

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT – THIRD SESSION – 2024

DIRECTORATE OF DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES

DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON FINANCE AND NATIONAL PLANNING

REPORT ON:

THE CONSIDERATION OF PARLIAMENTARY PENSIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BILL NO. 15 OF 2023)

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
PAPERS LAID

DATE: 11 APR 2024 THUR

TABLED HON KURIA KIMANI, MP

(CHAIPPERSON)

CLERK-AT THE-TABLE: A. SHIBUKO

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CRA - Commission on Revenue Allocation

MP - Member of Parliament

ODM - Orange Democratic Movement

SRC - Salaries and Remuneration Commission

UDA - United Democratic Alliance

US - United States

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CHAIRPERSON'S FOREWORD

This report contains the proceedings of the Departmental Committee on Finance and National Planning on the consideration of the Parliamentary Pensions (Amendment) Bill, 2023 (National Assembly Bills No. 15 of 2023), sponsored by Hon. John Waluke, M.P., Member of Parliament for Sirisia Constituency. The Bill was published on 12th May, 2023. It was read for a First time on 2nd August 2023 and was then committed to the Committee on 6th August 2023 for consideration and reporting to the House.

The principal object of the Bill is to amend the Parliamentary Pensions Act to provide that those former Members of Parliament who served in Parliament between 1st July 1984 and 1st January 2001 be entitled to a monthly pension amounting to not less than Kshs. 100,000 per month.

The proposal was first contained in the report of the Akiwumi Tribunal which was published in 2010, when reviewing benefits for Members of Parliament. The Tribunal recommended a minimum living pension of USD 1000 for all former Members of Parliament.

In compliance with Article 118(b) of the Constitution and Standing Order 127(3), the Clerk of the National Assembly placed an advertisement in the print media on 9th August 2023 inviting the public to submit memoranda by way of written statements on the Bill.

In addition, the Clerk of the National Assembly vide letter REF: NA/DDC/F&NP/2023/129 dated 16th October 2023, invited key stakeholders to submit views on the Bill and attend a public participation forum on Thursday 26th October 2023. The memoranda were to be received on or before Tuesday 22nd August 2023 at 5.00 pm (East African Time).

The Former Parliamentarians Association of Kenya, the Parliamentary Service Commission, the Salaries and Remuneration Commission, the National Treasury and the sponsor of the Bill appeared before the Committee and gave their views on the Bill which the Committee considered in the preparation of this report. They also submitted their memoranda except for the sponsor of the Bill.

While considering the Bill, the Committee observed that the principal object of the Bill is to amend the Parliamentary Pensions Act to provide that those former Members of Parliament who served in Parliament between 1st July 1984 and 1st January 2001 be entitled to a monthly pension amounting to not less than Kshs. 100,000/~ per month.

The Committee is grateful to the Offices of the Speaker and Clerk of the National Assembly for the logistical and technical support accorded to it during its consideration of the Bill. The Committee further wishes to commend the Former Parliamentarians Association of Kenya, the Parliamentary Service Commission, the Salaries and Remuneration Commission, and the National Treasury for submitting their views on the Bill.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to the Honourable Members of the Committee and the Committee Secretariat who made invaluable contributions towards the preparation and production of this report.

On behalf of the Departmental Committee on Finance and National Planning and pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order 199(6), it is my singular honour to present to this House the Report of the Committee on its consideration of the Parliamentary Pensions (Amendment) Bill, 2023 (National Assembly Bills No. 15 of 2023).

Hon. CPA. Kuria Kimani, M.P.

