there is difference in pay between the British Army Officer and the Nigerian Army Officer. Now, it is a very big problem, which is receiving the constant attention of the Council of Ministers. The Members of the Committee will appreciate that our military forces are up till now under the Army Council in the United Kingdom, and our British Officers are also British Army Officers. Their pay is a very generous one, and I can remember, being in the Council for quite a number of years now, that almost every year or every two years we had to review the differences between the pay of the British Officers and the Nigerian Officers. But it is a problem which will go on, I am afraid, because as I told the House in my speech in the debate on the Speech from the Throne, at present we have about 250 British Army officers whom we have to retain and whom we have to pay much higher than we are paying our officers, because we cannot do otherwise.

Now, that is exactly what the Ghana Government had to do, but it is our hope that we should try to Nigerianise as early as we can. Members have, of course, pointed out that though I told the House that there was difficulty in getting Nigerians with the required educational qualifications to come forward, we should even try to get officers from the rank and file. I do not think that it is the view of the Committee that we should lower the standard of our military forces. It is true we were allocated many places in Sandhurst and Eton Hall but, unfortunately, because our men are not willing to come forward in large numbers we could not train more than what we are training now. But, as I told the House

Statement in Parliament on the Appropriation (1958-59) Bill Committee: March 3, 1958.

sometime ago, there is definite improvement in the candidates coming forward for interview, and I hope things will improve.

I also understand, as my Honourable Friends, Mr Eneh I think, and Mr Adeyinka, speaking on these N.C.Os, I understand that about seventy-nine B.N.C.Os will be leaving our military forces at the end of March and that by 1960 about forty will still remain, most of them being instructors, but it is our intention to do all we can to Nigerianise not only our military forces, but all such things which come under the Federal Government. But really, this is a problem which will continue and what I can only tell the Committee is that I would assure them that it will constantly receive the attention of the Council of Ministers. It is a problem which, I am afraid, will have to continue. This pay of the military officers we know is very generous, and I do not want to leave the impression with the Committee that we are not concerned about this. **We are very much concerned because when we think about the pay of our Army officers we think they should conform somewhat with the pay of the Civil Service as a whole.**

Mr Chairman, I am grateful to the many Honourable Members who have spoken on these Police Estimates, and I am also grateful to them for the many useful points which they raised in their speeches. Now, first my honourable friend, Chief Onyia, seemed to suggest that I made a promise to him about the question of increasing the Police strength at Asaba. I am very sorry to say that I never made such a promise to the Honourable Member. Honourable Members have generally spoken on corruption in the Police Force and about junior Police Officers buying promotions from superior Police Officers. Well, all that I want to say, is that it is bad for Members to make these allegations which they cannot substantiate, and I have no doubt that the Inspector-General of Police and myself, or any other Minister will be only too willing to hear any concrete evidence from any of the Honourable Members about these corruption cases.

Now, I am grateful to my respected friend, Oba Aiyeola who praised the work of the Police but who asked that we should employ more Vehicle Inspection Officers. As I told the House some time ago, when I was answering a question from a Cameroons Member, these officers are very difficult to obtain, but I will assure the Committee that we shall do all that we can to see that these Vehicle Inspection Officers are recruited.

Honourable Oba Aiyeola also raised the question of Passports. I would very much like him to see me any time after the sitting of the House, to tell me of the difficulty which either students or any other people have in getting their passports. I would also be very pleased to hear from him of any cases in which any of our Immigration Officers were found demanding money from the applicants for passports.

Many Members also raised the question of the Nigeria Police Officers giving proper training to local government police forces. I myself would like to express the gratitude of all these local government bodies for the

assistance which the Federal Police Force was giving them. It is very important, of course, that these local government police forces should be good enough in order to assist even the Nigeria Police in maintaining law and order.

SPECIAL CONSTABLES

I am glad that the Honourable Member has given me an opportunity to say how very grateful the Federal Government is to the Special Constables who have given very good service during Her Majesty's visit to this country.

The Force is now composed of 3071 Constables and, as Members will know very well, these, of course, are volunteers, mainly composed of people who choose to volunteer into the Force to serve the country in their own home area. Now the total establishment is 3386. They usually undergo periods of training. In each month they are required to do two periods of three hours, and for this they are paid ten shillings for every six hours' duty that they do.

Now, the Honourable Member has also mentioned the question of batons for these Special Constables. The issue of batons is not a personal one to the Special Constables, but I understand the batons are usually kept in the headquarters of the Police, because the Special Constabulary is established on a provincial basis, and the batons are kept in the headquarters of the Police.

These Special Constables are issued, I think, with certain equipment and kit, khaki shirt, and khaki shorts, brown shoes, khaki stockings, beret with badge, whistle, notebook. Now the whole question of remuneration of the Special Constabulary is being considered, and I understand that a Bill is being drafted dealing with the conditions of recruitment and such matters of the Special Constabulary, and I hope that the honourable Member will rest assured that when we come with a Bill to the House, he may find the new legislation to his liking.

I want to say again, that the Special Constabulary is performing very good work and I am glad of this opportunity of commenting on it. It is a good service it is doing for the country.

PUBLIC ORDER

All of us in this House are concerned at the recent widespread outbreaks of lawlessness in different parts of the country. As His Excellency has said, the pretext for these riots is not a matter for debate in this House. So far, the excuses put forward for disregarding the normal constitutional channels for voicing grievances are entirely matters for the respective Regional Governments. Nevertheless, the House cannot remain aloof from a situation which necessitated the grant of Emergency Powers by the Governor-General. While in the Western Region, the Nigeria Police quickly restored control, the outbreaks in the Eastern Region since the 3rd of February have spread to thirteen out of the twenty-nine Divisions in the Region and reinforcements have had to be sent. In all, two units have been sent from the Western Region by road and eight units by air from Lagos.

The cost to the country is considerable. Obviously, while the state of emergency continues I can give no final figure, but I can give the House a broad indication of what these operations mean financially. The cost of air transport from Lagos so far is in the order of £16,600. The emergency allowance to which the Police are entitled on duties of this kind is about £150 a day. The hiring of non-government motor transport to supplement government transport has on occasion risen to £500 a day, but this figure varies widely in accordance with the localities in which disorders occur and with the immediate availability of Police vehicles. **When I see expenditure of this kind and on this scale, even though I recognise its necessity, I can only condemn without qualification the folly of resorting to disobedience and violence. It will get us nowhere, least of all the misguided people who have taken part in these mass demonstrations.**

Equally serious to my mind is the fact that a large proportion of the police force has had to be withdrawn from its normal duties in order to deal with these disturbances. No less than twenty-six officers and 1,300 men, the majority being drawn from the police already stationed in the Region, have been solely occupied for over a fortnight in controlling disorders involving violence to persons and property; and this figure does not include seven units held in reserve. Although looting and damage to property has occurred, this has been limited by swift and effective police action. Estimates up to the 18th—and I must emphasize that the figures are very provisional—place the extent of the damage at some £3,800. A considerable number of arrests have been made—by the 18th, a total of 173 men, 321 women, and fifteen juveniles had been arrested and charged.

Statement in Parliament on outbreaks of disturbances in parts of the country: February 19, 1958.

Mr Speaker, the House will have learned with deep regret of the affray at Okaki. On the 13th, a body of police arrived at this village where rioters had looted the Council safe and were demonstrating. Baton charges failed to restore order and the police were heavily attacked by an armed mob of men and ultimately were obliged to open fire. One man was killed outright and a second died later in hospital. Four policemen were injured, one seriously.

On the 17th, a second affray occurred at Obosi, near Owerri. Here a body of police escorting prisoners was trapped by road blocks and was surrounded by an armed crowd which forced the police to release their prisoners. In spite of this release, the crowd did not allow the police to leave the village and eventually at least one dane-gun was discharged as the result of which one constable was gravely wounded and is now on the danger list. Three more were also wounded. The police fired nine shots in reply, and only then did the crowd disperse. One rioter was killed and two more died on the way to hospital.

I cannot conceal from the House my bitter disappointment at these unnecessary tragedies. Previously the police had been successful in avoiding casualties in spite of the enormous size of the demonstrations which they had to control. So far, five men have lost their lives, one is seriously injured, and four others are known to have suffered minor injuries. Amongst the police, five men have been seriously injured and fifty-five have suffered minor injuries. **In passing, I must pay warm tribute to the Nigeria Police for their skill in handling hostile crowds, and for their forbearance under extreme provocation. The bare facts I have quoted to the House give no indication of the acute strain placed on men over long and anxious periods of time by crowds which often numbered many thousands. Those same facts are also, as Honourable Members will agree, the best evidence of the loyalty and efficiency of the Force.**

Mr Speaker, Sir, one of the factors by which a sovereign state is judged is the manner of its maintenance of public order within its own boundaries. Today, the attention of the outside world is becoming increasingly focused on Nigeria as we move towards Independence. The recent outbreaks, with their total disregard of constitutional methods, can only damage our reputation abroad, and that reputation must be very dear to this House. Though the issues which gave rise to these troubles are entirely a matter for the Regional Governments concerned, nevertheless it is my duty to say that law and order will be maintained, whatever the cost, and that Her Majesty's Government will be carried on.

ASSASSINATION

Mr Speaker, Sir,

On the 1st of August, I explained to the House in reply to a point made by an Honourable Member, that the current stories of a plot to assassinate Dr Azikiwe and others would be thoroughly investigated by the Police. My purpose this morning is to report to the House the results of the investigation to-date. When I gave this undertaking I expressed my hope that anybody who was in possession of any information or evidence would put it at the disposal of the Police. This point—and a most reasonable one—I hope the House will bear in mind.

On the previous day, that is the 31st of July, a delegation of 7 members of the N.C.N.C. called on the Inspector-General (of Police). In all, the delegation numbered seven persons and were led by Mr T. O. S. Benson and Mr Jaja Wachuku. They made the extremely grave allegation that a plot existed to murder Dr Azikiwe, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Mr T.O.S. Benson and Mr Jaja Wachuku. The delegation, of which Mr Benson was the main speaker, said that it had received information that a certain Dr Egesi of the Ex-Servicemen's Association, Aba, was the potential assassin, and was present in Lagos on that day. As we all know, Dr Azikiwe was also in Lagos on that day, namely the 31st of July. The delegation expressed their opinion that the Reform Committee, led by Dr K. O. Mbadiwe and Chief Kola Balogun, were aware of this plot. The House will agree that these are most serious allegations, closely affecting the honour of Members of this House and the good name of Nigeria abroad. On my instructions, most rigorous Police enquiries have been conducted on a wide scale in Lagos, in the Eastern Region and in the Western Region. **With the exception of one statement of doubtful reliability, there is no evidence or information whatever to substantiate this story. I repeat that, apart from this one statement, the Police have been unable to obtain any shrewd of supporting evidence.**

Six of the seven members of the delegation who called on the Inspector-General of Police on the 31st July have since been interviewed. Of these gentlemen, four stated that they had no personal knowledge of the assassination story but had heard rumours of it or had seen it in the newspaper. Mr Benson, apart from producing the witness to which I have previously referred, could give no assistance beyond stating that Dr Azikiwe had received a letter in July from his supporters in Aba warning him of a threat to his life. So far this letter had never been produced to the police in spite of frequent requests for it.

In conclusion, I may say that Mr Benson and Mr Wachuku gave, I am informed, an undertaking to provide the Police with a written statement to substantiate the story of assassination. Neither has so far

Statement in Parliament on Police investigation into assassination rumours: August 9, 1958.

done so. Considerable work still remains to be done by the Police in connection with this enquiry, but unless new and startling evidence is forthcoming, it is morally certain that the allegations cannot be substantiated.

At the risk of repetition, I may say that rumours of this kind, probably wilfully started, can only damage, seriously, Nigeria's reputation at home and abroad. This damage to our honour has been aggravated by the enormous publicity given to this story in the Press. I should inform the House that the **'West African Pilot'** published it on the morning of the 31st July, that is before the delegation had seen the Inspector-General. The following day the same newspaper had banner headlines carrying the story and giving the names of the delegation. The **'Daily Times'** of August 1st carried very much the same information. It will be interesting to know how the Press obtained this, as it did not come from the Inspector-General who refused to provide any information to the Press on the 31st, inspite of telephone calls from the Press. These facts are particularly interesting, in view of the report in the **'West African Pilot'** of the 8th August criticising the Police for conducting their enquiries through the medium of the Press, and of the Minister of Information in the Eastern Regional Government. I am sure that every Honourable Member of this House will agree that such publicity can only produce a sense of insecurity and alarm in the minds of the people of this country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I leave it to the good judgment of the House to form its own opinion of this story, in the light of the facts I have just related.

PASSPORT

I welcome this opportunity to give the House the full details of this matter which has already received considerable publicity in the press. For this purpose, I think it is desirable that I should first reiterate the principles on which the decision in this case was based.

First, it is the duty of the Government to consider whether or not an applicant for a passport or visa might engage in activities harmful to the country. Secondly, I should like to make it quite clear that the grant of a passport to any person is a privilege and not a right, and it is within the power of the issuing authority to refuse or withdraw a passport if considered fit. These powers are, in fact, rarely exercised but one of the occasions on which they are exercised is in the case of an applicant

who wishes to travel behind the Iron Curtain and there are sufficient grounds to show if he would become or be likely to become involved in Communist activity.

Honourable Members are already aware of the policy laid down by the Federal and Regional Governments of excluding Communists from branches of the Public Service and, in connection with this policy, the Council of Ministers has, for a number of years, taken the view that, to allow unrestricted access into communist countries is not in the best interest of Nigeria.

So much for the principles. I now turn to the facts of this case. Since 1945, Mrs Ransome-Kuti has been reported to have had contact with several Communist organizations, including the Women's International Democratic Federation, of which she was appointed a Vice-President in 1952. In the same year, she was invited to a Peace Congress in Vienna, and subsequently to a meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation. Both journeys were made at the expense of these organizations, both of which are Communist. In April, 1954, a professional Communist women's organiser visited Nigeria for forty-eight hours, during which she paid two visits to Mrs Ransome-Kuti. Why should this lady come all this distance and at such expense just for such a short visit? I am sure no member of this House can believe it to have been just a social call.

To continue—in May, 1955, Mrs Ransome-Kuti and two other women planned to attend a meeting of the World Assembly of Peace at Helsinki in Finland, and this Assembly is, of course, a Communist front organization. She also asked that her passport might be endorsed to enable her to visit Russia and China as well as Finland. In June, at an interview in the Chief Secretary's Office, Mrs Ransome-Kuti was told of the Statement of Policy towards Communism issued jointly by the Federal and Regional Governments. Amongst other matters, it was carefully and most courteously explained to her that the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Assembly of Peace were Communist-dominated organizations, whose activities were disguised to attract well-meaning persons with humanistic ideals, but that their real objective was to assist in the establishment of Soviet supremacy throughout the world.

At the end of this meeting, Mrs Ransome-Kuti was told that, if she persisted in attending communist controlled conferences abroad, serious consideration would have to be given to withdrawing her passport. However, in April of 1956, Mrs Ransome-Kuti went to England and from there to Europe and China. At the time, considerable publicity was given to her visit to China in both the Nigerian and European press. Mrs Ransome-Kuti did, in fact, attend a council meeting of the

Women's International Democratic Federation in Peking and, according to the report of the New China News Agency, which is a Communist organization, she addressed the meeting, and amongst other points, is alleged to have stated that 'women in Nigeria had never ceased fighting for their rights during the last ten years'.

After she had returned to Nigeria, Mrs Ransome-Kuti was interviewed on the 12th July, and she denied that she had attended any conference in China, but that she had gone there to study and for meetings with various women's societies, including Y.M.C.A. Unfortunately, a photograph of Mrs Ransome-Kuti attending a meeting of the Federation was published in the London Communist paper 'The Daily Worker' in the preceding month—on the 12th of June, to be precise.

