

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL REPORT

Thursday, 14th April, 2005

The House met at 2.30 p.m.

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

PRAYERS

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Mr. Speaker: Is Mr. Omamba here? I want to begin with his Question because I understand that the Assistant Minister is leaving for some far place. Is Mr. Kones here?

(Mr. Kones stood up in his place)

Question No.169

CONSTRUCTION OF NYARAGO BRIDGE STALLED

Mr. Omamba asked the Minister for Roads and Public Works:-

- (a) whether he was aware that the construction of Nyarago Bridge on Migori-Rapogi road has stalled;
- (b) whether he could inform the House why the construction has stalled; and,
- (c) whether he could further inform the House when the construction will resume.

The Assistant Minister for Roads and Public Works (Mr. Kones): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to reply.

- (a) I am not aware that the construction of Nyarago Bridge in Migori-Rapogi Road has stalled. I am, however, aware that the construction process has slowed down.
- (b) The process has slowed down due

to exhaustion of materials which were brought during the 2003/2004 Financial Year.

(c) Construction is on-going and my Ministry has allocated Kshs1 million to the project this financial year.

Mr. Omamba: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the answer is positive and quite good. However, when will the construction be completed?

Mr. Kones: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we intend to complete this bridge before the end of this financial year.

Prof. Olweny: Mr. Speaker, Sir, construction of bridges always takes more than one year and that adds to the cost of putting them up. What is the policy as regards construction of bridges? Why should they take that long? Why could the Ministry not budget for it and do it within one financial year? Why should it extend for more than that period?

Mr. Kones: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not think that construction of bridges takes so long. However, it depends on the allocation of funds. For this particular one, we have had to change the

specifications because initially it was three metres wide but we are now providing a 10-metre wide bridge. That is what has caused the delay. However, it is not true that every time we build a bridge it takes long. I do not agree with that.

Mr. Speaker: Very well! Next Question, Mr. Shaaban!

Question No.039

PENSION DUES FOR LATE
YAKOB DIESO'S WIFE

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Shaaban is not here? His Question is dropped!

(Question dropped)

Question No.108

ISSUANCE OF MANY
IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS TO KENYANS

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Korir not also here? The Question is dropped!

(Question dropped)

Question No.105

INTERDICTION OF MR. JAMES IRUNGU MWANGI

Mr. Karaba asked the Minister for Health:-

(a) whether he was aware that Mr. James Irungu Mwangi, a civil servant, P/No.78100727, attached to security office, Ministry of Health, Afya House, was interdicted irregularly on October 15, 2005; and,

(b) if the answer to 'a' above is in the affirmative, what measures she is taking to ensure that Mr. Mwangi is reinstated.

Mr. Speaker: Anyone here from the Ministry of Health?

An hon. Member: *Hayuko!*

Mr. Speaker: Where is the Minister? What do I do with an absent Minister?

Hon. Members: Drop her!

Mr. Speaker: Mr. M. Kariuki, what do I do with your colleague who is not there?

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we will plead with the House that the Question be deferred to Tuesday.

Mr. Speaker: We made it absolutely clear at the beginning of the Session that we will not defer Questions and that I will expect Ministers to be present in the House to answer Questions put to them. I made that absolutely clear and hon. Members in the Back Bench have obeyed the Chair completely. What do I do? I do not want to make futile orders. I shall not order in futility, if you understand what I mean.

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is regrettable. I will convey your sentiments to the Leader of Government Business. However, in view of the importance of the Question, I will plead with the House that it be deferred to Tuesday so that we

can get an appropriate answer.

Mr. Speaker: I will do that, but I will put the following rider, which is also an order; that the Minister doth explain to this House the reasons that made her not to be present in the House to answer the Question.

(Mr. Ochilo-Ayacko stood up in his place)

The Minister for Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services (Mr. Ochilo-Ayacko): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been given an answer and I am, therefore, ready to answer on her behalf.

Mr. Speaker: Very good! That is what I am encouraging Ministers to do.

Proceed!

The Minister for Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services (Mr. Ochilo-Ayacko): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to reply.

(a) I am aware that Mr. James Irungu Mwangi, a civil servant, P/No.78100727, was interdicted with effect from 15th March, 2001, for being linked with the theft of motor vehicle parts.

(b) My Ministry has no plans to reinstate Mr. James Irungu Mwangi because the Ministerial Advisory Committee (MAC) deliberated Mr. Mwangi's case and recommended that he be retired on public interest. Reinstatement of Mr. Mwangi would trigger a bad precedence to other serving security officers, especially when massive vandalisation of Government vehicles was done without any obstruction from any source while Mr. Mwangi was the security officer on duty.

Mr. Karaba: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir. The Minister is not aware that the answer he is giving is not correct. According to the figures and letters that I have, Mr. Mwangi was reinstated and even right now he is working at the Mathari Mental Hospital as a security officer. The Minister is saying that he is interdicted and even retired. However, all the letters I have here, which I can table, show that he has been reinstated, but he is not receiving his salary.

Mr. Speaker: Order, Mr. Karaba! Just a few minutes ago, I said that I will not act in futility. Why do you want the House to act in futility? If, indeed, this person is not interdicted, then why take away the time of the House?

Mr. Karaba: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this man has not been receiving his salary since he was reinstated. I have the letters here. Why has he been reinstated without a salary?

Mr. Speaker: Order, Mr. Karaba! That is not what you are asking. You are asking for lifting of the interdiction. Since that is not the case, I will drop the Question. In future, you should not ask Questions that are untrue.

(Applause)

(Question dropped)

Very well! Next Question, Mr. M. Mutiso!

Question No.114

TERMINATION OF MR. J.K.
MUTUA'S SERVICES BY KIJABE LTD.

Mr. M. Mutiso asked the Minister for Labour and Manpower Development:-

(a) whether he is aware that Mr. John Kioko Mutua, ID No.1562257 who was an employee of Kijabe Ltd. had his services terminated on 30th April, 2000;

(b) whether he is further aware that the company offered to pay him Kshs3,600 as terminal dues after serving continuously for eight years without off duties, annual leave and other entitlements; and,

(c) what action he is taking against Kijabe Ltd to safeguard other workers of the company.

Mr. Speaker: Where is the Minister for Labour and Manpower Development? Who is the Minister and where is he?

Mr. M. Kariuki, do you know anything about him?

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have no information but somebody is whispering into my ear that he is looking for his Assistant Minister, whom he has not found yet.

On a serious note, again, I will convey the sentiments of the Chair to the Leader of Government Business.

Mr. Speaker: Could he come and explain to the House on Tuesday why he is not here?

The Minister of State, Office of the Vice-President (Mr. Balala): I am ready, Mr. Speaker, Sir, to answer that Question.

Mr. Speaker: Okay, proceed!

The Minister of State, Office of the Vice-President (Mr. Balala): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we regret because of that situation, but I want to assure you that until today, Ministers were fully in the House and answering all the Questions. There are meetings taking place outside this Parliament and that is why most of the Ministers are not here. However, I am ready to answer Question No.114.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to reply---

Mr. Muiruri: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. When the Question was called out, there was none to answer it. However, Mr. M. Kariuki apologised to the Chair yet the Minister was seated there with a reply and listening. Is it in order for the Minister to waste the time of the House?

The Minister of State, Office of the Vice-President (Mr. Balala): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House cannot waste time. The answer was brought immediately for us to respond as a Government. I am here to do just that.

(Applause)

Mr. Speaker: Let us do the following. What is going on is---

An hon. Member: A circus!

Mr. Speaker: Order! What is going on is something I encourage. If an hon. Member of the Cabinet is absent, the others should be ready to step in his or her place so that the business of the House is not interrupted.

Proceed, Mr. Minister!

Mr. Ethuro: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Following your advice and given what you have said, that this House will not act in futility, is the response to the Question on the basis of an answer that has been obtained on the Floor or it was previously delegated to that particular Minister? I am asking this because experience has taught us that all previous efforts by other Ministers to attempt to respond to the Question, the substantive Minister will always come to contradict that Minister.

The Minister of State, Office of the Vice-President (Mr. Balala): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to reply. I have a reply that is signed by the Minister himself, Dr. Kulundu. So, I wonder where the contradiction would come from. On that note, I beg to reply.

(a) I am aware that John Kioko Mutua was an employee of Kijabe Ltd. and that his services were terminated on the 30th April, 2000.

*(The Assistant Minister for Labour
and Manpower Development
(Mr. Khalif) was Applauded as he
entered the Chamber).*

(b) I am further aware that he was paid Kshs3,600 as ex-gratia payment after the Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union reported the matter to the District Labour Officer, Naivasha. In a joint meeting held on the 25th July, 2000---

Mr. Munya: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Now that the substantive Assistant Minister has arrived, do we need to hear Mr. Balala answering the Question?

Mr. Speaker: Order! Again, Mr. Munya, that is taking the House's time for nothing. Let us be serious. The Minister is answering on behalf of his colleague.

Proceed, Mr. Balala!

The Minister of State, Office of the Vice-President (Mr. Balala): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in a joint meeting held on the 25th July, 2000, it was established that Mr. Kioko's summary dismissal on account of gross misconduct was justified and that he had been fully compensated by his annual leave, off-duties and public

holidays in the course of his employment. Having established that there were no legal dues accruing to Mr. Kioko, the meeting recommended that the management considers paying him some ex-gratia payment. The management offered to pay

Kshs3,600 as ex-gratia. The amount was deposited with the Naivasha Labour Office on the 17th August, 2000.

(c) I am not taking any action against Kijabe Ltd. to safeguard other workers of the company because labour inspections carried out established that all terms and conditions of employment prescribed by the Wages Regulation Order, Agriculture, were being accorded to the employees. Kijabe Ltd was later sold to Homegrown Ltd.

Mr. M. Mutiso: Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, let me thank the Minister for answering the Question. Service, annual leave and other statutory entitlements are stipulated under The Employment Act. They cannot be denied to an employee merely because his services have been terminated on account of either misconduct or otherwise. These are legal entitlements. Service is an entitlement and you cannot wish it away. Therefore, the question of paying Kshs3,600 as ex-gratia does not arise. Could the Minister look into it that this employee is paid his service entitlements?

The Assistant Minister for Labour and Manpower Development (Mr. Khalif): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I apologise for coming late. But, the summary dismissal--

Dr. Ali: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. There was a Minister on the Floor who said he was capable of answering the Question. Is it in order for Ministers to exchange in the middle of answering a Question?

Mr. Speaker: It is certainly not in order.

Proceed, Mr. Balala!

Mr. Balala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we just wanted to show hon. Members that the substantive Assistant Minister is here and they can see his face. But I can continue replying.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the summary dismissal was justified and lawful. So, Mr. Kioko did not deserve to be paid terminal benefits.

Question No.107

NON SUBMISSION OF ACCOUNTS

OF SIMBAUT FARM

Mr. Speaker: Very well. I understand Mr. Angwenyi's Question, with the consent of the Minister, will be deferred to next Thursday. So, the Question is so deferred.

The Assistant Minister for Co-operative Development and Marketing (Mr. Kenneth): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have had no consent, I am ready to answer the Question! Since the other Ministers have not been here on time and we have taken the thrashing, I am ready to answer the Question.

(Applause)

Mr. Speaker: Well, I am really sorry, Mr. Kenneth. This afternoon, Mr. Angwenyi came to my office, in fact, immediately after lunch and he told me that he had agreed with the Minister to defer the Question to next Thursday. I told him that, of course, being a consent matter, I have no objection.

The Assistant Minister for Co-operative Development and Marketing (Mr. Kenneth): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as far as I know, in the Ministry, I am in charge of parliamentary matters. Secondly, the Minister is actually out of the country. So, if he was seeking consent, it would be with me. But I have no problem even answering this Question next Thursday.

Mr. Speaker: All right. I just hope that Members make proper consultations and inform the Chair the correct position. I will defer the Question to next Thursday.

(Question deferred)

QUESTION BY PRIVATE NOTICE**IMPORTATION AND SALE OF
MAIZE THROUGH THE NCPB**

Mr. K. Kilonzo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to ask the Minister of State, Office of the President, the following Question by Private Notice:-

Considering that famine has become a disaster in the country, could the Government import maize and sell it through the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) at an affordable price?

The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Karume): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Question should have been referred to the Ministry of Agriculture since the purchase of maize on behalf of the Government is done by that Ministry through its grain parastatal, the NCPB. The Office of the President only has the mandate of distribution of the same to the affected populations.

Mr. K. Kilonzo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, sometimes I am amazed by the laxity of this Government to be sensitive to matters of national importance. Famine in this country is a national disaster. As I speak, we have failed to get rain in Eastern Province, especially the Ukambani region, and other parts of the country. This Question is specifically addressing the issues of famine and maize which fall squarely under the docket of the Minister of State, Office of the President in charge of special programmes. Moreover, if---

Mr. Speaker: Order! Mr. Kilonzo, you would serve the House better by being precise. Ask the Minister the Question.

Mr. K. Kilonzo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am saying this Question falls under the Office of the President. If there was any need to consult with another Ministry, I believe the Government has an Inter-Ministerial machinery to do so. So, I want to be told how this issue of famine is going to be addressed, and more so, the issue of maize importation?

The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Karume): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Member

is right. The country is facing the danger of famine because of lack of rain. But the way he has framed his Question, it should be answered by the Ministry of Agriculture. However, I am ready to give an answer to another Question if he rephrases it.

Mr. Leshore: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Is the Minister in order to tell us that this Question should be referred to the Ministry of Agriculture yet he is the Minister in charge of disasters? We are talking about disaster here.

The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Karume): Mr. Speaker, Sir, given the interest Members have shown in this Question, maybe I can try to answer it, although it is not addressed to my Ministry.

(Laughter)

Mr. Speaker: Order! Order, hon. Members! I think there is substance in what the Minister said. This is importation of maize and that does not fall under his docket. I think in the interest of doing good to the House and to get the facts out of this Question, I will order that the Question be re-directed to the Ministry of Agriculture and to appear on the Order Paper on Tuesday, next week.

Mr. Ojaamong: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Yesterday, when we were discussing the Supplementary Estimates, I remember we authorised the Office of the President to withdraw around Kshs2 billion for famine relief. So, it is my feeling that this money should be used to purchase the maize. What was the money being voted for yesterday?

Mr. Speaker: You should have asked yesterday!

The Assistant Minister for Co-operative Development and Marketing (Mr. Kenneth): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for the hon. Member to question a decision we took yesterday, yet he voted for it? He has just told us that he voted for that money yesterday and he is asking here today what it was for.

Mr. Speaker: Order, Members! Please revisit your Standing Orders and you [Mr. Speaker] will find that the House cannot revisit an issue which it has already resolved. If you are talking about a matter we resolved yesterday, you would be totally out of order to revisit it. Therefore, the matter should rest there. But much more substantially, the Question should be re-directed to the hon. Member himself. Do not pass things you do not understand. You must question everything you do not understand. You should have questioned the Minister then.

