

**SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT, HON.
DANIEL ARAP MOI, C.G.H., M.P., ON KENYATTA DAY,
20th OCTOBER, 1982**

MY DEAR KENYANS,

As you all know, every year in our Republic we make suitable countrywide arrangements to celebrate this occasion as a moment of great significance in our national life. The recognition of Kenyatta Day is, most fundamentally, a tribute to the memory of a world-renowned African leader who became the Father of our own Nation. But Kenyatta Day also serves to remind us all of the long and hard struggle for Kenyan's independence—a struggle which was associated with creation of the life-force of national unity, and which was followed by determined plans and efforts to meet the aspirations of the people.

We are, of course, still a young country in many ways—including the crucial fact that the bulk of our population consists of young people. In such a situation there is often the danger of important events or developments of the past becoming obliterated by happenings and problems of the present time. I therefore want to stress to you all—young and old alike—that it is most important that we should constantly maintain a proper sense of perspective. National character has its roots in history, however recent. Further, it is dangerous to disregard the origins and principles underlying all the human rights, freedoms and opportunities which sometimes appear to be taken for granted.

And so as my heartfelt greetings reach out this morning to every Kenyan family, I will in this address look at some of the things that have happened, and some conclusions that are taking shape, since the last Kenyatta Day. I also want to add that in this kind of review, which is absolutely necessary now and then in the never-ending and noble task of nation building, we must always be frank and courageous. Above all we should avoid the dangers of deceiving ourselves through, for example, ignoring difficult facts and harsh realities.

As we all sadly remember, nearly three months ago we experienced in this Republic what was loosely described as “an attempted coup”. In reality that disturbance lacked any of the

sophistication of cohesion which might have justified such a title, and turned out to be a disgusting manifestation of dishonour, rebellion and vandalism promoted by immature and unstable young men. However, the first point I want to make about all this is that the outbreak was tackled, in a deliberate and competent fashion, by the Kenyans themselves. Disciplined reaction at the time, which was followed later by declarations and countrywide demonstrations, made it abundantly clear that our nationhood is securely founded upon deeply-ingrained attributes of loyalty and unity. And one important lesson we have learnt from that experience is that on the strength of those attributes, we shall together always overcome whatever future problems might arise.

We Kenyans must recognize one sad but true fact. This is that in the course of any country's development there will be, now and then, some events that are wholly regrettable. But as a balancing factor, each trial or challenge that is surmounted must leave the nation stronger. In the regrettable event we are discussing, the physical impact was confined to Nairobi and Nanyuki, although the psychological shock was countrywide. Having had this glimpse of mindless chaos, there is no family now, anywhere in Kenya, who would wish to see such an experience repeated. And so, in effect, what began as a threat to national stability has resulted in a fresh consolidation of stability and national unity.

Another point I want to make is that the national character in Kenya, which I referred to earlier, has become additionally reflected through the manner in which the culprits and opportunist criminals involved have been treated. Even in this present age, there are some parts of the world in which violent punitive measures would have included public spectacles and mass executions. But here in this Republic, we have simply exercised the profound constitutional strength, rooted in our history, of the rule of law.

Thus military and civil legal processes have been set in motion, embodying rights and safeguards as prescribed by law. In all cases dealt with, the outcome can only be regarded as both firm and fair.

And as another reflection of our national character, every effort was made to assemble and hand back large quantities of looted goods, which even their owners might hardly have expected. It was also a lesson to the people that stealing other people's property will not be tolerated.

I want now to say a few words about the University of Nairobi—an institution which was brought into sorrowful disrepute by a student body which proved itself pathetically vulnerable to the crudest stupidities of dialectical subversion. The university will, of course, be reopened. But before we do that the present set-up must first be dissolved. In other words we want a new university—a university which can ensure that such an eminent institution of higher learning is made relevant to nation-building requirements, with no prospect henceforth that it could lie in our midst as a source or instrument of destruction.

From what I have said so far, it is clear that in the overall context of human grasp, there is much that all of us can learn—and should learn—from the recent experience. The first and the simplest question is, of course: why did it happen? This question has prompted many overseas correspondents to fill newspaper space or broadcasting time with complex explanations and theories. Almost all of these were totally wide of the mark, and did not even bring into account some of the unpredictable impulses of human nature.

