

## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

### OFFICIAL REPORT

Wednesday, 29th March, 2000

The House met at 2.30 p.m.

*[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]*

### PRAYERS

### COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

#### UNAUTHORISED STRANGERS BARRED FROM PARLIAMENT

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members, I wish to bring to your attention the content of a letter I sent to all hon. Members on January, 25th, 2000, while the House was on recess, and I quote:

"In the recent past there have been disturbing instances of violence meted out to hon. Members and members of the public, either by strangers or by hon. Members themselves. I have also read in the Press, threats of hon. Members bringing gangs to Parliament to settle political scores, or to intimidate other hon. Members to their cause, or, worse, the whole House. As the person charged with the enormous responsibility of ensuring the security of each hon. Member within the precincts of Parliament, and to ensure the continued enjoyment by each Member of his or her rights and privileges, I am concerned that unless the current trend is checked, your own lives may be put in grave danger. The institution itself stands in real danger of being reduced to gangland. Obviously, this should not be allowed to materialise. I have, therefore, instructed the Clerk of the National Assembly to immediately ensure that there will be no unauthorised strangers in any part of Parliament buildings. To ensure free entry and exit of hon. Members, strangers milling around the entrances into Parliament buildings and the County Hall will be removed. No gangs by whatever name shall be allowed to harass either hon. Members or members of the public going about their lawful business. I call upon each and every one of you to assist, so that we can bring back dignity to our Parliament."

I wish further to remind hon. Members that these strict measures will continue to be applied for the security and comfort of all hon. Members. I also wish to remind hon. Members that the Speaker's Rules regarding the admittance of strangers will continue to apply. I have directed the Clerk to make these rules available to all hon. Members. I would also request hon. Members to confine their press conferences to the area outside the Lounge, which is designated for that purpose, and to confine these conferences to weekdays. Representatives of the media have been informed accordingly, and I think from this very moment I will not see members of the Press chasing hon. Members in the Lounge, corridors, entrances to and out of Parliament, car parks or taking pictures of hon. Members' cars and their registration numbers. It does endanger the security of hon. Members. The Press must come here and co-operate with Members of the House. I hope those instructions will be followed. For any member of the Press who does not want to follow that, I am sorry, I will just have to refuse my permission to that particular person. I hope that will be taken into account.

### PROCEDURAL MOTIONS

#### LIMITATION OF DEBATE ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

**The Vice-President** (Prof. Saitoti): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following Procedural Motion:-  
THAT, the debate on the Motion of Presidential Address be limited to a maximum of seven days with not more than ten minutes for each Member speaking; excluding the Mover in

moving and replying, who shall be limited to 20 minutes in either case and the Responder, on behalf of the Official

Opposition, who shall be limited to 20 minutes.

This Procedural Motion is very familiar to hon. Members at this time when the House has just started. As is well known, the first agenda of our business is the deliberation of the Presidential address. This is customarily limited to a maximum of seven days. In order to allow as many Members as possible to participate, the time is set to be ten minutes.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister of State, Office of the President** (Maj. Madoka) seconded.

*(Question proposed)*

**Dr. Kituyi:** Asante, Bw. Spika. Ninashukuru kwa kunipatia fursa hii kuzungumza. Ninakubaliana nawe na Waheshimiwa Wabunge wenzangu wengine ya kwamba tuna jukumu na kazi nyingi sana kwenye kikao hiki cha Bunge. Kwa sababu ya kazi hizo nyingi, na vile sote tumeona wingi wa mawazo na fikira za Rais ambazo zilitolewa hapa jana, ninaona kwamba inafaa tupunguze muda wa kujadili kuhusu haya mambo na kuelekea kwa kazi nyingine, ili kila mtu aongee kwa dakika tano, na mwenye kuwasilisha Hoja hii apewe dakika kumi. Ninajua unataka siku saba kwa sababu ya kutengeneza ratiba ya shughuli nyingine za Bunge, lakini kama ratiba hii inaweza kutengenezwa kwa muda wa wiki moja, tutaweza kuanza kazi nyingine ya maana ambayo iko mbele yetu, badala ya kuendelea kuongea. Wengi wetu watazunguka mbuyu bila ya kuwa na mengi kuhusu yale yaliosema na Rais.

Kwa hayo machache, ningependa kupinga muda wa dakika kumi na 20.

**Mr. Speaker:** Hayo ni maoni ya mhe. Kituyi wala si kuhusu Hoja hii! If there is no other contributor, I will now put the question.

*(Loud consultations)*

Order! Order! For heaven's sake, let us not take time again by hon. Members speaking when Mr. Speaker is on his feet.

*(Question put and agreed to)*

LIMITATION OF DEBATE ON  
PRIVATE MEMBERS' MOTIONS

**The Vice President** (Prof. Saitoti): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following Procedural Motion:-

THAT, the debate on Private Members' Motions shall be limited in the following manner:-

A maximum of two hours with not more than 20 minutes for the Mover, 20 minutes for the Government Official Responder, and 10 minutes for each other Member speaking, and that 10 minutes before the time expires, the Mover to be called upon to reply.

Once again, hon. Members, I think we are fully aware of the essence of these Motions. We have gone through this ritual, but we have to bring it up. I beg to move.

**The Minister of State, Office of the President** (Maj. Madoka) seconded.

*(Question proposed)*

**Mr. Wamalwa:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have no quarrel with the times allotted to the various hon. Members speaking on these Motions. I just want to draw the House's attention to the fact that hon. Members of Parliament take these Private Members' Motions very seriously and, sometimes, they raise very important matters of national importance. But the tragedy has been that many good Private Members' Motions have been passed in this House and there has been very little follow-up action by way of Government implementation of those Motions. I would like to see in this new millennium, that there shall be a new spirit, and that serious Private Members' Motions once passed, will require action contemplated by those Motions to be taken as soon as possible by the Government.

With those few words, I beg to support.

*(Applause)*

*(Question put and agreed to)*

LIMITATION OF DEBATE ON  
MOTIONS OF ADJOURNMENT

**The Vice-President** (Prof. Saitoti): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following Procedural Motion:- THAT, the debate on any Motion for the Adjournment of the House to a day other than the next normal Sitting Day shall be limited to a maximum of three hours with not more than five minutes for each Member speaking; Provided that, when the

**[The Vice-President]**

period of Recess proposed by any such Motion does not exceed nine days, the debate shall be limited to a maximum of thirty minutes, and shall be strictly confined to the question of adjournment.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move this Motion because you are already aware of what it is about. We have been working on that.

**The Minister of State, Office of the President** (Maj. Madoka) seconded.

*(Question proposed)*

**Mr. Anyona:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, this particular Motion falls under Standing Order No.22. In the past, we have had some uncertainties as to what to do with the matters which arise under Standing Orders Nos. 21 and 23. I think there has been an indication in the past that something will be looked into, and something will be done. I think it may be necessary that the Chair guides the House, either for now or future, because there is a kind of blank cheque in those two particular Standing Orders. I thought it would be important to raise that matter before the House. Thank you.

*(Question put and agreed to)*

**MOTION**

THANKS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

**The Vice-President** (Prof. Saitoti): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following Motion:- THAT, the thanks of this House be recorded for the exposition of public policy contained in His Excellency's Address from the Chair on 28th, March, 2000.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in moving this Motion, let me salute all hon. Members of this House for the manner in which both sides of the House kept the decorum of this House where it ought to be. Yesterday was a day in which we were able to demonstrate to the nation that this House does respect the dignity that belongs to it. I thought, at the very outset, I should commend each and every hon. Member because of ensuring that we were able to accord the Official Opening of Parliament day the dignity it deserves. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you are also to be commended for the able manner in which you stated the position of Parliament, and much more so, for drawing to the House and, indeed to the nation, the fact that this Parliament is now meeting after having put into place or promulgated the Parliamentary Service Commission. It will be remembered that, that particular Bill did agree with our interests on both sides of the House.

At the very end of it, that Bill was embraced by both sides for the simple reason that the hon. Members wanted to ensure that the separation of powers, as enshrined in the Constitution, is respected to the letter and spirit. You were able to make it clear in no uncertain terms that you do intend to uphold the ideals of the separation of powers, and what Parliament stands to do in matters of serving this nation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will now go to the exposition of public policy contained in His Excellency's Presidential Address.

**Dr. Kituyi:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I hate to interrupt the hon. Professor, but I thought that when he is talking about the consensus on the Parliamentary Service Bill, he is talking about a Bill which is not yet before the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** Well, I thought that he was talking about the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act, and my reference to it yesterday as the Chairman of the PSC; that we will do whatever we can. Prof. Saitoti, I hope that is what you meant.

**The Vice-President** (Prof. Saitoti): Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is precisely what I was referring to.

*(Applause)*

But whatever I may have said does not contradict the position whatsoever; namely, that the Constitution has been amended through a Bill and we are, indeed, a very independent Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will go back to the exposition of Public Policy by His Excellency. Having listened very carefully to the Speech by His Excellency, I am sure that many hon. Members will agree that it was very substantive. One may very well wish to differ with the content, but the main thrust was no doubt a very substantive matter. It touched on the current issues that will engage us a great deal in this Parliament.

Firstly, he did draw our attention to the matters of the economy of this country, but much more importantly, the current economic situation that we do find ourselves in, and, indeed, the efforts that are being made by both the Government, the private sector and other stakeholders to address these mammoth problems. On the part of the Government, it was made quite clear, and I am sure that hon. Members are aware, that the Poverty Reduction Paper has already been formulated by the Government. But because the problem of poverty is such a major issue and cannot be dealt with by the Government alone, and that is not so only for Kenya, but all over the world; the Government did decide that its own Paper will be available for discussion by other stakeholders. That matter was discussed fully at the Kenya School of Monetary Studies. Various strategies on dealing with this Paper were discussed. That Paper is now being re-looked once again by the Government to ensure that the views and recommendations from the other stakeholders are incorporated when its final text is prepared. That Paper shall form the basis of the discussion between the Government and the Bretton Wood institutions because, the way things are today, the two Bretton Wood institutions have decided that any kind of programme that they do enter into with the developing countries for assistance must have poverty as the centre-piece, or for that matter, as the focus. It is in that connection that we do intend to embark on discussions with those institutions. But inside there, apart from these strategies of dealing with poverty, there must be a vehicle for tackling poverty. It is an economic vehicle. That is why the Government did produce the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). We believe that should form a very sound basis for the discussions between us and the two international institutions.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do agree with the Head of State that we should not, at this particular time, politicise the problems of poverty. We, as hon. Members, are aware of the major problems Kenyans are going through as a result of poverty. What is at stake today is to formulate ways and means of eliminating poverty and finding ways in which the youth of this country can get employment opportunities. Poverty and unemployment are each on one side of the same coin. We will achieve that to the extent that we give signals of the fact that we have stability. We should give the right signals by ensuring that we would want investors to come to this country. We can disagree on other matters like policies and politics, but we should not disagree on how to find ways of eradicating poverty. That should be a goal for all of us. We must move swiftly to reduce poverty.

There are several strategies which have been given to reduce or eradicate poverty in the medium-term. There are three fundamental things which I consider important. One of them is that we have clearly got to address the problem of the infrastructure. The problem of infrastructure cannot be dealt with without resources. That is why we have produced the Poverty Reduction Paper. If we are able to reach an agreement with our development partners, resources will flow in and we will address the problem of infrastructure; our poor roads; water, which we need because we do not have sufficient water, and energy. That infrastructure is important.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the next one has to do with security. We are aware of the difficulties we have in the provision of security, but that is an issue which requires to be funded. It is an issue that all of us want to deal with. I speak here on behalf of the Government, and let me assure the hon. Members that resources will be made available, provided the House does vote, to make sure that security is given priority in order to ensure that Kenyans live peacefully, our business people carry out their work peacefully, and, thirdly and more importantly, investors come to this country.

The third issue of how to deal with poverty is what His Excellency the President talked about; that is, good governance. I believe it is now broadly accepted that good governance is an important aspect of economic development. We are now saying broadly and clearly that where, indeed, there are corrupt practices, the individuals behind them will be weeded out. The Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA) and other organisations are in place. We must deal with these issues, but for God's sake, in order to eradicate any problem, you have got to deal with it sincerely, openly and clearly. Those are the issues that the Government has pronounced itself in dealing with.

In the process, we have agreed that the Government will continue with the privatisation process. The telecommunications sector is already geared towards privatisation. Many other organisations will be privatised, so that the Government can confine itself to providing the enabling environment for the private sector to operate freely.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must very quickly also mention a matter that was touched on in the Speech, and that is the issue of HIV/AIDS. It is important to note that hon. Members have embraced efforts to address the problem of the AIDS pandemic, as evidenced by the seminar that we attended in Mombasa. This is a major problem. Today, we are in

a situation where 600 people are dying every day because of the AIDS pandemic. This is increasing on a geometric progression basis. We have a number of orphans in this country, and the number is increasing. It is not a laughing matter; it is a major national problem. As hon. Members, we have a duty to use every fora we have, out in the rural areas, to talk to our people and explain to them the dangers of this disease. We should explain, especially to the youth, that no cure so far has been found. The only way out is for our people to ensure that they use whatever means, to avoid being infected with this disease. It is the youth who are mostly dying; the productive people of our society. If this trend continues, we shall be in a major problem. Before I came here, I had been addressing the problems of children in difficult societies. A number of the street children are there as a result of their parents dying of AIDS. We must also find ways of dealing with the street children.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the issue of the Constitution review was also addressed by the President yesterday. We exactly know what happened last year. We tried as much as we could, from 1998, to agree as parliamentary political parties on how to divide among ourselves the number of commissioners that were allocated to us, and we could not agree. Indeed, in the final analysis, we have ended up delaying the constitutional reform process. At the end of it, we had to come to Parliament and set up a Parliamentary Select Committee to look into the Constitution Review Act. Out there, another Committee, called the Ufungamano Initiative was already in process. I shall not talk on the Ufungamano Initiative, since I am not a Member of it, but Parliament appointed a Select Committee whose report we believe will be tabled in Parliament. In accordance with our own Standing Orders, I am not permitted to anticipate the debate, but I would like to state that when the report is tabled here, let us examine it thoroughly with a view to finding a solution to the stalemate and ensuring that Kenyans will not be denied the opportunity to come out with an amendment to the Constitution which they need. We are the leaders, elected in our constituencies, and those who elected us look upon us. They would like to see the way we are going to operate. When that report is tabled here, we should not examine it from a partisan point of view, but squarely and objectively, putting our own country in the fore front; that, it is Kenyans that matter.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is another issue that I would like to raise here. I believe most sincerely that no country can be able to move forward if, every time, whatever we discuss is all about politics at the expense of development. We should be fair to ourselves and accept that we have been spending too much time on politics, while giving very little time to developmental matters. How many times do we ever hear of somebody being awarded a prize for being the greatest exporter from this country; one that has earned this country the highest foreign exchange? How many times do we ever hear the fact that we have to honour the greatest farmer in this country, for having made great contribution to the production of maize, wheat and other crops? Do we ever hear of the great farmer in the coffee or tea industry being honoured? Do we ever hear of an industry being honoured for having created the largest number of employment opportunities? These are the issues which apply to development. Instead, we spend a lot of time politicking and hurling insults at one another.

