

# DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN EASTERN NIGERIA, 1962-68: BASIS FOR RESTRUCTURING AGENDA IN NIGERIA

By

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## ***Abstract***

*The agitation for restructuring of Nigeria has not abated. Those advocating a restructuring are of the view that the restructuring agenda will make the nation more politically stable and also trigger economic progress by encouraging hard work and competition among the federating units hence, making each unit to develop at its own pace. In other words, it has been argued by the purveyors of restructuring that the granting of autonomy to the federating units through the devolution of power would give room for creativity and make the existing states to serve as the engine room of growth and development. On this basis, each state of the federation would develop at its own pace and in line with the resources available at their disposal which would be more prudently managed. Within this context of state's autonomy, the Federal Government would exercise supervisory role over the states, but control aspects like currency, security and external relations etc. Adopting a historical analytical method, the paper examines the process of development planning in the defunct Eastern Nigeria between 1962 and 1968, a period when the existing regions enjoyed autonomy and substantially controlled its resources. It is discovered that agriculture, industrialisation and other related sectors that touched the lives of the people were carefully planned, while the Region also collaborated where necessary with the other Regions and the Federal Government. As a result of the "planned development", the Eastern Region was an epic centre of progress in the Nigeria nation.*

## **Introduction**

South-East of the River Niger and South-West of the international boundary between Nigeria and the Southern Cameroon lies an open and almost flat country that was administratively known as Eastern Nigeria. The region covered 45,065 square miles in the 1960s. The people of the region consisted of the Igbo, the Ibibio and the Ijaw (Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Information, 1960, Nigeria Year Book 1966). In the past, the major resources of the East were coal and palm produce. Both provided the staple income of a large part of the population. However, in the late 1950s, crude oil was discovered in commercial quantities and formed the major economic activity of the region. The administrative capital of the Eastern Regional Government was at Enugu. Port Harcourt was the second largest at that time and one of the main commercial and industrial centres of Nigeria (Nigeria Year Book 1966).

Eastern Nigeria also served as the Eastern terminus of the railway system and was at the centre of the evacuation of goods to the principal up-country markets, for the shipment of produce from most of the Eastern and part of the Northern Region. The region was served by an excellent network of roads, both within the Region and to the rest of the country. The Republic of Cameroon could also be easily reached by road. There were airports at Enugu, Port Harcourt and Calabar. These airports facilitated quicker air links between the region and the other parts of Nigeria and the Cameroon (Nigeria Year Book 1966). It should be noted that these features among others enhanced the development of the region through effective planning.

## **The Concept of Planning**

Planning is a conscious and well-articulated scheme, with medium and long term strategies, aimed at accompanying specified set of objectives. It involves a clear identification of goals to be attained and the means of attaining them. The goals are the ends of planning, and the means are the strategies and tactics for achieving these goals. Essentially, national development presupposes attempts to alleviate poverty and enhance the quality of life of the average citizen. It includes the following:

- (i) enabling people to realise their potentials, build self-confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfillment;
- (ii) liberating people from the pangs of poverty, ignorance, squalor, deprivation and exploitation – because underdevelopment has many negative and wider social consequences
- (iii) correcting existing socio-political and economic inequalities, oppressions and injustices, such as the average individual can effectively utilise his innate abilities for common good of the society (Elaigwu, 2015).

## **The Advent of Development Planning in Nigeria**

Development planning in Nigeria began in 1945. In that year, a ten-year Development Plan for Nigeria was drawn up under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme. The plan proposed a total expenditure of about £50 million to be financed partly by grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and partly by revenues and loans raised by the Nigerian Government. It came into operation in April 1946. Later, in the light of new conditions, the plan period was cut into two, resulting in a 1946-51 Plan and a revised plan for 1951-56. Due to constitutional changes in 1954, it became necessary to reorganise the Development Plan and thus the 1951-56 Plan was curtailed to end after the 1954-55 fiscal year (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1954). New development plans to cover 1955-1960 were drawn up by all the governments of the Federation. In doing this, they had the advantage of having at their disposal a report on the economic development of Nigeria prepared by a mission organised by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, published in 1954. The Eastern Nigerian Government then prepared a Development Plan for 1955-1960 providing for a total expenditure of about £21 million. As time went on, it was necessary to make changes in the programme and new plans were drawn up by the Government for 1958-62. The combined development programmes for the seven years 1955-1962 of the Governments of the Federation and their statutory bodies provided for a total capital expenditure of £339.1 million. A large part of this amount (78 percent) was financed from internal sources (Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68).

