

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT ON MADARAKA DAY 1966

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN . . .

For all of us in the Republic of Kenya, this is a very happy day. Our minds go back to the moment, three years ago, when Kenya became a self-governing country. On that day I took an oath of office as our country's first Prime Minister. By this act, I promised you all to uphold and defend the national integrity of Kenya with all my strength. I also promised that security of life and property, within our new nation, would be maintained. We have moved since then through important changes. But all the promises I made to you in 1963 are today in the forefront of my mind. We have a nation now in which our people can move in safety. No one is condemned to live in fear. There is no discrimination or privilege; and the strong may not oppress the weak. Men may travel widely to conduct their business, or be separated from their families and homes, and still have peace of mind.

These are the principal elements of national dignity and human respect. They make up the sense of brotherhood which lies at the root of our African Socialism. As the first outcome of Madaraka and Uhuru, we have created equality between men. Men who were in the past poor in body and spirit are marching forward into the forefront of progress and leadership.

Today we remember the take-over of the civil and armed services. Within these ranks my Government has since Madaraka Day, 1963, created the Kenya Air Force and the Kenya Navy. I have been very proud, over these past three years, to watch the growing strength of the Armed Forces and the Police. I wish to pay tribute to all our Security Forces for their loyalty to my Government; and their sense of duty to our nation. The Army and the Police are vastly more mature and competent than on the first Madaraka Day. The morale of these forces is high.

Another tribute today is equally due to the Civil Service, as the executive arm of the Government. I have been heartened and upheld, in my own tasks, by the loyal and able manner in which the Public Service has striven to implement Government policy in every field.

You should all realize that behind these civil and security services must lie considerable organization. It takes a great deal of thought and executive control to man and to operate these elements of Government. But now we have built up both civil and military services, whose directives and operations are entirely in tune with our needs.

All our servicemen, and all our officials, must seek constantly to improve themselves. They must strive to expand their knowledge, to perfect their skills, to equip themselves with new wisdom and human discretion. I have recently formed a new Government, making many new appointments to carry Kenya through a more rapid development phase. As the President of the Republic, I have striven to create the most effective machinery of Government and I expect my Ministers to carry their responsibility. There is no room in my Government for Ministers who see themselves as V.I.P.s, aloof from their fellow men. They must produce results and devote the whole of their experience to the service of the people.

There are some individuals who claim that I should give everything free to the people. This kind of slogan is a cowardly way of trying to win popularity.

Whether in Kiambu or Kakamega, in Kilifi or Kisumu, in Kapsabet or Kirinyaga—all things belong to somebody. I have seen farms and *shambas* belonging to somebody, and worked by that man or that family. I have seen trees and crops and cattle, all of which belong to someone. I have seen *dukas* and business premises, and lorries and buses, and workshops and houses, all of which are somebody's property. I ask you, my friends, where are all these free things that can be given away?

Those who speak about getting everything for nothing must mean that I should call out the Army and the Police, to seize by force a lot of land or buildings or livestock or equipment which belongs to some of you. They must mean that I should confiscate the property of one man, just to give it to somebody else. This would mean utter chaos, total injustice, and would lead to the destruction of the State. We believe we must safeguard the personal and property rights of all our people as a vital element of our hard-won freedom. In practice as well, what security or pride could a man feel in being given something free? He would always have to fear that, at the whim of some new master, this would again be taken from him and be given to somebody else.

Even with our massive land reform and resettlement programmes, it was never ethical nor practical to give free land. To do this, we would have had to be a Government of rascals, providing opportunity for one man by stealing first from another man or group. In fact, since Madaraka, we have settled 170,000 of our people in former European holdings; and we have given them all a new future in ways that involve obligations within their means, so that development is linked with security and self respect.

Nation-building comprises the ability of a country and its people to sustain their independence and national integrity. In our case, it is a matter of keeping faith, with the Kenya nationalism and its social commitment through which independence was won.

A year or more ago, we did not have the national strength that we command today. But since then we have laid many needed foundations. Through this Government the African controls and directs land use, commerce and industry, power and communications, finance and employment. If we weaken the Government, we weaken the only major force for African advancement.

This force is expressed through the Government's increasing command of the economy. We have first the widespread activities of the Agricultural Development and Agricultural

Finance Corporations. This year will see the setting up or expansion of many projects aided by the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation, whose work includes design of new industrial estates. There is the Kenya National Trading Corporation, and Parliament recently approved the Act to establish the Tourist Development Corporation. All these are new undertakings; and the Government has of course retained primary interests in the Posts and Telecommunications, the Railways and Harbours and East African Airways.