Mr. M. Maitha: Order, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

(Laughter)

Mr. Speaker: Who was that Member? Order! Mr. M. Maitha, you have actually no powers, real or imagined, to order the Speaker. I suppose you wanted to rise on a point of order! If so, what was it?

(Laughter)

Mr. M. Maitha: Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday the Minister was here and that Question went to his office long time ago. People in Eastern Province, especially in Ukambani, are dying because of hunger when in Kiambu, people are eating maize and other things. Why did he not take the Question to the Ministry of Agriculture long time ago?

(Loud consultations)

Mr. Speaker: Order, Members! For the benefit of all Members and especially the Front Bench, if a Question comes to your Ministry and you think that it should be answered by another Ministry, please, bring it to the attention of the Clerk immediately so that it is re-directed and dealt with correctly. Having said that, I now order that that Question be on the Order Paper on Tuesday and it be directed to the Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. Ethuro: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I stood a while ago on a point of order, questioning the credibility of answers given by Ministers who are not responsible for that Ministry. You went ahead to demand that any Minister, in the spirit of collective responsibility can answer. We now have a real case where famine as a matter of national disaster that could be associated with this particular Ministry is now being referred to another Ministry. Is that really fair?

Mr. Speaker: Order, Mr. Ethuro! When we sit here, we follow the law. The law might not necessarily be just or fair, but it is the law nevertheless. The law demands that the Minister has the opportunity to answer a Question directed to his or her portfolio, but another Minister may volunteer in the absence of another to answer the Question. I cannot refuse that.

Mr. Mwandawiro: Jambo la nidhamu, Bw. Spika. Hili Swali ni muhimu sana kwa vile linahusu hali ya njaa katika sehemu kadhaa za nchi hii. Vile vile, Swali hili lilielekezwa kwa Wizara inayostahili kulijibu. Hiyo ni Wizara mpya ambayo imekuwa ikijishugulisha na ugawanyaji maharagwe na mahindi kote nchini badala ya kufanya mipango maalum ya kupambana na njaa. Ikiwa Wizara hii haina maana, kwa nini basi isifutiliwe mbali?

(Laughter)

Dr. Ali: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Today, I appreciate that you are very lenient. You have just given this House instructions and yet Members are still breaking the rules. Are you teaching us bad habits now that hon. Members are not following your orders? You directed that the Question be deferred until Tuesday, next week and you should stick by that.

Mr. Speaker: And that is the end of the story.

(Laughter)

The Assistant Minister for Finance (Mr. Katuku): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I have been sitting here waiting to answer Question No.039. I do not know what has really happened?

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Katuku, were you here at the beginning of this session?

The Assistant Minister for Finance (Mr. Katuku): Yes, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Then you should have heard what happened. You must be attentive!

Mr. Shaaban: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I apologise for coming late. May I, then, ask Question No.039?

(Laughter)

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Shaaban, you cannot ask what is not there. That Question was dropped a long time ago.

Mr. Shaaban: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Assistant Minister is present and I am also here.

Mr. Speaker: Order, Mr. Shaaban! Order! It is your business to come to the House at the appointed time and if you do not, you suffer the consequences. I have made this absolutely clear and I will not be made to reinstate it. So, please, the Question has fallen on its face and it cannot be reinstated.

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture (Mr. Akaranga): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the Assistant Minister for Agriculture, I would request that the Question by Private Notice asked by hon. K. Kilonzo be answered effectively on Thursday, next week.

Mr. Speaker: No way! It will be on Tuesday. I have already made an order and it is your business to obey my orders.

Is there any Minister with a Ministerial Statement?

(Mr. Kiunjuri stood up in his place)

Sorry, Mr. Kiunjuri, I was not aware of the Statement you are supposed to give, but since we have gone to the next Order, you will issue your Ministerial Statement on Tuesday, next week.

MOTION

ADOPTION OF SESSIONAL PAPER ON POLICY FRAMEWORK ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH

THAT, this House adopts Sessional Paper No.1 of 2005 outlining the Policy Framework on Education, Training and Research laid on the Table of the House on Tuesday 22nd March, 2005.

*(The Minister for Education, Science
and Technology on 31.3.2005)*

*(Resumption of Debate
interrupted on 12.4.2005)*

Mr. Speaker: Prof. Oniang'o was on the Floor. She is not present today and so she forfeits her time.

Proceed, Mr. ole Metito!

Mr. ole Metito: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this very important Motion.

Education is the key to development in this country. The NARC Government got to power on the promise of creating employment and wealth and I do not think any of those objectives can be achieved without education. The Sessional Paper No.1 of 2005 on Education, Training and Research has actually spelt out elaborate measures that the Government would like to take in order to achieve its objectives.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the free primary school education, as it is now, is faced with a lot of challenges. Firstly, as the Sessional Paper has stipulated, it is faced with lack of enough trained teachers. This is so because the Government has not taken serious steps in training the pre-primary school teachers. I would like to see a situation whereby this Government stops the in-service training courses for the pre-primary school teachers and in its place issue clear guidelines on how they intend to train those teachers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another problem is the low and irregular salaries paid to early childhood education teachers. This Government has provided us with free primary education. That is an achievement this Government should be proud of. However, I think, it is not possible to get free primary education without, first of all, going through the pre-primary education. If pre-primary

education cannot be made free as we have done with the primary education, then, we need to allocate some funds to cater for the salaries of pre-primary school teachers. I would suggest that we even request our local authorities to take care of the pre-primary school teachers and pay their salaries.

The lack of an age limit as an entry requirement into the pre-primary schools is also a problem. I think it is important that the Government addresses this issue. The Government needs to allocate more resources to pre-primary education since it serves as the entry key to primary education.

Free primary education is faced with a lot of problems, the major one being the high teacher-to-pupil ratio in both densely and sparsely populated areas of the country. This is even a major problem in the ASAL areas. As it is now, the Government policy--

(Loud consultations)

Mr. Speaker: Order, Members! The Standing Orders say that Members who are not speaking must be seated. I see so many Members standing and even blocking hon. ole Metito from the eye of the Chair. So, will you please sit down if you are not moving out?

Proceed, Mr. ole Metito!

Mr. ole Metito: I was talking about the high teacher-to-pupil ratio in our schools and especially in ASAL areas. The Government's policy, as it is now, is one teacher to 50 pupils, but if you go to the sparsely populated districts you will find a primary school right from Standard I to Standard VIII with a population of about 150 students. That translates to an equivalent of two teachers in a school. These two teachers will then be required to teach from Standard I to Standard VIII. The Sessional Paper talks about the need for us to look at equity, whether people can access education and its relevance. We need to take into account the circumstances surrounding these sparsely populated areas. It is not possible to have about 500 pupils in a school in the ASAL areas and provide them with 10 teachers. It is not fair to overload teachers by instructing them to teach from Standard I to Standard VIII in a school with 200 or 250 pupils. It is not fair at all.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is also gender and regional disparities in the education sector. With regard to the quality of education, if you look at the teacher training colleges today, a primary school teacher must be able to teach all the seven subjects taught in primary schools. I think the Government needs to review that because the two years of training that the teachers undergo is not enough to give the trainee teachers an in-depth training on the seven subjects. I would suggest that this time round the Government should address the issue and make it mandatory that the teachers take not more than three subjects in the training colleges. When a teacher is posted to a primary school, he or she can only teach a maximum of three and not seven subjects as it is now.

The Government needs to support schools in the ASAL areas. It should build at least one boarding school in every location in the ASAL areas. By so doing, it will be taking care of the problem of gender and regional disparities that are prevalent in the education sector. We will be able even to address the problem of HIV/AIDS. It is high time the Government addressed these problems that are hindering education in the ASAL areas. If we are talking of equitable distribution and access to education, I would request that the Government pays attention to the dry areas of this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another important issue is relevance with regard to the education that we offer in this country. You will find that in primary education, the subjects that used to be taught in the 70s and 80s are the same ones being taught today. The Government needs to regularly review the education curriculum for the purposes of relevance. That is necessary because we are preparing our children for higher education. Teachers should specialise in not more than three subjects during their training.

I would wish to see the Government engage in effective and equitable distribution of teachers. I suggest that there should be a policy that stipulates that no teacher should teach in a school for more

than five years. As it is now, you will find some teachers who have taught in one school for over 18 years. I have cases in my constituency where some teachers have taught in a school for more than 20 years. To them, it is work as usual. So, for purposes of relevance, performance and effectiveness, we need to come up with a policy that requires teachers not to teach in one school for more than five years. That rotational system will ensure that there is effective training.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with regard to secondary school education, all the problems experienced in the pre-primary and primary education are carried over to secondary school education.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are not enough secondary schools to match primary schools. Since the introduction of the free primary education, 1.3 million pupils enrol in primary schools annually and very few of them join secondary schools. We have not taken into consideration the physical infrastructure to accommodate these pupils in secondary schools. In response to that, the Government should increase the number of secondary schools in the country. We have 18,000 primary schools as opposed to 3,000 secondary schools. We are not preparing our primary school leavers for higher education. There is also a low transition rate from primary to secondary schools and also from secondary schools to tertiary institutions. There are also cases of gender and regional disparities in our education system. This is caused by the high cost of secondary education. We are told that there is over 30 per cent drop out rate in secondary schools due to the high poverty level in our country.

Although we applaud the Government's efforts in providing bursaries through the Constituency Bursary Funds (CBF) to secondary schools, that is not enough. The Government should intervene and reduce the cost of secondary education. In today's newspapers, we have read that national schools have doubled their school fees. As pupils move from primary to secondary schools, measures should be put in place to reduce the drop out rate and increase the transition rate from primary to secondary schools, and from secondary schools to tertiary institutions.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the introduction of CBF is a move in the right direction. However, for the funds to make an impact in our schools, the Ministry should reduce fees in secondary schools. If the Ministry will not do that, then it will be forced to implement the Motion that was brought by hon. Musila to this House and which we passed, which provided that all the certificates held by secondary schools should be released. If the Ministry will not intervene and reduce the cost of secondary education, then these certificates will be retained by secondary schools for ever. No parent will afford to pay secondary school fees. The Government should intervene and reduce the cost of secondary education, so that the CBF can make an impact.

I wish to congratulate the Government for stating in this Sessional Paper No.1 of 2005, that it is planning to establish two centres of excellence; one for boys and one for girls, at district levels to serve as centres of excellence in order to increase the national schools in the country. Indeed, we should establish a centre of excellence in each constituency. As a start, we welcome the move to establish two centres of excellence in every district, one for boys and one for girls.

The Government also needs to regularly review and rationalise, not just the secondary school fees, but also regularly check the curriculum relevance. If you compare the 8-4-4 System of Education with the 7-4-3-2 System, you will find that secondary school students in the previous system as opposed to the current one, were experts. They had already specialised in what they were going to do at the university. The Ministry used to regularly review the curriculum. We must ensure that what we are offering to our students in secondary schools is relevant to what they want to do in the next stage.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government should support the implementation of affirmative action at all levels of learning to address the needs of the marginalised and those in difficult circumstances. Most hon. Members have complained about the high points that are required for students to join national schools. You will find that there is a national school in your constituency, but not a single student joins that school from that constituency. We must consider the need to introduce affirmative action at all levels of learning to address the needs of the marginalised people and those living in difficult

circumstances. There must be a reason why pupils in the ASAL areas cannot attain the required 420 points to join national schools. This is because they live under very difficult circumstances. This should also happen when we are admitting students in universities and colleges.

Children in the ASAL areas, who cannot compete favourably with children from other regions because the playing ground is not favourable to them, must be given an affirmative action. Right now, the admission grade to teacher training colleges is C Plain. It is very difficult for students to attain C Plain in ASAL areas, not because they are not bright enough, but because the environment is not favourable. They cannot compete with students from Nairobi and other towns in this country. However, when these students are admitted in various colleges with a lower grade, they even perform better than those who had C Plain from the so-called modern areas.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to request the Minister to give affirmative action to students from these areas by admitting them in our universities or teachers training colleges with lower grades. Apart from giving an affirmative action to students from the ASAL areas, the Government should also have a special employment programme for them. The policy of the Government is to employ teachers depending on the years they graduated. Teachers from the ASAL areas should be posted to marginalised areas. For example, if you look at Kajiado, you will find that the teachers who graduated in 2001 are not enough to cover the shortage of teachers in the district. Apart from giving affirmative action when students are being admitted to universities, it is also good to give affirmative action in employment. We should ensure that graduate teachers from the ASAL areas, regardless of the year they graduated, are posted to the areas they come from. They are the only ones who can withstand the harsh conditions and the difficult circumstances in those areas. If you post a graduate teacher from Nairobi to my constituency in a place called Etital, he will be there for just one week and he will start looking for a transfer because of the difficult circumstances prevailing there. So, we should employ graduate teachers from the ASAL areas, even if they graduated one or two years ago.

Finally, I want to talk about university education. We have been talking about inadequate capacity to cater for the growing demand. Every year, over 50,000 students qualify to join our universities which can only admit a maximum of 10,000. What do we do with the rest? If the Government is serious about job and wealth creation, it should take that into account. Students will feel that they do not have to perform well in secondary schools because even if they perform well, they may not be admitted in our universities. If more than 40,000 students who have performed very well in secondary schools cannot get admissions in the universities, that will create very high rates of unemployment; poverty levels will go up and crime rates will soar because these people must survive. So, the Government needs to expand the infrastructure of higher institutions of learning to cater for the growing demand.

Secondly, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the skills and courses offered in the universities must be relevant *vis-a-vis* the market demand. Actually, what is being taught in our universities right now, especially in public universities, one wonders whether there is anywhere in the market where the graduates will be absorbed, because the facilities are so outdated that you just go there to get theory. But those who are doing practical courses are not actually doing it as required by the market, because the equipment and facilities are long outdated. So, it is high time the Ministry--- The cost of university education is also very high, especially now that they have introduced the Module II programme, and they are getting a lot of money. Actually, the cost of that education must be commensurate to the benefits accrued. So, the Ministry should work hard to expand the universities and to make sure that there is relevance of the courses taught in the universities, especially in the public universities. Right now, those who are getting high grades in high school, grade A, A- and B+ are actually either going to private universities or even abroad, because that is where their market demands are taken care of, and not in the public universities.

The admission criteria in our public universities is also so rigid that it cannot even allow for

credit transfer. You will find that if, for example, one wants to change courses or even to transfer units, one cannot because the system in the universities is very rigid! There is need for flexibility; there is need for us to stop doing things the way we used to do them in the 1970s. We must now see the sense of being market-driven! This world has become a global village, and we need to take advantage of the Information Communication Technology (ICT). We even find that in private institutions, secondary and even primary schools, ICT is actually taught as a subject. But in the public sector, one has to see a computer or do an ICT course only if one is taking that course as a main course in the university, while in other institutions, it is like a joke! It is actually a core unit. No wonder I even saw hon. Members being told to take ICT courses.

