

**ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT
MZEE JOMO KENYATTA ON THE OCCASION OF
THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE
12TH DECEMBER, 1973.**

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Today, people in all parts of the Republic of Kenya are assembled in a spirit of rejoicing. No period of time is more critical to the strength and prospect of any young country than the first ten years of its independent life. Now that such a moment is upon us, we can share an overwhelming sense of satisfaction and pride. It is right that there should be a general spirit of rejoicing, but this should never blind us to the realities of unfinished tasks or the challenges that lie ahead.

On this day in 1963, having received the instruments of Kenya's Independence, I stated that our future destiny lay in our own hands. I called upon every Kenyan to join together in the great adventure of nation building. I urged everyone to respond to the inspiration of *Harambee*, in so moulding our country that it would set an example to the world in progress, toleration and high endeavour.

Today, while there is cause enough for celebration, this must not conceal the performance of duty. I shall recount to you all now, how the most important declarations of ten years ago have been fulfilled. It is vital that you understand the real meaning in Kenya of words like achievement and progress, and how the dedicated effort of this past decade has strengthened our determined march towards prosperity and social justice.

Many countries of the world have adopted different systems of relationship between the people and the State. In Kenya, where the philosophy of African Socialism is written to our own design, we find it proper that the Head of State should be the servant of the people. We believe that the Government, composed of persons elected by the people, should not depart from the mandate that was accepted by them. It is on the basis of such understandings that I shall review the first ten years of Kenya's independent life.

The first true African Government in Kenya was founded upon the KANU Manifesto of April, 1963. It was said in that document, that the Party would uphold the rule of law, and guarantee the position of every citizen in accordance with the Bill of Rights. This promise has been faithfully carried out, and I give it pride of place in this review because it goes to the very heart of what I have described as human dignity and freedom. There can be little dignity where people walk in fear, and where rights are vested only in the State. Here, we have a system under which every citizen is entitled to equal respect, where the Constitution is concerned more with rights than with restrictions and the law applied equally to one and all.

Another vital primary task of democratic Government was covered by a passage in the second KANU Manifesto of November, 1969. We stated then that the KANU Government would continue to maintain the Armed Forces at a level of effectiveness which would guarantee the security of the people and preserve the national integrity of Kenya. This has been done. We set out to transform and expand the Kenya Army, which is now wholly African, equipped and disciplined to meet any kind of threat. The Kenya Navy and Air Force did not exist when Uhuru was established, and had to be built up from nothing except the unleashed talents of our young men.

Ten years ago, the general mood was one of stern resolve. When introducing the April Manifesto, I pointed out that whether our country forged ahead, or whether its economy

declined, would depend on the determination and hard work of every citizen. There are no magic wands in the business of nation building. There is no substitute for dedicated effort, based on countrywide understanding that every contribution matters. Today we can see all that has been achieved by faith and sacrifice.

There is much more to this question of achievement than just buildings and bustle. In transitional periods of time, a country moves also through phases, involving points of principle and gathering status. The first phase, therefore, was to tackle and carry through a programme of decolonization, both in economic senses and in terms of establishing a whole new social fabric. This was undertaken smoothly and swiftly, not at the expense of development but rather as an instrument. We have progressed steadily through the execution of policies that were seen to be fair, honest and consistent. As the greatest overall triumph of this past decade, we see an ex-colony composed of many different tribes, transformed into a fully-integrated and strongly developing nation.

Such words as equality and integration apply to the economic scene, marking the successful passage of another difficult phase. At Independence, the majority of our people could see little hope of moving away from what official reports referred to as subsistence level. Today, as a further vital contrast, there is no unacceptable gulf between the monetary sector and a subsistence sector of our national economy. All families in the rural areas have at least some regular sources of income and have become part of the economic structure on which a nation must be built.

This achievement has emerged from our unswerving determination that rural development projects must have top priority. My Government approached rural development in the broadest economic and social senses. Attention has been paid to water projects in all parts of the country, and plans are in hand for the greatly accelerated work of water provision, as one of the most basic rural needs. At the same time, we shall proceed steadily with improvements in rural housing, health services, electrification and roads.

While there can be this explanation of some universal monetary economy, as one of the most meaningful outcomes of the process of decolonization, the whole nation fabric must be rooted in controls and institutions at the top. It was for this reason that I inaugurated the Central Bank of Kenya in September, 1966. This body has evolved, not only as the main implement of our financial policy, but also as the custodian of foreign exchange reserves, which stand this year at their highest ever level. Beyond this, an increasing local participation in banking services was highlighted when I opened the Commercial Bank of Kenya some three years ago.