Chairperson, Departmental Committee on Finance and National Planning

See http://www.parliament.go.ke/the-national-assembly/standing-orders

CHAPTER ONE

1 PREFACE

1.1 ESTABLISHMENT AND MANDATE OF THE COMMITTEE

- 1. The Departmental Committee on Finance and National Planning is one of twenty departmental committees of the National Assembly established under **Standing Order 216** whose mandate pursuant to the **Standing Order 216 (5)** is as follows:
 - a) To investigate, inquire into, and report on all matters relating to the mandate, management, activities, administration, operations and estimates of the assigned ministries and departments;
 - b) To study the programme and policy objectives of ministries and departments and the effectiveness of the implementation;
 - c) To, on a quarterly basis, monitor and report on the implementation of the national budget in respect of its mandate;
 - d) To study and review all legislation referred to it;
 - e) To study, assess and analyse the relative success of the ministries and departments as measured by the results obtained as compared with their stated objectives;
 - f) To investigate and inquire into all matters relating to the assigned ministries and departments as they may deem necessary, and as may be referred to them by the House;
 - g) To vet and report on all appointments where the Constitution or any law requires the National Assembly to approve, except those under Standing Order 204 (Committee on Appointments);
 - h) To examine treaties, agreements and conventions;
 - i) To make reports and recommendations to the House as often as possible, including recommendations of proposed legislation;
 - j) To consider reports of Commissions and Independent Offices submitted to the House pursuant to the provisions of Article 254 of the Constitution; and

- k) To examine any questions raised by Members on a matter within its mandate.
- 2. The Second Schedule to the National Assembly Standing Orders assigns the Committee the mandate to consider matters in relation to public finance, public audit policies, monetary policies, financial institutions, economy, investment policies, competition, banking, insurance, national statistics, population, revenue policies including taxation, national planning and development, digital finance, including digital currency.
- 3. In executing its mandate, the Committee oversees the following Ministries/Departments:
 - a) The National Treasury and Planning.
 - b) State Department for Economic Planning.
 - c) The Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA)
 - d) Office of the Controller of Budget

1.2 2 COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

4. The Departmental Committee on Finance and National Planning was constituted by the House on 27th October 2022 and comprises the following Members:

Chairperson

Hon. CPA Kuria Kimani, MP Molo Constituency UDA Party

Vice-Chairperson

Hon. (Amb.) Langat Benjamin Kipkirui, MP Ainamoi Constituency

UDA Party Members

Hon. Dr. Keynan, Wehliye Adan, MP Eldas Constituency Jubilee Party

Hon. CPA Oyula, Joseph Maero, MP Butula Constituency <u>ODM Party</u>

Hon. Mboni, David Mwalika, MP Kitui Rural Constituency **WDM Party**

Hon. Okuome Adipo Andrew, MP Karachuonyo Constituency ODM Party

Hon. Kipkoros, Joseph Makilap, MP Baringo North Constituency UDA Party

Hon. CPA Rutto Julius Kipletting, MP Kesses Constituency UDA Party

Hon. Biego Paul Kibichiy, MP Chesumei Constituency UDA Party Hon. Sunkuyia, George Risa, MP Kajiado West Constituency UDA Party

Hon. Joseph K. Munyoro, MP Kigumo Constituency <u>UDA Party</u>

Hon. Sheikh Umul K Kassim, MP Mandera County <u>UDM Party</u>

Hon. Dr. Shadrack I. Mwiti, MP South Imenti Constituency Jubilee Party

Hon. Dr. Ariko John Namoit, MP Turkana South Constituency ODM Part

Hon. Machele M. Soud, MP Mvita Constituency ODM Party

1.3 COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT

5. The Committee is facilitated by the following Parliamentary staff:

Mr. Benjamin Magut Principal Clerk Assistant /Head of Secretariat

Ms. Jennifer Ndeto
Deputy Director, Legal Services

Mr. Benson Kamande Clerk Assistant III

Mr. Salem Lorot Legal Counsel I Ms. Winfred Kambua Clerk Assistant III

Mr. George Ndenjeshe Fiscal Analyst III

Mr. James Macharia Media Relations Officer

Mr. Andrew Jumanne Shangarai Principal Serjeant-At-Arms Ms. Joyce Wachera Hansard Reporter III

Mr. Benson Muthuri
Assistant Serjeant-At-Arms

Mr. Chelanga Maiyo Principal Research Officer

Ms. Nelly W. Ondieki Research Officer III Mr. Mwangi Muchiri Audio Officer

See: http://www.parliament.go.ke/the-national-assembly/committees/12/finance-and-planning

CHAPTER TWO

2 OVERVIEW OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PENSIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2023 (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BILLS NO. 15 OF 2023)