So, Mr. Speaker, Sir, what I am saying is that this is a very important Sessional Paper, and I have gone through it. But the Ministry needs to go back to it and, actually, include the aspect of affirmative action, as I said earlier, especially in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs). This is because you cannot apply it uniformly to all areas, because we have different living circumstances and needs, according to our different areas of origin. So, I would like to request the Ministry to look into that issue and see how to make this policy a success and equitably acknowledged by everybody.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

Mr. Sasura: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this Motion. I would like to begin by addressing the issue of our education system. It has even been said before me very rightfully that, over the years, our system of education has been going along while getting diluted. Despite our system of education fitting in the early 1960s and 1970s, it was also very strong and of good quality. When Kenya had the East African Certificate of Education (EACE) at the secondary school level, it is a fact that we were producing high quality professionals from our institutions of higher learning. But today, the doctors who have qualified out of the 8-4-4 System of Education are very incompetent. It is difficult to trust most of the professionals who have undergone this system of education. A doctor cannot even perform a simple operation and they run away from hospitals by planning emergency trips when they hear of an accident! This is because they cannot perform. I am sorry, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I know that many of my colleagues have gone through this system, but that is the fact of the matter.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is need to review the 8-4-4 System of Education, and I remember there was a Commission which was chaired by Dr. Davy Koech which produced its report. But we are surprised that, that report has not yet been implemented. I think there is a very serious need to review our system and, preferably, go back to the 7-4-2-3 System of Education, because that seems to be the only solution. The 8-4-4 System of Education has confused our children, they come out semi-illiterate when they do not proceed to secondary schools and they cannot fit anywhere. This is opposed to the initial idea that, if the child goes through the 8-4-4 System of Education, then he or she is able to sustain himself or herself, create a job for himself, and be able to do this or that. On the contrary, 8-4-4 graduands are neither here nor there, and they end up suspended academically.

Secondly, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the issue of free primary education. This is a Government move that was mooted out of political motivation as we were not prepared for it. Initially, Kenyans were very happy when they heard that education was going to be free at the primary level, and all the children who were in the streets and in the various houses and homes flocked into our schools. But the amount of budgetary provision that we planned for has not been forthcoming. Initially, donors came in and gave us some little money, but when it translates to only Kshs185 per child, that is not anything much to write home about. This is clearly evident in last year's results when Kenyans witnessed very sad results where all the public schools were relegated to the tail-end and the private schools were leading in performance. There is no major reason why public schools have failed except for the fact that the infrastructure was inadequate, there were no teachers and certainly, the schools were not prepared for the big influx which was witnessed when the free primary education was announced.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the congestion in our schools as a result of the free primary education is even posing health hazards. For example, Marsabit Primary School in my constituency has more than 1,300 children and only 15 latrines. According to the number of children in that school, it is supposed to have 40 latrines to cater for the boys and girls. This is not acceptable healthwise, and considering the fact that most of our schools are mixed, there is need to increase sanitary facilities. So, this system has created congestion in the schools and it is even a risk for our children.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, for some funny reason, there is an increase in early childhood marriages in some of our areas after the free primary school education programme was initiated. I believe it is because, initially, the girl-child was rushed to school because of the free primary school education programme policy. However, after reaching the school, most of them sat outside classrooms without much attention from teachers. This was because there were insufficient teachers. These children ended up playing in the field most of the time. After the first two to three terms, they dropped out of school. Most of our men, especially in the rural areas, derive a bit of pride in marrying girls who are purported to have gone to school. If they see these girls out of school, there is what one can call good markets for marriage for our girls. The free primary school education programme might be seen as a success story in most urban areas, but it is a total failure in most of our rural areas. In the ASAL areas, when this system was initiated, the Ministry had even forgotten to cater for boarding schools. It was after severe prodding by hon. Members of Parliament from the ASAL areas that the Ministry remembered that there were some public schools in these areas that have boarding facilities. That is when we were given some little money to revive boarding schools. However, that was the beginning and the end of it. Today, most boarding schools in ASAL areas are not getting those funds that they were entitled to and the situation has gone back to normal. In schools where we have boarding facilities, some dormitories have been converted into classrooms to accommodate children who do not have classrooms. So, for the ASAL communities, life has gone back to normal because this programme has not helped our children. We need boarding schools, so that our children do not keep on following their nomadic parents who follow the rainfall patterns and pastures with their animals. So, there is need for the Ministry to look into this issue again. What has happened to the funds that were set aside for boarding schools in ASAL areas?

The Ministry should borrow a leaf from what happened in the removal of street urchins from Nairobi City. These urchins were taken for rehabilitation to the National Youth Service (NYS). This is a programme that was initiated with a lot of anxiety, but the few graduates from the NYS are roaming around because of lack of employment. It would have been only fair for the urchins who were taken to the NYS to be employed in various departments, especially the armed forces. However, they seem to have gone back to the streets. In the streets, the number of all ages of urchins has tremendously increased. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology should look at that example when they are implementing the free primary school education programme.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the teacher-pupil ratio is still very low. This has led to poor quality of education in our schools. Two Ministries keep on telling us that there is a moratorium on employment. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology does not tell us what is happening to teachers who have retired, those who were dismissed from the service, or even those who have passed away, but yet the teacher-pupil ratio seems to be stagnating. So, what do we expect? We only expect poor quality education. After the current class three pupils in primary schools reach class eight, there will be an academic disaster in this country unless the Ministry revisits its policy properly.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, one thing that the Ministry has to look into is the over congestion of female teachers in urban schools. It is always said that female teachers do not need to go far. They tend to congregate around schools near the District Education Officer's (DEO) office. That basically means the district or the divisional headquarters. It is true and it is said that most of female teachers who are married want to join their husbands. It is very hard to hear men teachers say that they want to join their

wives. The DEOs always yield to this request. Some of these teachers are not even married. So, the end result is that our schools in the rural areas end up being under-staffed and the schools in the urban areas end up being over staffed because of very lame reasons as I have stated. This is also common in ASAL areas where roads are not accessible and telephone facilities are not there. So, we find all female teachers at the district headquarters.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another way of reducing shortage of teachers is posting most of them to their home districts. We find that, in most cases, teachers who are from other parts of the country do not prefer working in ASAL areas because of the harsh climatic conditions. That is a fact! It is not only in teaching, but it is there with officers from the Ministry of Health. We have heard of this on the Floor of this House. So, the other way of alleviating the shortage is to train school leavers from respective districts. However, for some strange reasons, the Ministry has adopted a policy that only Form Four leavers who have attained grade C and above are eligible to join teachers training colleges. However, history has proven it, even if we go through the records of teacher training colleges, we have seen teachers who have attained grade D Plus who have come out with a result of P1 teachers, and most of the time, with distinctions or even credit. I think the results at secondary school level are not a determinant of the intelligence of most of our children. So, it is very unfair for the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to adopt the policy that they cannot allow anybody to join the teacher training colleges unless they have attained Grade C and above. The Ministry, through the Minister, promised last month to review this. I think it is time this is reviewed because teacher training colleges are now admitting teachers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is need for this Ministry to establish a department that solely deals with the issue of drugs in schools. Sometimes the infiltration of drugs into our schools is as a result of teachers. Some of them are becoming avenues of entry of drugs into schools. Of great concern, are the teachers who have overstayed in schools without getting promoted, they get frustrated and they become avenues for entry of drugs into our schools. This is a very sad state of affairs. In some of our rural schools, we find that teachers send away school children to get a Kshs1 or Kshs2, for some excuse given, and they end up buying *chang'aa* with that money. This Ministry must look into why some teachers are in specific schools for over five, six, seven or ten years. These are the teachers who are ruining our children. That is why our children are taking drugs. That is why we have seen some schools being burned and other consequences of such vices.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the other issue is on bursaries. This is a very welcome move and the Ministry must be congratulated. However, the Ministry promised to distribute bursary funds by pegging it on the poverty level. Since the inception of disbursement of bursaries, the Ministry has not pegged any disbursement based on the poverty index. It is very surprising that the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) has no data on poverty index on the whole of northern Kenya since Kenya became independent. The other day the Chief Statistician from Treasury confirmed this to us. They said that, at any given time, if they lack statistics on northern Kenya, what they do is take statistics from parts of Coast Province, project them and work on estimates with respect to that province. It is very sad that the Government does not have very important data on its citizens and parts of this country this year. It becomes very difficult for the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to peg bursary disbursement on poverty index. That is because they cannot get that index. I think the Ministry must set up a special team to go to northern Kenya to work out the poverty levels. That way, when they disburse those funds, they will peg them on the poverty index as opposed to population. We know that population is a very important factor, but poverty is the most important and it should be taken into consideration.

One aspect of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology that has been abused over the years is the issue of scholarships. Every year, the Ministry gets scholarships from various countries. The scholarships may be solicited by the Ministry or offered by the respective countries. Scholarships

have become the domain of those who are in power. The distribution of scholarships depend on who is the Minister for Education, Science and Technology. All the scholarships are given to people in areas that the Minister wishes. There has never been transparency in awarding scholarships from outside countries. The same applies to local universities. I think it is only fair for the Ministry to address that issue and distribute scholarships fairly across the districts of Kenya. If we have 100 scholarships, it is only fair to give one to each district. Every Kenyan has an equal right regardless of the background.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, one thing that the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology has overlooked is the fact that, we have colleges flourishing in this country. Those colleges offer various types of courses at diploma and certificate levels. Parents spend a lot of money paying fees for their children in those colleges. I am not very sure whether those colleges are vetted by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. The colleges offer computer courses, diplomas in Community Development and others. But, at the end of the day, some of those certificates are not marketable. The Ministry must strictly vet the colleges that are in every corner of the country, and ensure that their examinations are given by the Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC). We do not want decorated certificates that come from every street in Nairobi.

Finally, I want to appeal to this Ministry, in the spirit of affirmative action--- Every other day, a university college springs up from some corner, except in northern Kenya. Between Mandera, Moyale and Marsabit--- The Assistant Minister for Education, Science and Technology, Dr. Kilemi Mwiria, is smiling because he has one or two university colleges in Meru. There is need for the Ministry to look at the forgotten people of this country. History will judge you. It will judge you very soon. It is now less than three year!. If you establish a constituent college of one of our universities in one corner of northern Kenya, you will go down well in history. We have a right to get a share of the national cake, but it has become very difficult to cut. We do not know what type of knife to use. We cannot use a gun to cut it. All we can do is to appeal and voice the needs of our people.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology should not forget that there are thousands and thousands of certificates held by secondary schools because of non-payment of school fees. A Motion was moved in this House by Mr. Musila and we passed it. It stated that no child shall be denied his or her certificate because of lack of school fees. Sometimes, it becomes very difficult on the part of the headmasters to issue certificates to students who have not paid school fees for fear that, those who are still in school will not pay fees. It is the responsibility of the Ministry to device a formula where students who have passed with good grades cannot miss places in colleges or employment because of lack of certificates. That is a moral obligation on the part of this Ministry and they should device a policy on it.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

Mr. Muriungi: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this Sessional Paper. First of all, may I commend the Minister for Education, Science and Technology for coming up with a very good road map for education. We can achieve a lot from the education sector.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you look at the beginning of this Sessional Paper, you will find that, as good as it is, it fails to create a good foundation for education. There is not much support for early childhood education. The Paper acknowledges the fact that, the gross enrolment rate at that level of education has been going down. Therefore, it is necessary for the Minister to come up with a solution. Having an education system that does not have a strong foundation is like building a house on sand. For that reason, pre-primary education should be strengthened. That can be done by including early childhood education in the free primary education. The two years in pre-unit and nursery school should be included in the free primary education and made compulsory. That way, when a child goes to Standard I, he or she will have a good well prepared background.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, education research has proved that children who receive good pre-primary

education end up being more successful throughout the education system. They end up being professionals and, generally, more successful compared to those who missed preparatory years. Even the mushrooming of new private colleges to provide early childhood education training shows clearly that, that stage needs to be taken more seriously.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on primary education, the Paper states that the country expected to achieve universal primary education by the year 2005. Already, we are at the middle of the year and I doubt whether we shall achieve universal free primary education at the end of the year. It is important for the Ministry to look at the methods of enforcing the provision of education. I know Kenya was properly represented in the Jomtien and Dakar conferences that addressed the issue of education for all, and universal free primary education is part of that programme. It should be addressed properly through the enforcement of laws that will ensure education for all.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Children Act, (2001), for example, has not been properly enforced. For that reason, you will find many children who are not going to school, in spite of the colossal funding that the Ministry has provided. It is necessary for mechanisms to be put in place to ensure that every child is in school.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another problem that needs to be solved is the expansion of the scope of what is called basic education. I know the word "basic" can be very relative because what is basic for us may not necessarily be basic for other communities. I feel that, whereas primary education was basic some years after Independence, you will find a student who has finished secondary school today and does not even have a command of the language he or she uses. You will find that he or she lacks basic knowledge in all subjects. I think it is high time that we expanded that scope, so that we could treat secondary education as basic education. For this reason, the transition of children from primary to secondary schools should be made automatic. It is no longer sufficient to work with students who have left secondary schools. Some students leave universities without being conversant with most issues. Some of them leave colleges without being able to write a proper job application letter. If secondary education was made part of basic education, that would be a move towards the right direction.

Every January, after the Form One selections, you find very alarming stories in the newspapers on the number of children who may not be admitted into secondary schools. This is contradictory to what we have been encouraging. If we encourage free primary education, and offer it, then we should be ready for the same in secondary school phase. Children should not be made to feel as if the years they have spent in primary school have all gone to waste. Secondary education should be taken into account and made part of the free education programme.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to touch on non-formal education. I think this Sessional Paper does not sufficiently address the issue of non-formal education. It is a reality that many of our children cannot go through the mainstream education system. This mostly happens in hardship areas. In those areas, many children do not even join nursery schools. I had an opportunity to visit a few of the non-formal schools in the City of Nairobi. I visited areas like Korogocho, Kayole and Mathare and found out that, those children have been neglected. Some Non Governmental Organisations (NGOS) are taking advantage and exploiting the situation. The Government should come in and stop such exploitation by the NGOs which register some of the schools as childrens' homes. The NGOs take photographs of children who attend those schools to donors and get a lot of money. However, the money does not benefit the children who are used to gain it. This is a challenge to the Government. It should ensure that there is sufficient monitoring of these institutions because whether a child is born into a rich or poor environment, it does not make them lesser persons.

There is also the issue of the 8-4-4 education system. This system is not serving us rightfully. Parents are being exploited in this country when they take their children to schools which offer international curriculums. It is a reality that many Kenyans are taking their children to Uganda for

"A"-Level education because the 8-4-4 system of education has proved to be incapable of catering for the needs of children and especially when it comes to joining secondary schools of international standards. Helpless parents take their children to international schools yet, the children cannot perform well in those schools. Sometimes, they take them to Uganda, yet they cannot afford the cost because of the distance. The reality is that Kenyans are demanding for the reinstatement of the previous system of education. If it is not possible to introduce it right away, then we should establish Government schools offering the "A"-level education. This will enable parents who cannot afford to pay school fees in high-cost schools to take their children there. Poor people are entitled to the educational system of their choice.