Any free society embraces the risks of sudden disaffection prompted by evil-minded, hypocritical and power-hungry men who feel thwarted and frustrated, or by others in the pay of foreign masters. And the tragedy then is the harm that might be done to the interests and values of the vast majority of people, who are not only law-abiding, but also shrewd enough to understand the meaning of mutual social responsibility. The environment in which Kenya lives has in the recent period been very rough, and increasingly so. But we Kenyans must realize that we are all in the same boat, and that the only way to reach some desirable harbour is for all of us to go on working together in a creative atmosphere of peace and trust.

And since we are determined to maintain a free society, in the face of whatever risks, both the Government and the Party must in future be more vigilant. There has been no occasion on which

I have ever promised you that progress would be smooth and that everything would be simple. It has always been my policy to tell you the truth, about problems and shortcomings, as well as about opportunities and achievements. And so Members of Parliament and officials of Kanu must strive harder henceforth to educate the people, especially about the difficulties of nation-building and the danger of expecting miracles.

And in order to ensure that the leaders play their role properly, I have now arranged for preparation of a Code of Conduct related to the duties of all Ministers, Members of Parliament, public servants and Party workers. This is not an easy exercise, or a task which should be lightly undertaken. But we are now entering a phase, in the development of our nation, when many old ideas and comfortable assumptions will have to be amended. It has seemed to me right, therefore, that all leaders and public servants should know—in basic terms—what will be expected of them as they carry out their responsibilities. And one of the fundamentals in all this is to ensure and promote dedication to the national interest, without any thought of exploiting an official position for personal gain.

I am quite determined now to remove any weaknesses, some of which have been revealed in recent times, from the whole administrative machinery of the State. The entire structure of Government, in all compartments and at all levels, must be competent to serve and to satisfy national requirements. And that competence must include intelligent anticipation of problems instead of always responding to problems and crises after they have occurred.

In this connection the Government is, at the present time, in the process of implementing recommendations contained in the report of the Working Party on Government Expenditures. Despite its restricted title, that document in fact deals squarely with the composition and performance of Government, then examines ways in which resources and opportunities might be more effectively deployed, and rounds off the argument by proposing changes in various economic measures and controls. Indeed, in my experience of public life, I regard that report to be one of the most perceptive

of the documents produced in the country since our independence. All national leaders should therefore study and comprehend these published findings.

And because of the importance of that report in our future planning and administering the development process, I want to say a bit more about some of its recommendations and related matters in general.

On almost all ceremonial occasions over the last three years I have felt bound to mention—and to analyse—the mounting gravity of economic challenges facing our Republic. Such ground has also been covered, in more detail, within sessional papers presented to Parliament. It has been made clear that many difficulties have arisen from continuing global recession and inflation, sparked off originally by huge increases in the price of oil, and worsened then by reluctance of the industrialized nations to subscribe to a more equitable international economic order and development strategy. And as we painfully know, whenever the worldwide economy is stagnant, it follows that smaller developing nations are beset by many unfair pressures and disadvantages, including severe deterioration in terms of trade like the one now afflicting us. This whole global situation has been a major factor in slowing down the pace of our country's progress.

However, my message today is that there are a number of domestic shortcomings, and internal considerations, that have begun to exert equally serious influence. I said a few moments ago that we were entering a new phase of development—a phase which will require many adjustments to economic practices and social attitudes. It takes time for all this to become apparent, as the outcome of deep study. I therefore want to sketch for you now a few of the conclusions that my Government has been gradually reaching.

It must be said, first, that so long as human numbers here continue to increase at the present alarming rate, growing economic problems with their social consequences are quite inevitable. It has been pointed out many times that a rapidly increasing population must place an intolerable strain on economic provisions and social services, while requiring development targets in various fields to be stretched beyond realistic limits. Such general warnings have often been broken down into illustrations related to land and to

food supplies, or to education and employment, or to urban and rural infrastructures. But the trend has still continued, and we must now work out how policies and measures in this area can be made more effective. I want to stress that for the sake of our people, the future generations and the nation in general, we must somehow bring down the rate of increase in our population to a figure which we can support. I urge all political leaders and public servants to impress this critical fact upon the people with whom they are in closest contact. We must accept that we shall not be able to achieve the required rate of economic and social progress unless we are able to keep the size of our national family within the bounds of facilities and opportunities that can possibly be made available.

Moving on from this, the vital conception of helping ourselves means many other things as well. Here we have to face up to some disagreeable facts. And one of these is that harsher challenges of the past year or two have spotlighted, very clearly, some failures in the planning process and a number of weaknesses in fields of management. This is, of course, worrying. But, at the same time, there is comfort to be found in such a realization. The influence we can exert upon global trends and pressures is very small indeed. But when any shortcomings are internal, then we must and will put our own mistakes right.

