

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT MZEE JOMO KENYATTA ON THE OCCASION OF MADARAKA DAY 1st JUNE, 1967

Today marks the fourth anniversary of the historic moment when the people of Kenya assumed responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs. It was *Madaraka* Day in 1963 that set us on the final path towards *Uhuru* and *Jamhuri*. I am proud of the progress that Kenya has made throughout this time. Our standing in the world is high. Our national strength has become considerable. All this has been achieved by welding together the efforts and resources of the Government and the people. National planning has been rooted in the principles of African Socialism, expressing in this way our own values and beliefs.

I wish to talk to you all, on this occasion, from experience gained in nearly half a century of public and political life.

Before Kenya became independent, there were prophets of doom, claiming that the people of the country were incapable of maintaining stability and of building up economic confidence and of governing themselves. All of you who played some part in the struggle for *Uhuru* will remember this, and those who were only children then should understand the challenge that we faced.

The record of these past four years has swept aside all these gloomy predictions. We have a Republic founded on national integrity and human respect. Our political institutions combine the work of a modern parliament with the traditions of our African society. In all fields of economic progress and technology, our advance has been described as spectacular. And we have created in Kenya, without injustice and without discrimination, a whole new social fabric.

This is how the challenge has been met, my friends. This is what has been achieved, by our working together, in just four years, and these are the elements that can justify national pride. Whenever there is success, there is also jealousy. Whenever there is stability, there is also intrigue. Whenever there is truth, there is also subversion. All these contradictions are found in the nature of man, and since our Republic is in no way isolated, they emerge as well from the structure of the world society. None of them are strange to me.

Even within our own nation today, there are men who are driven by jealousy. In one way or another, they know that they have failed themselves, or have done less than justice to the people. In some cases, personal failure or disappointment can condemn an unbalanced man to a bitter life of hatred, ready to succumb to spite or greed. Such a man might well be ready to betray his country, to undermine the whole pattern of national integrity, and to lend himself to foreign undertakings of subversion and intrigue.

I want you all to understand that we have a handful of such men in our society today. In this there is no call for alarm. Their numbers are few, their activities are closely watched, and their strength is insignificant. But their

energies are great, spurred on by own weakness, and sometimes flattered by the resources and praise heaped upon them by foreign masters and as long as they are useful, they are pawns in the worldwide chess game of subversion and intrigue.

They have something more than nuisance value. Their objective in life is to spread rumours and to sow suspicion. They will freely use bribery and lies to cause disruption. They will play on all human emotions to stir up disaffection.

From my position here, as President of the Republic of Kenya, I know that efforts to destroy our National stability are being made by men who are not themselves stable. It is the duty of the Government to be vigilant in paying heed to these activities. They are not widespread enough, or clever enough, to demand large-scale security measures.

But the people everywhere, in the towns and villages, in every corner of Kenya, do not have the same access to all the necessary facts. In some instances we know that local people have been worried by carefully-spread propaganda and gossip, to the effect the Government has done nothing or that Kenya since *Uhuru* has made no progress at all.

In my speech at the State Opening of Parliament, I presented to the people, through their representatives, the fullest review of every aspect of our economic and social advance. It is all this that observers from outside have described as spectacular. This is not the occasion for a further review of this kind, but I urge you all today, my friends, simply to reflect upon the real achievement of this country. As I outlined them earlier, since 1963 consider how many challenges have been met and overcome. Think of all the real political and physical developments that have been seen, and assess for yourselves the new social horizons of hope and opportunity and human welfare that now lie ahead.

All this has been brought by the efforts and the faith of the people. What has been built will now endure, and all the activities of those present-day prophets of doom, who seek to tear down what you have constructed, may henceforth be treated with contempt.

Sometimes as well, there is slanderous activity from outside, calculated to undermine the strength of our Republic. One example was a pamphlet entitled, "Who Rules Kenya?", which was discussed in our National Assembly a short while ago.

As your Head of State and Head of Government, I will answer this question bluntly. I made it clear on our *Jamhuri* Day that the Republic is the people; and that under our Constitution a Parliament elected by the people would be supreme. This is still the position in practice.

The members of our National Assembly are not robots, without minds of their own. Each Member of Parliament has a duty to the nation, within which he must represent the needs and aspirations and opinions of his constituency, which means the people. The National Assembly as a whole, made up

of these members, has carried out such duties with patriotism and vigour, a fact which has been the most critical ingredient of our national stability today.

Those who are jealous of or inconvenienced by the strength of Kenya's national integrity need not waste time on clumsy propaganda, hoping to undermine the structure of our Government. The Government has all along been in decisive command of the country's affairs, but every law introduced since independence has been debated and approved by Kenya's Parliament. Every allocation of finance has been voted by parliament. The answer to the question "Who Rules Kenya?" is therefore and quite literally, the people.

Then there are people, both within and outside Kenya, who have other peculiar ideas and who feel that they know better than the Government or people of our Republic. Some of them are well paid, of course, to advance these ideas. Others are just children, caught up in the emotional web of political slogans, but without any mature understanding of public affairs.

One theory is, that a former colony of the West, on achieving independence, must at once go on a honeymoon with a country of the East, in order to prove that it is truly independent. This is like a man who has escaped from the coils of a python putting himself in the mouth of a crocodile by way of celebration. I have always told you that colonialism from the East was every bit as dangerous and ruthless as from any other quarter, and that our Republic must safeguard its national integrity against any kind of threat. Only a man who is feeble-minded or disloyal to Kenya would submit a theory of this kind.