The issue of examinations has not been properly covered. If I may go back to what happened when the results of last year's Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) examinations were released, there was a lot of cheating, which was reported in some of our Government schools. We should ask ourselves what tempts our students to cheat. The reason that makes students cheat, with the assistance of their teachers, is the need to achieve very high grades within a short period of time. A student who has been through secondary school for four years is tested for all they have learnt in less than a month. This brings about a temptation, which leads to using any means so as to acquire a good certificate because Kenyans are recognised by the kind of educational certificates which they have achieved. There is more to a person's education than just a certificate which is acquired after a few days of sitting for examinations.

The Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC) should address the issue of continuous assessments tests. What one learns in class one should be just as important as what one learns in Form Four. If one is in the secondary phase, they should be tested from the time they join Form One, until when they are through with Form Four. There should be a well established system of assessing and testing students.

I recall that in the past, children used to be admitted to Form Five on the strength of the mock results for Form Four and 95 per cent of those who were admitted to Form Five ended up performing well in final examinations and even at the university level. If we have a good continuous assessment testing system which is reliable, it will save our children the temptations of using crooked means, so as to pass examinations.

Another issue which has been treated lightly in the Sessional Paper is the issue of funding of university education and research work. I know this House passed a Motion by Prof. Olweny on this issue. We agreed that it is high time that university education funding was done on the basis of actual costs. This is a challenge to the Government to make it come true.

The Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) is very important. It is an institute which needs to be strengthened. One of the ways of doing this is by re-establishing it through an Act of Parliament. That is an institution which was established under a legal notice in the 1960s. So, it is a challenge to the Ministry to constitute this institute properly because it is as important as our universities which have been established under a different Act of Parliament, so that it can have the mandate to do more work than it is doing today. It is a big "supermarket". If you want anything on education, you will get it there. So, KIE needs a lot of support.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another area where the institute needs support is in the field of broadcasting. The institute has machines which have been lying there since 1982 when the airwaves had not been liberalised. So, it is important to establish an education broadcast channel for this country because it is something we are lacking. The commercial rates which are charged by the commercial radio stations cannot be afforded and we have invested a lot in these machines. Billions of shillings are lying at the KIE and it is only a matter of starting that channel and our children will benefit a lot from this education channel which, in my opinion, is long overdue.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is the area on Information Communication Technology (ICT). This

one has been addressed in a very academic manner because computer literacy right now is not something that you can just talk about. It is not just plans. We should have new ways of implementing an ICT policy and right now there are some institutions which seem to be ahead of the Government like the Starehe Boys Centre which has computers for the Kenya Schools Programme. The Government needs to strengthen this programme so that all our secondary schools can be equipped with computers because computer literacy is not a luxury any longer. It is something that we need as a country and it should be incorporated and implemented immediately. For a start, if this centre is assisted, it would be a very good starting point.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, finally, I would like to talk about The Education Act. The Education Act needs to be updated because there are some issues which it is not addressing sufficiently. For example, the Act says that it is the Minister for Education who will oversee the quality of education offered in this country but there are contradictions. If you went to an approved school today, you will find that the mode of delivery of education to those children is different from the mode of delivery in ordinary primary and secondary schools. It is done in a primitive manner and in psychology it is unfair to deliver education to children in a primitive manner. So, the agencies that provide education should be harmonised so that delivery of education is done in an effective way.

[Mr. Speaker left the Chair]

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

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, commenting on the old man of Eldoret called Maruge, I think having such an old man of 80 years learning among children is a distraction in itself. Instead of just wanting to find a place in the *Guinness Book of Records*, we should provide education in such a way that no learner is a distracter. If it is an adult literacy class, let it be adult and let there be no infant to distract those adults. So, the Education Act should be updated so that it can address the issue of relevance because this is a time when we should actually provide relevant education.

With those few words, I beg to support.

Mr. Kagwe: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this Sessional Paper. A lot has been said about this matter of education and the way forward. We must first appreciate what the purpose of education is. The purpose of education is not to bury youths in an information overload. It is not simply to take people to school so that they can get more things in their heads that are basically meaningless. It is my considered opinion that education must serve some national purpose and the national purpose of the time must be addressed by the education system of the day.

For example, in this country we have got two basic problems which are tribalism and corruption. A Sessional Paper that does not address those two issues in terms of the purpose of education fails to achieve a great objective and that is the unity of the country. Education, in addition to other issues, must unify the nation. We must bring up children who not only know the Pythagoras Theorem, Einstein Mathematics and other very important issues of history and geography like Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama. We must go beyond the history of the Bantus of yesteryears and realise that the history we are building today is actually more important than the history of yesterday and we want to build the history of a united country and not the history of a destroyed country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, therefore, the education of the day must address the issue of tribalism. In America, the education system addresses the issue of racism. In America they

transport black children from their neighbourhoods to white neighbourhoods so that Americans can get to know each other and it is a result of this that you find that America today has got a Black Secretary of State. Had they not done that, this would not have been possible.

Therefore, my view is that the education system today must also address tribalism. How can they do this? It should be law in a sessional paper that persons from every tribe should be transported by the Government if necessary, to other areas of other tribes at a very young age so that they can grow up together and get to know each other. This is so that as they learn the Pythagoras Theorem, they learn it together and grow up as Kenyans. I first met people of different tribes in high school. In fact, I confess that I thought a different tribe meant a different person or species and, therefore, it was very difficult. As I try to integrate with hon. Lesirma, I am still coming to terms with the fact that he is really an hon. Member just like me. So, when you see these people shouting at each other here and even a thief is protected by his tribesmen, it is because they are not Kenyans but tribes. Therefore, the education system must address that particular aspect and defeat tribalism.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the education system must organise exchange visits or programmes and it must be part of the curriculum that before you graduate from Standard eight, you must have visited a Luo, Luhya and a Somali. It should be part of the curriculum that indeed you do a small test whereby if you are living in Central Province, you should be asked how a Samburu lives, how you went there and what you saw and not a question of what you have been reading in the newspapers and seeing in the movies.

Similarly, we must also come to terms with the fact that this country is going to have different languages for a long time to come. They addressed this issue in Switzerland and that is why it has been at peace since 1692. We must address it by making it mandatory that different regions must learn at least another language and different cultures and it is not Einstein Mathematics.

It should be obvious that a tribe essentially is represented by a language and it should be encouraged and not discouraged that persons in Kisumu should be learning *Kikamba*. There should be another local language that they are learning. People in Central Province should be learning *Kisamia* so that if I visited Samialand, I should be sitting here next to the Vice-President and Minister for Home Affairs and conversing in his language because I was given that opportunity by my education system. However, I was denied that opportunity and it is for that reason that I do not understand the Samias very well but if I had studied the culture and language of the Samia, I probably would be a much better Kenyan than I am today.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, therefore, I believe that these are issues that the Sessional Paper should address. We are talking about a paradigm shift. If we are talking about a sessional paper that goes along the beaten track--- If you go along the same path, in the same direction you arrive at the same destination are not a new one. Let us arrive at a new destination. If the Government wants to make real changes, then the Sessional Paper should address some of these things very boldly, bravely and without fear. This is because there is a general fear of doing things that are new because people are not very willing to change and learn.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have addressed the matter of tribalism and how the education system can help us in that. The same case applies to corruption. Today, thieves are heroes even to small children in schools because they visit schools and build classrooms. But where the man got the money from to build those classrooms is never addressed in schools. They only know that the man brought in Kshs400,000, for example, to build a new classroom. But in essence, this person stole the money that would have initially built those classrooms. So, the same thing applies to our children. When they grow up, they do not know that there is a serious issue of corruption. So, in civil education, we should bedevil corruption. Children must be taught from a young age that taking something that is not theirs; whether it is the neighbour's or Government's, is wrong. So, today we will find our young people hero-worshipping individuals and, in fact, condemning honest people. They will

say that such-and-such person served as Member of Parliament for 10 years, but when he left it he had nothing. In other words, a Member of Parliament is expected to steal, so that when he or she leaves he or she is a very wealthy person who can build classrooms. This is engrained and enshrined in our minds and it is something that can only be removed by two things; that is, legislation and education. It is not just legislation that finishes these things. Unless we legislate and educate people on these things we can be talking about them until Kingdom of God comes.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the other issue that also permeates in society is discipline. This is an issue that must be addressed by the Sessional Paper. This is because if a child is not disciplined from the word go, we cannot expect him or her to be educated when he or she is eventually a civil servant. You should not expect to discipline them at that stage. It will be too late. Therefore, you will find a conglomeration of people; councillors, Members of Parliament and civil servants who are willing to sort out matters by the fist rather than by the mind. We find that even issues like cleanliness which are part of discipline are not with us. That is why we will find a person driving a Mercedes Benz around a town, for example, throwing rubbish out through the window at will. It is surprising to note that when the town is dirty, the same person will begin to condemn Nairobi City Council. Nairobi City Council cannot be following everybody around collecting rubbish. It is the residents who must be disciplined, so that they can dispose that rubbish at the right place. This is not something we will teach somebody when he is buying a car. It has got to be taught to the person at a learning age; when they are young and when they know that it is bad. So, the purpose of education is not simply to learn history and mathematics.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the other issue that was not really touched by the Sessional Paper is the education matter in globalisation. In this sense, we are now talking about brain drain. We are losing many nurses, doctors and teachers. We are complaining about this. Now, I have got news. This will not stop. It will actually get worse. Yes, we talk about brain drain, that the best of our doctors and nurses have gone to the United Kingdom and United States of America. But the truth of the matter is that, very seriously, that brain might have been in the drain here in Kenya had it not been transported to some other place. So, we must also ask ourselves questions. When we say we are suffering from brain drain, are these people ably and effectively employed when they are here? A human being does not have another life to live. We are not doing a rehearsal of the lives that we are eventually going to live. Therefore, you cannot stop them from advancing themselves in their lives because there is no other one that they will live. We have enough people waiting all over this country to be trained as nurses if the ones we have go away.

Secondly, we should actually be reaching agreements with these governments overseas to bring funds to expand our facilities, so that we train enough people for both domestic and export market. Our people are part of our resources. If we can export them, so that they can bring money back from wherever they are working, then I see nothing wrong with it. That is happening, not just to Kenya, but all over the world. In the World Trade Organisation (WTO), there is something we call Movement of Natural Person (MNP). We are going to Geneva and elsewhere to fight so that people are allowed to travel wherever they want. I am certain that in this august House, there will be a lot of debates on the matter. But I can say now that it will be a fruitless discussion because once the world has agreed that persons are free to move, the only way we are going to keep our professionals here is by paying them well. If we do not pay them well they will move as sure as night follows day.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, on the village polytechnics that were designed sometime back, it is my considered opinion that they were very useful. The only thing that happened about them is that, at some point, they totally disappeared. As a matter of fact, the reason why our *jua kali* sector does not make goods of as high quality as they could, is because of that delinkage between the sector and the village polytechnics. So, instead of a person trained in a certain art in a village polytechnic making *jikos* whether after O-Level or whatever, we have a History student who does not have a job

who makes *jikos*. A person who was trained in making *jikos* in a village polytechnic would make much better *jikos* that can even be exported. Therefore, this issue of village polytechnics is a very critical part. We also do not want to have a technical gap where we have got many of university graduates and uneducated people and in-between we do not have the technicians that we need to keep the economy going. Those are the people who are actually the base of industrialisation. Therefore, we should try and revive them.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, at the university level, again, there is globalisation. It is, therefore, my opinion that we should be now trying to link our universities with other international universities, so that the education standards that we are talking about, are worldwide. In the years to come, and even as I speak, a graduate of Stanford is seen as a lot more educated than that of Moi University. But if Stanford University had a linkage with Moi University that graduate would be both useful in Kenya and America. Therefore, the education system that we have must address the issue of "global candidate" and not just Kenyan candidate. Again, let us remember that it is the people resource we are creating for ourselves. These people may be working anywhere and, in fact, bring in more money than they would be supporting their families if they were working in Kenya. So, let us open our minds and not remain in a block. Let our universities be encouraged to open linkages with famous universities world over.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the issue of teachers in hardship areas continue to be a problem, even in my own constituency of Mukurweini. For example, in Nyeri District, while you might think that we have enough teachers, most of them prefer to teach in Nyeri Town and Kieni Constituency. That is because Kieni is considered a hardship area. Mukurweini has a serious shortage of teachers. Why is that so? A teacher in Nyeri would prefer to go to Nyeri Town because of the money. If you go to Kieni, you get more money than those you are with in the same grade. Therefore, in some of our areas, if you see a teacher refusing to go somewhere, it means there is a problem in that area. Therefore, my appeal would be that some locations in Mukurweini Constituency should also be considered as hardship areas. There is no difference between those places and the so-called hardship areas. Similarly, I had a personal experience of visiting some schools in my constituency - surprise visits. There are no teachers in the schools. As I left one of them, I met a man staggering from a bar and, surprisingly, it was the headmaster! That was during the day. A teacher has left a classroom and gone to the bar to drink. The other teachers are basically sewing pullovers in the staff rooms. How can we expect such students to compete with other students in the United States of America, when they are being taught by teachers who are always drinking tea and perpetually sewing pullovers. That is something we must address; the issue of discipline among the teachers. Inspections must be enhanced because it is very sad to walk into a classroom and meet little children talking to each other. The teacher is away at a great cost. They sacrifice small children because there is no discipline not only among students, but teachers as well.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have heard of performance contracts. Headmasters should actually be judged on the performance of their schools and be paid accordingly. It is not enough to deploy somebody in a school and call him a headmaster, then pay him the same amount of money as another headmaster whose school tops the division every year. Then you try to address the situation by shuffling them. That is unfair, unpalatable, archaic and retrogressive. Therefore, we urge that this Sessional Paper should address the issue of performance. Let the teachers who are doing well be paid well. They should not just be promoted and taken to the headquarters. You waste them because they are not good administrators. It is the Peter's principle! You promote them to levels of incompetence. Let the good teacher remain a good teacher, but pay them at that level, so that they can continue teaching the students. That is where their pride really is. So, as long as there is no performance encouragement, it will be business as usual. Teachers will leave their schools and run their kiosks. That is part of the damage that was caused by the Ndegwa Report. Teachers look after their kiosks instead