The Eastern Nigeria Development Programme 1958-62 envisaged expenditure of £12.7 million, but in 1961 it was revised to provide for approximately £20.7 million. In addition, £3.5 million was provided outside the plan for the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and £0.4 million for the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation. These development plans, beginning in 1945, concentrated on providing the basic services as communication, education, health and water supplies, which constituted the infrastructure for future development (Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68).

## **Objectives of the Eastern Nigeria Development Plan (1962-1968)**

In this respect, the Eastern Nigeria Development Plan 1962-68, noted:

- (1) More than 75 percent of the population of Eastern Nigeria depended on agriculture for their livelihood. In the previous plans, all the emphasis had been on the development of the region's

infrastructure: roads, communication, water, education and health. The implementation of those programmes generated some set of problems which the 1962-68 plan had to tackle.

(2) As a result of the enlarged public investment in education, especially at the primary school level, it was estimated that nearly 800,000 primary school leavers would be looking for employment in the 1962-68 period. This output, augmented by some 12,000 to 15,000 secondary school leavers 2,000 graduates, required that provision of expanded opportunities of paid employment must be one of the cornerstones of the new development plans. The region is fairly self-sufficient in starch foods but because of the increase in population, the existing level of living could be maintained by increased productivity in the rural sector.

(3) The goals and objectives of the Development Plan, 1962-68 has been determined in the light of the special problems of the region.

(4) With more than 50 percent of the Region's output in the agricultural sector alone, it followed that no serious improvement in the pace of over-all progress could be made unless concerted efforts were made to raise productivity in agriculture. Such increases envisaged to manifest themselves not only in the exports but also in food crops because the growth of industry could be retarded if food production (in Nigeria as a whole) was not expanded significantly. The aim was not to make the Region self-sufficient in food but to increase the protein content of the diet and to raise and diversify the production of these crops for which the region has natural advantages. One of the main objectives of the 1962-68 Plan was therefore the modernisation of agricultural methods through the adoption of improved techniques, intensified agricultural education and changes in land tenure.

(5) It is recognised that even a steep increase in agricultural productivity cannot absorb the whole of the annual increase of the working population. Hence, the second objective was to provide wider employment opportunities by diversification of the economy. An increased rate of industrialisation will be stimulated – industries based on labour-intensive techniques will be especially welcomed – and there will be substantial investment in building and other construction work.

(6) In Eastern Nigeria, the stage of development so far reached in agriculture and industry has been largely due to private enterprise: export crops have been developed on a peasant basis; manufacturing has grown largely through private investment. Government has, however, provided assistance, investment funds and encouragement without which the present rate of growth could not have been attained. The third objective is therefore to strengthen the private sector as much as possible, to continue to provide assistance – administrative, financial and technical – for the promotion of rationalised agriculture and for the development of manufacturing industries.

(7) It is recognised that success in achieving these aims may be limited by the shortage of skilled manpower. A fourth objective therefore is to raise the level of technology in the region by the encouragement of technical training and science education. This will represent a major shift from the predominantly liberal education of recent years.

(8) Government has responsibility also for the social development of the region. It would fail in its obligations if it were to neglect the needs of special areas or to concentrate development in a few areas simply because they already have the basic facilities installed. An important objective of the 1962-68 Plan is therefore to reduce the disparities in the levels of development in the different parts of the Region. Hence, special areas like the Niger Delta and Cross River area received special consideration.

(9) Finally, it was the aim of the Plan to evoke as wide a general participation as possible. The spirit of self-help is particularly strong in Eastern Nigeria; one of the objectives of the plan is to harness this spirit through the enlarged community development programmes.

### **Principles and Priorities of the 1962-68 Development Plan**

The Eastern Nigeria Development Plan also pointed out the following as representing the principles and priorities of the Plan:

(1) On the strength of studies made of the foregoing postulates and professional advice received from various sources, the Government has arrived at the conclusion that in order to tackle fundamentally the economic and social problems, the new plan, unlike the previous programmes, should emphasise investment in the more directly productive sectors of the economy – agriculture and industry. To give expression to this policy and to translate it into action, priority has to be accorded to agriculture, industry and technical training.

(2) The first priority belonged to agriculture. In the six years of the Plan, it was proposed to invest £36.8 million in agriculture and other primary production, including fisheries, forestry and animal husbandry. This amounts to roughly 34 percent of the total planned development expenditure.

(3) It was intended that this development shall lead to a substantial increase in export earnings and to an improvement in the nutritional standard of the population.