A further fundamental, in any nation, is that it is pointless in having policies and social objectives unless there is a vigorous Public Service which can implement policies and convey benefits and opportunities to the people. At the time of Independence, the Civil Service in Kenya was dominated by expatriates who were competent and experienced. However, as they were not Kenyans, they could not be truly dedicated to the great adventure of building a nation, and their presence was in conflict with the aspirations of our people. In the very first KANU Manifesto, it was made clear that while maintaining standards in the Civil Service, the unfolding policy must be to give top priority to indigenous Africans. While employment in the public sector has increased by one hundred thousand, we have created a Public Service and Provincial Administration which is now almost wholly African in composition, and in which all high and policy-making appointments have long been held by Kenyans.

The real task of nation building demands the striking of some balance between all the different elements of national advance. This is what we mean by planning, and one of the greatest features of the past decade has been the establishment of an effective system of economic planning, coupled with the organized use of our own resources in carrying out a whole series of plans.

One of the great traps in which countries might fall is to produce plans which are more ambitious than could be

implemented with the financial and human resources available. We have not fallen into this trap, since it has always been my policy to tell the people the truth about what can be done or what cannot be managed at present. Thus, we have produced a succession of Development Plans, each broader in scope than the last one, but all of them realistic. As another tribute to the dedication and hard work of the people, the average rate of growth of Kenya's economy since Uhuru has been higher than anything projected.

My Government pledged, in the Manifesto of 1969, to uphold and improve our system of economic planning, and the time has come to decentralize these planning operations so that the people themselves become involved in an active and meaningful way. In future, direct allocations of money to the Districts will be stepped up, so that District Development Committees can have the resources to support their own planning activity. Within the forthcoming Plan period, about five million pounds will be available for such a purpose.

Decentralized planning is a necessary step towards the orderly road of Kenya's progress. Many national programmes, pursued through the ministries of my Government, will be heavily weighted in favour of the rural areas. It is important that interest be taken and decisions made at District level. It is proposed that the Committees will be assisted by District Development Officers, and by the forthcoming appointment of more specialized District Planning Officers. In this whole manner, the people themselves, through their Local Party or Council spokesmen and Members of Parliament, will be able and required to participate in the design and implementation of District plans.

Water projects, roads and agricultural schemes are obvious examples of national programmes being carried out by Ministries. All these give rise to new employment opportunities at local level. My Government has decided that there should be an additional Public Works programme in the rural areas, aimed primarily at the creation of more jobs.

There is a secondary motive as well, in the context of planning. When money is made available under the Public Works heading the construction of minor roads, bridges or small irrigation projects, then this will help to build up the infrastructure needed for scheme development on a much larger scale in the Districts concerned.

Today, as a principal resource of any modern State, we have a far better educated society. At Independence, the whole prospect of Kenya was put in hazard by the long neglect of education throughout previous decades. There were shortfalls in almost every branch of knowledge and skill. We embarked on an immediate and comprehensive programme of education, not only to satisfy the needs of administration, commerce and technology, but also as a tribute to those who had made so many past sacrifices in this human cause.

Today, in our Republic, there are six hundred more primary schools and seven hundred more secondary schools than existed at the moment of Uhuru. The number of pupils enrolled in the primary schools has more than doubled, while enrolments in our secondary schools have increased by five hundred per cent. All this has represented a major feat of organization, and has involved a most substantial allocation of finance. My Government has never neglected the important accompanying tasks of adult literacy campaigns and adult education services. The living organism of a nation, looking always ahead, must be founded in the quality and academic preparation of its younger people.

In our first KANU Manifesto, we recorded an intent that every child in Kenya should have a minimum of seven years free education. In the 1969 Manifesto, it was reaffirmed that the KANU Government was still guided by this principle. Today, appropriately marking the tenth anniversary of Uhuru, I am pleased to announce that from the first of January, 1974, children in Standards One to Four inclusive will no longer have to pay school fees. This should be regarded as a first and welcome stage in our determined movement towards free

and universal primary education in Kenya. The abolition of fees in these four Standards will cost the Government some three and a quarter million pounds, and additional financial arrangements will have to be made in respect of the Local Authorities affected. Fees for Standards Five to Seven will continue to be paid, but it is my earnest hope that we shall be able to announce a remission when the opportunity arises.