of being in school. They do the business of selling maize and their big clients are the same schools that they teach. We must address such issues very seriously.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with regard to university education, hon. Members will agree with me that, students do not get enough money to pay for their courses. That is a very big problem. People who are educated are called the "educated elite." But we are slowly moving to a point where only the rich will get educated. It is only those with money who can afford to take their children to school. We will have a situation where Members of Parliament and other educated Kenyans will be educating their children. But, had the same principle been applied when we were in school, we could never have been educated. Our fathers could never have afforded to pay the money that the universities are currently asking. The minds that we are wasting do not only belong to their parents, but also to Kenya. We may be wasting a mind that could find a cure for HIV/AIDS. But we are derailing it because of some Kshs20,000. Something is illogical in that argument. We all know, as Members of Parliament, that 99 per cent of us would not be here without an education. We have no right to pass any law that denies a student at the university education, in spite of his or her three "As". So, the Sessional Paper should address the issue of getting sufficient money to lend to our students. We are not saying that university education should be free. Let them borrow and be given enough money to sustain themselves in the universities. Let their be a structure that will define how they are going to pay back their loans. That way, we will create a revolving fund to assist other needy students. I urge all hon. Members who have not paid their university loans to start doing so. If we start a revolving fund and the Government adds a small amount every year, our students will get enough money to learn at the universities. Education is a human right and not just a privilege.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is also an issue on the number of teachers. I am aware that one of the conditionalities that we are getting from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is the reduction of teachers. But, with the same breath, those institutions are praising us for introducing free primary education. You cannot have both. You cannot have your cake and eat it at the same time. We do not have enough teachers in this country at the moment. That shortage must be addressed with a long term dimension - not just short term - so that, in future, we do not keep on talking and discussing about the number of teachers that we have.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to support the revival of the advanced level system of education ("A"-Level). If you go to the University of Nairobi today, you will find some very young students, some of whom you are not sure they ought to be living on their own, with the level of freedom that, actually, exists there. There are very young little "things!" Some of them are very young ladies. You wonder whether somebody is not going to take advantage of them in that vulnerable situation. I appreciate the ambitions of my colleagues, but I would suggest that we revive "A"-Level. That system was crucial for two purposes. First, people grew a bit older and become a bit more responsible. What is happening today is that those who are able - even in this House - have children who attend "A"-Level classes in the British style of education. So, the only students who are not doing "A"-Level classes are from the poor people. Students from rich families are already doing "A"-Level. So, why are we not accepting that the 8-4-4 system has certain fundamental flaws and, therefore, address them instead of accepting that we should continue with the same? "A"-Level system of education has a good purpose. It prepares students to go to universities very effectively. As you are aware, there are universities which do not admit Kenyan students from O-Level directly. They have to study "A"-Level first. My view is: Let the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology not leave the issue of "A"-Level to the private sector. Let the Ministry have its own schools offering "A"-Level System of Education.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there are the Nairobi Schools and the Lenanas of this world. We seem to think that the way to address the issue of the Lenanas and the other schools that are of higher level, is to pull them down to the level of the others. That is a mistake. We have certain

schools which can grow very fast. We should allow these schools to have golf courses and whatever else they want, on condition that 25 per cent of their students do not pay fees. In other words, the 75 per cent of the students who can afford to play in golf and tennis courses should support the other 25 per cent, who should take advantage of the same facilities. We should be creative in our thinking. We should not just follow the beaten track. We should not just prepare a Sessional Paper to debate here and then leave its implementation for another five years to come because in five years' time, a generation of our people will have gone to waste. Let us make certain paradise shapes in our minds. Let us see this as a new time, way and a changed process for our people. We should give our people hope by creating such changes that will be helpful to them in the future. We should not just have an education system that basically finishes at the level of education. Let us unify the nation through the same process.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

Mr. Omingo: Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me a chance to contribute to the debate on this Sessional Paper, which is well thought.

I believe that in the spirit of this Sessional Paper, if we were to follow it like we should have followed the Koech Report, the problems afflicting the education sector would not be there today. In this Sessional Paper, the Minister has indicated that part of his failure to follow the recommendations of the Koech Report was the issue of cost. We must now address facts as they are and put our priorities right, in line with providing quality education that our children deserve.

I am glad to have the Minister here today. Something that is so pertinent in my mind today is the ghost animal under the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, that examines and certifies that some children have passed the examinations, or fails children, and its pronouncement is absolutely final. This tells you that the Ministry, through its agencies, acts as a judge, the jury and prosecutor. I would expect the Minister, in his response, to state categorically what he is doing about the issue of mismanagement, particularly in examinations, which has been raised by hon. Members here today. What is the Ministry doing in terms of its failure to regulate and administer examinations efficiently, so that we do not punish innocent students?

Today, there are students who are languishing in pain because their fate is not known. I want to say that these children have been condemned without being heard. The Ministry, through the Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC), has failed and abdicated its responsibility, to an extent that it punished innocent children before they are given a fair hearing. We hope that the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology will address this inefficiency because our patience is running out.

Let me go back to the Sessional Paper. There have been numerous Commissions and one gave very good recommendations which were never implemented simply because of unavailability of funds. I have said, and I want to repeat, that if we were to put our priorities properly, we need to embrace what is best in line with what the Koech Report recommended. What worries me most fundamentally is the fact that we do know, and statistics have proven, that there are so many pupils going through primary school up to Standard V111. They sit for examinations and most of them qualify to join secondary schools, but the Minister keeps on agonizing over his decision, and as a result, half of the pupils who sit for the examinations miss places in secondary schools. It is as if he wakes up from a slumber because it seems that he does not know a certain number of pupils are to sit for examinations.

Providing free primary education is not enough. We want the Minister to address the issues of the drop out and transitional rates. If the number of students who drop-out constitute more than 50 per cent of the students population, that figure is not acceptable under normal circumstances. In all probability, a drop-out rate of 10 per cent without any marginal error can be accepted. However, today we have drop-out rate of more than 50 per cent and we just look at it as if it is something that has come from the blues. The Minister knows that there are so many pupils on transit from primary schools to secondary schools.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the issue of proper or effective delivery of service rests on the policy implementors. This goes down to the management of schools, which has been left to the heads of institutions and an animal called the sponsors. We do have problems in our schools' management. Sponsors of the old used to give funds to the schools. Today, sponsors feed from the schools. That is why schools' sponsorships are held very close to the sponsor's chest because of the benefits they derive from sponsoring those schools.

If a roof of a primary school is blown off by the wind, the hon. Member and the Ministry are looked upon to raise funds to repair that school. No sponsor takes, for example, an iron sheet to repair the roof. Nothing is done by the sponsor to repair the blown off roof, but when it comes to other issues, they talk about the school being theirs. I want to propose that all public schools should be managed by the public. The cancer of sponsorship in schools even permeates into the management of schools. Sponsors transfer head teachers and sack everybody else that they want to sack, just because he does not play to the script of the sponsor. Sponsorship is supposed to boost schools and not to run them down.

Therefore, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology needs, as a matter of necessity, to amend the Education Act and have all the public schools run by the District Education Boards (DEBs). That is the only way we will get out of the mess of sponsorship. You must choose a headteacher of the sponsor's choice, tribe, religion, colour and creed. This must be changed, so that efficiency in terms of delivery of service can be enhanced. Some headmasters do not deliver because they fear the sponsors. It is crucial that this is changed.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is an issue of Information Communication Technology (ICT) in this Sessional Paper. How practical is it for primary schools, particularly from where I come from, to teach ICT? We do not have electricity. If you give me a computer today, it will just be a small box hidden somewhere. We need an integrated programme where the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology liaises with the Ministry of Energy to provide all schools with electricity, so that if ICT is going to take off, then it does so nationally. I want you to bear me witness that if ICT was a prerequisite for anybody to pass an examination, children in Kisii and Turkana would be disadvantaged because there is no electricity in those areas. If you want us to be unified and be one Kenya, we should have an integrated programme to supply electricity to all schools, so that computer lessons can be taught in a well lit environment. That is only when we will have ICT taught in our schools.

Under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), free primary education is a welcome move that has been initiated by the NARC Government. As per this Sessional Paper, the NARC Government is on course to provide free primary education by 2005. However, I am worried about the quality of education which is being provided to our children. We have 80 pupils in one classroom being taught by one teacher, who cannot even assess and mark the scripts of the pupils. We are giving our children quantity as opposed to quality education. Nonetheless, issues have been raised about improving the quality of education. There is an element of finance which is anticipated from the big brothers. You cannot provide quality education and anticipate good results without finances. Most of these finances are supposed to come from the well-wishers. Which well-wishers have stakes in our schools and in our Government? They have been taking us round in circles, telling us what they would want us to achieve. They want us to do certain things and not what is in our interest. It is high time that we stopped budgeting with anticipation of donor funding. I hate this, and I have said it a couple of times, that we are depending on the donors and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and well-wishers. Those well-wishers do not usually mean well. Therefore, I am suggesting that, even as we programme to implement this Sessional Paper, the Ministry needs to rethink on the source of their financing. If you depend on the donor community funding, the Ministry will just run this and shelve it in the same way the Koech Report was shelved.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, in terms of excellence, when we were growing up, I used

to see somebody standing up and saying: "Where were you when I was in St. Marys Yala", and it meant that St. Marys Yala was a centre of excellence. We have lost all those institutions to one, the hands of sponsors and, two, in terms of political interference that, your child goes to Alliance High School whether he merits or not, because you belong to a particular class in society. We require institutions which will build role models; that kids will want to go to school to ape people who have been successful through particular institutions. Those institutions have now been run down and we are saying, let us have people of integrity to be emulated by the young people. Learning is not necessarily through the classrooms; we also learn through inference and role models. Some kids will be motivated to do better in schools once they have some schools which are viewed as role models, or people who have excelled in such institutions.

Regarding the Millennium Development Goals, I am worried about the goal to achieve education for all by the year 2015, looking at the graphs or charts that I have seen here today. At the primary level, the graph is almost half the chart; then between ages 12 and 14, everybody is in school, while at ages 15 to 20, the graph starts rolling down. Are we saying that education for all stops at primary school? Because that is where everybody is in school. I am not too sure whether by providing education up to the primary school level, we should have met the MDG programme, because that is insufficient. There was a possibility of absorbing the kids who drop out of primary schools in tertiary institutions like teacher training colleges or technical colleges.

That is why I am saying there is a necessity for the Ministry to liaise with the Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development, which is in charge of polytechnics. All polytechnics are now dead; they are not functional. If you say that you want to harness the resources together, and I have seen the Assistant Minister for Labour and Human Resource Development here; we must be able to consult. The Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development, which controls the polytechnics, needs to synthesize and harmonize their thinking with that of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology so that, when we offload from formal education, we can go to the informal education, so that we can be able to manage the big number of primary school dropouts.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to talk about the localization of schools and the school system. In the previous regimes, we had big issues where people from particular regions were supposed to be admitted in particular schools. Once again, I sympathize with my colleague who has just spoken about tribalism. How do you eliminate tribalism? If I am born in Kisii, I go to primary and secondary schools in Kisii and, perhaps, I go to the teacher training college in Kisii and work as a teacher in Kisii; I marry in Kisii, I die and I am buried in Kisii. This way, tribalism is going to thrive, and I think we went wrong by localizing schools through the quota system. That is something that must be stopped on the onset, if we must really integrate our people in terms of opening up our thinking. I think that localizing schools and the quota system is an archaic thing. I am not saying that those who are marginalized in the sense that they do not have facilities must not be considered. I am saying that they must be considered with their quota, but across the board. They must not be admitted in Wajir or Mandera High School, simply because that is where they merit, but we should give them their quota and weight and spread them across the board, so that they can be able to interact. There is no way somebody will say that, by learning local languages or vernacular or mother tongue, we are eliminating tribalism. That, in itself, is actually enhancing tribalism, if we must be able to learn our mother tongues.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the thing that should be of necessity is that, our children must be able to integrate with all across the board and learn one national languages. We have a good languages in the name of Kiswahili! It is a beautiful languages spoken across the board, so let us make it official in all our operations. Let us make it useable in our documents and offices so that we can be able to unify our people through languages. Tanzania is unified, not because the Chagga's speak their mother tongue or because the other people speak their mother tongues, but because they are unified

by the Kiswahili language. But, of course, we must not pretend that we are not tribalistic in a sense. I want to quote the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, who said: "To be a Kenyan, you must originate from a tribe, which is not a sin". Therefore, if you originate from a tribe and you are deemed to be tribalistic, then each one of us is a tribalist. This means that, to be a Kenyan, you must have your identity. But that identity must perceive your posterity; that, you must be able to co-exist and relate. People need to live in harmony with their unified languages. I am totally against this issue of learning cultures and vernacular languages of people, which may, of necessity, entrench tribalism that is not going to help our people.

The issue of brain drain has featured quite greatly, and I can assure you that it is an expensive element on the taxpayer of this Republic. Yes, we can open up opportunities for our bankers and doctors in Botswana, like we almost have all of them there. But are we being fair to our taxpayers? It takes about Kshs13 million to train a doctor. There are about 600 of them in Botswana; multiply that number by Kshs13 million, and you will see the billions we are losing without hope of ever recovering that money. That is an expense on our tax-paying public. Kenyans have big brains, and it is through this that we must be able to open up our thinking, formulate policies and the pay packages which are going to help our people retain their positions and identity here.

I want to implore the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that, there is this animal called the "green card" giving people visas to go to the United States of America. If you have noticed, they usually take very shrewd business persons with a good background, very good doctors and architects. That is one avenue that we must close, if we can, because those green cards are only picking and tapping resources from us and taking our brains out there to go and cross-breed genes out there. At the end of it, we are going to be left with averages Kenyans in terms of cross-breeding, and we shall have lost our cream in the society. I want to advise the Minister, who is sitting here today, that the green card is not necessarily very green, but it could be very red in terms of our people's wellbeing in the future. I am too sure that the Minister has noted that down; that we must stop this green card business which taps our resources out there.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, in essence, what we are saying here is that, if you want to specialize in medicine, you must be identified at an early stages. But what happens then is that children carry subjects *en masse*, and that even confuses the learner. I would like to suggest that from an early ages like in the kindergarten, we should identify the children's potential by dropping them in a cages where there are toys. If you see one of them rushing to hold a car, that is an engineer; if you see one turning the head of a doll, that should actually be a medical doctor. We must identify our potential as early as 10 years, so that we can offload all the nonsense from their minds and enable them to specialize in particular areas. After all, specialization means retaining what you remember after forgetting all that you have learned. If that is what is going to benefit us, let us specialize from a very early stages.

You will also remember that--- **The Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs** (Mr. Wetangula): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): What is it, Mr. Wetangula?

The Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Wetangula): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is my good friend in order to confuse the word "specialization" with "discrimination" which, in fact, would amount to unconstitutional conduct by the Government, or by anybody else?

Mr. Omingo: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we also know for a fact that the hon. Member is not an accountant or anything, but just a lawyer! We are not discriminating him for being a lawyer. It is also not fortunate that I am an accountant. That is all I am saying in very simple terms. So, it is not that we want to discriminate. It is not a question of really putting these children in a classroom; it is a question of interesting them towards the areas we think can polish their skills. What do I mean?

