BUDGET SPEECH

BY

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The Administrator of East-Central State of Nigeria

SATURDAY 18 MAY 1974

BUDGET SPEECH

Fellow Citizens,

I have great pleasure in presenting the Budget for the Government of the East-Central State of Nigeria for the financial year, 1974–75.

My Government is providing for an estimated recurrent revenue of ₦99 million and an appropriation of ₦98.4 million for recurrent expenditure, thus providing for a modest surplus of ₦0.6 million on current account. Although token, this surplus is significant, being the first recurrent budget surplus in the history of the State, especially in view of the greatly expanded scale and scope of Government responsibilities and services. On Capital Account we are budgeting for estimated receipts of ₦59.2 million and a capital expenditure programme of ₦124.4 million. There is thus a capital deficit of ₦65.2 million. Overall estimated receipts amount to ₦158.2 million against an expenditure programme of ₦222.8 million.

In considering the budget, we were very conscious of the fact that this is a transitional year in our development process. Over the past four years the economic structure of the State has been progressively restored and our internal sources of revenue have become more stable. In the aftermath of war both our recurrent expenditure and our capital programme had necessarily depended to a large extent on loan assistance from the Federal Military Government and external sources. But in the year preparatory for the 1975–80 Development Programme, we are determined to stabilize our fiscal base and rejoin the mainstream of national development. We are therefore planning our recurrent budget within realistic expectations of recurrent revenue so as to ensure that henceforth all capital receipts are fully available for the development effort.

The enlarged capital programme reflects the extent to which we have mobilized our human and technical resources for accelerated implementation of existing programmes, the escalating demands for modernization and growth and the need to complete this financial year the groundwork for the take-off on schedule of the next development plan. The extent to which the State can attract additional financing to complete this ambitious but necessary programme depends primarily on the efficiency and expedition of planning and execution. The programme thus poses a great challenge to the public service to give of its best to the people; and to the people to respond fully in the best traditions of self-help and co-operation, so that we in this State can march FORWARD TOGETHER with our compatriots into the emerging new era of transformation and growth.

I will now elaborate on some of the more significant features of the Budget. On the revenue side, although our expectations from the State's internal resources were not fully met, the revised estimates of ₦28.5 million show a marked improvement over actual performance for the previous year; while the State's share of Federal Revenue rose to ₦39.3 million. This year considerable improvement is expected from internal revenue sources, principally as a result of measures already taken or currently in hand to improve the machinery of revenue collection; as well as from Federally derived revenue. At ₦59.2 million, expected capital receipts show a 90 per cent. increase on last year's estimates but are consistent with the geometrical growth of this item over the last three years. Most of the capital receipts have been by way of loans and it is vitally important that they continue to be invested in projects which improve our productive capacity over and above what is required to meet the contingent repayment obligations. For the first time we are able to provide for contributions to the Capital Development Fund from recurrent revenue. The contribution includes the proceeds of the Development Rate. An element of the existing primary school fees will now go directly to the schools as capital grants for their individual programmes of rehabilitation and development. For the same purpose with effect from the coming school year in September, tuition fees in post-primary schools are being increased by ₦12 a year; the entire proceeds to be passed on as capital grants to the schools. It should be stated that in spite of this small increase in the fees for post-primary schools, the new level of fees is still significantly below what is paid in any of our neighbouring states.

Internal grants from sources other than the Federal Military Government are a significant new item in our capital receipts; thanks to the enlightened generosity of the Kano State Government and Guiness (Nigeria) Limited. It is hoped that the spirit of fraternity and togetherness thus demonstrated will be more generally manifested in the relationships between State Governments and between Governments and business.

On the expenditure side, the Budget is geared towards completing the reorganization and rationalization of the public service and equipping it to carry out efficiently the expanded Government programme. Some new Ministries and non-ministerial agencies have been created for more concentrated effort, while the technical capacity of planning and executive Ministries have been improved.