We spend a lot of time on tribalism. Tribalism must start being killed from this House. We are destroying the youth of this country. I have stated in a number of fora that I will never be drawn into that evil of tribalism. I would like to challenge hon. Members to preach the same. We would like to have a country which is united. We would like our own children to grow as Kenyans, not fragmented into little pockets of tribalism based on hate. What legacy are we going to leave in the Eighth Parliament? We must develop an ethos of nationalism and patriotism. We must develop an ethos of honesty, so that our children can emulate us that way. These are issues I know are extremely difficult to hammer on the hon. Members, because to most of them, it, perhaps, is a question of getting the votes or not.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, 50 years ago, in Germany, during Hitler's reign, he preached the same dogma, such as this one, which was eating Germany. During that time, Germans did not want to talk about it. They assumed it would simply go away. But by the time they realised it, that country was gone. Millions of human beings were killed. We do not want to go the way of Rwanda or Somalia. We would like to remain as Kenya. We would like to have a nation of great opportunities for everybody.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Minister for Public Health** (Prof. Ongeri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I stand to second this Motion. It is an important Motion in all respects, but before I do that, I would like to pass to the House the greetings of hon. Leshore and hon. Shidiye, who I had the opportunity to see over the weekend in the hospital. They are very cheerful, and they are doing well. They sent their greetings, and wished you a very happy Session.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, having said, that, I would like to state that the President's Speech had basic and important landmarks. If you care to examine those landmarks carefully, they will give all of you an instant, clear message. First, he touched on poverty.

Secondly, he touched on health, water and on security. When we examine all these four sub-headings, the one conclusion that we come to is that the President discussed about the lives of Kenyans. With the abundant poverty, the quality of life in this country will not be worth talking about. Without good health, the quality of life will not be of any

good to talk about. All of you know that water is life and without the adequate provision of water, it will be virtually impossible for us to exist as a biological species. Of course, security wraps it up.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the Leader of Government Business has eloquently said, it is quite clear, and everyone knows it, that poverty is rampant. Fifty per cent of Kenya's population is below the poverty line. Their daily subsistence is hardly a dollar a day. What is much more important to discuss? Do we discuss political missiles or an issue which is rampant and close home to the people that we all lead in this august House? I suggest the view that the President's approach on the issue of poverty is a critical issue that we all need to dwell on and discuss without any emotions, or any political affiliations, because it touches on the very fundamental basis of our people. It is the desire and the interest of this Government that everybody earns good income. Therefore, the creation of wealth requires a very intact society. That society must be healthy in order to deliver the goods and services required for the creation of wealth in this nation. I must say that the poverty reduction strategy was, in itself, a major strategy that required the attendance and the involvement of every stakeholder. Every time, I have listened carefully to the debates in this House and I have heard people saying that the stakeholders' interest is this. The stakeholders' interest in poverty is much more paramount, and will require this House to dwell on and devote more time to it, than discuss hot politics that will not take us anywhere.

I must immediately come to the question of health. It is obvious and clear that the HIV/AIDS is a scourge and a disaster which has created problems for this nation. When you are losing 600 people per day and your young people between the ages of 15 and 22 years' infection rate is 22 per cent; in some places, for example, Kisumu, Busia, Thika and many other places, the prevalence rate is close to 30 to 35 per cent; you are, indeed, talking about a society which is rapidly getting depleted by one scourge alone. Therefore, the attention of the hon. Members of this august House must be paramount in dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you couple AIDS with poverty, you will enter into a vicious circle. Without good nutrition, you will have ill health, and with ill health and the chances and temptations of getting into immoral acts, people are more likely to be infected with the HIV AIDS virus. Therefore, we must break that vicious circle.

Another problem in health is the question of malaria. It may be that some of you may not have known the statistics that we are dealing with. If you took all the out-patient attendance in this country, 30 per cent of all those who attend the out-patient clinics are as a result of malaria. Therefore, the budget in terms of facilities, drugs and equipment is enormous. The budget which is allocated to the Ministry of Health, 30 per cent of it, goes to dealing with scourges such as malaria. Out of the 30 per cent of the people who attend the out-patient clinics, 19 per cent are admitted to the wards. The cost of maintaining one patient in the ward to treat him for malaria is close to Kshs3,000, when we could have had to do with the simple preventive measures of educating the public on how to prevent malaria by spraying, clearing stagnant waters and also by using mosquito treated nets. For only Kshs350, for six months, you will be safe and clear from malaria. These are important messages that the President was passing on to us for us to deliberate on and go out together and mount a campaign against this scourge.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another problem which is now evident and very present amongst us is tuberculosis. If you went and checked the populace in your own constituencies, because of intense urbanisation and poverty, tuberculosis scourge has now increased by 500 per cent since 1966. Last year alone, we had close to 60,000 new cases of tuberculosis. This is a largely preventable condition and yet, when we urge hon. Members of Parliament to join hands in preaching the message of immunisation, all kinds of rhetoric and wrong messages are being passed, that the immunisations are being laced with some other unknown quantities. This is the kind of message that all of us, as hon. Members of Parliament interested in the health of our people, we should vehemently say is a wrong message. The right message should be that we must, and should, protect our people from any of these preventable conditions, for example, malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will not finish without saying one or two words about the constitutional reform process. We are all elected Members of this House. If we are elected, we have a mandate and a responsibility. There is no reason why we should run away from this responsibility of facing the issue squarely. We all agreed that we will change the Constitution in a manner and style which is acceptable to our constituents. No one should arrogate himself that responsibility, except Parliament.

With those few words, I beg to support.

*(Question proposed)*

**Mr. Kibaki:** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to speak on this particular Motion.

It is important that we make certain matters totally clear. When we use the words "exposition of public policy", policy should include specific actions that will be taken in fulfilment of whatever commitment there is, and not only reminding us that, generally, we are committed to eradication of poverty. Everybody has always been committed to the eradication of poverty; otherwise, what was the objective of each and every development plan since Independence? It

was to eradicate poverty. There was a period when there was a process of eradication of poverty, and there was a period when the national income of this nation was growing at a steady rate. There was a period when the enrolment in our primary and secondary schools was steadily growing. The question must be asked and answered, and not avoided. At what stage did we begin going backwards or downwards, so that our level of income is now less than half what it was in 1978?

If we answer that question honestly, we will be set on the road to recovery. If we keep on avoiding to answer it honestly, we will not get on the road. That is the truth. We will not answer it honestly, unless we accept in our hearts what is the truth. It is a recorded historical fact that, the national income of this nation has been looted. The taxpayer's money, which is voted year in, year out, to construct roads, improve schools and health facilities, is not spent to do those jobs. It is a fact and not a story. It is recorded and established by the Controller and Auditor-General of this country, who knows those facts. If we do not begin there, then we are not honest and genuine! We are only trying to find a scape-goat somewhere!

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is no new magic in using the phrase "eradication of poverty". What is this magic?

(Applause)

It is nothing! All development plans have the purpose of reducing poverty. So, there is nothing new anybody is saying by using new phrases. It is only taking up to the fashion brought in by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, to whom we are singing every day. The issue that we must answer is what I have just said. Our resources are not being used to improve our economy. We must start there. Can we start there? This year, we have a Budget. Did we use the money we voted in this Parliament to do what we voted it for, or we lost the money to contractors who were given contracts to repair roads and never did anything and, yet, money was taken? Who took that money? Why can the Government not answer that question? Who took the money that was voted for the *El Nino* roads repair? Many of the identified roads have not been done and yet, money was paid!

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the farmer has no road, and you tell him that you would like to eradicate poverty, it is not true! You cannot be serious! You will only be telling him a story! If you are genuine, the money should have been spent to repair the roads, so that the farmers can take their own produce to the market. We are a nation of farmers. If we truly want to eradicate poverty, or even to reduce it, we should begin by helping the farmers. We are now in the period when we are preparing the land for planting, when the rains come. The Kenyan farmer has no access to any credit facility anywhere in Kenya. He cannot buy seeds, fertilizer or even prepare the soil. But here in Nairobi, we are talking with wonderful satisfaction that we are about to eradicate or reduce poverty. If the farmer cannot grow food because he has nowhere to borrow even Kshs100--- All the institutions which used to help the farmers have been destroyed. They have been liquidated and finished! Some of them flopped because they lent their money to people who never repaid. Others collapsed because they were looted completely!

Mr. Speaker, Sir, how is the farmer going to begin? If the farmer does not begin, everybody who has ever been in school know that there is no way we are going to eradicate anything. We will only be talking nonsense. The farmer is the centre. But look at simple things which the Government could do tomorrow. A sugar cane farmer cannot sell his crop because the factories are full of produced sugar. This is because imported sugar has flooded the market. What will happen in the next six months, when the factories will no longer buy sugar cane, and the farmer cannot get any income? You are going to eradicate poverty and, yet, you are not helping the farmer! How will that be done?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we used to have a factory at Kilifi to process cashewnuts. Now, the cashewnut farmers have to wait for raw cashews, which are worth only one fifth of the price he would otherwise have got from the processed cashewnuts. How do you eradicate poverty if you are not reviving that factory? That way, the farmers can get five times the value of his cashewnuts and, somehow, he will alleviate his poverty. As we are talking right now here, the farmers at Mwea Irrigation Scheme increased the acreage under rice, to double the acreage that they had before. They harvested their rice but they cannot mill the rice to sell it in the market because the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development closed the five mills which are there. The mills are there! They were built with the farmer's money. I know it because when those factories were built, the money was contributed by the farmers. In those days, I was in the Ministry of Finance. Those mills were closed and the harvested rice cannot be milled.

But in a major international meeting, the Government, including Ministers, will go there and without shame, say: "We are about to eradicate poverty!" How do you close a factory? Why can the factory not be opened if there is nothing else? Milk factories have also been closed because of the intervention by the Government. Farmers are not able to sell their milk. If a farmer tries to hawk his milk around, he is arrested under the orders of the Dairy Board. What a shame! The factory is closed and if a farmer tries to hawk his milk around, he is arrested! Do we have a Government or are we left to the shame of the devils? Why do you arrest a peasant farmer who has two cows, and is selling his milk because he has nowhere to take it? Do we not have any shame in doing those kind of things? How can

the same person stand up in this Parliament and seminars and say: "We are about to eradicate poverty!" Why do you not let the farmer who has a product to market and sell it? That way, he will have a little income to feed and educate his children. We must be serious.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the reason why we have gone down is because of the breakdown of the supervision of our resources, particularly tax money. As we are here today, those who import sugar do not pay tax. If you do not collect tax, how do you do anything! As we are here today, there is petrol being imported, distributed and marketed without payment of tax. The Government knows that. The companies which market petrol know it. Since we are consumers, you and I know that 50 per cent of what we pay when we buy a litre of petrol is tax. So, we are losing revenue, employment and destroying the industry. What kind of Government do we have? While it is losing revenue, it says in its speeches: "We are aiming to eradicate poverty!" How? With what revenue?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are saying here that we must reach some understanding with the IMF. We keep being told by way of diversion that, we must reach an agreement with the IMF and the World Bank. Those two institutions have never ever refused to reach any agreement with us. I know how they operate. They have never refused. It is what we negotiate to do that we do not do! That is all there is to it! There is no mystery! In the agreement, what we agree to do is not done! They go and when they come back after six months, we have not done anything!

Mr. Speaker, Sir, they will now come back and find that we still have done nothing. They will still find that we are continuing for the seventh year, with the Goldenberg case in court with no intention of ever reaching a conclusion until ten years have expired. We are going to continue saying: "We are committed to fight corruption through every means at our disposal". Why can we not conclude that case? Why can we not conclude cases of identified people who have looted this nation and have been identified twice to three times in the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) Report, Public Investments Committee (PIC) Report and by everybody and yet, no action has ever been taken? So, if we are to be believed, we shall begin to take action. That is all we are saying. We are not saying anything very much. It is not that we do not want the World Bank; indeed, we want them. Indeed, we need their credits. Above all, we need them to help us, so that we regain our standard and status internationally. That, we know is important. However, the proportion of what they will contribute is not what will turn this economy around. What will turn this economy around, is to do the basic things we are talking about like helping the farmer, re-doing the roads, improving the infrastructure and the marketing of farm produce.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, above all, as we are talking here, we are about to introduce structures that are going to destroy some of our industries. I am talking of coffee marketing. We have been invaded by ordinary traders and somehow without thinking, we have come to believe that a trader who wants to buy cheaply from us the producers, is going to be our chief adviser and to the Government. How can the middleman, the trader who wants to make profits selling your produce cheaply, become your adviser on how to organise your marketing? Does it not stand to reason that such a fellow should be left alone and be kept at a distance? He must be kept at a distance because his interests cannot coincide with yours and that of the small coffee producer. If the auction system is blocked so that we are now at the mercy--- And we have been told and this Government seems to believe that when you have people who are buying coffee and they buy at the gates of the farm, they will buy at a good price. This has been experimented on before and if it is allowed, he will cheat those farmers. This is because a trader like that is the only one who knows the market and he will pay what he chooses to pay. We must refuse and keep the institutions that we have. If they are faulty, let us correct them but let us not destroy them.

I am talking about these issues in this manner because I can see the way we are going, we are not going to end in finding any resolutions of these problems. This is because we are not starting by accepting the reality which helps the peasant farmer. It helps him with the money you have got now to repair the roads. It also helps in the marketing and in every other ways and we are going to begin the growth we are looking for.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in talking about education, now that we have reached this level of more than 50 per cent of the people living below the poverty line and the bulk of them live very much in the dry parts of this nation, the children in those areas cannot go on paying school fees. They cannot and that is why the heavy dropouts from school of children are from these areas. Therefore, as a Government, you have to make a decision and we are asking for that decision; namely, that the children should not be expelled from school any more purely because they have no school fees, particularly primary schools.

