

**SPEECH BY H.E. PRESIDENT DANIEL T. ARAP MOI, C.G.H.,
M.P., ON THE OCCASION OF MADARAKA DAY—
1st JUNE, 1982**

MY DEAR KENYANS,

On this nineteenth anniversary of Madaraka, I send my heartfelt greetings to all Kenyan families within and beyond our Republic. That message of greeting is not a ceremonial requirement: it is a message which is conveyed in sincere terms and in the fullest recognition that we are all brought here together by unswerving dedication to the integrity and development of our nation. With that thought in mind, it is appropriate to observe that while this day is for celebration, the occasion is also a very solemn one.

And in that connection, we must always remember that there were many sacrifices which preceded Madaraka. That may sound an obvious statement. But let us bear in mind that as I am making that statement today, and as we celebrate this year's Madaraka Day, about sixty per cent of our entire population was not born before the attainment of Madaraka on 1st June, 1963. Therefore, these young people, who constitute the majority in our population, have no first-hand knowledge of the pre-Madaraka sacrifices I am referring to. Consequently, it is necessary for all those of us who have that knowledge and experience to make adequate arrangements for ensuring that the younger people of today are aware of the struggles and sacrifices undertaken by the people of Kenya in order to achieve democracy and independence for our nation. We must never forget those struggles and sacrifices. And let me say that I am always saddened whenever I see our young people appearing to take for granted the system and democracy which they enjoy, with their roots firmly embedded in the rule of law and concern for human rights. Our national independence, commitment to democracy and protection and enhancement of human rights must not be taken for granted. They require, instead, careful and continuous nurturing as well as deliberate efforts to ensure that they are always fully reflected in all our activities.

It is because of considerations of this nature that Madaraka Day, as I have said before, must be the occasion on which we, as a nation, should pause to examine past and current experiences

and future prospects. We must ensure that we always learn from what has happened in the past, and is happening now, as we prepare for the future. Further, this is the kind of exercise which must be undertaken with deep feeling, and in a manner which brings back to us the real meaning of self-determination. Today, as in the past, I shall follow that tradition. And in doing that let me remind you that in the recent years, I have discussed with you many of our experiences in relation to the future. Today, I shall highlight only two of the experiences which we must keep to heart as we make further progress towards consolidation of our nationhood and achievement of the wide range of aspirations and objectives we have set for ourselves.

The first subject I want to discuss with you today is the whole question of preparation of our young people for their future responsibilities. Our young people, boys and girls, and whatever they are doing and wherever they might be, are very important indeed. The future of our nation will depend on their integrity, their understanding of their nation and its aspirations, and their commitment to work for those aspirations and objectives loyally and in a determined manner. What all this means is that the education for these young Kenyans, in order that they can undertake their responsibilities adequately, is an area which demands our continuous and thorough attention.

And in doing that, let us realize that this education for the young takes place in two ways. First, there is the formal education in schools, training centres, universities and other established educational institutions. The second way in which this education is pursued can be referred to as the informal system of education in which the parents, and society in general, play the most important part.

Now, there is no doubt that as far as formal education is concerned, our nation has been making enormous progress, at all levels, since we achieved Madaraka. Tremendous expansion has taken place in primary school education, at the secondary school level, training institutions of one sort or another, polytechnics, and at higher levels of education including the university itself. I don't want to give you too many statistics; but now and then it is

useful to refer to actual figures. Whereas in 1963 we had 891,553 students in primary schools, the corresponding number is now about 4.3 million. At the secondary school level, the corresponding figures are 30,000 in 1963 and more than 500,000 in 1982. And as for the university itself, it should be remembered that in 1963 we did not have our own university and we were part of the University of East Africa. However, the number of students at the Nairobi campus was 375 whereas the figure for the University of Nairobi, which includes the Kenyatta University College, is now 8,800. In addition, enormous progress has been made in increasing and expanding training facilities sectorally and geographically. We now have agricultural training institutes in addition to the Egerton College, village polytechnics, national polytechnics in Nairobi and Mombasa, organized vocational training schemes co-ordinated by the Ministry of Labour and Directorate of Personnel, and so on.

In terms of government expenditure, formal education has been absorbing the biggest single allocation in our entire Budget. When training schemes and voluntary efforts are taken into account, it becomes clear that the nation as a whole has been investing a very substantial proportion of its annual national product in education. One very significant aspect of these efforts has been the enormous response, on the part of the people themselves, to work hand-in-hand with their government in the development and expansion of the educational system. In particular, Harambee efforts have been of crucial importance in the expansion of primary-school and secondary-school education. Indeed, many places in the secondary schools today have been established and are being supported by the local communities. This spirit of close and active co-operation between the people and the government is one of the major sources of our success in promoting widespread development for all. It is a spirit which has served us well in the past. Today, I want to stress that it is a spirit from which even more will be demanded in the years to come.

