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**STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY
HON. WILLIAM SAMOEI RUTO, PhD, C.G.H., PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA AND COMMANDER-IN-
CHIEF OF THE DEFENCE FORCES, DURING THE JOINT
SITTING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE
SENATE**

NOVEMBER 20, 2025

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, NAIROBI


STATE
— of the —
NATION
ADDRESS 2025

**The Honourable Speaker of the National Assembly;
The Honourable Speaker of the Senate;
Honourable Members of the National Assembly and the
Senate;
The Chief Justice and the leadership of the Judiciary;
Cabinet Secretaries;
Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests;
Fellow Citizens;
Ladies and Gentlemen;**

1. Two years ago, when I delivered my first State of the Nation Address, I had a vision to sell. Today, I have a story to tell.
2. A story written not in the quiet of offices or the comfort of boardrooms, but out in the blazing sun of our farms; in the dust of construction sites where our affordable homes now rise; and in the grit of our community health workers, doctors, and medical professionals who refuse to surrender in the quest for Universal Health Coverage.
3. It is written in the steady hum of our factories; in the determination of millions daring to dream and finance their vision through the Hustler Fund; in the courage of our young people working on housing sites, in the Climate Worx programme, and in the digital ecosystem; and in the bravery of those who, looking beyond our borders, have sought livelihoods abroad to sustain families back home.
4. A story of sacrifice. A story of sweat. A story of progress that has not come easy.



5. It is a story you can see in the numbers, feel in the homes, and trace in the lives transformed across our Republic; a story whose facts are available for all to examine, except perhaps for the cynical, who have no facts.
6. Today, the evidence is clear, evidence of promises made and promises kept. In just three years, we have built not monuments of words, but foundations of progress.
7. And yet, even with these achievements, I am convinced that this is only the beginning.

Mr Speaker, Honourable Members,

8. As I prepared this address, I reflected deeply on the long road we have travelled as a nation; sixty-two years shaped by struggle, sacrifice, hardship, triumph, and milestones that have affirmed our spirit. From that reflection came one undeniable truth: we have made commendable progress, but Kenya still punches way below its true weight.
9. This nation has the talent, the resources, and the spirit not just to improve, but to leap and to make the transition from a developing country to a developed one within our lifetime.
10. That is why I speak today with full conviction that history has summoned this generation, our generation, at such a time as this, to a higher purpose. Some eras are shaped by events; others are defined by the decisions a nation makes. And today, Kenya is called to make such a decision, to finish the journey our forebears began and finally turn our long-held potential into lived reality.



11. To do this, we must cast off the prevailing mindset of being content with the average; we must step beyond the comfort of the familiar and the ordinary, and reach, with courage, clarity, and conviction, for nothing less than excellence and greatness.
12. Therefore, as we examine the achievements of the past three years, results that have laid a firm foundation for equality of opportunity and a nation where no one is left behind, today I will also place before you not just a vision, but a national project that is realistic, grounded, and entirely within our reach.
13. A vision not just to grow, but to transform. A roadmap not merely to move forward, but to rise. To rise from developing to developed. To rise from potential to reality. To rise from promise to prosperity. To rise from the Third to the First World. To rise, finally, into the Kenya we have long imagined; the Kenya we deserve.
14. For too long, our ambition was held hostage by small thinking and ordinary expectations. But that era must now be consigned to the past. Today, we stand on the threshold of something far greater, a moment in which we can say that what our parents dreamt of and what our children yearn for, we will accomplish in our lifetime.
15. And we know this is achievable because others have done it before.
16. I have often spoken of the Asian Tigers, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malaysia (by the way, the Prime Minister of Malaysia will be here this weekend), countries that, at independence, were our peers in nearly every measurable way. They had no extraordinary resources.



They were not superhuman. They simply had the courage to make bold, disciplined, deliberate choices. They invested in their people, demanded excellence, and refused to be trapped by the limitations of their circumstances. They refused to make peace with mediocrity.

17. Today, they stand as first-world economies. If they could rise, so can Kenya. **IT. CAN. BE. DONE.**
18. Later in this address, I will set out the strategic choices, the reforms we will deepen, the sectors we will unlock, and the investments we will prioritise to move Kenya to the next level.
19. I say all this not as a personal badge of honour, but as a recognition of what we have achieved together, the Kenyan people, the leadership in all arms of government, and across political formations.
20. Honourable Members, the last three years have not been easy. We have agreed and sometimes disagreed, and at times those disagreements have carried a great cost. We have compromised, we have confronted hard truths, and we have endured storms none of us invited.
21. But we all take comfort that it has not been for nothing, for this is how far we have come.
22. At a time like this in 2022, Kenya was in distress. Inflation had soared to almost double digits. A fuel shortage threatened to paralyse our economy as oil marketers struggled to access dollars.