(4) During and immediately after World War II, there was considerable expansion in the production of palm oil and kernels on which this region depends so largely for its export earnings. This expansion was stimulated by the increased world demand for these products and the consequent increase in producer prices. Most of the palm fruit came from trees in family farm plots or from community owned palm groves. These trees were inadequately cultivated, and fruit yields were low in weight and quality. Production methods were wasteful and laborious, although a considerable improvement was achieved later by the introduction of pioneer oil mills and hand presses. With the subsequent slackening of the world demand for palm produce it has become clear that in order to increase this region's export earnings, innovations in the production of export crops are urgently required.

(5) The new Plan therefore provides for a diversification of agriculture. The aim is not only to improve the quality and raise the quantity of production but also to widen the variety of crops grown so as to reduce the region's dependence on palm produce.

(6) The development of industries is also expected to spur the demand for food. The programme for agricultural development takes into account the need to foster a well nourished and effective labour through increasing the protein content of the diet of the people. There are therefore programmes for the development of poultry, livestock and fish farming in the Region.

(7) The second in the scale of priorities is manufacturing and processing industries, for which £13.5 million (representing 12 percent of the total development budget) has been provided. While the importance of the role of agriculture in the economy of the region is fully recognised, it is imperative that the development of industries should proceed at the same rate as the development of agricultural resources. Industrial development will decrease the Region's dependence on agriculture and pave the way for a better balanced economic structure. The type of economy which the Plan envisages is one in which agriculture and industry are complementary, setting up conditions of mutual growth and creating in each demand for the products of the other. This diversification is particularly necessary in view of the

uncertainty of future world demand for agricultural primary products generally. Industries which make use of local raw materials, are labour-intensive and are prepared to develop skilled manpower in technical and managerial functions are to be given particular encouragement.

(8) The third priority in the Plan is accorded to technical training and education. Significant progress in agricultural and industrial development cannot be achieved without expanding the supply of the relevant technical skills. Technical manpower is indispensable for the attainment of the targets set by the Plan. Provision has therefore been made for the training of technicians in various fields needed to implement it.

### **Flexibility in the Plan**

It was proposed that the Plan should be constantly reviewed throughout the Plan period, particularly in the early years because not all schemes for which provision had been made had reached the same degree of elaboration. Some projects which had already commenced but could not be completed by the end of March, 1962, had been carried over from the 1958-62 development plan. Such projects had been evaluated in full in the previous programme. There were other projects which had reached an advanced stage of analysis and evaluation and could be mounted immediately – for example, the palm grove rehabilitation scheme and other crop expansion schemes. There were still others, however, which could only be formulated after detailed investigation – for example, the Cross River Development Scheme and the Niger Delta Development Schemes. In addition, experience gained in the first few years of the Plan was supposed to enable the Government to review the projects and to make adjustments. Flexibility was also considered necessary in order to match available resources to requirements. As the region was expected to need external assistance to implement the plan in full, there was a continuing need to review the allocations in the light of assistance received for specific projects (Eastern Region of Nigeria Official Document Number 8 of 1962).

### **Relation to Other Regions**

The Eastern Nigeria Development Plan was part of the National Plan. Consequently, it was expected of the Region to join in continuous efforts to maintain consistency between the objectives of the Region and those of the National Plan and adequate co-ordination of policy and procedures for the realisation of the Plan objectives. In some areas, the Eastern Nigeria Government undertook to collaborate with other Governments, for instance, in implementing the schemes put forward by the Niger Delta Development Board. It was envisaged that it may be possible to establish similar system for the execution of other projects in areas where joint action is clearly desirable. The co-ordination of the economic policy of the Region with that of other governments was to be achieved through the consultative machinery of the National Economic Council and its Committees, and of specialised Conferences e.g. of Ministers of Finance, Ministers of Agricultures, etc., (Eastern Region of Nigeria Official Document Number 8 of 1962).

According to Eastern Region of Nigeria Official Document Number 8 of 1962, it was considered important that the economic development of Nigeria should as much as possible be removed from the political arena. Policy decisions which were admitted to be crucial for the successful implementation of the Plan were supported by all the Governments in the Federation. It was stated that only through the manifestation of concerted policy and action by the Government that the full support of the general public would be won and held. The Government of Eastern Nigeria also declared its readiness to harmonise its policies with those of the other governments and to join in the frequent consultations necessary to promote harmony.

## The Outline of the 1962-68 Development Plan

The Development Plan of 1962-68 provided only for outlays in the public sector – Government and Government supported institutions and agencies; although these investments could not fail to make impact on the private sector from the point of view of both resource mobilisation and of planned outlays. In the public sector, a distribution was maintained between capital investment – in other words, expenditure on the creation of new physical assets, such as construction, plant, machinery and equipment (but including the expenditure on personnel required to put these asset in place) – and recurrent outlays in the form of expenditure on staff and associated costs, generated by the investment in fixed assets (Eastern Region of Nigeria Official Document Number 8 of 1962).