There has been considerable comment in the Nigerian press about Government's recent decision not to renew her passport. On this occasion, Mrs Ransome-Kuti had applied for renewal, stating in her application form that she intended to travel to United Kingdom for health reasons. This statement was grossly inconsistent with the evidence available to this Government, which showed that Mrs Ransome Kuti had been offered, by the Women's International Democratic Federation, a return air ticket to travel to East Berlin. I think that I have said enough to convince Honourable Members that Mrs Ransome-Kuti is not merely fully apprised of the communist nature of her contacts abroad, but that she is willing to go to any length in order to forward her personal ideals.

For many years past, Government has been prepared to give Mrs Ransome-Kuti the benefit of the doubt and hope that she was simply misguided in her frequent travels to attend conferences which were under communist control. I think that the time has now passed when she is entitled to any further doubt on this matter and her own actions have provided the strongest evidence against her. It can now be assumed that it is her intention to influence the various Nigerian women's organizations, with which she is connected, with communist ideas and policies. It is in this respect that the danger from Mrs Ransome-Kuti's contacts with, and beliefs in, Communism lies.

Finally, I should like to state here, as I have already said in a letter to Mrs Ransome-Kuti, that I and my Colleagues are determined that, while we are responsible for the Government of the Federation of Nigeria and for the welfare of its people, we shall use every means in our power to prevent the infiltration of Communism and communistic ideas into Nigeria. I feel sure that the whole House will endorse this policy.

SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE

I wish to make a statement to the House about Subversive Literature. Honourable members will recall that under an order made in 1955, the importation of 33 specific items of literature is prohibited. In a written answer to a question at the August meeting of this House, I stated that I was well aware that the list of banned publications was out of date, and that I had appointed a Committee to advise me on the whole subject of Subversive Literature.

After very careful consideration, the Government has now decided to repeal this order with effect from 1st December. This does not mean to say that there is no Subversive Literature circulating in this country; in fact there are a number of publications which either condone, or aim at fostering violence or civil disorder as a means of coercing or overthrowing legally established Governments. But the 1955 order dates from the Colonial era, and I hope and believe that the Nigerian people have the maturity and self-confidence not to be misled by literature of this sort. The lifting of this ban is therefore an expression of faith, by the Government, in the commonsense of the Nigerian people and in their firm belief in democratic principles.

But I wish to make one point perfectly clear. The Government is not opposed to the imposition of a ban in principle. We shall retain and not hesitate to use, our powers under Section 58 of the Criminal Code to re-impose a ban if we find that our faith has been misplaced or that this sort of literature directly threatens the security of the State or the sovereignty of our country. Indeed we should be failing in our duty if we failed to do so.

UNFOUNDED RUMOURS

Mr Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member asked my permission to raise this matter, and after seeing him I made enquiries from the Inspector-General of Police about these allegations. As far as I am aware, during the visit of the Premier of the Eastern Region to Orlu, there were rumours that people were plotting to do him harm. The rumours, Sir, were investigated at that time by the Police but they were found to be false and I would not accept the hon. Member's suggestion that the Police are now molesting and intimidating people at Orlu. As far, Sir, as we know, there is no further investigation by the Police at Orlu about this allegation.

I do not know myself the source of the hon. Member's information, apart from what he read from the Eastern Nigerian Information Service paper. **I would like to tell the House, Sir, that we are reaching a situation in this country when we cannot afford to play about with rumours of assassinations and with plots to kill people. Already, Sir, as I informed the House, the Police are making a thorough investigation of rumours of assassinating certain people. I will say straightaway, Sir, that on my part I would not recommend to the Police to undertake another investigation of an allegation of the nature of which was explained by the hon. Member. I think the matter will lie as it is. As far as we know, the Police are not doing anything at Orlu and I hope we shall be satisfied, Sir, with the investigation which is now being carried on by the Police.**

This is a very unfortunate thing in this country, especially at this time that people should invent stories of these evil things, as it will appear to people from outside Nigeria that all is not well, which all of us know is not true. (Hear, hear). **We are a peaceable people; we never employ assassination weapons to eliminate our political opponents; we are making a very healthy growth in this democratic experiment which we have embarked upon, and I would like every Member of the House, Sir, to make it a duty upon himself to try to discourage such allegations and such stories.**

The Police are devoting quite a lot of their time to these unnecessary investigations which many of us know in the end will prove themselves to be false. I hope, Sir, that the hon. Members of the House will make it a duty to try to stop this kind of practice. It is a bad practice and it will not earn Nigeria any good name at all. (*Applause*).

MILITARY TRAINING COLLEGE

I rise to move an amendment to the Motion: in line 1, to leave out from 'That' to end and add—'*this House congratulates the Government on the opening of the new Nigeria Military Training College in Kaduna where training facilities, which were previously only obtained at Teshie, Ghana, will be provided, including the preliminary training of Nigerian Officers, and looks forward to the expansion of this establishment into a Military Academy when economic and other circumstances permit.*'

Sir, this Motion was put down for debate at the last meeting of the House and I thought that though it was not debated the hon. Mover would not think it fit to put it in again because I should have thought that it had been overtaken by events, by the establishment of the Military Training College in Kaduna. Although I can understand the enthusiasm of my hon. Friend the mover, and I do not like to cross swords with him on these military matters at all because he is, I think, an ex-serviceman, yet surely hon. Members would not agree that the Government should go on establishing military academies all over Nigeria. I think the hon. Member suggested that we should have a military academy in Kano, in Enugu, in Ibadan, in Zaria, in all sorts of places, though of course, as he said, the Nigerian Army is rather a small Army. **I am glad it is small and I am also glad that though it is small, it is very efficient. (Hear, hear). The Army was tested many times on different warfields in Burma, East Africa, and in other places.**

Sir, we have at present in the country two training institutions where military training is given. First, we have the Boys' Company at Zaria. The Boys' Company at Zaria was intended, not to provide army officers from the beginning, but, as I told the House sometime ago, our experience now is that we are finding many potential army officers from the Boys' Company and the school is progressing very well. Now, last year I had the honour to open the Military Training College in Kaduna. Many Members are already aware of the history of this Military School.

When we had the old Royal West African Frontier Force throughout British West Africa, the members of the Nigeria Regiment got their training at a school in Ghana which is Teshie. Now, we in the Federal Government thought, as far back as 1953, that although Teshie was very good and very satisfactory, it was most important that Nigeria should have its own military school and we started to make preparations for establishing our own military school. Now, the military school in Kaduna is training all rank and file and at the same time it is giving training to Nigerian potential officers.

In the past, Sir, at Teshie, the members of our military forces who were to be officers went there for six months before we sent them to Sandhurst, and that six months' preliminary training we found most

Speech on Military Training Colleges made in Parliament on August 16, 1960.

useful. I can remember Sir, that in 1955, when I visited Sandhurst, I was told that because of the six months' preliminary training which the Nigerian Army officers got at Teshie, when they arrived at Sandhurst, many of them were found to be better to command than some of the officer-trainees even from some independent countries. Now, that shows, Sir, the wisdom of giving these young army officers six months' training before they go to Sandhurst. This training is indeed very well justified.

The school in Kaduna is not yet a full military academy but we hope that as time goes on that school will turn into a full military academy, and instead of giving only preliminary training to would-be officers it will turn out officers itself. That is our intention. For the time being, we have to use the higher military training institutions in the United Kingdom.

I want to explain to the House that when we speak of a Military Academy in the sense of Sandhurst and other higher ones like it, we are not merely saying that the people there are taught nothing but military matters. They are given very high academic instructions. The staff is very big and a lot of money is needed. Well, I do not speak of them now because we cannot provide the money, we cannot provide the staff though they are very important. **But what I feel, Sir, is that we have opened this military school only some months ago, we shall allow it to grow, it is growing rapidly, and we shall continue to use the services of the training institutions in the United Kingdom and, in course of time, this school in Kaduna will become a full military academy.**

But even so, I hope Nigeria will continue to send its army officers to army training institutions abroad because it is most important that our army officers should have the experience of living together with army officers from other parts of the world.

So the hon. Member, the mover of the Motion, mentioned the small size of our army and asks us to look at what is happening in the Congo. I do not want at all to draw any comparisons between Nigeria and the Congo. I know the Congo has got a very much bigger army than we have: they have about 75,000 people in the Congo army, we have about 27,000 as the hon. Member pointed out. But I feel our army is very different from that in the Congo. This is not the place for me to go into details of explaining the difference between the Nigerian army and the Congo army, but I do not think there is any Nigerian living, much less a Member of the House, who will suggest that Nigerian army officers should have the lowest qualifications possible. I think we ought to maintain that only the best will do for Nigeria (*Applause*). We want to produce officers who are as good as any in any part of the world.

As I have said, Mr Speaker, Sir, I can understand the interest which the hon. Member has in this, but I am very sorry to say that I cannot accept his Motion as drafted. And that is why I have moved my amendment and I hope that the amendment will commend itself to the House.

DEFENCE ACADEMY

The Honourable Premier, Honourable Ministers, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I recall with pride that I was privileged, as Minister in charge of Defence at that time, to perform the opening ceremony of the Nigerian Military Training College, Kaduna, in April, 1960. On that occasion I expressed the hope that the Military College would develop and pave the way for a full-fledged defence academy. I am glad that within the span of three years that hope has now been fully realised. The Nigerian Military Training College provided preliminary training to young cadets before being sent to military institutions overseas. It is a matter for satisfaction that not only have the cadets proved successful in their training overseas, but the percentage of wastage due to failure has been very small. Today a large number of officers in the Nigerian Army have passed through the institution. This achievement is a tribute to the Nigerian Army for the efficient administration of the Nigerian Military Training College.

I regard this ceremony a historic occasion not only for the military, but also for the country as a whole. I am happy to note that the Academy will be an inter-service institution and that it will train the officers of the two Services at the moment namely: the Army and the Navy. The Air Force, too, I understand, will join when the agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany is ended in 1967. This is a welcome step and will help to promote oneness among the military and pave the way for closer integration in future. Not unlike the other academies in the world, apart from military subjects, there will be an academic wing which will prepare students in the arts and science subjects so that students who might not, at a later stage, like to take military as a career will proceed from this institution to some of our national universities.

I need not emphasise that the Academy constitutes the main supporting pillars of our defence scheme. Upon it rests the entire weight of whatever may be our defence strategy. It is the institution where all the officers are trained and they in turn are responsible for the training of other ranks and file of the Armed Forces. It is from this fountain flows the military knowledge upon which the entire armed forces depend.

In the past we were dependent upon the generosity of friendly countries who made vacancies available in their home institutions to our selected trainees. These countries are the United Kingdom, Canada, India, United States of America, Ethiopia, Pakistan and Australia. We know what sacrifices these friendly nations had to make in order to accommodate us. It is like the case of someone who has prepared a meal for two and is suddenly faced with another guest to whom he has to extend hospitality. The inconvenience of such a situation can be

Address at the Opening of the Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna:
February 2, 1964.

imagined. Apart from that the question of a military academy is one in respect of which we could not depend indefinitely upon the generosity of friendly countries, however friendly those countries may be and however accommodating they may appear, because we may one day discover that we have outlived the hospitalities of our friends. The prestige of a sovereign state is so much involved in this issue that we must not, for strategic reason, depend too indefinitely on our friends however willing they might be. I am grateful to these countries, and their contributions to our military development stand out as cherished memorials that will forever be remembered.

The Nigerian Defence Academy is essentially a Nigerian institution but we have to do unto our less favoured neighbours what had been done to us by other more favoured countries. This we can do by opening our doors to other neighbouring countries who might need or seek our help. I know that this is an interim academy, the permanent one will be built soon. Nevertheless what is required of the Commandant and his officers is that they should, right from this day, ensure that the standard of this academy is as high as that of any other academy anywhere in the world. We do not want a second best. We do not want to be second to anyone. What we want is the best, because the best and only the best is good enough for us. I am confident that with such men of determination that we have here this objective will be achieved.

Now a word or two to you cadets. Military life offers its challenge. It is not sufficient to attain technical skills but officers are expected to show qualities of leadership and integrity and above all loyalty and patriotism. A Defence Academy, by its very nature, is designed to inculcate a high sense of loyalty, devotion to duty, and to develop in its students the qualities of self-reliance, integrity and honesty which are the essential ingredients of good leadership. It is also designed to enable its students to attain a high standard of discipline and proficiency in their professions and also encourage them to form sound and well informed opinions.

YOU must consider yourselves most fortunate for being the foundation students of this Academy. The success of this Academy depends largely on the assessment of your ability, being its first product. You must know that you are being trained as leaders of the armed forces where morals must depend on a high standard of discipline and accordingly where no nonsense or other laxities could be tolerated. Your main duty is to protect the borders of our country, our fatherland. By doing this you are providing an umbrella under whose shadow and protection every citizen of this country will thus be enabled to pursue his or her own chosen occupation or interest in peace, and thus be able to give the fullest expression to his creative abilities. As I mentioned before, there are three requisites for the attainment of this objective namely: loyalty to your Government, patriotism and gallantry. In the two world wars and in recent operations

in the Congo, Nigerian soldiers have made a name for themselves and for Nigeria as a whole. Their loyalty and gallantry are house hold words in all parts where they have served. There is no better inheritance than these noble qualities. It is up to you to cherish them and to pass them on to your successors and to those who come under your control.

Mr Minister of Defence, I must say that when I review the progress made in the field of defence one has cause to entertain some satisfaction and I would like to seize this opportunity to congratulate you, Ministers of State in the Ministry of Defence, your military and civilian advisers all of whom have worked with you and without whose co-operation this splendid achievement could not have been accomplished.

I would like also to thank the Indian Government for making available, in spite of its domestic needs, a number of high-powered and experienced personnel to man the Academy.

Mr Commandant, I commit you, and all who will serve and be served here, to the hands of Almighty God. May He direct and control all your endeavours so that they may be crowned with success and glory.

LAW AND ORDER

There have been many serious allegations on the question of law and order in the Western Region. I am glad at the way that the debate is going on so far, because I think it is wrong for us to try to create an impression in this House that here we live in a place where law and order is said to be broken down in one area, and the Opposition Party in another area say: 'Oh, it is also broken down in our area'. I think that if we reach such a situation we should be creating unnecessary alarm.

I remember my hon. Friend, Mr. Ekanem, rising to say he could prove that law and order had broken down in the Eastern Region. I think that this is a very wrong attitude to take, and I would very much like to tell the House that **those of us who are responsible for the security of the Federation and who also have the responsibility of making friends for Nigeria internationally, and who are also responsible for encouraging people to come and assist us in our development, find it very difficult if Members of Parliament or members of the public unnecessarily scare people away by all these allegations which one hears about so often.**

As I had said, there have been these allegations about law and order in the Western Region. There had been cases of victimisation of political opponents; I heard many times that the party in power, which is the Action Group, was out to destroy all opposition; people being beaten up, people being heavily assessed in taxes, customary courts being used, Local Government forces being used, against political opponents. I was also given a lot of documents and many photographs concerning those atrocities in the Western Region. Before I went on my visit to the United States, I asked to see the Commissioner of Police, Western

Statement in Parliament on Local Government Police in Western Nigeria— August 29, 1961.

Region. I had a long discussion with him. He told me his views and the difficulties which the Nigeria Police are having in the Western Region.

The Nigeria Police find it difficult, because they cannot have anything to do, in the sense of a policeman's duty, with the customary courts, and short of fighting Local Government Police Forces in the Western Region, they can hardly be very effective. But it is unfortunate that always the blame is on the Nigeria Police Force, while people forget the question of law and order is on the concurrent list—the Federal Government is responsible, the Regional Government is also responsible and so even are local government bodies.

Even before I went on my tour, Sir, we tried to look into those things, and on my return from the United States, I asked the Inspector-General of Police to make a report about the situation in the Western Region. He reported to me, and from that report I think I found three important points.

The first is the difficulty which the Nigeria Police are having in bringing about a happy relationship between them and the Local Government Police Force. I said this morning that my view is that the appointment of the Superintendent-General of Local Government Police in the Western Region has got a lot to do with this. My hon. Friend, the Member for Ishan East (Chief Enahoro), who had a lot to do with these police matters in the past, tried to explain the issue by saying that for six years they more or less had people occupying the position of Superintendent-General. I am afraid I have to disagree with him.