2.1 BACKGROUND

- 6. The Parliamentary Pensions (Amendment) Bill, 2023 (National Assembly Bills No. 15 of 2023), is sponsored by the Honourable John Waluke, M.P., Member of Parliament for Sirisia Constituency. The Bill was published on 12th May, 2023. It was read for a First time on 2nd August 2023 and was then committed to the Committee for consideration and reporting to the House.
- 7. The principal object of the Bill is to amend the Parliamentary Pensions Act to provide that those former Members of Parliament who served in Parliament between 1st July 1984 and 1st January 2001 be entitled to a monthly pension amounting to not less than Kshs. 100,000/- per month.
- 8. The proposal was first contained in the report of the Akiwumi Tribunal which was published in 2010, when reviewing benefits for Members of Parliament. The Tribunal recommended a minimum living pension of Kshs. 100,000 for all former Members of Parliament.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF THE BILL

- 9. The Bill contains 2 clauses. Clause 1 provides for the short title while clause 2 seeks to amend section 8 of the Parliamentary Pensions Act.
- 10. Clause 2 of the Bill seeks to amend section 8 of the Parliamentary Pensions Act to provide that a former Member of Parliament who, having served in Parliament between 1st July 1984 and 1st January 2001 and is entitled to a pension, and whose monthly pension amounts to less than one hundred thousand shillings shall be entitled to a monthly pension of one hundred thousand shillings.

- 11. The Tribunal appointed by the Parliamentary Service Commission to Review and Make Recommendations on the Terms and Conditions of Service for Members and Staff of the National Assembly chaired by the Hon. (Rtd.) Mr Justice A.M Akiwumi presented its report to the Hon. Kenneth O. Marende, E.G.H, MP, the then Speaker of the National Assembly of Kenya on Thursday, 12th November 2009.
- 12. The Akiwumi Tribunal Report contained six chapters on the following subjects:
 - I. Review of the terms and conditions of service of Members of Parliament;
 - II. Review of the facilities and amenities within the precincts of the National Assembly and in the constituencies and recommendations on the training and external exposure for Members of Parliament;
 - III. Review of the salaries, allowances and benefits payable to the Prime Minister, Vice President, the Speaker, Deputy Prime Minister, Deputy Speaker, Minister, Leader of the Official Opposition, Parliamentary Service Commissioner, Government Chief Whip, Assistant Minister, Deputy Government Chief Whip, Opposition Whips, Member of Speakers Panel, other recognized Whips, Chairman of Departmental or Select Committee, Member of Departmental or Select Committee, Member of Parliament, and any other position of responsibility held by a Member of Parliament and recommendations hereon;
 - IV. Review of the retirement benefits payable to the Prime Minister, Vice President, the Speaker, Deputy Prime Minister, Deputy Speaker, Minister, Leader of the Official Opposition, Parliamentary Service Commissioner, Government Chief Whip, Assistant Minister, Deputy Government Chief Whip, Opposition Whips, Member of Speakers Panel, other recognized Whips, Chairman of Departmental or Select Committee, Member of Departmental or Select Committee, Member of Parliament, and any other position of responsibility held by a Member of Parliament and recommendations hereon; and

- V. Review of the level of taxation of the salaries and allowances of Members of Parliament and recommendations thereon and benefits of Members of Parliament.
- 13. Paragraph 287 of the Akiwumi Tribunal Report provided as follows—

287. There are only about 500 former Members of Parliament who are either not on pension, and if on pension, only get a monthly pension of between Kshs. 2,000 and Kshs. 14,000. Therefore, an increment in their pension benefits, will not put a very heavy burden on the Exchequer. Many countries including those in the Commonwealth, pay their former Members of Parliament a token tax-free pension, equivalent to US\$1000 per month.

14. Paragraph 288 of the Report gave the Tribunal's recommendation as follows—

Recommendation

288. The Tribunal recommends that a minimum living pension equivalent to US\$1000 per month, be paid to all former Members of Parliament whose current pension is either none, or less than US\$1000.