The Development Plan envisaged a total outlay on capital and recurrent account of £108.9 million. This was made up of £75.2 million capital and £33.7 million recurrent expenditure.

**Table 1 – Distribution of Plan Outlay**

	Outlay 1958 – 62 1962 – 68		Percentage of total 1958- 62 1962 - 68	
	£'000			
Primary Production	874	36,821	4	34
Trade and Industry	1,915	13,518	9	12
Electricity	-	600	*	1
Transport	5,850	10,200	28	9
Water (Urban and Rural)	3,455	6,200	17	6
Education	1,388	29,896	7	28
Health	1,383	3,200	7	3
Town and Country Planning	1,691	3,881	8	1
Social Welfare	-	1,258	*	1
Information	155	640	1	1
Justice	90	440	*	*
General Government	3,396	2,2449	16	2
Financial Obligations	575	120	3	*
Total	20,732	108,923	100	100

\*Less than 0.5 percent

+ Excludes University of Nigeria for which £3.5 million was provided during the period.

**Source:** *Eastern Region of Nigeria Official Document Number 8 of 1962. p. 12*

The outlays are broken down to show capital and recurrent expenditure in the table below:

**Table II – Capital and Recurrent Outlays in the Development Plan, 1962-68**

£'000

	Capital	% of Total	Recurrent	Total	%
Primary Production	30,361	40	6,460	36,821	34
Trade and Industry	12,930	17	588	13,518	12
Electricity	600	1	-	600	1
Transport	8,850	12	1,350	10,200	9
Water (Urban and Rural)	5,100	7	1,100	6,200	6
Education	8,805	12	21,091	29,896	28
Health	1,819	2	1,381	3,200	3
Town and Country Planning	3,306	4	275	3,581	3
Social Welfare	534	1	724	1,258	1
Information	450	1	190	640	1
Justice	250	-	190	440	*
General Government	2,067	3	382	2,449	2
Financial Obligation	120	*	-	120	*

**Total**

**Agricultural Development**

In the area of agriculture, the main emphasis was on the rapid expansion of tree crops. This policy was designed to lead an early increase in cash farm income, Government revenues from purchase taxes and export duties, and Marketing Board profits. The over-all targets of the Development Plan in this branch of activity were the establishment of:

Oil Palm	100,000 acres
Rubber	150,000 acres
Cocoa	75,000 acres

**Source:** *Eastern Region of Nigeria Official Document Number 8 of 1962, p.13*

The target for cocoa was deliberately conservative in view of the world market outlook for the crop. For oil palm and rubber, the targets had been set on the basis of the availability of high grade planting material. The area planned to be brought under palm was maximum for which tested seedlings of the best varieties was to become available in the West African Institute for Oil Palm Research and other recognised seed nurseries on existing plantations (Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68).

Survey was to be undertaken to provide a basis for an increased target in rice production. Tentatively, it was proposed to extend the area under rice by 50,000 acres during the Plan period. The investment in tree crops were to be made through four media: (a) plantation development by the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation; (b) co-operative plantations (Farm Settlements); (c) subsidised planting schemes for small holders; and (d) “nucleus” plantations, in conjunction with interested investors from outside the region.

Animal husbandry was to be expanded, particularly poultry keeping, increasing the home-grown protein content of the popular diet, to make the region self-sufficient in egg and meat to provide extra income. Animal health schemes was to be reinforced by intensification of the training programmes for vaccinators and inspectors, and by the expansion of existing projects to cope with the greatly intensified activities in animal and poultry husbandry.

In fisheries, it was proposed to stimulate the expansion of the existing activities through the construction of village ponds and through the purchase of additional craft for inshore trawling. The planned outlays in agriculture (including fisheries and forestry) are summarised below:

**Table III – Planned Investment in Agriculture**

	Capital	Recurrent	
Tree Crops (Primarily for Export)	22,784	-	22,784
Other Crops (Primary for Food)	2,795	-	2,795
Animal Health and Husbandry	721	1,910	2,631
Extension, Research and Training	2,095	3,616	5,711
Fisheries and Forestry	306	97	403
Land Use	175	822	997
Supporting Services	1,485	15	1,500
Total	30,361	6,460	36,821

**Source:** *Eastern Region of Nigeria Official Document Number 8 of 1962, p.13.*

According to Eastern Nigeria Official Document Number 8 of 1962, the Development Plan also targeted specific areas of agricultural production which were as follows:

(1). Tree Crop: the development of tree crops primarily for export was to be organised in several directions: the Ministry of Agriculture will promote the reinforcement of peasant holdings by a planting scheme under which assistance was given in cash and in kind; the Ministry was also to establish farm settlements and nucleus plantations. The Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation was expected to develop further plantations.