23. The shilling was in free fall. Foreign reserves had hit historic lows. Debt service consumed more than half of all our revenues. Confidence, both local and foreign, had waned. International analysts warned that it was no longer a question of if, but when Kenya would default.
24. Within that context, we acted. We restored fiscal discipline. We eliminated wasteful subsidies. We rationalised public expenditure. We strengthened revenue collection and placed our economy on a path of recovery and sustainability.
25. Inflation, which stood at 9.6% in 2022, has steadily declined to 4.6% as of last month, bringing much-needed relief to households.
26. The shilling, once in a perilous downward spiral, has stabilised at KSh 129 to the dollar for nearly two years, a direct consequence of prudent monetary policy and disciplined fiscal management.
27. Our successful Eurobond redemption signalled to the world that Kenya honours its obligations.
28. Three years ago, Kenya ranked as the 8th-largest economy in Africa, with a GDP of \$115 billion. Today, our GDP has increased to \$136 billion, moving us up to become the 6th largest economy on the continent, according to the IMF.
29. This steep rise is no accident. It is the product of deliberate choices, disciplined execution, and strategic reforms that have strengthened our economy and unlocked its potential.



30. Our foreign reserves have surpassed \$12 billion, the highest in independent Kenya. This has restored certainty, cushioned our economy from external shocks, and restored investor confidence.
31. International markets have taken note. Just this week, 14 of the world's leading financial institutions, including Citigroup, J.P. Morgan, Standard Chartered, and Goldman Sachs, projected that Kenya's economy will expand by between 5% and 5.8% in 2026.
32. This confidence is anchored in solid fundamentals: lower credit costs, rising exports, improved household spending driven by low inflation, and a broadly stable macroeconomic environment.
33. Standard & Poor's has upgraded Kenya's sovereign credit rating from "B-" to a firm "B; our first upward revision in years, signalling renewed international confidence. This upgrade lowers our risk profile, attracts more investment, and reduces borrowing costs for both the government and the private sector.

Fellow citizens;

34. Our foreign direct investment (FDI) has more than tripled from \$463 million (Ksh 60 billion) in 2021 to \$1.5 billion (Ksh 195 billion) in 2024. In the last 36 months, over 300,000 new businesses- including 500 foreign companies - have registered and set up shop in Kenya, reflecting renewed confidence and improved ease of doing business.
35. The Nairobi Securities Exchange has recorded a powerful resurgence, now recognised as one of the best-performing emerging markets globally. Since January, investor wealth has grown by over 1 trillion, driven by a broad share-price rally that has re-established the NSE as a premier asset class.



36. The NSE is on track for its strongest performance in over a decade, building on last year's remarkable gains. This renewed vibrancy is a clear vote of confidence in Kenya's direction and in the reforms we have undertaken.
37. In short, Mr Speaker, the world's most respected economic assessors, and market sentiment, are affirming what we already know: that our economy is strengthening, our prospects are brightening, and confidence in Kenya is rising.
38. Our critics, the high priests of eternal pessimism, who criticise without responsibility and tear down without offering alternatives, will want you to believe that our economy is going in the wrong direction.
39. But while anyone may speak their mind, and that is the beauty of our democracy, no one is entitled to manufacture self-serving falsehoods and traffic them as facts.
40. And facts are exactly what I present today; clear, verifiable, and indisputable.
41. Mr Speaker, one of the greatest contributors to the high cost of living is the cost of food. Kenyans in 2022 marched with empty sufurias, a stark symbol of frustration and the unbearable costs of basic commodities.
42. From the very outset, we made an intentional and strategic decision to subsidise production, and not consumption.
43. We understood that lasting relief would not come from temporary subsidies and price controls, but from strengthening the foundations of agricultural production.



44. We also recognised that agriculture is not merely another sector of our economy. It is the lifeline of our nation. If we were to secure households, stabilise prices, create jobs, expand industry and spur exports, agriculture had to be the fulcrum of our transformation agenda.
45. To organise the sector and improve service delivery, we launched an integrated digital platform to register farmers. In 2022, fewer than 300,000 farmers were on record. Today, over 7.1 million farmers are registered on the Kenya Integrated Agricultural Management Information System, giving us visibility to design scientific, targeted interventions and eliminate extortionists, brokers, cartels and middlemen.
46. This has enabled us to implement the fertiliser subsidy Programme at scale. To date, over 21 million bags of affordable fertiliser have been distributed, reducing the price by nearly two-thirds and saving farmers KSh 105 billion so far. This year alone, we delivered 7 million bags of fertiliser and 35 million kilos of certified seed, and in 2026, we will distribute 12.5 million bags across all 1,450 wards, ensuring every farmer has access to affordable inputs.
47. The impact has been phenomenal. Productivity in all our agricultural sectors has gone up. National maize harvests have risen from 44 million bags in 2022 to 67 million in 2024, setting the stage for a historic harvest of 70 million bags this year.
48. The results are visible in markets and homes. The price of a 2kg packet of flour has fallen from KSh 250 in 2022 to as low as KSh 130 today. For millions of households, this is meaningful, daily relief.