The figures which I have given you about our progress in the field of education are intended to indicate the very significant efforts which we as a nation continue to make to prepare the young for their future responsibilities. But while we can be happy, and

indeed proud, about the expansion of the formal education system, I am not so sure that we have given as much thought and attention to the informal education of our children by their parents and the society in general. The kind of education I am talking about here concerns our traditions, the sacrifices made during the bitter struggle for independence, promotion of a committed sense of social responsibility, the importance and dignity of manual work, the meaning of loyalty to the nation and how it should be displayed and practised, the meaning and importance of discipline, and so on. As I said earlier, I feel sad whenever it appears as if our young people take for granted the system of democracy, tolerance and commitment to human rights which exists in Kenya. When I see that, I always feel that we are not doing enough to educate our young people in the comprehensive manner required for their important responsibilities in the years to come. And as I said on the last Labour Day, this is a task which all of us, especially parents, must take very seriously indeed.

I would also like to add that in educating the young we must not hesitate to apply the necessary degree of discipline. In some languages, there is a saying that "if you spare the rod you will spoil the child." While harsh and unnecessary use of disciplinary action is not needed and could be counter-productive, stern measures must be applied when the situation demands that kind of action. And here let me stress that I am not only talking about primary schools and secondary schools: I am also talking about students at the university and training institutions. Recently, some of these students have displayed a very high degree of irresponsibility and hooliganism. From almost every angle, these students are well-looked after by the nation—especially when compared with the situation of Kenyan students abroad. Actually, it is perhaps worth saying more about this important matter. I said a while ago that the number of students at the University of Nairobi is now 8,800. But we should also know that the number would be a lot higher but for lack of resources and facilities. This is because there are many Kenyans who meet the university entrance requirements but unfortunately are not admitted because of lack of facilities. Many parents, faced with this situation, have undertaken enormous sacrifices to send their sons and daughters to study abroad. These parents have to pay considerable amount of money,

often supplemented with contributions from friends and relatives, while the young persons involved have to accept many hardships as they live in foreign countries. Therefore, those young men and women who are fortunate enough to get admitted to the University of Nairobi must recognize that they are very privileged indeed. They must not abuse that privilege.

While thinking about this whole situation, and with special reference to the number of Kenyans who meet university entrance requirements but are not admitted because of lack of facilities, and the enormous cost involved in sending our young people for education abroad, we should also examine the various ways in which the problem could be reduced. And one way of doing that might be to introduce arrangements in which those students fortunate enough to get admitted to the University of Nairobi are asked to contribute a bit more for their education so that university education can be extended to more and more Kenyans. That kind of arrangement would, of course, have to be designed with great care so that those who are truly unable to meet their contributions are assisted in one way or another. Certainly ability to pay must not be the only criteria.

It is because of considerations of this kind that I am always very unhappy, as I said before, whenever I see some of our students in Kenya behaving in a manner which indicates that they do not understand the realities around them, and the situation facing the nation in general. I therefore repeat that we must take appropriate measures for ensuring that our young people are well prepared for their future responsibilities. And in that preparation the understanding on the part of those young people of the kinds of realities I am talking about here today is absolutely essential. I also want to stress that we shall not tolerate indiscipline, hooliganism or thuggery in our educational and training institutions. Furthermore, I want to make it very clear that we shall not allow a few individuals, who regard themselves as revolutionaries promoting foreign ideologies, to be disrupting our education and training programmes. In any case, what revolution do they want? Don't they see the real revolution which is taking place in Kenya—in terms of very determined efforts towards countrywide development for all?

And to the young people of Kenya, I want to say a few more things. First, they must not think that they know everything. They must proceed from the known to the unknown. Secondly, they must realize that without a basic knowledge of their country, its history, its society, its traditions, its aspirations and objectives, the economic challenges and opportunities facing it, and the constraints it faces in its development, they will become rootless. Unfortunately, literature and films from the so-called developed countries tend to give our young people the wrong sense of values. The young people of Kenya must recognize that they are first and foremost Kenyans, that they should be proud to be Kenyans, and that their future is in Kenya. They should also recognize that their mothers and fathers underwent real sacrifices for the independence of our nation, and that no nation can be built on flippancy, drug-taking, lack of compassion and feeling for the less privileged, lack of respect to the parents, and blind commitment to foreign ideologies. The young people of Kenya should also recognize that their ability to use foreign languages and to do complicated mathematical exercises do not make them leaders or give them wisdom for changing our society. Instead, they should regard those skills and knowledge as valuable tools in learning to be true Kenyans, in preparing themselves to serve Kenya, and in protecting our nation from misguided concepts often imported from abroad.

This is as much as I would like to say today on this extremely important subject. The Government will continue with its efforts towards expansion of educational system, and in making that system more relevant in terms of our nation's requirements. In that connection, I would like the nation to know that the entire structure of our educational system, from primary school to the university level, is being reviewed, and that major changes in it might be found necessary for early implementation.

My dear Kenyans, the other subject I want to discuss with you today is what I have already mentioned briefly concerning the importance of the people and the Government working together in the field of development. As we celebrate this year's Madaraka Day, let us remember that it was the spirit of devotion to our nation, and the unity of the people of Kenya, which enabled us

to achieve independence inspite of serious obstacles and hardships. In those years, we recognized that self-reliance and sacrifice were necessary if we were to achieve self-determination.

