

Manifesto for the  
National Rainbow Coalition  
(NARC)  
November 2002



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# **NARC**

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# MANIFESTO

OF THE

NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION  
(NARC)

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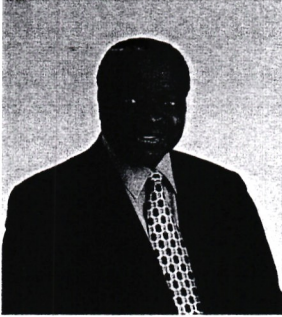


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## Foreword

### Leaping into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Dear Kenyans, we have come to one of the most critical times of our history; a time for change, a time when the common will of all Kenyan people is about bringing the change for which we have sacrificed so much. This time has come after much struggle by patriotic men and women of Kenya. We, as a nation, have held open discussions on how we want to be governed and the type of legacy we wish to bequeath our children and future generations. After all the deliberations, time has come for action.

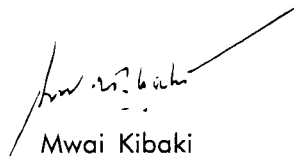
However, before we cast our votes I appeal to you all to reflect on where we are coming from. Remember that during the struggle for independence our forefathers fought tirelessly to regain the lost freedom. Many died, many others were maimed, children were rendered orphans and all Kenyans suffered in one way or another. Since we attained our independence the struggle for good governance has persisted, because we appreciate that freedom is priceless. It is a pity that in the last ten years more precious blood has been shed.

During the last one year, political leaders, in and out of Parliament, have made strenuous efforts to ensure a smooth and truly democratic transition towards achieving our noble dream for a nation in which justice is our shield and defender. It is most unfortunate that not every leader has accepted the need to allow Kenyans to exercise their democratic right of choosing who should lead them into a Kenya in which we can all live in peace and liberty; a Kenya where public officers are servants of the people and not agents of oppression and impoverishment. It is the latter that led to the emergence of a national wave for change that culminated in the formation of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC).

NARC assures every Kenyan of a bright future, in which each and every one has equal rights and protection against discrimination of any kind. We assure you of a democratic future in which one's opinion will be respected, even when it opposes the government. However, this will only happen after we have all voted for change. As the day draws near for us to cast our votes, I appeal to you all to remember that while we are sure of the victory of the collective will of Kenyans, each and every one must cast his or her vote on 27 December 2002. Remember that every vote counts and that for us to realize true change we need an overwhelming majority in Parliament. We also need strong and accountable local governments so that the long hand of the central government may be reduced to what they are best suited for: policy development, providing national security and monitoring development. However, we cannot collectively realize the desired changes when some people are falling victim of the machinations of the anti-change forces. Any one selling their Voter's Card is sabotaging the very sacrifices we have made in order to realize change. The same is true of any one who votes on the basis of money given by those who believe in going to Parliament as a means to wealth or power. Be careful. Do not fall victim to the old tricks of sweet talkers.

Finally, in this manifesto we summarize our promises to you and assure you that we shall deliver what we promise. These are the very demands that you have made on us and on which we stand to be judged by you. Join the rest of Kenyans who have said "no" to misrule and oppression by their own government and vote for changes you desire.

Vote for NARC, the mass movement you demanded from us when you told us to unite into one political party.



Mwai Kibaki  
NARC Presidential Candidate



## Preamble

We, the member parties of the NARC, together with our vast membership countrywide, and our supporters and well-wishers, both locally and internationally, being desirous of bringing a comprehensive change in Kenya's body-politic, with the goal of restarting economic growth and development, restoring the rule of law and reducing poverty, as well as creating a conducive environment for effective participation in order to foster sustainable development, peace and harmony amongst the Kenyan communities;

And, strongly convinced that NARC is a mass national movement for such change; and that it is only through NARC that Kenyans can realize the historic opportunity to participate fully and achieve victory in the forthcoming general elections, and form a government of national unity and which not only marks a complete break from the bitter past, but also realizes the desired changes in our social, political and economic lives;

Do hereby launch our Manifesto, and consequently hereupon declare that NARC, as a political platform for mobilizing the broad sections of our people, will accept total responsibility for leadership of the government and manage public affairs of our beloved country in a responsible, accountable, transparent and modern style. In the exercise of such an important responsibility, NARC's leadership shall remain true to its vision for Kenya.

