# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

#### OFFICIAL REPORT

Thursday, 8th April, 1999

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

#### **PRAYERS**

### PAPERS LAID

The following Papers were laid on the Table:-

Sessional Paper No.1 of 1999 on the National Water Policy on Water Resources Management and Development.

Sessional Paper No.2 of 1999 on the Liberalisation and Restructuring of the Tea Industry.

(By the Minister for Agriculture)

### NOTICES OF MOTIONS

**The Minister for Agriculture** (Mr. Mudavadi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to give notice of the following two Motions:

ADOPTION OF SESSIONAL PAPER
NO.1 OF 1999: NATIONAL POLICY
ON WATER RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT

THAT, this House adopts the Sessional Paper No.1 of 1999 on the National Policy on Water Resources Management and Development laid on the Table of the House on 8th April, 1999.

ADOPTION OF SESSIONAL PAPER No.2 of 1999: LIBERALISATION AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE TEA INDUSTRY

THAT, this House adopts the Sessional Paper No.2 of 1999 on the Liberalisation and Restructuring of the Tea Industry laid on the Table of the House on 8th April, 1999.

#### MOTION

THANKS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

THAT, the thanks of this House be recorded for the exposition of public policy contained in His Excellency's Presidential Address from the Chair on 6th April, 1999.

(The Vice-President and Minister for Planning and National Development on 7th April, 1999)

(Resumption of Debate interrupted on 7th April, 1999)

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Keah, you were on the Floor yesterday and you have three minutes to go.

The Assistant Minister for Finance (Mr. Keah): Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving me the three minutes to conclude my speech. I had three points to summarise my presentation. The first was on corruption. I said yesterday that all Government expenditure is done through Authority to Incur Expenditure (AIE). No Member of Parliament, political party or official of a political party has an AIE and, therefore, it goes without saying, that those that are really at the basis of this particular malaise are those with the Authority to Incur Expenditure. My plea is to hon. Members; call in the District Development Committees, report on how funds sent to the districts have been spent. Secondly, Kenya Cashewnuts and Kenya Bixa at the Coast were sold without involving us. We want to say once again here that, let not Kenya Ports Authority sell the Port of Mombasa in a similar manner. We, the maritime communities, want to be involved. Finally, on the restructuring, let us have job titles, job descriptions, responsibilities and authorities spelt out. This will give greater accountability than there is at this particular point in time.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to conclude there as my three minutes are over--- If they are not over, I would like to carry on. I want to finally say that on the issue of Civil Service Reform Programme, we need a total revamping of the entire Civil Service. Those job descriptions, responsibilities and authorities should transcend right across, including even for Assistant Ministers. They ought to have job descriptions as well as responsibilities and authority. I think this is fair.

## (Applause)

For the last several years, I have been there and I know that some of us are totally ignored in our respective Ministries; not me, but I want to say here clearly, it is high time that, that happened. I would welcome the opportunity of the Constitution to redress this particular aspect, because we have a lot of talent which is misused, under-utilised or wasted in the form of Assistant Ministers.

### (Applause)

With those remarks, I beg to support the Motion.

**Mr. Kiunjuri:** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. You know, we have experienced the same problems with Mr. Speaker; so, thank you---

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid, Mr. Kiunjuri, although I gave you the Floor, I must tell you to speak from where you actually belong.

## (Laughter)

**Mr. Kiunjuri:** Should I proceed to where I belong?

Mr. Speaker: Yes, please.

(Mr. Kiunjuri moved from the Front Bench to the Back Bench)

Mr. Kiunjuri: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. During the recess, we had an opportunity to go back to our constituencies, but I am very sorry to say that we could not be able to meet our people and know their problems. I do not, therefore, really know what to say, coming especially from Laikipia East where, the major problem being poor roads, I could not move around the constituency. In Laikipia District, and especially Laikipia East, there is no single passable road except the three-kilometre stretch from Equator Shopping Centre to Nanyuki Town. In that respect, I am unable to bring the problems of my people to the House. Consequently, I would urge the Clerk of the National Assembly to consider giving us trekking mileage allowance instead of car mileage, because we are increasingly walking around.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the problems facing farmers, it has been a headache to us. In my constituency, for example, where we have some few rivers originating from Mt. Kenya, the farmers downstream cannot even get water for their cattle. Large scale farmers are taking advantage of the poor farmers. They utilise all water upstream and the common man downstream cannot get any water. I would request the Ministry of Water to consider the rationing of water in all rivers, especially in the Mt. Kenya region.

On energy and communication, there is nothing to discuss in this House. In my constituency, we do not have any communication facilities; there are no telephones. In the whole constituency, we only have telephone

services in town, and those people coming from the rural areas find it very strange and they cannot even use a telephone booth, because it is very strange to them. On energy, I remember some old women in their 90s coming to town and that was the first time they saw electricity. Not a single post has ever penetrated the interior of the constituency.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when we talk of rural economic growth in general, I do not know why we should discuss this issue on the Floor of the House. The low productivity from the agricultural sector is because we do not have any agricultural experts to advise the farmers. Our farmers do not have any protection. The other day, the Member of Parliament for Mwea had to take the law into his hands to make sure that they control the marketing of rice. We have other industries like tea and coffee but, unfortunately, in Laikipia, we have nothing to tell this House about. The few things that we can do there is subsistence farming, but this is not even fully exploited. The water that we could use to practice horticulture is already being utilised by a few people. I would not say they are 'politically correct' because they are white in most cases, but I do not know where they are getting the power to utilise all the water we have in the constituency.

I do not wish to spend a lot of time on the issue, but I would also like to request this House to consider my people.

The issue of poverty eradication has been talked about quite often, but we have not eradicated it. It is common knowledge that this country has an annual revenue base of over Kshs180 billion. This money is enough to construct a factory in every constituency in this country. This money can be used to create new district hospitals everywhere and offer medical facilities, but these facilities are nowhere.

For example, at the Nanyuki District Hospital, people die every day. I tend to believe that, at this moment, somebody is dying in that hospital due to the poor services being offered and lack of medicines. At that hospital, each bed is shared by four patients. The hospital does not have a maternity wing. This state of affairs can be eradicated by the use of the Kshs180 billion the Government collects every year. So, it is upon those who are in the Government, if they have powers, to ensure that they utilise this money in a manner that is expected of them. However, I believe that they are mere flag bearers without powers bestowed upon them.

The Poverty Eradication Plan which the President came up with is good, but why do we not bring it to this House and discuss it? It belongs to the people of Kenya. The President should not set up his own rules and expect us to obey them. He should be reminded that Kenya is a state which he rules, but which is not his own. Therefore, anything of national importance should be discussed in this House. I would, therefore, propose that he especially appoints hon. Members from the Opposition - he trusts hon. Members from the Opposition side more than those from the Government side - to oversee the implementation of the Poverty Eradication Plan.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I appreciate what the President has said about defending our nation. We have the military and the relevant machinery to guard our borders, but in our streets, insecurity is rife. This is especially so in Laikipia East.

The Assistant Minister, Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Planning and National **Development** (Mr. Sumbeiywo): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for the hon. Member on the Floor to say that we have security personnel and mercenaries looking after our borders?

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Kiunjuri, where are the mercenaries engaged?

**Mr. Kiunjuri:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Assistant Minister knows very well that this country is very effective in keeping away problems coming up from outside our borders, and that is why some people were never killed in the North Eastern districts just two months ago (??). What I was saying is that insecurity---

(Mr. Haji stood up in his place)

**Mr. Speaker:** What is it, Mr. Haji?

**The Assistant Minister, Office of the President** (Mr. Haji): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I think what the hon. Member on the Floor meant is "machinery".

**Mr. Kiunjuri:** Yes, thank you. I appreciate what the Assistant Minister has said. Having been a Provincial Commissioner for a long time, I will not question him. He is a good governor.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to comment on security. In my own constituency, people have been killed, and livestock and everything else taken away. The only way out this time round is to make sure that the Commissioner of Police is authorised by the relevant authority to reshuffle every police officer in this nation. Some of the officers have been in the same stations for more than five years, and have turned themselves into criminals. They know the criminals very well, and instead of apprehending them, they collude with them. So, the only way out for our security and that of our constituents is to transfer police officers who have served at various stations for

more than three years.

On corruption, I appreciate that a new Director of the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA) has been appointed, but why does the Government not bring the Board members of this Authority here, so that we can vet them? Why should we not be given the opportunity, as representatives of Kenyans, to decide who should serve Kenyans on the Authority? This way, the Government is merely appointing individuals to be members of KACA's Advisory Board, to protect the same Government which has not been able to eradicate corruption? I wonder why the President has to come to this House and talk of corruption when he has enough people to do the relevant work. He very well knows how to stamp out corruption.

On nation building, it is true that there should be collective responsibility. But how can we have collective responsibility when we already have a "kitchen cabinet" managing the affairs of this country? How can we achieve this objective when we know very well that this country is being ruled by less than five men? We cannot talk of collective responsibility---

(Mr. Sumbeiywo stood up in his place)

Mr. Speaker: Order, Mr. Kiunjuri! What is it, Mr. Sumbeiywo?

The Assistant Minister, Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Planning and National Development (Mr. Sumbeiywo): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I do not know whether you heard what the hon. Member on the Floor said. He said that there is a "kitchen cabinet" in this country, which is running it. Is it in order for him to say so? I do not know the "kitchen cabinet" he is referring to that is running this country. We know that there is a proper Cabinet, which is running this country.

(Loud consultations)

Mr. Speaker: Order! Mr. Sumbeiywo, what is a "kitchen cabinet"?

The Assistant Minister, Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Planning and National Development (Mr. Sumbeiywo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member on the Floor said that this country is being run by a "kitchen cabinet" of five Ministers. We know that there is a team of Cabinet of Ministers which is running this country, but he calls it a "kitchen cabinet".

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Kiunjuri, what was it that you were talking about?

**Mr. Kiunjuri:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the Assistant Minister is trying to waste my two remaining minutes. However, I think you do not--- I said clearly that a "kitchen cabinet" operates in the country because the Ministers are only flag bearers. They only carry flags on their cars, and do nothing else.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the issue of the constitutional review. However, already, the existing Constitution is not being respected. We have a KANU Government treating the Constitution as its own document. Therefore we do not require any constitutional changes. The current Constitution says that they must go. This Parliament---

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Kiunjuri, your time is up. Mr. Sunkuli, proceed!

The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli): Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the House met last, I was an Assistant Minister, and today, I am a Cabinet Minister. So, I want to take this early opportunity to thank His Excellency the President for having promoted me. I want to give my undertaking to this House that I will serve this country to the best of my ability.

Mr. Speaker, I wish I spoke yesterday immediately after the Leader of the Opposition had spoken, because hon. Kibaki made a speech whose only theme was, really, to belittle His Excellency's Address. It is not correct for a person who has wanted to be President to mislead the country. On that note, I would like to congratulate other hon. Members who spoke yesterday, especially hon. Wamalwa, for having actually picked out the issues that were in His Excellency's Address.

Indeed, there were issues which His Excellency the President raised. We should not behave like the proverbial ostrich by burying our heads in the sand and refusing to see the truth even when it is shown. The Presidential Address was loaded with issues, and it was not up to His Excellency the President to tell us how those policies should be implemented. We are debating this Motion for seven days and we, Government Ministers, will explain to this House how those policies are going to be implemented, and that is our job.

His Excellency the President touched on the National Poverty Eradication Plan, which he launched on 11th March, 1999. Since then, the Government has undertaken measures to ensure that the Poverty Eradication Plan will be implemented. I want to assure the hon. Member for Laikipia East, who has just spoken, that, indeed,

the National Poverty Eradication Plan will be tabled in this House for debate. I will soon produce copies which will be read by ordinary citizens. I will bring some of the copies to this House and every hon. Member will have an opportunity to peruse through them and argue for and against the Plan, so that we can perfect it, because we do not intend to be monopolists of wisdom. We will ask hon. Members to own this Plan, so that, if necessary, it can be refined.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, a poverty eradication unit has been set up under the department of Co-ordination within my Ministry, where there are a few civil servants but the majority of these people are taken from the wider society of Kenya. This shows the intention of the Government to ensure that everybody is included in this battle to fight poverty. What hon. Members may wish to know is that this Commission will actually set out the policy on how any monies that will be obtained under this by-plan will be disbursed. The Commission will be headed by Dr. Gilbert Oluoch and has membership from persons from the universities, everywhere and a few members from the Government. The President intends to deliver his vision of the future of Kenya via this plan. This plan contains his ideas on how Kenya can eradicate poverty, and we, in the Office of the President, will ensure that this vision is translated into reality. I want to urge hon. Members not to let scepticism rule them. This is a serious plan and this plan will be implemented by the Commission and by the Poverty Eradication Unit in the Office of the President.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is because we all recognise that poverty has become a very serious issue. I know that the only consolation that we can have in Kenya is that the degree of poverty is not higher than that of a few other countries like Malawi, which I visited recently, and Zambia, for instance, where 70 per cent of its people are poor. In Kenya, it is 47 per cent. We want to reduce this from 47 per cent to somewhere near 20 per cent in 15 years' time. That means that, the minimum that we hope to achieve is the reduction of poverty by 1 per cent every year, and I want to urge hon. Members, therefore, to support this plan.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this plan will be financed through the Budget that we are going to have this year, but also, mainly through the efforts of the donors, most of whom have already pledged funds.

**Mr. Ndicho:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I think the hon. Minister has misled this House and the nation by saying that 47 per cent of Kenyans are poor when we know very well that it is over 80 per cent of Kenyans who are poor, and in his constituency, he is the only rich man. Everybody in his constituency is poor.

Mr. Speaker: Order! Mr. Ndicho, this is a timed debate. What is the source of your information?

The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I respect the fact that he thinks that I am a rich man. However, hon. Members have discussed the question of the *El Nino* projects. When the *El Nino* phenomenon hit this country, 36 districts were declared to be the worst-hit districts, where there was, in fact, an emergency and these 36 districts are the ones that are now going to benefit from the *El Nino* funds.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there was a bit of delay in implementing this project because of some understanding that we had to reach with the World Bank. Now, that understanding has been reached, and I and the Minister for Local Authorities, and the Minister for Public Works and Housing, went to Mombasa to launch the projects in Mombasa and throughout Kenya. Today, in the *Kenya Times* newspaper, there is an advert which shows all those contractors who are going to benefit from the *El Nino* projects. For the *El Nino* projects in Mombasa, the contract has been awarded to Sterling International at the cost of Kshs332,750,000 and the contractor is already implementing the works within the City of Mombasa. In the other urban areas, including Kisumu, Garissa, Voi and Malindi, the jobs are going to commence very soon and, in fact, most of the bids that have been received on these roads will be opened on the 21st and 22nd of April this year.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, about the rural roads, most of the roads will be advertised within this month, especially the roads that I am going to mention now, which are: Wajir-Kotulo Road; Ahero-Ombaka-Rabuor Road; Hola-Wayu-Waldana Road; Mogorwa-Ainamoi-Kolowa Road; Isiolo-Modogashe Road; Kipsaus-Kocholwa Road and Biretwa-Kilet Road, and all of these roads are funded by the World Bank. Masara-Karungu Road in Migori will also be advertised this month, and that is funded by the African Development Bank (ADB), but still under the *El Nino* programme. Several water projects will also be funded under this *El Nino* programme, and the tenders for that one will be opened on the 12th and 15th of April, respectively. That is for Nyahera Water Supply and Nzoia dykes. Lamu Water Supply will be advertised next week, and we expect to advertise the following projects also: The Yokot Dam Water Supply; Olarabel Water Supply; Mandera Water Supply; Wasini and Kikoneni Water Supply and Mbita Water Supply.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, tenders have also been prepared for the repair and rehabilitation of the health centres of Madura, Bulwani, Mukolbola, Kisumu District Hospital, Kinango Sub-district Hospital, Makamini Dispensary, Shimoni Dispensary, Ndavaya Dispensary, Kabarnet Health Centre, Kinyang' Health Centre, Iten District Hospital, Tambach Health Centre, Lamu District Hospital, Port Reitz Hospital, Tudor Health Centre, Muskot Health Centre and Kinyach Health Centre. It is expected that by the end of June, at least 50 per cent of these projects will be complete.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with those few remarks, I support.