In the primary production sector, ministerial responsibility has been split and functions assigned to two new ministries—the Ministry of Natural Resources and Agricultural Extension, which will concentrate on research; on advising, training and organizing the farmer; fisheries development and extension work; veterinary services and research, and the Ministry of Agricultural Production and Animal Husbandry which will oversee the agricultural production programme of the State including the Agricultural Development Authority, an expanded effort in animal husbandry, and the newly created Forestry Commission. Over the past four years some 890,000 farmers have benefited directly from the agricultural extension services of the Government, including rehabilitation of 40.2 thousand acres of tree crops, and the fertilizer subsidy and seed multiplication and distribution programmes. New agrarian techniques, technical assistance and market information is reaching the farmers through the Co-operatives and Farmers Association at various levels. The major investments in direct production have been through the Agricultural Development Authority which has so far invested over ₦5 million in various projects in the past year. Although many of the projects are still in the gestation period, 12,000 acres are now under food crops and 11,000 acres under tree crops, while turnover for last year was about ₦2.5 million. Perhaps the most significant project which will have a revolutionary and transformative effect on agriculture in this State is the Do-Anambra Basin Project. This is a project being handled under an agreement between the A.D.A. and NIPPON-KOEI of Japan which I negotiated during my visit to Tokyo last November. The initial pilot project is based on the recovery of 15,000 acres of new farmland, as a basis for a fully detailed feasibility study for the main project involving the recovery of 650,000 acres of new farmland with controlled irrigation and drainage systems. Already work on the project has started, over 1,000 acres have already been reclaimed and about seven Japanese experts have already arrived. A.D.A. is also engaged, together with some Belgian interests, for the development of about 200,000 acres of palm trees that will stretch from Ukwa Division to Ohaji in Oguta Division. Survey work has already started on this project. Forestry rehabilitation and development have so far had a total investment of ₦1.2 million. To support and increase all these efforts ₦15.9 million is being provided for the Primary Production Sector this financial year; ₦12 million of this being for capital projects.

For the Trade and Industry sector there is a total provision of ₦26.6 million. The process of rationalization of Government services in this sector has now been completed with the creation of a new Ministry of Co-operatives which will ensure the development of economically viable, technically efficient co-operative societies. Most of the Government-owned industries have been reconstructed and expanded far beyond their pre-war capacities and the major thrust is now towards establishing new industries. The Commissioner for Finance will provide details of our industrial investment programme. The Fund for Small-scale Industries had a very successful year, approving loans totalling ₦370,000 for seventy industrial projects in twenty-four divisions. A further ₦500,000 is being provided for the current year. On Trade, a new emphasis is on the development of the Central Trading Agency; market development as well as improved trade promotional services to the private sector. As already announced the Central Trading Agency has been set up, primarily as a bulk-purchasing organization mostly for the requirements and services of government departments and agencies. The Agency should be opening its doors in the next few weeks, and we have every hope for its success. Both the Onitsha and Enugu Market Authorities are now operational and have already achieved significant success. The Onitsha Main Market is almost completed and should be in use in June this year. The final drawings and design of the State Markets at Enugu and Aba are almost ready and it is expected that physical construction will begin in both places this year. The membership of the Aba Market Authority will therefore be constituted in the next few weeks. The Ministry of Trade and Transport will take over responsibility for motor vehicle inspection and develop a capacity for planning and co-ordinating the development of transport facilities in the State. The now famous "Oriental Line" will be supported to expand its services to the Nigerian public. In recent weeks the parent company signed an agreement to purchase an additional forty new deluxe buses for "Oriental Line", and to set up modern maintenance and service workshops in Enugu, Onitsha, Aba and Owerri. Once the present road development and reconstruction programmes to Afikpo and Abakaliki are completed the service would be extended to that sector complete with modern maintenance facilities.