*(Applause)*

They should not be expelled from primary schools just because they do not have school fees. It is a futile exercise. You send a child in Isiolo home. You tell him or her: "*Kwenda ukalete karo ya shule*". Imagine in Isiolo! The parents are in a camp as you know. They are receiving food relief and you are sending the child home to a food relief camp to collect school fees. The whole thing has no meaning. We are still pleading to the Government to be humane. Can this



Government not have a human heart please, to look at its own citizens squarely and say: "Look, we are poor; yes, we are broke and one of the consequences is that we shall not send children home because they have no school fees?" This is a fact. It is true. If people are dying in Wajir and the Minister denies and the other Minister sends the children home, then what Government do we have? I know the whole thing is incredible.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as you know and I well know, the way primary school education is financed nowadays, the Government pays for teacher's salaries only. And you know even if a teacher is teaching only ten children and the other 30 have been sent home, you are still going to pay the teacher. So, what are you saving by sending children home? Nothing! Then, it is said here that enrolment has gone down and we are going to try and raise it after we have reduced poverty. When is that? After 33 years? These children will not have gone to school. There is no new cost to the Government. The Government should allow the children who are in those poor districts not to pay school fees. We are not saying universally. We are saying where it is known and is factual that people have no money, do not send the children home please. This is because it is futile. That child has not committed any mistake. He or she is not the one who has produced this corruption. He or she is not the one who has produced the poverty, since the child has just been born in this world. Let the children not suffer purely because of the mistakes we have made. Let us begin there, with that one of education. If we do that, we shall then be seen that truly, we are serious.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I leave that issue there, I want to talk about the Constitution. We had started well in appreciating that we must bring together all Kenyans and sectors of society and we had gone on and drafted a law which we had begun to implement. If we now abandon that route and claim mistakenly, of course, that only we, have a mandate to write a Constitution, we are being mistaken. All Constitutions around the world, including those which have been written very recently just here in South Africa, a first class Constitution, were not written exclusively by Parliament. They were brought to Parliament for approval but they were written properly by a body which represented all the people. That is the route. We had discovered it here. That is why we spent two years going to the Bomas of Kenya, Safari Park Hotel and everywhere, until we reached some agreement. Let us go back to that route. Let us not deceive ourselves that by showing arrogance and that we kind of reject everybody else thinking that they are useless and that, therefore, we have courage and power; everybody in Kenya does not need to be shown power. What for, particularly when he is hungry? He does not need to be shown power. What he needs to be shown is understanding; that, he or she is the most important person in the writing of a Constitution and he or she should be consulted, so that he or she can contribute, however little he or she can.

*(Applause)*

That way, the Constitution finally will come into being with the will of all of us Kenyans. But, to pretend and show all this arrogance to everybody else, then even the rest of the world really is thinking that the Government is behaving like a foreign Government which is going to show the natives that we can rule you whether you like it or not. That is totally crazy. In all honesty, it does not work and it will not work here. It has not worked anywhere. So, I am appealing that we go back to where we were and involve all Kenyans. Let us have peace. That is the way to have peace when you involve all Kenyans. Those who have something to say, will say it. Those who do not have anything to say, will keep quiet, but they will feel involved and support the Constitution. Let us not ignore them. Let us not pretend that we can build consensus by showing arrogance and refusing to listen to the will of the people and the will of the people, although they have elected us, is that they want to participate in the writing of the Constitution. That is what we must all accept.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to talk more on the World Bank and IMF, but I want to say that we should stop using them as scapegoats. This is because now, wherever you go, you hear Ministers and other senior people saying: "We are reducing enrolment in the universities and this is because the World Bank has told us to do so". Are we not ashamed? Are we being ruled by the World Bank or the IMF? I mean, those are banks and when you borrow from them, all they want to know is that you are able to repay.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

*(Applause)*

**The Minister for Medical Services** (Dr. Anangwe): Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this Motion that seeks to record the thanks of this House for the exposition of public policy contained in His Excellency the President's Address.

Mr. Speaker Sir, the Speech was quite appropriate and, as the Motion suggests, it was loaded with public policy issues--

*(Hon. Members started withdrawing  
from the Chamber)*

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order! We began very well; we are reasoning together. So, can we continue reasoning together? Please, those hon. Members who want to withdraw from the Chamber, leave the reasoners to reason audibly. So, hon. Anangwe, proceed without interruption.

**The Minister for Medical Services (Dr. Anangwe):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, His Excellency the President's Speech was loaded with policy issues regarding poverty eradication, corruption, good politics, HIV/AIDS and constitutional review. Nobody can find fault with these issues because they are topical and relevant to Kenyans as of now, and this House needs to tackle these issues forthrightly with a view to making the welfare of Kenyans a lot better.

On the issue of poverty eradication, it is true as my colleagues have already pointed out, that there is rampant poverty in this country. Indeed, over 50 per cent of the population is below the poverty line. I know that the Leader of Official Opposition has raised questions as to why the state of poverty is the way it is in Kenya. But I think he has failed in one respect. He has used explanations that belong to the old school of thought; when governments were seen to be the motor of change and when governments were seen to be the motors of development. We have passed that particular stage and these days we are talking about the private sector. So, if one is going to seek explanations as to why poverty still continues in this country, we really have to examine many parameters; not just the Government alone, but also non-state actors within particular economic system, who are supposed to make a certain contribution.

The truth of the matter is that, we attribute the increase of poverty in Kenya to the fast growth of population, which is faster than the growth in the economy. Of course, there are many reasons why this is so, but we need to point out that the population has grown faster than we have been able to cope with its demand. Yet on the other hand, the economy has grown slowly than probably would be warrantable. The explanation why the economy is growing slowly is that, we are victims of our own successes. One, the life expectancy has increased. Two, the fertility of our people is still very high and when one looks at the figures, one can readily compare and reach an understanding that, indeed, we are victims of our own success in terms of spreading health care; access to education and in terms of our abilities to feed our population, at least, reasonably well to an extent that they are able to survive longer in that particular regard.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is just appropriate that the Government has seen it fit to focus on poverty eradication and its reduction strategy because, if the majority of Kenyans are under the poverty line, it is only fair that the allocation of public resources should be geared towards improving the welfare of the majority, who are below the poverty line. Indeed, the poverty reduction strategy is very appropriate in its focus. One, it seeks to make the private sector the motor of development in this country. Two, it seeks to reduce the role of the Government to that of a facilitator; one that creates an enabling environment by putting in place the relevant infrastructure and the regulatory framework to ensure that the private sector is able to perform. Of course, no one can find fault with that kind of thrust. My hope is that, during the implementation stage of this particular strategy, all the relevant actors, both in the private sector and in Government, will see it fit to pursue this particular strategy vigorously to ensure success.

With regard to corruption, I think the Government has been forthright; the President has said that it is a major concern and the Government has taken all the measures that are required to ensure transparency and accountability. Indeed, institutions have been set up to pursue those people who are engaged in abuse of office for private gain. My hope is that, this House will pursue these measures to ensure success in these particular institutions. However, let us also avoid a tendency whereby this House engages in activities which undermine our efforts to combat corruption in this country. For instance, if we are assigned a responsibility to a Committee; for example, Public Investments Committee (PIC), Public Accounts Committee (PAC) or Anti-Corruption Committee, let it do a thorough job. Let it not tackle issues superficially by raising just superficial aspects of the problem, but let it go into the depth and be able to say: "So-and-so is corrupt and we should be able to pin down this particular person and take him to jail". But when---

**Mr. Sambu:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Is the Minister in order to question the integrity of the House Committees; Public Investments Committee and Public Accounts Committee, whose recommendations have been adopted by this House without amendments?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, Mr. Sambu! Mr. Sambu, no Committee is above the House! The Committees are subordinate to the House. In any case, I hope the Minister is not anticipating any reports of Committees.

**Mr. Sambu:** He is!

**The Minister for Medical Services (Dr. Anangwe):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was making reference to the previous Reports, and all I was saying--- Indeed, I am supporting the hon. Member. The only thing is that, probably hon. Sambu did not get my message. My message was that, we want to tackle corruption in this country, but when we are assigned those responsibilities to the Committees, let hon. Members serving in those Committees do a thorough job so that when they pin-point somebody, we should be able to take that person to court and convict him accordingly. That is all I was

saying! I was not disagreeing!

**An hon. Member:** You were disagreeing!

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order! I think we are now losing track. There is only one person given the Floor, and that is the person with the microphone. If you disagree with him or her, note it down, catch my eye, I will give you the microphone. As a matter of fact, I have repaired them, you are much more audible now. Proceed!

**The Minister for Medical Services (Dr. Anangwe):** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for protecting me. Therefore, all I am trying to suggest; as we pursue this particular problem, let the House be at the forefront, but let it be more focused and thorough in its work so that we can combat this particular problem.

On the issue of good politics which His Excellency the President's Speech has highlighted, I agree and I endorse it fully. It is important that we encourage peace, unity and co-operation which are salient prerequisites for any development or any change in society. Without these attributes, it will not be possible for us to combat poverty.

Therefore, may I congratulate His Excellency the President for having gone on to preach this particular message for a long time since he took over the leadership of this country. But somewhat, whereas those on the Government side and some on the Opposition attempt to preach this particular message of peace, love and unity, it does seem that most of us and some segments of Kenya are not able to grasp this. References are made about Uganda, Congo and Rwanda. But these particular experiences elsewhere seem to be remote and, therefore, we need to continue reinforcing this particular message.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, tribalism is a symptom of bad politics. It is a problem and we need to ensure that this particular problem is eradicated. The problem of tribalism in this country is not about physical tribes; it is not about cultural differences, nor is it about linguistic differences. It is a struggle over the allocation of public resources. All we have to do is to emphasize equity in order to ensure that, the few resources we have are able, at least, to reach the relevant segments of society. Most Kenyans do not disagree over resource allocations; not that they should get it equally, but all they are saying is that; if it is a small cake, let us share it very equitably so that we can work together to produce more.

On the issue of constitutional reform, I wish to congratulate the Select Committee which we appointed here for the good work it did in pursuing its goals and mandates against resistance from our society, even from Members of Parliament. It is very regrettable that a Parliamentary Select Committee of this House is appointed and some Members of Parliament go against it.

With those remarks, I beg to support.

**Mr. Maore:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, Mr. Maore, that should not really worry you. If somebody says there is rain in this Chamber and you can feel that there is no rain, why should you be agitated?

**Mr. Raila:** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to contribute to this Motion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, one of the most important remarks which His Excellency the President made yesterday was that this was not an occasion for partisan politics and that he was going to rise above partisan politics and talk about real policy issues. This is a trend that should be continued in future on occasions like this.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the issue of poverty reduction strategy, I would like to say that this has become the vogue when we are talking about the development of this country. When we were struggling for the Independence of this country, we used to say that we want to bring an independent Government so that we can confront the key enemies of man-kind which were; ignorance, poverty and disease. It is, therefore, a paradox that 37 years later, we are coming up with a strategy to reduce poverty. Something must have gone terribly wrong somewhere along the line. We seem to be treating the consequences rather than the causes of poverty. The real cause of poverty in this country is lack of development. It is not difficult for us to pinpoint the reason why we lack development. Everybody knows that 90 per cent of our population lives in rural areas and that agriculture remains the mainstay of our economy. But if we really want to improve the conditions of the lives of our people in the rural areas, we must, therefore, address agriculture. These are the basic factors: production, marketing, pricing and infrastructure. Something has gone wrong somewhere because we have not addressed these key issues that affect agricultural production. If you take sugarcane, cotton, maize, wheat, tea and coffee, for example, it will not be difficult to find out why we have a problem. These critical issues have not been addressed and that is the reason why we are having problems. But our development partners are not blameless in these issues. Denial of access to our commodities in the markets is also one of the contributory factors of poverty in this country. These partners also undervalue our commodities so that we do not actually get value for them in the markets. So, our development partners should also share the blame.

*[Mr. Speaker left the Chair]*

*[Mr. Deputy Speaker took the Chair]*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, poverty in rural areas has translated itself into urban migration. We have an influx of people moving from the rural areas into urban areas in search of paid employment. This has caused congestion in our cities and towns and this, coupled with lack of planning, has confounded the issue of urban poverty in our towns. Urban planning is a big problem. If you look at towns like Nairobi, you will find that the poorest people live in the slum areas of Kibera, Mathare, Dandora and so on, where planning is completely non-existent. The plots in those areas have been parcelled to very small and uneconomical parcels so that no one can actually put up a proper structure there. The Government has also failed to provide title deeds for the poor people in the slums of Kibera.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have not addressed technology as a key issue in development. Even agriculture has got its own limitations. We keep on quoting the higher rates of the growth of our economy in the 1960s and 1970s when the economy was very much dependent on agriculture. But agriculture itself also had its elastic limits, so that even if that trend of economic management had continued, it would have reached a limit where it could begin to decline. So, we need to address the issue of industrialisation. We should not just talk about *Jua Kali*. Countries that have attained sustainable economic growth have made it through the industrial route. Kenya will be no exception when it comes to this. If we want to follow the industrial route, then we must develop indigenous technology so that we can develop industries that will provide employment to our people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, let me say something about the World Bank and the IMF. A few years ago, we were talking about the Structural Adjustment Programmes and the catch phrases then were "transparency, accountability and good governance in the management of public affairs". In those days the conditions were, liberalization, privatization, retrenchment and the liberalization of the foreign exchange. The World Bank and the IMF must accept that those policies have failed and have caused suffering not only to Kenya but also to many other countries in the developing world. All of a sudden, they have now come up with the so-called "poverty reduction strategy" as a conditionality without accepting that they have been responsible for the wrong policies that have caused immense suffering to people in the rural areas. We now live in an era of economic imperialism where the international financial institutions dictate policies to developing countries. These institutions have made the responsibility of the Government meaningless. They have even come up with another catch-phrase; "stakeholders" in an economy where they say they will talk to the Government, the NGOs, the civil society and the private sector. Why do we have a Government, if a representative of the World Bank can come and hold meetings with church leaders about development in this country? Why do we have political parties who have manifestos, if a political party cannot form a government and implement its own policies and succeed or fail?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am saying this because I know, if the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) were to form a government tomorrow, they will not be allowed by the international financial institutions to implement policies different from what KANU is implementing today. So, I am saying that we are helping in surrendering our sovereignty to international financial institutions, to the extent that the World Bank Resident Director behaves like a governor; that he comments on each and every national policy of this country. We have a situation where we have the so-called *El Nino* funds for roads repair in this country, where a repair of a section of a road is costing Kshs5 million per kilometre in one part of the town. In another part of the town, it is costing Kshs75 million and the World Bank is not talking anything about corruption.