**Mr. Raila:** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. First of all, allow me, at the pain of repetition, to congratulate you for your speech of the day before yesterday. The speech that you made can only be described as revolutionary, because it marked a clear departure from the past, and if we continue along that line, we will eventually come back to constitutionality, by clearly separating the powers between the Executive and the Legislature, and this is what we need in this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let us appreciate the roles of the two sides of the House; that, the other side of the House has a responsibility to govern, and that this side of the House has a responsibility to put that side on its toes. That is the role of a loyal Opposition to criticise constructively, so that we can correct the wrongs that are committed on the other side. I think that Mr. Kibaki's speech of yesterday can be seen along that line, in playing a constructive role of the Opposition.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, one would have liked to see the President end his address like President Clinton did recently, in the State of Union address by saying: "The state of our union is strong". However, unfortunately, the President did not do that. He did not do that because he did not want to mislead this House. He said, and I quote here at the conclusion:

"That the task of nation building is a difficult one but through our unity of purpose, we will succeed in putting this country on the path of sustainable economic growth".

What did the President mean by that? The President meant that the state of our economy is poor. Some time last year, an hon. Minister said that Kenya's economy was in the Intensive Care Unit (ICU) and a number of us agreed with that statement. One could say that we have continued to remain in the ICU to date because of some individuals who are known have continued to interfere with the life supporting system of the Kenyan patient in the ICU. That is the reason why we have continued to remain in that state. Otherwise, we would have moved from the critical condition in which we were, to a stable condition, but our condition todate is still critical.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President talked about corruption, and this is something that has been talked about so many times in this House. There is a general agreement on both sides of the House that [Mr. Raila] corruption is consuming this country, and it has reached a level that cannot allow this country to grow. So, what one would have liked to hear is: "What concrete steps are we going to take this year in dealing with this cancer of corruption?" We are saying that we have set up the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA) to deal with this, but we do have a machinery already. We have the Attorney-General's Office, we have the police; we have the cases; we have the courts. So, why are we waiting for the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA) to become operational? We removed another director, the other day but, we have not today been told what crimes Mr. Harun Mwau committed. No one has told us what wrongs Mr. Harun Mwau committed that warranted his being removed and being replaced by a civil servant who has been in the Attorney-General's Office all this time. What is this individual going to do in his new position, that he was not able to do when he was working under the Attorney-General? These are questions which Kenyans are asking.

The President talked about poverty. We know that poverty exists and we know that the Government has come out with a strategy to deal with poverty. Associated with this question of poverty is the issue of jobs creation. What concrete steps does the Government have in store to create jobs for the many unemployed people in our streets? We have been forced to implement Structural Adjustment Programmes, some of which are responsible for the kind of problems we are experiencing today in this country. We, as a country, do not have to take the bitter pill as prescribed. We have said all the time that privatisation is not the answer to all our ills. One would like to see the President give us an account of restructuring of our public properties; the selling of State corporations. What is the status since this process begun? How many corporations have been sold and to who? We are saying that this process has been done in a very opaque manner. We said that we wanted to have a proper legislation that would compel whoever is doing privatisation to give a full account of how State corporations are being disposed of.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the question of crime, we have seen an increase in crime, particularly crimes against gender. We saw a man hacking his wife to death in Kangemi. The other day, we saw a woman biting off the penis of her husband to deny him his constitutional right to marry another wife!

### (Laughter)

What plans does the Government have in store to contain this rising rate of crime in our society? Last year, we brought a Motion here asking the Government to introduce a crime prevention strategy, but no steps have been taken. We would have liked to be told what steps the Government is taking because it must be a total and global approach to this issue of crime. Merely giving the police more vehicles and more money will not stop the increase of crime.

Recently, the Government banned fishing in the lake. The Minister said that night fishing has now been banned, but somebody who comes from a fishing community knows that fishing is never done during daytime. So, that was just an expression of the Minister's ignorance about the science of fishing, because the fishermen go at night with lights to go and trap the fish. So, if you ban night fishing, it means you have completely banned fishing. We want the Government to take steps to arrest the people who are over-fishing on the lake using trawlers, and to arrest the people who are using poisonous chemicals to catch fish. They are known and there is no reason why innocent ordinary fishermen should be made to suffer as a result of those "big fishes" who are over-fishing on the lake.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the same thing should go with the issue of the sugar industry. We want to see the Government come up now with a clear and comprehensive statement on liberalisation of the sugar industry. We do not want the Government to continue signing management contracts with some foreigners, whose only intention is to come here and loot our sugar industry. We would like the Government to come up with a clear programme of how this industry is going to be liberalised so that our people can have an opportunity to buy shares in those industries.

Further, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we would like the Government to take firm action to deal with the "sugarlords" who have been responsible for killing the sugar industry. Again, the "sugarlords" are themselves known. These days, they have decided to use the COMESA arrangement; the sugar is now being passed through the ports of Dares-Salaam and Tanga and then it can come into the country as a product from the COMESA countries. This should not be allowed to happen. These people, who are known to the Government, should be arrested.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we would like to see the Government take steps to free the airwaves. We would like proper policy statements on this issue of airwaves so that the broadcasting can be liberalized. Last week, I was in Mali, which is a very small country, with only a population of 10 million people. The country is too big, but two-thirds of it is a desert. But in the small Mali, they have 66 radio stations. There is a broadcasting station for almost each and every other vernacular language. The airwaves should be liberalized and there should be clear guidelines so that we do not have to give instructions for so-and- so to be given. Mr. Speaker, Sir, with those few remarks, I beg to support.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Ethuro): Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. What we are debating today, the Presidential Address on public policy, is actually the most important public issues that this Parliament should be concerned with. To be fair to ourselves, of all the issues that we know, there was analysis of the environment in which Kenyans live, which is characterised by higher unemployment, poverty, hunger and malnutrition. Specific measures were also enunciated in terms of what we are going to do, and one of them is the National Poverty Eradication Plan which, I think, we will have an opportunity to discuss around here. A challenge was also put to this House that there is need for this House to be resourceful, and that we need unity of purpose. Instead of blaming the Government first, I think, as Members from both sides of the House, we should ask ourselves whether we are going to be resourceful in this Session, and whether we are going to be here always so that there is no lack of quorum anymore. Those are the challenges that were put to us. I think those are the challenges which we should be able to defend and reckon with.

In terms of resourcefulness of the House, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think your Speech captured the kind of issues that we have been crying for. If we have to instil parliamentary democracy in this country, then Parliament as an institution has to be strengthened with those facilities. We need those facilities, instead of talking about the tendering system being at an advanced stage. I thought that was the message I got last year. I think by now those tenders should be out and that building should be partitioned, so that Members can have offices there.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Turkana District was one of the beneficiaries of the Presidential visit. The President saw for himself the kind of problems that we are grappling with. Turkana District happens to be surrounded by three major international boundaries - Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia. I would like to tell my fellow hon. Members that when we talk about problems of this particular district, we are really talking about safeguarding our boundaries. We are talking about peaceful co-existence of all Kenyans. We have to keep the enemy away from the rest of Kenyans. What we witness there, in terms of the number of NGOs that operate from Lokichogio without any control, is not a joking matter. This is serious business. We would really like to urge the Government to take drastic measures against that. What the President promised should be implemented. The security apparatus of this country should be controlling our borders and not foreigners. When you have an airstrip controlled by a Belgian army, that is not exactly good news to us. Our friends should not misconstrue us. We have an agreement with the British Army. We have a lot of Jonnies in Nanyuki whom we are at peace with, but we want an understanding so that we know exactly what they are coming to do here. The argument made by these NGOs is that they are entering Sudan because of the fighting and poverty there, but there is a similar problem of poverty in Turkana District. Refugees are being hosted by the Government of the Republic Kenya, but you find a situation where

Turkana children are asking us: "How do we become refugees?" This is because there are a lot of benefits as the refugees are pampered a lot. These refugees are crowding our schools; they are competing for our resources.

The national budgetary allocation for our schools in Turkana is being taken up by refugees and this is extremely serious. It negates the basic deliberate policy of the Government: That all communities in this district should be able to have access to national resources. Again, this is failure on the part of the Civil Service. So, in terms of the policy statement, it is out there. We would like to urge our civil servants to take their work more seriously. I think hon. Keah had put it very well; that the Authority to Incur Expenditure (AIE) is not held by any politician here, but by the civil servants in this country. They are the ones who disburse and who should be accountable to us. We need to strengthen the district treasuries. Most of the projects that are supported by the Government, and even by donors, are not meeting their targets, but instead, all that politicians can do is to cry. I urge that we look into this issue. In fact, it is fair if the other side of the House heaps the blame on us as the Government. We need to make sure that these civil servants do something about it. We are not joking here. We want to be serious so that every Kenyan in this country has actually a share of his or her right to development.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President also said that we are not only on the threshold of the next millennium, but also on the threshold of a new economic era. I would imagine that the challenges of the next millennium are not just the same issues that we talked about. If we keep talking about poverty, illiteracy and diseases; the same issues that we talked about at Independence time, then Kenyans will not take us seriously. I would imagine that the dream of industrialization by the year 2020 would be a realistic one. I would imagine that the dream for poverty eradication by the year 2015 will actually come true so that those targets can be realised. But as long as we become very long on rhetoric and very short on action, we will be the laughing stock of this country. I would want to be part of a Parliament that will be proud of its achievement. We should rededicate ourselves as a Parliament so that whatever programmes are made, and Bills enacted, they make useful contribution. The issues that affect our people should be paramount.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, finally, on the issue of security, on the 5th of March, Pokots raided Turkana and 100 people were killed. fifty kilometres from the scene of the fighting, a military detachment is located. At the same distance, the GSU is located. We, as leaders, reported the matter to the Provincial Administration and no action was taken. The police officers came after the fighting was over. Somehow, the national psyche does not see cattle rustling in its true sense; that it is actually genocide. For one community to keep on fighting every other neighbour, it is more than just cattle rustling. We call upon Pokots, our neighbours, to stop this business because it will be a vicious cycle, and for how long will we tell our people not to retaliate when they are being attacked in their own homes? The issue should not be between Pokots and Turkanas; neither should it be between Pokots and Marakwets or between Pokots and Kwanza people, or still, between Pokots and Keiyos; the issue is the administration, the police and the intelligence service. For people intending to attack to move a distance of about 100 kilometres inside another district, the movement should have been detected by the home district. There is laxity in our security operation. Our people need to value the lives of Kenyans. We would like the crime rate in this country to go down. The political changes should be reflected by the reduction of the crime rate. Unless these things are seen to be done, then there is no need of bringing any changes. We are really crying in Turkana over this issue, and we do not know when the next attack will be. If we start fighting within the borders and we have the international borders, then we will be an endangered species. Unlike the elephants that Dr. Richard Leakey is protecting, Turkanas have nobody to protect them if they are attacked.

## (Applause)

I think our protection should come from this Parliament. Hon. Members should support the cause of all Kenyans wherever they are found. The Government machinery system should be deployed so that the culprits can be tracked down. We have an able Police Force; we have people who can actually do that. Something somewhere is amiss. It is the laxity in these officers that is now giving the Government a bad name. I do not think the President can perform all the functions. There are officers who have been appointed to high offices who should be able to perform certain tasks. They should be responsible for their failures. If an officer fails to perform his or her cardinal duties, then that officer should be sacked!

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

(A number of hon. Members stood up)

Mr. Speaker: I owe it to hon. Nyang'wara for mistaking him for hon. Ethuro. Now, I give the Floor to hon. Nyang'wara.

**Mr. Nyang'wara:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I proceed, I would like to thank you for the speech you gave to this House during the State Opening. I hope you will continue assisting this House to make hon. Members look like Members of Parliament.

On the Presidential Speech, let me comment on the aspect of the constitutional review process. As we can see, many are talking about the way forward to make this succeed, but to me, this is going to be impossible. The only alternative which is available is that we should pick some areas of the Constitution which we can amend, and the rest will be reviewed after the year 2002. Some of the areas which can be targeted for amendment are those that touch on the powers of the President. We should also come up with an Act which will allow Kenyans to form a Government of national unity. If that one is achieved, then the rest of the Constitution can be reviewed after the year 2002.

On the poverty eradication plan, this is not possible because the wealth of this country is in the hands of a few individuals. If we are out to reduce poverty, these few individuals who own wealth in this country should be forced to surrender it to the country, so that money can be available within the country for building industries and for advancing loans to entrepreneurs, so that jobs can be created. Along this line, poverty can be alleviated. Many of these people have kept money in foreign banks. I hope this Parliament will look for a way of forcing these few individuals who keep money in foreign banks to bring it back to the country, so that it can go a long way in supporting the economy of this country.

On the issue of security, this Government has enough security personnel but it has failed to instruct the police force to do its job. Most of these people are just employed because jobs have been created for them, but they are not serious in maintaining security in this country. In some areas, for instance my constituency, it is very sad that the same police force which is supposed to keep peace and maintain security is being used by top Government officials to kill innocent Kenyans. I would like to appeal to this Government to institute a thorough investigation into the killings in my constituency. The Government should strive to know who instructed the police to kill innocent people in parts of my constituency.

**Mr. Kamolleh:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for the hon. Member to allude that the Government has used its machinery to kill its own citizens; and the hon. Member is very confident in making his allegation? Could he substantiate so that all of us can, at least, know which machinery is being used by the Government to kill its own people?

**Mr. Nyang'wara:** It is an obvious fact that some months back, policemen from Trans Mara District were ordered to shoot innocent Kisiis from my constituency and one of them died.

The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Member, who has been causing clashes between the residents of Trans Mara and Bomachoge, in order to come and make such outrageous and unsubstantiated allegations, even before he finishes the case of which he was accused of having stolen money from Trans Mara?

**Mr. Nyang'wara:** That is why I am saying the shooting of innocent people from my constituency should be investigated by the Government and those involved---

**Mr. Kombo:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for the hon. Minister to say that the hon. Member has stolen money?

Mr. Speaker: What did you say, Mr. Sunkuli?

The Minister of State, Office of the President (Mr. Sunkuli): Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me say exactly what I said. I said he has not finished the case in which he is charged with stealing money from Trans Mara.

**Mr. Nyang'wara:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me remind the hon. Minister, who is instructing the police to shoot people in my constituency, that I have not been charged with stealing money from Trans Mara. As far as I am concerned, I am innocent but if there is money which he wants to give to me from Trans Mara, he can do so, so that I can give it to the people in my constituency.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, Mr. Nyang'wara! As far as I am concerned, there will be no further debate between the two of you.

Proceed!

The Assistant Minister, Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Planning and National Development (Mr. Sumbeiywo): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. The hon. Member has just said that the Government is using an arm of its security to kill the Kisiis. Can he substantiate that, because it is a very serious allegation? If he cannot substantiate it, can he withdraw it?