Let us teach them all the subjects, but let us also interest them in areas where we think they can be good at.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, Kenya is an agricultural country. The amount of time allocated to agriculture as a subject in our schools is insignificant. This is the more reason why we must know where our granary is. We need to train our young men and women in farming skills. Did you know that we have been riddled by this so-called "white-collar job" culture? If you are driving a tractor, for example, you think you look like my great grand-father and you prefer putting on a tie like Mr. Wetangula here. That way, you will be deemed to have gone to school. We must ensure that our children are interested in non-white-collar jobs. Let us train them well to the point where we can get results. They should pursue courses, for example, in agricultural economics. They should be encouraged to cultivate in our *shambas*, so that we change their attitudes. Our children should also be well conversant with livestock farming. They should know that a healthy cow will definitely produce more milk. This is critical. At the end of the day, it is important to know the number of children who have gone to school, but what will we have recovered from that investment?

It is important that the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology is allocated a bigger chunk of our resources. More often than not, those resources are not usually utilised in an effective, efficient and economical manner because of the lapses that have been mentioned in the past. If the Minister would, in his response, address the issue of education that will give this country a soft landing, then this Sessional Paper will be able to see the light of day, simply because it is nice. In fact, I would like to say that Kenyans are very good at writing proposals. If you want the right brains to write proposals, you will find them right in this country. That is why Mr. Murungi has got numerous commissions to fight graft. These commissions write very nice reports. Unfortunately, those reports never see the light of day.

Again, this is the same cancer we have here. There are several commissions looking into the education sector. Unfortunately, the same report that the Sessional Paper commends never saw the light of day. I wonder who then pays for this loss that we incur. We can come up with fantastic papers, but we have mobilized resources; all Ministries and stakeholders have been put together and the Kenyan taxpayer pays for it. However, at the end of the day, there will be no resources to implement this programme. This is a great loss. It is critical that this Government does put their priorities right. It is very unfortunate that when I see them sitting out there, I sympathise with them because I am not too sure what they will tell Kenyans at the end of the day.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the free primary school education programme truly is said to be "free". One peasant farmer who thought I was in the Government asked me one day: "Mr. Omingo, you gave us free primary school education, but remember, when you took over, the price of sugar per kilogramme was so much. Now it has gone up." In essence, he told me that we gave Kenyans free primary school education on one hand, and took it from the other because of excessive taxation and other Government levies that Kenyans have to pay. This is quite embarrassing. I agree, this was a political ploy, but we had to support the people by saying that we have given them free primary school education. However, the President said that we must also chip in. Even in the Sessional Paper, we are also contributing through household contributions. So, this programme is not free. I would like to suggest that if we want to say that this programme is free, we must make sure that it is acceptable to everybody.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, private schools are having thriving business in line with the drop of quality education in public institutions. This again, brings a class difference that if you have money, you will take your child to a private school where there are necessary facilities. This class difference is again being reintroduced through the back door. I thought, when the free primary school education programme was introduced, we would close down all private schools. Fortunately, for the business people, they are actually thriving in business. Now we have two classes in education; that is the haves and have-nots. There is an imbalance and we must address it

squarely, so that we increase the quality of service delivery to our people.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with those few remarks, I beg to support.

The Assistant Minister for Planning and National Development (Mr. Lesrima): Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this Sessional Paper. I would like to congratulate the Minister for Education, Science and Technology for an all-inclusive process. I recall that a conference was held, which included many Kenyans, which led to this Sessional Paper.

I know that we like to criticize our system of education as if it is the worst. However, I would like to say that there is no country which keeps its system of education static. In fact, the system of education keeps on changing even in the most developed countries such as Britain, Korea and Japan, to conform with the needs of society. I recall visiting Japan and Korea on education and the major concern, at that time, in 1995, was that they were churning out human beings who were robotic in their behaviour, and that they were bringing up a society which was intolerant. In fact, one of the problems in Japan in the late 1990s was that even young children were extremely intolerant to disabled people. They were changing their curriculum to include studies in ethics and the goodness of the heart. Therefore, it is important that we continuously review education to meet the requirements of society.

I agree with hon. Members who have spoken before with regard to using education to foster national unity. For that reason, I support the idea of a national school for every district, so that Kenyans get to know one another. Even as of today, we still have societies which are at loggerheads and intolerant to one another. In the long run, education will assist.

Education is also very important in reducing inequalities. It is very clear that those who have education have better opportunities. Studies have also been carried out to indicate that there is correlation between lower education and HIV/AIDS infections, particularly among young people.

Girls in the age bracket of 14 to 19 years who get higher education are less likely to contract HIV/AIDS, compared to girls of the same age group who do not have basic education. It is also good that this Policy Paper has come at this time because it will lead to the revision of education laws. I think that a number of laws are due for revision. We know that the Inspectorate Department in the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology is inadequately staffed. We know that there are members of boards in various schools who do business with their own schools. We have members of boards who do not have the required qualifications to be members of such boards. It will assist to strengthen the management of schools in terms of administration, keeping books of accounts and auditing.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, education is expensive. Therefore, we need to examine how we can share resources. I know that we have put a number of issues in boxes - early, primary and adult education. We know that we do not have enough resources, even at the constituency or locational levels! If we were to pull resources together, we can use teachers and the available classrooms to facilitate early childhood education and adult education at the village level. We can also share resources in terms of finances offered through local government. We have LASDAF which is offered through the Constituency Development Fund to encourage education.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with regard to primary education, the biggest challenge is shortage of teachers. Every hon. Member here has complained about that. In my own district, in the year 2003, there was a shortage of 132 teachers. Today, we have a shortage of 188 teachers. The problems differ from region to region, but the pastoralists have suffered a great deal when it comes to those shortages. I hope the Policy Paper will put emphasis on increasing the number of boarding schools. It should also consider the teacher-pupil ratio. We should not apply the teacher-pupil ratio of 35:1. We should have a more reasonable ratio of 20:1 because of the sizes of the districts in the ASALs.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, our polytechnics, including village polytechnics, play a

big role in the economic growth of this country. There are many activities in the districts that polytechnic graduates can participate in. There are activities which require value addition, especially in agriculture. I think that the problem with polytechnics is that they churn out graduates who do not get employment. The solution to that is to link those graduates to micro-finance institutions. I am glad to know that there is a Micro-Finance Bill that is coming to this House very soon. We can do that, so that when those young people graduate from village polytechnics, they can form groups, borrow money, register businesses and work as artisans in various parts of this country. That can be done because we have devolved and taken money down to the grassroots through the CDF.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with regard to university education, universities are charged with the responsibility of research. One of the major functions of education is research. However, I think one of the biggest weaknesses in our university system is lack of linkages between the universities and the private sector. It is time to dedicate a certain amount of money to support university research, so that universities can generate knowledge that can be translated into actual economic activities. That can be done by allowing universities to have some science parks where business incubation can take place and university staff can develop ideas. That can be done within the university precincts where the ideas are tested, disseminated and funded to industrialise the country.

That is the concept that we had in mind when we started the Kenya Industrial Estates (KIE) in the 70s. It was a very good idea where business incubation was done, and once it is successful, it graduates to big companies. That is how companies such as Haco Industries and Kuguru Foods came up.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, this Sessional Paper talks about a science and technology policy, but it is not very clear. My understanding of the National Council of Science and Technology (NCST) is that, that function falls under the Ministry of Planning and National Development. The Minister should check the laws that we had passed earlier on again. The functions of NCST may not be under that particular Ministry legally.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am glad to note that Information Technology (IT) is encouraged in this policy document. We are aware that the biggest challenge is infrastructure, telecommunications and lack of power. But, at least, we can begin with funding generators. There is a lot of wind. There is capacity to generate even up to 300 megawatts of electricity using wind power in places like Marsabit. We could easily link that to the national grid. I do not know why we do not take the opportunities offered through wind power seriously. This Policy Paper refers to solar power only. I doubt whether solar power has the capability to run computers.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, IT is very critical. We are now talking about E-Government and E-Commerce. I know that, that can assist a lot if we have a computer-literate society. People who are far from the centre of the Government can benefit a lot because they can log on, make inquiries and obtain information on registration, pension requirements, applications for opportunities like teacher training and other opportunities in the Government. There are parts of this country which do not receive the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) television broadcasts. If they can log on to a computer, they could easily get news about Kenya and the rest of the world.

In conclusion, I would like to say that it is very important to have a secure environment for education to succeed. There are places in this country where education is very difficult to implement. In particular, we have the North Rift, and specifically my constituency. Between 1996 and 2002, 27 were closed down because of insecurity which was brought about by cattle rustling. We have since been able to re-open the 27 schools with the advent of the new Government. However, there are indications that incidences of cattle rustling are going up again. If the situation does not improve, I recommend that we form school police units just as we have tourist police units.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

Mr. Kipchumba: Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I want to make my

contribution to this Sessional Paper. At times, one wonders why Kenyans would want to have their educational system changed all the time. The 8-4-4 system of education, in my own view, has no problem. I think we are being very conservative. People who went to school in the old days still long for their past. We must change from being conservative and catch up with the world. I cannot buy the idea that Kenyans cannot attend universities in other countries due to our educational system. That, to me, is neither here nor there. We must not politicise education. It is very expensive to keep on changing systems just because we are longing for our good old days. We must improve the system we have now. I am yet to meet someone with empirical evidence as to how the 8-4-4 system has failed us.

Students who go through this system are much brighter than some hon. Members in this House. There are young children whom we cannot match their intelligence, yet we come here and say that this system has failed us. How has it failed us? We must be truthful to ourselves. This system has produced better doctors than the systems we had previously. The children in school now are much more computer literate than we were. They grasp things while at standard two. If you brought a standard two child here, you would find out that their intelligence is far much better than that of many hon. Members. Therefore, it is ironical and unacceptable---

Mr. Wamwere: On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I am wondering whether it is in order for the hon. Member to insult hon. Members by saying that our intelligence is below that of a standard two child. I am also wondering whether the hon. Member is an 8-4-4 system product.

Mr. Kipchumba: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish I had gone through the 8-4-4 system because it is far much better than what I went through previously.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, Mr. Kipchumba. You responded to the second part of the point of order and not the first part.

Mr. Kipchumba: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, intelligence is comparative. It is very difficult to judge whether we are more intelligent than the standard two children.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, Mr. Kipchumba. The intelligence of a standard two child, who has not even adapted to the educational system we are praising, cannot be compared to that of people who have gone through other educational systems.

Mr. Kipchumba: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have no empirical evidence to prove that a standard two child cannot be more intelligent than anyone here.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, Mr. Kipchumba! The more reason why you should not deduce that because you do not have evidence!

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. The Standing Orders of this House prohibit any discussion or comments that can lower the dignity of this House. Comparing the intelligence of a standard two child to that of an hon. Member is to lower the dignity of this House.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, hon. Members! I cannot agree more with hon. Mirugi. The Chair has the responsibility to maintain the dignity and honour of this House. I shall not entertain any comments that may be of contrary to that. So, be advised, Mr. Kipchumba.

Dr. Kibunguchy: On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Thank you for that ruling. This hon. Member also said that doctors who have gone through the 8-4-4 system are more qualified than those who went through the previous systems of education. I want him to prove that.

Mr. Kipchumba: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I said that they could be better. That can easily be proved.

Mr. Wamwere: On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I am wondering whether it is in order that you rule the hon. Member out of order but not demand an apology from him, plus a withdrawal.

Mr. Kipchumba: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, you made a ruling and advised me. I will take that seriously.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, hon. Members! I think we should not insist on punishing an hon. Member. I have made a ruling and he has agreed to abide by it.

Mr. Kipchumba: Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Nevertheless, my point is very clear. We cannot change a system merely because we are conservative and long for our good old days. We all long for the economy we had in the past. We all long for the old days when the cost of living was probably lower. If you look at the past and long for everything that was there, you must know that we cannot reverse the clock.

We must realise that the intentions of the 8-4-4 system of education were, indeed, very good. The problem is that the Government has been unable to channel adequate resources to the system. This system was tailored to be technical in nature. However, because of inadequate resources, the system has suffered since not much attention has been focused on how to improve it. The vision of the Government is to provide quality education for development. The system was also there to provide equal opportunities to all Kenyans. That is an insult. That is a good dream which cannot be attained. It is very difficult to realise that dream in the near future. There is so much disparity between schools in the rural and urban areas and those in various parts of this country in general. The only way to ensure equal opportunity to children of this country was through the introduction of the quota system.

The quota system was tailored to equalise opportunities that existed in this country and ensure that children who are disadvantaged in marginalised areas, including where the Temporary Deputy Speaker comes from, are taken care of. This way, children who did not achieve a minimum of 400 marks could be admitted to schools like Alliance Boys where he went to school.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, Mr. Kipchumba! You now run a risk of involving the Chair in your arguments. For your own information, I did not partake in the 8-4-4 system of education and I am not making any statement about it. Keep this issue away from me and from hon. Members, and keep it to yourself only.

Mr. Kipchumba: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I did not talk about the 8-4-4 system of education. I talked about the quota system. The quota system is different from the 8-4-4 system. I said that children in Turkana District can get an opportunity to attend Alliance High School, just as children in Nairobi. The quota system has nothing to do with the 8-4-4 system.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was comparing the benefits that can accrue to all Kenyans. That brings me to the argument that was in this House last week that, indeed, there is no point of us building schools in our own areas and at the end of it all, all of them are taken by academies. I have a school in my constituency called Moi Girls. Last week, hon. Wamwere argued that they have been allowed to build one class so that children within his constituency can benefit, but let me inform him that we built two additional classrooms in Moi Girls. We were advised by the then Government that for us to benefit in our own district, we must build two extra classes using our own resources, which we did. We built two classes on our own for our girls. However, what has happened? This year, even the two classrooms that we built using our own resources have been taken over.

While hon. Wamwere has been advised to build two or more classrooms, it is a waste of resources because the Minister for Education, Science and Technology will issue a directive that those classrooms be shared all over the country, and the same academies will come and "swallow" those same classrooms that all the people of your place built using all the available resources in your constituency. Therefore, it is time that some of us demanded that those extra classrooms that we built on our own be given back to us so that our children who do not have an opportunity to go to academies and who go to those schools which are not as competitive as the schools that are in urban centres, can get a chance to benefit from the resources that are within their own localities.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are really serious about this and I hope the Ministry is

taking this very seriously because towards the end of last year, and at the beginning of this year, when our children had indeed chosen their best schools that they intended to go to the Ministry issued a directive. What happened? Those children who chose Moi Girls as their first choice were disadvantaged. Even some that got almost 400 marks cannot go anywhere. This is unacceptable and if the Government wants to ensure that children get to national schools, it must commit adequate resources so that children in this country can have an equal opportunity to go to national schools all over the country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to say that education takes one quarter of our national Budget. We really must start to ensure that we produce adequate labour. Human capital is critical. We must produce children that we can export. I am saying that this country can benefit a lot in the region by exporting human capital. There is nothing wrong with doing that. We always talk of unemployment. In those old days we used to be told that: "When you go to America or Britain, make sure you come back and do not marry there". It is high time we told Kenyans: "Go to school, get your education and go and look for jobs elsewhere". We have the potential. Kenyans have been rated as among the top educationists in the world and, therefore, it is time that the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology assisted Kenyans in terms of what programmes to pursue, so that they could be employed in countries like Namibia, South Africa and Botswana because Kenyans have earned a very good name in those countries.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we must congratulate the former President, Mr. Moi. When he increased the universities from a mere one university to six, there was a lot of hue and cry from very many members of the public that, indeed, the President will compromise on quality and that there will be too many graduates. We are now reaping the benefits that were invested at that time. I think even now, this Government has nothing else to increase. Probably President Moi maximised. There are no more universities to be increased, but we must focus on ensuring that the 58,000 children who attain the qualification mark to go to university are somehow absorbed somewhere. You cannot imagine that 58,000 children every year join the unemployed population, and there is nothing that you can do about it. That means the middle-level colleges must be re-introduced. If all our children who qualified cannot get vacancies in the university, they must be assisted at least to further their education in some other forms in the middle-level colleges. We must also invest in ensuring that those children who do not even join the middle-level colleges get their education outside this country.