(Applause)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I also want to say something about security and I want to talk about regional security. Kenya is in a unique situation and we must address the issue of security seriously. We do not have a government in Somalia and the consequences of lack of government in Somalia are with us here; we have so many loose guns running around. What are our troops doing in keeping peace in Kosovo, East Timor and Sierra Leone when there is no peace in Somalia? Ethiopia should have no business fighting Eritrea. Instead of Ethiopia fighting Eritrea; if Ethiopia and Kenya were to move their troops to the border and give notice to Somalia warlords that they must make peace or less, they invade Somalia; we will be doing something to help the people of Somalia, rather than going to help the people of East Timore or Sierra Leone or Kosovo where we are not needed.

**Mr. Ndicho:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Raila really in order to say that something can happen where Kenya and another country will invade another country? Our forces are not for invading other countries.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! Order! He did not talk about invasion; he talked about our troops being moved to the border. It is different from invasion.

**The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in support of that, I just want to inform the hon. Raila that the Government of Kenya was requested by the Government of Australia to assist

in the peace keeping mission in East Timore. In keeping with the reputation of our country, because our soldiers are well suited for that; we sent a small number of officers and soldiers to East Timore. We did send more to our fellow African country in Senegal. The conditions in Somalia are not yet ripe for any country; neither Kenya nor Ethiopia--

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Hon. Sunkuli, really, you do not answer what hon. Raila said.

**The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli):** I am making my contribution, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. The conditions in Somalia are not yet ripe for any country, neither Kenya nor Ethiopia, to send any troops to the neighbouring country of Somalia. We intend that we will continue requesting those warring parties in Somalia to make peace, so that they can form a government of their own.

**Mr. Ngure:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Minister alluding that the President suggested that in his Speech; that is, the question of troops in East Timore, Somalia and the other African countries?

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! Order! You cannot ask him whether he is in order while he has not finished making his speech. Proceed, Mr. Minister.

**The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, each of the speakers today from the Government side and from the Opposition, have discussed this topic that has become current in our Kenyan atmosphere; the question of poverty eradication. You would remember that last year, the Government did launch the National Poverty Eradication Plan which informed the country that within 15 years, this country should be able to get rid of absolute poverty. Of course, it will never be possible to get rid of relative poverty. In this society, there will always be people who are richer and others who are poorer. But it is the hope of the Government that through the implementation of the National Poverty Eradication Plan, it is possible to enable each and every person to be above the poverty line. Recently, the Government came up with a three-year implementation paper to implement the National Poverty Eradication Plan, in which the Government hopes to actually attack poverty head on.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to urge hon. Members to participate in the making of their district plans that will be targeted by our national Budget. Each DC has been requested to hold DDCs in an enlarged version, to have more representatives from the districts to ensure that the actual plan eventually do come from the people. It is surprising to me that the Leader of the Official Opposition has decided to politicise the question of poverty and that the Official Opposition does think that poverty is a matter to be treated cynically. That would have been no problem at all, if the Official Leader of the Opposition had not been one of those who were reading budgets on this side of the House for a long time of the history of Kenya. This generation that I belong to wants to ask those people, like the Leader of the Official Opposition, to tell us which of the budgets that they read here actually eradicated poverty. People like the hon. Raila can be excused to speak here like they are angels but people who have gone to the extent of being the Vice-President of this country and have been reading development plans every year and have been in charge of the Treasury can stand up and say that, since 1978, this and that has not happened; I want to ask the same question: Which development plans that they read actually attacked poverty?

**Mr. Michuki:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for hon. Sunkuli to mislead this House in referring to budgets which produced not less than 6 per cent growth increase in GDP? Is he in order to mislead this House that the economy did not grow at that time, when it grew at 6 per cent as opposed to 1.0 per cent?

**The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member was, in fact, a Permanent Secretary over a population that was many times lower than the one we are dealing with today. He was the Permanent Secretary during the Cold War when Kenya was getting extra favours from the IMF and from the international world. The circumstances of Kenya today are different. That is why, we in Government, think that there is need for deliberate action to attack poverty. Cynicism will not operate. The fact and I keep on saying this, that some people because they were in Government at that time, utilised that to make good times for themselves and the areas they come from. We never saw those good times ourselves from where we come from. Those are the same people who utilised their positions in Government in those days to entrench themselves deeply and they just simply want to revisit those good old days. It is wrong to politicise poverty that way.

**Mr. Mwenje:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for the hon. Minister to continue imputing bad motives on the Leader of the Official Opposition, knowing very well that he was specific in the issues--

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Hon. Mwenje, he has not referred to the Leader of the Official Opposition. Of course, if he had done that, I would have stopped him.

**Mr. Mwenje:** He did, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, and we heard him.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! Order! Hon. Michuki intervened at that stage. What he has just said did not refer to the Leader of the Official Opposition specifically because I would have stopped him. So, hon. Mwenje, you are the one who is out of order. Proceed, Mr. Minister.

**Mr. Mwenje:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the man said that in his last sentence. Let us hope he does not repeat that.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** If he does, I am listening very carefully; I will intervene. Proceed, Mr. Minister.

**The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the *El Nino* projects that have been referred to are going to be implemented. But I want to inform this august House that these projects are not entirely in the hands of the Kenya Government. They were projects that were being implemented together with the World Bank and what remains to be done is not by the Government of Kenya; it is by the World Bank. This issue was, in fact, raised during the time when we were at the School of Monetary Studies and those who were present must have heard what the World Bank boss said there. We hope that Members will be well informed that, indeed, most of these projects have not started. The Kenya Government complains as much as the Opposition or any other Member in this House can complain, because we also want these projects to be implemented as soon as possible.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, all of us are looking forward to undertaking the constitutional review process. We want to ensure that everybody is involved in the constitution making process. Nobody wants to exclude anybody else. However, everybody is being encouraged to ask himself whether he wants the Constitution of Kenya to be changed or not. Nobody should hold this country to ransom. If, for instance, hon. Maore does not want the Constitution to be changed, and he says that Kenya will never move forward in that direction until he moves, he will be holding this country to ransom. We would like to plead with those who do not see the need to change the Constitution to start seeing the need to do so. Those people should avoid using scapegoats to ensure that the Constitution of this country remains unchanged. Ensuring the Constitution remains unchanged will not benefit anybody in this country.

It is important that all of us negotiate as Kenyans and not as stakeholders. Kenya is not divided into NGOs, but rather into communities, all of which should be involved in the constitutional review process. There are 28 million Kenyans, each of whom has a stake in the review of the Constitution. We would like to encourage everybody to feel important. However, we would not like anybody so feel so important as to hold the rest of Kenyans to ransom. Some people do not know that the new millennium has begun. Everybody should know that the new millennium has begun, and that we need to be compliant with it, so that we can build a nation in which every Kenyan can feel comfortable. In the past, we did not pay attention to building a nation in which all of us would be proud to live in. I am very happy that, today, some people referred to problems being faced by people in Isiolo and other parts of Kenya. It is very strange that those people did not know how big Kenya was before. Therefore, it is very comforting to realise that those people now know that Kenya is larger than they thought before.

With those remarks, I support the Motion.

**Mr. Michuki:** Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to contribute to this Motion. First of all, I would like to congratulate the Leader of the Official Opposition, hon. Kibaki, for the brilliant address that he gave to this House. The address he gave to this House this afternoon was to the point. Therefore, I would like to associate myself with most of what he said.

I was here when the House re-convened yesterday; I listened to what the President said very keenly. I must admit that I left this House not knowing the exact measures his Government intends to taken to eliminate, or alleviate, the problems he listed in his Address. One may use the words "eradication of poverty" if he so wishes; I would rather use the words "minimisation of poverty". I would have felt much happier if the President had told this House that his Government had set aside certain amounts of resources to tackle the poverty problem, rehabilitate the dilapidated infrastructure, combat the AIDS scourge, boost the agricultural sector, and others. The President said that these areas have been given priority. We have to wait until June, when the Minister for Finance, hon. Okemo, comes here to tell us how these issues have been addressed. I expected that the Government would have set priorities in terms of resource allocation to those areas. I did not expect these problems to be addressed by way of giving a catalogue of problems, about which we have spoken here, and which everybody, including people in River Road, are discussing.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the issue of poverty should be addressed by the Ministries, each of which has specific roles. However, within the Government, there is a tendency of creating commissions, committees and boards to handle what ought to be handled by the Ministries, because nobody in the Government is prepared to accept responsibility. Those in the Government are ready to enjoy privileges, but they push responsibilities to boards, commissions and many conferences such as those which were held in Mombasa, Mbagathi and other places. People spend so much time holding meetings that they do not even have some time to implement the little they can which, according to statistics, is only 3 per cent of what is required.

What has become of the portfolios that used to carry our development duties for this country? Why do we have to establish commissions, go to experts and other people when the Ministries should be implementing their own programmes according to the resources allocated to them? As hon. Kibaki put it, what magic is in this talk of poverty eradication other than all that has been going on in the country, with the help of development plans and the allocation of resources? Excuses will not help us to eradicate poverty in this country. One can argue about malaria and other things. We had eliminated malaria completely in this country. However, the disease is now found all over the country and, as hon. Onger said, it is killing a lot of people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, allow me to mention one of the aspects I believe contributes to poverty. We do not have prudent monetary policies in this country. Banks have been left to take away the little resources that are in the hands of the people. For example, the average lending base rate charged by banks in this country is 23 per cent. Some banks charge five points above this rate. In this case, the effective lending base rate is 28 per cent. Banks charge this rate of interest on the moneys they lend out to people, yet Treasury Bills interest rates currently have dropped to below 12 per cent. It is noteworthy that 40 per cent of the total deposits held by banks are interest-free. Therefore, as banks give a five per cent deposit rate they are, in effect, paying an interest of three per cent. So, the cost that banks incur in raising those funds is three per cent, as compared to the interest rate of 28 per cent they charge their debtors. The issue is, now, whether the Government has any moral obligation in this area, and whether it should not interfere to reduce the excessive profits being made by banks. In fact, in Great Britain, a committee was set up to look into this issue. Banks in that country were making so much profit that the Government had to intervene.

If you read the *Economist* of this week, you will find that the writer refers to obscene profits, which is exactly what is happening here in Kenya. We want to feel that the Central Bank of Kenya is playing a much bigger role in the area of monetary policy. This is because we cannot continue to "chase" inflation, disregarding everything else that should make this economy improve once again. So, I would like to propose that the Minister for Finance and Planning makes a Ministerial Statement on the monetary policy that he follows, and what he will do to ensure that the high interest rates charged by banks come down in conformity with the growth of this economy. We talk about growth of 1.4 per cent, which I doubt whether it has ever been achieved. What investments have we put into this economy to produce an economic growth of 1.4 per cent? Who can tell me that on the basis of our GDP, which is currently at US \$10 billion, that last year, we actually invested US \$1.4 billion towards the stock of our GDP? Who can prove this? This is because not even the *Economic Survey* the report of the Minister for Finance and Planning show how US \$ 1.4 billion was invested to produce that kind of growth. So, we can only assume that the economic growth was zero or even minus. It is time that things were put in place to get this economy growing. But it cannot grow when you allow banks to rip off poor people, who as hon. Kibaki said, have no access to any form of credit today. I have since established that they cannot go to commercial banks to get loans. There is nowhere they can get loans from. Even the traders loans were finished! Therefore, how will we eradicate poverty if we continue to talk and we do not see things being put in place to actually eradicate poverty?

Look at the tea industry, where farmers are being paid peanuts and then most of the money is kept by the KTDA to be invested within the same banks that rip off the farmers. Because of the amount of money they hold, it is no wonder that they have stolen Kshs2.07 billion from the farmers! There we are with the money which has been kept--- Instead of paying the farmers this money, so that it can assist them to eradicate poverty, they are denied it. What kind of policies are these? Therefore, I think that the Speech ought to have been written in a much better way.

**Mr. Angwenyi:** Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me a chance to contribute to the deliberations of this House in this Century and millennium. I wish to thank the Head of State for giving a very clear exposition of the state of our country at present. I would like to confine myself to two or so aspects of that Speech.

First, I would like to confine myself to the state of the economy. There is nothing more important for this country at this time than the state of our economy. We all know that the economy has been declining in the last six or seven years. The economy which was growing at a rate of about 5 per cent or 6 per cent and sometimes 8 per cent is now declining. Unless we reverse this situation, the economy might grow negatively in the next few months. The President did raise the issue of the economy in his Speech. I hope that his Ministers and all hon. Members of Parliament listened very clearly to that aspect so that the Revised Budget and the annual Budget that we will get will reflect the state of our economy today.

To reverse the declining trend of our economy, we need to invest in agriculture. We would like the Government to facilitate investment in agriculture. The President said that he will urge the Government to take interest in agriculture, which is the backbone of our economy. I would like to inform this House that agriculture has been declining. Whatever funds we get, we should invest them in agriculture, because it feeds 80 per cent of the population of Kenya and provides 70 per cent of our jobs. So, agriculture is the mainstay of our country. The potential areas of agriculture, namely; the areas that produce tea, coffee, sugarcane and grains must get support from our Budget. The Government must influence even private investors to invest in these areas. The outgoing contributor has just said that if we were able to pay our tea farmers a guaranteed price of Kshs10 per kilogramme every month, we would uplift two million Kenyans who are living below poverty line. If we were to guarantee the prices for the sugarcane farmers at a reasonable rate where they can make a return on their investment, we can uplift about 500,000 Kenyans who are living below poverty line to above poverty line. Today, coffee sales are at Kshs150 to Kshs200 per kilogramme and, yet, the farmer down there gets Kshs1.50, Kshs3 or Kshs4 per kilogramme. Who takes the balance of Kshs200 before the farmer is paid that amount of money? The intermediaries, taxation--- We must give some relieve to coffee farmers so that they can be guaranteed Kshs50 per kilogramme. If this is done, you will uplift one million people who are living

below the poverty line. If you add those figures, you will find that we are approaching four million people whom we can uplift from living below the poverty line. So, I am saying that tea, coffee, sugarcane and grain farmers must be guaranteed a market and prices. The cost of input must be subsidised. Most nations in the world subsidise their farmers. I do not understand why Kenya cannot subsidise its farmers and, yet, farming is the major activity of our economy. I hope that the Minister for Finance and Planning is listening to what I am saying here today so that when he brings his Budget to this House, he will consider the farmers and show how much he will subsidise them.