**Mr. Nyang'wara:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have made it clear that my people were killed by the police from Trans Mara under the instructions of a DO who was there. That is why I am saying the Government should investigate this issue so that those who were involved are be brought to book.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the issue of roads, I would like to say that in my constituency, there are no roads. Since Independence, people have been walking to as far as Kisii Town. I am urging this Government to at least consider tarmacking some roads in the constituency since the area has now reverted back to KANU after being an Opposition area. After bringing it back to KANU, the Government should at least---

**Mr. Gatabaki:** On point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Is it in order, for this House to allow a warfare between KANU "A" and KANU "B" in this House?

### (Laughter)

Mr. Speaker: Where were you, Mr. Gatabaki? Proceed, Mr. Nyang'wara!

**Mr. Nyang'wara:** I was saying that since Independence, my constituency has never seen a road. People are used to walking to Kisii Town, which is several kilometres away. I am now requesting this Government to construct roads in the constituency since we voted for KANU. By constructing roads, my people will also feel that they are part of this Government.

On the issue of education, it is very difficult for parents to educate their children, and this has come as a result of high increase in school fees. The Government should look for a way of reducing school fees because most of these schools are Government schools and the teachers are employed by the Government. It is now impossible for most parents to educate their children because of the high increases in school fees.

The agricultural sector is important for most of Kenyans---

With those remarks, I beg to oppose the Motion

### (Laughter)

**Mr. Kapten:** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. At the expense of repetition, I am sure there is no Standing Order under which you can stop Members of Parliament from congratulating you for your excellent speech that you gave in this House on the official opening of Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President touched on three very important issues; security, poverty, corruption and the Constitution. Quite a number of Members have talked about the state of insecurity in this country. We are all worried about the state of insecurity in this country. In this country, whether you live in urban areas or rural areas, you are not sure about your safety in the course of the day or night. Hon. Ethuro from Turkana has talked about the state of insecurity in Turkana District. Insecurity is country-wide, including Trans Nzoia District, and especially, Kwanza Constituency. The people there do not stay in their houses at night because they are worried of Pokot raiders from across the border. We have talked about this issue for a very long time. The President has, on many occasions, when opening this House, talked about insecurity, but nothing happens. Every day, week and month, the people are being killed by our neighbours called the Pokot. If the Government wants to eradicate this kind of insecurity, it can do that in a matter of days, but there is no will on the part of the Government to stop the killing of innocent Kenyans.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, our borders are not safe. The other day, we had somebody from Greece, called Mr. Ocalan, who came to this country. The Government wanted us to believe that it did not know how Mr. Ocalan found his way into this country. If it is true that Mr. Ocalan came into this country without the knowledge of the Government, where were our security apparatus? We were involved in unnecessary international problems, which were not of our own making. It is unfortunate that our Government did hand over this freedom fighter to the Turkish Government, bringing to Kenya international terrorism, which is not of our making. I think it was very unfortunate on the part of our Government to behave the way it behaved.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question of poverty in this country is worrying. When President Moi took over the reign of leadership in this country, Kenyans were much better off than they are today. The state of our economy was much better than it is today. We keep on talking about poverty. What are we doing to eradicate poverty? About a month ago, we had a workshop on the question of poverty. We are now being told that the President has appointed a Commission. As regards the commissions which are appointed every day, what are they going to have? The President sometimes talks very well, but when it comes to implementation by the Government, it is zero! The Government must wake up! If the President has talked about something, let him talk about something which is going to be implemented. We are tired of rhetoric! We want action and not empty talk!

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you look at the population of this country, the majority of Kenyans live in rural areas and they are farmers. What is the state of our farmer in this country? A farmer in Kenya has completely been neglected by this Government. He does not exist anywhere in the dictionary of this Government. A Kenyan farmer is mistreated. Trans Nzoia is known as the granary of this country. We grow a lot of maize there. Right

now, as I am speaking, it is planting season in the district, but we do not have maize seed to plant. How are we going to eradicate poverty if we do not have food to eat? The Kenya Seed Company, which is supposed to produce seed for the farmers, only produces seed for exporting by the management. The managers are now the producers of seed and they export the seed at the expense of the Kenyan farmer. We want the Government to ask the Kenya Seed Company Management to produce enough seed for the Kenyan farmers, so that the farmers can be able to plant and produce maize for the Kenyan population. Next year, I am sure that we may be faced with famine because we are unable to plant maize this year for lack of proper seeds.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you look at the dairy farmers, the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (KCC) has been run down by the Government. The Government has been appointing directors of the KCC who are Government employees. They are the ones who ran down the organisation. When the farmers appointed their own managers and directors, the same Government kept on interfering. The other day, the management were able to get some foreigners who were prepared to invest in the KCC, get money, and pay the Kenyan milk farmers, but the Government now does not want that. It has been using some people to oppose this move. If the Government does not want its own people who are farmers to be paid for the produce, how does it expect to eradicate poverty in this country? The Government must stop pretending that it wants to eradicate poverty in this country. Let us see action and not empty rhetoric.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with regard to the constitutional review process, the President hoped that the parties would agree on the number of Commissioners. I expected the President to boldly come and tell the nation that KANU is prepared to accept the five slots that it was given, so that we can move forward. How can he, being the Chairman of KANU and the Head of State, come to say: "I hope the parties will agree", when, in fact, it is KANU which has brought about the problem? Let KANU come up and agree to accept the five slots, and we will move forward. The question of saying that because they have more Members in Parliament, they are proportionally supposed to have more commissioners does not have merit. The Constitution is not going to be made for Members of Parliament. The Constitution is for the whole country. I can give them another formula. Let us look at the voting patterns in the country during the last General Elections. They should see how many people voted for KANU and the Opposition and use that formula. They will see that actually, KANU is a minority and should have less Commissioners than the rest of the parties.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when we talk about corruption, if the Government really wants to finish corruption in this country, it can do it overnight! But the biggest culprits, when we come to corruption are senior people in the Government, be they Ministers, Permanent Secretaries, senior civil servants, parastatal chiefs and what have you! Those are the people who are corrupt. The Controller and Auditor-General has given his Report over a number of years. We have not heard even of one single Permanent Secretary, or one head of a parastatal body successfully being prosecuted. If we are able to prosecute even one Permanent Secretary or Minister, the rest will toe the line.

Mr. Sifuna: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. We have a stranger in this House seated next to hon. Ayacko.

Mr. Speaker: Sitting next to who?
Mr. Sifuna: To hon. Ayacko!
Mr. Speaker: Where is hop. Ayacko!

**Mr. Speaker:** Where is hon. Ayacko?

**Mr. Sungu:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, if it is me hon. Sifuna is talking about, I would like to tell him that I am a very honourable. Member of this House except that I look a bit different without a beard. My name is Mr. Gor Sungu, Member for Kisumu Town East Constituency. I am only shopping for a new partner for the next millennium.

## (Laughter)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! That is frivolous now. Who raised the issue? I think, Mr. Munyasia, you had better follow suit.

The Assistant Minister, Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Planing and National Development (Mr. Sumbeiywo): Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to contribute to the Presidential speech given during the State opening of the Third Session of the Eighth Parliament.

First of all, I would like to commend and congratulate His Excellency the President for giving us a gift during this Third Session of the Eighth Parliament by appointing his Vice-President. I know he has appointed somebody who is an able Member of Parliament and dedicated to his work. I say this without any hesitation because I have had the opportunity to serve under him for the last one year. I know he will help the President and this country in general to foster unity and speed up development. Since he is much younger than the President, he

will be able to travel throughout the country and advise our people on development matters. I would like to join my colleague, hon. Raila, in congratulating you also on your dynamic opening address when you welcomed his Excellency the President. That was no mean achievement. I would like to express my gratitude. What the President said in his speech is absolutely true. What we lack are implementors. We do not have implementors of what the President said in his speech. We have no patriots in this country today, be they civil servants or hon. Members. We accuse each other across the Floor of this House, but that does not help this country at all. What is required of us is proper co-operation, if you may allow me to use that word, so that we can achieve our target. Our people throughout the country, be they from the Opposition strongholds or from the ruling party zones, have all got similar problems. For example, they have the problems of unemployment, poverty, poor infrastructure and so on. I think it is the responsibility of the elected leaders and civil servants to come together in order to serve our people. This is our motherland. None of us will run away from this country apart from those ones who have committed crimes. But as far as I know, there is no other country in this world that is better than our country. I have travelled world-wide and I know that this is the best country that one can live in. If only we can come together and find ways of implementing what his Excellency the President said in his speech, we shall be a people to reckon with.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, his Excellency the President mentioned something to do with agriculture. The agricultural sector today is collapsing because there are certain individuals in this country who want to ruin it. For example, imagine a bag of fertiliser of 50 kilograms is selling at Kshs1,500. Today, how many poor farmers can afford to buy two bags of fertiliser to plant two acres of maize or beans? I think it is time that our agricultural sector was properly looked into. We need people who are devoted and committed to their work. There is a cartel of some fellows in Mombasa who are selling fertiliser at exorbitant prices. They are also selling sugar and yet they do not grow it. They do not know what agriculture entails. It is a very bad situation. Farmers should be allowed to import fertiliser and other farm inputs.

When we talk of eradication of poverty, we need people to come together and fight it. We need people whom we can rely on in our fight against poverty in this country. Let us not talk only about ways of eradicating poverty; we need to fight it in a united manner.

The appointment of Justice Ringera to head the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA) is a step forward in our fight against corruption in this country. His appointment is a clear manifestation that this authority will be effective, because it is headed by a respected person with a lot of experience.

I want to make one appeal here, that when we vote funds for different Ministries in this country, hon. Members should be involved in those committees that will decide how those funds will be spent. They can also know how much money is allocated to their districts. It is important that we have hon. Members in those committees that will oversee how that money will be spent in various districts.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on insecurity, as I am talking here today, some people are suffering because their animals have been taken away. There are some communities which claim to own all the cattle in this country. This is wrong! That outdated practice should stop. The Government should make sure that the animals which were stolen are returned to the owners. I would like to suggest that if some people steal animals in future, and the animals are not recovered, then their animals should be taken away and given to the owners of the lost animals.

I would like to touch on our forests. Our forests have been destroyed, and it is shameful that most of the culprits who destroy them are civil servants. Some forest officers who own sawmills in some districts cut down trees in the forests. Where will we go in future? I think this is wrong, and they should not be allowed to do it.

I would also like to say something about foreign investment in this country. I think we cannot attract foreign investors if we are not serious. I would like to congratulate the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) for establishing a security unit to take care of our national parks. The same should be done by the police. They should assist the KWS officials so that we can improve security in our national parks. This will make tourists visit them and view our wild animals. The police should also beef up security within the City of Nairobi so that our visitors can move around without being molested.

Lastly, I would like to say that the Constitutional Review Process will only kick off if all of us in this House can come to an agreement. We should agree here on how to share the number of Commissioners who will sit in the Commission. The question of the number of Commissioners who will sit in the Commission is a small issue that can be ironed out if all hon. Members from both sides of this House can come to an agreement.

With those few remarks, I would like to support the Motion on the Presidential Address.

Mr. Michuki: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to contribute to the Motion on the Presidential Address to this House. I would not like to dwell on the kind of address the President gave. This is because as it has been said here before, it had a catalogue of woes rather than solutions. These woes are well known to every Kenyan, including the primary school child, who cannot go to school because his or her parents

are poor.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to touch on the various points that were raised in the address, and that fell in the category of the catalogue of woes. There has been reference to the eradication of poverty in this country. Poverty, in all honesty and conviction, has been created by the KANU Government. This is because Kenyans were better off before this Government took over the leadership of this country. I agree with this statement which was made by hon. Kapten.

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. Haji): On a point of information, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Michuki, would you like to be informed by hon. Haji?

Mr. Michuki: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to be informed. I would like to say that poverty, which is prevalent in this country will not be eradicated until we address the agricultural sector. Over 80 per cent of our people are engaged in agriculture for their livelihood. The Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) that used to give loans to farmers is gone. The Cereals and Sugar Finance Corporation (CSFC) that gathered savings and channelled them into agricultural activities in this country, is also gone. The credit system within the banking sector has been interfered with by the Government to the extent that there is no more money to lend to farmers. The farmer has been impoverished because what he has produced has been countermanded with imports of similar produce, such as sugar, maize and milk. We have exported labour to the countries that produce things that we import. We talk in this House about unemployment in this country when we are the ones, under the KANU Government, that have exported the opportunities for employment through importation of some products. We import sugar, maize and rice when ours is lying in godowns and stores. We promote employment opportunities in countries that produce similar goods to what our farmers produce and then we come here and start pretending that we are new saviours of the people.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, because it is not too late, I would like to propose that the Government provides cheap credit facilities to farmers, even if it means reviving the AFC. Fertilizers that are now being sold at Kshs170 (?) per bag, and I was with farmers from Kitale yesterday, have been donated to this country by foreign Governments. These fertilizers should be sold to the farmer at the import cost. It has become a commodity to reward political supporters at the expense of the farmer. If the Government is serious, the fertilizers that come from the Netherlands and Japan should be supplied to the farmer at the import cost. He will then be able to pay back in cash what will have been donated to him.

We are talking about insecurity in this country. There is no argument that every corner of this country is insecure. People are killed and nobody bothers about their deaths! Mr. Speaker, Sir, do you know that the 39,000 people who are in prison and remand homes today are there because they are poor? This is so because no person with money in Kenya will be jailed, whether he killed or committed a different offence. This is because he will buy his freedom. They cannot find money to bribe in the courts and other places. Let me suggest that---

The Minister for Local Authorities (Prof. Ongeri): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Hon. Michuki has made a very serious allegation, that the 39,000 people in jails belong to the poor class and that the rich have gone scot-free. Can he substantiate that?

**Mr. Michuki:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the problem, that even learned people like Prof. Ongeri want substantiation on matters that they know are true. In my own constituency I have got killers who are free. They were caught with blood on their clothes and the axes they used and they are free. What else do you want me to say?

**The Minister for Local Authorities** (Prof. Ongeri): Would the hon. Member be in a position to name even those? That is all we are asking for.

**Mr. Michuki:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was going to suggest that out of my personal experience and observations, there is nothing better to bring back security in a country than the application of the rule of law, which must be enforced by courts without interference. If I have committed a crime, my neighbours know that I have committed that crime. I also know within my own heart that I have committed a crime. If I am dealt with through the rule of law and not the rule of the President, hon. Nassir, hon. Prof. Saitoti - the rule of men; if I am taken through by the rule of law, I will accept that and my neighbours will know and they will avoid committing a similar crime. Let us bring back the rule of law because it will deal with 90 per cent of the insecurity that is in this country.

We have been talking about corruption. Why is it that whenever there is a grant or a loan being granted, there is so much fighting within the Government as to who is going to control this? Why has, for example, the Jua Kali which has been given about over Kshs2 billion, become a tug of war? Why has it been removed from the Ministry of Research and Technology to other places? What about the *El Nino*? Does the Office of the President

have engineers and other people to assess roads? Why is it not done by the Ministry of Works which has engineers and experts? The Office of the President does not have the capacity to deal with this matter. If you want to look into corruption, go to the Ministries and local authorities. That is where it started. This system has corrupted the experts, engineers, quantity surveyors and others. There is one young kid whom I know, who has bought several houses at 25 years of age.

The Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs(Mr.W.C. Morogo): Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to contribute on the Presidential speech. I will join the rest of the Members in congratulating hon. Prof. Saitoti for his appointment and I hope that he will assist this country to achieve heights of development and unity.