15. The substratum of the Bill's object is on the relevant recommendation of the Akiwumi Tribunal Report.

CHAPTER THREE

3 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT ON THE BILL

3.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK ON PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

- 16. Article 118 (1)(b) of the Constitution provides that:
 - "Parliament shall facilitate public participation and involvement in the legislative and other business of Parliament and its Committees."
- 17. The National Assembly Standing Order 127 (3) and (3A) stipulates that:
 - "(3) The Departmental Committee to which a Bill is committed shall facilitate public participation on the Bill through an appropriate mechanism including-
 - (a) inviting submission of memoranda;
 - (b) holding public hearings;
 - (c) consulting relevant stakeholders in a sector; and
 - (d) consulting experts on technical subjects.
 - (3A) The Departmental Committee shall take into account the views and recommendations of the public under paragraph (3) in its report to the House."

3.2 MEMORANDA RECEIVED ON THE BILL

- 18. Pursuant to the aforementioned provisions of law, the Clerk of the National Assembly placed an advertisement in the print media on 9th August 2024 inviting the public to submit memoranda by way of written statements on the Bill. Further, the Clerk of the National Assembly vide letter REF: NA/DDC/F&NP/2023/129 dated 16th October 2023 invited key stakeholders to submit views on the Bill and attend a public participation forum on Thursday 26th October 2023.
- 19. The Committee received memoranda from the Former Parliamentarians Association of Kenya, the Parliamentary Service Commission, the Salaries and Remuneration Commission and the National Treasury. The memoranda are annexed to this report.

3.2.1 THE FORMER PARLIAMENTARIANS ASSOCIATION OF KENYA

- 20. The Former Parliamentarians Association of Kenya appeared before the Committee on 29th August 2023. The Association was in support of the Bill.
- 21. Former Members of Parliament noted that, during the implementation of the Cocker Tribunal recommendations, they were left out of the ex-gratia payment with the promise that amendment to the Parliamentary Pensions Act would cover their concerns;
- 22. The Akiwumi Tribunal had two major recommendations:
 - (i) Improved terms and conditions of service and enhanced pensions for sitting Members of Parliament;
 - (ii) Enhanced pension of one hundred thousand shillings per month for former members of Parliament who served between 1984-2001. At the meeting, the Parliamentary Service Commission agreed with and adopted the Tribunal recommendation. However, during the implementation, Parliament implemented recommendations for the sitting Members of Parliament but not for former members.
- 23. The Association urged the Committee to recommend the passage of the Bill by the House for the following reasons:
 - (i) That, after exit from Parliament, it is next to impossible for former Members of Parliament to secure gainful employment;
 - (ii) That, Pension is the only source of livelihood for many former Members of Parliament;
 - (iii) The recommendations were in line with the stipulations of the Constitution. The Constitution for one, prohibits discrimination on whatever ground. Article 27(4) states, "The State shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against any person on any ground, including race, sex, pregnancy, material status, health status, ethnic or social origin, belief. Culture, dress. Language or birth." Therefore, former Members of Parliament in this instance have been discriminated against.

COMMITTEE OBSERVATION

The Committee observed that—

- (a) The Akiwumi Tribunal to Review and Make Recommendations on the Terms and Conditions of Service for Members and Staff of the National Assembly recommended a minimum living pension equivalent to US\$1000 per month, be paid to all former Members of Parliament whose current pension is either none, or less than US\$1000;
- (b) The Tribunal appointed by the Parliamentary Service Commission presented its report to the Speaker of the National Assembly on Thursday, 12th November 2009.

3.2.2 THE PARLIAMENTARY SERVICE COMMISSION

- 24. The Parliamentary Service Commission appeared before the Committee on 26th October, 2023. While supporting the Bill and the Commission made the following submissions:
 - I. The Bill seeks to amend the Parliamentary Pensions Act to provide that those former Members of Parliament who served in Parliament between 1st July 1984 and 1st January 2001 be entitled to a monthly pension amounting to not less than Kshs. 100,000/- per month.
 - II. The proposal was first contained in the report of the Akiwumi Tribunal which was published in 2010, when reviewing benefits for Members of Parliament. The Tribunal recommended a minimum living pension of Kshs. 100,000 for all former Members of Parliament.
 - III. A Bill with similar proposals for a minimum living pension of Kshs. 100,000 was passed by the 12th Parliament but vetoed by His Excellency the President following opposition from the National Treasury and the Salaries and Remuneration Commission.
 - IV. The proposal had received the support of the Parliamentary Service Commission where on 9th November 2021 the Commission resolved as follows—

The National Assembly be requested to consider re-initiating the legislative proposals for enhanced pensions for former Members of Parliament with appropriate consultations with the National Treasury and the Salaries and Remuneration Commission.