The other aspect that I would like to talk about concerns tourism. Before tourism declined, there were 400,000 people who were employed in this sector. Today, there are less than 50,000 people who are employed in this sector. I would like to inform this House that we used to get about 800,000 tourists visiting this country, but now we get about 150,000. We must invest in tourism. How do we encourage tourism and farming? By boosting our infrastructure, making the Ministers concerned move, having a proper road system, being secure to walk around and go about our business in this country. Another aspect which affects the economy is disease. I am glad that this year the Government seems to have prepared itself against Highland Malaria. I hope it will not kill so many of my people as it did last year. We must address the issue of AIDS. We were told in a seminar that we have received funds to carry out AIDS awareness campaigning in the entire country but the message has not reached the constituencies. I have not been given the information and I do not think any one of us has been given either. Could the Minister concerned take the point that we want to pass the message using the Members of Parliament, the Press, media and everybody in the country? We have been negotiating with our development partner and on this aspect I would like to ask every Member of this Parliament both in the Opposition as well as the Government to close ranks and let us get this assistance for our people. We may have divergent views as far as this money is utilised, but let us have it. Let us use the "watchdog" committees in this House to see that the money that has been received from our development partners is appropriately utilised.

I understand there is a Bill coming here for economic crime. If that money is not properly utilised then we will get those people and deal with them in that coming Bill. When we are out negotiating for this assistance outside the country we must have proper negotiators; people who go there with the interests of this country. They should be people who say the truth to our development partners so that they do not deceive them and say they are going to provide 30 percent as counterpart funds when they know the Kenyan coffers are empty. There is a lot of money which has been committed to this country and yet we cannot use it simply because we cannot source counterpart funds. These are funds that the Kenya Government must contribute before the project takes off.

Before I finish, I would like to thank the House Committees. They have been effective this year. Every House Departmental Committee is doing its work. I am sure that the "watchdog" committees are not witch-hunting. They want to make sure that public funds voted in this House are appropriately and properly applied. I do not think this House would take part in taking from poor people through taxation and giving to the rich people for no service rendered. The "watchdog" committees should look at this seriously. When they pursue anybody they should give him or her a chance to defend themselves. If he is unable to defend himself then he must account for what he has taken from public coffers. That is the way we can develop. We realise that all the indicators of our economy like education and health services are going under and yet some people are taking away the money that has been taxed from the poor people of Kenya. They are taking this money to their own homes, buying big ranches overseas and re-investing in Kenya as if it is a foreign investment.

Parliament, as the paramount institution in this country, must make sure that the taxpayers' money is well spent. Recently, we have seen cases where public resources are really plundered without any reasonableness. Take, for example, the Nairobi City Council. We are taxed Service Charge and yet we cannot see a drop of water in our homes or drive to the Kibera Law Courts.

With those few remarks, I wish to support.

**Mr. Kathangu:** Ninashukuru sana, Bw. Naibu Spika. Mimi ni mmoja wa wale wanaofurahia zaidi kuwa katika nchi hii mwaka huu kushuhudia yale ambayo yaliotarajiwa kwa muda mrefu sana. Kwanza, katika maisha yote yangu nikiwa mzima hivi yamekuwa ya kusumbuka sana nikielezwa kwamba ifikapo mwaka 2000 tutakuwa na maji katika kila nyumba huku Kenya. Tulielezwa kuwa ifikapo mwaka 2000 tutakuwa tumewaelimisha watu wote. Hata wale wazee ambao hawakuenda shuleni watajua kuandika, kusoma na kadhalika. Tuliambiwa kuwa ifikapo mwaka 2000 umaskini utapungua. Ninafurahia sana kwamba mimi ni shahidi mmoja katika nchi hii kuona kwamba kuna machache yaliofanyika na mengi ambayo hayajafanyika. Waheshimiwa Wabunge hapa wanalalamika kwamba mambo machache sana yametendeka.

Hakuna maana nizingumze baada ya kusikiza hotuba tatu. Hotuba ya kwanza jana ilikuwa ya Bw. Spika. Hotuba ya pili ilikuwa ya Rais wa nchi na ya tatu ilikuwa ya Kiongozi wa Upinzani, Mhe. Mwai Kibaki. Tukiangalia hotuba hizo tutaweza kusema nchi hii inaelekea wapi. Ninamshukuru Bw. Spika zaidi kwamba alihutubia Bunge hili na watu wanaowakilishwa na Wabunge. Kulingana nami Hotuba ya Rais ilikuwa inalenga Benki Kuu ya Dunia na Shirika



la Fedha Ulimwenguni. Asilimia sitini ya Wabunge waliokuwa Bungeni jana walikuwa "wamelala" wakati Rais alikuwa anasoma Hotuba yake. Hiyo ni kusema kuwa hawakuwa wanasikiza.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! Hon. Kathangu, hon. Members do not do anything of the sort in this Chamber. They may shut their eyes, but they do not sleep!

*(Laughter)*

**Mr. Munyasia:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Most of us were very attentive yesterday, but hon. Kathangu says we were asleep. Am I in order to ask him to withdraw that unkind remark to the attentive MPs who listened to the President yesterday?

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! The Chair has just ruled that Members of this House do not sleep.

**Mr. Kathangu:** Asante, Bw. Naibu Spika. Nilikuwa ninasema kwamba asilimia sitini ya Wabunge walikuwa kama Mbunge aliyezungumza, ambaye hakuwa anasikiza yale yaliokuwa yanaendelea kwa sababu Bw. Naibu Spika ametoa uamuzi saa hii naye hakusikia. Kwa hivyo, ninasema asilimia sitini ya Wabunge hawakusikiza yale Rais alikuwa anasema.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! Hon. Kathangu, you have no way of knowing whether they were listening or not. Proceed.

**Mr. Kathangu:** Asante sana, Bw. Naibu Spika. Nilikuwa ninasema kwamba Hotuba ilikuwa inalenga Shirika Kuu la Fedha na Benki Kuu ya Dunia. Kuna machache ambayo ningetaka kusema lakini si juu ya Hotuba; ni kuhusu vile mambo yako katika nchi hii. Kwanza, umaskini katika nchi umeuma kila mmoja. Wakati umaskini umeuma watu wengi sana hukimbilia kwa ulevi, uvutaji wa bangi na kunywa pombe na uombaji. Katika barabara za Jiji letu la Nairobi kila mtu kazi yake ni kuzunguka na kutafuta shilingi ishirini ya nauli ya kwenda nyumbani. Hiyo ndiyo kazi ambayo imebaki katika nchi hii.

Bw. Naibu Spika, umaskini umeingilia zaidi wananchi wetu kiwango cha wao kuuana ovyo, ovyo. Hii ni kwa sababu kila mwananchi akimuangalia mwenzake anadhani amekula na yeye hajakula cho chote. Ikiwa mwananchi huyo amekunywa chang'aa, basi atatumia kisu chake kumdunga mwenzake. Tunasikia kila wakati katika matangazo ya redio na magazeti kuwa wananchi wetu wanauana ovyo, ovyo katika vijiji kadha wa kadha nchini.

Bw. Naibu Spika, tunazungumza hapa juu ya mambo ya hatari ambayo yamekumba nchi hii. Hatari kubwa katika nchi hii ni hali ya usalama. Je, tutadumisha usalama vipi ikiwa wananchi wetu wanakufa njaa, hawana malazi na mavazi mazuri, na wengine wao wanaishi katika kambi ambazo tutahitajika kuwapelekea chakula?

Nchi yetu imefikia kiwango cha huzuni ambapo viongozi wetu wameingiza unafiki katika mambo muhimu. Mwaka jana nilisema ya kwamba umefika wakati wa nchi hii kufungua milango ya mapinduzi ya maisha yetu. Mapinduzi hayo hayawezi kutekelezwa mpaka fikra za kila mmoja wetu zibadilike. Huzuni ni kwamba tunazungumza juu ya ugonjwa wa Ukimwi bila vitendo.

Mwaka jana tulikuwa mjini Mombasa tukizungumza juu ya ugonjwa huu na hatari zake. Serikali ilisema itatenga kiasi cha Kshs3 bilioni katika bajeti yake ya kila mwaka, ili kupambana na maradhi haya. Lakini baada ya wiki moja tuliporejea hapa Nairobi, kamati ambayo ingejishughulisha na usimamizi wa pesa hizo katika Wizara ya Afya iliwekwa chini ya Ofisi ya Rais. Kila jambo ambalo linahusiana na pesa katika nchi hii huwa chini ya Ofisi ya Rais. Tunapotaka pesa za kufanya jambo fulani, hatupati hata centi moja na ilihali, Rais anataka tumuunge mkono katika harakati zake za kupigana na umaskini katika nchi hii. Je, nani anayesimamia pesa katika nchi hii?

Bw. Naibu Spika, ni aibu kuona Rais wetu katika mikutano ya siasa akisema hadharani kuwa upinzani umekwisha kabisa katika nchi hii. Lakini akija hapa, anataka sisi waheshimiwa Wabunge wa Upinzani tumuunge mkono katika harakati za kupigana na umaskini katika nchi hii. Ninaona kuna unafiki katika jambo hili na tunahitajika kubadilisha fikra na tabia zetu, kwa sababu nchi hii iko katika lingi la huzuni.

Bw. Naibu Spika, nitazungumza machache juu ya Katiba ya nchi hii. Hakuna katiba ulimwenguni ambayo huunda kiongozi wa nchi. Kazi yake ni kumwongoza kiongozi ambaye atailinda kikamilifu. Udhaifu tulionao hapa ni kwamba viongozi wetu wanafikiri wataunda, waaimamie na kuongoza katiba. Jambo hili halitawezekana. Tunaona katika nchi hii mvutano juu ya marekebisho ya katiba kwa sababu wananchi wetu hawajahusishwa na shughuli hii. Wananchi wanataka katiba ambayo itawaongoza viongozi na viongozi nao wailinde katiba hiyo. Ninakubaliana na mhe. Kibaki kwamba ni lazima sisi tuondoe woga na kutoaminiana na kuwahusisha wananchi wetu katika shughuli za marekebisho ya katiba. Ikiwa tutawahusisha wananchi wetu katika shughuli hii, basi watatuamini sisi viongozi wao na hawatafikiria kuwa sisi hatuna maana nao.

Bw. Naibu Spika, haya ndiyo maoni yangu ya leo. Mungu ailinde Bunge na nchi yetu ya Kenya. Asante sana.

**The Assistant Minister for Education, Science and Technology (Dr. Wamukoya):** Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to make a comment on the Presidential Address which he gave yesterday. May I also join my colleagues who have said that the Speech contained enough guidelines to help us

formulate policy to push us forward

There were so many issues the President raised, but I will concentrate on the reduction of poverty in this country. We have heard hon. Members blaming the Government for not doing one thing or the other. We have also been told that the Speech should have contained, at least information about how much resources that Government has put in place to help reduce poverty. I think we know that these financial resources come from certain sources. However, those sources are not performing properly. For example, our agriculture is stagnating, while commerce and industries are declining. Maybe, the only thing we can talk about being rich of is human resource. So, when we talk about the President stating how much money the Government has put in place to help reduce poverty in this country, then we are forgetting that the sources of those resources are not also performing. We are told that the Government has Ministries which should be working out on how to reduce poverty in this country, but I can assure you that with 15 Ministries, it will be very difficult for each Ministry to work out reduction of policy paper which will be congruent with papers from the other Ministries. I strongly believe when the President gave his Address he was giving us guidelines on how to formulate a policy because it is this House which is central to policy formulation. This House is the only one that must help the Government and other arms of the Government to prioritise, formulate policy and order the Government to focus on those policies. Therefore, I believe that the Presidential Address contained enough guidelines, particularly on poverty reduction. I want to suggest that there are some areas that, we in developing countries have forgotten to look into, in order to jump-start our economy, so that we can reduce poverty. This country has been prospecting for oil for a long time and I do not think we have been successful. But we are not the only country in the world without oil. We know of many developed countries that do not have oil, but they generate wealth from technology. We do not expect one Ministry to formulate its own policy on advancement of technology. It is us who must direct them from this House. We know that we import a lot of technological innovativeness from outside, for example, friendly nuclear, space, aviation, communication and information, bio-technology and farming technology from the West. I believe, if this country wants to move forward, it must enter into this arena. We are innovative enough to come up with our own technology or adopt technologies from outside. This is because, if we do not, we shall continue to import technologies from the west and even deplete the little foreign resources that we have in this country.

I want to emphasize bio-technology and farming technology as the primary technologies that can help us, maybe, to reduce poverty. The other day, hon. N.M. Nyagah came up with a Motion on irrigation and I believe that if we are going to devote all our efforts on rain-fed crops, we are not going to get very far, because we have been told that our population is growing very fast and the rainfall is irregular, and we can see the results. Every year we are saying that there is shortage---

#### QUORUM

**Mr. Khamasi:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I can notice that we are too few in this House and, therefore, we have no quorum and we are discussing a very important issue. Could we raise quorum before we continue?

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Yes, you are right. Ring the Division Bell!

*(The Division Bell was rung)*

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! We now have a quorum. Proceed, Dr. Wamukoya!

**The Assistant Minister for Education, Science and Technology** (Dr. Wamukoya): Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I was saying that the other day we passed a Motion by hon. N.M. Nyagah; that irrigation is an important exercise in that we should no longer depend on rain-fed agriculture. I think that was supported very strongly by hon. Dr. Omamo, who was my teacher at one time. I want to strongly recommend that this House should formulate a policy that is going to prioritise irrigation. Any finances that come into agriculture---

*(Mr. Githiomi in loud consultation)*

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, Mr. Githiomi!

**The Assistant Minister for Education, Science and Technology** (Dr. Wamukoya): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for any money that comes into agriculture, a big part of it should go into irrigation, considering also that only one-third of this country gets rain and two-thirds is semi-arid and arid. Therefore, it is very important as the population of the country grows, we now consider going seriously into irrigation. Also, in bio-technology, very many countries have deliberately formulated policies on how to genetically engineer crops, because with genetic engineering, genetically-modified crops can be increased in quantity, size and quality. Therefore, if we deliberately do that, we are going to increase food production for our people in this country. The old technologies we have used for plant and animal

breeding are very slow and are not going to improve the qualities and quantities we want at the same pace that our population is growing. Therefore, I am recommending that this House should formulate bio-technology and farming policies which are deliberately geared towards jump-starting our production in both crop and animal agriculture. If we do not do that, I do not think we are going to catch up with the rest of the world.

With those few remarks, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, thank you very much.