For six years the Local Government Police Force in the Western Region was under the control of the Nigeria Police; but that surely has been taken away from the Nigeria Police. I do not quarrel with that; **but I quarrel with the appointment of a Police Officer who appears to be employed by the Regional Government working on a regional basis on top of the other local Police Force;** and the names of people, I think, that the Member for Ishan (Chief Enahoro) mentioned this morning, were names of Nigeria Police Officers who were actually giving assistance to the Western Nigeria Local Government Police Force.

The gentleman who is now appointed Superintendent-General is quite a different person. That, Sir, is what I want to point out, and that is the first point.

Now the second point is this: I have found out that we must put our heads together—I mean the Federal and the Regional Governments—to know exactly what to do in the case of a Government going out of its way, if it should happen, and stirring up trouble as a result of its action, and the Local Government Police Force there being unable to handle the situation. To what extent would such a Government expect the Federal Government to come to its assistance?

This is very important, because really I do not like the Nigeria Police Force always to be under fire. Whenever a situation arises somewhere, people are ready to blame the Nigeria Police, while in most cases it cannot be said to be the fault of the Nigeria Police. Hon. Members of this House are also not always willing to co-operate with the Nigeria Police.

For example, I as the Prime Minister, will receive a telephone call from the Western Region—'Prime Minister, I am so-and-so telephoning you, law and order have broken down in my village. I am telling you, this is a true story. Law and order have broken down; so many people have been beaten up, so many of them sent to jail just now by the customary court.' I do not know the man. I am the Prime Minister, and on the spot at that place there is a Nigeria Police Officer, and that Hon. Member refuses to go and tell that Nigeria Police Officer on the spot, but instead he will ring the Prime Minister or he will ring another Minister in Lagos.

Now, these things happen every time, and most of us have received these kinds of messages. It really happens. The Inspector-General of Police may receive a direct call from an individual saying that there is some case going on, either that somebody is murdered or that somebody is beaten up or else is sent to jail. I think that it is now time, Mr Speaker, that we, the Federal and the Regional Governments, put our heads together. I am thinking of calling an Emergency Meeting of the Police Council, because this situation and these allegations which we always hear of are enough, really, to make us sit together and talk among ourselves.

My greatest concern is the impression that we will give to the outside world. When people far away hear what we say and write here, they really become frightened, more especially because of the happenings in other parts of Africa. They might say that such and such a country is turning into another Congo. And I think that whatever we say and however serious things are here we can still look after ourselves, and I think we can still trust ourselves to be able to maintain law and order in this country.

Of course, if Parliament says I should report, although I do not see the necessity of my reporting back to Parliament, I am quite ready to make a statement to the House. I have got a report from the Inspector-General of Police. In fact, I know the position of the Federation almost everyday, and if it is the wish of Parliament that I report and give them some views about the situation in the Western Region, I shall do so.

The Motion specifically speaks of the position in the Western Region and that is why I mentioned the Western Region. Really, I do not think there is any need for me to report again. But, as I have said, if that is the wish of the House I can report to the House either on Wednesday or on Thursday.

THE POLICE

On Tuesday last, the following Motions were passed by this House. I will read them. *'Resolved, That this House views with grave concern the appointment by the Government of Western Nigeria of a Superintendent-General of Local Government Police since such appointment interferes with the executive authority of the Federation.'*

The second Motion reads—*'That this House views with concern the repeated allegations about the grave state of law and order in Western Nigeria and desires the Federal Government to look into them and to report to the House in due course.'* I now wish to make a statement on these matters.

Numerous complaints have been made to me in the last few months concerning the state of law and order in Western Nigeria. These complaints can be summarised as oppression of political opposition by the Action Group, resulting in a total breakdown of law and order throughout the Region. Generally speaking, the complaints fall into one or more of the following categories.

Discrimination against political opponents and their supporters in the matter of tax assessment.

Use of the customary courts to suppress political opposition.

Use of the Local Government Police and Local Council Officers to arrest political opponents on minor and; or trumped-up charges.

Intimidation, in varying degrees, of opponents of the Action Group.

Lack of action and lack of impartiality by members of the Nigeria Police.

I have discussed this matter with the Premier of Western Nigeria and hope to have further discussions with him, while I will also, in the near future, call a meeting of the Police Council to discuss these problems.

While appreciating the genuine sense of grievance under which opponents of the Action Group are labouring in Western Nigeria, it can only do harm to the reputation of this country if exaggerated reports alleging a total breakdown of law and order in the Region, and a state of terror existing there are made. If a person is genuinely in fear of his life, then the obvious solution is to report the fact to the Nigeria Police and request protective measures.

I have been informed by the Inspector-General that only very recently have complaints been made either to him or to the Regional Commissioner, personally, on this matter. It is, I feel, most important that aggrieved persons should make their complaints to the Police on the spot, rather than come to Lagos to see either me or the Inspector-General or others. I think this channel should only be used when the

persons feel aggrieved at the action or lack of action taken by the officer on the spot.

The House would wish to be informed of the arrangements made for the appointment of the Superintendent-General of the Local Government Police. From 1956 to March 1961, the method of appointment of an officer to fill the post of Superintendent-General, Local Government Police Forces, Western Region, was that the Inspector-General of Police suggested the name of a serving Nigeria Police Officer to the Western Regional Government to fill this post. In the three cases of officers who held this post prior to March 1961, the Western Regional Government accepted this nomination.

In January of this year the Western Regional Government intimated that it wished to appoint a substantive holder to the post of Superintendent-General and asked the Commissioner of Police for his views on the suitability of a retired Nigerian Officer who had applied for the post. The Commissioner, with concurrence of the Inspector-General, recommended that person for the post. The Commissioner of Police went on to recommend that Section 19 (1) of the Local Government Police Law should be invoked. This section, if invoked, brings the Local Government Police Forces under the control of the Commissioner of Police.

The new Superintendent-General was appointed in March 1961, but a decision of the Commissioner's recommendation to invoke section 19(1) of Local Government Police Law was deferred, as the Government wished the proposal to be examined by the Law Officers before taking such a step.

Prior to June, 1961 the then Provincial Forces of the Local Government Police were commanded by officers of the Nigeria Police, but discussion had previously taken place concerning the appointment of local officers to command these forces, as it was considered that the time had come for this action to be taken. Accordingly, in June 1961, local officers were appointed to command the provincial forces in Ibadan, Ondo, Abeokuta and Oshogbo. Nigeria Police Officers would still command the Local Government Forces in Benin and Ijebu-Ode.

During the course of the debate on Tuesday, the hon. Member for Ishan East (Chief Enahoro) stated that the creation of a post of Superintendent-General, Local Government Police, was not a new thing, and that the Local Government Police Law, which is the authority for the creation of the post, had been in existence since 1955. It is my opinion, however, that our Constitution clearly supersedes that law. Section 97(7) of the Constitution reads as follows:

'Nothing in this section shall prevent the legislature of a Region from making provision for the maintenance by any native authority or Local Government authority established for a province or any part of province, of a police force for employment within that province.'

To me that makes it clear that the only Police Forces a Regional Government may create are Local Provincial Forces, and any action, including co-ordination of effort or indeed of training, which tends to bring the forces under direct regional governmental control is, in my opinion, a move contrary to the spirit and the intention of the Constitution. Any such co-ordination as may be required should, in my opinion, be the duty of the Federal Police Force, for which I am responsible to Parliament.

As far as central control is concerned, the basic difference between the Native Authority Police Forces in the North and the Local Government Police Forces in the West is that in the North, a serving Nigeria Police Officer fills the duty post of Adviser, Native Authority Police Forces. This officer advises the Commissioner of Police who, in turn, advises the Regional Government. The operative word is 'advise', it is neither control nor direction. The Native Authority Police Adviser is not a Regional Government appointee, nor is he seconded to the Regional Government. He is an integral part of the Nigeria Police establishment in the Northern Region. In the West, the post of Superintendent-General is a regional appointment and when Nigeria Police Officers filled the post they were seconded to the Regional Government. The Regional Government reimbursed the Federal Government for their salaries, allowances, et cetera, but these emoluments did not appear in the regional estimates. Since the appointment of the new Superintendent-General, the post is shown in the regional estimates.

I now want to say something about the Nigeria Police. Complaints have been made against them and generally I am satisfied that they are doing their best to carry out their duties—often under provocation and in difficult circumstances—conscientiously and impartially. As far as lack of impartiality is concerned, there may well be some members of the Nigeria Police who show bias in the course of their official duties, but I am convinced that they are a minute minority and that the vast majority are trying to do a difficult job in a spirit of impartiality.

Whenever the Inspector-General or any of his officers receives specific complaints, an inquiry takes place. But as often as not, these complaints are of a very general nature against a particular individual, and nothing could be more calculated to destroy the morale or efficiency of the Force than if disciplinary action was taken against Nigeria Police personnel in the absence of full details of their alleged dereliction of duty.

I therefore appeal to hon. Members of this House and to the public to support the Nigeria Police, and I ask them to show tolerance to them the majority of whom are doing a difficult job as well as they can.

PUBLIC EMERGENCY

Mr Speaker, Sir,

I beg to move the following Resolution standing in my name.

'That in pursuance of section sixty-five of the Constitution of the Federation it is declared that a state of public emergency exists and that this resolution shall remain in force until the end of the month of December, nineteen hundred and sixty-two.'

You all know the reasons why Parliament has reassembled today. For the past week or so there has been no properly constituted Government in Western Nigeria. I would like to recapitulate briefly the events which have led to this impasse and, in doing so, I would like to emphasise that the Federal Government has been motivated solely by the desire to ensure that peace, order and tranquillity are maintained throughout the parts of the Federation.

A political crisis developed within the Action Group, which was the Party in control of the Government of Western Nigeria. Following the crisis, the National Executive of the Party deposed Chief Akintola as Deputy Leader and asked him to resign his appointment as Premier of Western Nigeria.

On the 20th of May, the Premier advised the Governor of Western Nigeria that in view of the political crisis which had been developing in the Region, and of the rival claims of the two factions for a majority support of the electorate in the Region, His Excellency should exercise his powers under section 31 of Part 3 of the Constitution of Western Nigeria, to dissolve the Legislative Houses of the Region. The Governor refused. On the same day the Premier asked the Speaker for the same reasons to convene the Western House of Assembly for Wednesday, May 23rd, to consider and pass the Motion for a vote of confidence in the Government of Western Nigeria, but the Speaker also refused.

The following day the Governor, purported to exercise the powers vested in him by section 33 (10) of the Constitution of Western Nigeria, set out in the Fourth Schedule to the Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960, and purported to remove Chief Akintola from his office as Premier of Western Nigeria, with effect from the 21st of May.

Chief Akintola thereupon filed a motion in the High Court, challenging the power of the Governor to remove him from office in the manner he did. The matter is still before the Court for determination. The Governor nevertheless proceeded to exercise the powers in normal circumstances vested in him by section 33 (1) of the Constitution of Western Nigeria, by purporting to appoint Alhaji D. S. Adegbenro to be Premier of Western Nigeria, with effect from the 21st of May. A meeting of the Western House of Assembly was summoned for the 25th of May.

As you all know, two unsuccessful attempts were made on that day to hold meetings of the Western House of Assembly. The first one ended in a violent uproar and disorder. The Police had no alternative but to

use tear gas to disperse all Members, but before then the House had become a shamble.

I was then approached by one side to the dispute to allow the Nigeria Police to guard the Chamber of the Western House of Assembly so that another meeting could be held, this time in the House of Chiefs, which was to be used as the House of Assembly. The other side almost immediately warned that it would be unwise and risky to allow such further meeting to be held.

Before the attempt to hold a second meeting I felt impelled to issue the following release:

'The two factions in the Action Group have contacted the Prime Minister regarding the holding of another meeting of the Western Nigeria House of Assembly today. The Prime Minister cannot stop the meeting from taking place but, because of the fight which has broken out in the House this morning, if the parties decide to hold a meeting of the House of Assembly, they may do so. It must be on the strict understanding that there will be no Police protection within the chamber. If, however, any party insists on being afforded Police protection within the chamber, the Police may be so present; but the Federal Government will not accept any decision reached as a result of such proceedings in the Chamber.'

'If, in spite of all the efforts of the Police, there should be an outbreak of violence or any further disorder, the Police have authority to clear the Chamber and lock it up.'

Shortly after the release had been issued, I received a further report from the Inspector-General of Police that an attempt had been made to hold the meeting under Nigeria Police protection, but that it had resulted in a far greater uproar and commotion than the earlier one. The Police therefore cleared the Chamber, and locked it up.

In the afternoon of the same day, May 25, the Council of Ministers met to discuss the situation. The same evening, I made a nation-wide broadcast, explaining the position of the Federal Government in the matter; and, in the course of my broadcast, I made the following observation:

'No responsible Government of the Federation could allow an explosive situation such as that which now exists in Western Nigeria to continue without taking adequate measures to ensure that there is an early return to the Region of peace, order and good government.'

Mr Speaker, Sir, I said a few moments ago that, for the past week or so, there does not appear to have been any validly constituted Government in Western Nigeria. In the light of the violent incidents on May 25, which badly shattered both Houses of Assembly, it is difficult to see how the public affairs of the Western Region could possibly be carried on in an atmosphere of warring factions of a Party in power so sadly rent asunder in the old-world struggle that would ultimately do nobody any good inside and outside Western Nigeria. This is the background against which I ask Honourable Members to assess the situation and to

authorise the Government of the Federation to take appropriate measures in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution.

Allegations of conspiracy have been made against the Federal Government, that it had planned the whole crisis in order to take over the Western Nigeria Government. It has also been suggested in certain quarters that this Parliament would be abusing its powers, were it to declare a state of emergency, because the sad and unfortunate occurrences had not extended beyond the precincts of the Legislature of the Western Region.

Nothing could be further from the truth. We were surely not responsible for the chain of events that led to the party and personal wrangles, to the attempted by-passing of the Western Legislature, or to the mutual dismissal and counter-dismissal between Governor and Premier. The question at issue is, whether in the absence of a duly constituted Government in Western Nigeria, the Federal Government has no responsibility for ensuring peace, order and good government for that Region.

The main purpose of this resolution is to seek Parliament's approval for the measures which the Federal Government proposes to adopt in order to ensure an early return to Western Nigeria of peace, order and good government. I ask all Nigerians to co-operate and support the Federal Government at this momentous turning-point in our national history. It is not yet two years when we began the adventurous but arduous task of nation-building. The eyes of the whole world are upon us, particularly now when we, as a responsible and friendly, people, are seeking to execute our development plans, and so increase the happiness and prosperity of our people.

I solemnly assure you that the powers we shall soon be forced to assume will be exercised in as humane and democratic a manner as the circumstances will permit, and that, as soon as reasonably may be, the Federal Government will actively promote and encourage a situation in which an early return to the normal processes of parliamentary government could be guaranteed for all classes of the people of Western Nigeria.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

CONSTITUTION

It is my painful but inescapable duty once again to address you, Honourable Members of Parliament, regarding the affairs of Western Nigeria. You will all recall that about this time last year we had occasion in this august assembly to declare a state of emergency in the Western Region as a means of ensuring peace, order and good government there. This was in the due course followed by a clear majority ruling (of three to one) of the Federal Supreme Court that, on a true interpretation of section 33 (10) of the Constitution of Western Nigeria, the Governor could not have validly removed Premier Akintola from office except as a result of an adverse vote secured on the floor of the House of Assembly that the Premier no longer enjoyed the support of a majority of its members.

When, in accordance with its original undertaking, the Federal Government brought the state of emergency in Western Nigeria to an end on December 31, 1962, it at the same time restored the suspended executive and legislative organs of the Region. The post-emergency Akintola Government has since assumed the huge responsibility for the implementation of the recommendations of the Report of the Coker Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of six Statutory Corporations of Western Nigeria.

