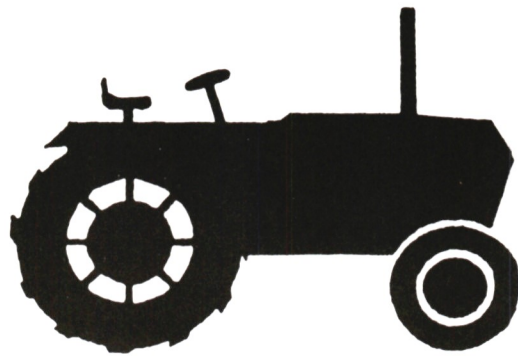


A manifesto for change

National Development Party : General Election 1997

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**National
Development
Party**

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‘We work for a just society, which judges its strength by the condition of the weak as much as the strong, and provides security against fear, and justice at work; which nurtures families and ensures access to health care for all; and which provides an education system that encourages a striving for excellence and equality of opportunity. We work for a dynamic economy, in which enterprise, partnership and co-operation join to produce the wealth the nation needs. We work for an open democracy, in which government is held to account by the people and a healthy civil society functions, promoting social welfare and the participation of women and youth.’ • — *National Development Party Constitution*



THIS will be the last election before the turn of the century. The choice you make will shape this country for the next

five years. And the next five years will be crucial to deciding whether Kenya sinks or swims in the world's family of nations.

There are no instant solutions to Kenya's problems, for Kanu's mismanagement and corruption and insatiable greed over three decades has plummeted us to the bottom of an abyss. We must now struggle to rise up and take charge of the proper destiny of our nation again.

The way forward will not be easy. Our society is divided in a way that it has never been before, because of the need of the rulers we have had so far to foster tribalism as a means of maintaining their hold on power.

We in the National Development Party reject this entirely. We want to modernise politics to remove the presidential stranglehold on power. We want to give people more say in the way Kenya is governed. We want to build a fair and open society in which individuals become self-reliant and productive and, in the process, renew their self-respect.

In our new Kenya, we shall work to provide equal opportunity for each individual, family, clan and community, so that they may develop their talents, resources and potentials to the full. We hold the profound belief that individuals prosper best when supported by a strong

and active community, and that people owe a duty to each other as well as to themselves. We believe that this old but enduring idea holds the key to social, political and economic change.

We want to build a thriving, expanding economy which offers people rewarding jobs and fulfilling careers and an escape from poverty. We believe the interests of the majority of people lie in new opportunities, in a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, in freedom from hunger, in equal educational opportunities, in better health care and in decent housing, as well as in greater freedom, social justice and good services for everyone.