At the other end of the educational ladder, enormous progress has been made with the output of University graduates, qualified to make their contribution to our nationhood. No country can be fully complete without its own foundation of academic truth, a mastery of modern technology in all branches and the local impulse of applied research. In 1969, we pledged that the University of Nairobi would become a fully-fledged autonomous institution headed by a Kenyan and three years ago, this was effected.

Sacrifices made for education, over a long period prior to Uhuru, have in no way overshadowed the sacrifices made in the cause of land. This was a critical issue with which we had to deal after Independence. The 1963 Manifesto made the point that the problem of the unemployed landless must be vigorously tackled, and in 1969, we reaffirmed that an important continuing objective would be to resettle African farmers on land previously occupied by non-citizens. As an outcome of orderly processes, some fifty-seven thousand families have been settled following the acquisition and sub-division of farms that were in European ownership. These families have been settled on the land, not simply as a right of occupancy, but with attendant aid and services giving them an opportunity of starting a new and rewarding life. All this has required very careful consideration and a great deal of finance.

The problem of dealing with sickness and disease was another great impulse on which I laid stress at the moment of Uhuru. Good health may be described as a fundamental human aspiration, and only a healthy society can embark

upon and sustain the rapid development on which we were determined. Again, there were shortages on every hand to start with, whether in terms of facilities, equipment or trained personnel. At the end of this decade, the number of doctors has doubled, and there are four thousand more hospital beds than existed before. In pursuance of better medical facilities for our people, the Government intend to build two district hospitals within the Nairobi area. One will be on the Eastern side near Pumwani, and the other to the West, at Dagoretti. This will release the Kenyatta National Hospital of its out-patients burden and thereafter function as a reference hospital for provincial hospitals in the country. This has made heavy demands upon our limited finance.

Few things are more important to a modern nation than the internal generation of electric power, not only for essential services but as a key element of the infrastructure of industrial advance. This was fully recognized at the beginning of our independent life, and as early as March, 1965, I launched the Kindaruma phase of the Tana River hydro-electric project. Communications are also vital, both for social purposes and as a means of promoting the movement of produce and the flow of commerce. As an outcome of planned undertakings, the mileage of tarmac roads and primary murrum roads has more than doubled since Uhuru. These are further points to illustrate the calls upon finance and the need for keeping everything in balance.

One of the lessons that must be thoroughly learnt by those engaged in nation building, is that money does not fall from Heaven. It has to be earned from countrywide economic vigour, and only then can it be allotted to so many common objectives. This is why I pointed out in 1963, the required determination and hard work of the people. Our Manifesto of that year recognized that production of crops for the market was the backbone of Kenya's economy, so that only by a dynamic breakthrough in farming methods could a future Welfare State be financed.

Right from the outset, we engineered in this country an agricultural revolution, which has been the most powerful

single influence in bringing about the strength and status which we enjoy today. One of the fundamental duties of any Government is to ensure a self-sufficiency in basic food supplies. This was one important motivation. The most critical urge and need was to raise the productive level of the enterprise on which the vast majority of our people were engaged. In this way we could generate the domestic and international finance required to move through expanding phases of comprehensive development.

Many times, at the openings of agricultural shows or on other farming occasions, I have detailed the progress of Kenya's agriculture. This has been brought about by the four factors of hard work, enormous technical advance, greatly improved credit and marketing services, as well as the consolidation and registration of land. Through the export of crops and livestock products, Kenya has come to occupy a significant place in the pattern of world trade. The income of our farmers last year showed the highest annual increase ever to be recorded.

Agriculture itself is the kind of operative enterprise which can never stand still. Through research and experiment, new ideas and endeavours are taking shape all the time. Today, I want to touch on one of all these aspects.

During one of my frequent tours around the country, I officially opened the Mwea rice mill in February, 1969. My Government has sometimes been asked why we do not have more of these projects in Kenya, designed and carried out on some more sweeping scale. There are two main answers to this question. Firstly, there is nothing simple about the launching of a large-scale irrigation scheme. It is an extremely complex business, requiring long and careful feasibility studies, not only in the fields of engineering, soils and all technical aspects, but also applied to the economic fundamentals and human components of any such scheme. Secondly, there is the question of weighing up competitive demands always placed upon limited finance.