Since Alhaji Adegbenro appealed from the judgment of the Federal Supreme Court to Her Majesty's Judicial Committee of the Privy Council some ten months ago, the constitutional and political situation in Western Nigeria has markedly altered. In the first place, the Action Group's claim to the allegiance of sixty-six members of the House of Assembly whose alleged signatures had been collected outside the House and made the basis of the Governor's action in removing Chief Akintola from his Premiership, has been falsified by two successive votes of implicit confidence in Premier Akintola cast last April by seventy-nine and eighty members, respectively, out of the total of 117 in the House. In the second place, Her Majesty the Queen had seen fit to appoint, at the end of last year, Chief Joseph Fadahunsi (as he then was) to be Governor of Western Nigeria, on the advice of Premier Akintola, even although she was well aware of Alhaji Adegbenro's pending appeal before Her Majesty's Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at that time. It is not an unfair presumption that the Queen's official acts are to be deemed to have been regularly performed.

It is against this background that this sitting of the House of Representatives to give its consent to the Constitution of Western Nigeria (Amendment) Law, 1963, having effect must be viewed. From what I have said so far, it can be seen quite clearly that the Opinion of the Judicial Committee in the *Adegbenro v. Akintola* appeal has been over-

taken by events, some of which have already been briefly indicated. To attempt to implement it could only lead to more confusion in that already complex situation of the Western Region. For instance, were Her Majesty the Queen to sign the necessary Order in Council bringing the Judicial Committee's Opinion into force, she would in logic be obliged to comply with Alhaji Adegbenro's letter sent direct to her nominating another candidate for the office of Governor. There would then be in the Western Region two rival Governors and two Premiers, with all their complications of partisan fanaticism among the warring political factions. The Federal Government would then be left with no alternative but to declare another state of emergency in that Region. Such a course must involve, not only Western Nigeria, but also the entire Federation, in financial ruin and political malaise. It is surely better and wiser to avert such a disaster by the course now proposed and to recognise the local political realities of which the opinion of the Judicial Committee would appear to be entirely unaware.

Viewed from even a strictly constitutional standpoint, the Judicial Committee's legalistic interpretation of section 33 (10) of the Constitution of Western Nigeria must be regarded as unfortunate, since it holds that the Governor of a Region can exercise the power to dismiss a Premier at will, whereas Her Majesty has ceased to exercise the same for at least the past one hundred and thirty years. As the phrase occurs in identical terms in all the Regional as well as the Federal constitutions, the Governor-General would similarly be entitled to collect signatures outside the House or interview some people as a means of determining that the Prime Minister 'no longer commands the support of a majority of the members of the House of Representatives'. **Could it be seriously suggested that the Queen need only consult the public opinion polls on the pages of newspapers in order to dismiss Mr MacMillan as Prime Minister and invite Mr Harold Wilson to form another Government, seeing that these polls have regularly indicated a percentage of less than forty for Mr MacMillan?** No, this is not the brand of Parliamentary democracy which we intend to adopt from Britain. To give a Regional Governor, or indeed the Governor-General of the Federation, such a *carte blanche* in obtaining of information would make the line very difficult to draw between legitimate consultation and improper intrigue. The one clean course open to a *constitutional* head of State or Region is to allow himself or herself to be guided by the orthodox Parliamentary procedures of testing a Prime Minister's or a Premier's popularity by a confidence vote on the floor of the legislative House. This is exactly what the Constitution of Western Nigeria (Amendment) Law, 1963 seeks to achieve, and we think it right that we should support it.

It must not be forgotten that a constitution is a political document which cannot be interpreted by the same canons of construction as are appropriate to statutes of ordinary Acts of Parliament. Any narrow

and literal interpretation of a provision of the Constitution vital to its proper functioning must be avoided if the Constitution itself is to have efficacy and if the political framework and the legal order established within it are to have stability and legitimacy. **The Opinion of the Judicial Committee in the instant case is, if we may say so without disrespect, quite out of touch with the realities of the situation in Western Nigeria and unsound in principle.**

It is partly for this reason that the Federal Government has reluctantly decided to support the Constitution of Western Nigeria (Amendment) Law, 1963 as the most expedient of the alternative courses of action open to it. As I pointed out in my statement of May 30, the British Government quite recently found itself compelled to set aside the ruling of a court of appeal that would have made nonsense of the established constitutional arrangements in the Gambia. What had happened there was that a law had been passed in 1961 which substituted a new register of electors for the defective register of 1959. A general election on the basis of the new register had resulted in the defeat of the ruling Party, one of the defeated candidates of which challenged the validity of the law establishing the register. The Supreme Court of Gambia upheld the law but, when the case was taken on appeal, the West African Court of Appeal had declared the 1961 law invalid, on a literal interpretation of an imprecise phrase in it. This had the effect of also invalidating the electoral register and the majority of the membership of the House of Representatives. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr Duncan Sandys, in his explanation to the British Parliament on May 28 following his decision published on May 21, 1963, said that the Gambian and British Governments had two courses open to them—either to dissolve the House and order fresh elections, or to amend the 1961 law with retrospective effect; and that, acting on the best legal advice available, the British Government had chosen the latter course and amended retrospectively the imprecise phrase in the law by an Order in Council, since the Gambian House of Representatives had not been properly constituted to do the exercise itself.

Honourable Members will thus see that what we are trying to do here this morning is no more than what the British Government thought it right to do less than twelve days ago in an almost identical constitutional and legal situation. It is interesting to recall that, when pressed with arguments from the Opposition benches that what the British Government had done amounted to a violation of the Rule of Law, Mr Duncan Sandys's reply on May 28 was: *'It is all very well for members opposite to say we are setting aside the law. This is not the first time that elections which have been shown to be invalid have been validated. It has happened in this House of Commons within the memory of those sitting here. There is nothing improper in it.'*

Our own answer to any suggestion that we are trying to set aside the Opinion of the Privy Council must be the same. There is nothing wrong in enacting retrospective legislation to avoid political or economic chaos.

Honourable Members will readily call to mind our enactment, in this House during the Budget sittings last April, of retrospective legislation regarding produce in the Regions. The only type of retrospective legislation forbidden by our Constitution is one imposing penalties for offences.

Indeed, examples abound in other Commonwealth countries of retrospective legislation to invalidate rulings of the Judicial Committee on constitutional or legal issues whenever it was considered expedient to do so. Just now, we are conducting a nation-wide census; the referendum for the creation of the Mid-West Region is almost upon us; the registers for the General as well as the Regional elections due next year have yet to be compiled. In these circumstances, the Federal Government feels that, after all the recent upheavals, Western Nigeria deserves a stable and enlightened government to foster the well-being and prosperity of its inhabitants, as well as the growth of democratic processes and institutions.

More than this is the constitutional duty of the Federal Government to take all appropriate steps in the national interest to assure national unity and the continuance of federal Government in Nigeria.

Our cause is just, our intention honourable.
I beg to move.

PRIVY COUNCIL

I have given the issues raised by the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the most anxious thought and have reluctantly come to the conclusion that, of the alternative courses of action open to the Federal Government, the most expedient is for it to give its support to the Constitution of Western Nigeria (amendment) Law, 1963. Within the last few days, the British Government found itself compelled by very similar considerations to amend, also with retrospective effect, an Act of the Gambian legislature in order to validate an enactment declared invalid by the West African Court of Appeal on a narrow construction of a phrase in that law.

After all the recent upheavals, Western Nigeria deserves a stable government. It is in the national interest that the Federal Government should take all steps necessary to assure national unity and the continuance of the Federation of Nigeria.

WALK-OUT

Following upon the statement which the Minister of Economic Development made on the floor of this House last Wednesday, I had intended, in course of Friday's proceedings, to make a comment on that statement before certain Honourable Members chose to stage a walk-out on that day.

I desire to state at the outset that the whole drama of both the Minister's statement and walk-out by some members were embarrassing and unfortunate.

While one may grant that the Minister had been provoked by the recent criticisms that were often unfair, it must be said that his particular reaction to it on the occasion in question should have been more restrained.

What passes between a Minister and one of his officials in the normal intercourse of ministerial duties must surely be deemed to be confidential.

One wonders how many of us would really be happy were some of the minutes and reports written or made by us to our senior officials and vice versa to be exposed to public debate.

I have made it a cardinal principle of my policy and practice never to allow anything derogatory to be said or done about any other government and people in the Federation. It is my firm resolve to maintain this.

In view of the current public controversy that has raged around the delay in the publication of the census figures and the need to remove such doubt as there may be, I hope to be in a position, very shortly, to make an important announcement on the subject as soon as my consultations with all the Governments in the Federation are concluded.

Statement in Parliament on the census controversy: December 10, 1962.

SECOND COUNT

I am speaking to you this evening on a subject which is most important to the orderly progress of our country. It is about the population census which, all the Governments in the Republic have agreed, will take place this month from the 5th to the 8th of November.

I do not need to go over the story of the failure of the census undertaken last year, the controversy that arose from its results, and the reasons which led to my ordering the cancellation of these results. It is an unfortunate and costly experience but it has, however, taught us more useful lessons.

In a country of the size of Nigeria with our type of federal constitution, a population count is not an easy task. Our country is vast with a teeming and diverse population; the political, economic and social problems that we are grappling with are many and complex. In many cases, we talk about these matters in general terms, but we have not reached a stage in our evolution requiring that we spell them out in factual details. **One of the best ways of obtaining all essential data for development plans in all fields is through a population census. Unless we do so now, we may waste a considerable part of our limited resources both in effort and money on miscalculated and misdirected projects and schemes.**

There is one other reason for undertaking a population census this year. The life of the present Federal Parliament ends in 1964, and it is my intention to have a general election as soon as possible. The Electoral Register now in use does not reflect sufficiently the changes in population over the years. It is therefore agreed by all the Governments that particulars of eligible voters obtained through the census will be used in compiling a new Electoral Register for the General Election next year.

As you are all aware, the census this year is being organized by a body of high Government officials appointed by all the Governments in the Republic. The manner in which the population count will be made has been approved by all the Governments. Besides counting by sight, certain checks and tests, among others, will be applied in order to ensure accurate figures of the population. These include statistical sampling checks based on internationally accepted principles; demographic tests based on sex and age distribution; specially arranged pre-enumeration checks; and special devices to remove double counting.

An important aspect of the arrangements is the exchange of inspectors between the different regions. For example, teams of inspectors from Eastern, Western and Mid-West Nigeria and Lagos will undertake sampling checks in Northern Nigeria. Eastern Nigeria will have inspec-

tors similarly from the other parts of the Republic and so on. In all, 9,920 inspectors will operate in various parts of the Republic. Their recruitment, training, transportation, boarding and lodging present an administrative task of great magnitude. Many of these men and women are going to leave their homes for the first time; many will be employed in areas where there are no modern amenities. **The operation is a call to national duty and I want to say to all those taking part in it that the Nation is most grateful to them for their sacrifice.**

The work of these inspectors is not an easy one, and for its success they need the co-operation of the people. It is essential that the inspectors should be well and properly received and treated in all census districts, and given all facilities to do their duty. I appeal to you to make them happy and at home wherever they may be.

This year's census is organized to last for only four days. This is necessary in order to ensure an accurate count of people at places where they live. In this year's census, over 180,000 enumerators and supervisors will be used as against 45,700 last year. **We are throwing into this operation all the human resources available; in fact, many offices and workshops will operate with the barest staff during the census period. This is so because the Governments in the Republic attach the greater importance to this census.**

As was the case last year, enumerators will go from house to house and ask every individual his name, age, ethnic group or nationality, religion and occupation. All travelling points and regional boundaries will be manned by enumerators and anyone counted at these points will have his or her thumb stained with a special indelible ink to prevent double counting at the destination. I know that this arrangement will cause some inconvenience to travellers but the interest of the country makes this step absolutely necessary.

I wish to emphasise again that the coming population count is an important operation of significance to the future of Nigeria. In fact, the benefits of an accurate count are immense to all sections of the population. It is for this reason that I appeal to every one of you and particularly to the Press to help in seeing that the coming census is successful.

Thank you, and good night.

FINAL FIGURE

I wish to inform the House that the Census Board comprising duly appointed representatives of the Governments in the Republic which I appointed after the failure of the 1962 National Population Census has conducted another count.

The Board in its Report to me has given me the preliminary figures of the 1963 National Population Census. I am advised that my acceptance and publication of these figures is final.

It is my intention to hold a meeting with Regional Premiers to discuss other matters in connection with the Census.

Editor's Note: The preliminary figures of the 1963 National Population Census are as follows:

North:	..	..	..	29,777,986
East:	..	..	..	12,388,646
West:	..	..	..	10,278,500
Mid-West:	..	..	..	2,533,337
Lagos:	..	..	..	675,352
				55,653,821
Total	..	..	..	55,653,821

EDUCATION AND SPORTS

STUDENTS

It is a matter of considerable regret to me that I am not able to be with you today. Unfortunately, it is at present quite impossible for me to leave Lagos. The House of Representatives is now in session and this, as you know, is the first sitting of the House since the end of the London Constitutional Conference at which so many far-reaching changes were decided upon. I am glad, however, that I shall be so ably represented by my friend and colleague, Chief F. S. Okotie-Eboh, the Federal Minister of Labour and Welfare. He, I know, will carry my congratulations to the organisers of this Conference, and to all of you, my best wishes for its success.

The Federal Government of Nigeria is delighted that at so opportune a moment in the country's history the Students' Union of University College, Ibadan, has been chosen to play host to this meeting of the International Students' Conference, and we extend to all of you who are visitors to Nigeria a warm and hearty welcome. Nigeria has now reached the stage of a butterfly which has just emerged from her chrysalis and which looks around the outside world, settling and preening her new-found wings and preparing for her first flight into the unknown. Slowly contacts with the outside world are made. Contacts which, until now, have been made formally through the mediation of the protecting power are now being transformed with warm personal contacts between Nigerian and non-Nigeria. It is one of the great advantages to be gained from a Conference of this kind that students of so many and so varied a selection of countries can meet each other and experience personally what previously they had only read about.

At College or University, a man is in danger of becoming a mere theoretician, a sponge which absorbs and arranges vast

Message to the International Students' Conference held at Ibadan:
September 11, 1957.

quantities of facts. But the usefulness of this knowledge will in the last resort depend upon an entirely different sort of ability—I mean his ability to understand and to tolerate the characters and beliefs of other men who may be, and probably are, quite different from himself.

This, for many of you, perhaps for most of you, if your first visit to Africa, and the ways of Africa and her inhabitants are strange and new to you. Try to understand her, her virtues and her faults, her aspirations, her successes and her failures. It is your duty to your own country that you should do this. A few weeks is short enough time in which to acquaint oneself with so vast a country, containing so many different ethnic groups, each of which has its own customs and language. When at last you leave this country, remember that it is only a small part of this vast continent of Africa and that East Africa and South Africa are no more like West Africa than Iceland is to Italy.

To the Nigerian delegates to this Conference I would like to say a special word. Your country looks to you to represent her to your guests worthily. As we approach self-government, we begin to understand what that word involves. It involves hard work and self-sacrifice—sacrifice especially of sectional, tribal or party strife which some of us feel that we should like to indulge in against the promptings of our better instincts. **Responsible government requires responsible men and women to make it work. You, the undergraduates of University College, Ibadan, will be the brains of what will be in a few years an independent Nigeria; see that you do not fail her.**

As one who has been interested in education for many years and who has spent many of those years as a teacher in the Northern Region, I fervently hope that this Conference will be a great success. I trust that our visitors will leave Nigeria with many happy memories of our country, and with a sense of having undergone an experience that will be of value to them in the future and which will help to widen the horizons of their thought in years to come.

May God guide you in your deliberations.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

This is the first time that the World University Service Assembly is being held on African soil. **With delegates from some forty-six countries you are no doubt the most internationally representative body of students and Professors which exists.** I am very happy that you have made the Federation of Nigeria your venue this year.