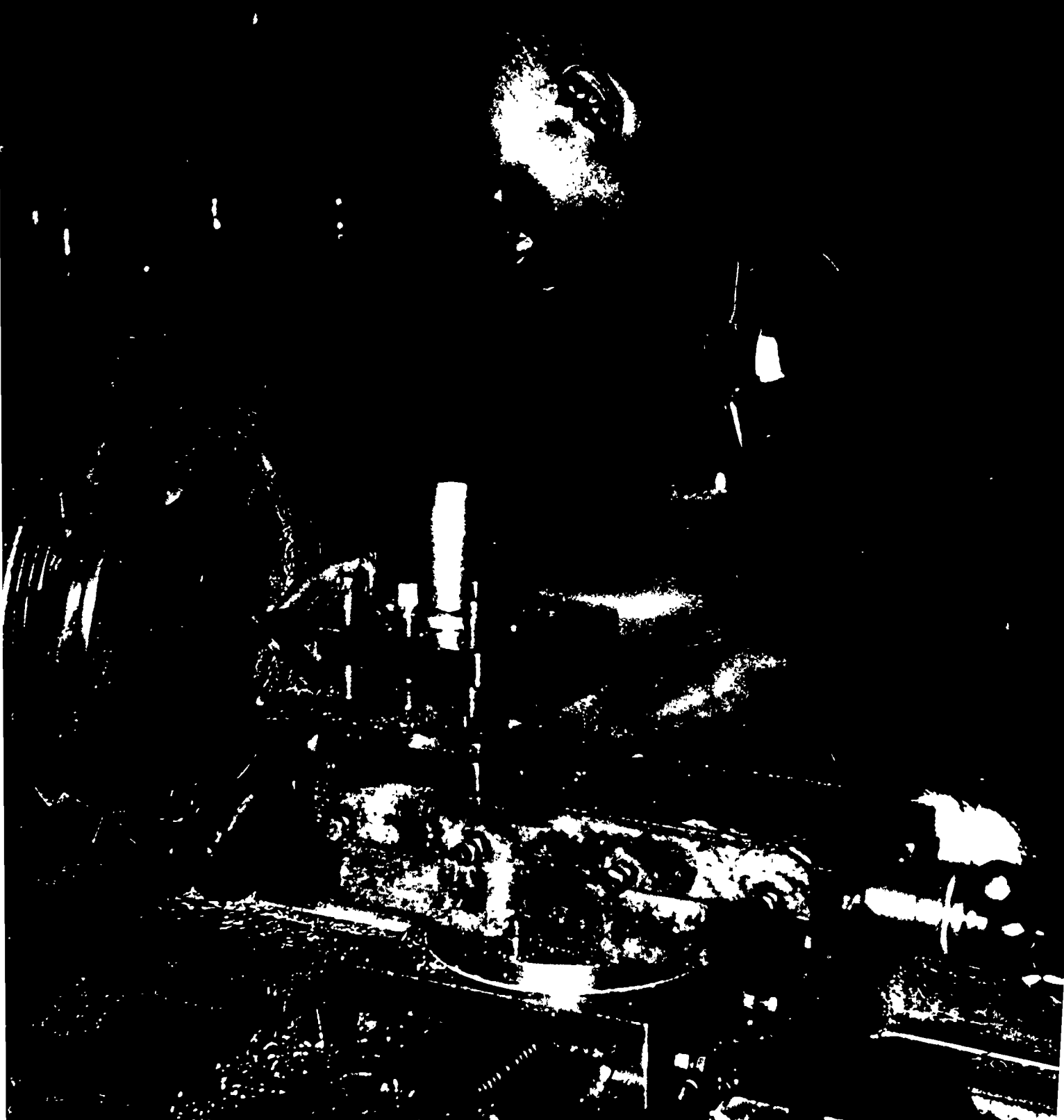
The National Development Party has planned this manifesto and its costings supplement to tell you how we shall achieve these changes in our society.

Your vote can make a real difference – either ensuring that we continue in the same way, with the country and its citizens getting poorer and poorer, and hungrier and hungrier, or ensuring that we begin the rebuilding of our nation.

Every vote the National Development Party gets and every seat the National Development Party wins will be a victory for all Kenyans.

Raila Amolo Odinga

*'Which party will be best
for business and jobs?'*



The problem:

- Unemployment has become national enemy number one.
- Despite living in a country of huge potential in land and in physical and human resources, Kenyans are caught in a poverty trap from which there appears no escape.
- We continue to be held back by corruption in economic management and chronic under-investment.
- The government consumes too much and invests too little.

INVESTING IN KENYA'S FUTURE

Building economic stability, creating a fostering environment for private business and supporting small and medium-sized firms are all crucial to long-term economic success.

We will:

- * Boost regional and local economies by investment in small and medium-sized businesses.
- * Set aside funding for investment in rural areas, including investment in infrastructure – roads, electricity and telephones.
- * Support industrial research and development.
- * Raise the quality of the workforce through investment in education and training to increase the skills base.
- * Institute efficiency savings and ensure responsible economic

management.

- * Get rid of the bureaucracy that hampers business growth.

OUR PLANS FOR BOOSTING INVESTMENT IN INFRASTRUCTURE AND PROMOTING SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES WILL CREATE THOUSANDS OF EXTRA JOBS.

