

**ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT,  
HON. D. T. ARAP MOI, C.G.H., M.P., ON MADARAKA  
DAY, 1st JUNE, 1980**

My dear countrymen . . .

On this important national day, the eighteenth anniversary of Madaraka, I send my heartfelt personal greetings to all families in every corner of our Republic of Kenya. My thoughts and wishes on this occasion reach out as well to all the Kenyans who at present are studying or working overseas. I know that they too will be joining us in remembrance and celebration; and I assure them, in turn, that we look forward to their coming home after successfully completing whatever they might be doing abroad.

Madaraka Day is a very special occasion in our national life. It is, therefore, important that this annual ceremony should never be regarded simply as a routine event. On Madaraka Day we are recalling the great significance of that moment when responsibility for internal self-government was rightly transferred to the people of this country. Six months elapsed between the time of Madaraka and the attainment of full independence at the end of 1963. And it was during that short period that endeavours were first launched to harness all the talents of our people in the cause of nation-building and of social justice.

It is, therefore, appropriate that on Madaraka Day we should examine the progress we are making in building our nation. As I am sure you all appreciate the task of nation-building is really a never-ending process—a process which is constantly adjusted in the light of changing human needs and evolving national capacities. Further, it is a process in which there must be carefully formulated short-term and long-term targets for economic development, social welfare, development of our institutions, and achievement of other objectives. In addition, on a day of this kind, graced as it is by country-wide ceremonies, we should pause and examine also the progress we are making in cementing national unity—for national unity is the most vital foundation for economic and social development.

Unless we regularly make such practical assessments, we may never really know whether the country was going forward or stagnating. With these kinds of thoughts in mind, there is no need for me to dwell on the enormous progress that has in fact been made since the moment of Madaraka. Over a time span of less than twenty years, every Kenyan has been able to see for himself, or for herself, all the structures of a modern mixed economy, and all the services provided towards promoting social advancement. However, and as I have mentioned to you many times before, there is still a great deal to be done. We must, therefore, always see our past and current achievements within the perspective of the longer-term objectives and requirements. Consequently, I shall today concentrate upon the events and lessons of the past twelve months and then make a few proposals about the future.

Our Republic is a free democracy, governed strictly in accordance with a Constitution upheld by the rule of law. At home, the main constitutional highlight of the past year was the General Election in which all our people exercised their right of political choice. As I said soon after those Elections, but repeat now without apology, I am proud of the peaceful and responsible manner in which that whole exercise was conducted. The political maturity of Kenya was again amply demonstrated, and I was able to form my Government based upon the only real strength—which is popular mandate. Externally, over the year, I made a number of visits to countries overseas—the most recent being to Iraq and Abu Dhabi last week. Further visits will be undertaken whenever necessary and opportunity permits. The purposes of these visits have not been confined to securing economic assistance from our friends abroad. I consider it of great importance that Kenya should play to the full her rightful part in the entire spectrum of global affairs. And while I cannot always reveal everything discussed with the world leaders I have met so far, I can certainly assure you that Kenya's views and aspirations are now receiving increasing respect.

In the field of economic performance, the most significant but frustrating factor over the past twelve months has been a build-up in the difficulties which, in practice, we can neither avoid nor control. As I have pointed out before, Kenya's economy, with all its roots in human effort, is now being very seriously affected by

global impacts of inflation and stagnation, by the weakness of commodity markets, and by the lamentable continuing international failure to deal with the huge and dangerous gaps between opulence on one hand and poverty on the other.

But there have been natural hazards as well, reflected most acutely in the recent long dry season. Two particular consequences of that drought must be mentioned. We were challenged by, and had to overcome, both a food crisis and an energy crisis. While these two crises were not new in the sense that we had some manifestation of them in the past, they were serious enough to show how truly vulnerable our economy is to weather conditions. Moreover and with regard to energy, we should all now have been able to appreciate how many of our productive enterprises are dependent on electricity.