The people of Nigeria are now actively engaged in preparations for Independence next year. Self-Government for the Federation will provide a happy occasion for celebrating the unity in diversity of its thirty-five million people. You, as students and Professors from various parts of the world are in the pursuit of knowledge which knows no barrier whatever. It is my earnest hope that your contributions in this Assembly will help to cement the various peoples of the world, and that Nigeria may share the bond of friendship being generated here.

On behalf of the Federal Government and of the people of Nigeria I welcome the World University Service to Ibadan. I wish all taking part in this Assembly success in your undertakings.

Message to the General Assembly of the World University Service held at the University College, Ibadan: July 26, 1959.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Mr Speaker,

I rise to make an announcement which I believe will be of great interest to the House. As you are aware, oil exploration in Nigeria has been conducted for some time past at great cost by a company sponsored by the Shell Petroleum Company and the British Petroleum Company. This search is at last showing increasing prospects of success and representatives of these two great Companies have recently approached me indicating their wish to make a gesture to mark Nigeria's approaching independence. **This gesture is to take the form of a donation of a quarter of a million pounds from each—I repeat each—Company to the Federal Government for the purpose of expanding our facilities for training Nigerian technicians.**

The Companies have explained their view—with which I agree—that while our facilities for training professional men, such as engineers, seem likely to prove adequate for our needs, there is evidence of a growing shortage of sub-professional grades which, they believe, is likely to be a grave handicap to economic development in the future.

Statement in Parliament on donations by Oil Companies for the development of technical education in Nigeria: August 6, 1958.

They emphasise that every professional engineer, for example, needs as many as ten sub-professional supporters if he is to work at the highest efficiency. The only—and I emphasise only—condition they attach to this gift, therefore, is that it should be utilised for training Nigerians in those intermediate technical grades which are as essential for economic development as are sergeants and corporals to an army.

I have consulted my colleagues in the Government about the reply that should be given to the Companies' offer, and, I need hardly tell you, the Government wishes to welcome it wholeheartedly, and will be very glad if the Companies can associate themselves with the preparations for the expenditure of this sum.

One of the most urgent of these preparations must necessarily be an investigation of the whole country's probable needs over the next few years for the various grades of professional and technical manpower. The Yaba Technical Institute is the Federal Government's chosen instrument for training intermediate grades of technicians and this investigation will be designed principally to ensure that the Institute is expanded in such directions as will best meet the country's needs, and fit in with the courses provided both at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology and at Regional Technical Training institutions; hence the need for a comprehensive investigation extending beyond the grades whose training the Companies' proposal is designed to promote. The Companies have indicated that they share Government's view of the need for this investigation and are agreeable to its cost being met from the half million pounds, the remainder of which will be used in extending the Federal Government's facilities for training technicians.

I should remind you that although the Yaba Technical Institute is situated in the Federal capital, it trains pupils from all over Nigeria and that therefore the benefits of this project will be felt over the whole country. All Members may not be aware that the Companies already support, at a cost of some £20,000 a year, some eighty scholars undergoing higher education at various institutions of university status; a large proportion of these students come from the Eastern Region. The Companies have also established a well equipped artisan training school at Port Harcourt, accommodating up to eighty students at one time drawn from amongst their own employees in the Eastern Region.

I therefore hope that you will join me in expressing our gratitude to the Shell and B.P. Companies for this mark of their continued interest in Nigeria's welfare at this critical period in our history and that you will allow me to assure you that the Government for its part will make every effort to put this money to the best use as quickly as possible.

ATHLETICS

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is now four years since the representatives of the nations of the Commonwealth gathered at Vancouver to take part in what were probably the most highly publicised Commonwealth Games ever held. Many of you will remember those games for the wonderful performances of Nigerian Athletes. At Auckland in 1950 our Athletes had competed in the Empire Games for the first time and had won a Silver Medal, but at Vancouver Nigerians carried off one Gold and two Silver Medals. Indeed, one of the outstanding achievements at the meeting was the remarkable high jumping of Ifeajuna, who broke the Empire Record with a magnificent jump of six feet eight inches.

The appeal which I make to-night, therefore, is not for contributions to a new and untried venture but to ask your support for an effort which by past evidence we can tell will not be wasted. Indeed since 1952 there have been several outstanding performances in Nigerian Athletics which give us high hopes for the coming games. Ifeajuna's record has been broken by another Nigerian and by the wide margin of 14"—this high jumping, by the way, seems to have become a Nigerian closed shop, at least as far as the Commonwealth is concerned.

The national 100 yards record has also been broken recently. So, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel that we should give our sportsmen every chance to make their mark on this year's games to be held at Cardiff. Not only will this give our men and women a chance to enhance the glory of their country but it will also be of great value to the future of Nigerian Sport. **For competing against other nations will help to raise the standard of our own sporting life and will give our athletes a wider knowledge of international techniques and racing tactics.**

Nigeria has already been put on the world Sports map by the 'man from Calabar' Hogan Basse, but we do not wish Nigerians to be known only by their ability to smash other people's faces into pulp! Athletics is another and gentler sphere in which we know we can do well. Let us prove it to ourselves by putting our hands into our pockets and sending a really worthy delegation to Cardiff. Last time we could only afford to send a team of thirteen. This year we hope to send fifty including, for the first time, ten girls, and who knows what high honours this team will bring back to Nigeria!

Mr Chairman, you realise, as well as I do, how important it is at this juncture in the affairs of Nigeria that we should be represented at international events of this kind, and that we should be represented by a truly national team which will present Nigeria to the world as one united country. **I cannot praise too much any organisation in which men hailing from different Regions in Nigeria act to-**

Speech at the Sportsman's Dinner of the Nigeria Olympic, British Empire and Commonwealth Games Association (NOBECGA): February 7, 1958.

CHANCELLOR

On a day like this fifteen years ago this University was founded in modest surroundings. There were many at that time who wondered whether it was not born in complacency, concealing dangers and difficulties for Nigeria. Could Ibadan catch and foster the spirit of freedom and of fearless pursuit of knowledge which had characterised the universities of the older countries? Could so delicate a thing as the university spirit grow on an 'alien' soil? Looking back today we have many reasons to be proud of the answers which Ibadan has given to these questions. We have reason to be thankful to those men of courage and imagination, both Nigerian and non-Nigerian, without whom this university would not have begun to take shape fifteen years ago. We have ample reasons to be grateful to the University of London for the stout support and tender ministrations which have led to today's weaning ceremony.

Finally, we have a duty to remember with gratitude the many men and women parts of whose lives are woven into the texture of what we now know today as the University of Ibadan. What has Ibadan achieved in these past fifteen years? I think that the mere presence here today of so many distinguished representatives from international seats of learning provides one answer: **Ibadan has succeeded in gaining respect in the world of international learning.**

She has also succeeded in producing men and women who have distinguished themselves in the public services of this country and include permanent heads of Ministries in the Regional and Federal Governments of the Republic, leading officials of many corporations, Nigeria's principal representatives of the Republic abroad, Principals and Headmasters of secondary schools, Ministers of State, University Lecturers and Professors. I am informed that this University has supplied about thirty-five teachers and administrators to other Nigerian universities and that many of these are her offspring. We are justly proud of this contribution.

Today, we have a student body of 2000. It is not difficult to recall the fears of those who predicted that Ibadan would be half empty for many a day. Today also we are expanding and reshaping the services we offer so as to meet the nation's needs for more and better qualified men and women. Towards this end much needed changes have occurred and the curricula of this autonomous University reflect the situation in the country. Thanks to the work of the Senate and the Faculty Boards, the task of relating the new degree structure of the University to the needs of the country has been successfully tackled.

In this age of technology the key to a nation's economic well-being is likely to be the amount of effort that it puts into scientific research and education. The great emphasis laid on the applied sciences is reflected in the sustained attempt to strengthen the Faculties of Agricul-

ture, Veterinary Science, Tropical Medicine and the Physical and Biological Sciences.

It has always been my belief that one of the greatest tasks confronting government in newly independent countries is that of promoting social and political cohesion. I am therefore deeply appreciative of the fact that this University which was established to serve the higher educational needs of all Nigeria became from the very first one of the focal points of Nigerian unity.

I cannot conclude this brief review of the past without mention of recent developments. Since we became an independent nation, and with the appointment of the first Nigerian Vice-Chancellor, Ibadan has been developing new forms of co-operation with universities all over the world and, in particular, with other universities in Nigeria as they come into being. This is essential if this University is to evolve into a genuine Nigerian institution, drawing inspiration from the best elements in the University world relevant to this country's needs and aspirations. I would like to pay tribute to Universities of the United States of America and, in particular, to the great American Humanitarian Foundations—Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie which since independence, have given much in men and material to aid the development of Ibadan.

A nation's place and influence in the world depend first upon what it makes of its own resources. The correct use of our resources, human and material, is a great challenge which confronts us today. The economists have invented a new expression: they speak of 'economic distance' and often tell us that the economic distance between the advanced and the non-developed countries is widening. Worse still, we are told that this widening springs mainly from the intensified development of education, science and technology in advanced countries and that even if we run three times as fast as we do today we might still not be able even to maintain the distance, much less reduce it. These are questions we cannot treat lightly and what answers we make will depend on the quality of the work done in Ibadan and her sister universities.

I spoke earlier of the task of promoting internal social and political cohesion. I do not think that I need say much more on this. You all know very well the nature of some of our problems. But while we are carefully searching for ways to understand each other and to co-operate in building a great country we are also obliged to recognise the need for similar understanding of and co-operation with other national communities in Africa. **Sometimes I cannot help wishing that we had entered the world stage at a time when we did not have to deal with so many problems at the same time.**

We therefore need the kind of education which will enable us to produce men and women who know how to think; and knowing how, do it. University students should not expect to have knowledge poured into them and must not be lacking in ability and the will to study for

themselves. The universities' unique function is to stimulate the clash in thinking between orthodox and dissentient views. But I must observe that in Nigeria today there is a common belief of parents, students and critics that universities are solely places for professional training.

We therefore need the kind of education which will enable us to deal effectively with these problems and there is no way of getting it other than by fashioning it ourselves, welding the best from elsewhere with the best of our own. **In the long run it may well prove that the true test of Ibadan and her sister universities will be in the success with which they help the community to build the education they need to cope with their changing needs.** It is not difficult, looking across the Atlantic today, to see how the universities of the Western World are under pressure to answer the challenges which face their community.

If democracy and economic progress for all nations are to prevail, and the freedom and dignity of every individual are to be attained, the world must find a way to release a larger share of its aggregate resources and knowledge from non-essential material uses and devote them to the services of indispensable goals.

May I repeat again my gratitude to all who have sacrificed much to participate in this ceremony: to the great number of University representatives from abroad who are here today and whose presence reflect not only the unity of the world of learning but also the high esteem which the academic world holds for Ibadan. We are highly honoured by your presence: may the Almighty God be with us all.

CORRESPONDENCE

ON LUMUMBA

I have heard with deep shock and regret the unhappy information about the death of Mr Lumumba. On behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria I wish to express our strongest condemnation of the circumstances which have permitted and resulted in this deplorable development. Nigeria believes in a peaceful settlement of political differences and cannot regard any form of coercion or violence as an acceptable method of reaching lasting solutions in such matters. We deplore in the most emphatic terms all forms of mass destruction of human beings and the unnecessary killing of political opponents in the Congo which must inevitably frustrate the efforts of the United Nations to reach a reconciliation or acceptable settlement there.

Telegram to the U.N. Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, on the death of Patrice Lumumba, first Prime Minister of Congo (Leopoldville): 1961.

WELCOME

We have heard the good news of your appointment to the high office of Secretary of State for the Colonies in succession to Mr Alan Lennox-Boyd. On behalf of myself and of the Federal Government I send you our warm congratulations and good wishes for a happy tenure of office.

Solid gains have been made in Commonwealth relationship by the last Conservative Government, but much remains to be done, particularly in Africa in the years that lie immediately ahead. I have no doubt that with the enthusiasm and capacity for hard work which was characteristic of you as Minister of Labour and National Service, you will in your new office cut out a niche for yourself in the annals of the Commonwealth.

We hope it will not be long before we see you.

Letter to Mr Ian Macleod, newly appointed British Secretary of State for the Colonies: October 19, 1959.

AU REVOIR

On behalf of the Government and peoples of the Federation I am sending to you our warmest thanks for your friendship, encouragement, and guidance during the five years in which you have held the high office of Secretary of State for the Colonies.

We hope that during your visit to this country earlier this year you felt the measure of the affection and respect which you have earned amongst our people through your sincere and untiring efforts to assist us in our development and welfare and in our constitutional advance towards independence. Our only regret is that having come so far together we shall be denied the opportunity of having you with us as Secretary of State at our independence celebrations. Nevertheless we shall welcome you back then and shall hope to have a further opportunity of expressing to you our gratitude for all you have done for us.

My colleagues in the Council of Ministers join me in sending to you and to your wife our sincere best wishes for long life, happiness, and success in the tasks which you are about to undertake.

Message to the outgoing British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr Alan Lennox-Boyd: October 19, 1959.

CONGRATULATIONS

'On behalf of the Government and People of Nigeria I extend to Your Excellency our warmest and sincere congratulations on your election as first Prime Minister of sovereign and independent Algeria. I am happy to extend to you full co-operation of my Government in the great tasks of nation building, unity and solidarity of Africa. We look forward to fraternal co-operation between our two countries. Accept the assurances of my highest consideration.'

Message to Mohammed Ben Bella on his election as first Prime Minister of Algeria: October 2, 1962.

PEACE

'The Government and people of Nigeria, like all other Africans, are very much distressed about the unhappy incidents that have recently developed into hostilities and bloodshed along the borders of Algeria and Morocco. This is more unfortunate in view of the general spirit of co-operation and unity running through all Africa, and culminating in the conference we had at Addis Ababa.

'I therefore appeal to you, with profound respect, but all in sincerity as an African brother, and on the strength of our common dedication to peace and orderly progress in this continent of Africa, to use your best endeavours to prevent a further intensification of open conflict and to reach agreement and a peaceful settlement of the dispute between Algeria and Morocco. You will agree that continued deterioration of the present situation will bring no credit to the cause of African unity, and no real advantage to any one.

Highest consideration.

Appeal sent to President Ben Bella of Algeria and King Hassan of Morocco for peaceful settlement of Algeria-Morocco border dispute.

AGGRESSION

I am grateful to you for your message which explained the grave situation between China and India. We in Nigeria are very disturbed about the border dispute which is deteriorating into widespread fighting.

Since the first Chinese aggression in Ladakh five years ago I have watched with great admiration and respect the role which you have played entirely on your own to use persuasion in place of retaliation to contain the aggressive tendencies of China. I also knew that having regard to the implications for world peace and order of an open clash between India and China you would have preferred to deal with the matter in your own way of peace and tolerance. But, the intransigence which China has constantly displayed leads me to think that all friends of India should now speak out in defence of what is right and in the cause of world peace and concord.

I would like to assure you, Mr Prime Minister, that Nigeria's sympathy lies with India. We cannot view the border dispute in isolation and we consider that its peaceful solution is very important for the preservation of world peace.

India has shown no aggressive intentions towards any of her neighbours since she became independent in 1947. Indeed, your magnanimity in supporting China's claims to admission at the United Nations has won for you deep respect in the world community. Although she is not represented at the United Nations, every pressure will be brought to bear upon China to withdraw her forces along the border, and at least to return to the *status quo* prior to the 8th of September, 1962.

I agree entirely with your assessment that the issue involved is not merely that of territorial adjustments, but of principles and standards of behaviour to be followed in international intercourse if world peace and civilization is to endure. The Chinese theory of 'Might is Right' can not be tenable, and any country that embraces it should stand condemned.

In your determination to defend your country and to put an end to aggression, I would like to assure you of Nigeria's full support and sympathy. It is my earnest hope that a solution regarding the boundary based on terms mutually agreed between India and China will emerge in the interests of world peace and of good international relations.

With personal and warm regards.



