THE MESSAGE TO THE NATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT MZEE JOMO KENYATTA

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE 12th DECEMBER 1966

Three years have passed since the ceremonies which marked the independence of our country and the birth of the Kenya nation. Each time I come to speak on these anniversary occasions, I feel closer to you all. We are bound together by the problems we have overcome, and by the outlook we share, and the future we are jointly building.

We have experienced together the triumph of *Uhuru* and the deeper satisfaction of Jamhuri. Any determined community can break through the walls of oppression and colonial domination. But unless there is more solid purpose, served by human endurance and effective organization, this by itself cannot lead to mature nationhood. And my message today, delivered with pride and as a tribute to you all, is that Kenya has truly become a nation.

These three years have been enough to show that Kenya has won the battle of consolidation. We can go forward, from today, with greater confidence, for all the attitudes and the achievements that we see around us have given practical meaning to our independence.

I have spent nearly half a century in public life and in the service of the people. During this long time I have come to recognize the symbols of real stability and progress and contentment. Within our Republic we have learnt to become self-reliant. We have adapted ourselves to the workings and needs of modern life. Nevertheless, the traditional spirit on which our culture must be built has endured. During my visits to the countryside, I find a re-awakening of the arts and the expressions of our culture. The people are alive and proud of their heritage.

In the eyes of the world we have also demonstrated that people of many origins can live happily together in an African country. We believe that the majority must govern and that the rights of a minority can only be protected by the majority. That is why we condemn the white minority régimes in Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique and we are determined, together with our friends, to continue to honour our commitment to emancipate the African peoples in these countries.

In these intervening years, working together, we have built a country with identity and character. There has been greater understanding, as well, of the functions and the place of a Government within the nation. Three years ago there was a tendency to look to the Government not only for national leadership, but also for direct solution of every kind of problem and satisfaction of every individual need. Today there is a more mature recognition. The people realize now the primary tasks of the Government as stated in our Manifesto of African Socialism: the Government aims to achieve high incomes, so that all our people are free from want, disease and exploitation. It is our task to ensure political equality, social justice, human dignity and equal opportunity, so that every man and woman can enjoy the fruits of initiative and self-respect.

Here again, wherever I go, I find assurances of nation-hood. These can be found in *Harambee* schools, nursery schools, hospitals and in community development projects of every kind. In all walks of life personal and group initiative and a spirit of social responsibility have become dedicated to the task of nation building.

I want to emphasize that the real foundations of our future could only be national integrity and hard work. Now productivity is everywhere increasing as the principal key to our economic progress; but beyond this, we have enormously expanded the facilities for education. In new industries and services there is outlet for talent and ambition. And in every field of duty and responsibility, we see the Africanization of opportunity and effort.

Let me say that Africanization, has been one of the greatest elements of our national maturity. The needs of our people have been met in such a way that standards have been maintained and productivity has risen.

You already know that as Commander-in-Chief of the Kenya Armed Forces, I have appointed Brigadier Joseph Musyemi Lele Ndolo to be the new Commander of the Kenya Army. This is important in respect of our whole approach to defence and to the operations against outlaws and bandits in the North-Eastern Province. There, we are seeking to crush the shifta and to win a moral victory to show that nationalism rooted in social justice can and must triumph over evil and intrigue.

Independence opens many doors to social conscience and human ambition. But modern nations can only sustain independence through planning. Material and human resources have to be measured so that priorities can be determined. Areas or projects earlier neglected must be brought into focus. And whole patterns of social injustice must then be put right. This planning is not easy. It must take account of practical realities. And rejection of the past must be set alongside many world-wide problems. We are ahead of our hopes and our targets in many different fields of our Development Plan. Increasingly now, the plan is being translated to bring all our national capacities into play, and to ensure social advancement for every family. We have always been inspired by this human purpose as stated in our KANU Manifesto.

In my visits round the country I see people living in better homes, with piped water in towns and villages, and old people taking advantage of adult literacy programmes. Everyone can think back to even a few years ago when African ownership of motor-cars, radio sets, or sewing machines was rare. Both in urban centres and in rural districts these things are commonplace today.

Of course, just within these three years of creating national identity and making early progress, all our problems have not been resolved. Many of our people continue to live in want. But on the solid foundation of what we have achieved,

the future is boundless. I will not reveal details today, but within the next few weeks it will be my task to preside again at the State Opening of Parliament. On that occasion, I will be outlining the Government's full programme for the forthcoming period.

I would like to add one further word about a movement now known as "Back to the Land". This is not just a question of a young man in search of work moving from the town streets. Our land is not only the greatest asset we have, but it has made us what we are.

Through the impact of modern machinery and equipment and scientific techniques, our land offers a challenge to the imagination and skills of young people. Besides a successful rice scheme in Mwea, we are also opening new tracts of land by irrigation on Tana River in the Coast, Ahero in Nyanza, Bunyala in the Western Province.

I am happy for the warm response which old and young people have given to the call of "Back to the Land". I have been encouraged to learn that the Masai have now realized the value of land cultivation. They have shown increased demand for better breeds of cattle and tractors for development of wheat schemes. "Forward on the Land" is a faith in the whole future of our nation.

Hope and trust, determination and hard work have marked the last three years of our independence. To advance further along, I am asking you to intensify these attitudes and efforts in future.

But I know that amongst us there are lazy and disgruntled individuals who regard work as undignified. These persons sit down all 24 hours of the day imagining how the world could be put right by the labour and sweat of others. Some start by begging for tea and free drinks in restaurants and beer-halls and turn into thieves and robbers if these things are denied them. Their wives and family are made beasts of burden and slaves for their leisure and convenience. When placed in positions of authority, they misuse it and invite bribes and corruption by every device. Altogether they are a public nuisance and live like parasites at the expense of the nation.

These kind of men would not have deserved mention if they had not found a handful of salesmen and promoters for their ideas at public meetings and even in Parliament. To carry out their idle designs and personal ambitions, they go about begging money from foreigners. I want to say today that Kenya is built on the solid foundation of Kenya nationalism, by the love and loyalty of its own people, who will never agree to be bought by money or false promises.

Before independence, KANU encouraged contacts with all friendly countries overseas and the Government has forged ahead with the development of brotherly relations with all countries. Through the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth, we have made our contribution towards the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world on the basis of respect for sovereign independence of all member States and we are always guided by the principles of non-alignment. All we ask from other nations is to reciprocate the spirit of respect for national integrity and independence. I have unshakable faith and trust in the character and judgement of our people. I am certain the Government is assured of full support in stamping out traitors and anyone who dares to threaten or insult the respect and dignity of our nation.

My Ministers and myself share with you the success, the joys and sorrows of our nation. We are happy to work for each child to get good education, good health and good food. Our youth everywhere are an inspiration in sports and traditional dances; we are all proud of the achievement of the National Youth Service in constructing new roads to Garissa and Moyale and other areas. The Armed Forces, the Police and Civil Servants have upheld the high standards of efficiency and loyalty. There is no other way of building a nation.

Confidence and hard work have led us to this day. The loyalty and effort of the people have done honour to the past and will continue to inspire Kenya's future. We move now into the fourth year of our destiny, away from the dark hours of colonial domination into the light of the future.

HARAMBEE