Now all of us should join in thanking God for the bounty of rains, already generous in many areas, which will enable us to solve these problems in the short run. However, we must see this blessing of God in the form of adequate rains as giving us time to embark upon more systematic and effective planning in the most critical fields of production and of economic infrastructure. There is no doubt that without such planning, future crises would be truly serious, perhaps even catastrophic. We must therefore learn from past experiences in planning the future of our Nation and economy.

In the vital context of national food supply, I wish today to thank all farmers for responding with commendable vigour to my call to increase output of basic commodities. With regard to the longer-term situation, it is clear that the needs and numbers of people in Kenya now demand what may be described as a comprehensive food policy. Indeed the Government is already in the process of formulating such a policy. The details of that national food policy will be made known in due time; but I can tell you today that it will embrace, among many other considerations, such issues as land use, productivity of our soil, greater application of modern technology, determination of appropriate producer prices, agricultural credit, intensive agricultural research, and the mechanics of food storage and distribution. Changes in our dietary patterns will also be covered.

My dear Kenyans, in an address of this kind, there has to be frequent reference to economic problems. This is not because I enjoy painting a gloomy picture. But such references are necessary because my Government is determined that none of the realities which affect daily living and prospect should be hidden from the people. All Kenyans must understand the difficulties and challenges with which our country is confronted—since only then can they appreciate the purposes underlying some change in policy or some amended regulation. It is for this whole reason that the Government has prepared and published Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1980, which outlines, in some detail and very frank terms, the problems bearing upon most sectors of our economy.

At this point I would like to draw one conclusion. Many of the stresses or constraints facing us do indeed have their origin in global happenings or inequitable international practices in the economic field. But when it comes to solution and counter-measures, it would be completely idle to expect that these, in turn, could magically appear from outside our own borders. The major burden in the development of this nation must fall upon the Kenyans themselves. It is the Kenyans who must gear themselves for the task of increasing productivity in agriculture, in manufacturing industry, and throughout the whole array of what are called the service industries. Greater and increasing domestic productivity is absolutely vital. Consequently, all of us should strive, whether we be in the public sector or the private sector, to step up efficiency in whatever operational activity we are engaged. I repeat again that greater efficiency must be seen as a major responsibility for all of us. Indeed, the word Madaraka itself means and implies the allotment, and the acceptance, of responsibility.

And in the context of efficiency, which is something within our own grasp, there are some matters under the heading of Kenyanization relating to opportunities for the enhancement of creative local effort which I would like to touch on. First the question of employment. My Government is now resolved to ensure that the issue of work permits for expatriate personnel must be more effectively administered. There are, of course, still many specialist tasks, demanding high qualifications or lengthy experience, which expatriates can usefully perform. We welcome the support of

foreigners in such areas. But we must ensure, henceforth, that no foreigners are employed in technical or administrative jobs that could be done perfectly well by Kenyans themselves. In saying this let me emphasize that we as a nation are not adopting a hostile policy. Indeed most other countries, including our neighbours and those abroad with which we have substantial economic ties, have even more stringent measures against employment of non-citizens. We assure all concerned that we shall remain an open, free and democratic nation. But we must, obviously, follow policies which ensure that the interests of each and every Kenyan receive first priority.

The other aspect of Kenyanization relates to ownership of productive economic assets. This is a field of perhaps even greater delicacy and sensitivity. However, here again our approach is clear, simple and straightforward. I explained to the nation a few weeks ago that resources available for public investment were not infinite, and that we were concerned at the present time to ensure proper supervision and management of enterprises in which the Government, on behalf of the people, must have some major or lesser degree of financial involvement. I further stated that direct investment by the Government in industry will henceforth be done very selectively. All this means, in turn, that in the next phase of industrialization of our country, the private sector and enterprise will be expected to play a very important role with, of course, guidance from the Government in the form of policy and regulations.

In this connexion, there is now widespread recognition, and I believe appreciation, of the efforts and provisions made by the Republic of Kenya not only to attract, but also to protect external capital, as well as the rights of individuals or institutions representing the source of such capital. My Government does not contemplate making any change in this fundamental and fruitful strategy. However, we expect foreign companies to understand the urgent importance of involving local capital and enterprise in their activities. I take this opportunity to repeat that we expect foreign companies to respond positively to my Government's emphasis on the need for meaningful involvement of Kenyans in context of shareholding and of management.