(2). The Ministry Scheme was aimed at stimulating the expansion of tree crops on peasant holdings. The intention was to achieve the target acreage by means of incentive payments, partly in kind – by the provision of seed, stock, fertilizer, pesticide and tools – and partly in cash to compensate farmers in cases where a switch to new crops or a recommended change in farming methods could lead to a temporary loss of income. A case in point was the palm grove rehabilitation scheme, under which old and improperly spaced trees had to be cut down to permit the orderly planting of the new and more productive varieties that were to be made available.

(3). The various planting schemes aimed also at a degree of voluntary consolidation of holdings by restricting assistance in cash or kind to specified minimum acreage. It was expected that the assistance would provide sufficient inducement to bring a measure of land consolidation at least among family groups in the villages

(4). The concept of “nucleus” plantations involved two main principles. First, the Government was keenly aware of the demonstration effect on surrounding small farmers of progressively run plantation and of advantages to smallholders of centralised and efficient processing units for plantation crops. Secondly, while Government would welcome some capital in the development of agriculture, it could not readily alienate large tract of land to foreign ownership on long leases. The idea of a “nucleus” plantation was, therefore, developed to provide for the establishment of viable plantation units to be owned jointly by outside investors and Regional Government, each to the extent of up to 45 percent, with the balance of the capital and initial management provided by a mutually acceptable third party. It was expected that the Industrial and Agricultural Company Limited, which was jointly owned by the Colonial Development Corporation and the Government of Eastern Nigeria would, in many cases serve as the balancing shareholder.

(5). Farm Settlements: The Farm Settlement Scheme aimed at the development of settlement villages and well trained agricultural settlers on land acquired by the Government in selected areas throughout the Region. Over the Plan years, it was intended to establish a number of settlements each accommodating some 720 farmers on about 12,000 acres of land. Negotiations for seven sites were already in progress and final details of the scheme were being worked out in conjunction with other studies of projects within the Plan which aimed at the establishment of new smallholder farms

(6). The Cross River Scheme: The provision for Project 5 in 1962 was to enable Government to commission the investigation of the Cross River Scheme. £2.5 million all had been provided over the period for the implementation of such schemes as will be proposed after investigation. This provision was also expected to enable the Government to contribute to the execution of schemes proposed by the Niger Delta Development Board. As the development of the Cross River Plan will be of interest to more than one region – its upper courses run close to the boundary with Northern Nigeria – consideration will be given to the setting up of the boundary with Northern Nigeria – consideration will be given to the setting up of inter-regional Board for the development of this potentially rich agricultural area.

(7). Food Crops: In this Plan, the proposals for the development of food crops are mainly directed towards the rice cultivation and rice processing. There was already a noticeable shift from yams to rice in many parts of the region. This shift was to be encouraged as the Plan made provision for its encouragement. It was considered important to stimulate food production because of the long gestation period of the investment to be made in agricultural sector; strong emphasis was therefore laid on bringing a substantially increased acreage under rice production.

(8). A four-fold approach to this objective was contemplated. Firstly, an effort was made through the Departmental Channels of the Ministry of Agriculture to encourage farmers cultivating rice in Abakiliki area to extend their acreage. A proposed new rice mill was expected, by increasing returns on the crop, to make a significant impression on the farmers. Secondly, rice was under consideration as a major crop for at least one of the Planned Farm Settlements. Thirdly, the Plan provided for the development of a major scheme in the Cross River area where land was largely uncultivated, and where very large acreage were known to be suitable for rice cultivation, subject to the organisation of proper drainage and irrigation and the development of access roads. Provision had been made in the Plan for a study in depth of local conditions with view to preparation of a large mechanized rice planning scheme for the final

years of the Development Plan. Fourthly, there were indications that large tracts of swamp land in the Brass and Degema Divisions were suitable for rice cultivation. It was the intention of Government to work closely with the Niger Delta Development Board in this area. Funds had been set aside to permit implementation of schemes which may be recommended by the Board, on the basis of major survey being undertaken. Government also indicated its willingness to welcome outside investors for these projects on terms similar to those applying to participation in industry.

(9). Training, research and extension programmes also received attention in the Plan. There were regarded as representing the basic services necessary to implement the expanded programmes for agricultural production. Their objective was to train and support extension staff in emergency programmes. These programmes depended to a considerable extent on the speed with which large numbers of competent extension workers could be effectively trained. Facilities were to be set up for a training programme which could make heavy demands on both instructional staff and pupils. The programme was intended to increase the ration of extension workers to farmers from one to 5,000 farmers, as it was at that time, to one extension worker to every 700 to 800 farmers.