Today, however, I am pleased to announce that one of our principal forthcoming agricultural developments will be the inauguration of a forty thousand acre irrigation project around the Bura area of the Tana River District. Concentrating on the production of cotton and sugar, this scheme will be fully undertaken during the first five years of our second decade. Both directly and indirectly, this will open up new economic and employment opportunities for thousands of families. The experience gained will be of value in designing further irrigation schemes, in pursuit of our determination to make the fullest use of the Tana River.

The first foundation of development, in a country like Kenya, lies in the vigour of primary production and the harnessing by modern means of all natural resources. It has to be realized that only through an expanding industrial sector of the economy can there be a hope of securing ultimate objectives.

Looking at the scene today, the degree to which industry has become established and matured in Kenya is as remarkable as the pace and scale of land resettlement. This springs from the factor of political stability, the passing of rational laws and the infrastructure of power and communications which have been painstakingly developed. There have been particular success stories in such fields as the oil refinery, textiles and cement. The production volume has doubled since Uhuru in a number of important industries, including chemicals and machinery. Apart from feeding domestic markets, exports of general manufactures have increased by a thousand per cent, so that goods from Kenya now find their way into many parts of Africa and all the markets of the world. In October last year, I opened the Panafrican Paper Mills complex at Webuye, as a symbol of large-scale industry. This must become the cornerstone of a further phase in our industrial advance, and one of its elements will need to be a large-scale fertilizer factory in Kenya.

During the next five years, it is expected that the total industrial investment in our country will amount to about one hundred and fifty million pounds. Plans as drafted will mean

also that at least seventy thousand more of our people will be employed in the manufacturing sector. Apart from the enterprises I have mentioned and which are due to expand further, new targets have been set for sugar and other food industries, engineering, motor transport, printing and timber.

Initially, and inevitably, industry has tended to concentrate in our main cities. This is because power supplies and pools of labour, together with ready access to main communications systems and other facilities, are most readily found in large urban centres. The KANU Manifesto of 1969 pledged that we would continue with the policy of decentralization of industry, and my Government regards this as an important element of the overall priority being given to the development of rural areas.

The first Industrial Estate in Kenya was opened in Nairobi in November, 1969. Based on this useful experience, we are now setting aside two and a half million pounds for the construction of further Industrial Estates in Kisumu, Mombasa, Eldoret, Kitale and Nanyuki. One and a half million pounds is to be made available for the establishment of nine other Rural Industrial Development Centres, in addition to those already set up at Nyeri, Kakamega, Machakos and Embu. Afterwards, we propose to create a new subsidiary of the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation, to be called the Small Business Development Agency, to absorb all the programmes I mentioned under headings of Industrial Estates and Development Centres. This new Agency will be responsible for co-ordinating all this work, and for providing assistance to Africans entering the field of manufacturing industry. By the end of the next five years, there will be forty Small Business Development Centres operating in all parts of the country.

In the broad field of commerce, we made it clear in 1969 that the KANU Government would continue to be fully committed to a programme of Kenyanization. Over this decade, the majority of the smaller commercial firms have been transferred to Kenyans, either voluntarily or through

the provisions of the Trade Licensing Act. A number of larger firms will be transferred as the end-product of expanding training programmes, more credit facilities and the encouragement of co-operative trading.

I emphasize these latter points because the whole impulse of national economic advance is not always well served by simply changing the name on the door of some commercial premises. The new African businessmen must be equipped with know-how in whatever trade is involved, and must be able to count on a solid initial background of financial assistance. To this end, we shall be setting aside a further six million pounds for the District Loan Boards and the Trade Development Loans programme. At the same time, to assist the new African traders in their dealings with commercial banks, a Credit Guarantee Scheme will be established under the auspices of the I.C.D.C.

Under all the most relevant headings, I have set out the real fundamental achievements of our country during the first and most challenging decade of full independence. We have travelled a long way in all economic and social fields. Kenya has come to occupy a prominent place on the whole world stage of human interests and deliberations. From the small and hardly noticed ex-colony of 1963, we have advanced to serve mankind as the site of the World Bank conference and as location of a vital Headquarters structure of the United Nations system.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me repeat that there is good ground for our day of rejoicing. But let us dedicate ourselves also to the work of a further decade. Given the essentials of national unity, political stability and the unbreakable spirit of *Harambee* to link the Government and the people, our country will become a living example of deserved prosperity and the noblest attributes of social justice.

H A R A M B E E !

STATE HOUSE,
NAIROBI.
December 12th, 1973.