Delivering an address during his installation as Chancellor of the University of Ibadan



With the late Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru



... of Congo (Leopoldville) and Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula (extreme left), during Sir Abubakar's official visit to the Congo



SHOCK

I am deeply shocked and distressed by the tragic and most untimely death of the late President John Kennedy and we in Nigeria join you and the entire people of the United States of America in mourning his death. His devotion to the cause of peace, his dedicated stand on the side of justice, his belief in the oneness and equality of humanity, his relentless effort in the service of his people and the entire world and Africa in particular, are all ideals for which he lived and died and which will forever remain a shining testimony to the memory of this young and brave leader. I feel a sense of great personal loss, and on behalf of my Government and the entire people of Nigeria, I extend to you, the Government and people of the United State of America our deep-felt condolence.

Message to the President of the United States, Mr Lyndon Johnson on the death of President John Kennedy: November 23, 1963.

SYMPATHY

At this moment of your deepest personal tragedy I extend to you and your family my heart-felt sympathy. You will, I pray, be sustained in your grief by the knowledge that your late husband has left an imprint of a new image and a new purpose in the actions and counsels of his own country and of the world. May his soul rest in peace.

Message to Mrs Jacqueline Kennedy, widow of the late President of the United States John F. Kennedy: November 23, 1963.

TRIBUTES

FROM STATE HOUSE

My dear Prime Minister :

I am writing to place on record my deep appreciation of our happy and fruitful association in the last three years.

They have meant a lot to both of us because we worked together as a team, on the basis of mutual respect and amity.

I feel that I must not let this happy occasion of our celebrating the proclamation of our Republic pass, without my thanking you, your Ministers and officials, for making my assignment in State House very smooth and self-satisfying.

I pray to God to continue to bless our country and to guide you and your colleagues in the great crusade to salvage our people from the throes of fear, poverty and disease.

With personal regards. Believe me to be, Mr Prime Minister,

yours sincerely,
(Signed) Nnamdi Azikiwe

Letter from the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe : October 1, 1963.

FROM THE CONGO

Mr Prime Minister and Dear Brother; Excellencies; Ladies and Gentlemen:

The good fortune of Nigeria is to have a wealth of permanent value: its human capital.

The man whom we honour today is the golden measure of these riches—and not only for his voice.

Why do I say, a golden measure? It is because a man is nothing more than the sum of his actions.

If one looks to the origins, the life and the struggles of Alhaji the Right Honourable Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa one becomes aware of all the qualities which in him make up this entity: sincere faith, rectitude, honour, and nationalism.

These qualities are the major assets of moral force, which is a more effective force than all the horrible means of destruction which mankind possesses today, and of which happily, he is beginning to realize the dangers.

The mission of Africa is to develop its moral forces and to fashion them into its 'striking force.'

Africa will not attain this objective unless it achieves the unity towards which it has started moving.

Nigeria and the Congo never have lost sight of these objectives, which constitute the very basis of their understanding and of their friendship.

I am happy to tell you that our present talks have served only to confirm our identity of views and to reinforce our convictions on this subject.

The welcome which our people have extended to you, Mr Prime Minister, constitutes a large approval of this policy, and a testimonial of their attachment to Nigeria-Congolese friendship.

We are sorry that your stay with us should be so short, for we should have liked you to see for yourself—as was called for by some of our newspapers—that these feelings are shared unanimously by all the Congolese, wherever they are.

The mixing together of our peoples during the events which have shaken our country has incontestably strengthened these sentiments, for the exemplary behaviour of your soldiers and of your police have made them come to be adopted by our citizens.

In reinforcing our friendship, Mr Prime Minister, we are only ratifying a pact sealed between our two peoples in the brotherhood of combat.

Excellencies; Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to lift your glass in honour of our illustrious guest, who is, as I have said, one of the best architects of this friendship.

After-dinner speech by the Prime Minister of the Congo (Leopoldville), Mr Cyrille Adoula on the occasion of the visit of Sir Abubakar.

INDIRECT RULE

Your Excellency, first I would ask the permission of the House to make brief comments on some of the points raised by the Honourable Members in the course of the debate on the budget. Many points have been raised, Sir, some of them could well be discussed in the Regional Councils. Some of them are worthy of discussion in this Council and some of them are not. Honourable Members, Sir, put forth suggestions ranging from an immediate introduction of mechanized farming and the establishment of oil mills to objection in the closing of practising schools.

Many of the Honourable Members criticised Government Departments. There were criticisms of development schemes; but of all the points raised the ones which touched my heart most are the ones dealing with the Nigerian himself, and that is the anxiety of some of the Honourable Members on bribery and corruption in this country, on Press criticisms and also on the insistent demands by Nigerian workers and Civil Servants for higher wages and pay.

Now, I do not want to deal with these points in detail, but I think that some of them need to be explained in a little detail. And in doing so I would like to explain only my personal views. Now, mention was made of the pay of the expatriate staff. **It may be wrong that we are now called upon to pay more for an expatriate officer than for a Nigerian officer, who happens to be with the same qualifications and who also does the same work. That may be so, but let us take it this way. Do we have enough Nigerians now who will run these services? Do we have enough Nigerians who will help the economic development of Nigeria? Now if we do not have these local men, we must be prepared, I think, to pay**

Speech made as Second Member for the Northern Provinces in the Legislative Council on the 1949-50 Appropriation Ordinance 1949.

whatever salary we are asked to pay to people who will come to develop this country.

This country has to be developed, we do not have the men and therefore we must be prepared to pay whatever we are required to pay to them to develop us. I don't mind who comes—red, black, yellow or green men. I don't mind whether he is an African, an Asiatic, a European or an American. This country has to be developed and the people of Nigeria must be prepared to pay for that development. I take it, that it is more or less an investment—that we pay for the services of those people because probably in future those services will be entirely for the benefit of Nigeria.

Now, one of the Honourable Members for the Northern Provinces, in his speech yesterday, mentioned how rather grieved the Northern Provinces are in learning that thirty-six Administrative cadets have been imported into that region. It was I, Your Excellency, who first raised strong objection in the Northern House of Assembly about the importation of these officers into that region. I do not think at all that it is necessary for that region to have these thirty-six Administrative cadets. We are now in a time when we are crying for development, with more emphasis on the economic development. We are crying for education, we are crying for technical schools, and instead of having engineers, doctors, education officers and other professional people, we are now to have thirty-six Administrative cadets. I cannot understand it, and I asked the question when I read in the address of His Honour the Chief Commissioner at the Northern House of Assembly. **I said to myself, is this an admission of failure in the system of indirect rule, that after forty years' training in the system of indirect rule, there is not a single Northern man who is able to do the duties of an Administrative cadet? This is surprising. Now in the House of Assembly, I also raised this question. I said indirect rule in the form that it is being practised today will have to go—because it has no place whatsoever in the new Northern Nigeria which we are now trying to build.**

Now an Honourable Member, also from the North, spoke of the unwillingness on the part of the British official in that region to let any part of the power escape from his hands. That is the practice, Your Excellency, from the foreman of works upwards. People must now realise that a new class of people is being created in the Northern Provinces. It will be difficult for me, to say to whom the power should pass by the time that probably the British official is willing to let it go from his hands. This is a matter for investigation and it is also a matter, I think, for the people themselves to decide.

Now, Your Excellency, to turn to the budget. I think I must first say that Your Excellency's review of Government departmental activities in the past year, as set out in Your Excellency's printed address, is very encouraging and shows that our development programme is really

beginning to take shape. We fully realise, Your Excellency, the difficulties of Government in recruiting staff and also in making available the necessary materials required for carrying out our various schemes of development. I could well see, while reading your address, that the past year was rather a busy one for the Government. It was a year of planning, it was a year of putting into effect our development schemes, and I think it was also a year of great hopes for Nigeria, and I also think that if we could really stick to the pace at which we progressed during the past year, there is no doubt that Nigeria would have changed tremendously in five years.

Now, the Honourable the Financial Secretary, Your Excellency, sounded a note of warning in his budget speech. He said, 'More haste, less speed'. I agree, Your Excellency, that the time has come when this Government has to think of which of its public services are the most essential for expansion every year, and which of its public services are to remain in their present strength for a temporary period until their expansion is really justified. I find this year's debate on the budget, Your Excellency, a rather difficult one. Because this debate is being conducted at a time when no one in this country has any very definite ideas in his mind as to what the financial arrangements of this country, or of this Government, will become when the present constitution is revised. This is also, probably the last budget session in the short but historical life of this Council. Now already a third of the time fixed for carrying out our various schemes of development has gone, and one would naturally like to know what part of the Ten-Year Plan has actually been carried out and achieved.

Well, it is not my intention here, to go back into a detailed history of the past, but I think one naturally recalls the past in order to study the present and to foresee the future. So with all these difficulties, I do not propose to take the line taken by some of the Honourable Members to deal with the Government departments one by one, and I intend only to make brief general remarks on the budget and on the speech of the Financial Secretary. I agree with the Financial Secretary, when he said the time has come when this Government has to limit the ever increasing expenditure on its services. Your Excellency also made a remark on this point in Your Excellency's printed address and I beg permission to quote:

"It will suffice for me to say here that although it had been hoped that it would be possible to maintain for (say) five years the rates of taxation as they stood after the Budget Meeting of this Council in 1948, rising costs and urgent need for development have so increased our financial commitments that either further revenue, both recurrent and non-recurrent, must be obtained, or we must limit our public services".

Your Excellency, Nigeria is a growing country and I do not think it is at all good, if in order to meet this ever increasing expenditure, we should keep on raising taxation every year beyond the rates which

obtain in other parts of the world. I am afraid I must say that I cannot agree with my Honourable Friend, the First Nominated Member. **I think that we should always think in terms of Nigeria's economy, not only in its relation to the British Commonwealth countries, but also in its relation to the rest of the world. Our first aim is to try to lay solid foundations for the economic development of this country, and it would be wrong if Nigeria tried to run before it could walk. Let us limit the expenditure over our services to the limit that the economy of the country can afford at present.**

Now, Your Excellency, the Financial Secretary made a reference in his speech to the capitation fee to Government paid by the Native Administrations. I would like to say, that the very complicated and, I think, very highly technical relations between the Government and the Native Administrations are not clear in my mind at all. I cannot understand why the Government will receive money from the Native Administrations in the form of a capitation fee and at the same time give it back to the Native Administrations in the form of grants. Your Excellency, I was more at a loss when I was informed that each Native Administration gets back from the Government the same amount of money which it gave to the Government. I am asking for an explanation, because in the Northern Provinces we have the general feeling that either the capitation fee collected from that region is used elsewhere, or that Northern Nigeria does not get its proper share of Nigerian revenue derived from other sources.

Now, Honourable Members can well remember the Direct Taxation Ordinance, where some Provinces in Northern Nigeria were asked to pay two shillings capitation tax per head, and it is rather surprising—it is something which we cannot understand—how Provinces which pay only three pence capitation tax per head will be able to maintain public services in their regions. Now, if really the money collected from the regions is given back to the regions or to the Native Administrations as grants, I cannot see what money goes towards the cost of Government services which are termed 'Nigeria' and those which are regionalised.

I really want an explanation, on this point, because it is a very painful point and one which is causing us some concern in Northern Nigeria. I would not have mentioned this point at all had not the Financial Secretary made reference to it in his speech, because this business of revenue allocation to the regions is really a matter which has been exercising my mind for sometime, and I am also trying to investigate, now, the matter, *i.e.*, the financial history of this Government in the past. **Personally, I am entirely against the whole system of grants-in-aid, and I rather suggest that in place of that system the capitation fee collected from the region should not be given back to the Native Administrations of the region, but should be kept by the regions as general regional funds, from which every**

Native Administration in that region will get assistance when necessary.

Now, Your Excellency, I would like also permission to say a word or two on certain general matters. It is our feeling in Northern Nigeria that development of the Northern region falls on the Government as well as on the Native Administrations. We would like to see our Native Administrations given direction and encouragement to undertake large scale developments, especially of the rural areas. There is no reason why our Native Administrations should not be encouraged to establish secondary schools and to build hospitals and maintain them. Although the First Lagos Member seemed to think rather differently, I would say that the Native Administrations of Northern Nigeria have £3½ millions in reserve, and I cannot see any better time for them to spend it than now. We are now all crying for development, development, development. The Government is unable to develop the vast areas of the Northern Provinces. The responsibility of the North is not only in the hands of Government, but also in the hands of the Native Administrations, and it is for the Native Administrations of Northern Nigeria to help to supplement Government development plans, and in this way, Your Excellency, we ask that these Native Administrations should be given every encouragement and they should be given any direction in that line.

I would like to say, Your Excellency, that Northern Nigeria is today a changed country and the mentality of its inhabitants has gone beyond the limits within which many people have placed it. Now before I left Bauchi, Your Excellency, there were rumours that certain questions were asked in this Council concerning matters relating to some of the Native Administrations of the Northern Provinces. I know that this is not a House of Assembly, but I think I should be failing in my duty if I did not take this opportunity of warning the members of this Council about questions of that nature. I take it, that Honourable Members of this House are people who are well aware of their responsibilities and I don't think that they could possibly descend so low as to base their questions entirely on false information.

Now, Your Excellency, at the first budget session of this Council in 1947 in Lagos, I said in my speech that peoples from other regions of Nigeria should not interfere in our affairs in the North. At that time, many of the Honourable Members here did not understand me. I hope most of them do now. At that time, there were people in this country who were taking advantage of our silence to claim to be our voice. Now, I would like to make it clear once more that the destiny of Northern Nigeria will never be in the hands of a small group of minority on the sea coast. Our destiny lies up-country in the North.

Now, Your Excellency, I think before I sit down, I have to convey a special message of greetings and good wishes from the Northern Provinces to all the peoples of the Western Provinces. We are very happy, to see that with all its modern changes and improvements, Ibadan is not an artificial town. I support the Appropriation Bill.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Your Excellency, I rise to move the resolution standing in my name which reads as follows:

‘Be it resolved:

‘That, in view of the inability of the Northern Provinces to compete on equal terms with the other Regions of Nigeria in taking advantage of scholarships recommended by the Nigerianisation Commission, this House now requests the Government of Nigeria to set up a special scholarship fund to be administered for the benefit of such suitable Northern candidates as present themselves at any such time.’

Although this motion does not suggest regionalisation of the funds which are now provided for scholarships, I must say that it is the general wish of the Northern Provinces that those funds should be regionalised. I know, how some of the Honourable Members feel about the regionalisation of such funds, but I hope they will appreciate the special problems and the difficulties confronting Northern Nigeria today. I am not ashamed to say that the Northern Provinces of Nigeria are backward in western education in comparison with the other regions of Nigeria. This motion was opposed by Government in the Northern House of Assembly where I first moved it in January last. Today, I hope that the attitude of Government towards this motion will be one of complete sympathy.

I would like to point out that the Northern Provinces did not have any doubts about the good intentions of Government behind the Commission which Your Excellency appointed last year to make recommendations about the recruitment and training of Nigerians for Senior Service posts in the Government service of Nigeria. The Northern Provinces also were not unmindful of the problems and difficulties which that Commission had to face in carrying out its task. The Nigerianisation Commission which Your Excellency appointed recommended that the Government of Nigeria should award 385 scholarships in three years, and at the same time that Commission, while making this recommendation, set out clearly in its report the difficulties of obtaining suitable candidates from the Northern Provinces at present. I hope, with your permission, to quote from the report of the Commission.

This is what the Commission wrote in its report:

'Until the effects of the drive to improve educational facilities in the Northern Provinces begin to be felt the Commission can only recommend that special consideration should be given to the claims of any qualified candidates for scholarship and training courses coming from the Northern Provinces, the aim being to ensure that no Northern candidate who is suitable and qualified should fail to receive an award. By this means and particularly by awards of training courses to Northern candidates who are not qualified to undergo full degree courses, it is hoped that the disparity between the number of qualified candidates available from the North and the South, which is at present unavoidable, can be to some extent redressed.'

Now forty-seven candidates applied for scholarships from the Northern Provinces last year. Of that number fourteen were selected to appear before the Central Selection Board. It is very interesting to know that out of the fourteen only five were said to be suitable and nearly every one of our five candidates was to have only one year's course in the United Kingdom.