We will ensure that:

- ⇒ The banks develop new codes of practice for small and medium-sized businesses.
- ⇒ Government purchasing gives special emphasis and easier access to small and medium-sized firms.
- ⇒ We boost regional economies by giving more power to elected councils to raise capital for local infrastructural investment, in partnership with the private sector.
- ⇒ We encourage industrial and commercial development by promoting new geographical centres of excellence.
- ⇒ We provide stable economic management to foster a job-creation environment.
- ⇒ We encourage a culture of long-term business investment, where investors become an integral part of the Kenya economy.
- ⇒ We expand support for science and research and bring together the resources of industry, academia and government departments.
- ⇒ We make Kenya competitive.



*erty will make sure
s enough to eat?*

S

The problem:

- People are very hungry.
- Key agricultural areas are often cut off because roads are not built or repaired.
- Agricultural areas are poorly served by electricity and telephones.
- Extension, seed and fertiliser services have all deteriorated to the point where they are no longer useful.
- Farmers are cheated at government weighing stations.
- Farmers' payments are delayed and minimised by unnecessary deductions.
- Imported foodstuffs spoil local farmers' markets.
- Corruption pervades the administration of the food-producing sector.

FOOD ENOUGH FOR EVERYONE

Our plan to draw up a national strategy for farming, to provide a framework for policy and decision-making over the next 10 years, is vital to the regeneration of the food-production industry.

We will:

- * Refurbish roads and transport.
- * Speed up electrification and the provision of telephone and irrigation services.
- * Invest in research on improved yields and make the resulting seeds available to farmers.
- * Rehabilitate extension services.

- * Make provision for farm-input subsidies.
- * Eradicate corruption at weighing and marketing points.
- * Improve marketing methods.
- * Clamp down on imports detrimental to farmers and consumers.
- * Remove the five per cent presumptive tax.
- * Reform the co-operative movement by devolving power from central government.
- * Guarantee access to soft-credit facilities for food producers.

**OUR PLANS FOR EFFICIENCY-
RESTRUCTURING OF THE COLLECTION,
MARKETING AND PAYMENT OF
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE WILL
REVOLUTIONISE THE NATION'S FOOD
SECURITY.**

We will ensure that:

- ⇒ Strategic national food reserves are always covered.
- ⇒ Farmers get a fair price for a fair crop.
- ⇒ Fertilisers are appropriate to the job required, or the provider will be required to compensate farmers.
- ⇒ Corrupt weighing and marketing officials are prosecuted.
- ⇒ The livelihoods of fishing communities are protected.
- ⇒ Farming operates in a competitive domestic economy.

*'Which parent will give my
child a proper education?'*



The problem:

- Primary education which is supposed to be free in reality costs more than most parents can afford.
- Secondary education is too expensive for most families.
- The hurriedly-introduced 8.4.4. system has failed to achieve any of its objectives.
- Teaching standards have declined.
- Many schools cannot provide books and basic classroom amenities, like desks and chairs.
- Most schools have inadequate or no science or other curricular equipment.
- Building levies have placed a severe burden on parents.
- Lack of funding for development and research means universities are no longer academically competitive.

LEARNING IS FOR LIFE

The challenge is to create an education and training system which ensures people can realise their full potential in society, and which is broad-based, responsive to national needs and individually self-fulfilling.

We will:

- * Provide free and compulsory education from pre-primary through primary school.
- * Abolish the 8.4.4. system and replace it with a 7.6.3 system.

- * Provide secondary education that is affordable, sound, equitable and dynamic.
- * Increase funding for books and equipment.
- * Make financial provision to tackle the backlog of repairs, maintenance and new building.
- * Finance Special Needs in mainstream schools.
- * Provide for attention to the interests of female students.
- * Review terms and conditions of teachers and institute refresher courses to help improve standards.
- * Depoliticise the administration and management of public universities and democratise the entire university system.
- * Promote linkages between sectors to aid university funding.
- * Introduce an educational management policy to provide for collective decision-making.

OUR PLANS FOR CHANGES TO THE CURRENT FRAGMENTED, UNEQUAL AND UNDEMOCRATIC NATURE OF EDUCATION WILL HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND OF SOCIETY.