There are some principles, for example, that must be redesigned in regard to the size, the structure and the performance of our entire Civil Service. In the opening phases of independence and development, we were very properly concerned with moving quickly towards Africanization of the Public Service, with re-defining and expanding its responsibilities, and with the use of the Civil Service as a sort of occasional sponge which, in the overall national interest, could soak up some of the problems of unemployment. But in the coming period, and for many good reasons, some quite different criteria will have to be applied.

We have run into the very real danger now of creating, in Kenya, a large and impersonal bureaucracy which, by its nature and complexity, has not fully encouraged or stimulated personal and business initiative. This is a positive reason for urgent re-examination of the size, structure and deployment of the Civil Service. But apart from this factor, we must think always in terms

of productivity. Everyone in public employment, whether at top executive levels or at the most modest levels, must have some constructive and useful function that is attuned to the promotion of development. The carrying of passengers is something we cannot afford, and we have to consider as well the distressing impact of low morale among those who really have no satisfying full-time duty or responsibility.

There are a number of other things that I could say about our Civil Service. Indeed and as you know, I have recently made frequent references to our Public Service. My intention, of course, is not to demoralize the public servants. Rather it is to urge them not to be complacent or acquire feelings of self-importance. Looking back over the period we have been independent, the Civil Service has been a truly major factor in our economic and social development. What we now want is to sharpen that instrument for the 1980's and beyond—years in which we shall continue to face many serious challenges. And that sharpening will involve fundamental changes in the size, structure and working methods of the Civil Service.

Turning now to a few more general policy considerations, I want to make it clear first that, over the forthcoming period, our Republic must come to rely much more significantly upon what is called private enterprise. Actually after twenty years of our political independence, it is time for this to happen. More capital can now be found, and skills of many kinds have been acquired. So we as a nation are now in a position to rely more on the individual Kenyans and their companies or co-operatives in the development of our economy. At the moment progress towards this objective is being hindered by a number of factors. One example is that while in recent years substantial public revenues have been raised by approved and competent means, demands and consequent public expenditures have always risen even faster. So public borrowing has taken an increasing slice of whatever financial resources or facilities were available. In a very real sense, this has meant that the private sector has been denied credit facilities for its growth. Such a situation must rapidly be put right, in order that private enterprise, as defined by us in Kenya, can again become expansive and vigorous.

For this and other reasons, I am convinced now that we must quickly plan a reduction of Government involvement in commercial activities and day-to-day business. I can remember the arguments and incentives that were absolutely sound, many years ago, for growing and far-reaching public investment and Government initiative. That was the time when we were concerned with getting a whole new national economy off the ground, with developing large-scale infrastructures and controlling strategic industries and ensuring that all efforts and enterprises supported the Kenyanization programme. But phases always pass, and circumstances change. Today our thinking has to be different, especially as, in a sense, the whole process of Government involvement in business and commercial activities has been tending to get out of hand.

It is not generally known or appreciated that, in the realm of public enterprise today, there are now 147 statutory boards established under specific Acts of Parliament; 47 companies which are wholly owned by Government; and 36 companies in which the Government has a controlling interest of 51 per cent or more. In addition, there are 93 other companies in which the Government has, directly or indirectly, some interest. As a matter of fact the Government now controls a very substantial part of our total economy. When to the Government's own share we add the role played by co-operatives and local authorities, the firm commitment of our party Kanu to make steady progress towards some of the fundamental objectives contained in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its application in Kenya becomes very clear. Today the public sector in Kenya is now larger, as a segment of the total economy, than in some of the vocal countries in Africa, and may be elsewhere, which claim to be more socialistic.

However, it is now time to re-examine this growth of the public sector. For one thing I am convinced that some of this heavy investment could be much more fruitfully assigned, henceforth, to the further development of rural infrastructures. And since in the past some of the statutory bodies have been rather casual about efficiency of operations, I am equally convinced that a number of these public enterprises could be made more productive and more profitable in the hands of private Kenyans as owners and managers.

To a very large extent as well, excessive public involvement in commercial activities has diverted management talent—which is always scarce—away from the critical functions of Government. And certainly, in future, I will consider one of the primary functions of my Government as being to create a suitable and favourable setting in which the people of this country can develop themselves.