## NARC'S IMMEDIATE GOALS

The run-up to the 2002 General Elections in Kenya is characterized by an unprecedented anxiety for comprehensive change. Kenyans from all walks of life are constantly expressing and demonstrating their desire for change. They call for a new style of conducting public affairs and a new approach to addressing Kenya's myriad political, social and economic challenges. As such, Kenyans yearn for change that will enable them realize their long cherished desires for freedoms of expression, association and movement without let or hindrance.

The vision of NARC is to work together with all the progressive forces to bring about these changes and the realization of the second liberation of our beloved country, from bad governance and economic retardation. Once this goal is achieved through the ballot box, the NARC leadership will move fast and facilitate the establishment of a firm foundation of a truly democratic and empowered national community. For this reason, NARC's prime goal is to bring about comprehensive political and economic changes in Kenya by:

- Ensuring the completion of the current constitutional review process,
- Rehabilitating the national economy,
- Restoring the rule of law,
- Reducing poverty on sustainable basis,
- Empowering the electorate to make and execute the decisions that affect their lives,
- Promoting a sense of inclusiveness of all citizens of Kenya, and
- Nurturing a sense of nationhood and resistance to divisions based on ethnicity, social class, race, or any other consideration.

beginning of a momentous crusade for the restoration of true democracy and the rule of law that will propel us forward in the enormous task of renewing our society. However, to realize these goals, we will require continued commitment to the transformation of our country from the current dictatorship to a permanently democratic and accountable system of governance.

NARC is not only a nationwide political movement, but also a household name party across the length and breadth of the country, spear-headed by a team of reform minded political leadership, capable and committed to give Kenyans the changes they deserve, which will restore the dignity of every Kenyan, and empower grass-root communities to play a meaningful and effective role in their own governance.

It therefore requires all of us patriotic Kenyans, men and women of good will, the old and the young alike, to now discharge all our collective efforts and solidarity towards constituting a humane and democratic governance, in which democratic values, social justice, tolerance, equity, economic well being are the corner stones of our national interactions.

NARC will nurture a society in which all citizens have a sense of belonging, and where no form of discrimination or marginalization is tolerated. As such NARC will resist any attempt to create divisions that threaten our survival as a nation.

NARC leadership has made a binding undertaking to immediately embark on completing the suspended Kenya constitutional review process, and give Kenyans a new constitutional dispensation. In this new arrangement, NARC will ensure that power is devolved from the centre, to the people where it rightly belongs. NARC has committed itself to effect this constitutional change as soon as Kenyans give us the mandate to lead, by winning the general elections.