V. The Bill is therefore similarly committed to the consideration of the National Assembly Committee on Finance and National Planning with appropriate discussions with the National Treasury and the Salaries and Remuneration Commission.

3.2.3 THE NATIONAL TREASURY

- 25. The National Treasury expressed its reservations on the Bill. They submitted that the Bill will embolden other categories of public servants who feel that their pension is inadequate to agitate for a similar treatment which would exponentially increase the pension's burden on the exchequer. This would work against efforts by the Government to manage the public wage bill sustainably.
- 26. In the alternative, the National Treasury proposed an approach which adjusts the pension for the Members of Parliament by 5% annually to cushion the benefits from erosion by inflation.

COMMITTEE OBSERVATION

The Committed noted the representations by the National Treasury but was of a different view that the Bill's object seeks to address the plight of the five hundred (500) former Members of Parliament who served in Parliament between 1st July, 1984 and 1st January, 2001. The number has since reduced due to the natural attrition of these former Members. The Committee further observed that the proposal to adjust the pension for Members of Parliament by 5% expands the subject matter of the Bill.

3.2.4 THE SALARIES AND REMUNERATION COMMISSION (SRC)

- 27. The Salaries and Remuneration Commission appeared before the Committee on Tuesday, 5th December 2023 and submitted as follows:
 - Pension is an employment benefit and therefore falls within the mandate of SRC and any legislative proposal or review thereof is subject to the mandate of SRC as provided in the Constitution.
 - II. The Bill infringes SRC's mandate as provided in Article 230 (4) (a) to set and regularly review the remuneration and benefits of all state officers, by proposing to amend section 8 of the Parliamentary Pensions Act, Cap 196.
 - III. In view of the foregoing, SRC is of the considered view that the proposal to review the pension benefits for State Officers in Parliament is in contravention of Article 230 (4) (a) of the Constitution and therefore unconstitutional.
 - IV. Any public institution that desires to have the remuneration and benefits of its State officers including pension reviewed, is required to submit a request in writing to SRC pursuant to Article 230 (4) (a) of the Constitution, providing among others, justification for the request and confirmation of the availability of funds for the proposed review.

COMMITTEE OBSERVATION

The Committee made the following observations:

- (a) Article 230(4) (a) of the Constitution provides that the powers and functions of the Salaries and Remuneration Commission shall be to set and regularly review the remuneration and benefits of all State officers;
- (b) Section 11(f) and (g) of the Salaries and Remuneration Commission Act provides that in addition to the powers and functions of the Commission under Article 230 (4), the Commission shall—
 - "(f) make recommendations on matters relating to the salary and remuneration of a particular State or public officer;
 - (g) make recommendations on the review of pensions payable to holders of public offices"

(c) In recognition of the SRC's constitutional mandate, the Committee invited the Commission to make its representations on the Bill.

3.2.5 THE HONOURABLE. JOHN WALUKE, M.P THE SPONSOR OF THE BILL

- 28. The sponsor of the Bill, the Honourable John Waluke, M.P., appeared before the Committee on 26th October 2023 and submitted as follows.
 - I. The principal object of the Bill is to amend the Parliamentary Pensions Act to provide that those former Members of Parliament who served in Parliament between 1st July 1984 and 1st January 2001 be entitled to a monthly pension amounting to not less than Kshs. 100,000/- per month.
 - II. The Bill recognizes that despite serving the nation, some former Members of Parliament are languishing in poverty and there is a need to take care of their welfare. Many of the five hundred former Members of Parliament have since died.
 - III. The Bill incorporates recommendations of the Akiwumi Tribunal which was appointed in January 2009 by the Parliamentary Service Commission to review the terms and conditions of service of the Members and employees of Parliament. The Tribunal submitted its report on 12th November 2009 in which one of its recommendations was that the five hundred former Members of Parliament be paid the equivalent of one thousand dollars each as living pension with effect from 1st July 2010. The Parliamentary Service Commission adopted the report in June 2010 and resolved that any of the said former Members of Parliament earning a monthly pension of less than one hundred thousand shillings be paid a monthly pension of one hundred thousand shillings.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 COMMITTEE OBSERVATIONS