In our determination to solidify the infrastructure for development, my Government is this year making a major effort to build new roads and improve existing ones. A total of ₦24 million is appropriated. Most of the new roads are designed to link up more effectively to the rest of the State and the country the areas now poorly served by the existing road system, areas which are also, by and large the main food producing parts of the State. This year thus marks the beginning of a new programme for an integrated road system based on the needs of the economy. The State Commissioner for Finance will provide details of this new programme. As some of you would be aware work has already started on the reconstruction and modernization of the roads in Enugu Township. Negotiations are almost completed with regard to roads in Onitsha Township. The situation with regard to Aba Township is, I am sorry to report, somewhat less developed. I am told that a permanent solution to the Aba situation would require the initial design and construction of a drainage system for the town. This work is already in hand and it is hoped a firm contract would soon be awarded for the drainage system. Nonetheless, in view of the desperate situation in that city I have directed that urgent rehabilitation work be undertaken now, and that a short-byepass, linking Aba–Port Harcourt and Aba–Owerri Roads be constructed in order to reduce the density of traffic that pass through the city centre.

The Water Board now established will this year begin in earnest the planning and implementation of the State Water Supplies programme for which there is a total appropriation of ₦7.8 million. New investment in the Nigerian Water Supply and Construction Company will enable it to equip itself adequately to meet the massive construction needs of the programme. It is intended to provide the company with adequate funds to equip at least four mobile drilling teams so that, in so far as it is possible, a bore-hole water supply would be available in community council areas not presently so served.

With the additional challenge of preparing for universal free primary education, the Education Sector continues to take the lion's share of our expenditure; ₦43.4 million on recurrent and ₦23.2 million on capital items. The Public Education System has now attained maturity. Under the interim administration which we had to ordain the State School Board has now acquired a purpose and a direction, an articulated organization and a functional bureaucracy—with efficient and innovative staff, rules and regulations governing procedures, administration and management. In the process many problems have been identified and sometimes resolved successfully, a lot of lessons have been learned, and of course some mistakes were also made, as is common to all human enterprises. Yet it seems to me that even the most uncharitable must admit the excellent work that has been done in the face of tremendous handicaps in terms of resources; men, materials and finances and of physical difficulties and psychological obstacles which are an inevitable aspect of any fundamental change in society. It should be sufficient to compare the immense resources deployed for the operation and management of the civil service, with about 25,000 employees and the initially skeletal resources deployed foı the organization and management of the State School Board with its almost 38,000 employees to appreciate what has been achieved under the Sole Administrator and what still remains to be achieved. Nonetheless in order to consolidate present achievements and begin the process of further development, it is now necessary to institute a more permanent organization and in so doing redefine responsibilities and functions for the conduct of the Public Education System. While the Ministry of Education retains responsibility for the formulation of educational policy, the maintenance of standards and conducting of public examinations, the State School Board as now a self-accounting body is now formally vested with the responsibility for the management of State schools. A Teachers Service Commission is also being set up to take charge of the appointment, promotion and discipline of teachers. Facilities for teacher training are being expanded and a new range of modern primary schools will be started. The Institute of Management and Technology at Enugu and the Alvan Ikoku College of Education at Owerri have increased provisions to cope with their rapidly expanding programmes.

The success of any educational system depends on the quality and service of teachers. As we have stated often in the past, it is our intention to totally eliminate the various inequalities and thoughtless discriminations to which teachers had been historically subjected in this State and in this Country. I think it would be admitted that we have started very well—the commitments in the Teachers Manual, those already implemented and others in the process of implementation represent a qualitatively new epoch in the status and expectations of teachers in this society. We make this firm promise that we shall not stop our efforts until all inequalities have been abolished. But I am sure it will be appreciated that the wrongs of almost a century cannot all be abolished overnight. However this is no excuse for slackness or indifference on the part of those civil servants who have to implement new programmes for teachers. In this light, we have already directed that no new vehicle advances should be paid to civil servants, under the expanded and liberalized programme being instituted, until a significant proportion of entitled teachers, both in primary and post-primary institutions, have received theirs.