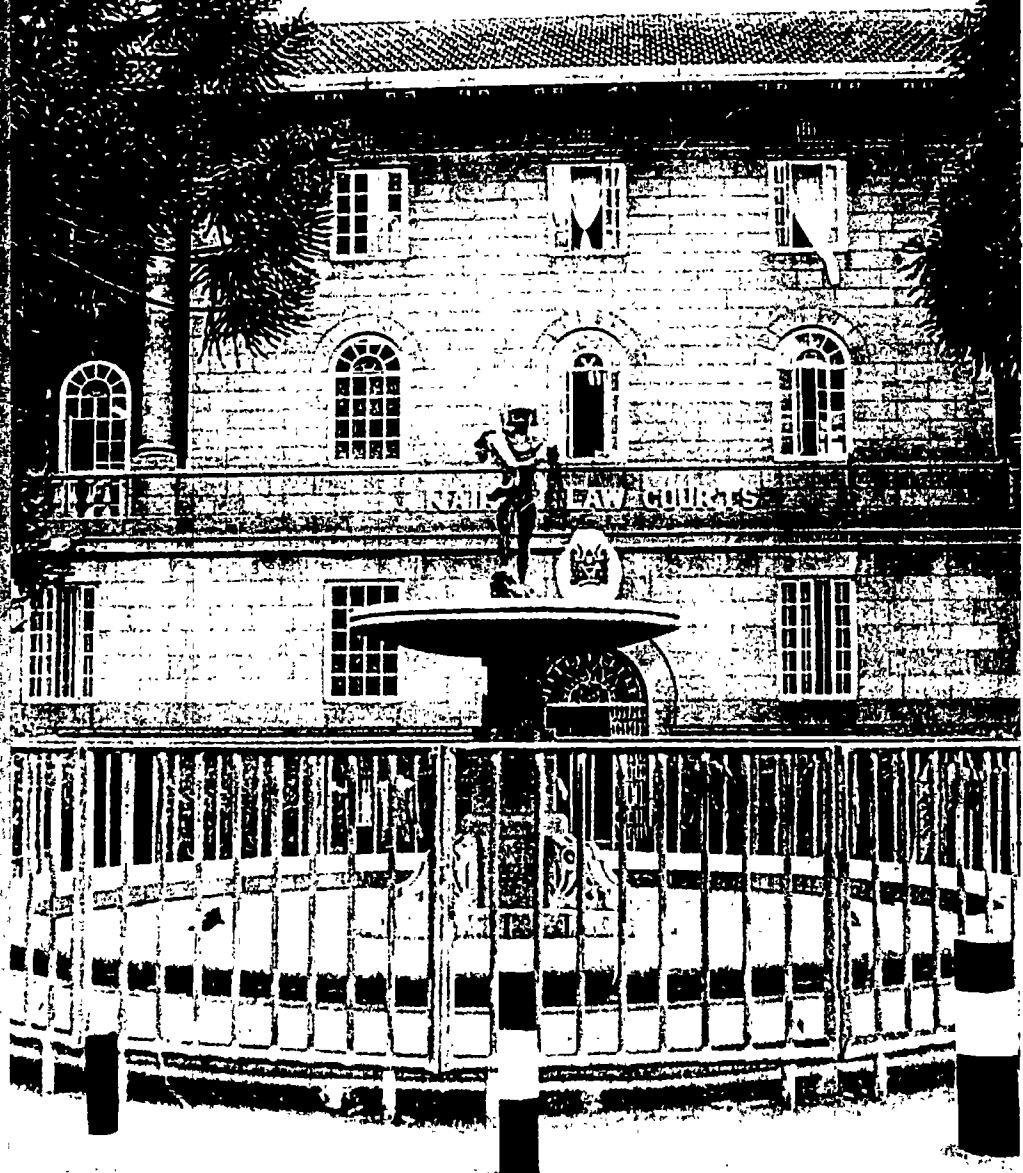


Figure 36 for the Memorial Pavilion - Cochin

## Chapter One:

### 1.0 GOOD GOVERNANCE

Kenya, like other African countries, has over the years experienced highly centralized political governance in which the government has exercised uncontrolled powers in all sectors of the society. The government has taken charge over both programme design and implementation. In the crucial agricultural sector for example, for many years the government exercised control over both the production and marketing of produce, through price controls and marketing boards. Socially and politically, the government controlled the society in such a manner that no function would take place without the government's approval and permit. This situation led to the destruction of all independent local initiatives.

Lack of a community voice led to the absence of community involvement in the management of the economy and the society as a whole, thus resulting in lack of transparency and accountability, as the government accounted to nobody. The result of this situation has been one of declining economic performance and political mismanagement and many instances of human rights abuses. In the end, this situation has meant that Kenyans have been impoverished and brutalized by their own leaders and sometimes to extents worse than those of the colonial government.

Following many years of excesses and mismanagement, Kenyans fought hard for the reintroduction of multiparty politics, which was finally realized in 1992. This change created high hopes amongst Kenyans but the reality has been one of unfulfilled hopes and aspirations. Misuse of state machinery has hampered the realization of the gains of multi-partyism. To change this trend and ensure that peoples' power reverts and remains with the community that elects the leaders, radical changes are required in our structure of national political power. We need to establish a mechanism that ensures that leaders remain transparent and that the electorate makes demands and receives adequate accountability from those they elect to leadership positions. Towards achieving this goal, we promise to create a new structure of power, which is people-based and

which empowers people to take charge of their own development.