- 29. Upon reviewing the Bill and the submissions received, the Committee made the following observations:
 - (a) The Bill's memorandum of objects and reasons reveals that the principal object of the Bill is amend the Parliamentary Pensions Act to provide that those former Members of Parliament who served in Parliament between 1st July 1984 and 1st January 2011 be entitled to a monthly pension amounting to not less than Kshs. 100,000/- per month.
 - (b) The proposal was first contained in the report of the Akiwumi Tribunal which was published in 2010, when reviewing benefits for Members of Parliament. The Tribunal recommended a minimum living pension of Kshs. 100,000 for all former Members of Parliament.
 - (c) A similar Bill, the Parliamentary Pensions (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (National Assembly Bills No. 56 of 2019)—was sponsored by Hon. Wangari Mwaniki, M.P., and it was published on 5th July 2019. The Bill was read for a first time on 24th July 2019. However, the Bill lapsed in January 2019.
 - (d) There was yet another similar Bill—the Parliamentary Pensions (Amendment) Bill, 2019 (National Assembly Bills No. 45 of 2019) which was also considered in the previous Parliament. It was a party-sponsored Bill by Hon. John Mbadi, M.P. It was published on 21st June 2019 and read for a First time on 4th July 2023. Its second readings were done on the 12th, 13th and 14th November, 2019. The Bill was then considered in the Committee of the whole House on 5th August 2020.
 - (e) His Excellency the President expressed reservations on the Bill. In exercise of the President's powers conferred on him under Article 115(1) (b) of the Constitution, the President declined to assent to the Bill and recommended the deletion of clause 2 of the Bill for the following reasons:

- (i) Members' pensions under the Act are calculated according to the contribution paid into the Scheme during their parliamentary term. The proposed amendment failed to provide for such calculation and makes no reference to the Member's contributions;
- (ii) The Bill overlooks the mandate of the Salaries and Remuneration Commission under the Constitution, which comprises, among other things, the setting and review of remuneration and benefits for all State officers who include Members of Parliament; and
- (iii) The proposed pension payment will result in an annual cost implication of about four hundred and forty-four (444) million shillings. Added to this, will be the almost certain demand for a similar upward review of pension benefits by other retired State and public officers, which is within their rights to demand. The resultant ripple effect will be unaffordable and fiscally unsustainable.
- (f) The predecessor Committee held a meeting on Tuesday, 22nd September, 2020 to deliberate on the President's reservations to the Bill. In considering the memorandum, the Committee noted that the President's reasons for refusal to assent to the Bill were valid but did not take the following into consideration:
 - (i) Inflation and the high cost of living in the country make it impossible for the former Members of Parliament to survive on the pensions that they were earning currently; and
 - (ii) Difficulties that former Members of Parliament go through after their service in terms of employability, unlike other government employees.
- (g) The Committee having considered the President's reservations to the Bill recommended that the House agrees with its decision to reject the President's Memorandum and the recommendation to delete clause 2 of the Bill. However, on Thursday, 24th September, 2020, the Bill was lost because the President's recommendation for deletion of clause 2 was passed by the House.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATION

30. The Committee, having considered the Parliamentary Pensions (Amendment) Bill, 2023 (National Assembly Bills No. 15 of 2023) and the submissions from members of the public and stakeholders, recommends that the House rejects the Bill in its entirety.

SIGNED.....

DATE 11 April 2024

HON. CPA KURIA KIMANI, MP

CHAIRPERSON

DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON FINANCE AND NATIONAL PLANNING

THE NATION ASSEMBLY

DATE: 11 APR 2024 THUR

TABLED HON KURA KIMANI, MP

CHAIRPERSON)

BY:

CLERK-AT

THE-TABLE: A. SHIBUKO