For Health services, Government is providing a total of ₦19.9 million, of which ₦9.9 million is on recurrent and ₦10.0 million on capital account. The target of providing a hospital in every division is being largely met. New General Hospitals have been built and in most cases already opened in Udi, Igbo-Eze, Isi-Uzo, Ishielu, Ukwa and Oguta Divisions. This year efforts will be directed towards the completion of this programme and new hospitals will be built at Ogbaru, Ezzikwo, Izzi, Uzo-Uwani and other divisions including the sub-divisional headquarters of Egbema. The first phase of the massive development known as the Haile Selassie Institute of Orthopaedic, Ophthalmic and Plastic Surgery is now nearing completion, the equipments have begun to arrive and are being installed; the first Director has been appointed, and it should be formally opened in the later part of this year. It is intended to establish a new General Hospital for Enugu, two new Specialist Hospitals in Aba and Onitsha; to begin preliminary works on a Specialist Hospital at Abakaliki, and if Government is "shown the land" to develop a Specialist Chest Hospital at Nsukka. Government proposes to approach the managers of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Umuahia-Ibeku in order to arrange to hand-over the hospital to Government for its further development as a fully-fledged Specialist Hospital. In view of the many requests for Government to take-over this Hospital, we expect the expeditious co-operation of all concerned. In order to further encourage communities to build Health Centres a provision of ₦.5 million is made as matching grant to Community Health projects. It is hoped that all communities will rise to the challenge. Of course, as everyone now realizes, it is not enough to build and equip hospitals, it is equally important that these hospitals serve as institutions of public service and welfare and are administered in relation to the communities they are intended to serve. It is therefore intended that in the second half of this year hospital management boards would be established to operate all general hospitals. It is intended that these boards will be so organized to ensure the representation of the Divisional and Community Councils, as may be appropriate, in the true spirit of community government.

In order to bring social welfare services closer to the communities, the Social Welfare Division has been transferred from the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare to the Divisional Administration Department of the Cabinet Office. It is our view that in the true spirit of *Olu Obodo*, social welfare functions are properly a responsibility for D.A.D. and would be best achieved when integrated with community activities. The Division will make a more deliberate effort in the coming year to provide for the care and rehabilitation of the disabled, the disturbed and the handicapped. A pilot project will be started this year for the re-training in a Camp of the young and youthful members of our urban centres who presently exist in the anomic sub-culture of our towns as orphans, spivs, rogues, etc. Health care, regular education, civic orientation, industrial and commercial training programmes would be provided in this camp for these children of the revolution of change and social disorder.

On Town and Country Planning, the Ministry of Lands, Survey and Urban Development is being better equipped to play its full role in land development. The Open Spaces Commission has been established and we hope soon to see the effect of its work on our environment. The Housing Development Authority will continue to be fully involved in the execution of the Federal and State Housing Schemes. An investment of ₦3.6 million in the sector is envisaged. A Mortgage Bank will be established to finance housing development in the public and private sectors.

A new Ministry of Information, Culture and Youth has been created to reflect the present needs and directions of Government's efforts. The new Ministry in addition to its traditional functions with regard to the Government Printer, the Radio and Television Services and the Newspaper Company is to be considerably reorganized. The Information Division will serve primarily as the State's Central Office of documentation and information; the Cultural Division will engage in research and propagational work with regard to our culture, it will be responsible for co-ordinating all cultural activities in the State through the State's Arts Council which is being established as a statutory body; and other development efforts such as the Writers

Workshop, the new State Arts and Cultural Centre in Enugu for which a preliminary provision of ₦500,000 has been made this year. The Youth Division will provide the State co-ordinating directorate of the N.Y.S.C. and other national youth programmes being developed; it will organize training camps for the youth; it is also taking over responsibility for the State Sports Commission.

One of the most encouraging features of this State, and one which is closest to our heart, has been the determination of communities to develop themselves through the processes of our now famous D.A.D. In my last Budget Speech I had the painful duty to point out that whilst some communities had achieved dizzy feats in community development, others had succumbed to divisive and centrifugal forces and had disappointed our expectations. I am glad to say today that the general picture has changed and self-help efforts are now common to all our communities.