[Mr. Speaker left the Chair]

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

Just before I dwell on a few points on the Presidential Address, let me say that it is time hon. Members addressed issues and avoided politicking. I know we are politicians and we are bound to talk politics. I think this country today requires us to address issues than merely politicking. I would urge the Committee of this House that deals with corruption to start with those hon. Members who talk of corruption so loudly to make others think that they are very clean. I tend to believe that some of us, be it Members of the House or those who talk outside the House about corruption, have something to hide, and they think that if they talk loudly, that will help people to think that they are clean. Some even think that when they cross to the Opposition side, they become clean. Some have been in the system for a long time. I tend to wonder what kept them quiet all these years. If they had noticed corruption, why did they not shout when they were in the Government? Why do they shout about it now that they have crossed the Floor? They want to shout it now that they are in the Opposition because they think that when they talk of it that way, that will stop people thinking that they are corrupt.

I want to urge hon. Kombo who is the chairman of the House Committee on Corruption to start with those who shout most about corruption. I am saying this sincerely because we have dwelt on it so much that we have taken most of the time that we would have used to address issues that face our people. We have talked about it and the Government has said that it has been disturbed by people in the Government, including civil servants. It has accepted and said: "Come out with ways and means of stopping it". The idea now should be to bring an idea that will stop corruption. It is not enough to talk about it anymore, and it does not help. Let me talk of the liberalisation that is going on at the moment. We know it has really affected our agricultural sector if not beyond that. I know when we were talking about liberalisation and removing price controls on certain commodities, the Government stood very firm and said we should be slow, study this and not rush to it. Some of the hon. Members talked about it even in this House and they said it should be started immediately. They talked of liberalising the maize sector, cereals sector, sugar sector, and so on. Today, the same people are going around the streets telling wananchi that the Government made a mistake although, at that time, they were telling the people that it was the right thing.

I would urge Kenyans to know who is really for them. It is not the one who shouts most that he is for them. That is why I said it is about time we really addressed issues and stopped politicking. I support hon. Michuki that we need to address the issue of production, be it in agriculture or industrial sector. We should look for funds to enable us to help our people to produce. This is important. It is necessary today more than ever before, because if we do not make efforts to encourage production, then we shall not be promoting our economy and we shall not be assisting our people to get out of the poverty that is disturbing them day in, day out.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there was a time in Kenya when a person could do one thing. If one was a transporter, that was enough. Today, we find that one is a wholesaler, a retailer, a transporter; a jack of all trades. We should go back to the time when one used to do one thing, so that we can distribute resources to all the people.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we should not be in a hurry to privatise if our people are not ready to take over some of the organisations that are at the moment in the hands of the Government. If we did that, our resources will end up in the hands of outsiders and we shall remain poor. We should take time and, perhaps, look for funds to assist our people to buy those firms that should be privatised.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, about patriotism, it is time this country introduced the issue of patriotism in the school curriculum. I believe that if this is started when people are of tender age, it will assist them to know, understand, work for and love their country. It will also assist them to put their country's needs before their own. If that is introduced at the moment, a time will come when Kenyans may differ on ideas. But

when it comes to unity of the country, we will all be one thing. I think if we did that, it would help us achieve that goal.

I want to talk about the problems of my constituency. His Excellency the President touched on infrastructure and particularly problems in the rural areas. My constituency suffers a lot because of lack of water, lack of good roads and power. I would like to urge the relevant Ministries to look into ways of assisting my people to come out of these problems. I am saying this because I know my people are hard working and if they got these facilities, you would not see them coming to the cities. They would not be migrating from the rural areas to urban centres. So, I urge the Ministers concerned with the roads, water, and energy, in particular, to visit my constituency and update themselves on the problems that my people face. We are grateful for the few that we have been assisted with and we will work hard to use them accordingly.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, turning back to the economy of this country; once again the Government has come out clearly on this problem. It has identified the problem and sought ideas from the public and outside experts. There is nothing more that the Government can do apart from receiving these ideas and using them. I think the problem that the Government has today is that those who are supposed to implement the policies do not do so. I know that the Government has put good policies in place but they are not implemented because some of those who are supposed to implement the policies are sympathizers of those who would like to see this Government fall.

Therefore, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the Presidential Speech.

**Mr.O.K Mwangi:** Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I stand to contribute on the Presidential Speech during this year's State Opening of the august House.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the President talked about a number of issues which, in my opinion, did not contribute to the policy that should be guiding this country. Instead, he highlighted the problems that the country is facing. That is not a policy speech. A policy speech should provide a method, or a solution, towards solving those problems. He highlighted the problems but he did not suggest any solution to those problems.

If I may talk about the Constitutional Review Process, which the President talked about, it is very unfortunate for this country that some people in the Government have no concern for the future of this country and, particularly, the Attorney-General who is supposed to be the legal advisor of this Government. This is because the Act that should be guiding this country through the Constitutional Review Process has been terribly flawed to an extent that it cannot produce anything called a Constitution. I decry the fact that the Attorney-General had to change the Act and introduce some aspects which were not discussed by this House. The Act should have contained those aspects, principles and agreements that were made at Safari Park III, and which were later introduced in the Draft Bill that was discussed in this House. However, the Attorney-General had the audacity to go and add other things into the Act only to please his mentors. This was done in an attempt to perpetuate the KANU regime, and also to create a situation where KANU can have an advantage. That is why the Constitutional Review Process cannot continue because the Act cannot facilitate an atmosphere where the Constitution can be reviewed for the benefit of this country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I decry the question of the timing of the review process. If you check in the Act, Section 16, the time-frame agreed at the Safari Park III, was 13 months, during which the commissioners would go round the country to collect and collate information and draft a Constitution. But the Attorney-General went and changed that to 23 months. If you look at Section 16A, the agreement, which was also contained in the Draft Bill, was that, Members of Parliament and Members of the Commission would be members of the National Forum which will look into the Draft Constitution. However, the Attorney-General had the audacity to go and change that and, indeed, make the Members of this House *ex-officio* members.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, unless and until the process goes back to the drawing board so that the stakeholders can come out with an Act; a method and a process that will be acceptable to everybody; then I fear that the country will be thrown to the dogs. The process as it is, even if it is revised, will produce a Constitution that will not be acceptable to the people of this country and may plunge this country into chaos.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I decry the fact that some people tend to think that the only problem in the Constitutional Review Process is the nomination of the 13 members by the political parties. Unfortunately, that is just a fraction of the problem. Otherwise, the major problem lies in the Act itself. Unless the Act is redrafted and the stakeholders go back to the drawing board, there will be no constitution that will be acceptable to this country. There is no reason why the country should go and spend billions to come out with a document that will not be accepted; a document that will not help anybody.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, if we want to guide this country into the next millennium, then we must go back to the drawing board. The President also talked about poverty. I am saddened to note that the President talked about poverty and he did not give any method whatsoever of alleviating or eliminating that

poverty. You cannot talk about poverty when you are not addressing the question of unemployment and infrastructure; the roads. During the recess, I had the opportunity to go around in various places including my constituency, and I decry the fact that the infrastructure has been destroyed to a situation where this country will just collapse, if nothing is going to be done. So, when the President stood here and talked about alleviating poverty - there was a conference at Mbagathi which talked about alleviating poverty in 16 years - where will the poor Kenyans be? Eight per cent of the population of this country live in abject poverty. Where will the poor of this country be in the 16 years? We are not addressing the infrastructure, the roads and the production. What is the problem? We have now a low production of coffee. You go to the tea industry; you will find that while we are talking about liberalisation, the KTDA continues to steal. If you may allow me---

**Mr. Ndwiga:** On a point of information, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I wish to inform my hon. colleague that the purpose or idea of having this poverty eradication programme in 16 years is that all the poor people now will be dead. Therefore, there will be no poverty.

**Mr. O.K. Mwangi:** Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. That is what we are talking about; that this Government wants every Kenyan who is living today, and who is now poor, to die so that they can now come and address the question of poverty. We should be addressing the question of unemployment. We should be addressing the question of creating jobs so that those who are coming from schools will find jobs. But, today, you will be surprised to note that those who go to school, despite the parents paying hefty school fees, come back, sit in the house and then the parents have to go on feeding them. Where are we heading to?

The other one is on education. We cannot talk about alleviating poverty unless we address the question of education. Today we find that the school fees is just going up and up. School committees and board of governors have become taxation institutions to the extent that parents cannot even take their children to schools. The Ministry of Education is not even concerned. Today, in my constituency and in my district, teachers are taxing parents so that they can go for a joy-ride to Dubai, and the Ministry is mum about that. We do not eliminate poverty by allowing teachers and Boards of governors to go to the parents, collecting money; Kshs50,000, Kshs80,000 from the school kitty, and go to Dubai. What education are they going to bring us from Dubai? We have no case in history where we have academic excellence from Dubai. All we know is that they are going there for their shopping.

Last time, the Central Provincial Education Officer took the teachers from Kiambu to Dubai. He went there and bought three cars at the expense of parents; Parents' money being used by this Government. Then the same parents are the ones required to pay school fees for their children. Is that the elimination of poverty? We should be talking about how we are going to address the increase of production in coffee, sugar, the marketing of sugar and rice. Today, if you look at Mwea, rice is rotting there because the Government is just greedy. They do not want to help the common man, but they want him to die and get that rice and sell it. They would only be happy when they are selling the rice for their own tummies, but not when they are eliminating the poverty of our people.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the other one is on corruption. I am perturbed to note that the President could talk about corruption and he did not talk about ways and means of eliminating corruption. We know that corruption in this country has been perpetuated by those who are politically correct in the KANU Government. When Mr. Mwau was appointed to be the Director---

Thank you, Mr. temporary Deputy Speaker.

The Minister for Home Affairs, National Heritage, Culture and Social Services (Mr. Nassir): Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, ninashukuru na ninakuombea Mungu uwe hai kwa kunipatia nafasi hii ya kuongea. Nilisoma Hotuba ya Mtukufu Rais, aliyoitoa kwa Wabunge na Wakenya wote. Na ilikuwa ni kutiliana moyo, kusaidiana na kupeleka nchi yetu mbele. Lakini kwa sababu isiyojulikana, watu wanaitukana, wanaikejeli na hawataki kuisikia. Lakini mimi ninaomba kitu kimoja; ninaomba tuwe hai na tuishi kwa amani namna hii, ijapokuwa watu wanachokoza vita na chuki. Kwa sababu kuna siku Wakenya watataka kuketi, kushauriana, kuondosha fujo na taabu na kuondosha damu, iwe hatutaweza tena kusikizana. Siku hiyo, watalia kama vile wanavyolia. Kukitokea taabu, wao hulia sana wakisema, "Mtukufu Rais, ingilia neno hili, kuna taabu, kuna fujo, kuwaza na kutazama", lakini leo hawataki kusikiza maneno hayo na hawataki kuona neno la haki.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, ninataka kuwaambia wenzangu wa upande wa Upinzani kwamba kama hakuna Serikalil ya KANU, iko Serikali ya Kenya. Nataka mtu anionyeshe kitabu chochote kwa maandishi kama haya ambayo yameandikwa "Serikali ya KANU". Huwa "Republic of Kenya" au "Nchi ya Wakenya". Taabu ikitokea, itatokea kwa Wakenya wote.

Watu wamezungumza hapa, hata wengine waliokuwa hawajazaliwa walipoona machafu yakifanywa. Benki watu wapotea na pesa hali kuna ulinzi. Pesa zapelekwa Ulaya kama mchanga. Wanaajiriana kazini kikabila tupu, watu wanyamaza kimya. Tulimheshimu Hayati Mzee aliyepigania Uhuru tukapata Bunge hili kuzungumza.

Sisi ni Wabunge; tumechaguliwa na kupewa mamlaka kuongoza nchi hii. Leo watu wanatafuta padri, askofu, sheikh, sharrif na wanamtafuta mwanamke aje awaongozee Serikali yao. Mlipokwenda kuomba kura, hamkujua nyinyi mmepewa mamlaka ya kuongoza nchi hii? Wewe Mbunge, umepewa kura ili kuwasemea watu, kuleta amani katika nchi na mambo ya maendeleo.

Mpaka dhambi zilizofanywa zamani ziondoke katika Kenya, ndio Kenya itakuwa sawasawa; dhambi za kuchukua ardhi za wenzenu; ekari 500 au 600 ambazo hamzilimi bali mmeziweka rahani kwa kununua manyumba Nairobi na Mombasa. Watu wanazunguka, hawana mahali pazuri pa kukaa. Wengine wanakaa Mathare, Korogocho na kwengineko. Hawa ni Ndugu zenu lakini mtu mmoja amenyakua ekari 2,000 ambazo halimi na hana imani, huku anajifanya yeye ni mwanasiasa mkubwa. Anawadaganya watu huku wanakaa kwenye vioski kwa sababu wamezaana sana. Inafaa muwe na imani. Kama kuna yule hampendi Raisi Moi, bahati yake ni mbaya. Maanake, hamjaanza kumkataa leo; mlimkataa hata alipokuwa Makamu wa Rais. Mlimtukana, mkamkejeli, lakini alishika roho. Hakutukana kabila lolote. Hata kule Mkoa wa Rift-Valley, alitukanwa na jamaa zake pia.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, mimi ninajua kwamba ikiwa mtu hakupendi, hakupendi. Lakini mimi ninaogopa kitu kimoja tu: msifanye kabila lenu kuchukia kabila lingine. Mmefanya tabia mbovu, mpaka leo, mtu yeyote apitiae kwenu mnamwita "kale kamtu ama kale kajitu". Kule Mombasa, Wakikuyu wakiitwa *atiriri*, watakasirika. Inafaa tuwe na heshima na tupendane. Maanake, mnaona vile ulimwengu umechafuka, kama vile Ethiopia, Somalia, Russia na Serikali ya Demokrasia ya Congo. Hata ikiwa sisi hatuna elimu na nyinyi mnajifanya eti mmesoma sana na mnajua Kiingereza, hamjui amani ni nini. Lakini, siku moja mtakuja kujua.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, mimi ni Mwislamu, lakini siendi msikitini kila mara, vile Rais Moi huenda kanisani kila jumapili. Ule Ukristo na uzuri wake ndio unamhifadhi. Hakuna Rais yeyote katika bara la Afrika ambaye anaweza kukubali kufanyiwa mchezo kama vile Rais Moi anavyofanyiwa. Lakini, ningependa kusema kwamba, siku moja mtamtafuta.

**Mr.** Ndwiga: On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Can the hon. Minister be reminded that he is not addressing a baraza. He is supposed to be discussing the Presidential Speech which was given here. He is out of tune with what is happening around him. Could he be reminded that he is actually out of order?

The Minister for Home Affairs, National Heritage, Culture and Social Services (Mr. Ndwiga): Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, hawa wana mchezo kama watoto wa shule. Wanampiga chura kwa mawe hadi afe, lakini wanaona ni mchezo. Lakini siku hiyo mtajionea. Mtatafuta askofu ama sheikh kutoa maombi kwa Mungu, lakini maombi yenu hayatasikika.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, kabila langu lina watu wachache, lakini hata uwe unatoka kwenye kabila kubwa ama unatoka mbinguni, ikiwa hunipendi, sitakupenda, kwa sababu mimi sio Mtume Yesu Kristo, mimi ni binadamu. Ukinipenda, tutapendana, na ikiwa hunipendi, hatutapendana.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, inafaa tuzungumze swala la marekebisho ya Katiba hapa Bungeni. Inafaa mimi kama Mbunge, nipewe nafasi yangu kama Mbunge kuwafanyia kazi watu wangu wa Mombasa, na wengine wote pia wapewe nafasi ya kuwafanyia watu wao kazi. Watu wengi hawana mashamba, mahali pa kulala na kazi. Hii ni kwa sababu nyinyi mlichukua mashamba mengi.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): Order! Order! Mr. Nassir, address the Chair, not hon. Ndwiga.