It is also important to ensure that education is equally distributed in this country. Anybody who is educated is more likely to come out of poverty because once you are employed and earn a minimum of over Kshs1,000, you are most likely considered a person who is above the poverty line. That is why in ensuring that education is equally distributed in this country, it is another way of eradicating poverty equitably in the Republic.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to talk about the Early Childhood Education (ECE). It is very difficult to expect that for a child to go to Standard One, he or she must go through nursery and pre-unit. It is unacceptable that qualifications are introduced which all Kenyans do not qualify. We do not even pay the teachers of these children in pre-school. They are paid by the parents. All we do, probably, is to organise seminars and workshops for these teachers. I think for us to be really committed and be seen to be serious on pre-primary education, we must ensure that we employ teachers for all the pre-primary schools. It makes sense, and that is why you will agree with the Koech Report that basic education must go up to Form Four because if a child does not reach Form Four, that child cannot be seen to be of any use to society. I have seen in this Sessional Paper that the Minister has said that this ECE will be developed to be part of basic education by the year 2010. I think 2010 is too far. We must make sure that ECE is part of basic education by 2007. I do not think we are asking for too much, if, initially, all they can do is employ teachers, then parents can build teachers houses so that in 2007, it can form part of basic education.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have also seen a proposal here that there is need to ensure that every school has three streams. With the number of children that are graduating from primary to secondary schools, we should ensure that all secondary schools have four streams. An additional of two streams is not asking too much, given that we do not have adequate land and some of the schools have already built an additional one class. It is, therefore, imperative that the Ministry gives a directive that all public secondary schools ensure that they have four streams, so that the extra lot that will come out of free primary education will easily exit into the two extra classes. In fact, there will be no need of investing in new secondary schools. Therefore, I want to humbly request the Minister to change the suggested "three streams" to read "four streams", so that we invest on the same land.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to talk briefly about sports. In those old days, there was adequate land in every school to ensure that children, apart from education, could participate in sports. There are children who are not good in the academic field, but are very good in sports. If you go to some areas in Western and Rift Valley provinces, you will see so many young people who are benefiting from sports. For us to ensure that these talents are developed, we must tap them from primary school. Therefore, there must be a requirement that all schools must put sports in their curriculum. It should be made compulsory because, after all, a small child, apart from the academic life, must be involved in sports. That is why I was shocked when Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services said those who have gone to run for other countries should not have their passports. That is unacceptable. There are many Kenyans who are doctors in other countries and their passports have not been taken away by anybody. Therefore, we must ensure that we encourage sportsmen, because the talent in this country is saturated.

When it comes to cross-country races, there are many people who can run better than others. They should, therefore, be encouraged to go and run for other countries, for example, the Arabian countries where one can easily be number one. The best way of developing this country is not by locking out other Kenyans. We must encourage them to go out and send that little income that they earn whenever they are running, so that it can be used to develop this country. Kenyans have talents in sports, especially athletics, from where many of us have benefited from the investment in our regions.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the other area which the Ministry must urgently address is the Inspectorate Department within the Ministry. There were times when education inspectors were feared in the country because they were doing a very good job. But nowadays, I hardly see them. I do not know whether they are not being paid or they are not serious in ensuring that they do a good job. The Government must invest more money in the inspectorate. If you look at schools that do very well, you will realise that it is the headmasters that, indeed, drive them. We must invest in inspectors because, without them, then there will be laxity in schools. Just as without a good headmaster in a school, the school will definitely do well because all teachers are trained in the same institution. Therefore, there is no reason why one school would easily do better than the other. If a child gets 250 marks in primary school, he must get a minimum of mean Grade C in secondary school. But many of the children get 250 marks at primary school, but when they go to secondary school they end up getting a mean grade of D Plus. It, therefore, means that these children have learnt nothing extra in secondary school. Therefore, there is need to re-examine what value addition the secondary school has given to this child, so that we stop blaming primary schools while the secondary schools, are in effect, not giving any value to the students in those schools.

We must also reintroduce a policy that, for every 40 pupils, for example, we have one teacher, so that there is standard practice. This will ensure that whenever there is a class of 80 pupils, they are automatically given two teachers. We cannot expect a school with four teachers to [**Mr. Kipchumba**] compete with a school like Alliance Boys or Starehe Boys which, probably, has 50 teachers. This is not possible! Therefore, the Government must ensure that every year, because we have adequate

trained teachers in this country, whenever there is a vacancy when a teacher dies or retires, he must be, of necessity, replaced immediately. Even as I speak, there are schools in this country that have only five teachers. If the Government cannot afford to employ the required number of teachers, it should own up and say that, indeed, it cannot do so. Let us be realistic and sincere with ourselves. Let us not tell parents that education is free when we know that there are no teachers.

Personally, I have told the parents in my constituency to continue employing teachers whenever there is a vacancy and need. Even this CDF money should be used to employ extra teachers in our constituencies. There is no reason why we cannot use money to invest in education. Therefore, I would want the Minister to be candid and sincere to the people of Kenya. We all know that donors cannot give us enough funding. We also know that free education is sustainable in the long run. But we admit that, in the short-term, of course, we have problems. Let us be sincere and tell Kenyans that, of course, the Government will employ more teachers in future. So, meanwhile, parents should employ more teachers. Of course, we have seen the balancing that has been done, but I think there is nothing wrong in being sincere. The Government is not an angel. We must tell one another the truth. The Government says it wants to reduce poverty, but we are increasing it. This is because children from a poor background will not be able to go to good secondary schools and further their education, maybe, up to the university. This means that in future they will not be able to get jobs. Therefore, we will be perpetuating the same inequality that has existed over many years. Finally, the rich will continue to be rich and the poor to be poor.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with those few remarks, I beg to support.

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish to support this Sessional Paper. Let me, first, thank those who put in their time and effort in the preparation of this Paper, and hope that it is not going to join the long litany of other Sessional Papers which have preceded it. We have the African Socialism Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965, the Ominde Report, Gachathi Report, Kamunge Report, Mackay Report and the Koech Report. The fact that we have had almost six Sessional Papers on education in a space of 40 years is not a very positive commentary on our planning. We should be able to be clear as to what we want to do with our education system.

I have some reservations when I recall what is contained in the NARC Manifesto. We pledged to introduce fundamental changes in education. One was to fund the free primary education. The second one was to get rid of the 8-4-4 system of education. I know that the technocrats have revisited that subject since we went to elections, but they cannot overrule the political leadership. That is a pledge that we have to deliver, failure to which we will be taking a big political gamble. I do hope that, even if it takes baptising that system with a new name, to retain the 8-4-4 system is to take a political risk.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is always a danger when there is a change of regime. The expectations of the people are quite high, and more often than not, the people expect a paradigm shift in policy. I do not think that this Sessional Paper has met those expectations of Kenyans. That is the unhappy side of it.

I would like to say that, as we look at the education system, we must understand that education is a vehicle through which we pass our values as a nation from one generation to the next. It is a vehicle that shapes and determines the kind of future citizenry that we are going to have in this country. Therefore, as a democratic nation, we talk about democracy and good governance. We must ask ourselves, at this point in time, what democratic values we embrace as a nation. Are those democratic values reflected in this Sessional Paper? There are many challenges that we face today but, first, we must impart the values of freedom in our children. One may ask: Are we exposing our children to the concept of freedom that is necessary as they grow? Today, in our primary and secondary schools, you will find that a class monitor or a prefect is appointed by the teacher. That is a

shame! A country that embraces democracy must expose its children to the basic tenets of freedom early enough. That is freedom of choice. I have seen that particular change in a number of schools today. We have children being mobilised to elect a class prefect. They have to grow with those values. As they mature as citizens, they will be going to elections.

I have seen in many Scandinavian countries that, even prior to elections, they hold elections for the juniors. The juniors vote the same candidates for elections that the adults are going to vote. That is one way of promoting democratic culture. I think our schools administration must appreciate that. You cannot initiate an 18-year old student into a democratic culture, when he has been exposed to dictatorship throughout his school time.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the other very important quality of democratic value is hard work. People have to realise that, without hard work, a nation cannot generate wealth. We cannot be a wealthy people. We should discourage laziness. Those are some of the values that we have to inculcate in our children. The issue of self-confidence in a child is very critical. Many successful people in life have not been exposed to education at the university level. But they are self-made individuals who have self-confidence and they have been able to succeed in life. The best example that comes to mind is Mr. Winston Churchill. He failed in school. He could not finish high school. He participated in elections for seven times, but he could not get to Parliament. But when his moment came to be a Prime Minister, he seized the moment and led that country. He is one of the most prominent leaders in the history of the United Kingdom today. It is because he cultivated the culture of self-confidence. That is something that we have to impart in our children. They may not succeed to go to the university, but they will be useful citizens when they have that quality of self-confidence.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, patriotism and nationalism are qualities that we have to expose our children to. I join those who have recommended that we need as many national schools as possible; at least two in every district. This particular report recommends two per district. Children who are brought up in the same village are bound to speak to their colleagues in mother tongue, go to school in the same company and go to a provincial university. They would not understand what other Kenyans think. We need to have interaction across ethnic lines, and national schools are one way of overcoming negative ethnicity. Our children should interact early enough and understand that they are living in a nation where they have to forge national unity. That is what an education system must re-examine and see whether it is a vehicle that carries forward those particular values.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, may I say something about universities. It is very surprising today because this country has more than 3,000 professors. Today's professorship - and I say this with tremendous respect to the professors who are hon. Members in this House - raises serious questions. I thought professorship is about research, innovation and discovery of various things in the field that one is involved in. When you look back, 42 years after Independence, what can we say to ourselves that the many professors in our universities have brought by way of discovery and new technology? Is it a question of writing theoretical papers? What is it that the scientists we have do in the laboratories? Do we have something that we can say it is truly a Kenyan discovery? I am sure we have intellectual property rights in this country. I am sure that it will cover any Kenyan discovery.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think one of the challenges we face today, as a Third World country, is how to have the benefit of transfer of technology. Investors come here for 20 years and once they wind up business and leave, we are left with nothing. We must be able to negotiate with investors so that when they come here, one of the benefits they can leave is that of transfer of technology. We will never get to the industrial take off as long as we are imitating other people's technology, without converting it into our own, where we can produce. I think we need to work harder. Our universities have greater challenge in research. We are one of the countries that export skilled labour. We wonder, since we have our top people even in international organisations and other

universities, why is it that Kenya has not experienced any industrial take-off? That goes to indicate the kind of researchers that we have in the universities; the so-called top brains in our universities.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is an element through the university councils and senates where people get promotions that they do not deserve. Some people buy professorship. People become professors overnight. But if you ask them: What do you have to your name?

*[The Temporary Deputy Speaker
(Mr. Ethuro) left the Chair]*

[Mr. Deputy Speaker took the Chair]

The Minister for Education, Science and Technology (Prof. Saitoti): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I am reluctant to interfere, but is the hon. Member in order to disparage the professors in the universities when he, himself, has never sat in any of the appointment committees in our university to appraise their research?

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I can understand why Prof. Saitoti is itching, because he has a title to his name. My point is this: To be a professor, you must have something to yourself; some innovation, research and discovery. I am really questioning generally---

(Applause)

The Minister for Education, Science and Technology (Prof. Saitoti): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Could the hon. Member tell us whether he has read all the publications by Kenyan professors in our universities, for him to say that those research papers that have been produced in international journals are void?

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): I do hope that Prof. Saitoti was listening when I was talking. I said that we are not interested in theories!

(Applause)

We are interested with the results! We want somebody to tell us the results of those many papers they write across the world. Those are the benefits of research; something that could help in our industrial take-off.

The Minister for Education, Science and Technology (Prof. Saitoti): On a point of Order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. The hon. Member is misguiding this House because he is talking on an area of research which he is completely ignorant about. I think the hon. Member should steer clear from that area because he has not got a clear understanding about it. I am sorry I have to say this to you and we are on the same side, because he is an Assistant Minister. But it is wrong to disparage Kenyans who have done proper research work! We have Prof. Maathai here, and she is well respected internationally; we have many respected professors in this country, and I do not think the hon. Member is doing justice to the scholarship which is being carried out in our universities.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, Prof. Saitoti! Order! You know, Prof. Saitoti, you have taken a lot of time as if you are debating. I suggest that if you have any points you want to respond to, you can do that when you are replying. I think we should not interrupt debate---

Mr. Samoei: On a point of Order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: What is it, Mr. Samoei?

Mr. Samoei: Is the hon. Prof. Saitoti in order to mislead this House that hon. Prof. Maathai

was honoured because she is a professor, while it is true that she was honoured for the things she did, apart from teaching in the university? In fact, hon. M. Kariuki is not challenging the quality of the journals that have been authored by our professors. He is just saying that these journals are of no meaning to the welfare of the people of Kenya, and he wants those journals and writings to be practical and to make a difference in the lives of our people!

(Applause)

Prof. Olweny: On a point of Order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, now! Order! I will not allow any more exchanges.

Proceed, Mr. M. Kariuki.

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I really do not have any apologies to make for what I have said.

(Applause)

Sometime back, the University of Nairobi was involved in a project which I believe was very noble, to produce the Nyayo Pioneer Car. While the project actually stalled, I believe that, that was an initiative in the right direction. These are the kind of results that we want from the universities. If you look around the world, all of those countries which were at the same level of development with us 30 years ago have been able to produce vehicles. Why is Kenya unable to produce a vehicle? We have a whole Department of Mechanical Engineering with all the experts in the world. If they cannot produce a car or a bicycle, surely, what is this education about?

(Applause)

The Assistant Minister, Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Home Affairs (Prof. Kibwana): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: No exchanges!

The Minister for Education, Science and Technology (Prof. Saitoti): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: No, I have already ruled on that; no exchanges! I think the professors must give us an opportunity to air our views!