(10). For livestock training and for the expansion of Veterinary Services, the objective of the project was to turn out large numbers of inoculators, to give existing staff refresher courses (for which existing facilities needed to be expanded), and to give group farmers short courses on specific types of animal husbandry by training them for a week or two at a time.

(11). The Poultry Centre at Abakiliki was to be expanded considerably to produce a total of 250,000 day-old chicks annually. This will be sent to 12 brooder units, one to be established in each Province, where the day-old chicks will be raised at the age of 10 to 12 weeks, when they can be distributed to farmers as layers.

(12). The activities of the Fisheries Department under the Development Plan were directed towards the establishment of a large fishing base at Opobo and subsidiary bases elsewhere on the coast. The allocation covered the operation of 12 in-shore trawling units, purchase of fishing gear, construction of storage plants and provision of shore lights and buoys. In addition, provision was made for the development of fish ponds; it was hoped to establish annually five seven-acre ponds by damming streams and five-acre ponds by excavation. These ponds were expected to yield 2,500 lb. of fish per acre per annum.

## **Trade and Industry**

Industrial promotion in the Region was handled by the Ministry of Commerce and the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation. The Government of Eastern Nigeria welcomed participation of outside investors and provided the basic services, well equipped industrial layouts and estates and staff housing estates. The establishment of industries producing building and construction materials was warmly welcomed because of the high component of investment in building and construction at the early stages of economic growth. Hence the importance which the Government attached to the establishment of an iron and steel industry, sheet glass making (in the later stages of the plan), the manufacture of roofing materials – asbestos, aluminum and iron sheets – and expansion of cement production. In addition, the plan to manufacture locally 67 million square yards of textiles was proposed to contribute to the conservation of Nigeria's foreign exchange manufacturing industries which were to replace other imported consumer goods were to be encouraged (Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68).

## **Transport:**

When the general level of economic development was considered, it was clear that Eastern Nigeria already had a comparatively well developed network of roads. The density of roads in eastern Nigeria is almost certainly the highest in any country in Africa. There existed approximately 0.47 miles of road per square mile of total area. The road system was, however, unevenly developed. Some of the areas where roads were few were, paradoxically, potentially very rich. For example, the high forest area to the East of the Cross River from Calabar to Ikom, the Afi River basin in Ogoja Province and the areas bordering the Anambra and Orashi Rivers. For these reasons, Government was only planning to spend £10.5 million on road development during between 1962 and 1967 and priority was given to roads which were to open up new industrial and agricultural areas and to widening and strengthening existing roads where this was required because of increased traffic densities.

### **Social Services**

The main emphasis of the programme in education was on teacher training, the development of technical schools and the provision of scholarships especially in the fields of science and engineering. It was expected that the University of Nigeria, Nsukka would make significant contribution in these fields. The targets were to train 300 Grade 1 teachers annually, to establish facilities for turning out 500 technicians a year and to award 500 scholarships in the period for science and engineering.

### **Health Services**

Apart from an expansion of urban and rural supplies for which separate provisions had been made, other aspects included a modest increase in the capacity of Government Hospitals and an extension of rural schemes.

### **Machinery for Implementation of the Plan Development Institutions**

The Official Document Number 8 of 1962 also streamlined the machinery for the implementation of the plan:

(1). Eastern Nigeria had, besides the executive Ministries, specialised statutory bodies with specific functions which it can call upon to execute its policies in several sections of the Plan. Of the institutions that could serve the purpose, the following were the most outstanding: the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation (ENDC), and the Housing Corporation. These institutions were expected to play their full part in the furtherance of the Plan priorities and objectives.

(2). A large part of agricultural scheme was expected to be mounted for the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation. Provision was made for £11.4 million for oil palm, rubber, cocoa and coco-nut plantations and cashew processing. The Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation built up a large body of experience in this field and in the process of completing the establishment of 16,000 acre oil palm estate and 8,000 acre rubber and 20,000 acre cocoa plantations in the Region. It also trained a large corps of estate and plantation managers and drew on its own resources for its needs for higher management personnel.

(3). The Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation had an industrial arm which had an investment in a number of enterprises, including: the Nkalagu Cement Factory. It also ran a chain of catering rest houses (200 chalets) and was expecting to establish two hotels within the first years of the Plan; in addition, it

held a majority shareholding in two subsidiaries: the Water Planning and Construction Company and Construction and Furniture Company.

