



# ADDRESS TO THE NATION

*by*

His Excellency The President

MZEE JOMO KENYATTA

Uhuru Second Anniversary

12th December 1965





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## ADDRESS TO THE NATION

Hotuba ya Kutangazwa na  
Mheshimiwa Rais wa Kenya

mnamo siku ya

Kuathirisha Mwaka wa Pili wa Uhuru  
12th Desemba 1965

Wananchi . . . .

Siku ya kesho Desemba 12, itatukumbusha mwisho wa mwaka wa pili wa Uhuru. Miaka hiyo miwili iliyopita, imekuwa miaka yetu sisi wenyewe; miaka ambayo tumeshi kwa Uhuru kamili. Hivi leo tumekwisha safiri mbali, kufuatia njia ambayo tumejichagulia sisi wenyewe. Tunapoishangilia sikukuu hii kwa furaha, tuwakumbuke wale wananchi wenzetu na marafiki wengineo, ambao kwa kujitolea na kujitahidi kwao, uhuru ulipiganiwa na kunyakuliwa kutoka kwa wabeberu. Sote na tujitolee tena ili kuudumisha uhuru na kujenga taifa jipya. Kwa shangwe na vigelegele, hebu na tuwasimulie watoto wetu, na tujisimulie sisi wenyewe maana ya Sikukuu hii. Walakini lo lote tufanyalo, tulifanye bila kinyongo wala kisasi cha siku zilizopita, bali tulifanye tukiwa na furaha, ukamilifu, na fahari ya taifa letu huru.

Jamhuri yetu leo ina nguvu kuliko wakati mwingine wo wote uliopita. Tumeungana chini ya chama kimoja cha siasa, yaani KANU. Idadi na vikosi vya wanajeshi

Broadcast Address by  
His Excellency The President

on the

Second Anniversary of Uhuru  
12th December 1965

Countrymen . . . .

Tomorrow 12th December will mark the second anniversary of our *Uhuru*. The two years that now lie behind us were our own years, lived as free men. We have travelled far, on a road of our own choosing. As we celebrate this occasion with joy, let us remember all those of our countrymen and friends by whose sacrifices freedom was won. Let us dedicate ourselves anew to the cause of freedom and nation building. Let us tell ourselves and our children, with words and songs, the significance of this occasion. But whatever we do, let us do it without bitterness of the past but with happiness and maturity of a free and proud nation.

Our Republic is stronger today than ever before. We are united under one Kanu Party; the numbers and units of our Armed Forces have increased and their fire power improved; the economy continues to expand despite the drought, and we have built a Civil Service composed mainly of our own people.



letu vimeongezeka, na zana zao za vita zimekuwa zenye nguvu zaidi; utajiri wa nchi umezidi kupanuka ingawa mvua ilikuwa chache; vile vile tumekwisha jenga utumishi wa serikali ambao sasa uko mikononi ya Waafrika wenzetu.

Jambo la muhimu kwa nchi kama hii yetu ya Kenya, ni watu wote kujitolea na kushika njia ya maendeleo. Uhuru ulifungua milango ya bidii nyingi, ambazo kwa miaka mingi zilikuwa zimezuiliwa. Kama wananchi wa Kenya sasa tunajua sisi ni kina nani, tunajua mambo tunayoshikilia ni yapi, na tunajua njia ya maendeleo ya binadamu ambayo tumekata shauri kuifuata. Kwa hivyo nawapongeza na kuwakaribisha watu wote, walioonyesha wazi matumaini yao kwa siku za usoni, na kujiandikisha kama raia wa Kenya.