NARC strongly believes that to have good governance requires good leaders i.e. people of integrity working in the public service and taking up leadership positions in the country. We are convinced that every Kenyan has seen and experienced the great harm and human suffering bad leadership can cause to a society. Given the bitter lessons, from others and our own experience, NARC will develop a comprehensive and transparent system of leadership change and quality renewal in leadership. We as leaders must invest in developing a system for identification and development of good leaders at all levels.

We will invest in this venture because we believe that good leadership is neither incidental nor natural but rather, a product of strenuous efforts by those in power to prepare for a bright future for their country. In our view any government that considers itself visionary must create conditions for smooth transitions between ruling generations. This has been a major omission of past governments and has been one of the causes of prolonged occupation of leadership positions by bad leaders. This trend must be reversed if Kenya is to enjoy vibrant and sustainable good governance.

The experiences our youth have witnessed, of thieves and looters becoming their leaders, has created hopelessness and made many to worship wealth regardless of how it is acquired. This trend needs to be reversed if Kenyans are to be assured of a smooth transition and a stable future. As such we assure Kenyans that under NARC administration, nobody who has been found guilty of corruption will be allowed to hold public office. In addition, the laws of the land will be used expeditiously and fairly to protect both the people and public resources. We want to assure all Kenyans that under our leadership there will be no room for selective application of laws and administrative procedures to punish perceived enemies and to protect, politically sacred cows. We also assure Kenyans that no one will be subjected to political harassment on false accusations or for holding a differing political opinion.

Towards the above objective, NARC promises all Kenyans security from political harassment, and equal chances to play their



appropriate roles in the management of their country. In particular, we promise the youth a secure future, appropriate training, and opportunities to serve their nation. For these reasons training for succession in every sphere of our national life will be the cornerstone of our strategy for good governance. We commit ourselves to ensuring that in Kenya leaders will retire happily, knowing that their country is left in the hands of competent leaders who can ensure a stable and sustainable political and economic growth.

### 1.1 Administration of Justice

Proper administration of justice has been one of the most painful denials Kenyans have experienced under undemocratic rule. Many deserving Kenyans have been denied justice through delayed hearing of their cases, some of which have been politically motivated. As in other aspects of our national life, this problem has afflicted everybody, from the poor citizen in the village to elected leaders especially the Members of Parliament who expressed opposing views. Consequently, the ruling party has for many years used courts as an instrument of intimidation to its perceived enemies while letting its corrupt and, at times criminal, suspects go free. Kenyans will recall with awe the many cases of harassment of senior politicians, by politically correct provincial administrators, and law enforcement officers. They will also recall times when these agents of government leadership have been used to destroy private property with impunity. Under the current government all those perceived to be enemies had neither rights nor remedies.

NARC strongly believes that the worst form of corruption is the perversion of justice. To wrongly prosecute citizens, deny others access to justice, and to selectively apply the law, are immoral acts in any civilized society. We believe that some of these acts were carried out to intimidate those who objected to the looting of public resources. For any one who has read the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) and Public Investments Committee (PIC) reports, it is obvious that the situation was particularly bad for officers who dared say no to corrupt practices and political leaders who gathered courage to raise a voice against the corrupt leadership.

The above situation has resulted in the promotion of mediocrity that has reduced Kenya to one of the poorest countries in the world. Internally and externally, Kenya and its public institutions have become the laughing stock of everybody. This is the high price Kenyans have had to pay for the mismanagement of the country and its image.

To reclaim the country and recreate a positive image for both the country and public institutions will require heavy investment and extreme courage. We assure Kenyans that we have both the commitment and the determination to achieve positive changes and ensure a bright future for posterity. As a start we plan to:

- ensure a complete separation of powers between the three arms of government,
- put in place a mechanism that enables Parliament to vet all appointments to nationally critical positions in the public service,
- ensure that departments that need more independence in order to guarantee individual freedoms and justice to all are removed from the Office of the President and given the necessary autonomy,
- commit ourselves to retrain, equip and remunerate police and other security services to make sure that they are user-friendly, carry out their work efficiently, effectively and fairly.