Now Honourable Members can very well remember that recently the Government of Nigeria awarded seventy-two scholarships, and it is out of this number that the Northern Provinces are only given five places. This is a situation which we cannot bear and also, we cannot agree to remain behind for ever and we cannot afford to lose the opportunities which are now being offered by Government. Peoples from other regions of Nigeria have been given opportunities by Government for higher education overseas for many years, and the Northern Provinces only came into the show in 1945, when some four teachers were sent to England for only a year's course in London University. During all the years, the Northern people were simply given no encouragement but, however, this is now history which I even hate to remember. The time limit of three years for carrying out the recommendations of the Nigerianisation Commission is too short for the North and it is very clear that the Northern Provinces cannot produce the suitable candidates within that period. Northern Nigeria today, as I said in the House of Assembly, is in a very unfortunate position, more especially when one thinks of the tremendous speed at which things move nowadays.

I would like to assure the Honourable Members that I am moving this motion without the slightest intention of creating any idea of Pakistan. It is not only the duty of the Northern Provinces to see that the Northern Provinces march together with other regions of Nigeria, but it is also the duty of the other regions to see that this is so. What I will say is, let the other regions help develop the Northern Provinces and by so doing help to strengthen the unity of Nigeria.

Now the request we are making, is an urgent one, because, as I said in my budget speech, nobody can tell what next year will be. This does not mean that I have no confidence in the future, but we suffered in the

past and we still seem to be suffering. Other regions were developed at our expense, and it appears that they will continue to be developed at our expense. We are now asking that the Northern Provinces be given their share of scholarship funds to use when they are able to. If we do not have the candidates today we will have them tomorrow, and if we have our share of scholarship funds in our pockets we need not come to any Council on our knees, to beg for funds. As I say, we lost a great deal in the past and I think this is enough to justify our claim.

As the truth in this motion is so clear I don't need to spend the time of the Council. Anybody who knows the history of Nigeria since the amalgamation can see how that vast region was almost entirely neglected. The Government and the people in other regions did not care, probably, to interest themselves in the affairs of Northern Nigeria. I am very sorry to say this, because, as I said earlier, all this is history. And, I beg to move.

RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY

I beg to second, and in doing so I would like to contribute to the debate on this motion. The motion covers a very wide field and one could speak on the subject for days. It will be rather difficult for anybody taking part in a debate on this motion, to put aside the past history of the different tribes in this country. It has often been said in the Legislative Council, that Nigeria is a country which is inhabited by people of different tribes, different languages, customs and traditions, different religions, and people who also have got different backgrounds in their history. Now, it is also something which we would like other tribes in Nigeria to know, that any direct attack on our natural rulers or our authorities which are in our locality, we calculate as a direct attack upon the whole community as well.

Now in pre-British days, as everybody here very well knows, or probably has heard, it was impossible for any commoner to attack a natural ruler directly. But nowadays, with the coming of the British and with the British Government in Nigeria, educated young people, you find even some illiterate people, who for one reason or the other were trained by some evil people not to respect authority, not to respect anything which is traditional, I will even go so far as to say, not to respect even religion; you find these people doing all sorts

Speech made in the Legislative Council as Second Member for the Northern Provinces : 1949.

of things in the country. In the Northern Provinces, we are now beginning to accuse the Government for allowing such things to continue. And we feel that it is the Government who are shielding these people, and we feel that if we can get the opportunity we can deal with the case ourselves.

There have been many criticisms of the indirect rule system, and I am to say that I am also a critic of that system. I said in the Northern House of Assembly that although I criticise the system of indirect rule, yet I have great support for the system. In the Northern Provinces, the system has given the people of the North great opportunities. It has given them the opportunity to develop on their own lines, to lay modern developments, political and otherwise, on their own foundations, and it has also given them the opportunity to preserve a lot of the past which is very good. But in the same way, I criticise the system when it comes to a question of leaving things for ever as they have been all the time. There must be change, because the world itself is changing. And the people also must change.

I do not mean to say that the Northern Provinces have not changed at all, but when you compare the rate of change in the Northern Provinces with the rate of change in the other regions, everybody will admit that we do not change at the rate that we should. It is already the view of the educated young men in Northern Nigeria that the time has come when we should have really a combination of the two, the old and the new. We do not like to make any artificial advancement as made, probably, by some communities in other parts of Nigeria. **We want Northern Nigeria to change, but to change as Northern Nigeria. We have great respect for our rulers and in fact for all authority.** And really, as the mover of the motion said, when he comes back to think of the Press attacks on natural rulers and those in authority, he just cannot understand how or what we expect this country to be like in the future. **Probably, the people who attack authority or who attack individuals, are the same people, I think, who have got the wish or the strong desire to be the masters of the country in the future. Now let me warn them, that if now they abuse authority, in the same way the people of whom they expect to be masters will abuse their authority in their time.**

This question is a very serious one for Northern Nigeria, because imagine, Your Excellency, the majority of the people in Northern Nigeria who are farmers, some of whom are just illiterate in Western fashion, probably they hear stories of newspapers, and imagine the psychological effect that a northern farmer will have in his mind when he receives or he hears that one such and such ordinary commoner in a part of Nigeria is now abusing, say, the Sultan of Sokoto. Imagine, the psychological effect. In this way that farmer is being educated to have no respect for authority. I believe it is the duty of any good Press in any country to educate the public; I can only say that so far the Nigerian Press is not educating the Nigerian public on the right lines.

It is also our general view in Northern Nigeria, seeing how things go nowadays, pressure from other regions, pressure from Lagos, is making the Government, probably, bringing into the Northern Region certain things which we ourselves do not agree with, we just begin to accuse the Government. We accuse the Government because we see that within a few years the Northern peoples will be spoilt. I do not mean that we will be spoilt because of adopting reasonable modern ways. I do not mean that we will be spoiled, because we will create political parties in the North, but, I just want to say that if we are spoiled in the North the fault will be with Government, because it appears to me that now boys in school are being educated, probably by the Press, to go on strike, to have no respect for the masters, and in the community no respect for the elders, no respect for the rulers, and we often ask what is really the aim of the educated young men of Nigeria—what is their aim? What do we want the future of this country to be? Do we want Nigeria at the present time to be a country entirely controlled by a minority group of some young literate people? Do we like to educate our less-fortunate brothers to understand the changing conditions of time? Do we really want to move together with the old, or do we really want to condemn anything which is old? **It would be unwise, I will say, if the young people in this country think that Nigeria can be a better country when everything old has departed.**

Now, my Honourable friend, the mover of the motion, also touched upon the democratization of the Native Administration Council. Now, I can agree with him, and the democratization of the council of the Native Administration is one of the things, I think, which will give a solution to our problem, and in doing so we must not forget the rights of the minority. As I say, we need change, because we must change. We do not want any change which will make us artificial. Many people, as I have always said, try to compare Nigeria with the other countries of the world, countries in Asia like India, Japan and Burma; countries in Europe and countries in America. But, really I do not understand what has blinded the eyes of those people, some of whom have gone to America and to England, and to think that we can grow on the lines that they are suggesting today.

Your Excellency, I made a public appeal in the last budget session of this Council at Kaduna. I said—I appealed to all people in Nigeria, European and African alike, to co-operate, to help to educate Nigerians to realise the position, and I am still making that appeal. It would take me very long, if I just stand to explain how our minds in the North are really working. Seeing all evil influences coming to our region from other parts of the country, we always feel that something probably more evil is behind. The development of communications has made it possible for the peoples of Nigeria to meet together more often, and if nothing is done I am afraid to say that the confusion which we foresee is bound to happen. We have now reached the stage when Government should make a definite statement of its intentions for the future, that is, does the

Government of Nigeria wish to turn the Protectorate of Nigeria into—well, I don't know what word to use, and I would ask the excuse of Lagos people—into Lagos? Is it the Government's wish to turn the whole of the Protectorate into a place like Lagos in the future? Does the Government of Nigeria, want the peoples in the Protectorate to develop in their own lines, or does the Government of Nigeria want the people of other regions to be the masters of the people in another region? I think it is time, that this Government should make a clear statement, because we really don't understand.

Sometimes the Government supports that side, tomorrow they support this side, and the other day support the other side. It must be made clear. Sometimes we hear of the development of local government bodies, sometimes the development of Native Administration systems, and now really, I think we have reached the time when this should be made clear to the people, especially the people of the Northern region, and then, we can also see the stand of Government from this motion which I am now seconding. The Government, through this motion, can make a clear statement whether it is prepared to support the Northern and the Western regions in trying to put restrictions over the different practices of different sections of the community in setting people against their natural rulers, or whether Government is interested in getting those people to do that thing. I think this is a very wide subject, and I hope also that Government should make its stand very clear.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Your Excellency, it is true, as the mover of the Bill said, that no Member was found to support the Bill, either in the Northern House of Assembly or in the House of Chiefs. This does not mean a lack of interest in matters of this kind. What I would like to say is that people are now ignorant of many Ordinances which they are constantly being called upon to amend or repeal. And secondly, to be frank, events in this country have made us to become very suspicious of certain things which certain people want introduced into the country.

I personally see no harm in the principle of the Bill, but I shall certainly oppose any idea of removing the bonds which exist in the other Ordinances. **While everybody agrees in freedom of speech in any democracy, I will refuse freedom of speech in any country where the people have not reached a sufficiently high standard of education to distinguish, when they read the newspapers, between right and wrong, and more especially when a few literates amongst the community adopt, I will say, the method of using the freedom of speech as a form of political propaganda or as a form of weapon against anyone in the community who holds contrary views.** The stage we have reached in Nigeria today, cannot be compared with countries like America or England or other places which are now highly advanced. I don't think that we have reached the stage in this country when our local press should have unlimited freedom of speech. Our aim, of course, is freedom of speech, but it is simply that we have not reached that stage.

There are many people in this country who are inclined to believe every written word they see in a newspaper. And this is really very harmful in a country where the press—or certain sections of the press—have made it their habit to abuse everybody—to abuse authority and to abuse individuals. And, I am afraid to say—this is just my personal opinion because we did not debate this Bill at all in Northern Nigeria—in my personal opinion, I think I will advise the Honourable the Second Lagos Member to think again of this Bill, and not to remove the clause or clauses in the old Ordinance which still require the bonds and also, on the powers on your part—that is on Government's part—I would like to see certain controls imposed on the local press in this country, because surely what those few people are writing, everybody knows, that much of it is nonsense, and I always ask, why will those people be left free to be writing all these things? Why are they allowed to do so? I say, we are making a mistake by comparing our country with, say, England. We are making a great mistake, and as far I can see, my suggestion is that the Honourable Member who brought this Bill will be advised to go and consult the Attorney-General again before the Bill makes a second appearance in the House.

I am supporting the amendment.

Speech made as Second Member for the Northern Provinces in the Legislative Council on the Periodical and Publications Ordinance; 1949.

CENTRAL MINISTER

LAGOS

Mr Chairman, I want to tell the House that Government has not made a mistake and that Government is not in difficulty in relation to the items in the Estimates under this Head. I do not like the House to be in confusion through the points just made by the last speaker, the Honourable Jaja Wachuku. On Saturday, he said he was speaking on principle and that he didn't appear to be serious on moving for the deletion of the Items, and it is very surprising that this morning he has come with a new idea in his head.

Now, the Financial Secretary pointed out very clearly in his speech on Saturday, that these items have nothing to do with the Western Region or with Lagos as a part of the West. We have in Lagos the Headquarters of Central departments. As pointed out by the Financial Secretary these require buildings, offices, housing for the staff and all sorts of things. For example, we have this new House of Representatives which was built under one of the items under discussion. Now, what the Honourable Member is saying is that we should not have such a building in Lagos simply because Lagos is now part of the West.

Now, I would call the Honourable Members' attention to the recommendation of the Revenue Allocation Commission where it treated expenditure for Lagos as the Capital of the country. It is wrong, I think, to have this idea in our heads that unless there comes a time when we decide whether Lagos should be the Capital, or have a new Capital, then we should be willing after all to approve the items we are debating because, as the Financial Secretary said, we cannot even have the air-conditioning in this House. It may mean that we shall have buildings which are just half way in their construction and we shall leave them without completing them. We shall have buildings completed but not painted and we shall leave them without paint.

Speech made as Central Minister of Works in the Legislative Council on the 1952-53 Appropriation Ordinance: March 31, 1952.

Well, I think the House would not like to see this at all, because instead of the House trying to save for development work in the Regions' it would mean the House would be just wasting the money—millions of pounds as the Honourable Member has said. I do not think, that there is anybody here who may quarrel with the items as they stand in the Estimates because they are very clear. It may be the name 'Colony' which is put there may be probably substituted by the word 'Nigeria' because it is Nigerian expenditure and similarly because the expenditure happens to be in Lagos which is the Colony. That is probably the only quarrel, I think, they have, but I do not like to see Honourable Members merely quarrelling on wrong principle. I would call it, wasting the valuable time of the House. I can see that the Honourable Members are not taking very serious view in the deleting of the items under debate.

WATER SUPPLY

Mr Chairman, as I pointed out in my speech on the Budget, all the development schemes that we are dealing with here, have been arrived at after full discussions at Regional levels. The Regions submitted their Estimates for the Development projects they want to be undertaken. The Honourable Member mentioned the uneven distribution of funds in the Regions for rural water supplies. Now, I said to one Honourable Member from the Camerouns that we were trying to concentrate more of our efforts in the drier Regions and I think the Honourable Member will agree to this.

Now, mention was made in regard to water supplies for Ondo. We cannot, of course, just say we are going to carry on the water scheme there without making further investigation. Our first investigation did not prove that it would be possible to supply Akure and Ondo at the same time; and we find that we can only supply one place, and then it is only after we make another investigation that we will see whether we can supply the other place from another source. The rural water supplies are hampered by the shortage of staff, and materials are costing very much more than they did before.

I want to assure the House that on rural water supplies we are doing all we can to supply the rural areas. The Honourable Member said that in one place or in some places in his Region, people stand for hours and hours waiting for water. Now, I would tell the Honourable Member that I know of places in some Regions where one pot of drinking water used to cost, during the dry season, as much as one shilling, and I know also that in some of the Regions people would have to go for more than ten miles to get water during the drier part of the year. We have all this in mind and we are doing our best.

Speech made as Central Minister of Works in the Legislative Council on the 1952-53 Appropriation Ordinance: April 1, 1952.

NIGERIAN PRIVY COUNCIL

Mr President, I think I can help the Honourable Member out of his confusion. The Chief Secretary mentioned the importance of appointing the Lieutenant-Governors simply because they are the people in the best position to obtain information on the different customs of the different tribes in the Regions. They can collect information from either the Native Administration or from the Provincial offices and also from other sources. The Honourable Member, the Wali of Bornu, said that there are many different customs and probably there are one or two religions in the country and you get the Lieutenant-Governors or the other people maybe, to give advice.

Well, the Chief Secretary pointed out that the Members of the Privy Council have nothing to do with what has taken place in the Courts. The Courts decide finally whether the man should hang or not and the Privy Council is there only to give advice to His Excellency how he should exercise that part of his power.

Now I would like to say, that if we as representatives here have suspicions in matters in which we should have no suspicion, I think we should find it very difficult to carry on. **I do not think that in a matter of this kind, people should be speaking with Regional minds after all, because as has been very clearly explained, many other things must be taken into consideration. We cannot say, that in a Council like this, we are going to have a representative of every tribe or of every religion because if we do so we shall have a Privy Council containing more than 500 people. I am sure, that we must not look at this from the Regional angle.**

I think the explanation given by the Chief Secretary is very, very clear indeed.

Speech made in the Legislative Council on the Composition of the Nigerian Privy Council: April 2, 1952.