Kama nilivyosema siku ya madaraka miaka miwili unusu iliyopita, maendeleo hayataangukia nchi hii kama vile manna ilivyoanguka kutoka mbinguni. Tangu siku hiyo nimetiwa moyo na kuona faraja kubwa, kwa jinsi wananchi walivyoutikia mwito wa Harambee. Nchini kote kazi za harambee zimeanzishwa, na kuendeshwa, kwa maongozi ya wananchi wenyewe. Moyo wa shirika ulioonyeshwa na zile jamaa 25,000 ambazo hazikuwa na mashamba, na ambazo hivi sasa zimekwisha patiwa makao ya ekari milioni moja, umenifanya kuona fahari kubwa juu ya watu wangu. Kadhalika nina fahari kuu, kwa vile watu wengi walivyoutikia ule mwito wa mchango wa kuondoa Njaa, na kwa hisani yao, wachanga pesa nyingi ili kuwasaidia jirani zao waliokuwa

What matters most in a country like Kenya is the positive commitment of all the people to progress. *Uhuru* released the energy that for so many years was frustrated. As Kenyans we now know who we are, and what we stand for, and along what path of human progress we are determined to move. I therefore welcome all those persons who demonstrated faith in our future and have registered as Kenya citizens.

As I said on *Madaraka* Day two and a half years ago, progress will not fall to this country like manna from Heaven. Since then, I have been greatly heartened and encouraged by the response to the call of *Harambee*. All over the country *Harambee* projects have sprung up through the people's own initiative. The spirit shown by those 25,000 landless families who have been settled on a million acres of farming land has given me much pride. So also has the response for voluntary famine relief contributions, which now amount to about £90,000. With this money, and the expected good crops of this season, we now hope to overcome the famine challenge. I wish to take this opportunity to express my thanks most sincerely to the people who have generously contributed to this worthy cause.

I say to you today that Kenya's real progress is visible. All my long experience of public life, and of travels to many countries, has taught me that real progress is not just a matter of figures. It lies in the spirit of the people, and there are many signs. As I travel to all parts of the Republic, I see more and more of our



taabuni. Hivi sasa jumla ya pesa hizo imetimia kiasi cha shilingi kama 1,800,000. Tukitumia pesa hizi, pamoja na mavuno mema tunayotarajia kupata mwaka huu, tunatumaini kuweza kupigana na njaa kwa utoshelevu, nami nikiwa na furaha kubwa, ningependa kutoa asante kwa wote waliouitikia mwito huu.

Mimi nawaambieni leo kwamba, maendeleo halisi ya Kenya, sasa yanaonekana wazi. Maarifa yangu ya miaka mingi katika siasa, na matembezi yangu katika nchi nyingi ulimwenguni, yamenifundisha kwamba, maendeleo halisi ya nchi hayaonyeshwi na wingi wa pesa, wala wa watu, wala wa mazao. Bali huwa katika tabia njema ya wananchi wenyewe. Nasi katika Kenya tuna ishara nyingi za tabia hii. Siku hizi ninapotembelea sehemu zote za Jamhuri hii yetu, ninajionea mwenyewe watu wengi, wake kwa waume wanaonekana wakiwa wachangamfu, wenye afya nzuri, na wa kisasa, na watu kama hawa wanaongezeka kila siku. Washindani wa michezo kama vile Kipchoge wameipatia Kenya sifa ya ulimwengu mzima. Kama mtu mmoja alivyosema, "watu wetu huinua vichwa vyao juu, hawainami tena, kama walivyo kuwa wakiinama, zamani zile za kikoloni." Sote sasa tunazidi kuona faida ya kujiheshimu nafsi zetu wenyewe, na kuwa na fahari juu ya ubinadamu wetu.

Maendeleo ya aina hii ni ya muhimu hivi kwamba, hakuna cho chote kinachofaa kuyapinga. Kwa kufuatia jambo hili, nimetiwa moyo kuona kwamba uhalifu ume-pungua katika Jamhuri ya Kenya. Wananchi wenzangu, tulipigania uhuru ili kuunda jamii ambayo ndani yake,

ordinary men and women looking fresh and vigorous and modern. Athletes like Kipchoge have put Kenya on the map. As one person expressed it, "Our people look straight, not downwards as in the colonial times." Increasingly now, we feel the benefit of self-respect and pride in ourselves as human beings.

So important is this kind of progress that nothing must stand in its way. And to this end, I am most encouraged to see that crime in the Republic has gone down. Countrymen, we struggled for *Uhuru* in order to build a society in which each one of us can feel free and secure. Those responsible for criminal acts should no longer feel that they have friends among us.