**Mr. Mwenje:** Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity. The Speech by His Excellency the President lacked a lot of things that we expected to come by and, in particular, starting with insecurity in this country. We expected the President to refer and precisely tell us what the Government is going to do about the insecurity in this country. In particular, the City of Nairobi where I come from, there are many cases of insecurity, killings, thuggery, shoot-out between the police and the thugs and all those kind of things. We expect the Government to come up with a solution and tell us who is bringing illegal guns to Nairobi. How do they come here? What is the police doing? Why are they involved in thuggery and harassing wananchi? The Government must address that and we expected to hear about that from the Presidential Address, but we did not. There is no country that can talk of eradication of poverty when there is insecurity. It is impossible; it cannot apply.

I am disturbed by what we read today in the newspapers - and that is their position - about references being made to the Public Investments Committee (PIC) and the Public Accounts Committee (PAC). We hear that the KANU Parliamentary Group tends to think that Ministers should now be Members of those two watchdog Committees. You cannot be the judge, prosecutor and the accused!

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Where is that information?

**Mr. Mwenje:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am referring to the PIC and PAC which were referred to in the Presidential Address. They are the watchdogs and we cannot--- Those Committees must be given free hand to do their work without interference of any nature. Then, when we read from the newspapers about what transpired during the KANU Parliamentary Group meeting, we tend to add one plus one and we know precisely where they are heading to. If anybody tries to tamper with those Committees, he will be met with a lot of force and we will refuse to allow that kind of thing to happen. The PAC and PIC must be allowed--- It is the hope of Kenyans that when those two Committees are operating properly, then, they know that things are moving well. Any interference with them will certainly be opposed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, so much has been said about how we can eradicate poverty. I would like to support and agree with support the Leader of the Official Opposition, hon. Kibaki, that there is no way we can talk of eradicating or even reducing poverty, when it is the same Government that has created this poverty. It is high time the Government of the day admitted that it is unable to eradicate poverty and gave in. Kenyans have lost hope in this Government. Poverty is on the rise. As much as we have very poor people in the rural areas, we also have very poor people in the urban areas.

**Mr. Ojode:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I really sympathise with my colleague, because I did not want to interrupt him. But he has said that "Kenyans" have lost faith in this Government. Which "Kenyans" is he referring to?

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! Proceed hon. Mwenje! That is not a point of order.

**Mr. Mwenje:** Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I do not need to waste time commenting on what he has asked.

The question of poverty is there, and everybody knows about it. It is shown in the Government's GDP Report. If there are people pretending that they do not know that there is poverty in Kenya and yet our people are suffering, I can equate them with those who have refused to agree that there is famine in North-Eastern Province, whereas it is there. Even if you pretend, I am sure your conscience is clear that, that is the truth.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Hon. Mwenje, you were referring to the Public Investments and Public Accounts Committees in your contribution---

**Mr. Mwenje:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have already passed that point, and because I do not have much time, I would like to move on further a little bit with my contribution.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! The reference to the Public Investments Committee is that, it chronicles the evils performed by parastatals.

**Mr. Mwenje:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if you read the headlines in the newspapers today, they were referring to this---

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, hon. Mwenje! We have got the Speech here. Could you show me where what you have said is?

**Mr. Mwenje:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Public Investments Committee is referred to in the Speech, but I cannot exactly tell where at the moment. But it is there. Since I am short of time, I will show you later if you want to see it.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, hon. Mwenje! I want to put the record straight. In the Speech, it is written:-  
"---losses of public funds have occurred as is so clearly demonstrated in the reports of the Public Investments Committee of this House".

**Mr. Mwenje:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if you read the headlines in the newspapers today, you will see that they were referring to this. I would like you to save my time, because I am really running out of it.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I may be taking your time, but I want you to be factual.

**Mr. Mwenje:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is very difficult to think of eradicating poverty when the roads remain in a poor state. Last year, we formed the Roads Board, and we are yet to see it operating. This is the only way to solve the problem. But if we leave it to the Ministry, the roads will never be tarmacked.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have had so many probe committees, and I am happy the probe committee on City Hall operations has now completed its work. We expect the Minister for Local Government to table that Report, so that we can know those people who are messing up Nairobi City. Even if they are not taken to court, Kenyans will have known who has been messing with funds at City Hall. I would also like to echo the sentiments of hon. Gatabaki on the *El Nino* funds which have been provided. We do not know who is withholding them and why they are not being put into use.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Speech referred to the un-effectiveness in the collection of taxes. The problem is not even in the collection of the taxes, but the misappropriation of what has been collected. This Government collects Kshs180 billion every year, but more than a half of that money is misappropriated. Those who misappropriate these funds are well known. They have always been mentioned in the Public Investments and Public Accounts Committees, but no action is taken against them. So, the problem is not on collection of revenue as referred to here. The problem is how it is spent after it has been collected.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as concerns debt recovery, I would like to state that even some of our local banks are writing off debts owed by some people. They are only doing so for the favoured-few, from State House. I once tabled that list here, and their names are known. The local banks are in the process of writing off Kshs2.27 billion. How do we eradicate poverty when a few Kenyans are favoured in this manner? Those people who owe the banks a lot of money are not followed, whereas those who owe the banks small amounts, including hon. Members, are followed everywhere.

**Mr. Munyasia:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Hon. Mwenje has stated that there are some State House operatives whose loans are being written off by some banks. Would I be in order to ask him to substantiate?

**Mr. Mwenje:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I remember saying that I tabled the names of those people, which included Mr. Kulei and others. So, if it is a matter of substantiation, I am able to, because I still have the list.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order! Order, hon. Mwenje! If you do not want to substantiate now, since you have done so before, just say it is a matter of referring to records of the House and refer to that period.

**Mr. Mwenje:** Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. That is the true position. I tabled that list here and the hon. Member knows that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in a nutshell, this Speech did not meet our expectations. There was so much that we expected to be mentioned, and I hope that those issues will be addressed, because Kenyans are suffering. We had hope in this Government, but as long as these issues are not tackled, we will always continue losing that hope. Our people have continued to become poorer and poorer, that even feeding is becoming difficult. If this Government has realised that they are not able to deliver, they would better give in. Fortunately, we have hon. Kibaki, who can form a better Government, and whom I will ask all Kenyans to support, so that he can become the next President of this country. I am sure he would make everybody rich if he became the President.

**The Minister for Environment** (Mr. Nyenze): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I would like to start my contribution on this Presidential Speech by saying that, the country should be geared towards poverty eradication or reduction. I was surprised, when we went to the Kenya School of Monetary Studies, that the majority of the Opposition Members of Parliament did not turn up for this crucial meeting.

**Hon. Members:** We were not invited!

**The Minister for Environment** (Mr. Nyenze): Sorry, if you were not invited!

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think, this was a very important meeting, in that, it is, the concern of legislators to reduce or eradicate poverty. From earlier contributions by hon. Members, I have noted that every hon. Member would like poverty reduced. It is therefore, very important to attend these meetings, whether they are convened by KANU or whichever party.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, agriculture is key in the reduction of poverty in this country. Most of the people living in the rural areas depend on agriculture for their survival either when we are raising school fees or meeting any other family needs because agriculture is the backbone of the economy. I would like to appeal to fellow legislators to

avoid politicking on agriculture. For example, inciting rice farmers to chase away Government officers.

If some fellow legislators did not incite some coffee farmers to take over coffee factories, we would not be in the position that we are in now. If some legislators did not say that Kenya should not get foreign aid, we would be better off. We have been the contributors to the poverty situation in this country.

**Mr. P. Kihara:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for the hon. Minister to keep on making allegations that he cannot substantiate? He has said that some fellow legislators have said that foreign aid should not be given to Kenya. We have asked this Government to meet the conditions that the World Bank wants it to meet so that aid can be given to Kenya. We all want foreign aid to be given, but the Government should meet the conditions.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, hon. Kihara! That is an argument!

**The Minister for Environment** (Mr. Nyenze): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for saving me. It is our hope that foreign aid to Kenya will resume and we have a lot of hope that we will be able to put the right policies in place. Both sides of the House should strive to encourage the Bretton Woods Institutions to give us aid. This will be very important to us because it enabled us to build our infrastructure which was destroyed some time back by the *El Nino* rains.

I would want to talk about the Mombasa-Nairobi-Kampala Road. This is the road that is mostly used by trucks in transporting goods. This is a very key road and I would wish that we do not only make it a dual-carriage road, but we can ease congestion on Mombasa Road by tarmacking Kibwezi-Mutomo-Kitui-Thika Road. That road is not hilly; the terrain is nearly flat and it is shorter. The farmers in Meru, some parts of the Central, Eastern and even North-Eastern Provinces would use that road, which is very short when travelling to Mombasa. It can also connect us very easily with Ethiopia and Somalia. So, instead of just concentrating on Mombasa Road, we can tarmack that road and it can be used very effectively. We are happy to note that Mutomo Bridge in Kitui on River Athi has been now put in place and trucks can pass through and that is a big achievement by the Government. If that road can be tarmacked, it would be very useful to us.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, let me also talk about insecurity. No investor would want to invest in a country where there is insecurity and even citizens would not feel free to walk at night or visit the places that they would want to. I would like to appeal to the legislators to assist the police who are already doing a good job in curbing insecurity. First, we should preach to our constituents about the importance of keeping law and order. We should also preach to them about reporting cases of people that they see walking around their places who look suspicious. We should also not make inflammatory statements that would make people to fight against each other. Tribalism has been promoted by utterances by some of us legislators. We should not talk as Kambas, Kikuyus, Taitas, Luos or Luhyas, but as Kenyans. It would be very wrong for leaders who make laws to start professing and promoting tribal interests. Some people, for some selfish gains, have made some statements that can incite their tribesmen against the Government. We should be responsible because we belong to this august House; we are hon. Members and we are respected. It is a shame when you hear an hon. Member making very irresponsible statements sometimes. That promotes tribalism.

His Excellency the President has preached, since I was a young man, about peace, love and unity. Those should be the key words to promote this country. Where there is peace, people will go about their businesses very nicely. Where there is love, people will care for each other and there will not be any ill feelings or crime because they will live like brothers and sisters. So, we should practise this idea that the President has always preached of peace love and unity. We should practice it for heavens sake, and you will not see any blood shed in this country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, let me also talk about the Parliamentary Select Committee which was led by hon. Raila Odinga. It did a very good job. It is also very good for hon. Members of this House to support it. It will not be very sensible for some groups in Nairobi to form small non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and start calling them stakeholders. We are the stakeholders because we represent our constituents. The Parliamentarians are the right people to make laws and that is why they are called "legislators". So, when a small group meets in Ufungamano House and starts spearheading something called "people driven", this is something laughable. This is unacceptable and let us not try to usurp the powers of Parliament. Parliament is supreme; it should be respected and we are hon. Members. Why should we surrender our responsibility to some other groups when we do not know where they originated from? Why should the religious people, who are not Parliamentarians, try to cheat some of our fellow legislators to join them? Their duty is concentrated in churches and not in Parliament. So, Kenyans should not be cheated to follow some people who have no mandate. We have been given the mandate by the people and that is why we are in this Parliament. We should support that Committee and I am urging the House that when that time comes, we should all vote very positively so that we can make a very good progress.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

**Mr. Kiminza:** Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for having given me the opportunity to contribute to this Motion on the Presidential Address.

I would like to begin by congratulating His Excellency the President for the message which was passed in the

Address yesterday. His Excellency the President spoke about the unity of this nation. Through unity, we would have seen many things that we might have wanted in this country. We have tried every way possible, but because of disunity amongst ourselves, as leaders of this nation, we have found that it has not been possible to achieve what we wanted. I want to qualify the words of His Excellency the President that "unless Kenyans get united, we will not get very far".

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I also want to talk about the poverty reduction strategy. Many speakers ahead of me have spoken on the same. I believe strongly that the way forward for this country is by identifying the causes of poverty, and as a united country, we should work together and reduce poverty everywhere.

I come from an area in Kitui South where the level of poverty is very high. It has affected education and other things. If I do not talk about infrastructure as a strategy of reducing poverty, I will not have made my point today. In Kitui South, for example, it is difficult to talk about poverty reduction, without talking about the provision of water for irrigation. I would like to congratulate the Government for building the Athi River Bridge, which my colleague has already talked about. The Government spent about Kshs300 million and that, was a way of reducing poverty in Kitui South.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would also like to talk about the Constitution. We have the Parliamentary Select Committee, which was appointed by this august House, to look into the Act. I would like to join my colleagues in supporting the initiative through Parliament. As you might know, I am the only Member of this House who has got the double-mandate of my constituents. I was first of all elected on an Opposition ticket. I found out that, it was impossible for me to drive my agenda, and especially the agenda for my people. The people once again gave me the mandate to speak on their behalf from this side of the House. I want to say that I am the most qualified person to articulate the interests of the people of Kitui South. I am their representative! I am a born-again Christian and I am not ashamed of saying the same! But I would like to say that, as much as I have a lot of respect for the churches, which I belong to, I think I should be given the opportunity to speak on their behalf. I was elected by pastors, priests and other church members. When the time to talk about the Constitution of the Republic of Kenya Amendment Act comes, I will put a strong case on the scrapping of some positions. I will propose the removing of the Provincial Administration and recommend representation through elected leaders, up to the district level.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am worried about the crime rate in this country. I would like to qualify what His Excellency the President said; that unless we live as brothers and sisters, and co-operate with the law enforcement agencies, the crime rate will not go down. Crime has affected our tourism and even hon. Members' security. But I think, as Members of Parliament, we should encourage the Government to continue with its efforts to bring down the rate of crime.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is the issue of corruption. Corruption has been talked about in every place in this country. In every forum, no leader has missed the opportunity to talk about corruption. Accusing fingers have been pointed at various people. But I think this is not the opportunity to blame people! I think it is time to say that it has been there. It is all over the world, but in our particular case in Kenya, we must ask ourselves what we must do as a people and nation, to fight corruption. One avenue which can be exploited are the churches. One way of reducing corruption is to give room for worship and preaching of the word of God. The churches are registered under the Societies Act. The process one has to undergo to get registration of a new church or a new evangelical ministry is too tedious. You find that most preachers have to work under cover. If we allow the word of God to be preached and churches are registered more easily, the church front can be used to fight corruption, through the preaching of the word of God.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will not conclude my speech without commending the President. On certain instances, His Excellency the President has given directions which mean well to this country. The Government means well for everybody. But I would blame some implementors of Presidential and Government directives. His Excellency the President says: "This is what I would like to be done for the betterment of this country!" But a leader in the Provincial Administration does contrary to what the President has instructed. The man in the village does not know about the President. The man in the village does not know about the Permanent Secretary. The men he sees in the village are the assistant chiefs and chiefs. The opinion of the Government to this man in the village is formed upon the actions of the representative of the Provincial Administration. I think all of us Kenyans should make concerted efforts to tame some wrong provincial administrators who frustrate everybody. They talk ill about everybody! They contradict any leader! I would encourage the Government to wind out the few people in the Provincial Administration, who give a negative image of the Government. Once that is done, we will be able to move forward.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is a proposal to build the Kibwezi-Ikutha-Mutomo-Kitui-Meru-Ethiopia Road. My colleague hon. Nyenze mentioned the same road because we come from the same area. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) knows that traffic along Mombasa Road is very high. If this road is constructed, it will open up all those areas. Somebody in Meru can transport his miraa to Mombasa without passing Nairobi and Sultan Hamud. It will be shorter and those areas will be opened up. Once that is done, poverty will be reduced.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

**Mr. Mbitiru:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, may I say that the Presidential Speech which we listened to yesterday, was very nice, well-spiced and meant to create a way forward for this country. However, as it has happened in the past, we Kenyans are always left with a big doubt and confused in most instances between the words and actions. That is, between what has been said in that policy paper and what is done as a result of those programmes.