I should like to mention some further aspects of our intentions. It was made clear when I launched the Seven-Forks Hydro-Electric Scheme that the Government will continue to extend its control over the generation and distribution of electric power. This will be done not only to promote economic growth but also to serve administrative centres and amenity schemes, based on the belief that electric power is nowadays a social necessity. And with the co-operation of the people in the various localities, there will be substantial schemes to improve rural water supplies. We intend to put an end to the days when women walked miles to fetch water.

In the principal cities and towns of the Republic, the Government will assume a major interest in the public transport systems. In the financial year which begins in July, a new construction company will be set up to organize African building contractors, and to assist them with such matters as tendering, site organization and quantity surveying. The whole Africanization of commerce will be pursued through a number of programmes. We are already engaged in discussions on this matter with major firms and various organizations in industry. At the same time, we are urging businessmen to be more aggressive in their approach to selling in external markets.

The Government has decided that the Workers' Investment Trust must now be urgently established. This will increase the workers' share in the country's developing economy. It will also help to speed up housing schemes and will ensure better retirement benefits for those who participate. A consultant

will shortly be engaged to advise the Government on structure and techniques.

For the farmers, we shall be setting up a new statutory board responsible for additional artificial insemination services. I can tell farmers that, as from 1st July, basic fees will be reduced to Sh. 5 in respect of grade cows, and Sh. 2/50 for indigenous cattle. This year as well, there will be at least a modest beginning to an ambitious mechanization programme in support of agriculture. Two units of twenty-five tractors each will be operated by the Government, for field cultivation and for training purposes. And money will be made available through the Agricultural Finance Corporation to enable African farmers to buy tractors under hire-purchase schemes.

Furthermore, I am glad to announce today that work will shortly begin on the Kano Irrigation Scheme. After crops have been harvested next month, the first step will be the opening up of a two thousand-acre pilot project at Ahero.

Following my announcement of free medical services for children and adult out-patients, steps have been taken to reduce delays in treatment by expanding equipment and hospital facilities throughout the country. Training for more doctors and auxiliary staff has also been accelerated. Last week the Government introduced in Parliament yet another major step in the direction of free medical services; I refer to the Bill to set up the National Health Scheme. Under this scheme we will at once be able to introduce a large measure of free hospitalization for most of our people. Those with higher incomes will in the spirit of African Socialism contribute towards subsidization of services for the lower income groups.

I am aware of the great interest our people have in education. It took the British seventy years to build 141 secondary schools in Kenya. In the three years since we came to power the number of secondary schools has increased by 195, making a total of 336. Such expansion will continue each year. In general, the number of children in schools has increased from 817,000 in 1963 to 1,027,000 in 1965. In some districts, the

attendance is now nearing 90 per cent. The Government will publish a full sessional paper on education in the next few weeks in which we shall show the progress being made towards our declared goal of free primary education.

As far as housing is concerned, the Ministry and the Central Housing Board will finance the building of more than 1,000 new houses during the next year. It is intended to start work on the slum clearance of Pumwani within this year. The City Council of Nairobi also expects to commence a separate large-scale housing scheme within the next twelve months.

I have introduced such detail to counter the absurd lie that the Government has been doing nothing for the people. We know the problems and the needs. Through all our statutory corporations and active programmes and practical measures, the Government has been working and planning to satisfy all needs in a co-ordinated way.

Every country in the world, from the oldest to the newest, knows at least some shortcomings or social injustice. The developing countries in particular are always afflicted by critical social shortages, in fields of food and employment and education. There is nothing unusual or unfair in the fact that we in Kenya have had to meet this challenge.

But the country is geared now for rapid advance, sponsored first by the modernization of African agriculture. This immediate key to our progress will be pursued alongside plans for industrial development and for promotion of the tourist industry. Through all these forms of economic advance, we shall be able to afford more liberal social services in fields of education, housing and health. This is the only road to stable progress. And I will not insult your intelligence, as the K.P.U. set out to do, by promising to provide you tomorrow with imaginary things that are not available or that cannot be financed.

My friends, three years since Madaraka Day are only a moment of time. Ten years ago we did not even have a single African Elected Member in the Legislative Council. Many of you can remember, twenty years ago, when I returned from

Europe to find that the only African political organization had been proscribed. Just one or two of my old friends among you can look back with me to the hopelessness of forty years ago, when we were opposing the forced labour system, and the Crown Lands Ordinance, and seeking education and other basic human rights. Less than five years have elapsed since I returned home to Gatundu from prison and detention. The three years since Madaraka Day is such a little time. But in this time we have built well, ready now to move with confidence and pride into our future.