## 1.2. Decentralization and Devolution

We are fully convinced that the national government cannot and should not have power to determine what happens in every village, town council, county council, and municipal council. Any attempt to try to drive local operations from Nairobi can only lead to misguided and misplaced investments and destruction of local peoples' capacity to manage their own lives. Past attempts by the government to determine which local area gets which projects, and the pace of

implementation, have resulted in the current high level of corruption and failure to realize dividends from public investments, food insecurity and poverty. To address the problems our country faces, we need to have a new structure of power in which the decision-making and implementation of development projects are shared with local communities. For this reason, our government will:

- share power and responsibilities with both the local authorities and communities,
- support community-based organizations (CBOs) to build the necessary capacities needed to play a role in development,
- create strong and economically viable local governments,
- devolve some powers to local authorities, amend the laws governing local authorities to meet three critical objectives; (a) to remove any powers of central government to unduly interfere in the day-to-day running of local authorities, (b) to make it mandatory for local authorities to account to their electorates through preparation of accounts and transparent annual audits, and (c) to
- require that where a local authority fails to meet its obligations to its electorates it will be subject to sanctions,
- require that local governments and their communities identify local priorities through free and open dialogue

### 1.3 Creating Community Voices

The current leadership's consistent policy of denying resources to regions they consider to hold differing views has led to a large portfolio of stalled projects, with the resultant depletion of our productive capacity, thus leading to a rapid rise in incidences of poverty, which as of June 2001 officially exceeded 56% of the Kenyan population. This state of affairs is unacceptable in any democracy and must be changed once and for all through creation of strong community voices. Our government will:

- encourage Kenyans to demand and receive quality services for the taxes they pay to both the central and local governments,



- promote the formation and development of community-based organizations and encourage other civil society organizations,
- support capacity building to enable community organizations to make demands on all service providers and to demand justice,
- ensure full protection of all citizens.

#### 1.4 Community-driven Development

Centralized planning and management of the national development process has not delivered any tangible benefits to Kenyans. On the contrary, it has led to undue control of the society and resources, leading to the destruction of the peoples' capacity to meet daily challenges that they face and the rampant misuse of public resources. People have been reduced to poor dependants on a corrupt government, which in turn, uses the resulting dependency as a fertile ground for handouts to solicit supporters, including use of economic inducement on opposition politicians to defect to the ruling party. In addition, the current government has engaged in funding of cosmetic and populist projects, which do not get completed or are of no value to the national economy.

Failure to deliver development goals resulted from the fact that central government planners did not respond to the demands and priorities of the communities for whom they were mandated to plan. In many cases, planners simply played political games with public funds, instead of investing in projects with the highest returns for the taxpayer. Another cause of failure of projects was that Central Government officers did not only plan but also implemented the plans they themselves drew with little or no input from target beneficiaries. Consequently, inbreeding in both planning and resource utilization led to uncontrollable corruption and mismanagement of resources. In our view, this ugly state of affairs was deliberately created to benefit those who saw public offices as avenues for self-enrichment. We wish to refer Kenyans to the government's own admission in its "Public Expenditure Review 1997", which revealed that only 2% of its projects were being completed. What the report does not reveal is that the 2% completed projects comprised, mainly, of politically selected projects.

The fact that no action was taken to correct the situation, or punish those responsible for such massive wastage means that the government has had its own internal agenda, different from the one they loudly announced to Kenyans in the annual budget speeches. In order to save Kenyans from continued exploitation and enable them benefit from public investments resulting from the taxes they pay, we need to establish a new paradigm in our development process. This paradigm will come through a community-driven development approach, in which beneficiaries select their own development priorities and participate in the management of the implementation process. In our government, development projects will be owned and jointly implemented by communities, and local authorities. Only large development projects and those cutting across communities and local government boundaries will be implemented by Central Government.