At the State Opening of Parliament last month, I outlined to the country the range of policies and programmes within which we shall now advance. Our revised Development Plan will provide the full detail of our objectives and will bring out fresh concepts of practical development. But until we have secured universal literacy in our Republic, there remains the problem of conveying the content of all these speeches and documents to all our people.

Those of us who can read and write appreciate how enjoyment of life is extended by quiet reading in one's home. Indeed, an illiterate man cannot be truly free; he is a slave to other people's thought and understanding. I therefore attach great importance to the literacy campaign.



kila mmoja wetu atajisikia kuwa mwenye uhuru na usalama. Wahalifu wenye kuvunja sheria hawafai tena kuwa na marafiki miongoni mwetu.

Kwenye sherehe ya kufungua Jumba la Bunge mwezi uliopita, nilieleza nchi nzima muhutasari wa maongozi na maazimio ya serikali, ambayo kwayo tutaendelea kui-ongoza nchi hii. Taratibu yetu mpya ya mpango wa maendeleo (Development Plan) itaeleza wazi shabaha za serikali, mambo yatakayotendwa kwanza, na njia za kuyatendea; vile vile tutaonyesha fikira mpya za maendeleo ya busara. Walakini mpaka watu wetu wote wataka-poweza kusoma na kuandika, tutazidi kuwa na shida za kuwapasha habari za hotuba kama hizi na za mipango rasmi ya serikali.

Wale wetu wanaojua kusoma na kuandika, tunafahamu vema furaha kubwa mtu anayoweza kujipatia katika maisha, anaposoma vitabu wakati wa kupumzika nyumbani kwake. Kusema kweli mtu asiyejua kusoma wala kuandika, hawezi kuwa mwenye uhuru kamili; angali ni mtumwa wa mawazo na wa akili za watu wengine. Kwa hivyo, mimi natia mkazo zaidi juu ya juhudi zote za kuwafundisha watu wetu wote wajue kusoma na kuandika.

Serikali hukubali na kutimiza wajibu wake. Lakini katika jambo hili hatuna budi kurudi tena kwenye tabia na jitihada za mtu mwenyewe. Nami nawaambieni leo kwamba, katika shangwe hizi zetu za kila mwaka, furaha na fahari juu ya nchi yetu, itaongezeka tunapohesabu

The Government accepts its own duty. But in this field we come back yet again to personal initiative. I tell you today that, between these annual celebrations, our joy and pride in our country will be enhanced by the number of our fellow men who have acquired the light of reading and writing.

The Republic in these past two years has created its character by building on the dynamic force of nationalism. We have advanced on the sure foundations of a sense of unity and a single purpose.

In this advance, the Republic very much depends on the labour and initiative of countless men and women, some of whose names are not known to the public. I have in mind, for instance, the headmaster who, year in and year out, has continued to improve the organization of his school; the chairman of a co-operative who has continued to serve his members; the doctors, nurses, policemen and soldiers who remain on duty long after most of us have gone to bed. I should like to pay real tribute to these people.

But in the early days of nation building, there are always some people who remain slaves of the past. There are those who still occupy their little worlds of doubt. There are those who find some comfort in the spreading of suspicion. There are those who cannot rise above envy and continue to speak as if *Uhuru* meant the abolition of work and demolition of other people's property. There are those who cling to the barren past of tribalism and



wale wananchi miongoni mwetu ambao watakuwa wamejipatia mwanga na ujuzi wa kusoma na kuandika.

Mnamo miaka hiyo miwili iliyopita, Jamhuri yetu imejipatia sifa nzuri kwa vile ilivyojengwa juu ya mwenendo thabiti wa kitaifa. Tumeendelea, na tutazidi kuendelea mbele juu ya msingi imara wa umoja na nia safi.