There are some who maintain that any form of freely negotiated co-operation with the West affects the policy of non-alignment in international affairs, and there are even others who seek to lecture us, despite the record of four years of tremendous achievement, on how Kenya should conduct her affairs.

As your Head of State, with a vigorous and hard-working Government, I have been guiding you in the spirit of *Harambee* towards a future that can be seen and measured in practical terms, and in moving into this future the dignity and self-respect of our Republic will never be lost, in any contract or relations with either East or West. I said on *Madaraka* Day two years ago, that we should welcome co-operation and assistance from any quarter, but we would not be bought or blackmailed, and we would remain our own masters for all time.

Turning away now from general principles, I wish to deal more briefly with one or two particular matters.

I know that many of you, both in the main towns and in the smaller centres, are worried about unemployment. No other question has in fact caused my Government greater concern. And few other problems are so difficult to meet.

Unemployment creates a situation and a national challenge that is by no means peculiar to Kenya. In virtually all parts of the world, whether in developing countries or in the great Industrial States, unemployment can arise and can endure as a symbol of human distress.

I do not want simply to repeat today the details I announced last February about major plans and projects covering Agriculture and Tourism and Building Works, Industry and Commerce, Power and Communications. All such plans are unfolding more rapidly with every passing day and must be regarded as well alongside all Government policies for the full Africanization of our economy.

The position, therefore, is this: Unemployment exists here in Kenya as it does everywhere else. But the prospect of relief from unemployment, within the whole pattern of our planning for Economic and Social expansion, is extremely bright. I spoke before of our Republic's strength and standing, which has come about as the result of four years of endeavour. This is the foundation now for even more rapid nation building, with its impulse felt in all parts of our country, leading in time to demands for all the manpower and brainpower we can find.

But still there is scope for so many men, now idle and miserable in the towns, to go back to the land. Many of them could increase the output of crops or livestock on own or on family holding, thereby adding to our National Wealth. Through the impact of modern methods and more intensive production, many more could find opportunities of employment on farms and plantations and Agricultural Estates.

The point I really wish to emphasize is that the rural areas of Kenya are no longer just backwaters, or places of drudgery and hardship. Great advances have been made and great changes are still occurring in such fields as land consolidation and registration of titles, availability of agricultural loans and credit, the use of machinery and fertilizers, plant-breeding and livestock improvement. Our agriculture is changing its face and becoming a modern industry, calling for scientific skills and mechanical abilities and forward-looking minds, and surrounding this new industry. In the rural parts of Kenya, are all the elements of rapid domestic progress, such as piped water supplies, electric light and power, better housing, more opportunities for recreation, and the social benefits of community development schemes. What all this means, for our younger people in particular, is that turning to the land, both in work and in leisure, can provide them with full and satisfying lives.

Now let me deal with the situation that has developed in the North-Eastern areas of Kenya. Throughout these four years, as you all know, the expansionist aims of the Somali Republic have prompted an aggressive campaign, which has entirely disrupted normal life in six important districts of our Republic.

About a month ago, my Government published a Case-book outlining actually the narrative of events over this period. At the same time, this

document clearly stated the position and policy of the Kenya Republic, in face of growing military hostility and every form of propaganda and incitement. At the end, we indicated to the Government of Somalia that if they would take certain mechanical or administrative measures so that negotiations between two Sovereign States could begin in an atmosphere of good faith. The Kenya Government would be prepared at once to take part in these discussions. It was made clear that we were ready to carry such discussions beyond the point of legal or diplomatic technicalities. Kenya has constantly been concerned about the welfare of the people in affected areas. We were ready, and remain ready today, to examine all forms of practical co-operation between Kenya and Somalia, as neighbouring states, covering every field of social and economic progress.

This Case-book has been circulated extensively among our fellow-members of the Organization of African Unity. Such a measure carried to its logical conclusion Kenya's unbroken record of readiness to consult the O.A.U and to comply with all resolutions and requirements of that body in this whole matter.

The document was also circulated to member States of the United Nations. Some of my ministers have delivered copies with personal message from me to Heads of States or Governments in other African countries throughout the Middle East and in other regions of the world.

The Case-Book has aroused very wide interest by its nature and content, and certain results and reactions have been made public in the press. It is to be hoped, in the spirit of African unity and in the light of the United Nations Charter, that Somalia will respond to Kenya's anxiety, from a position of strength, not fear to bring the sufferings of so many innocent people to an end.

I wish now to address some remarks to all the inhabitants of these Northern areas, especially the Kenya Somalis. I am now fully aware, from the testimony of political and Religious leaders and Chiefs, and from all the evidence available to me, that the vast majority of the Somali people in Kenya are loyal to my Government and to the Republic. I am aware that their only ambition now, as Kenya Citizens, is to return to conditions of sanity and peace, and to seek new opportunities for progress under the laws and protection of the Republic.

This awareness is a great source of satisfaction. I have always regarded the Kenya Somalis, whose way of life and human freedoms are guaranteed under our Bill of Rights, as brother Africans well capable of making positive contribution to our task of Nation building. I greatly welcome the concrete evidence recently provided by the people on our North-Eastern District that they are anxious to co-operate more loyally and effectively with my Government, as locally represented by security forces and by the administration. In return, let me repeat the assurance that the cornerstone of our policy in that area is to safeguard the lives and property of our own people. And it may safely be envisaged that, with mounting co-operation henceforth between the Government and the people, social and economic