In pursuit of this new paradigm we shall:

- ensure that our people enjoy the necessary political, economic, and social space as well as protective security,
- ensure that public affairs are conducted in a transparent and accountable manner,
- bar anyone found guilty of corruption from holding public office.

In pursuing a community driven development approach we will be enhancing their capacity for self-reliance. Initially, projects to be funded will be those directed towards poverty reduction, food security, and any other locally identified high priority needs. In all projects, part of the funds will be set aside for targeting the vulnerable and voiceless communities, particularly those in arid and semi-arid areas, the urban poor and the handicapped who, in the past, have been ignored and denied support because they lacked political muscle.



March for the National Student Union

## Chapter Two:

### 2.0 REFORM OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR

#### 2.1 Reforming Management Practices

Most of the problems bedeviling this country and its people arise from bad governance and poor management. The rapidly growing poverty, food insecurity and economic collapse are, largely, related to our inability to manage our affairs in the best way possible. Corruption, ineptitude and gross inefficiency are rampant in many government departments, as a result of appointments of people of dubious characters, political interference in affairs of professional departments and abuse of public offices by those appointed to discharge responsibilities. For these reasons the solution of the current national crisis is found in our ability to reclaim professionalism and confidence in public officers, and guaranteeing efficiency.

In addressing our problems, the starting point is making the government accountable to the electorate. This, in our view, entails establishing a governance system with checks and balances and clear division of labour between the various levels and departments of the government. Only with such a system will the collective will of Kenyans, to establish a well-structured and efficient government, be realized. NARC commits itself to a comprehensive public sector reform covering the following areas:

- reform to streamline the functions and structure of central government,
- reform of the management systems in government to ensure effective delivery of services,
- devolution of some key functions to empowered local authorities,
- institute stringent accountability measures to ensure that public investments generate benefits to the taxpayers,



- putting in place proper institutions and strategies to fight corruption on sustainable basis,
- ensuring adequate legal provisions for the protection of the human rights of all persons living in Kenya,
- giving the Public Service Commission the necessary autonomy to discharge its functions without political interference from the Executive and to ensure security of tenure for public servants,
- developing a capacity building strategy for newly reformed local governments to ensure their effectiveness,
- providing incentives to boost the morale of public servants and thereby improve efficiency.

## 2.2 Addressing Governance and Corruption

Our national management of politics and economics has been seriously wanting. The mismanagement of the country's political, social and economic institutions deteriorates as the current leadership continues to use political expediency in the appointment of senior managers. This has seriously undermined investors' confidence in our country and increased the cost of doing business. The result of this situation is that Kenyan goods and services cannot compete in both local and international markets. In the last five years the situation has been particularly bad, with the country receiving very little new capital infusion. Capital flight has also become a serious problem. In the year 2001 for example, capital flight surpassed the money coming into the country by \$27 million (Shs.2.106 billion). Consequently, foreign direct investment has sharply declined and continues to decline as erosion of investor confidence grows.

Delays in the judicial process, harassment of investors by tax authorities, cumbersome tax collection methods, disappearance of files in land and court registries, many unnecessary police road blocks along our highways are all symptoms of a dysfunctional national management system that adds to the cost of doing business in Kenya.

In some cases the basis on which decisions are made by the government on key economic issues has been difficult to discern. A case in point is the privatization policy and process, which has been shrouded in controversy. The NARC government promises to institute an effective management system, streamline governance in all departments and firmly deal with corruption.

### 2.3 Relations with the Development Partners

Since the beginning of 1990s, the Kenya Government has had a rocky relation with its development partners both bilateral and multilateral. In 1991, Key development partners suspended aid to Kenya after realizing that the government was not committed to agreed reforms. Aid was restored temporarily between 1993 and 1997, and suspended again in 1997, after the government failed to demonstrate the necessary political will to fight corruption. Since then, the country has had very poor relations with development partners. The main reason for failure to attract development partners support has been that the current leadership never intended to effect any positive changes in the management of the economy. Its intension has been to borrow and use the money for purposes that were not agreed with our partners, which in the eyes of the partners were neither viable nor economically productive. Examples of these include, the Nyayo Bus Project, the Nyayo Tea Zone, the Nyayo Wards, the Nyayo Car, and the Nyayo Hostels in Public Universities. Most of them never saw the light of day because they were merely used to siphon money out of government coffers to politically correct personalities.