There are some persons who suggest that our African Socialism is of no account. They would have Kenya surrender to external interests, and put what they call "Scientific Socialism" in its place. Such people are traitors to the cause of Kenya nationalism. And as they parade themselves in all their vanities, let it be remembered that their leaders were purchased with money. These leaders then bought lesser men with lesser sums of money. All the members of this sorry group have simply been bribed, to try and betray our people into the slavery of a new colonialism, more grasping and implacable than anything from which we fought free.

Throughout our struggle for Independence one of our greatest obstacles was tribalism, which was played upon by the colonial régime. Right up to the time of Independence there were parties such as KADU and APP which based themselves upon tribalism. These parties merged with KANU in the national interest; yet now we are witnessing the fostering of disruptive and negative tribalism in a new party.

Every man has the right to take a pride and interest in his tribe—its history, its culture and its customs. We see a healthy expression of positive tribal feeling in football teams, social clubs and welfare societies.

But what we will not permit is the exploitation of tribalism for political ends. Those who try to whip up tribal feelings for political advantage are doing a great disservice to themselves, to their fellows and to the Kenya nation. My Government has allowed tribal social organizations to continue, but

some of these have allowed themselves to be used for political purposes. If any society or its officials engage henceforth in political activities or actions calculated to incite tribal politics, its registration will be cancelled.

The Government has decided to register the K.P.U., but this decision does not give its leaders licence for subversion or lawlessness. On the contrary, the registration will remain in force only so long as they are law abiding. Let no man think that he is too big to be dealt with firmly. We shall never hesitate to take appropriate measures to ensure the security of the State.

Apart from this, revealing statements have been made already in the election campaign. After promising free land and education and jobs for all, dissident spokesmen admitted that they had no plans for the financial and taxation arrangements that could support these fairyland policies. They were careful not to say that their theories could only be based on plans for raising taxes to impossible levels, and introducing the hated system of communal labour.

I do not believe that our nation can be built with the bulk of our people in prison, for failing to pay some impossible taxes. I am certain that the public would not support the introduction of compulsory labour. It goes against all our instincts and traditions to have people herded like cattle into a forced labour system which we fought so hard to abolish in colonial times.

My Government rejects this whole approach to living. It would mean misery and oppression for our people. And so long as I remain your Head of State, no such dreadful system will be introduced in Kenya.

During last year's Madaraka Day, I warned against external influences and affirmed our stand on positive non-alignment. Some nations do not seem to have understood our determination to manage our own affairs. In these past few months we have seen positive signs of neo-colonialism when those nations who tried to flatter us at first resorted to abuse and insult against our Party and Government. Through their

Press and Radio these nations have supported some individuals who have been rejected by the people of Kenya. We fought for *Uhuru* so that our people may be free to have a Government of their own choice. We refuse to exchange one form of colonialism for a new one. I am sure you are all with me in this struggle to keep Kenya free.

I wish now to say a word about Rhodesia. Over these recent months, I have been constantly in touch with the British Government, to exert all possible pressures. I have also worked in co-operation with other Heads of State representing O.A.U. member countries, and earlier instructed our Ambassador at the United Nations to press for mandatory sanctions. We will continue to offer all possible assistance to the Republic of Zambia.

It would be wrong to pretend that we in Africa are not bitterly disappointed at the way this rebellion has been allowed to linger on. The responsibility is entirely that of the British Government. There must now be decisive action, in terms of practical politics, and certainly in defence of the moral principles and human dignity that Britain always seeks in argument to pursue and uphold. In our view, no solution can be found in furtive discussions at junior level between the colonial power and delegates of an unlawful régime. Clearly, the African nationalist leaders in Rhodesia must share in the task of negotiating a final settlement. If necessary, this must be brought about by means of compulsion and force. I know that the great majority of my colleagues in the Commonwealth agree very strongly with my view, that the present situation in Rhodesia reduces the whole idea of the Commonwealth to a hollow mockery.

Finally, let me say this. Kenya can be proud of the social progress so far made, and of the prospect held out in our unfolding plans. The Republic enjoys national stability and high international standing. The three years that have passed have captured the spirit and drawn up the blueprint of nationhood. The future will call for unremitting energy from all of you. But we can be confident now that fulfilment and contentment lie ahead.