*[Mr. Deputy Speaker left the Chair]*

*[The Temporary Deputy Speaker  
(Mr. Musila) took the Chair]*

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like first and foremost, to address the issue of poverty reduction in this country. To understand that process, first and foremost, we need to understand what really happens in terms of governance of this country and policies that are attributed by the Government particularly on the issues of poverty reduction. In that instance, you would see that good governance is the main driving force and all along, all the speakers in this House and the members of the society outside, are always addressing the issue of good and bad governance. Without bad governance in this country, we would not have had any poverty. Poverty in my opinion, looks like a Government policy to impoverish Kenyans to the point where we are today. Kenyans would have been very far ahead, if the policies that normally come out of this Government were implemented. It is, therefore, words against the actions that always have attributed to the institutions of the Presidency, the Executive and of the Ministries that we have in this country. What really happens? What is the difference between the two; to say we want to achieve this, but we do not? On that one, we will say that in terms of developing this country, we should address the issues like the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of this country. However, we must look at the parameters that lead to the growth of that GDP. We must look at the macro and micro economic dynamics that exist in this country. How do we relate to this? When we are addressing those policies that we talk about between poverty reduction, what actually do they look at? Which sectors of the economy do they particularly address to and what incentives are given to those sectors to enable them to grow?

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for instance, with regard to agriculture which is the mainstay of this country, what is the Government doing about it? How is the Government empowering the farmer because Kenyans are mainly farmers? What is the policy? What are the small details of the Government interest in the reduction of poverty in terms of agriculture? When you look at tourism, we have so many tourists in this country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there are beggar tourists and some of them are eating *mandazis* in River Road and we are calling them tourists, although they who do not pay dollars in this country. We need the Ministry responsible for Tourism to address quality tourism in this country. We just do not want any tourists who just come around and some turn out to be beggars in the streets. Some of them start living in those small lodges in River Road and others in the estates. Are these real tourists? Is this the kind of the tourism sector we want to develop for this country? We must have a tourism sector that is well-focused. Let us market equality tourism. Let us introduce even visas, for those people who will be able to afford them; to be able to accommodate and pay that hard dollar to live in Grand Recency Hotel or be able to go and see our animals and beaches. At the same time, let us improve those gameparks, beaches and tourist attractions that we have in this country, so that we can be able to develop quality tourism that we will be able to bring returns to this country. Nobody would like one to come and see garbage that litters all over Nairobi. People would like to come and see an organised society, but not what we have today. People would like to have a society with proper infrastructure, good roads, good telephone communications, good electricity supply and all these. However, today, what is there? The Government policy in the early 1970s was to have running water taps in all homesteads. What is happening today, 20 or 30 years down the line? Most of those taps that were existing those days are dry. Is that good governance? Is that development? Is that reduction of poverty or is it a creation of poverty? So, for me, I would say that all these papers that are coming up from the Government are not genuine. We have very good writers who are coming up with very good policy papers, but those policies do not see the light of the day and this is where the big problem is. The issue is on good governance.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, secondly, I would like to talk about the forest management in this country. We had a very vibrant forest industry in this country, but today, almost 30 years down the line, we do not have a single forest that we can talk that has that habitual interest that we had there before. Many of them like the saw millers are closing down. The forests have been turned into land and we have speculators all over the country and I can talk of a very important forest in Marmanet. The Marmanet Forest in Laikipia District is the only catchment area in that district. Today, over 20,000 hectares of this forest have been hived off. In fact, even the allocation is not done in Laikipia District. It is being done from Baringo District. I am asking this: Has Laikipia District been annexed by Baringo District? These are some of the questions that the Ministers and the Government should address. Why should there be

double standards? Why is the forest that belongs to Laikipia and that has been taken care of by Laikipians being allocated now to people from outside the district? Why are those people being settled illegally? Why do we not mix those communities? We are talking of curbing tribalism and yet, what is happening in Laikipia today is the opposite. You have Kalenjins being allocated one particular piece of land. The same applies to the Turkanas and Samburus. We are creating pockets of insurgency later on. If we are talking about ethnicity, then it is going to be fought from there. Instead, if they want to give land to people, why do you not mix them? Why do you want them to choose their neighbours? In any case, God did not give us parents. We did not chose our parents. Likewise, we cannot be able to chose our neighbours. That is why we want the Kikuyus, Kalenjins and all other communities that are living there to live harmoniously, by choosing their own neighbours through the ballot.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would also like to talk something small about the current position.

**The Minister for Environment.** (Mr. Nyenze): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Member in order to allege that Kalenjins are being given land in Laikipia, when we know there are also members from his tribe who are in the Coast region and everywhere else?

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Musila): I think the Chair will ask Members to refrain from tribalising this debate.

**Mr. Mbitiru:** Thank you very much, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I do not want to reply to that point which borders on ignorance because the Minister should be able to go---

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Musila): Order, Mr. Mbitiru! I think you should be more polite. Continue!

**Mr. Mbitiru:** Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir.

The other issue that I would like to talk about is the finances that we are all looking around for. Our Ministers every other day are going out of the country, to look for funds to boost our economy and yet, all the money that has been plundered from our economy has been stashed out of the country.

We have a list of people who have stashed about Kshs578 billion out of the country. Ministers together with the President are going out of the country to look for Kshs14 billion, while Kshs578 billion has been stashed out of the country by certain operatives in the Government both present and past. These people must bring this money back to the country. That money can be able to sustain this country for about three years, without having to borrow a single penny. The Government expenditure runs to about Kshs200 billion per year and we have individuals with over Kshs500 billion out of this country. Why can these people, if they are genuine and interested in serving this country, not bring this money back? How do they go and tell investors to come into this country which they have no confidence in? They have put their money out of this country and they want others to come and invest here. It is a big shame to go and borrow Kshs14 billion when we have money that even the World Bank and all these international donors have proof of; that, that money has been stashed out of the country. What are the multiplying effects of that money if it is brought into this country? It will reduce the cost of fuel, and the Kenyan shilling will be stabilised.

## QUORUM

**Mr. Sambu:** On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. There is no quorum in the House.

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Musila): Yes, we do not have a quorum in the House. Ring the Division Bell.

*(The Division Bell was rung)*

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Musila) Order! Hon. Members, we have a quorum now. We can continue. Hon. Mbitiru, you can now proceed!

**Mr. Mbitiru:** Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. As I was saying before, it is a great shame for this nation to see our leaders, hon. Ministers, led by the Head of State going out of the country to look for Kshs14 billion, while we have Kshs500 billion that has been stacked out of the country in dollars. That money can be brought back to this country by those former and the current senior officers in the Government.

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Musila): Your time is up, hon. Mbitiru!

**The Assistant Minister for Roads and Public Works** (Mr. Mwakalu): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I stand to speak in support of the "State of the Union Message" delivered by His Excellency the President during the occasion of the State Opening of the Fourth Session of the Eighth Parliament, yesterday. As an exposition of policy, I



think, indeed, the Speech did contain the general direction, highlighted the themes and gave the expectations of the Bills to come before the House for debate and enactment. As much as that was covered in the "State of the Union Message", I concur that, its basic needs or relevance were met.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will address myself to one and only one main theme of poverty. Poverty is a subject that the journalist can very freely talk about; the philosopher, the economist, the politician, pastors and Imams; technocrats and laymen alike, feel very comfortable to talk about. This is because at the bottom line, poverty addresses the human condition that is quite negative. But since time immemorial, poverty has existed amongst us, albeit in relative quantities, time and in place.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I recall that, in history, the present Republic of Turkey gave food aid to Sweden. As well, I do recall a time when the peoples of India went starving and begging for food, but they do not do that now. Ireland went through a great famine which nearly decimated the entire Irish population. So, poverty in all its dimensions can be explained and, perhaps, understood or defended in terms of production of goods and services; exchange of the same, consumption, ownership *etcetera*. It can be described in terms of the environment, the quality and quantity of human labour power. In essence, even poverty can be seen in terms of the international economic regime that allows non-equivalent exchange and comparative advantages and the contrary in every case.

So, poverty is essentially an economic category. It is not a moral category. It is the consequences of poverty that produce the politics of morality. Being an economic category, it is at the same time an ideological issue. The model of economic developments that a country espouses; capitalist, socialist, quasi-socialist, name it; determines the degree, regime, the character and direction of poverty in a given country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have come from a regime where modernization was synonymous with primitive life. But even then, the quantity of poverty we experienced was so relative and yet people could survive. There was no unemployment that we can talk about today. But we are also talking about regimes that kept slaves who laboured so much, but there was not one single slave millionaire in the process of the production relation. So, you also have a job, work very hard and end up being a slave because you are expropriated and exploited and in terms of your labour power and in terms of what you do not have in such assets as land.

So, where we have landless people and a land regime and policy that do not address what the farmer can take home from his productivity, but breeds poverty. The kind of poverty we have in Kenya is a "mixed-grill". It is poverty that we inherited historically from the colonial regime, but we chose not to address it in our modern undertaking of nation building; so much that the poverty we have today has multiplied in terms of disadvantaging production and land ownership. In the course of it, we have imposed upon that poverty a blue print for change, known as liberalisation. How do you liberalize when you have not modernized? So, we are now in a situation where we are talking about poverty and what to do about it. Of course, we can do nothing if we do not touch the forces of exploitation and expropriation and the forces that bring about land ownership imbalances. Those who expropriate surplus and export it to foreign countries from poor countries like ours are just economic and moral perverts who do not produce, but accumulate surplus. It does not take much of ingenuity to accumulate surplus because you only need to be a thief! Are we going to address the thieves in our midst who have accumulated surplus without producing and who go on accumulating so much power, wealth and resources that are productive; monopolise, concentrate and reduce the sphere of its circulation to only a handful of Kenyans? If we are not going to address these issues in their entirety and from the roots of these problems, then we are going to have a political "casteclism" which is a function of political awareness. In this country, we must remind ourselves that since Independence, the largest segment of our population has been the youth whom we have declared redundant before we try their talents and energy. How much longer are they going to wait for us to utilise the surplus and to make sure that this country reduces the gap between the majority poor and the few rich. That regime cannot continue in perpetuity!

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, poverty can come in the form of people who consume a cake without building a bigger kitchen or baking a bigger cake. They consume the little that is around. It reminds me also of those who have eyes and eat alongside the blind and therefore, exploit them because of the disadvantage of not having a similar eye site. People will rise up and demand their share one day if we do not take care. Poverty is the greatest value of insecurity which a nation can ever have. When the stomach is growing and gas storming, we go to the church and ask for forgiveness. That is escapism! We must be more practical now so that we can also reduce the wealth of the church people who go around with very big stomachs while they are unable to help the sheep they are supposed to be herding. What I am saying is: Let the politicians, the economists, the professionals, journalists, the technocrats and the laymen come around the table and address this multi-faceted phenomenon of poverty whose consequences can have a very drastic social revolution.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, between the developers and the underdeveloped, there is a distance and that distance can lead to chaos.

Thank you.

**The Assistant Minister for Finance and Planning** (Mr. Lomada): Thank you very much, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to contribute on the Presidential Speech.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, this Speech has given us the guidelines on what to discuss in this House and what to go and practise outside there. To be able to eradicate poverty in this country, Government officers should be accountable in the management of the resources they are in charge of. If we do not take care of the taxes we collect from the people, the Government will not be able to run.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, agriculture is the back-bone of the economy of this country and the Government should encourage farmers to grow food that is enough to sustain them and also to sell in order to get money to meet their daily needs. This is a very important area because our people can get some little money through farming. I would like the agricultural extension officers to be visiting farmers and educating them on how they can improve the production of various crops. We have crops like pyrethrum, coffee, sugar cane and so many others that can be grown by our people in order to improve their lives. That is the only way in which we can eradicate poverty in our rural areas. Instead of engaging ourselves in intellectual discussions about poverty, we should be more practical in our approach and go to the people. The Government should provide some assistance in areas where we have got many rivers which flow to the seas. These rivers should be used for irrigation purposes to assist our people in their farming activities.

Horticultural crops can do well in dry areas, like West Pokot and Turkana. Therefore, I would suggest that we rather go out to help our people instead of making empty talk. On trade, we also have very good businessmen in this country, but they need to be given some assistance. They need some advice. They need to be helped to find ready markets in foreign countries. There are many countries which are ready to work with our farmers, for example, Dubai and so many other countries. I would suggest that the Kenya National Chambers of Commerce to go out to the farmers and help them to find market for their fruits, vegetables and animal products. This will be another way of eradicating poverty instead of just talking about it and leaving it hanging in the air and at the end of the day, our farmers will have acquired nothing. Since our Government has a lot of ADC farms almost everywhere in this country which are not being utilised properly, I would suggest that some of these farms be given to wananchi. They should be given to people like those ones living in North Eastern Province, Turkana, West Pokot and other areas. They should also be given the chance to show that they can be good farmers. That way, we shall be able to eradicate poverty. We cannot eradicate it by just talking, we have to be seen doing it practically. So, these are some of the things that I would suggest that we go out and start doing now.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, our officers who are given the responsibility of collecting taxes, like VAT, should be trustful. Whatever they collect must be remitted to the Government and should be accounted for. Those people who are evading tax must be brought to book. Those people who have debts, old and new, must be made to pay without allowing them to give any excuses. They have to pay. Those institutions that have lent this money out must see to it that, this money has been paid back to the Government or to the institution. This way, we are losing money that would have helped us to do some other things in those institutions. Our parastatals have let us down. Once the Government gives them money, they do not invest it wisely to earn some interest. In fact, the money that is given to the parastatals is sunk there. It is misused. There is no accountability.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would suggest that from today as we are discussing this Presidential Address, there must be accountability. This House should see to it that whatever has been misused, should be returned and any officers who are not following the laws set by this House, should either be thrown out or punished.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

**The Assistant Minister for Health** (Mr. Koskei): Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this chance to contribute on this Speech that the President made yesterday when he was officially opening the Fourth Session of this Eighth Parliament. I would want to commend the President for the kind of Speech he made yesterday, because for those of us who were here, and I believe all of us were attentive when the Speech was being made; it touched on all crucial matters affecting this nation. I think, what he really tackled and I think, it has become a focus of all us, is the issue of poverty eradication. When you go to the countryside, and I must say that, all of us have just come from there; you find that most of our people are actually living in poverty. You can actually see and feel the poverty that our people go through day in, day out. We must commend the Government for the steps it is taking to alleviate this poverty. Unfortunately, the areas that we feel could alleviate poverty do not seem to be getting proper attention. I have in mind the case of the road network, and I am talking specifically, on the feeder roads that serve the farming areas. We cannot make agriculture the corner-stone of poverty eradication and yet, we are not facilitating the farmers to sell their produce.