Katika mwenendo huu, Jamhuri yetu inategemea zaidi, juu ya kazi na tabia za wananchi wake kwa waume wasio idadi, wengi wao wakiwa hata majina yao haya-julikani hadharani ya watu. Hapa nafikiria, kwa mfano, mtu kama mwalimu, ambaye kila mwaka hufanya kazi yake kwa makini akiiongoza skuli na watoto wake kwa njia nzuri; mtu kama mwenye kiti wa kikundi cha shirika (Co-operative) ambaye kwa tabia yake njema anajikinga na vishawishi vibaya; pengine ni daktari, au muuguzi au askari polisi au mwanajeshi ambaye huendelea na kazi kwa muda mrefu baada ya wengi wetu kwenda kulala. Ningependa kuwapongeza watu hawa wote mkono wa shukrani.

Walakini katika siku hizi za kwanza za kujenga taifa, hapakosi kuwa na watu wengine ambao wangali watumwa wa nyakati zilizopita. Wengine wangali wanaishi kwa wasiwasi. Wako wengine ambao hupata faraja kwa kutawanya shuku na maovu. Wengine hawawezi kuepukana na kijicho, nao huzidi kupiga domo kama kwamba uhuru uliwaazimia kutofanya kazi, na kuan-gamiza mali za watu. Kuna wale wengine ambao wangali wanashikilia dhuluma za ukabila, nao badala ya kuwa-

instead of leading people to new areas of progress, continue to speak as if other people are the authors of their misfortunes. I am happy to say that already these negative minds are disappearing. These people are being bypassed by the national stream of progress and of thought.

The truth is simple. For the man today who wants to travel or to move his produce, new roads are there. For a man who wants a farm, there is the settlement programme. For the family seeking education, there are new schools and training facilities. For the producer needing loans, there is machinery for this. For people in sickness, there are new hospitals and health services. For the man who needs justice, there is our own Parliament and a law of the people. For those seeking outlets for skills, there are new factories and enterprises.

On so many of these anniversaries, or occasions which call for ceremony throughout the year, a great contribution is made by the men of the armed forces and the police. I wish to pay tribute today to the manner in which all security forces carry out their duties on State and other social occasions, and in the sphere of many nation-building activities. Many dangers and difficulties have been surmounted by these men, within and beyond the North-Eastern Province of Kenya.

You will expect me to say just a word about Rhodesia. As you know, the three East African Governments, together with the Government of Zambia, have together decided on measures that should be taken in the circumstances. Work to implement all the agreed



ongoza wananchi kufuata njia mpya za maendeleo, huzurura wakipayukapayuka kama kwamba watu wengine ndio waliowazushia taabu zao. Nami nafurahiwa kusema kwamba, watu kama hawa wenye fikira za kinyume sasa wanatoweka. Watu kama hawa hupitwa upesi na mkondo wa maendeleo na fikira za kitaifa.

Kweli ni moja tu. Kwa mtu anayetaka kusafiri, yeye mwenyewe, au akiwa na nafaka zake njia mpya zime-tengenezwa. Kwa mtu anayetafuta shamba, tunao ule mpango wa kuwapatia watu makao. Kwa jamaa inayotafuta elimu, skuli mpya zenye mafunzo ya kila aina zimekwisha funguliwa. Kwa mfanyi biashara au mkulima anayehitaji mkopo, mipango ya kumwezesha kupata ipo. Kwa wale wanaougua kwa maradhi hospitali mpya na vituo vingi vya afya viko tayari kuwatibu. Kwa yule anayedai haki yake, tunalo bunge letu na sheria iliyo-wekwa na raia. Kwa wale wenye ujuzi ambao wanatafuta la kufanya, viwanda, kazi na biashara mpya zimekwisha anzishwa nchini kote.

Wakati wa sherehe za kila mwaka kama, hizi za leo, na nyinginezo nyingi wanajeshi pamoja na askari polisi hutoa msaada maalumu. Leo ningependa kuwapa mkono wa shukrani kwa jinsi wanavyoshikilia na kuendesha vizuri kazi zote za usalama. Siyo tu wakati wa shangwe kubwa za kiserikali, kama hizi za leo, bali pia wakati wa matukio mengineyo ya kujenga taifa. Hatari na shida nyingi zimekwisha shindwa na watu hawa washupavu

[Hotuba ya Kiswahili inaendelea

measures is now continuing. My Government is prepared, with the approval of Parliament, to support Zambia to maintain her territorial integrity. The position of Kenya is to give full support to our brothers in Rhodesia, to secure their just rights and to become fully independent of all foreign domination. We will adhere to O.A.U. and United Nations resolutions on Rhodesia.