Proceed, Mr. M. Kariuki!

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, our very noble professors had the opportunity in the universities to prove themselves, and that is what we are looking at.

(Laughter)

So, the universities should be able to enter into research that is productive and which can translate into an industrial take-off for this nation.

The Assistant Minister, Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Home Affairs (Prof. Kibwana): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order! Order! Order! I think I have said that the issue of exchanges--- If you do not like what Mr. M. Kariuki is saying, that is his opinion!

Proceed, Mr. M. Kariuki!

The Minister for Education, Science and Technology (Prof. Saitoti): On a point of order,

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. The hon. Member is misguiding the House!

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order! As you appreciate, I have allowed enough interruptions!
Proceed, Mr. M. Kariuki!

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I am not a professor; I have never claimed to be one, and I have no regrets for not being one.

(Applause)

The intellectual property rights regime is very important because of the discoveries we make and, actually, we are supposed to secure our research material. But if you look at the countries that have taken off; look at China and Cuba; the kind of industrial technology in which they have been able to make a breakthrough--- Some of them even went out of their way to actually have industrial espionage to try and get the technology from other jurisdictions and convert it to their benefit. So, technology is a very critical factor. If we do not have technology through our own discoveries or investors, we will not be able to make a way forward.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, allow me to mention something on our universities. It was a major step for His Excellency the President to step down as Chancellor of all public universities and to allow other people to serve as chancellors. It is important that chancellors be persons of distinction in various areas of academic life. Let us not take chancellors who have no academic credentials behind them. They should be people of honour; those who have performed excellently in education, so that they are role models for students to follow.

[Mr. Deputy Speaker left the Chair]

*[Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker
(Mr. Ethuro) resumed the Chair]*

I like the step taken in the election of vice-chancellors. I believe that we should also look at the university councils and senate members. They should be people of integrity, those with interest in academia.

Dr. Kibuguchy: On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Would I be in order to ask the Mover to reply?

Mr. Samoei: On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): What is it, Mr. Samoei?

Mr. Samoei: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is a crisis, if you could put the question.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, Mr. Samoei! I do not think I need to put the question. There is **[The Temporary Deputy Speaker]** enough interest in the subject matter.

Proceed, Mr. M. Kariuki!

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was saying that the university councils and members of the senate should be properly selected to be able to reflect and to be role models in those particular institutions.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, allow me to speak about examinations. Examinations have become so important in this country because opportunities are few. However, in an ideal situation, we should not allow education, or use education as a way of sifting out. This is because the examination system deliberately sifts out the majority and leaves the few. I see sense in this Sessional

Paper when they talk about continuous assessment during course work. That should be the major examination. However, going to an examination room, perhaps, in a bad mood, and sitting an examination can ruin the entire future of a child. So, I would prefer a situation where continuous assessment consists about 60 per cent, so that we encourage our people to build more schools, so that at least 90 per cent of children in primary schools can join secondary schools. Today the majority of them do not join secondary schools because the opportunities are few. Consequently, this has led to proliferation of the so-called academies; people who can invest in education are able to ensure that children pass those examinations and are cashing in on this particular shortcoming. When we are grading and we give one child the very last position, we could be destroying that child. A child who comes in last position in class tends to lose confidence in herself or himself. So, the system of grading of examinations needs to be revisited so that we do not destroy the young generation as it aspires to move forward.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I join hands with those who say we have to re-localize the leadership of schools. If a school is in Nyanza, surely it should be able to have a headmaster from Coast Province, so that children have a difference, and to know that education is a national system not a local issue. So, I support the idea of having headmasters from different districts and provinces, so that we are able to overcome the sentiments and feelings of ethnicity, which seem to really over-crowd our thinking.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, when we come to the question of bursaries, there has been one major oversight. We talk about bursaries for secondary schools. We also have the Higher Education Loans Board (HELB), which assists university students. However, we have middle level colleges. We have students going to medical schools and polytechnics. We need to revise a system of bursaries for middle level colleges. The bulk of our students end up in middle level colleges. So, I would ask the Ministry to consider a bursary system for middle level colleges.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the issue of continuous education is very fundamental. Most of us, after finishing school, can hardly say that we read a book per year. The only literature we are exposed to is a newspaper. We read newspapers, watch television, listen to the radio and that is where our literacy ends. We have not cultivated the culture of reading. We need to encourage our people to pursue knowledge even after school. I think the major shortcoming has been the examinations. We think examinations are an end in themselves. The fact that you have excelled in Form I or obtained a first-class degree is not where education ends. We have to cultivate a culture of continually pursuing education even after we have left school. That way, we shall become a nation that reads literature, technical and professional subjects to advance ourselves.

In that regard, I would like to single out the Law Society of Kenya (LSK) for commendation. It has devised a rule that there will be no renewal of an annual practising certificate unless a member can demonstrate that he or she has attended, at least, five workshops in a year for continuous legal education. Other professions should copy from the LSK, so that the culture of continually pursuing education is there even in our professions.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, on adult education, it is really amazing that, so many people, both in urban and rural areas, are still illiterate. The Department of Adult Education is one of the departments that is poorly equipped. It has no vehicles and fuel to travel around. I think we need to invest more in adult education, so that we can reach out to the senior citizens of this country and empower them to move forward in their businesses, and in pursuant of education.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have excelled in the area of primary education. There are challenges, but notwithstanding them, we have been able to do fairly well. Issues to do with infrastructure, number of the students per class and the imbalance between the number of teachers in secondary schools and primary schools have yet to be addressed. You will find a primary school with 15 teachers and about 1,500 pupils. You find a secondary school with 30 teachers and only 300

students. We need to look at that because the demand is much higher in primary schools than secondary schools. Primary school teachers have to work much longer teaching classes and having extra-curricular activities than university lecturers and secondary school teachers and yet, their remuneration is low. We need to look into that, so that we motivate them.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, as I finish, I would like to talk about the boards of governors (BoGs) in our schools. The quality of their members is really wanting. We have members of boards who are almost illiterate. There are members of secondary school boards who have never been to a secondary school. We need to raise the minimum levels of education for serving members of boards. The qualifications must be even much higher for the chairmen of the boards.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

Mr. G.G. Kariuki: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have been here for quite some time, wanting to contribute to this debate. A lot has been said. From the day we started discussing this Sessional Paper, it is now running to two weeks, but what bothers me is whether we will get somewhere after all this debate. I have been thinking about what we are going to do. I have been listening to this debate from last week. We have talked too much on how we want our education programmes to be carried out. What I am not sure of is if we will move from the point of debating to the position of taking action. Why am I saying this? I am saying this because we have talked and volumes of the HANSARD have been produced. But the question is: Is there anybody who will ever refer to the HANSARD and implement what hon. Members have said, or it will just be a talking show? Time has come when this House has to reform its way of conducting business and check if whatever we say is taken seriously or not. First of all, do hon. Members know what they want when it comes to education, or they are just complaining about things they do not know? Time has come when hon. Members must question their knowledge on education. We should also question ourselves on if we are doing the right thing. We are told by the Mover of this Sessional Paper that there have been several reports which have been produced by professionals, starting with Prof. Ominde in 1964. The whole idea of that report was to do away with the philosophy of the colonial system of education. The big question is whether recommendations which were put down by Prof. Ominde, which sought to replace the colonial system of education, gave Kenya a way forward in terms of education. The answer is no. We are still far from it.

We also had another report by the former Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. He was charged with the responsibility of trying to advise on national unity. The big question is: Has national unity been achieved, or are we not elected to this House on the basis of tribal lines? Are we not representing our tribes? Is it possible, for example, for a Kalenjin to be elected in Nyeri? Is it possible for a Kikuyu to get a parliamentary seat in Lodwar? I tried vying for a seat in Lodwar in 1961. We have all failed because we are not sure of what we want. Hon. Members are just full of talk. I do not know why we enjoy talking without resorting to action. Some hon. Members, like Mr. Samoei, can speak the whole day. However, by the end of the day, what do we get out of it?

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, in 1976, we had the Gachathi Report, and in 1981, the Mackay Report which introduced the 8-4-4 system of education. It was popularly referred to as the Nyayo Philosophy of Education. Now, this is the problem that we have been carrying on our shoulders. Hon. Members think it is too heavy, but they cannot take it out of their shoulders. They have been given authority by Kenyans to change whatever they think is wrong. However, the day Kenyans realise that hon. Members do nothing other than pass Bills which have been brought here by the Government, that will be the day they will be educated.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, further down in 1988, we had another report by Mr. Kamunge, which culminated into Sessional Paper No.6. He was charged with the responsibility of financing secondary schools and students. Now, after that one, with a lot of respect for Kamunge, I

want to ask this country or this Parliament whether, really, all these reports paid dividends? The last one was also a report by Dr. Koech in 2000, who was also charged with the responsibility of facilitating education and national unity. All these reports are now five plus one. The one is what we are talking about now. Those are six reports from 1964. Let us ask ourselves: Have we been educated enough to understand and to know what we want in this country? A good question was asked by a friend of mine there. He asked how much money was paid to produce this report. Why can we not produce those reports ourselves? For example, it will be unfortunate that after this report is passed by this House, it will become a Sessional Paper on the future of education. However, I would propose, if this House would agree, that we pass this report but expect to have it back before it becomes a policy so that whatever Members of Parliament have spoken would have been considered in this kind of report; otherwise, we will end up talking all the time and expect nothing in these circumstances.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the issue of schools detaining secondary school leaving certificates of students due to non-payment of school fees is one condition that we must scrap as Members of Parliament in this House today. We should not pass this Sessional Paper until the Minister makes a statement about the students who are wandering around without their certificates. Hon. Members must agree with me that this will be a very strong condition that we must insist on before we pass this Sessional Paper.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, this Sessional Paper has gone on and on talking about the gains in education. It says that in 1963, we had about 800,000 students, and up to last year we had 7.2 million students. Here, we are just talking like an old man with a lot of goats and he claims that in 1963 he had 800,000 goats and now he is very happy he has 7.2 million goats. However, the biggest question here is: What kind of education have we given to these people? Out of the 7.2 million children, how many have we lost, who have gone down the drain? This Ministry did not mention anything about these students. Let us agree that we need to understand what we are doing.

I think an educated person is somebody who understands the basic requirements of a human being and not somebody who has several degrees. He is someone who understands the basic requirements of human beings and what they want to do because we have been colonised indirectly by foreigners. We tend to live with the education that we were given by foreigners. My thinking is that an educated person is taught to think in one way, but you are also given an opportunity to think otherwise as long as what you are thinking is good for your people. But here we have to train new people who will help others. This is because our children have been made to believe that if you become a graduate, you will be everything. However, those graduates are taught nothing other than becoming dependant. If a Form Four graduate and that from the university are both walking on the streets without jobs, where is the difference? I thought the person who is educated should appear to be better than those who are not educated in terms of thinking. So, we stopped teaching our children critical thinking which is the beginning of education. One should be educated to think and capture what the teacher is unable to capture.

Some of us here feel very good that they have a chain of degrees, but when we are thrown out of this Parliament, our degrees cannot earn us anything because we are not trained to think. We are just trained to follow. It is unfortunate that we shall continue becoming subservient to foreign education. When are we going to have our own original thinking and not to be polluted by foreign teaching and thinking? I think it is important for us to start thinking differently. Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we need to know what the basic philosophy of education is. A Sessional Paper has been brought here for us to discuss it. So, the philosophy of education should have been the beginning of our thoughts. Do we agree in the direction that we are taking? That is the biggest question. What is the way forward? Is it just to adopt it? When we had problems in Bomas of Kenya, I thought that it was time for the universities to come out with their own ideas and give us the way forward. However, they just kept mum. During retired President Moi's time, you would see all the

vice-chancellors behaving like his youthwingers. All the time, they had to report to his office. When are we going to have free and clear people who are trained to think as Africans? It worries me that all our so-called scholars have to do is speak very good English, wear a tie and appear to be well-educated persons. What achievement can you claim to have if your education cannot employ two or three people? You are nothing! You are the most uneducated person because education means acquiring knowledge. If we just pollute our brains with education from foreign forces, I think we are doomed.

Our children are disappearing to Uganda. Why? We understand that education in Uganda is cheaper and it is of high quality. Just consider Uganda, a country that has been at war for nearly 30 years. Kenya has been at peace for many years, but our children are going to Uganda. We are boasting how we are doing our best. I want to direct this question to the Minister for Education, Science and Technology, who is my friend. First of all, the Minister ought to have apologised to this nation. He should tell us why the students are running away to Uganda. Even if he cannot apologise, let him explain to us why that is happening. What are we lacking in this country?

I will not forget to demand that a Ministerial Statement be made before we pass this Sessional Paper. It should be about certificates which are now rotting in secondary schools. Students are denied those certificates for no reason at all. Do we need a Sessional Paper to understand that we need new classrooms? Do we need it to know how many school dropouts are there? I think we are being clever to deceive the un-educated that we are doing something for them when, in fact, we are not doing anything. I think the issue of classrooms is crucial. There are some people who think that it is only in semi-arid areas where we need classrooms. They are needed everywhere. If we want to achieve maximum benefits of free education, we do not need a Sessional Paper.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to conclude by saying the following. I hope hon. Members will demand to have this Sessional Paper back in this House to see whether all the wishes of hon. Members have been considered. It is not just a matter of coming here going out singing "*KANU yajenga nchi*" or "*NARC yajenga nchi*" and claim that we have done something! What have we done? Just making noise here? This Sessional Paper could have been published in the Press for the public to see. The public will be deceived that hon. Members have contributed. What have we contributed? The Education, Research and Technology Committee of this Parliament needs to look at this document again and tell us whether our relevant wishes have been included in this document. That way, we shall have done something for the people of this country.

I do not need to go on because it is about time to adjourn. But I am happy that we are ending the debate on this Sessional Paper today, as most hon. Members wanted. There was an attempt to stop the debate. I think we need to allow this House to have enough time. We are here to deal with the whole matter.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to complain to you and to everybody here that I have been here since Tuesday. I sometimes wonder what criteria enables someone to speak. I have been in this House for long enough and when I see a particular group of people talking - I am not challenging the Chair - I sometimes feel offended. I think we need to amend the Standing Orders. We have to shift from what we found here. A parliamentary procedure is not a Bible to be read for 2,000 years.

With those few remarks, I beg to---

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, Mr. G.G. Kariuki! You need to be relevant to the subject. But, Mr. Kariuki, I think it is good you have said that. Even the Chair was under a lot of intimidation. We have maintained that the Chair cannot and shall not be intimidated. The Chair was fully aware of the interests of hon. Members to proceed. That is why I took the decision that I took. I am happy that, that has come from you, so that everybody is fully aware of what was in the mind of the Chair.

ADJOURNMENT

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Ethuro): Order, hon. Members. It is now time to interrupt the business of the House. The House stands adjourned until Tuesday, 19th April, 2005, at 2.30 p.m.

The House rose at 6.30 p.m.