We will ensure that:

- ⇒ Qualified but needy students get bursaries to enable them to continue their education.
- ⇒ The education curriculum is more balanced and goal-oriented.
- ⇒ Academic freedom is assured in all institutions of learning.

*'Which party will look after
me when I am ill?'*



The problem:

- Inappropriate health-care and population policies, coupled with gross mismanagement of this sector and political interference, have had disastrous results on the provision of health services.
- People in many areas do not have easy access to first-line health-care centres; lack of investment means only private facilities are available, and these are too expensive for most people to afford.
- Where medical centres exist, they have no drugs and are ill-equipped and manned by poorly-paid and under-trained personnel.
- Morale is low among staff, who are unable to do a proper job.
- Government's promises of clean water for the entire population by the year 2000 are vastly off-course.
- Health provision has been destroyed by rampant corruption in the government system of procurement of drugs.
- Hospital beds and services are inadequate.
- Bureaucracy has replaced patient-care.

A HEALTHY MIND IN A HEALTHY BODY

A review of current policies on health care and population will lead to clear and socially-responsive arrangements that match facilities to needs and offer quality health care to everyone

We will:

- * Provide free basic medical services for common illnesses.
- * Provide a subsidised Medicare system for specialised cases.
- * Ensure adequate training and equitable distribution of health workers and medical facilities nationwide.
- * Review and improve terms and conditions of service of doctors, nurses and paramedical staff.
- * Improve the quality of inhouse training for medical personnel.
- * Formulate education policies on the prevention of communicable diseases, like Aids.
- * Establish systems to eradicate corruption in drugs provision.
- * Make provision for the building and maintenance of centres.
- * Speed up the nationwide provision of clean water.

BRINGING HEALTH SERVICES CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE AND CONCENTRATING ON PREVENTIVE HEALTH CARE WILL BE AT THE HEART OF GOVERNMENT POLICY.

We will ensure that:

- ⇒ Local institutions are responsive to patient needs.
- ⇒ There is a national effort to cut time spent waiting for treatment.
- ⇒ People who are ill are treated with the dignity they deserve.

*'Which party will make us
feel safe in the streets and
secure in our homes?'*



The problem:

- Crime, homelessness and insecurity threaten the very fabric of society.
- Housing is totally inadequate and slums are mushrooming.
- There is no clear policy on housing and the current regime's practice of selling government houses to selected individuals aggravates the problem.
- Poor road and transport systems limit people's chances of self-improvement.
- There is no social welfare system to help the many Kenyans living below the poverty line.
- Kenyans live in fear of state security agents.
- Defence and security forces are ethnically dominated.
- Poorly-paid police officers have lost the ethic of service to the people.
- Crime has become a pervasive problem to which the response is listless.
- Prisons are overcrowded and brutal.

SOMEWHERE TO COME HOME TO

Extortionate house prices and construction costs and poor housing have made life impossible for millions and helped wreck the economy. Building more affordable and secure housing will be an NDP priority.

We will:

- * Offer affordable mortgage schemes to owner-occupiers.
- * Initiate clear policy putting an end to illegal structures.
- * Build houses for local residents through local authorities.
- * Ensure that housing developments are well-planned schemes with adequate basis social amenities.
- * Upgrade roads and develop a national public transport system.
- * Initiate a social welfare policy to assist those in greatest need.
- * Retrain and restructure the entire police force.
- * Ensure that corrupt or brutal police officers are prosecuted.
- * Overhaul the courts system to ensure more justice for the innocent.
- * Retrain prison officials and reform the entire infrastructure and systems governing imprisonment. (This is a long-term policy.)

THE NDP'S POLICY ON ENSURING HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS ARE LOCATED CLOSER TO WORK PLACES WILL BE A MAJOR BOON TO THE ECONOMY.

We will ensure that:

- ⇒ Everyone has a safe and secure place to live.
- ⇒ There is a focus on crime prevention.
- ⇒ The criminal justice system is strengthened.