NARC will take appropriate measures to improve relations with development partners. We particularly undertake to guarantee that no public funds will be siphoned out of public projects to benefit individuals. To guarantee this we shall take the following action:

- open dialogue with partners to agree on the way forward,
- ensure that agreements with them are honoured,
- appoint only credible professionals,
- ensure clear division of labour between those who implement projects and those who carry out audits,
- strengthen Parliamentary oversight Committees to make

sure they have the capacity to investigate and handover the cases to an independent anti-corruption agency,

- ensure that the law applies equally to all people.

#### 2.4 Borrowing by the Government

Kenya is today one of the most highly indebted states in the developing world, because the current government has mortgaged both the current and future generations. As a result, the country's foreign debt stands at Shs.400 billion. Since no development partner considers Kenya as credible, the government has resorted to borrowing from the domestic money market, with grave consequences. Consequently, in the year 2001, the country's domestic debt stood at Shs.204 billion with an interest payment of about Shs.30 billion per year.

In the recent past, the KANU government has borrowed excessively from the domestic market, leading to systematic crowding out of the private sector from the capital and money markets. This problem escalated during the fiscal year 2001/02 when credit to Government grew by 20.3% while credit to businesses shrunk by 6.0%. This explains why the economy grew at a mere 1.2% of GDP during the calendar year 2001; the Government starved it of finance. Unfortunately, a large proportion of money borrowed is still tied up in incomplete projects.

NARC commits itself to addressing this serious and urgent problem and will, within the first six months of assuming office:

- prepare a programme to reduce domestic borrowing, as a necessary condition for halting the current economic decline and set the stage for renewed growth,
- seek the support from all our partners, including those in the civil society and private sectors as well as development partners,
- reduce domestic debt on a sustainable basis.

## 2.5 Security of Person and Property

Every investor, local or foreign considers security for self and property as his or her first priority. Where this is not provided, no serious person can be expected to invest. As such, the blatant abuse of agents of law and order, by political leadership, for personal and political benefits and self-preservation has wiped out investor and public confidence in these institutions. Kenyans have been treated to a situation where thugs and hecklers have been provided with police escort. Misuse of the police force to deny people their freedoms of expression and movement has reduced the force from the noble principle of "service to all" to a situation where they only go to the police when they have no choice. In addition, persistent underfunding of the police force has reduced the effectiveness and image of the force.

As a result of this, in many instances, police officers cannot do their duties without assistance from the public, either in form of fuel for their vehicles or provision of transport. When these humiliating experiences are taking place, politically connected personalities are being paid huge sums in form of fake pending bills, and incomplete and shoddy works.

As the police force has increasingly degenerated into invisibility, alternative forces have increased and with them insecurity. With proliferation of security service providers, vigilante groups and other rag tag types of groups have also come into being. The responsibility for maintenance of law and order has gradually shifted to such groups, with police only active when dealing with political agendas, determined by those in political leadership.

Today, every investor employs 24-hour guards, which adds to the costs of locally produced goods and services. The middle income Kenyans live in houses which are reinforced to resemble establishments reserved for hardcore criminals and many urban areas are no-go zones after sunset due to criminal thugs.

Given the above situation, we consider security of person and property to be the first priority for the NARC Government. We will therefore:

- give agents of law and order top priority and make the Police Department a self-accounting unit for resources allocated to the force,
- retrain, equip and remunerate our police force and make it truly "Utumishi kwa wote" (service to all),
- eliminate special privileges at entry and exit points, which have been grossly abused by well-connected individuals,
- give customs and security agents specialized training and enhance their capacity to ensure security.

## 2.6 Duty and Tax Waivers

Local producers have been consistently subjected to unfair competition from imports brought in by politically connected persons, without the payment of duty and taxes. There has also been many incidents of transit goods being released into local markets without payment of correct duties and taxes. This situation has been particularly damaging for sugar, textiles, cereals and milk products.