Development of our nation must be seen to be a major challenge requiring more of the same dedication, loyalty and willingness to sacrifice. When I was talking about education earlier, I referred to the enormous contribution made by voluntary efforts by the people themselves. I now want to stress that individual efforts and collective community efforts through Harambee will continue to be a major determining factor in the development of our nation.

Unhappily, now and then one gets the unfortunate feeling that in some parts of the country people expect the Government to do everything in the field of economic and social development. But the truth of the matter is that even if the Government established factories, schools, health centres and built roads, nothing very much would be achieved towards transformation of our economy unless the people themselves worked hard in their individual activities, especially agriculture. There are some parts of Kenya in which enormous progress would be made towards economic and social development, and the creation of many jobs, if only people recognized the need to work hard and consistently on the land. Development of our nation must come from the bottom, with some support from the top. This is not to deny the responsibility of the Government in the field of supporting local efforts, initiatives and enterprises in all sectors of the economy. But development means the development of the people, and therefore the people themselves must be fully involved, individually and collectively, in that process.

Further, in 1978 I said to the nation that it is the small efforts, and not necessarily the large projects which are undertaken by Government, which when taken together determine the rate at which we make steady progress towards achievement of our national development objectives. That statement remains true today. Therefore, I urge our people in all areas of the country not to wait for the Government to initiate development. Instead, they should get on with it. And for the politicians, I want to repeat that we want less talking and more action.

This is the basic approach we shall continue to follow in our development plans. The necessary measures will also be undertaken to ensure that civil servants, especially in the districts, concentrate on development efforts, and that they undertake their responsibilities in a more co-ordinated and planned manner. Here changes of attitude will also be necessary. Civil servants in the districts should not see themselves as masters of the people; they are servants of the people. Further, the civil servant should not spend his time and public resources driving round the district or province as a kind of foreign tourist: the civil servant is there to work hand-in-hand with the Kenyan families in all their development efforts. And the people themselves should not tolerate any officers who are found to be inefficient or corrupt. Such persons should be reported—and no one should fear that he or she might be victimized. You will be adequately protected while the corrupt person concerned will most certainly receive appropriate punishment. We as a nation must recognize the importance of strict discipline at all levels, and in all our activities. In the nyayo philosophy, respect for discipline is at the very centre.

My dear Kenyans, I would like to end my address to you today by saying a few brief words on the general economic situation facing us. And in doing that, I want to remind you that I believe in complete frankness, and I am determined that no reality should be hidden from the people. Indeed, it is my firm policy to ensure that realities facing us are discussed with the people, including their elected representatives in Parliament.

The first point to make is that we as a nation must never ignore or under-estimate the economic problems facing us. The situation continues to be difficult, primarily because of the world recession and continued increases in prices of those goods which we must import. As a result, we have pressures on many fronts, including creation of adequate job opportunities and availability of foreign exchange to support our development programmes. However, we must never adopt a negative attitude or a fatalistic one in dealing with these challenges or difficulties. As I have said before, the important thing we must do is to understand clearly the nature and magnitude of the problems facing us, and then to tackle such problems with the full conviction that as a united nation and with

dedicated efforts, we shall overcome. As one example, let us recall that, two years ago, we faced a serious crisis of food shortage. I appealed to the people of Kenya to do more towards food production, while I made the necessary efforts to supplement whatever we had in the nation with food imports from other countries. Today, I am very happy to say that we have no food crisis. The people of Kenya have responded to my appeal in the true Kenyan fashion of complete determination:

What we have achieved in this important sector should convince whoever is doubtful about the resilience of our economy and the determination of the people of Kenya to work for their own future that he or she is misguided. And I am saying this because there are, unfortunately, a few misguided and disgruntled people in Kenya who appear to concentrate on negative approaches, and who spend their time finding faults instead of making constructive proposals. If you see somebody with that kind of approach, and who is only interested in apportioning blame for any difficulty which our nation might encounter, you should be aware that you are not dealing with a follower of the Nyayo philosophy. As the Bible says, you should be aware of wolves who come to you in sheep's clothing. Fortunately, those misguided people are few, and we know them. We believe in the rule of law and the protection and enhancement of human rights. And while we shall maintain our traditions of tolerance, openness and democratic principles, we must not allow these valuable traditions to be used by a few individuals to sow seeds of discord in our nation. We shall, therefore, continue to be vigilant and prepared to take whatever action is found necessary towards steady development and consolidation of our nation.

These are the few thoughts, my dear Kenyans, which I wanted to share with you today, and as you go back to your homes, and as you prepare yourselves for further efforts towards the development of our nation, continue to uphold and promote the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity. I shall be seeing many of you in my planned visits to the districts once I have completed my assignment as the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. And when I visit you in your locations and districts, I shall expect to see concrete efforts in the field of economic and social

development. I repeat that the Nyayo philosophy demands less talk and more action. Let each one of us be guided, in all our activities, by that philosophy.

HARAMBEE!!!

NYAYO!!!

**STATE HOUSE,
NAIROBI.
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