The Minister for Home Affairs, National Heritage, Culture and Social Services (Mr. Nassir): Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, sitatazama tena sura yake. Mimi ningependa kuwaomba kwamba, tumepewa uwezo na wananchi ili tuzungumze masuala yanayohusu Katiba katika Bunge. Na tuyamalizie mazungumzo hayo hapa, hapa Bungeni. Hatutaki masheikh na mapadre wahusishwe. Sisi hatuna haja nao. Tumepewa uwezo na wananchi tufanyie kazi yetu hapa.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, ningependa kusema kwamba, ni lazima tuwe na mpango maalum katika nchi hii. Nikisema hivyo, wanafikiri ninazungumzia majimbo. Mimi sitaki kuwagawanya wananchi, kwa sababu, kuna Wakikuyu ambao wameolewa kule Mombasa, na vile vile kuna ndugu zetu ambao wameolewa kule Murang'a. Lakini inafaa tuwe na mipango maalum ya nchi yetu. Kuna watu wengi ambao hawana kazi. Na nikizungumza juu ya majimbo, nia yangu siyo kuwagawanya watu. Ningependa watu wawe pamoja huku tukipanga maisha ya watu ambao hawana kazi na mashamba. Hawa matajiri ambao ni waoga wakisikia majimbo, wanaanza kuruka. Wataruka mpaka wafe, lakini mimi niko na wao tu, mpaka nife. Hivyo ndivyo mambo yatakavyokuwa. Wao ndio wana vyama vya ukabila. Sisi pia tutaanzisha chama cha ukabila ili tulingane.

Kwa hayo machache, namuunga mkono, Bw. Rais Moi.

Mr. Ndwiga: Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to

contribute to this debate after listening to a message of doom from my aged friend, the hon. Nassir.

The Minister for Home Affairs, National Heritage, Culture and Social Services (Mr. Nassir): Jambo la nidhamu, Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda. Mimi sipendi kuwatukana watu, lakini ninamwambia mhe. Ndwiga asinitukane, kwa sababu sitamjibu kwa Kiingereza; nitamjibu kwa Kiswahili na atasikia vibaya.

**Mr. Ndwiga:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think deficiency of a lot of things in this House is causing the problem in this House. I said: "As I was listening to a message of doom". I did not call him names. He is not doom. I said: "As I was listening to a message of doom"; a sermon of doom.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish to comment on the Presidential Speech, but I do not wish to dwell on its content or value. I wish, perhaps, to dwell more on what ought to have been delivered here. Kenyans were waiting, with baited breath, to hear the Head of State tell this country what is going to be done. Instead, we only heard him say that there is corruption and insecurity in the country. The Head of State is one man who is in charge of this Government and he cannot come to this House and cry that there is insecurity and poverty. What is he doing about it?

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, policy is about programmes. That is; what we intend to do about insecurity, poverty and corruption. It is very interesting to listen to this Government talk about corruption. It is so interesting, that it is laughable. I think history will remember this Government for being, perhaps, a Government of actors. When you talk about corruption, wherever Kenyans are, they know that for the past six years, the Public Accounts Committee has looked into the financial operations of this Government and has come up with names of culprits who have fleeced this nation of billions of shillings, but what happens is that, instead of them being in Kamiti Maximum Prison, some of them are in the Front Bench on the Opposite side of the House as Government Ministers. These are people who have fleeced this country, and yet we still want to dwell on removing corruption. It is a big shame. We want to see real examples. We want to see this Government pick up one Minister, who has been named by the Public Accounts Committee, and take him to jail. When that happens---

**Mr. Kamolleh:** On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I think this is the height of pretence, because the hon. Member is saying that people who have fleeced billions of shillings from public coffers are sitting here on the Front Bench. Could he substantiate or withdraw what he has just said?

**Mr. Ndwiga:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is ignorance. The young Member of Parliament does not know that you cannot name names here except by a substantive Motion. But he has to be forgiven.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have---

The Minister for Local Authorities (Prof. Ongeri): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. The hon. Ndwiga wants to get away with a very serious problem he has stated here, where he has indicted and passed moral judgement on the Front Bench. Can he quote and substantiate the necessary court order that has implicated any of us?

**Mr. Ndwiga:** Kenyans are so poor at the bottom; they do not have enough for one meal in a day, let alone enough to engage in corruption among themselves. Corruption is up, where it is.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, during the recess, we did hear some very disturbing news coming from this Government; that, we have a foreign army in this country that; the Belgian Army is in Lokichoggio. The truth of the matter is that there is war between one company and the World Food Programme and Operation Lifeline Sudan. A son of a senior person in the Government is trying to arm-twist the World Food Programme and Operation Lifeline Sudan into accepting to give him a monopoly in the transportation of items from Mombasa to Lokichoggio. So, the bone of contention here is not even Lokichoggio Airstrip, but Eldoret International Airport, which has given this company authority to handle all cargo. Now, they want to handle cargo for World Food Programme and Operation Lifeline Sudan.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, what I am saying is that the time has come when private wars must not be made national wars. If you have private wars, regardless of whether you are a President or Minister, please, fight your wars out there; do not involve Kenyans. The truth of the matter is that these NGOs now, including the World Food Programme, are considering decamping from Lokichoggio to Arua in Uganda. This is very serious. We already have a big burden of unemployment. These NGOs, and the World Food Programme, in particular, employ very many Kenyans and generate a lot of income here because of what they purchase locally. But carelessness on the part of this Government, and high level corruption, might make these institutions decamp to Uganda. I can assure you that Ugandans will be waiting for them with open arms. We cannot cry crocodile tears here about unemployment when our deeds are the cause of this unemployment. We need to be responsible leaders from whichever party. As a leader, when you open your mouth, for heaven' sake, make sure that you are making a responsible statement wherever you are. The repercussions of whatever you say, especially when you are dealing with investors, has very serious implications on the economy of this country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the President spoke at length about strengthening security along our borders. That is commendable. We accept that. That is good. But you cannot have a nation that expects to be called a nation if you do not have internal security. Without internal security, you cannot generate wealth. In the Industrial Area, last week, the Kenya Association of Manufacturers had a meeting with the Police Commissioner about insecurity that investors---

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): Hon. Ndwiga, your time is up.

Mr. Ndwiga: Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. With those remarks, I wish to vehemently oppose the Motion.

**Mr. Poghisio:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish to congratulate His Excellency the President for a speech that was balanced. It needs to be noted that this is the state of the nation now and, therefore, it hurts me when I hear hon. Members criticise the speech the way they are doing. This is because the speech articulated the state of the nation. What would the President say apart from saying this is the way the house is; the situation as it is today? So, he was balanced, very frank and transparent.

I would also like to take this chance to congratulate Prof. Saitoti for being appointed Vice-President and, therefore, the Leader of Government Business. We are in for a very serious Session of this Parliament. I would like to make a few comments on the speech. First of all, I will pick a few things that affect the people of my constituency, Kacheliba, directly.

The first is health. The kind of health problems the Pokot people in Kacheliba Constituency face are very predictable. It is very clear. Malaria, dysentery, typhoid and various other water-borne diseases are rampant. These are things that arise because of poverty. We have a problem because poverty has lived among our people. But poverty should not be the emphasis. I know that the eradication of poverty is our goal, but we have not reached there yet. We have three basic problems. These are poverty, ignorance and disease. Ignorance is the killer among our people. We have no education at all. We have been left behind in education. We must address things that I think, to me, are precursor to poverty. You cannot be poor and, at the same time, suffer from disease and ignorance. We need to emphasize that this is not just a problem of the Pokot people; it is a problem of most pastoralists; people who need to be lifted out of the situation they are in. It is a known fact that arid and semi-arid areas need to be given water.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, it means that the Ministry of Water Development needs to focus on these areas, because they are areas known to be arid and semi-arid. We have the Department of Water Resources there but the officers are not doing much, because that does not seem to be their focus. I hope that, that will be their focus in future. I do not want to talk about roads because if I talk about roads, it would mean that we have some roads in my constituency. If I say that our roads need repair, it would mean that we have some form of roads there. I happen to come from a constituency where there is just one completely destroyed road.

My appeal is for that road, which links Kapenguria to Alale, cutting across the constituency, to be repaired, so that when there are security problems, we can reach the trouble spots quickly. Also, there are no hospitals in my constituency. When we have no hospitals and people fall ill, we need roads by which to transport them all the way to Kapenguria. Some places are 200 kilometres away from the nearest health centre. I am not talking about a place which is in Uganda or elsewhere; I am talking about a place which is in Kenya, but which is so removed from everywhere else that sometimes we feel like we are not part of this country.

Let me come to the very sensitive subject - security. Insecurity in this country cannot be belaboured as a point. We know that there are very many victims of violence in this country, both in cities and rural areas. However, insecurity is created by ourselves. It is a human problem. It hurts me to hear a Member of Parliament say that the Turkanas are being punished by the Pokots, or the Pokots are attacking the Turkanas. That does not make sense to me. You can speak about the Turkanas today, the Karamojong tomorrow, the Samburus and all those communities the next day. We cannot talk about people of one community being angels and those of other communities being devils. We are talking about people who need to sit down and talk. I am very much dismayed that a Member of Parliament would say from the Floor of this House that the Pokots need to be punished for attacking the Turkanas. How many times are we going to say that the Turkanas have attacked the Pokots? Are we going into a game of naming the number of times the Turkanas have attacked the Pokots and how many times the Pokots have attacked the Turkanas? This is something that happens all the time.

The situation today is that we have called for meetings to bring our people together and talk about the need to end this senseless infighting. A situation has arisen whereby, right now, we have gone to the extent of forming what we call the POKATUSA - Pokots, Turkana, Karamojong, Sodei - for a peace initiative because some of these raids are cross-border. We are calling for this because we are interested in uniting our people and educating them on the need to settle down, so that other forms of development can continue.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, recently, the Turkanas attacked different parts of Pokot - the Kapedo

area of Pokot and others. We have not said much about it but we are saying, we need to sit down and talk. Nobody is an angel in this situation. We are not saying that we are criminals, or that the Turkanas are criminals. We are saying, we need to sit down and talk about insecurity.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, poverty, as experienced by the people of Kacheliba, is identified with unemployment.

An hon. Member: That is a crime!

**Mr. Poghisio:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, when you read in the newspapers that so-and-so owes such-and-such a bank so much money, you cannot find a Pokot name in those lists because Pokots are not corrupt, and because they do not have the money. Therefore, they cannot get money because they are not known by anybody, and there are many of us who say this. We have strived, and we are not going to be caught in that kind of thing because we have been left very much behind.

What kind of poverty are we eradicating when the people are themselves poor? They live in poverty. They were brought up in poverty, and many of them have not crossed the so-called poverty line. If you have a constituency that is in such a situation, you will hope that your prayers go to a Government that is sensible enough to understand that there are people who have been left behind. I have said on the Floor of this House that these people were deliberately left behind by subsequent Governments after colonialism, upto now. I am not saying that we need a "Ministry of Pokot Affairs". I am only saying that we need to understand that there are people who actually need to benefit from affirmative action. The people of my constituency became part of Kenya in 1970. Since then, there has never been a single doctor who has served the people of this constituency. There has never been a single Government secondary school in the area. There is no meaningful water project. There are no roads.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am talking about a constituency that is in this country today. Who is going to hear what I am saying? I am part of the Government, and I am speaking to it, and asking: Who is going to hear us? Could somebody hear us? I cannot continue emphasising the same [Mr. Poghisio] thing. I also need to say that, being on the other side of the aisle does not make anyone an angel. It is very easy to point fingers at others. I agree with the President because of his Address to this House. In his Address, he highlighted corruption and other issues. Those sitting on the Opposition side of this House are not exempted, because they perpetrated these evil practices while they were in Government.

A meaningful multiparty system means that the Government side, on which we are now, will live to realise that we are on this side because the people want it to be so. However, when the people decide to bring those who are on the Opposition side to the Government side, we know as the same human beings--- Anyway, let us wait until the people decide on that, but for now, all of us should hold ourselves responsible.

The last comment I would like to make is on energy. We have the Turkwel Gorge Hydro-Electric Project, which belongs to the Pokots. Could the Pokots become partners with those managing it and get some money from it? The project is on their land, which has been locked and taken away.

With those few remarks, I beg to support.

**Mr. Munyasia:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving me the opportunity to contribute to this Motion. I wish to start commenting on the President's Address by talking about the Constitutional Review exercise we are supposed to be engaged in. It is interesting to see Parliamentary parties quarrelling over how many Members each should appoint to the Constitutional Review Commission. I think, somewhere, we missed the point. The reason why we demanded that more people participate in the appointment of the Commissioners of the Constitutional Review Commission is the perceived dishonesty shown by the 1990 Saitoti Constitutional Review Commission.

In 1990, because the members of the Saitoti Commission were appointed by only one authority, they went ahead and made a report which contradicted the views which Kenyans presented before the commission. This is the only reason why we said, this time round, we want men of integrity appointed by not just one authority, but by several people. I would not have minded, if we had said: "Okay, let each political party appoint ten men of integrity". If all of us agreed that the appointed Members are men of integrity, then, we would even have used lots. There would have been balloting, the way the Kenya Charity Sweepstake come up with the winners of each draw. We could nominate about 100 Members, give them numbers and then use that particular balloting system to come up with the 25 commissioners. This system would have had one strength, namely, everyone who would serve on that Commission would know that he was initially appointed, indeed, by a particular authority but, also, God was involved in the luck that came his way through that particular balloting system.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am surprised that we go on quarrelling about how many nominees each party should have. That particular Act should be reviewed here, so that we engage in that provision of the ballot.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are told about commissions. Sometimes we are very suspicious

about commissions. Currently, we have an Education Review Commission which is still meeting todate. They are here in the Old Chamber of Parliament but while they are collecting views from Kenyans, and we are all waiting in anxiety about what report they might come up with, there is another body, counter to this one, which is headed by hon. Kalonzo Musyoka, the Minister for Education and Human Resource Development. It is said to also include members from Non-Governmental Organisations, donors and other institutions in this country, and they have already come up with what they call an Education Master Plan for Kenya up to 2010. So, I ask: What is this? I would like to take this opportunity to urge the Cabinet not to meet to discuss the Kalonzo Master Plan before this Education Review Commission has come up with its report. Are we doing useless work by spending money one time on this Education Review Commission and another time, there is another body headed by a Minister coming up with his own plans? And in that plan, while every Kenyan is saying that the 8-4-4 system must be scrapped since it is useless, they have a spirited test to make for the 8-4-4 system. This is why we say that, we are not quite sure that this Government is very serious when it comes up with this Commission.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, next, I would like to talk about the security of this country. We are told that the Government is very much concerned about it but it is more concerned with infiltrations into the country from the neighbouring countries. They are not concerned so much with peace being established or maintained among groups that make up Kenya. I am saying so, because in my constituency, I always have to battle against this Government. In my constituency, this Government does not wait for us to make any approaches to it, or to make any proposals to it. One time last year, I complained that the Government was imposing a municipality on one of my towns called Malakisi. This year, without the Bungoma District Development Committee asking this Government for a division, they have given us a division in Malakisi. We are asking: What is this generosity about? Why is this Government being so magnanimous with Sirisia? Why do you give us what we have not asked for? There is a Permanent Secretary in this Government who is making things move and it is for tribal consideration.

**An hon. Member:** Who is that?

**Mr. Munyasia:** He is called Mr. Barua Chele. When he was the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government, he is the one who sent a commission to say that, Malakisi should be elevated to municipal status. He has since been removed from that Ministry.

The Minister for Local Authorities (Prof. Ongeri): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is hon. Munyasia right in misleading this House that he has been given a municipality? A commission is not equivalent to granting municipalities. It is merely on a fact-finding mission and that decision is vet to be made.