Perhaps my most critical message today is that we must do more—we must do everything possible—to encourage self-reliance as one of the greatest of our African strengths and traditions. And so, in the continuing context of my earlier broad remarks about the private sector, we must come to rely upon Kenyans and Kenya institutions as instruments of production and development. To this end, the Government will gradually seek to divest itself—by selling to Kenyan organizations such as co-operatives—of some of the public investments which should not, for a variety of reasons, be the business of the State to run.

I have now said a good deal about what the Government is proposing to do in the essential context of amended emphasis and outlook as applied to the design of our economic future. Finally, therefore, I want to isolate just three fields in which the particular co-operation of people concerned will be both sought and expected. Some of these matters have been mentioned before on various occasions, but all of them would bear repeating.

First, and as an important tactical means of promoting economic advancement, we will henceforth be looking upon each district as the basic operational unit. Harnessing the full impetus of local knowledge and involvement, each district team will become the major force and instrument for the design and management of rural development. This will create for the people—and for their chosen representatives—a whole new world of opportunity—and I am confident that such a fresh approach should sponsor more rapid and more meaningful progress. But this must obviously be determined, in any given place, by the enthusiasm and the quality of popular response.

Secondly, the people must realize that, as an outcome of many problems and factors some of which I have described today, our country's financial health has been giving much cause for anxiety.

As a nation, we simply cannot go on dispensing money in ever-greater quantities, without worrying too much about where it all goes or whether any of it ever comes back. There could be no quicker road to disaster.

And so as one consequence, related for example to education and health services or water supplies, we shall be examining ways of recovering some share of the costs from those who benefit from the service and are in a position to pay. And then, harsher measures and penalties will have to be directed towards those who receive seasonal credit, or other loans from public sources, and show no inclination to repay. No man who exhibits this lack of integrity can call himself a Kenya nationalist in our present circumstances.

Thirdly, our young people must come to understand the importance of working in the rural areas, whether on farms or in commerce and the service industries. This is the arena of dignity, and of social priority, and ultimate potential. There is no point at all in more of our young men adding to already grave urban problems by flocking to the cities and towns, in the often fruitless search for white-collar or domestic jobs. There is even less wisdom in their saying that they cannot find contentment in the rural areas. It is the task of youth—and we do need the strength and imagination of the youth—to help make the rural areas productive and modern, in all diverse ways, so creating the surroundings and the structures of social contentment. And it is for young people to realize, in respect of their eventual inheritance, that rural development is the only sensible foundation upon which Kenya's economic future can assuredly be built.

The matters I have discussed in this address are important and urgent. I shall therefore expect all Members of Parliament, officials of Kanu, and senior members of the Provincial Administration, to make certain that the people understand the content and the meaning of my message to the nation today.

My dear Kenyans, on this special occasion we should also remember that there are people in some parts of Africa who have yet to gain their political independence. In particular, we should today remember Namibia. We in Kenya congratulate our brothers

and sisters there who, under the leadership of SWAPO, are fighting gallantly for their independence. Some countries are now trying to delay the independence of Namibia by saying that there should be a link between the independence of the country and the withdrawal of Cuban troops now in Angola. We in Kenya reject that suggestion; and as I have said before the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is an arrangement between two sovereign states. I am extremely heartened to see more and more countries, including some in the so-called "Contact Group", reaching the same view. The independence of Namibia is long overdue, and Kenya will play her part to prevent any further delaying tactics

Another matter I should mention today is that of our dear continental body—the Organization of African Unity. It is regrettable that this year the regular summit of the OAU was not held as scheduled. The situation facing the continent as a result of that failure is a truly dangerous one. We in Kenya are of the view that the summit should be held as a matter of urgency in order to, among other things, arrest those internal and external forces which are now working against the interests of the African continent and its people. We appeal to all OAU member states to put the interests of the continent first in all their calculations so that the summit can be held soon.

My dear brethren, in ending this address I want to say again that today we are recalling a period of struggle, and of faith, and of ultimate achievement. Since independence we have made considerable progress in all spheres because as a nation we have had the maturity to know when to consolidate, when to experiment and when to change course. At this present time, under domestic and global circumstances that are very difficult, we are entering a new phase of challenge calling for equivalent demands on our national character. We shall still need work and faith, flexibility and wisdom. And what I have tried to point out to you all is how we should go about defending, and making fully operational, the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity.

HARAMBEE!!! NYAYO!!!