The Environment

The National Development Party strongly believes in a sound environment management policy and in the intrinsic value of biological diversity and its components. The NDP's environment policy is meant to realise the conservation, protection and improvement of the physical environment for sustainable development. We will: promote such conservation through appropriate legislation and sound management policies; promote through policy reviews the protection of major ecosystems and other natural habitats, such as forests, fresh waters, marine waters, wetlands, savannah and woodlands, as well as wildlife; promote environmentally-sound development in areas adjacent to protected areas, to enhance that protection; regulate, manage and control the use and release of chemicals and organisms that might affect the environment; link environmental defence and taxation. The NDP will work for a healthy environment, which we will protect, enhance and hold in trust for future generations.

Gender

The NDP believes that the full and complete development of Kenya and the welfare and prosperity of its people require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields.

In order to address gender issues, the NDP will: promote programmes for women's development through affirmative action; review, with a view to expunging, repugnant laws that discriminate against women; encourage and support more women in their joining the political mainstream; promote women economically by removing the obstacles that deter them from obtaining direct credit access from financial institutions and other income-generating projects and activities.

In all regards, the NDP fully subscribes to the Beijing platform of action of 1995.

Youth

An NDP government will nurture youth, both for future leadership and for national development. The NDP will assist youth development by: the provision of grants and soft loans for income-generating projects; the instilling of cultural values important to Kenyan society; promoting participation in political affairs; encouraging groups for development.

Human Rights

The NDP recognises freedom from hunger and poverty and adequate shelter as the most basic human rights of all and will work to ensure these for all Kenyans. The NDP will free Kenyans from tyranny, corruption, torture, fear, legal injustice, judicial partiality, abuse of power, curtailment of civil liberties and political and personal disempowerment.



NDP Party Leader Raila Amolo Odinga

In this manifesto, we have set out a long-term programme
to improve the lives of all Kenyans.

Your vote can make a real difference to your family's future.

Vote wisely.

VOTE NDP.

Kanu's empty promises

KANU made a lot of promises in its 1992 manifesto. It has kept virtually none of them. A study of the 1997 Economic Survey gives the full dismal picture. And five years later, in its 1997 manifesto, Kanu is promising almost the same things again.

A vote for the NDP is a vote for an end to these empty promises.

KANU'S 1992 MANIFESTO CLAIMS AND PROMISES	KANU'S PERFORMANCE, ACCORDING TO THE 1997 ECONOMIC SURVEY	KANU'S 1997 MANIFESTO CLAIMS AND PROMISES
1. The Kanu government is committed to ensuring accountability and transparency in the management of public affairs. Kanu will supply the political will to root out corruption in the civil services.	Wide complaints on corruption locally and by world financiers concerning, among other things, Goldenberg and corruption in the Ministry of Energy.	Kanu is committed to the ongoing reform process, as well as ensuring accountability
2. Investment, and hence employment, will be encouraged.	Kenya's population of absolute poor persons is some 12 million.	We have come a long way, even if the war against poverty and unemployment has yet to be won.
3. Since Independence, average rural family incomes have steadily increased.	A participatory poverty assessment study conducted in November/December 1994 in seven districts shows that the poverty situation has worsened compared with five years ago.	A Kanu government will take steps to increase investment and savings to 30 per cent and 25 per cent respectively.
4. In agriculture, Kanu is proud of the growth rate since Independence. Kanu will ensure national food sufficiency.	The production of food crops has experienced a substantial decline, culminating in a food crisis at the end of 1996. Maize production fell from 29 million bags in 1994 to 19 million bags in the 1996 crop-year. Overall cereal production fell sharply in 1996.	A Kanu government will expand agricultural production to ensure adequate food provision for the people. A Kanu government will pursue a policy aimed at food security for Kenyans. A Kanu government still supports the liberalisation of the cereals sector.
5. Kanu is committed to implementing a massive afforestation programme over the next five years.	Kenya has continued to witness deforestation and soil erosion. Currently, an average of 500 hectares of forest land is lost annually.	Kanu is committed to ensuring that all areas with environmental degradation are rehabilitated.