**Mr. Munyasia:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, that is correct. That should have been a point of information. That is what I was complaining about; that, we had not asked you and you thought that you should consider promoting us, and now, we have not asked for a division and they have given us a division.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have told the Government, and let me repeat it, that this man is a Teso. He lives next to Teso District and they are trying to go round, so that they create a division there which they want to annex to Teso District. As I speak, tension is very high in that area between these two tribal groups, and I am saying that, this Government has an opportunity, before things get out of hand, to stop that particular move.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, while talking about security, it reminds me of another incident. Recently, there was an incident when some two suspected Ugandan thugs were spotted with AK-47 guns and when they were spotted, they ran into a sugarcane plantation. I thought it would have been the easiest thing to do for the police to come and surround that particular plantation and then set it on fire. The men would have had to come out. They attempted this but they waited until night time and they called for reinforcements from Webuye, Malakisi and Kimilili, and so, the whole district was gathered there. These two Ugandans escaped, and we are wondering how they escaped? Were they, indeed Ugandans or were they policemen themselves? When they left the sugarcane plantations, did their colleagues notice that they were some of them and so, they refused to shoot or what happened? This Government should investigate incidents like these. It is unbelievable to our people. We now know that we have no people to protect us because those who come around threatening us with guns get away with it.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wanted to talk about this so-called Poverty Alleviation Plan, coming at the end of the reign of the President, and we are now told that, he has a vision, all of a sudden, for the alleviation of poverty. It is not a new thing to hear. So, it allows us to express our sceptism. I doubt whether there is anything going to come out of this. We heard in 1994 that, indeed, the common man was going to suffer from the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and they came out with what appeared to be a bright idea. They came up with Social Dimensions of Development. We were made to meet at the sub-DDC and make recommendations about what we should do, so that we lighten the burden on the common man and then, we came

and met at the DDC. We made special plans on Social Dimensions on Development Programme. Todate, nothing has come of it. So, now when I hear this other thing called Poverty Alleviation Plan, I say: This is what these people do. I doubt them, but if I am wrong, then they should prove they are right.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I next wanted to talk about the innovations by the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development that they are now going to involve the Board of Governors (BOG's) and the Parents-Teachers Associations (PTA's) in the deployment of headmasters, deputy headmasters and heads of departments. These are professional positions. The BOGs and the PTAs are very parochial. The moment you give them power to decide who is going to be the head of a school, they will insist on their own sons. The same Minister goes on to say that, headteachers will be posted anywhere in this country, but not when you have involved these other people.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

The Assistant Minister for Trade (Mr. Angwenyi): Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me a chance to contribute on this important speech. First, I want to express my gratitude on the speech given by Mr. Speaker on the opening of this Session. I would like to encourage Mr. Speaker and the officers of the National Assembly, to take that track of taking care of the institution of Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there were three or so points that were raised in the Presidential Speech. It first referred to the poverty that is in this country; that, 53 per cent of our people live below the poverty line.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, if we took the definition of poverty line in other comparable countries, then 73 per cent of our people live below the poverty line. We have such increased numbers or proportions who live in poverty simply because the institutions of this country, including Parliament, have not done their job well. I am particularly concerned about our performance in this House. We are the people who levy taxes upon our people. We are the people who authorise expenditure of such taxes in our land. Year in, year out, we get reports from the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) and the Public Investments Committee (PIC), giving us a chronological listing of economic saboteurs or people who have misused those taxes that we have levied upon our people. The House has never taken a step to ensure that such malpractices cannot be not repeated in the future. We just give historical analysis and then we leave it at that. The blame should be laid squarely on this House. I do not want to blame the Executive because we have given the Executive so much work that at times, it is difficult for them to find out what is happening in some areas in this country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have a very high rate of unemployment. These days, if you finish your university education, whether with a first degree, second degree or even third degree, you have no assurance that you will get gainful employment. This increases poverty because, if a family has five children and they put them through school to university, it costs a fortune to do that. If all of them come back home and none gets gainful employment, then you have used all your resources and you cannot replenish those resources and, therefore, you get condemned into poverty. We also have got so much poverty and unemployment because we have not been able to control the factors that go into agricultural production. The prices of our produce have been stagnant, if not decreasing, for the last 20 to 30 years. But the prices of inputs like agricultural equipment, fertilizers and tea, which we produce in our country, have increased exponentially. Our farmers today farm at a loss on whatever they do. Whether they produce milk, grains or cash crops, they do produce them at a loss. But because they have nothing else to do, they get involved in agricultural production even at that minimal level, despite the losses.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, our policy regarding industrialisation is to some extent wanting. We cannot industrialise when we are destroying the few industries that we have in the country. We cannot industrialise when we destroy our textile industry, when we lose jobs in our textile mills in Eldoret, Thika and Nairobi. We cannot industrialise when our sugar factories are grinding to a halt, because they have nowhere to warehouse the sugar that they are producing because we have imported so much sugar not knowing that the sugar we are importing from Brazil is a by-product of the major production in Brazil; not, knowing that the inputs in the production of sugar in Brazil is a small fraction of the inputs price for the production of sugar in Kenya. For us to industrialise, we must protect our infant industries. We must protect our agricultural industries. That is the only way we can industrialise.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the cost of our services, like health and education, has gone so high because this Parliament agreed with some Structural Adjustment Programmes that were detrimental to our people. Why do we have to agree to cost-sharing in health services when, in fact---

**Mr. Michuki:** On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for hon. Kajembe to walk between you and the hon. Member on the Floor without bowing to the Chair? That is what he did.

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Musila): Where is Mr. Kajembe? Is he in here? **An hon. Member:** Yes, he is in here!

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): Mr. Kajembe, did you hear the point of order that was raised by Mr. Michuki? Mr. Michuki, would you raise your point of order again for Mr. Kajembe to hear?

**Mr. Michuki:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, is it in order for Mr. Kajembe to walk between you and the hon. Member speaking without bowing to the Chair?

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): Mr. Kajembe, could you apologise for that?

The Assistant Minister for Trade (Mr. Angwenyi): This man is wasting my time!

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Musila): Order! Order, Mr. Angwenyi! I am in charge here, Mr. Angwenyi, not you. Mr. Kajembe, you heard what Mr. Michuki said. You did not bow and, therefore, you should apologise to the Chair.

Mr. Kajembe: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I apologise for the anomaly.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): Thank you. Proceed, Mr. Angwenyi.

The Assistant Minister for Trade (Mr. Angwenyi): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have observed patients going to hospitals, health centres and dispensaries and they do not have even Kshs20 to pay to get a prescription, leave alone getting enough money to buy the drugs. We must go back to the policies of 1963 where we said we must remove these things from our people. On education, a lot of levies are levied on our parents, and we must put a stop to that. We, as a Parliament, must say these are the levies that can be levied upon our parents and we must say no to anything extra.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the next problem I wanted to comment on is corruption. There is no doubt that there is corruption, and I am glad the President was able to articulate on this issue. The corrupt people are in this House; both sides of the House. The people who engage in sugar importation; the people who engage in *mitumba* importation and the people who engage in *mitumba* of vehicles importation are in this House. So, we must put a stop to that and the only way we can do that is to take a cue from the President. He has told us the problem, let us give a solution to that problem. We should get a few of these big thieves locked up in jail and then give them bail.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, my speech will not be complete if I do not touch on security. In the last two weeks, I have lost two promising people from my area at the hands of thugs. We must vote money for our police force to have vehicles, equipment and guns. We must remove the thugs who are in the police force, so, that we can have security in this country. If we have got security, then we can develop, and we can alleviate poverty, and control corruption.

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

Mr. Ayacko: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this very important Presidential Address. The President talked about corruption and asked all of us to assist in fighting this vice that has really eroded a lot of things in this country. I would like to point out that corruption in this country cannot be fought until and unless the occupier of the Office of the President starts fighting it. We know very well that those who are rewarded with high appointments in this country are people who are either mentioned in corrupt deals, or who are in one way or the other associated with this vice. Until and unless the occupier of the highest office in this land starts acting on the issue of corruption, we will not move anywhere. It is not enough to come and lament in Parliament that there is corruption in this country. This is the first and foremost duty of the occupier of that office. We know the attitude that the President of this country has adopted in respect of issues like that of Karura Forest. It had been alleged, both in this House and outside, that Karura Forest was allocated in a corrupt way. For the President to come and stand in this House and lament that there is corruption when he has not taken any step to fight it, it is to tell us about the problem but not to provide a solution.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, therefore, what was given as a Presidential Address was a mere lamentation and not an attempt at solving the problem. We know very well that we had wanted a Vice-President to be appointed in this country, and that there had been many front-runners for this seat from the other side of the House. But the person who was appointed to that Office was a person whom people alleged was corrupt. That shows that this was a mere Address and not something that was founded on action. That is why I am inclined not to support the content of the Address because it was intended to please this House but not to take us anywhere.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, turning to the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority, we know very well what happened to its previous boss. The previous boss had started getting near the big fish.

**Mr. Odoyo:** On a point of information, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I would like to inform my hon. colleague that there is no previous holder of that post. In fact, Mr. Mwau is in the office as we are talking now.

### (Laughter)

Mr. Ayacko: Thank you very much for that valid piece of information. I was saying that the Anti-Corruption Authority has not been given a clear mandate to fight corruption in this country. The current holder of that office was almost removed for almost catching the persons who have been responsible for the collapse of the sugar industries. We know of what is happening in the court, and when we get a Speech of this kind, where we are being told that the Government is committed to fighting corruption, we cannot believe it. We cannot believe that this Government is committed to fighting corruption until it gives institutions like the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority the necessary support that is required to fight corruption in this country. Corruption, as an issue in this country, is there because the Office of the President has deliberately knocked down institutions. For instance, Parliament is supposed to check what the Presidency does. The Office of the President and its patronage have made it impossible for the Public Accounts Committee and the Public Investments Committee to bring to book corrupt people in this country. Therefore, that Office cannot say that it is fighting corruption. That Office, in its present form, is abetting and aiding corruption. That is the content of the Address that we were given. We cannot expect any change in this country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, regarding insecurity, if we paid as much attention to the security and welfare of the common man as we pay attention to those of higher offices like the Presidency, then there would be no insecurity in this country. If the man or woman on the street is safe, then we, who are hiding in Parliament, will also be safe. But to say that this Government is fighting insecurity in this country and yet we know that there are certain people on that other side of the Government who are enjoying protection for the insecurity that they have caused in areas associated with cattle rustling or corruption, it is wrong. We know very well that they enjoy patronage. In fact, there are certain communities who have representatives on that side of the House whose ethnic groups or villages have been overrun by hon. Members of that side, and the very highest office in this land is doing nothing about it. In fact, we do not expect the Police Commissioner to succeed in his work. He has not been given the necessary equipment and money. In fact, in my Migori District, the DCIO office, as I am speaking today, does not have a telephone line. If you want to call the OCPD, you have to call him in his house. The DC has only one telephone line. Now, if there is insecurity in my home, which is about 50 kilometres from the district headquarters, the security officers will not respond in good time. The Presidential Address that we were given this time amounts to a poorly conducted public relations exercise. We will not get anywhere if we follow that until and unless security is not politicised and there are no sacred cows on either side of the House.

# (Applause)

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we were also told about poverty alleviation. We have had only two Presidents in this country. The current and former holders are the people who have presided over matters of this country and brought it to its current state. In fact, what the Address should have done was first to admit this state of affairs. The President should have said: "I am sorry to Kenyans for taking you so far and making you poor." But for the President to say that Kenyans are poor and that we need to help to fight poverty, that is trying to pass the buck. We know that the politics of this country is winner-takes-all. If the winner has taken all, the winner must bear all the blame and not bring the problem to hon. Members whose institutions have been overrun and who cannot check out on all these things.

# (Applause)

The buck begins and ends with the person who bears these prerogatives and who is running this country. Poverty has been very serious in this country, and the Presidency is to blame for it. That is why everybody wants to get into that Office and try to rectify the kind of situation that we have. We know that this country's economy has been dependent upon agrarian produce. We know that the country depends on coffee, tea, pyrethrum, milk production and rice. We know very well the policy this Government has adopted in trying to bring down all these sectors. So, the President and the Government cannot come and ask hon. Members to help in fighting what they have brought about. We know very well that instead of strengthening the sugar industries, the Government took away its money; brought them down, and tried to invest the money in semi-arid and arid areas. It is like when you have a small shamba and you know that some part is sandy and another part is fertile. Then you stop farming in the fertile part and you take money to the sandy part. That is uneconomical. You cannot farm that way and expect to get money.

Mr. Temporary Speaker, Sir, in conclusion, that Address had no merit and it cannot be supported by me. **The Minister for Water Resources** (Mr. Ng'eny): Thank you very much, Mr. Temporary Deputy

Speaker, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to support the Presidential Address.

First of all, let me take this opportunity to thank His Excellency the President for the very brilliant exposition of Government policy. He put it so well and nice, that this country could not be where it is if it was not for the unity of Kenyans. The unity of Kenyans comes from all of us, but more importantly, it comes from the leader of this nation. Kenyans from all walks of life should be grateful to His Excellency the President for having led this nation peacefully and progressively for all those years. I would like to believe that if there was anybody else in that office, other than His Excellency the President, we could be talking a different language today. We can give numerous examples, not only within the continent of Africa, but throughout the world. Let us take seriously the question of good leadership. I am not denying that we have problems; we have a lot of problems, but who has not got any problems? We even have our own personal problems, but when we compare ourselves with other countries, I think we have done beautifully well. I would like to congratulate the hon. Members because there is a different mood in the House. The mood of the House changed from yesterday, since His Excellency the President set such a nice mood that we can even laugh now in this House, unlike the previous times when we were almost doing some funny things.

**Mr. Munyasia:** On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker. Is it in order for the hon. Member to say that hon. Members in this House have been doing funny things? Can hon. Members of Parliament do funny things? Could he be asked to withdraw that?

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): What do you mean, Mr. Munyasia?

**Mr. Munyasia:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, hon. Ng'eny has said that hon. Members of this House, for instance, during the last Session, were doing funny things. My objection is that these are hon. Members, and this House is an honourable House, and we cannot be coming here to do funny things. Can he be asked to withdraw that remark?

**The Minister for Water Resources** (Mr. Ng'eny): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am sure the hon. Member understood what I meant, but he just wanted to waste my time.

On the issue of the security of this country, which was elaborated well in the Presidential Speech, I would like to say that the security of this country is the responsibility of all of us. Sometimes I feel pain, and I am sure all hon. Members feel the same, because in the final analysis--- When we went looking for votes, the only objective we wanted to achieve was to make the living conditions of those people better than what they were. That was the only objective, and I do not think we had any other objective. The only way we can do that is to start from this House. If the members of the Press would say tomorrow or any other day: "The Members of Parliament of Kenya have all agreed in unison to work together for the posterity of Kenya," I am sure we shall have a lot of investment in this country. But when we start washing our dirty linen in front of everybody, then, that is not encouraging investment or alleviating poverty, but increasing it.

**Mr. Wafula:** On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is hon. Ng'eny in order to talk about investment when he is directly responsible for the collapse of Kenya Posts and Telecommunications?

The Minister for Water Resources (Mr. Ng'eny): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to assure the hon. Member that there is no institution in this country bigger than the Post Office. It has not collapsed and you have buildings everywhere in this Republic, from Lokichogio, which the hon. Member may not know, to Kibish. This House has got a lot of work to do for the development of this country, irrespective of what we say. I am surprised that hon. Members, and more particularly Members of the Opposition, cry here and yet they are the ones who discourage investment by saying this country is corrupt. I do not deny that there is corruption, but that should not be our pre-occupation. Our pre-occupation should be how we should develop from here and how to get rid of corruption. I would like to assure the hon. Members that I will be the last person to condone corruption. People say that because I was in charge of a certain institution---- I would like to say that if I was corrupt, the employment capacity of Kenya Posts and Telecommunications would not have increased from 600 to 30,000.