It is fitting that on this anniversary, our National Social Security Fund should be launched. Starting within Government and other large employers of labour, this scheme will expand to cover 15,000 employers and 400,000 men and women in employment.

In accordance with the Kanu Manifesto and the principles of our African Socialism, this social security programme will have as its main objective the provision of benefits for old age. It will also bring increased security for workers or their families in the event of sickness or death.

Nation building must not only meet the problems of today, but also look towards the future. I am happy to reflect that so many of those who have done so much to make Kenya's future possible, may henceforth contemplate an age of retirement free from anxiety and want.

And now let us move together into our third year, with all its tasks and aspirations, strong in our *Harambee* spirit and committed to nation building.



hasa, katika Wilaya ya Mashariki ya Kaskazini. (North-Eastern Province.)

Haikosi mnanitazamia kusema machache juu ya Rhodesia. Kama mjuavyo, Serikali tatu za Afrika ya Mashariki, pamoja na serikali ya Zambia, tumekwisha kata shauri la matendo yanayohitajika kufuatia hali iliyoko Rhodesia. Na hivi sasa kazi ya kuanzisha matendo haya ingali inaendelea.

Ijapokuwa kwa sasa siwezi kutoboa kabisa hali ya matendo haya, yafaa niwaeleze kidogo juu yake. Kenya imesimama wima, nasi hatutasaidia kamwe, kitendo cho chote cha Uingereza, ambacho kimebuniwa kurudisha mamlaka yake katika Rhodesia na hatimaye kuitawala nchi hiyo kwa njia za kikoloni. Msaada wetu wote Lazima uende kuwasaidia Wananchi, Waafrika wenzetu wa Rhodesia waweze kujinyakulia Uhuru wao; Siyo tu kutokana na mikono ya magaidi wanao watawala sasa, bali hata kutoka mikononi mwa Uingereza. Kwa Sasa, Kenya inajiunga na maazimio yaliyokatwa na Ushirika wa Umoja wa nchi za Afrika (O.A.U.), pamoja na yale ya Umoja wa Mataifa ya ulimwengu (U.N.). Serikali yetu iko tayari, ikipata idhini ya bunge, kuisaidia Zambia kulinda mipaka yake, hata ikiwa ni lazima tuyapeleke majeshi yetu huko.

Hebu sasa nimalizie na jambo la kufurahisha la hapa Nyumbani. Ni jambo linalolingana sana, kwamba Leo katika sherehe hii yetu ya kila mwaka, nitaanzisha

mpango mwingine wa kitaifa utakaoitwa Akiba ya Usalama wa Jamii (National Social Security Fund). Mpango huu utaanzia na Serikali na Makampuni makubwa ya biashara. Lakini baadaye utapanuka na kuwaingiza matajiri 15,000 na wafanyi kazi 400,000 waume kwa wake.

Kufuatia maongozi ya chama cha KANU, na kufuatia yale ya Ujamii wa Kiafrika, Nia ya mpango huu wa Usalama wa Jamii, itakuwa ni kuwapatia wafanyi kazi ufanisi katika siku zao za uzeeni. Mpango wenyewe utaongeza usalama wa wafanyi kazi na wa jamaa zao wakati wa maradhi au baada ya kufariki kwao.

Kujenga taifa siyo tu kuondoa matatizo ya Leo, bali pia ni kuangalia na kutunza siku za usoni. Leo nina furaha kubwa kuona kwamba watu wetu ambao wameitumikia Kenya kwa miaka mingi, kutoka leo wanaweza kutupa macho na kuona mbele yao, maisha ya uzeeni yasiyo na mashaka wala upungufu.

Basi wananchi twendeni pamoja tukaanzie mwaka wetu wa tatu wa Uhuru tukiwa tayari kupambana na kazi zake zote na tamaa zake zote. Tujitolee kujenga taifa kwa nguvu zetu zote, tukiongozwa na ule moyo wetu wa "Harambee".

Office of the President  
NAIROBI

9th December 1965