Perhaps I should say that in some other countries, requirements of this kind have been written into law. So far as Kenya is concerned, we do not consider it necessary to introduce legislation aimed at forcing foreign companies to sell shares to Kenyans, since, in my judgment, such a fair and frank statement of the Government's views will have a more productive outcome. In any case, careful analysis clearly shows that such local involvement is in the direct interest of any foreign company. But I must add that if there is no visible and substantial progress in this matter, we shall certainly use other instruments to achieve the objective.

At this juncture, let me say that while we are properly concerned about capital or personnel from overseas, it should never be forgotten that, as I mentioned earlier, economic salvation lies mainly in our own hands. All Kenyans themselves must now be inspired to work harder, to launch and to organize creative enterprises, to employ local capital more effectively, to invest and re-invest, and generally to undertake all such activities within the law as will enhance levels of employment and production of national wealth. We must never relax our efforts in the process which was started, at the time of Madaraka, of harnessing all our talents and resources in the continuing and noble task of nation-building.

Reference to the harnessing of resources leads me now to express grave concern about a number of trends related to the utilization, and indeed the depletion, of Kenya's natural assets. As one self-evident fact, we cannot afford to go on losing topsoil and forest cover at the rate experienced over recent years. Two things must be basically understood. One is that any tract of forest or rangeland, like any river system or wildlife habitat, is not just a lifeless resource which can be casually exploited. It is, instead, a living system capable of improving its own productivity, and having vital influence upon the productivity of commercial land use and human settlement in surrounding areas. The other main point is that all of us must recognize the danger, to our own interests and to future generations, of entering a phase in which very rapidly increasing human numbers coincide with the erosion of natural resources and functions on which human life depends.

We have tended to approach all natural assets with an eye to immediate and most profitable exploitation, without concern for the increasing environmental cost. Now we must move into a new era of planned restoration and scientific conservation, so that our inheritance of natural resources can provide a sustained yield, while making positive contribution to the health of surrounding systems and the productivity of basic enterprises.

This is an issue of such importance that I have decided to establish a permanent Presidential Commission for co-ordinating the necessary national programmes in the general field of soil conservation and reafforestation. The Commission will consist of prominent Kenyans with the required knowledge and background experiences. I urge all of you, in every corner of our Republic, to look upon this work as a new and exciting crusade, in which everyone can play a part and from which everyone must equally benefit.

Now there is one final subject which I wish to mention briefly. Madaraka Day is not really a suitable occasion for any detailed review of regional or international affairs. However, I must let you know that I am far from happy with the pattern of events in Uganda. Only a few months ago, it seemed that things had at last started moving along the right lines. But most recent happenings and circumstances have now added to a lengthy catalogue of difficulties. I believe I am right in stressing that all the recognized leaders in Uganda must somehow become involved in shaping an ultimate solution for their country, and that such a solution must somehow receive the genuine endorsement of all Uganda's people. Only then can there be the stability necessary for effective programmes of social recovery and economic development. Any solution enforced from outside will not, I am sure, work; nor would it be, in any case right.

To us, of course, Uganda is a sister country, and whatever anxieties we now feel spring constructively from the desire that a good-neighbour atmosphere between us will always prevail. It sometimes seems that there is little we can do, under present conditions. However, I assure the people of Uganda that Kenya stands ready to help in any way provided that we have the required resources and capability.

My dear countrymen, I have attempted today to give you a brief and factual picture of some of our national affairs and prospects. In regard to the coming year, there is no doubt in my mind that practical difficulties, especially the economic ones, will tend to increase rather than diminish. But given our vital commitment to national unity, and the mutual trust which links Government and people together, we will certainly overcome all challenges. With the philosophy of "Nyayo" as the keystone of our moral strength, let us all continue to work together in the task of nation-building for the peace, stability and prosperity of every Kenyan family and our country as a whole.

STATE HOUSE,  
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