**Mr. Wanjala:** On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for the hon. Member to mislead this House and yet he is one of those people who refused to appear before the Public Investments Committee and the Public Accounts Committee?

The Minister for Water Resources (Mr. arap Ngeny): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have no idea of what the hon. Member is talking about! I would like this House to fully support the Presidential Speech because it shows us the way to do things. He has shown Kenyans how to work. President Moi, as a leader, has given Kenyans peace and facilities to work for themselves, and not to joke with one another.

With those few remarks, I support the Motion.

Mr. Kitonga: Ahsante sana, Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda. Ningependa kusema kwamba, hotuba iliyosomwa hapa Bungeni na Mtukufu Rais ilikuwa ya kupoteza, yenye porojo, na haikuwa na ukweli au uhakika

wowote! Tukianzia na usalama, ni jambo la kustaajabisha kuongea juu ya usalama na tunajua vile Wakenya wametezeka kwa miaka mingi sana. Tuko na mifano mingi sana. Siku hizi, huwezi ukatembea hapa Nairobi kama mwananchi. Kwanza, wale watakaokuvamia ni polisi wanaobeba bunduki. Polisi wanahusika katika wizi, halafu polisi wengine wanatumwa kuwakamata. Hivyo ni kama kuchukua paka akuchungie nyama! Ni jambo gumu sana!

Tukiwa bado juu ya usalama, sehemu ya Mutito ninayowakilisha Bungeni haijui ikiwa kuna Serikali, kwa jina la Mungu. Sehemu ya uwakilishi Bungeni ya Mutito ina eneo la 330,000 sq. ft., na ni kubwa kuliko Jamhuri ya Djibouti; lakini haina hata kituo kimoja cha polisi. Kuna kituo kidogo tu cha polisi na hali tunavamiwa na magaidi. Na ukiuliza swali katika Bunge, kama lile niliuliza hapa--- Waziri Madoka aliniamba kituo cha polisi kitaanza kujengwa mwezi wa tatu. Leo tuko Aprili na hakuna hata msingi! Sijui anataka nimhonge au nifanye nini! Watu wa Mutito bado wanaendelea kuteseka na kuuawa. Ni jambo la kustaajabisha sana kuona kwamba hivi majuzi, mwezi wa Julai, kuna mtoto ambaye alipotea kwa kuibiwa na watu wawili wa kabila la Waduruma kutoka Mombasa. Mtoto huyo, kwa jina la Mwangi Mbuli, ni wa miaka minne. Alipoibiwa, wazazi wa mtoto huyo walikwenda mpaka polisi. Mimi mwenyewe nilienda kumwona OCPD, lakini mpaka sasa, hakuna kitu ambacho kimefanyika na hali mtoto amepotea. Je, ikiwa mtu anaweza kupotea, tunaweza kuongea juu ya usalama gani? Walioshukiwa walimchukua wanajulikana. Lakini sijui ikiwa ni hongo imetolewa kwa vile hakuna jambo lolote ambalo limefanywa. Hili ni jambo la kuhuzunisha sana.

Bado tukiwa katika usalama, nashangaa sana kuhusu polisi wa Kenya. Wamekosa adabu kabisa. Wakati tulipokuwa tukifanya siasa Makueni, mimi nilitwangwa kama mbwa na mimi ni Mbunge! Nilitwangwa na polisi kwa kutetea haki, ili KANU isiibe kura walizoiba kule Makueni. Ikiwa Mbunge anaweza kutwangwa hivyo, raia waliotutuma hapa watafanyiwa nini? There is no dignity of a Member of Parliament! You people are disgraced! Mnasema mko hapa kama Wabunge, lakini polisi hawawaheshimu! Tunataka kusema kwamba wakati Rais anaongea juu ya usalama, aangalie nyumba yake mwenyewe, iko namna gani. Remove the speck in your eyes, before you see the speck in others eyes. Hatuna usalama hata katika Cabinet! Juzi juzi, Serikali ilikuwa imenyamaza kimya kwa sababu kila mmoja wao alikuwa anataka kuwa Makamu wa Rais. Ukimwambia huyu anataka kuwa Makamu wa Rais, alikuwa anasema: "Wachana na hayo maneno! Mzee akisikia, atakasirika!" Haya, mkapokonywa na kupatiwa mtu ambaye ni mfisadi. Sasa mmeanza kuongea tena! Ni jambo la kustaajabisha sana!

Tukija kuongea mambo ya ufisadi katika Kenya, yanaanza kutoka chumba cha kujifungulia akina mama hadi chumba cha kuhifadha maiti. Bibi akijifungua mtoto na ukatae kuchota kitu kidogo, haki ya Mungu utapatiwa mtoto Mhindi na uambiwe ni wako! Kwa hivyo, lazima uhongane kuanzia hapo. Mtoto huyo akitaka kuingia darasa la kwanza, lazima utoe hongo kwa mwalimu ili mtoto apate nafasi. Mtoto akimaliza shule, ili aajiriwe kazi, lazima utoe hongo. Baada ya hapo, akifariki apelekwe chumba cha kuhifadha maiti, lazima utoe kitu kidogo ili uwekewe katika jeneza. Kwa hivyo, ufisadi Kenya umeenea kutoka vyumba vya kujifungulia akina mama hadi vyumba vya kuhifadha maiti! Hii ni Serikali ya aina gani? Watu wazima wanaona Serikali inatumbukia katika moto wa Sodom na Gomorrah na bado wanasema kuna Serikali! Unaona? Ninapoongea mambo ya haki, mhe. Mudavadi na mhe. Ngeny, badala ya kusikiliza, wananikatiza. Hon. Mudavadi, I am making a point here, please!

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): Order, hon. Kitonga! Continue with your debate!

Mr. Kitonga: Thank you very much, Sir! Jambo lingine ambalo nataka kuongea juu yake ni ufisadi katika ujenzi wa barabara. Barabara zote za Kenya zimeharibika. Tukianzia Nairobi, afadhali barabara za hapa jijini zitolewe lami na kuwekwa murram. Kuna mashimo makubwa sana na magari madogo kama Toyota yanaingia ndani na kumezwa na mashimo hayo! Je, ikiwa Nairobi iko hivyo, kule Kitui kukoje? Kandarasi za kurekebisha barabara zinapeanwa mtu akitoa hongo. Mhindi ambaye hajahitimu anapatiwa kandarasi ya kutengeneza barabara. Kuna barabara yenye kilomita 8.1 huko Mutito ambayo iliwekwa lami, lakini ni kama rangi ya viatu ya Kiwi ndio ilipakwa! Ni kitu cheusi tu kilipakwa! Hakuna lami. Lakini Mhindi alipewa kandarasi hiyo kwa vile alitoa kitu kidogo kwa DC na hata Waziri anayehusika na barabara. Alipata kandarasi hiyo na kumeza pesa zote na tukabaki bila barabara.

Kuna daraja huko Mutito linaloshikanisha sehemu hiyo na dunia nzima. Linaitiwa Thua na nila chuma. Lakini kwa sababu ya kupitishwa kwa chakula kwa wanaoathiriwa na ukame, daraja hilo limevunjika. Kuna madaraja mawili kama hiyo katika Kenya. Nimeomba Serikali hii mara nyingi sana, na sijui ni kwa nini hainisikilizi! Nawaomba watengeneze barabara hiyo kwa sababu wakati wa mvua umefika na watu wanataka chakula. Daraja hilo likivunjika kabisa, usafiri huko kwetu utakuwa vigumu. Kumbe daraja la chuma ni kama Serikali ya chuma? Hata ukiiambiaje, haisikii!

Tukiongea mambo ya maji, unapata kuna magendo katika sekta zote. Kupata maji ni taabu sana!

The Minister for Water Resources (Mr. arap Ngeny): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy

Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Member in order to say that there is corruption in water?

**Mr. Kitonga:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have not even said what I wanted to say. What is wrong with this hon. Minister?

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): Mr. Kitonga, you should address the hon. Minister through the Chair. Mr. Ng'eny, I agree with the hon. Member that he has not said what he wanted to say. So, there is no point of order. Continue, Mr. Kitonga.

Mr. Kitonga: Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, tunapozungumza juu ya ufisadi katika sekta ya maji, kwa mfano, kule Mutito hakuna ofisi hata moja ya Wizara ya Maji. Je, Bw. Waziri, unajua Mutito ni wapi katika nchi hii? Hajui! Hakuna hata ofisi moja ya Wizara ya Maji. Mambo mengi sana yanafanyika katika sekta ya maji. Juzi juzi katika Bunge hili tukufu niliomba kama ingewezekana watu wa Mutito wawekewe maji safi kwa sababu maji hayo yanatoka mlimani. Hayo maji ni baraka kwa watu wa Mutito kutoka kwa Mungu. Niliambiwa ya kwamba Bunge hili lilitenga Kshs700,000 kwa minajili ya kuwawekea maji watu wa Mutito. Lakini tangu mwaka jana, hakuna jambo ambalo limefanyika na hatuna maji. Hii ni kwa sababu ukienda katika ofisi za Wizara ya Maji kule Kitui na Mutito utahitajika kuhonga maafisa wa Wizara ya Maji. Je, tutamhonga nani kati ya hao maafisa? Juzi nilifikiria kumletea Bw. Ng'eny mbuzi kama zawadi ya pasaka ingawa nilikusudia iwe hongo ili watu wa sehemu yangu wapate maji.

### (Applause)

The Minister for Water Resources (Mr. Ng'eny): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Member in order to talk about corruption in the Ministry of Water Resources when, in fact, I was in his constituency last week?

**Mr. Kitonga:** Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, siwezi kumjibu Bw. Waziri kwa sababu hajui tofauti kati ya Mutito na Mutomo. Ulizuru Mutomo ambako kuna uchaguzi mdogo wa KANU kwa ajili ya kufanya ufisadi huko. Mimi ninawakilisha Mutito.

The Minister for Local Authorities (Prof. Ongeri): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I am not quite sure whether I heard the hon. Member saying that he wants to bribe the Minister for Water Resources with a goat. If that is so, is he in order to perpetuate corruption when we are discussing ways of fighting it in this country?

**Mr. Kitonga:** Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, mimi sijui ni nini kibaya na hawa Mawaziri wa Serikali hii. Nimesema nilikuwa na mpango wa kumletea Bw. Ng'eny mbuzi kama zawadi ya pasaka.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Musila): Mr. Kitonga, your time is up.

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

[Mr. Deputy Speaker took the Chair]

The Assistant Minister for Local Authorities (Mr. Mwakalu): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker. Rare is the facility of time, when one can freely think what to say and say what one wants. I would like to think what I like, and to say what I think. The problems that confront this country, which have rightly been brought before this august House, are probably not as sectarian as the debate hitherto has exposed. The issues of corruption, poverty, unemployment and the environment should be addressed from a perspective of non-partisanship. It is about 36 years ago since we got Independence. This country will outlive all of us. Fortunately or unfortunately, we have in the midst of the Kenyan landscape, the corruption problem. This problem, for some people, is categorised as political. For others, it is a social or moral issue. I tend to believe that corruption is as old as the human institution itself. When the President discusses and exposes it, and requests us to examine, study, analyse and come up with solutions to the problem of corruption, then, surely, all right-minded people ought to support that gesture because corruption will not end today, nor did it begin with this Government.

However, that is not to portray corruption as something we cannot solve. It is something that we can reduce to the least, but not totally eradicate because it is a moral cancer. It is endemic, age-old, immemorial and will outlive all of us. Perhaps, what we need to address is whether we all agree that there is corruption in our families, schools, churches, mosques, institutions and structures of Government, and in our minds. When we have agreed that this is the nature and chemistry of corruption, then we can look at the physical laws and begin to address the solutions to this problem. This must be done, not from a partisan or sectarian point of view, but from

a point of view that is principled, humane and promotes the Welfare and Just Government of Men and Women.

Corruption is one aspect of national security or insecurity. I would like to advance that problems of water, health, education and environment are part of a larger package of insecurity. When problems of health, environment, unemployment, corruption and poverty beset a nation, we have to come up with a many-sided approach in order to solve this general malaise which, in my view, can be regrouped within the understanding of security in a country. Many of us have discussed security at this platform with a view, perhaps, of apportioning blame to the Government. I am tempted to think otherwise. When you have Kenyans living in the posh areas of this city, surrounded by walls with razor-sharp fences and broken bottles planted on top; with hot-lines to the nearest police station; with security guards, dogs, alarms and guns, then that is the psychology of siege. The psychology of siege is a class problem. You do not find it in Mathare valley, but in Lavington. Essentially, what we are talking about in this country is that we do admit that we have a class society that is antagonistically so, and that the conflict of class struggle has come of age. The time has come for this country to engage itself in a very serious ideological debate. It is incumbent upon the Opposition to come up and challenge the *status quo* not in terms of sectarian or partisan politics, but on a platform based on principles and ideas that can make this society a better place than we found it.

An hon. Member: Tell them! Join us!

**The Assistant Minister for Local Authorities** (Mr. Mwakalu): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for hon. Members on the other side of the House to demand that I cross the Floor is to suggest that ideas are partisan.

In the very best of interests, I want to remind this august House that one day, a man had the roof of his house blown off and its windows broken. But when the clouds gathered, the wind blew, and the rain fell, he went out of the house and cursed the clouds, the wind and the rain. He went back to the house and sat down and it kept on raining on him. That person was considered insane. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, here is a country where we have rainfall, wind, fire and drought--- We are all in the same house. But somehow, when we want to look for solutions to discuss what practically has to be done to offset that problematic situation, then we become partisan. We then argue: that is a KANU problem, or it belongs to the Government. They say this as if the elementary physics and civics of politics is such that, the Government is always the Executive, when you are in the Opposition. That is not the case. We are all in the same boat today, and tomorrow, when Kenya outlives all of us, we will be called by history to account for what we failed to do.

**Mr. Nderitu:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I would like to remind the hon. Member that we went to Mbagathi and it was all termed a "KANU/Opposition thing".

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, hon. Nderitu! Mr. Nderitu, you do not stand on a point of order and start arguing with the hon. Member who is on the Floor.

Proceed hon. Mwakalu.

The Assistant Minister for Local Authorities (Mr. Mwakalu): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. You know, the truth always hurts. It is evident that I have touched a very sensitive nerve this afternoon. The restlessness that we see and the irrelevant point of order aimed to distract me from the main line of march is absolute evidence that, we are putting the sectarian nature of the Opposition on a non-partisan platform henceforth, in discussing the issues that matter, for the well-being and the goodness of this nation. I would like us, in a more principled manner, to come out and argue that when 80 per cent of Kenyan doctors are urban based; while 80 per cent of the Kenyan population is non-urban, then there is a dichotomy between the mass population in the country-side being under- represented in terms of the apportioning of doctors. Therefore, when we talk about health anomalies, let us address some of these issues and see principally, how we can go about apportioning, or redressing that imbalance. The same should apply to the case of poverty. When 2 per cent of our people carry home 40 per cent of the national income, while the bottom 30 per cent goes home with 9 per cent of the national income---- We should address that economic anomaly in terms of its implications in class struggle, conflicts and impending rain and fire that may engulf this nation, if nothing is done to address those problems in time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if you do not want something or somebody, you can go to any limit to discredit him or her.

I support the Motion on Presidential Address.