6. A Kanu government will support improved fishing techniques, especially along the coast, to raise the fish catch to 245,000MT per year.	This sector has a potential of 552,000MT a year. Marine fishing alone should yield 260,000MT but at present is producing a mere 5,000MT per annum, down from 6,000MT in 1992.	A Kanu government will promote local and foreign investors in order to develop the fish-processing sector.
7. [No mention of the pyrethrum industry]	Production of pyrethrum continues to go down. 1996 production was 24 per cent lower than 1995.	The Kanu government has taken appropriate corrective action to address problems facing the pyrethrum industry and will ensure further improved production per hectare.
8. A Kanu government will revitalise the cotton industry.	The cotton industry continues to experience problems as a result of liberalisation, which has encouraged competition from cheap imports.	Due to the declining trends in cotton production, a new Cotton Act has been drafted to allow farmers to manage the industry.
9. A Kanu government will encourage workers to form buy-out groups for parastatals being divested.	This has not been promoted sufficiently.	A Kanu government will help workers to form buy-out groups for businesses from which the government is divesting.



Financial scandals: A selection of the thefts of public funds under the Kanu regime 1986-97

Under the Kanu regime, massive looting of public corporations and public funds has been the order of the day. The following is a selection of documented thefts whose perpetrators have been either senior politicians, their family members or politically-well-connected individuals. **This selection totals more than Kshs. 118 billion (UK£1.18 billion).**

Scandal	Amount involved (Kshs.)	Source
1. Central Bank of Kenya	35.0 billion	Auditor-General's Report 1992-1
2. Goldenberg	18.5 billion	Auditor-General's Report 1992-1, <i>Daily Nation</i> June 3-8, 1993
3. National Social Security Fund	11.5 billion	Auditor-General's Report 1992-1
4. PostBank Credit	9.5 billion	Auditor-General's Report 1992-1
5. Turkwell Gorge dam project	7.5 billion	Auditor-General's Report, 1986-7-8
6. Ministry of Health, non-delivery of medical supplies	7.2 billion	<i>The People</i> , June 25, 1996
7. Kenya Airways	5.4 billion	Auditor-General's Report, 1986-7-8
8. BCCI	5.0 billion	Auditor-General's Report, 1992-1
9. Eldoret Airport	3.0 billion	Auditor-General's Report 1986-7-8
10. Kenya National Assurance Corporation	3.0 billion	Auditor-General's Report 1992-1
11. Trade Bank building	2.5 billion	Auditor-General's Report, 1992-1
12. Fourth All-Africa Games	2.0 billion	Auditor-General's Report 1986-7-8
13. Office of the President (non-delivery of machinery paid for)	2.0 billion	Auditor-General's Report 1992-1
14. Office of the President (non-delivery of equipment paid for)	2.0 billion	<i>The People</i> , July 25, 1993
15. National Oil Corporation of Kenya deal	1.010 billion	<i>The People</i> , March 21, 1993
16. Forex-C manipulation	1.0 billion	<i>Daily Nation</i> , October 19, 1996
17. Kenya Farmers' Association	800 million	<i>Daily Nation</i> , May 25, 1997
18. Kenya Grain Growers' Cooperative Union	763 million	Auditor-General's Report, 1986-7-8
19. Treasury computerisation tender	168 million	<i>The People</i> , March 22, 1996
20. Car import duty evasion	120 million	<i>The People</i> , February 16, 1996
21. Sale of public graveyard	97 million	<i>The People</i> , September 19, 1993
22. Import duty evasion on second-hand clothes	50 million	<i>The People</i> , May 23, 1993
23. Brollo (K) looting of funds	45 million	<i>Daily Nation</i> , January 14, 1994
24. National Cereals Produce Board	34 million	Auditor-General's Report, 1986-7-8
25. Collapsed Milling Corporation of Kenya	20 million	Auditor-General's Report 1986-7-8
26. NSSF quarry purchase	16 million	<i>EA Standard</i> , December 9, 1995
	118.223 billion	



**National
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