(4). In the plan period, the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation intended to assist government in the industrial field by setting up small industries which were unlikely to attract foreign private capital and turning them over to private Nigerians in due course; and also by participating in medium and large-scale industries in partnership with foreign investors after the proposals have been fully examined by government. In the late 1950s, the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation promoted a number of industries which in 1962 it wholly owned (or in which outside capital was very small): a Glass Factory, a Pepsi Cola Bottling Plant and Brewery are examples. It was expected that in future foreign participation as possible would be sought and that the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation shares in these companies would be sold to private Nigerian investors.

(5). The Housing Corporation was established in 1961 with an initial capital of £400,000 to carry out the development of residential estates in areas where shortage of suitable housing facilities could limit the speed of industrialisation. £2 million was provided for the Corporation in the Plan for immediate development of residential layouts in Port Harcourt and elsewhere.

(6). Besides the two statutory corporations just referred to, there were two companies in which the Government has substantial shareholdings, which were established as auxiliary instruments for furthering the Government's development policies. They were the Industrial and Agricultural Company Ltd. (INDAG) and the Nigerian Building Society.

(7). The Agricultural and Industrial Company (INDAG) was incorporated in 1959 with an initial capital of £1 million contributed partly by Government (32 percent) and partly by the Colonial Development Corporation (68 percent). INDAG's purpose was to invest in projects that showed promise of being commercially viable and which were expected to assist the development of the Region within the framework of stated Government policy.

(8). Although INDAG was empowered to establish and operate projects on its own account, the company sought primarily to encourage others to bring their knowledge and experience to eastern Nigeria so that through the projects they establish in the area, they will utilize local raw materials, give employment to local people and provide opportunities for qualified Nigerians to gain management experience. The most efficient overseas industrialists would have many demands on their resources and a choice of investment opportunity. INDAG sought to encourage them to come to Eastern Nigeria by offering a financial contribution in flexible form together with local knowledge of business conditions.

(9). INDAG was also expected to assist Nigerian industrialists of good standing who had adequate experience and management ability. It was not generally considered worthwhile, however, because of high overhead costs, to back enterprise capitalized on less than £10,000.

(10). The Nigerian Building Society was a private company in which Government held an £80,000 interest. It assisted civil servants and the general public to build their own houses and thus relieve the shortage in large cities where the administration could not provide suitable housing to staff.

(11). Both the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation and the Agricultural and Industrial Company had experience in the administration of loans, the former in agricultural, the latter in industrial field. It was expected that this experience would be made available in the Plan period for the administration of loan schemes to farmers and businessmen.

On the aspects of actual co-ordination, the Official Document Number 8 of 1962 also made some clarifications:

(1). The responsibility for the implementation of the plan rested on the executive ministries and their departments more especially the Ministries of Agriculture, Commerce, Education and Works; and on the Government agencies, the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation in particular. The realisation of the objectives and the physical targets of the Plan depended in no small measure on the extent of co-ordination achieved in the execution of the various projects and programmes. Throughout the formation of the Plan, the problem of co-coordinating the various Government activities was therefore borne in mind. This was particularly necessary in view of the scanty attention directed to this problem in the previous programmes and the consequent failure to realize fully the planned development objectives.

(2). As a step toward achieving the co-ordination of Government development activities, there has been established at the official level a Working Party on Economic Development under the chairmanship of the Economic Adviser to the Government and comprising the officials of Economic and Executive Ministries with co-opted members of Government development institutions. On the Ministerial level, there was the Economic Committee of the Executive Council, which considered economic policies and problems of general interest. With the launching of the Plan, the Working Party was to direct its attention to questions that arose out of its implementation, especially the problems of co-ordination and supervision. While it was the responsibility of each ministry to supervise the individual projects under its control, the over-all co-ordination of activities was carried out by the Ministry of Economic Planning with the assistance of the Working Party on Economic Development. With this in view, continuation of the mutual co-operation among the different ministries, and between them and the Ministry of Economic Planning, was to receive the fullest encouragement.

(3). Although the Plan was in essence a public sector plan, its objectives were geared to stimulating production in the private sector, especially in agriculture and industry. A certain element of the problem of co-ordination extended, therefore, to the private sector. A mechanism for co-ordinating private sector development to the maximum extent possible under the prevailing conditions was built into the plan. Establishment of industries which make the greatest contribution to the over-all objectives of the Plan was encouraged and was effected through Government financial participation in selected industries as well as through participation by the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation. In Agriculture, co-ordination with the private sector was to be achieved through the expansion and re-organisation of the Community Development Division also aimed at directing the development effort of the various communities to partial fulfillment of the productive objectives of the Plan in activities such as agriculture, health services and minor public works.