We do not seek to be invidious but we should, however, mention the following spectacular achievements of some communities, such as; the completion by the Oko Community in Aguata Division, through self-help, of a ₦70,000 Cottage Hospital, fully equipped with modern facilities; the completion by the Mgbidi Community in Oru Division of their new Post Office at a cost of ₦10,000. In Ohafia Division, the Nkporo Community Council started and completed road construction and school projects worth over ₦50,000; the arrangement at Mbano between the local traders and the Divisional/Community Councils whereby the former were able to establish a daily market with modern lock-up stores and open stalls at a cost of well over ₦15,000 was a magnificent example of partnership in progress. In Nkwerre Division, the Abba Community spent the sum of nearly ₦100,000 on road and bridge projects whilst in Uzo-Uwani Division, the Umulokpa Community Council was able to complete its council hall at a cost of ₦8,000. In Mbaitoli/Ikeduru Division, the Atta Community Council completed a modern market costing over ₦12,000. A place like Ukwa Division, which formerly lagged behind others in self-help efforts, has now fully joined others in the healthy race for community development. Whereas in the 1972–73 financial year, almost nothing was done in that Division by way of self-help projects, in the 1973–74 financial year, the various communities in the Division executed forty-seven different projects at a total cost of ₦51,781.41. In terms of value of completed projects, the Awka Community Council which accomplished three vital projects within the year, viz: a cottage hospital, pipeborne water scheme and a market development project, total cost of which was over ₦200,000 was the most outstanding Community Council.

During the period 1973–74, a total of 1,206 projects were accomplished by different communities in various parts of the State. These included thirteen new cottage hospitals and health centres, forty-eight new markets, 564 miles of rural roads, seventy new bridges (including ten bailey bridges), seventy-six new rural culverts, five new rural Post Offices and twelve Postal Agencies (apart from several others which were reconstructed and reactivated), 10,000 acres of food crop farms, 8,000 acres of cash crops farms and six new rural water projects. Seventeen new village integration centres were established during the past year in Ishielu, Izzi and Ezzikwo Divisions. To accomplish these projects, the various communities in the State were able to raise through rates and direct local contiibution, the sum of well over ₦12 million. My Government is very proud of these achievements, especially as the objective of allowing each community to determine its own needs and priorities has been amply justified by results.

As regards revenue collection by Community Councils, it is a happy augury that the general performance in 1973–74 was far better than what it was in 1972–73. Again, this improvement derived from a better appreciation by Community Councils of their responsibility for revenue collection as well as the importance of revenue for the execution of their development programmes. It is very pleasant to report, especially to those newspapers and magazines who indulge in racial and cultural slander against fellow citizens of the Abakaliki area, that "the old order changeth . . ." The sister Divisions of Abakaliki Urban and Izzi had set a dazzling record of performance in revenue collection. Whereas in the year 1972–73, the sad and chilling memory of the Nkpuma Akpatakpa episode and other isolated but similar incidents had virtually brought revenue collection to a standstill in that part of the State, I am happy to announce that in the year 1973–74, these two Divisions had beaten every other by exceeding their estimated revenue two months before the end of the financial year. Abakaliki Urban Council's projected revenue for 1973–74 was ₦89,000. Actual collection by the end of February 1974 was a handsome figure of ₦114,000. The story is the same in Izzi. The total revenue of the ten Community Councils in the new Division in 1972–73 was ₦72,000 but by the end of February 1974, the revenue collected for 1973–74 had reached ₦93,000, with the Igbeagu Community Council exceeding its projected revenue by a wide margin.

My Government had provided financial assistance totalling almost ₦1 million to facilitate the achievement of the objectives of the new system by making outright grants to the 642 Community Councils and the seven Urban Councils in the State. It is hoped that these grants would be spent on socially desirable projects which would benefit the communities at large. A Loan Scheme is being worked out to enable my Government grant loans to Councils with sound and desirable projects.