PIONEER INDUSTRIES

Mr President, I rise to oppose the amendment. I must say that, the Bill before us is not a political Bill. I would like the Honourable Member to try to face facts with us. As I said in my Budget Speech, we all agree that our political development should go side by side with the economic development. **We cannot enjoy the self-government we are always talking about if we are not economically independent, or we cannot enjoy self-government if we have a poverty-stricken country.** By that I mean, we know very well that in Nigeria today we have not got the necessary financial resources to undertake vast industrial schemes, and that is the only reason why you have this Bill before you. Honourable Members have been saying that, they do not see how the small Nigerian businessmen can have a hand in it. I entirely disagree with this.

We have been saying that every encouragement will be given to Nigerian businessmen, and what is being suggested now is that we should sit down and do nothing until the time when Nigeria has enough money to industrialise the country. **Our intention is to use all the available resources in the country and at the same time to invite capital from outside to come to help with our industrialisation.** We have thought upon this, and the answer is given in the Bill which is before the House.

During the morning one Honourable Member said he would sound a note of warning and, like him, I am also going to sound a note of warning. **Now, Honourable Members, you are here representing millions of people who look upon you to decide for them what you think would be best for them, and it would be a great pity if you Honourable Members, probably through politics or through other things, decided to oppose things which we feel will be for the interest of the people.**

Mr President, I think we should think more serious of these things. It is not a question of a few individuals opposing the scheme simply because for years they have been against the introduction of foreign capital into Nigeria, but we have reached the time now of facing facts. The fact is that now we want to industrialise Nigeria, but we have not got the necessary capital to do so, and that is why we have decided here that the only way to do so is to introduce a Bill so that we can invite people by the attractions in the Bill, to come into the country, and I do hope, that Honourable Members will realise how great this responsibility is upon their shoulders.

Mr President, I oppose the amendment.

GRANTS-IN-AID

Mr President, I think there is a misunderstanding over this Bill. The Chief Secretary dealt with the intention of Government in bringing the Bill before the House.

The last speaker said or argued the statement made by the Minister of Social Services that the Bill is designed to conform with the new Constitution. It is. The Bill embodies no new principle at all and if the Honourable Members will remember, the Revenue Allocation Commission recommended that education should be one of the subjects to be classified as of national interest. It is purely a regional subject but, at the same time, because of the grants given to the schools from Central funds, we have this national interest in it.

Now, the last speaker also asked what are the duties of the Ministers in charge of Education in the Regions, and of the Minister of Social Services in the Centre. In the Regions, the Ministers in charge of Education have every responsibility over education in their Regions, and in the Centre here, the Minister of Social Services, who looks after the over-all policy of education, does the co-ordinating. I think it is wrong to say that Ministers do not have a say in the initiation of policy. After all, in the Regions, Ministers of education lead discussions on educational policy in the Regional Executive Councils, and the same thing is done, by the Minister of Social Services in the Council of Ministers.

It might just merely be that the last speaker was asking that the Ministers in the Regions should appear in the Bill, or probably what the Honourable Member has in mind is that we should choose the Minister of Social Services in the Centre as the Chairman of the Central Board, or choose the Regional Minister of Social Services or of Education as Chairman of these Regional Boards of Education. Well I think this is wrong. If you look at it in the way I look at it—the Minister of Education in a Region is an Executive Member of the Regional Executive Council. He has the Government policy, in fact, it is with him that the Government policy is made in the Regional Executive. He attends the meeting of the Regional Board of Education and you will understand how very awkward you would feel in his position being the Chairman of the Board.

Well, I believe, if Members will take the assurance that the only intention of the Bill is to make the necessary amendments which we find are many in order to meet the changes in the Constitution and in order to allow the grants-in-aid to be paid to the schools, I do not think they will have any objection. It is, for the Regions to decide what will be the educational policy in their Regions. There is no reason why this Bill should be put before the Regional Houses. There is no reason why

Speech in the Legislative Council on the Education (Amendment) Ordinance: April 8, 1952.

the Regions will not make their own policy as long as it is within the over-all policy of the Centre.

I want to say again, that this Bill embodies no new principle at all. As has been explained by the Chief Secretary there is no question of saying that Government is hurrying Honourable Members to pass legislation into law which their sons will regret. That is not the case, especially on this Education Bill. Education is a subject of purely regional responsibility and it is only in the point which I explained that it becomes of national interest, that is, in the way the grants-in-aid are paid to the schools.

I am very sorry that religion has been brought to come in here. I do not like to speak at length on the amendment being sought but I will say that the Christian Missions have been given this representation because of their different denominations: Roman Catholics, Protestant and other people. Now, the Christian Missions run many schools and other educational institutions in this country. The Moslems communities in the country, especially those in the Northern Region, have hundreds of Koranic schools, but they do not qualify for grants simply because they are not properly organized. They do not have syllabuses and they do not have proper buildings and accommodation, which would attract Government grants.

Now, as pointed out by a Member from the North, the Central Board, as is constituted, the majority of the Members from the North are Moslems. I have no doubt many schools in the North are run by Moslems communities, by the Native Authorities and by the voluntary Agencies and the Christian Missions. It is right that we should have Moslem members on the Board, as well as members from the Missions, and that is exactly what we have now. The Lieutenant-Governors would not normally appoint members to the Board without first consulting their Executives and without taking into consideration other factors as well. In every Region there is a Regional Board and the different religions in the Region are represented on the Board.

I would also like to mention this point on the amendments before us. Honourable Members have already been told that it is better that as education is a Regional subject, that amendments should be made not here but in the Regional Houses. Very few Members will have had time to debate the educational policy in the Regions, and to bring up amendments now at a time when Members say they are being rushed into it, does not seem right. We have the original Ordinance already and we have told Honourable Members that our intention is only to get this Bill through so that we may make the necessary changes in the Ordinance because of the new Constitution so that the grants-in-aid can be paid out as recommended by Revenue Allocation Order in Council. But, this is a Regional matter and it is a very important matter also, and if Honourable Members are agreeable I think that these amendments and such other things affecting policy had better be left until they get back to the Regions.

MAGISTRATES

Mr Chairman, I don't think that I am treading on dangerous ground simply because I am not a lawyer. I can remember that about three years ago while talking to a lawyer friend of mine that I had no legal knowledge, but that I am only guided by common sense. My friend told me that common sense is the best law, so I think I feel rather qualified now to speak on the subject.

There seems to be some confusion over the amendment being suggested by the Hon. Mr Benson, and it appeared that hon. Members who spoke in favour of the amendment did not seem to listen carefully to what the Attorney-General said. It is agreed by everybody that qualified lawyers should be employed to be magistrates of all grades. But the trouble now is Government is being asked to agree to accept the amendment, and once this Bill becomes law every magistrate in that grade that the amendment is suggesting will have to have the full qualifications.

The Attorney-General pointed out now that successful practising barristers are not willing to come forward to be appointed magistrates, and there are thousands of cases coming into the magistrates' courts. I do not think that, if the hon. Members are the champions of the cause of the masses, they will agree that these cases should be put aside until the time when we have the successful practising barristers coming forward to be appointed as magistrates. In order to get these cases cleared, it is necessary that people should be appointed who, though not having got the necessary legal qualifications, are yet able to discharge the duties of magistrates. Now, this is common sense. I don't expect that my learned friend would dream of suggesting that in all these things we must have the paper qualifications. **Every one of us has come across people who have got the academic qualifications all right but when put on the job find themselves in great difficulties and many of us have come across people though they haven't got the academic qualifications yet through experience have acquired skill and knowledge and have become very successful.**

We don't quarrel with the principle of the amendment, and it is our wish that in all the posts in this country, not only in magistrates' grades, but in all the posts, that only the best people should be recruited, such people we have to do with experienced people who have not the necessary paper qualifications.

I can remember the hon Member in the morning saying that the magistrates who have not got the qualifications but who had been doing this work successfully for so many years should better be sent to natives courts. Well, the hon. Member knows that Lagos is in an unfortunate position of having no native courts. I would ask the House to reject the amendment though, of course, the principle is quite clearly understood.

Speech made in Legislative Council on the Magistrates Court Lagos Ordinance, 1955 : August 17, 1955.

CHIEF SECRETARY

Mr Speaker, I rise to move the following motion: 'That this House, recognising the valuable services to Nigeria of Sir Hugo Marshall, K.B.E., C.M.G., lately Chief Secretary of the Federation, desire that a message of appreciation and good wishes be conveyed to Sir Hugo and Lady Marshall.'

I have no doubt that all Honourable Members received the news of Sir Hugo Marshall's retirement with much regret. Sir Hugo was appointed to the Colonial Service in 1928 and when he arrived in Nigeria he was posted to what is now the Western Region where he served as an Administrative Officer for many years and in many places. In 1934 Sir Hugo was appointed an Assistant Secretary in the Chief Secretary's Office in Lagos but in the same year he went back to the Western Region. He was promoted Principal Assistant Secretary in 1945 and only after two years he was made a Senior Resident. He was made the Administrative Secretary in the Nigerian Secretariat in 1947.

Now, Sir Hugo went back to the Western Region in 1952 as the first Lieutenant-Governor and honourable Members know that last year he was appointed the first Chief Secretary to the new Federation of Nigeria. In 1950, in recognition of his services to Nigeria Sir Hugo was honoured with a C.M.G. and in 1953 he was knighted.

Honourable Members will agree that these records speak for themselves. Sir Hugo Marshall's Colonial Service career is really a brilliant one and all through his career he was known for his capacity for work, for his loyalty and for his great interest in the people of the country in which he was serving. Sir Hugo spent the best parts of his life in serving the people of Nigeria and we are all really sorry that he chose to retire at this time when the country really needs the services of hard working and honest experienced administrators like him.

As the Administrative Secretary, Sir Hugo had quite a lot to do with the Constitutional Review in 1950 and his service in the Nigerian Secretariat in the higher posts gave him the opportunity to know about the Eastern and the Northern Regions where he had never served. Sir Hugo truly and well represented the British Colonial Service, a service the members of which are famous the world over for their integrity, for their loyalty and for their devotion to duty. The British Colonial Service is a Service of which any country in the world can be proud.

Sir Hugo was fortunate in having a companion who shared his interests. Lady Marshall has been with Sir Hugo for most of the twenty-eight years he served in this country and she was as keenly interested in the people of the country as her husband.

Outside office, Sir Hugo was extremely interested in birds and in natural history and for many years he was a leading member of the

Motion as Second Member for the Northern Provinces in the Legislative Council.

Nigerian Field Society. Lady Marshall shared Sir Hugo's enthusiasm for birds and being an artist of real talent she used to paint them.

Mr Speaker, Sir Hugo's record of service in Nigeria is a proud one and I feel that we as representatives of the people of Nigeria should show our appreciation. It is the wish of all of us in Nigeria that Sir Hugo and Lady Marshall should enjoy long life and happiness in their retirement.

I beg to move.

INDUCEMENT

Mr Speaker, I am afraid that this afternoon I have to cross swords with my respected friend, the Leader of the Opposition. I have been very anxious to listen to his contribution to the debate on the Chief Secretary's motion and I was expecting that the hon. Member would bring out points which will really help the Government or the House in examining the motion. The Federal Government has been accused of all sorts of things, of almost every crime under the sun. We have been accused of not taking decisions hurriedly over the Gorsuch recommendations.

I must say that this Government is not out to take quick decisions which it will regret later. Matters dealing with the whole Service are matters which have to be very carefully examined. It is not only a question of dealing with money but it is also a question of dealing with human beings. We have heard, several times, that the other Regional Governments were able to take decisions in time. Well, this might be true. Some of these decisions might be right but all decisions taken in a hurry are decisions which people will regret later. In all decisions which the Federal Government takes, serious consideration has to be given to all matters; discussions have to take place not only between the Ministers in the Council of Ministers but with other organizations representing the staff and all who are concerned. **This is not a dictator government.**

The Leader of the Opposition tried to base his argument on the Gorsuch recommendation by saying that we are asking this House to agree to accepting Gorsuch recommendations which will mean an expenditure of a very large sum of money, but that we as a Government have failed to put before the House an economic programme by which the money could be obtained or forthcoming. I am very surprised to hear this point from the Leader of the Opposition. Why do we have to revise these salaries? Why do we have to induce overseas officers to come to this country? We do these things so

Speech made in Legislative Council on the Report of the Commission on the Public Service: August 25, 1955.

that we could have qualified people to come and help in the economic development of the country. We may have large areas of uncultivated soil, we may have all the riches buried in the ground in this country, but if we do not know how to get them, these riches will remain unexploited. **The Leader of the Opposition will agree that we are very anxious to get the services of people from overseas because we have not yet got enough indigenous people with the knowledge of technology to assist in the development of the country.**

Government asks the House to accept the recommendations made by Mr Gorsuch, which are only just the minimum which might attract people to come to Nigeria. Let us not make a mistake. **Mainly because of political reasons, people in this country seem to have the idea that in England, in German and other parts of the world there is a long line of expatriate officers with all the necessary qualifications dying to come out to Nigeria. I must say that this is not so.** Now, the Chief Secretary in the morning spoke of many vacancies in the Senior Service. We do not want to be static. We want to go forward. We cannot even fill the vacancies now existing, much less to create new posts for which we cannot have the men.

The hon. Member spoke at some length on the International Bank Mission, and he said that the Federal Government is responsible for not bringing forward a White Paper on the International Bank Mission Report. If politicians in Nigeria will only be a little bit more careful, if they will only think of the good of the country, things like the International Bank Mission Report and things like the economic development of Nigeria will go much faster than if the politicians say things in which they do not really believe. I can remember attending conferences with the Leader of the Opposition on different matters and in those conferences all of us were agreed that for some time to come Nigeria will be in very great need of overseas officers. You cannot expect an overseas officer to come into this country and supplement his living by getting money from his own country simply because the salary paid to him here is inadequate. I was expecting, and still expecting, better contributions from the Opposition Bench. We were told by the Leader of the Opposition that this Government is famous for believing in little committees and such things, and that we are inactive. That is the accusation. The White Paper gives the House Government's recommendations on the Commissioner's findings. It is only fair that we should leave the special job to the special people who are qualified to do it.

The Opposition seem to think that no money would be paid out until after the grading team has worked and has produced its report. I want to say that this is totally wrong. The Chief Secretary, when he was speaking in the morning—if they would only listen—told us how the thing would be done, and also he told us that in some part of Africa, even in the Sudan, it took the grading team a year to do their work. This is only commonsense. The Government is as anxious over the public money as individuals are anxious over their money. I am very

sorry, that my Friend, the hon. Mr Jaja Wachuku, seems to be completely ignorant of the Gorsuch recommendation. Obviously Mr Gorsuch made his recommendations and he produced conversion tables, and the hon. Member can read them.

The hon. the Leader of the Opposition spoke of training Nigerians within the Services. We all agree with him. It is really a matter which must go fast, and I would assure him that the Government would do all in its power to see that this training is given priority over everything.

It is true that we shall all receive complaints from Members of the House and also from people outside on elements of discrimination in the Service. It is a thing which unfortunately, cannot be avoided. We have overseas officers and indigenous officers. Their conditions are different and so, for some time to come, this element of discrimination must exist in our Service.

Mr Speaker, I am not at all embarrassed, but I do not like the Opposition to be in the habit of getting one point and repeating it every time. I hope that we are all agreed and no matter what our party affiliation is, that Nigeria will be in need of overseas officers for some years to come. Why not then go all out courageously and tell everybody of this thing that if we want these people to come we must be prepared to pay them? Why then quarrel with allowances and inducements and such other things? **If you have the courage to say you believe in it in this Chamber, you must have the courage to say so outside it.**

We must face facts. We must know that we in Nigeria are at a disadvantage in getting overseas staff. We are competing with the rest of the world in recruiting staff from overseas and, naturally, with the advance we are making towards what people call independence, overseas officers would think twice before they came out to serve in this country. Young men coming out of universities would like to go to a country where they could see a full career before them. This has to be taken into account. In other territories like East Africa and other places where the climate is milder than it is here, the officers could send their children to school in those territories. That is not the case in Nigeria, hence the inducements.

I am still hoping that we shall have better and more concrete proposals from the Opposition, and I am hoping that we shall have contributions which will really assist us in future in salary structure and allowances.

I beg to support the motion.