(4). Attention was focused in the first year of the Plan on the problem of how best to encourage Nigerian businessmen to participate more fully in the economic development of the Region. Private Nigerian investment in the past had tended to concentrate on real estate, retail trade and transport, all on a relatively small scale. Government studied ways and means of promoting the growth of larger-scale entrepreneurship, without which the rapid expansion of the economy could make the fullest impact on the Nigerian business community.

(5). The resources of the entire government administrative machinery, ranging from the Ministries and Departments in Enugu to the Divisional offices and Local Councils, were to be exploited to the fullest extent in carrying out the necessary co-ordination and supervision of the Plan. Of primary importance in this respect was the need for greater efficiency in Government administration, especially in its dealings

with the public and particularly with overseas investors. The success of the Plan in the final analysis depended very much on the reaction and response of the public. It was essential to the implementation of the plan that the efficiency and integrity of Government administration should maintain the highest standards and that staff at all levels should keep abreast to the increased development activities which the Plan was expected to generate.

(6). With this, object provisions were made in the Plan for re-organisation and the expansion of certain Ministries. This was expected, firstly to eliminate some of the existing deficiencies, secondly, to facilitate co-ordination and co-operation within and between the Ministries. One immediate result expected of this is greatest speed and consistency in dealing with prospective investors.

*Under the sub heading entitled “building costs”, the report instructively stated that:*

*Throughout the preparation of the Plan, the problem posed by disproportionately large increases in the amount of development expenditure devoted to public buildings and other construction has been under constant consideration. In the previous programmes, large sums of money were devoted to the construction of residential buildings, schools, hospitals, roads and bridges. Although these are important and no doubt are a sign of economic progress, there comes a time when, in order to foster and sustain further progress, expenditure on these not directly productive projects must either be reduced or held constant so as to divert development funds increasingly to more productive sectors such as agriculture and industry. In formulating the directive principle for the Plan, the Government therefore decided that all the public buildings of a “prestige” kind must either be excluded or be assigned a low priority. It was, however, realised that there is a level below which building and construction expenditure cannot fall. This is essential expenditure which must be incurred in order to achieve the objectives of the Plan. A problem that has to be faced is how to reduce the building costs, which have constantly increased and account to no small extent for the large outlay on public buildings (Akpan, 2018: 12).*

## **Review of Progress**

The Plan was meant to be subjected to constant review first at the project level and then as a whole. In order to discover the bottlenecks and to make the required changes and adjustments, progress of individual projects were to be traced by the Ministries concerned through constant supervision. During the first year of the Plan, progress report on the projects were to be made at the end of six months and twelve months to the Ministry of Economic Planning, while in the subsequent years, report was to be made quarterly. The project reports, after being collated and analysed by the Ministry of Economic Planning, was to be placed before the Working Party on Economic Development at specific intervals for appraisal; as occasion demands, reports was to be submitted to the Economic Committee of the Executive Council. Annual reports on the progress of the Plan as a whole were to be prepared from project reports and published. The early achievements under the Plan was to be measured in terms of the realization of the resources budgeted and the fulfillment was also to be judged not only by the money spent but by the projects completed and goals achieved (Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68).

## **Conclusion**

The concept of development planning was introduced in Nigeria in 1945. The idea was subsequently adopted by the respective tiers of government in Nigeria. The Eastern Regional Government of Nigeria adopted the concept in 1955. After independence, the first plan, known as Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68, was initiated.

As the study has revealed, careful planning was made to cover all the sectors of government. Quite unlike the present system where states in Nigeria abandon internal planning they could have initiated to create internally generated revenue, but rather depend on the monthly Federal Allocation for survival. The plan placed emphasis on agriculture which the Eastern Region had a comparative advantage. Areas such as tree crop, animal husbandry and fisheries production were strengthened. The forward-looking planning in the areas such as animal husbandry and fisheries could help to stem the current rampaging tide of herdsmen and farmers clashes because the region would have been able to diversify and engage in ranching business. Also, industrialisation was given a boost. The planned development initiative was in-line with the clearly outlined objectives that were peculiar to the internal dynamics of the Eastern Region of Nigeria. It appears that if the military did not intervene to truncate the democratic process in 1966, the Eastern Region of Nigeria would have achieved tremendous success in all the areas outlined and reap bountiful fruits from the planned ventures. As the agitation for the restructuring of the polity continues, it is imperative that lessons should be drawn from the development planning agenda of the Eastern Regional Government by the Nigerian component states. This will help them to re-design their programmes, become more creative and less dependent of the Federal Government.

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