**Mr. Munyao:** Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this chance to contribute to the Motion on Presidential Address. I did not know that sycophancy is a profession until some people started contributing to the Motion on the Presidential Address in this House. Now, I have witnessed it and I will take sweet memories back home.

I would like to thank the "Leader of Government Business", hon. Mwai Kibaki, for the good speech he gave in this House yesterday.

The Minister for Local Authorities (Prof. Ongeri): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I believe that is truly, sycophancy. The Leader of Government Business is Prof. George Saitoti. Hon. Munyao should have said the Leader of the Official Opposition.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: That is not sycophancy, but a slip of the tongue.

**Mr. Munyao:** Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I said the Leader of the Official Opposition, hon. Mwai Kibaki. I do not want to dwell on that issue because the Chair has helped me. Although I spent the whole of yesterday in Tigania, I got what hon. Kibaki said in this House yesterday. This is because out of the few hon. Members who spoke here, especially those on the other side of the House--- Now, I can get what went on in this House yesterday. From now on, we will direct all our effort on what was said by the Leader of the Official Opposition, hon. Kibaki.

### (Applause)

I would also like to thank the Chair for giving a very good speech during the State Opening of this House. He supported the issues that hon. Members of Parliament have been raising here. Hon. Members have always said that they should be respected. We have realised that it is only the Speaker of this House who has been taking the issues which have been affecting hon. Members of Parliament seriously. Hon. Members have been fought hard, particularly, by some civil servants. I am happy that the Speaker of this House came out clearly and mentioned some of the issues that are affecting hon. Members of Parliament. For example, I was at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA) about two weeks ago, and I was surprised to be denied access to some of its areas. I was shocked that an hon. Member of Parliament like me could be barred from getting into some areas at the airport. I think Parliament is the supreme body in this country! I was surprised that a security officer at the airport could not allow an hon. Member of Parliament like me, to go to the waving base, while the same security officers spent most of their time escorting Asians up and down. What a shame! It is surprising that any foreigner can be left to go to any area within the JKIA, while an hon. Member of Parliament cannot be allowed to visit those areas.

Hon. Members: Shame on them!

**Mr. Munyao:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is shameful. It is now clear that we have such security personnel at the JKIA and, therefore, I do not have to go deep into that issue. I would like to request the Minister for Transport and Communications to make a Ministerial Statement in this House at a later date, on the position of hon. Members of Parliament when they visit some areas at the JKIA.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was surprised when I went through the Presidential Address. All that is in the Presidential Address is a repeat of what has been said here several times. There is nothing new in the Presidential Address! We wanted the President to give a statement on the implementation of what has been said here. For example, when the Government talks about poverty eradication, and then we are told to wait for 15 years in order for it to eradicate poverty in this country, what are we being told? Some of us will not be there! We wanted to hear solutions to our problems yesterday, but not to be told to wait for 15 years while our people are getting poorer day by day. This period is too long! I was surprised this afternoon when the Minister of State, Office of the President, hon. Sunkuli, told us that a commission has been formed to look into--- How many commissions will we have in this country? Already, the Office of the President has established 22 commissions, but we have never been told the outcome of any of them. Is this another commission which is being formed on top of the others? For how long will we wait for the outcome of these commissions? We do not want the formation of more commissions in this country; we want solutions to our problems in this country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we cannot discuss over policy exposition when 70 per cent of this country is semi-arid and without water. We would like to hear what the Government is doing to get rid of the water problem, which is prevalent in those areas. I was surprised that, the Minister for Water Resources did not address the problem of water when he spoke in this House. This is so because what they are saying is a repeat of what we heard 20 or 30 years ago. We would like to have solutions to these problems now! This is a rainy season and every drop of water is running down to the sea. When shall we hear what the Ministry of Water is likely to do? Year in, year out, we have been talking about presentation of ideas. We would like to know what the Government is doing to address the water problem which is prevalent in those areas.

In fact we have the Bishop who came here and instead of thanking God he started praying for this country after realising that we no longer have roads but potholes in Kenya. No repairs are done on roads. Are we

now going to be able to listen to this kind of thing? On the issue of constitutional review which we have been discussing here, the country knows exactly which side of this House is not supporting the constitutional review. It is very clear that all the constitutional problems are coming from the KANU side. I would want this time the Government and KANU to think seriously of how best to go about this process. We have given formulas, one after the other. We have talked about our commitment on the constitutional review but it is very clear that the KANU Government is not supporting the constitutional review process. I was shocked the other day when the Head of State went outside the Harambee House and started saying: "Chukua Mhindi mmoja huko, Mzungu mmoja huko na mawakili watatu halafu andika Katiba", when he knows very well that he is the one who gave the assent to the Act which requires us to nominate the 25 Commissioners.

He has already forgotten that a Bill had come to this House and that we spent time at Bomas of Kenya and at Safari Park Hotel, and we came here and then enacted an Act of Parliament. We set out rules on how we were going to nominate commissioners. It now shows that the issue of constitutional review has already been forgotten by KANU. Today, KANU is not talking about the constitutional review. If they are, it is just a pretence. Otherwise, it is not within their minds. If the Head of State can come out and say: "Chukua Mhindi mmoja, Mzungu mmoja hapa, mawakili watatu, andika hii kitu na mumalize", one wonders how serious they are.

**Mr. Kihoro:** On a point of information, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. The President must have been recalling what happened in 1962 when a few Indians, Europeans and Africans actually wrote down the Constitution.

**Mr. Munyao:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this shows very well that the Head of State had already thrown away the constitutional matters through the window. Otherwise, he would not have gone back to suggest that. Even with regard to this confusion which has now cropped up here of each Party with one person claiming for a seat in that commission, I would request the Chair to tell us what constitutes a political party or a parliamentary party. If we leave it open, everybody in this country will form a party and then call it a political party.

With those few remarks I refuse to support.

Mr. Shambaro: Ahsante sana, Bw. Naibu Spika, kwa kunipatia nafasi hii ili kuichangia Hotuba ya Rais. Ninaichangia Hotuba ya Rais ambapo mimi mwenyewe ningependelea kuanza kwa kuzungumza juu ya hali ya usalama katika nchi hii yetu. Usalama katika nchi hii ya Kenya hivi leo umefika katika hali ambayo ni ya kutia wasi wasi mkubwa sana. Hali hii ya usalama isipochungwa katika Kenya hivi leo, hakuna kitu chochote kinachohusika na maendeleo kinachoweza kutendeka katika nchi hii. Hasa nikigusia upande wa sehemu kame za nchi hii, sehemu za ASAL; hali ya usalama imesababisha kuzoroteka kwa uchumi wa watu wanaoishi katika sehemu hizi. Katika hali hii, watu hawawezi kufanya jambo lolote wakati wowote vile inavyotakikana kwa sababu hali ya usalama imekuwa mbaya. Watu wanauliwa na mifugo huibwa mara kwa mara. Tumekuwa katika hali ambayo mimi ningependekeza tuchukue msimamo wa kusema "dawa ya moto ni moto". Ninasema hivi kwa sababu maofisa wa usalama wakitumwa kwenda kukabiliana na hali hii ya usalama, wakati majambazi wanapovamia miji fulani, muda mrefu sana unapita kabla askari wetu kufika katika sehemu hiyo ya usalama. Wakishafika majambazi huwa tayari wameua, kunajisi, kutoweka na kupotea.

Katika hali hiyo, huu umekuwa kama mchezo wa paka na panya. Kwa hivyo, dawa ya moto ni moto. Napendekeza raia katika sehemu hizo wapewe uwezo wa kuwa na bunduki na silaha zinazotoshana na zile ambazo zinabebwa na wahalifu hao. Ikiwa wahalifu hao watabeba bunduki za G3, AK 47 na hand-grenades, raia pia wanapaswa kupewa silaha kama hizo ili wakabiliane na hao majambazi. Tumeona hali hiyo katika sehemu chache ambako raia wameruhusiwa kuwa na silaha zao wenyewe. Serikali imewapatia silaha na hali ya usalama imeimarika na raia wa sehemu hizo wamepewa uwezo wa kujifanyia kazi yao bila ya wasi wasi wowote. Wakati mwingine, askari wetu wakienda katika sehemu hizo wanaambiwa na raia "majambazi wamepita hapa saa hizi", na watu wetu wanaambiwa "nyinyi kwa nyinyi"; yaani wao wenyewe kwa wenyewe wanapigana. Hakuna haja ya kuwatia wasiwasi kama huo. Raia wanafaa kupewa silaha, hata kama ni bomu. Kama Serikali haina fedha, inafaa iwaruhusu watu wanunue bunduki zao wenyewe. Hali ya usalama ikiimarika sehemu za ASAL, tunaweza kuanza kuzungumza juu ya njia za kukabiliana na umaskini. Lakini bila usalama, mambo hayo yote hayataweza kutimizwa.

Ningependa pia kutaja juu ya mambo yanayohusiana na ardhi kwa sababu bila ardhi, uchumi wa nchi hii hautaweza kufanikiwa katika hali yoyote. Mambo mawili katika Kenya hii leo yanaendelea kusikitisha sana. Kuna wale ambao wanaweza kupata ardhi kupita kiasi. Kisha kuna wale ambao hawana namna yoyote ya kupata ardhi. Maongozi kuhusu ardhi katika nchi hii yamekuwa mabaya hivi kwamba wengine wana ardhi nyingi zaidi ambayo hata hawajui wataifanya nini na wenyewe wanaishi mjini huku ardhi zao zikilala bure. Kwa mfano, ardhi nyingi katika sehemu za ASAL; kuna shamba kubwa sana katika Kenya yote, lenye ekari milioni moja na nusu na kuna ng'ombe 10,000. Ardhi hiyo ina uwezo wa kubeba ng'ombe 70,000 kwa mwaka bila matatizo yoyote. Lakini katika hali hii, ardhi hiyo ya ekari 1.5 milioni ya Galana Ranch, kila ng'ombe mmoja ana nafasi ya ekari 500. Katika hali

kama hiyo, hatuna uwezo wowote wa kuzungumza mambo ya kupunguza umaskini. Tumezidisha umaskini. Wananchi wakipewa nafasi ya kuitumia ardhi hiyo, utaona kwamba ardhi hiyo inaweza kubeba ng'ombe mmoja kwa ekari 15 lakini sasa kila ng'ombe ana ekari 500, na umaskini unazidi kutulemea.

Bw. Naibu Spika, kisha kuna wale wengine ambao hawana hata kipande cha ardhi. Hali kama hiyo ndiyo inatusikitisha, na ni lazima iangaliwe na ichunguzwe kabisa. Elimu katika sehemu hizi za ASAL ni ya kusikitisha, na hata katika nchi nzima. Hali ya kuhamahama ni hali ya maisha ya wale watu. Uchumi wao unategemea kuhamahama. Katika sehemu za ASAL, huwezi kulazimisha watu wakae katika sehemu moja ili watoto wao wasome katika shule moja kwa sababu ni hali yao ya maisha. Kwa sababu ya hali hiyo ya kuhamahama, tunaona kwamba kiwango cha elimu katika sehemu hizi ni cha chini sana kuliko sehemu nyingine zote katika nchi hii. Kwa nini tusiwe tunaangalia mbele, tufikirie hali ya mfumo wa elimu ambao utawalinda wale wananchi wanaohamahama? Kwa nini tusiwe na shule za kuhamahama, ili hao watoto pia wanufaike, hata kama ni katika viwango vya chini, kuanzia darasa la kwanza hadi la nne? Shule za bweni zinafaa kutiliwa mkazo nomadic boarding schools - katika sehemu hizi. Itakuwa vigumu sana kukabiliana na hali ya ujinga na kutojua kusoma na kuandika ikiwa wafugaji wataendelea kuhamahama, na mtindo wa elimu ni ule ule wa watu ambao wanaishi pahali pamoja. Hizi mbili haziwezi kutengamana.

Ni heri Serikali ifanye kazi yake na raia wafanye kazi zao. Matatizo yanatokea wakati Serikali inafanya kazi ambayo raia wanaweza kujifanyia wao wenyewe. Kwa mfano, ukuzaji wa mchele umefanywa na raia wa sehemu yangu ya uwakilishi Bungeni kwa miaka mingi sana. Katika Wilaya ya Tana River, mchele na pamba zimekuzwa kwa miaka mingi sana. Shida ya umaskini ilizidi mpaka sasa wananchi wanalishwa kupitia chakula cha msaada yaani famine relief food. Hii ni kwa sababu mradi kubwa wa Bura Irrigation Scheme--- Serikali ilijaribu kufanya ile kazi ambayo raia wangeweza kujifanyia wenyewe. Ekari nyingi sana zilichukuliwa na Serikali katika kujaribu kulima pamba ambayo raia wangelima kwa urahisi sana katika Bura na Hola Irrigation Schemes. Sasa kuna Lower Tana Delta Irrigation Scheme ya kukuza mchele. Wapokomo wa Tana River wamekuza mchele kwa karne nyingi. Huo ndio mradi wa pekee ambao unafanya kazi -Lower Tana Delta Rice Irrigation Scheme, na baada ya miaka miwili au mitatu, mradi huo utazama bila shaka kwa sababu tuna ujuzi kuhusu miradi kama hiyo. Miradi ya Bura na Hola, yote zilizama. Dalili ya mvua ni mawingu. Tayari, dalili inaonyesha kwamba baada ya kutumia Kshs3 billioni kutengeneza sehemu ya kwanza ya mradi huo, wameanza kuomba Kshs1.5 billioni ili waanze kujenga vile vifaa vilivyovunjwa na mvua ya El-Nino.

Bw. Naibu Spika, ningependa pia kuongeza kwamba katika Wilaya ya Tana River, chochote kinachofanywa kuhusu nguvu za umeme katika upande wa juu wa mto, kinaleta madhara katika Tana River. Wakati mvua inanyesha, bwawa likifunguliwa, linasababisha madhara. Na wakati bwawa linafungwa---

Mr. Parpai: Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to express my views on the Presidential Speech. First and foremost, the Presidential Speech highlighted very many issues; education, corruption, insecurity, poverty and all that. All those issues were highlighted in the Presidential Speech, but the way they were presented leaves a lot to be desired. This is because we expected an affirmative action. We have met in several forums: we met in

Mombasa, in Mbagathi and very many other venues, to talk about all that was contained in that Speech. We expected some action. I expected, as a Member of Parliament, to be told of the very big names that have been floated around, of people who are corrupt and who have fleeced this country and brought us to where we are. It is so interesting to cry foul and say that there is corruption and insecurity when, in fact, we expect to be protected by the same speaker.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, this Government always produces and publishes very beautiful policy papers without implementation. We are now looking forward to seeing these policies implemented. There is no point in having sleepless nights, writing something beautiful, when you know that you do not have it in your heart. You either write and implement it or forget about it!

It was the other day when the Minister for Education and Human Resource Development brought a Bill here, wanting to reduce the number of teachers. It is indeed interesting! In my own constituency, I have a shortfall of 130 primary teachers. I am not talking of retrenchment; I am talking of recruiting teachers. These policies are written in Nairobi without regard to what is happening on the ground. We, people, who come from semi-arid areas suffer quite a lot. Our children walk miles and miles to get to school. We want those distances reduced. How do we reduce those distances if teachers will be retrenched, and if there will be no teacher training colleges? It is the joke of the day. Whoever wrote that paper did not have the facts on the ground.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir---

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Hon. Parpai, you can utilize the remaining part of your time next week.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Hon. Members, it is now time to interrupt the business of the House. This House, therefore, stands adjourned until Tuesday, 13th April, 1999, at 2.30 p.m.

The House rose at 6.30 p.m.