Last year, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, farmers in my constituency decided to go full scale in growing potatoes as a cash crop. But the most unfortunate thing is that, these farmers did not get a place to sell their produce simply because of a problem that could be traced back to the Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC). Sometimes back, the British Government gave the ADC a lot of money to build some storage facilities for potatoes in

Molo. The facilities have been set up, but the most unfortunate bit is that, nobody bothers to use them. It does not serve any purposes. Why? The farm that was set aside by the ADC and which was meant to be used to propagate the seeds so that the farmers could get the seeds was grabbed. Hence, the Corporation that was supposed to have also grown these seeds and then taken care of this facility, did not see the need of maintaining it. So, when the market collapsed because of so much potatoes that were grown by the farmers, they ended up selling their produce at throw away prices. There is need for the Government in this particular case to see that, when we say we are serious in eradicating poverty or minimising the burden of our people, these kind of facilities and measures are taken care of in order to alleviate this problem among our people.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, still on the infrastructure, you find that in a big district like Nakuru, the so-called Petroleum Levy Fund and one of our colleagues mentioned it last time; this money is not spent there. The money is usually spent within the District Works Office. It is not used for the purpose that it is intended.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, if the Ministry of Roads and Public Works could utilise the resources it has, in terms of both machinery and manpower, it can do most of its works rather than contract them out. The Ministry can do a better job than contractors. The roads that were done by the Ministry tended to last longer as opposed to those which were done by contractors; contractors do shoddy jobs. The road between Molo and Olenguruone was done hardly six months ago, but it is already full of potholes. It is as if nothing was done on that road, and yet millions of shillings was used on it. So, as much as the Government puts down on paper the need to alleviate poverty, we should see more concrete action being taken, more so, by the concerned Ministries, so that when we finally tell the people that we are tackling a certain problem, they can see the effects of that action on the ground.

Currently, most parts of the country are not having any rainfall. If the weather continues this way, those areas might end up not having any rain at all. That is why we have said time and again that there is need for a coherent national agricultural policy to be put in place. You will find that the crops that can be grown strategically in parts of this country do not need much rainfall. However, this has not been emphasised. A few parcels of land in my constituency have not been properly utilised. Those land parcels have been given out to some private developers. Consequently, pyrethrum, which is the only cash crop on which people in that area rely, has ended up not being properly propagated. The Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, which was relying on KARI, cannot carry out research on that crop. Hence, in as much as we talk about poverty alleviation, we are, really, not doing much in trying to alleviate the particular problem. Therefore, as we claim to be serious in tackling the problem of poverty in this country, the Government and those who have been vested with the responsibility of looking into the problem, should try to do so effectively.

Mr. Temporary Chairman, Sir, there has been a lot of hue and cry about corruption in this country. Reports emanating from the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) and the Public Investments Committee (PIC) leave a lot to be desired. That is why we are saying that although the Government has set up the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA), it should do much more to tackle this "cancer" called "corruption". If we are to attract foreign investors and donor funding, the Government should be seen to be tackling this problem not by paying lip service to it, but rather by prosecuting those people who have been implicated as having been involved in corrupt practices.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

**Mr. Kajembe:** Bw. Naibu wa Spika wa Muda, ningependa kuchukua nafasi hii kuiunga mkono Hotuba ya Rais, na kutoa maoni yangu.

Ningependa kuzungumza juu ya swala la kubadilishwa kwa ile sheria ya urekebishaji wa Katiba ya nchi hii. Litakapopitisha mabadiliko ya sheria hii, Bunge litaunda tume ambayo itazunguka kuchukua maoni ya wananchi kote nchini, kwa minajili ya kuunda Katiba mpya. Ukweli ni kwamba Bunge ndilo lililo na mamlaka ya kutunga sheria mpya au kubadilisha vifungu fulani vya Katiba ya nchi hii. Harakati zinazoendelezwa na makundi ya kidini, na makundi mengine yanayofanya mambo kiholela bila ya kujali sheria, hazikubaliki. Wakati umewadia wakenya kufahamu kwamba Bunge ndilo lililo na mamlaka ya kubadilisha na kuunda sheria mpya, hasa wakati huu ambapo Bunge liko huru. Wale watu ambao wameelimika wanawapotosha wakenya juu ya swala la ubadilishaji wa Katiba. Kwa hivyo, kutokana na Hotuba ambayo Rais alisoma katika Bunge hili jana, tunapaswa kuharakisha urekebishaji wa sheria juu ya mabadiliko ya Katiba ili tuweze kuunda tume itakayoshughulikia ubadilishaji Katiba, ili shughuli hii ikamilike kwa wakati unaofaa. Ni muhimu kukamilisha shughuli ya marekebisho ya Katiba kabla ya uchaguzi mkuu wa mwaka wa 2002. Sisemi kwamba shughuli hizo mbili ziambatishwe; ninasema kwamba ni bora iwe Katiba imerekebishwa kabla ya uchaguzi huo mkuu.

Bw. Naibu wa Spika wa Muda, kuna matatizo katika shirika la ndege nchini, na katika halmashauri ya bandari nchini. Ndege huruka kutoka Nairobi kwenda Mombasa. Ndege hiyo, inapofika Mombasa, rubani hufahamishwa kwamba uwanja hauna mataa ya kumwelekeza ili aweze kutua. Hivyo basi, rubani huyo huirudisha ndege ile hadi Nairobi, pamoja na abiria wake. Usimamizi wa viwanja vya ndege uko chini ya halmashauri ya viwanya vya ndege nchini. Shirika la ndege nchini halihusiki na usimamizi wa viwanja vya ndege nchini. Ni muhimu kuunganisha halmashauri ya viwanja vya ndege nchini pamoja na shirika la ndege nchini, ili kukomesha kulaumiana kwa mashirika

haya.

Tatizo hili la ndege kusafiri na kurudi Nairobi bila ya kutua katika uwanja wa ndege wa Mombasa kwa sababu ya ukosefu wa mataa, limeathiri biashara katika nchi hii, hasa katika sekta ya utalii. Watalii ambao hutembelea nchi hii, huona kwamba sisi hatuna maana; inaonekana kwamba nchi hii bado iko na matatizo. Inatakiwa matatizo kama haya yarekebishwe. Kama hakutakuwepo na mawasiliano kati ya halmashauri ya viwanja vya ndege nchini na shirika la ndege nchini, ni bora mashirika haya yaunganishwe, ili huduma zao ziwe chini ya usimamizi mmoja. Ukarabati wa uwanja wa ndege wa Mombasa ulifanywa miaka mitatu tu iliyopita, lakini, uwanja ule huwa na matatizo kila siku. Jee, miaka mitano au kumi ijayo, uwanja ule utakuwa katika hali gani? Viwanja vya ndege vya Nairobi, ambavyo vilijengwa miaka mingi iliyopita, havina matatizo. Kwa nini uwanja wa ndege wa Mombasa uko na matatizo? Kwa hivyo, Serikali inafaa kufikiria juu ya marekebisho kama haya.

Bw. Naibu wa Spika wa Muda, kule Pwani tuko na shida ya mikoko katika sehemu za Vanga, Mombasa, Malindi hadi Lamu. Sehemu moja ya uchumi wa watu wa Pwani hutokana na biashara ya kukata na kuuza boriti za mikoko. Sasa, tunaambiwa kwamba ukataji wa mikoko umepigwa marufuku. Watu wa Pwani walikuwa wakifanya biashara hiyo kabla ya nchi hii kupata Uhuru. Watu wa Pwani waliendelea na biashara hiyo baada ya Kenya kupata Uhuru, na mikoko haikumalizika.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, wakati huu ambapo tuko huru, tunaambiwa kwamba tukikata mikoko tutaimaliza. Ninafikiri kwamba wakati umefika sasa wa Wizara ambayo inahusika ifanye uchunguzi ili wananchi wa Mkoa wa Pwani wafaidike na uuzaji wa mikoko. Ni vizuri hata kama kutakuwa na quota system, mikoko ipatikane ili watu wetu wafaidike pia. Sisi tumepata matatizo mengi. Uvuaji wa samaki umekuwa ni taabu katika Mkoa Pwani. Meli za China na Japan zinakuja katika Mkoa wa Pwani kwa shughuli za uvuaji samaki. Wizara inayohusika haijafundisha watu wetu mbinu za uvuaji ili washindane na wageni katika mambo ya uvuvi. Ninafikiri kwamba ni muhimu tuzuie meli za kigeni ambazo zinavua samaki katika maji yetu. Ni heri hizo meli za kigeni ziondolewe huko. Pia, ni muhimu sisi tufundishwe njia za kisasa za uvuvi kwa sababu wale watu ambao wanavua wakitumia ndoana na vikaza na kuuza samaki wao siku hiyo hiyo wameumia sasa. Hata hakuna njia katika ufuu wa bahari ambazo wavuvi wetu wanaweza kutumia wakati wanaenda kuvua. Kila mahali kumefungwa. Kila hoteli imefunga njia. Watu wa kawaida ambao kazi yao ni kukata mikoko na kuvua samaki wako taabani. Ningependa kuomba Wizara inayohusika irekebishe mambo hayo ili mwananchi wa kawaida awe na uwezo wa kufanya biashara.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, kuna matatizo mengi ambayo yanawakumba watu wa Mkoa wa Pwani. Katika sehemu ya Changamwe ambayo ninawakilisha katika Bunge, makabila yote ya Kenya-- Sizungumzi juu ya Mijikenda au Waswahili mbali ninazungumza juu ya Wakikuyu, Wajaluo na kabila zote za Kenya. Wale watu ambao wanaishi katika Changamwe hawana makao sasa. Hii ni kwa sababu kila siku barua inatoka katika Ofisi ya Ardhi ikimpa mtu ardhi Changamwe. Hizi barua zinatolewa kila siku. Ikiwa barua hizi zinazoamuru watu wapewe ardhi katika sehemu ninayoiwakilisha Bungeni, huko Miritini, zinaendelea kutolewa kila siku, basi watu wetu watakuwa hawana makao. Mtu anapewa barua, anaenda huko, anatafuta ardhi ambayo hajaiona maishani mwake na anapowakuta wazee na akina mama wamekaa anawaambia kwamba hiyo ni ardhi yake. Kwa hivyo, inafaa Wizara ya Ardhi na Makao irekebishe mambo kama hayo. Ningependa mambo kama hayo yatiliwe maanani sana kwa sababu si Changamwe ambayo imeadhiliwa peke yake. Unyakuzi wa ardhi unaendelea kila mahali, na kila siku tunazungumzia juu ya jambo hili. Wananchi, hasa wale wa sehemu ninayoiwakilisha Bungeni ni watulivu lakini mambo kama haya yamekuwa magumu sana. Wale watoto ambao wanazaliwa wanakuwa na hasira kwa sababu ardhi ya baba yao imenyakuliwa. Wajukuu wanaozaliwa wana hasira kwa sababu ardhi ambayo babu yao alikuwa anakaa imenyakuliwa. Ninafikiri kwamba mambo kama hayo yasiporekebishwa kutatokea fujo. Sisi viongozi inafaa tushirikiane na Serikali na kuhakikisha kwamba fujo zimemalizwa katika Mkoa wa Pwani.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, mimi pia ningependa kuunga mkono Hotuba ya Rais.

**The Minister for Tourism, Industry and Trade** (Mr. Biwott): Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to add my voice to those hon. Members who have already spoken on this Motion in congratulating the President for the most able Speech that he delivered to this House. I think this House is much more enlightened after that Speech than it was before. I am quite sure that hon. Members will find it convenient enough to take the mantle from where the President left and pursue the line of activities that we need to do, especially, on poverty eradication. I know it is impossible to eradicate poverty, but it is possible to reduce poverty. I think the aim of any good Government is to work towards creating a situation where there is an equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation and create economic activities which assist in that process. There is no denial that the other day, this good Government facilitated a forum for all Kenyans of all walks of life to deliberate on the kind of Budgets they would like to have in the next three years, which will give first priority the question of poverty both in the rural areas as well as the urban areas. That meeting was well attended and different views were given and they will assist the Minister for Finance and Planning and also the Minister of State, Office of the President, hon. Sunkuli, in guiding us in that aspect. I know it is very difficult for the hon. Members on the opposite side, who are keen on sitting on this side to look at that programme

in the light in which everybody expects them, because they are afraid that if they support, they will lose the limelight. However, equally, it is impossible for anybody to deny what is good, because what is good speaks for itself and Kenyans are not blind. Kenyans know who assists them and looks after their interest. Therefore, in that outlook, this Government will

continue to do the best and wananchi will continue to appreciate the services delivered by this good Government.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, Kenya is not alone in fighting poverty. Of the conferences which I have been, the question of poverty is now central to planning. I had the occasion to attend the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Bangkok together with hon. John Michuki, who did very well as a Kenyan. I think we formed a united front in putting our views across. Judging from what transpired in that conference, I am confident that this country is steering in the right direction, because many good points that came from this good Government were taken by the others and considered meaningful.

#### **ADJOURNMENT**

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Musila): Hon. Members, it is now time for interruption of the business. The House, is therefore, adjourned until tomorrow Thursday, 30th March, 2000 at 2.30 p.m.

The House rose at 6.30 p.m.