As in the year 1972–73, so in the fiscal year just ended, my Government took various measures in fulfilment of its part of the task of community development. The establishment of three new Divisions and nine sub-offices has fulfilled its intended purpose of bringing Government at the doorstep of the rural communities, thereby enabling the people to participate actively in the management of their affairs and in the development of their communities. The response from the communities affected has been very positive, and perhaps none is more remarkable than that of the people of Ikwuano. The people of Ikwuano in Umuahia Urban Division had donated to government as their contribution to the establishment of their sub-office, completed buildings worth ₦34,000 and furniture and office equipment valued at ₦4,000.

The Rural Works Unit of the Divisional Administration Department has been strengthened and expanded. At the beginning of the financial year, there were four Rural Works Units serving the thirty-eight divisions. By the middle of the year, the number had been increased to ten. The idea is to place the services of the Unit within easy reach of the rural communities. As a further contribution to community development Government is establishing this year a Rural Electricity Board.

During the year, the Community Development Training Centre at Awgu mounted forty-eight courses attended by 548 persons—the purpose of which was to orientate community leaders, community councillors and council officials to the spirit of the new system. The result had been a tremendous improvement in the effectiveness and efficiency of council officials and greater co-operation between such officials and the communities they are serving.

The transfer of Publicity and Enlightenment Division of the Ministry of Information to D.A.D. was effected last year and is already achieving great impact. The *Olu Obodo* magazine has relentlessly mirrored the activities of various communities; our publicity efforts through news reports, feature articles and posters have undoubtedly created a new awareness that has further stimulated the spirit of self-help and self-reliance.

Following the dissolution of all Community and Divisional Councils in February this year, selections/elections in March and inauguration of new councils in April, we look forward to even greater involvement of the various communities in the task of nation-building and more achievements in community development programmes. Over and above the various support programmes already listed and the various projects being directly undertaken by it, Government is this year providing ₦2.25 million as loans and grants to these community councils which show initiative and self-help to help them execute approved projects.

The programme which has so far been outlined makes the highest demands on the resources, skills and dedication of the Public Service of the State. Conscious of this fact, and only too well aware of the handicaps under which many of them have been obliged to operate these past four years, the Government is determined this financial year not only to complete the rationalization of the service but also to provide the conditions which enable officers to give their best. Out of a capital provision of ₦10.7 million for General Administration, an appropriation of ₦2.9 million is made for public buildings to provide much needed space and equipment for work. Under recurrent expenditure, the establishment of each Ministry has been reviewed to provide adequately for the expanding operational needs. Thus there is now an establishment of about 26,000 civil servants, or 30 per cent. more than the establishment for the whole of the former Eastern Region of Nigeria in 1965. Ministries and non-ministerial departments benefiting significantly from the expansion include the Ministries of Economic Development and Reconstruction, Health, the Judiciary and Audit. At the same time attention has been given to the need to provide conditions of service and service benefits comparable to those enjoyed by civil servants in other parts of the Federation. Thus it is intended that vehicle advances will be much easier to come by, and that standard rates of various allowances will now apply. I am sure that you will respond positively to these measures.

Fellow citizens, the good people of the East-Central State, we are almost done. The Commissioner for Finance, Dr Ukwu, will be providing a fuller and more detailed brief on various aspects of our Budget for 1974–75. Looking back over the period of the crisis years and the immediate post-war years, we have a lot to be proud of. Out of the ashes of a destroyed society and economy we have sought to and have succeeded in building a new society and economy. In doing this we have not been afraid to innovate, to strike out in new directions and in so doing we have not only created new institutions for our society but have provided unsolicited leadership in many fields to many States of the Federation—in education, in law and legal institutions, in local government administration, in developmental strategies for agriculture, in fiscal policy, and so on.

Out of the despair and hopelessness born of war and total disaster new hopes have arisen and a new life is beginning. Our people once more are to be found in every nook and cranny of this great country, in new roles, as professionals, administrators, educators, technicians and artisans welcomed and appreciated by other Nigerians and contributing their best to the even and rapid development of their nation. Compared against the best times of the pre-war years our businessmen and traders are succeeding marvelously well and our economy is thriving. Our children, almost all our children are now in school. There is a new quality to life, a new ambience, a new consciousness and a new maturity. The daily newspapers are full of stories of riots, disturbances and rampage in schools, colleges and universities in other States and in other places; yet there has been no breath of rumour of damage or riot in any of our schools or institutions though we have well over one-third of the total school population in Nigeria. On the contrary, and despite all the handicaps in resources and equipment we are daily setting new records of performance and achievement—not only in education but in all those aspects of existence which define the quality of life. Our people have been rehabilitated; our economy has been restored and has resumed its forward growth; our people have been fully re-integrated as citizens and equals into the mainstream of Nigerian Life and are already contributing their quota to the definition and creation of that new synthesis which will define Nigerian Nationhood. Let us all continue in the same manner, Nigeria is our country—It is the only one we have, let us therefore, citizens all, strive to build her to our own ideals of the good society.

The achievements which we have recorded, the successes which we have made have been due mostly to the good sense, courage and energy of the ordinary men and women who make up our society. Our contribution as Government is not for us to judge—all we have sought to do is to provide the leadership, even against popular but uninformed opinions, to create the institutions for the better expression and harmonization of the efforts of our people, to ensure the proper atmosphere of peace and stability so that our efforts can be cumulative and sustained; to formulate and advance integrationist policies and so re-orientate our people to national institutions, leaders and ideology. We do not claim any successes but we are proud to be associated with the many great successes of our people. We will continue as we have begun and we have the fullest confidence that before long the successes of our people will match their full efforts and surpass even their expectations.

Finally let me address a few words to a new breed in our society, a breed of people who apparently lack autonomous personality and identity except by their self-identification as a group of "has-beens"—the "ex-this", the "ex-that" and the "ex-everything else". These men, who by their self-identification confess themselves as members of a leadership that failed have apparently decided to abolish their present irrelevance by recruiting themselves as the putative leaders of new States of their own definitions. In this striving after leadership they appear to espouse primordial and aboriginal ideologies of exclusivity and in so doing trivialize and negate their previous status as persons of national and international relevance. Like Satan in Milton's *Paradise Lost* they would rather "rule in Hell than serve in Paradise". How indeed, "are the mighty fallen . . . ?"

Let me restate the obvious. No State Government has a direct responsibility for the creation or non-creation of any new state. The creation of new states is the responsibility of the F.M.G. The Head of State has stated many times that a decision on the issue would only be taken by the F.M.G. at her own time, on her own conditions; and that the F.M.G. is not open to pressure, lobbying or blackmail on this issue; and he has advised all citizens to co-operate with their State Governments for the speedy and successful achievement of the development programme within the framework of the States as presently constituted. It is therefore futile to waste so much effort and resources in the present charade. There would have been no need to speak on this subject but for the dangers posed by these agitators to the peace and stability which we have thus far enjoyed and to the cohesion and unity of purpose and effort thus far displayed in our development work. Every circle and definition of inclusion defines an opposing circle of exclusion. A house divided against itself cannot stand and instead of peace and unity of effort there is a danger of conflicts and instability. We are happy to note that our people in their good sense have shown no support for these agitators. Our people know the meaning and value of peace and they can no longer be misled. Let us nonetheless appeal to these people, these "nattering nabobs of negativism", to please give peace a chance. Our people suffered for too long, and at too great a cost because of your past mistakes. Our people are now entitled to, at the least, a hundred years of peace. Please give peace a chance. This State is now poised on a flight into new dimensions of development. Let us all move forward together, *now*, into this journey with it's enlarged opportunities. There is always tomorrow and if there is a genuine need for the creation of any state, it should be obvious. A good wine needs no bush.

Fellow countrymen and women, let us continue.

Thank you.