To deal with these problems, the NARC Government will:

- remove all discretionary powers, which have led to this abuse,
- ensure that where exemptions are given this will be made public and justified on sound reasons,
- ensure that incentives are industry or sector based and not individual firms,
- ensure that our tax policies are fully transparent and subject to public scrutiny.

## 2.7 Integrity of the Judiciary

Restoration of investor and public confidence in the Judiciary is important for the revival of the economy. For a long time Kenya has had a very bad reputation on administration of justice; as cases have taken too long to determine or people, particularly investors, have lost faith in our country due to the permeation of corruption in the judiciary. To address these concerns, the NARC



government will take immediate measures to restore integrity of the judiciary. Our steps towards this goal will be:

- undertaking a review of the various reports on corruption in judiciary to identify weaknesses listed,
- implementing changes already recommended by past reviews,
- facilitating a comprehensive review of the judicial system to identify what is needed to make it function efficiently and in a timely manner.

## 2.8 Financial Sector

In our effort to resuscitate the financial sector, which is critical to economic recovery, our government will deal with the challenges, which require firm and critical action. These include:

- improving and sustaining stable and predictable Macro-economic Environment;

It may not be possible to lower interest rates through introduction of controls into the financial sector. However, we will promote alternative sources to bank loans, which we believe will lower lending interest rates. Our government will seek to lower and maintain low lending rates through market reforms, which will address both operating costs, including the costs of intermediation, together with the banks' asset quality. We shall constitute a Monetary Policy Committee with the specific duties of targeting an inflation rate of not more than 4% and setting interest rates to single levels. The committee shall be composed of people with impeccable record in society and expertise in monetary matters. They shall meet to deliberate on key issues regarding the economy and their deliberations shall be made public, immediately thereafter:

- reducing government appetite for credit,
- refinancing the illiquid banks and finding a solution to the non-performing assets of banks.

We intend to take very firm measures to deal with liquidity and asset quality of banks by:

- setting up a working committee of the Central Bank, government and the banking industry to assess the magnitude of the problem,
- desegregate the non-performing loans into two categories, namely:
  - genuine commercial bad loans
  - politically instigated or fraudulent bad loans
- set-up special courts to hear and decide on cases dealing with non-performing loans as a matter of priority,
- where there is evidence of fraud and abuse of office, particularly with regard to loans acquired from formerly state-owned banks, conduct thorough investigations for possible criminal prosecution.

## 2.9 Information and Media Services

NARC strongly believes that the right to information is a fundamental human right, which should not be denied for political or any other reason other than the need to preserve the nation. It therefore deplores the current discriminatory practice of issuing electronic media licences on the basis of political support and friendship. For this reason, NARC believes it is immoral and economically imprudent to deny Kenyans opportunities to access information and employment, simply because the ruling party considers a service provider too independent to be controlled.

The NARC government will:

- move fast to correct the existing discriminatory and primitive practice of denying licences for electronic media service providers,
- ensure media licences are issued purely on ability and integrity of the applicant to render services to the public.

## 2.10 Communication Technology

Communication technology has become an effective conduit through which producers, consumers, and traders can interact in a

timely manner with the people they deal with. Therefore, it is in the best interest of the country to be easily and cost-effectively accessible through the telecommunication media. In our view there is no option for any country to have or not to have an efficient telecommunication service. Bearing this in mind the NARC government will:

- put in place a policy framework to improve the quality, access and cost of telecommunication technology in the country,
- improve the policy environment and make the issuing of various licences predictable and transparent,
- develop an appropriate legal and regulatory framework to improve both access and quality of telecommunications on a continuous basis,
- open up the very-small aperture terminals (VSAT) industry to bring the Internet, and communication in general, closer to people.

## 2.11 Information Technology

Improvements in information technology have become a precondition for economic survival in the twenty first century. Without it a country can neither compete nor deal with the rest of the world. The Kenya government has remained indifferent to such an important development. To make up for the time lost, the NARC government will:

- prepare a national strategy for promotion and encouragement of training and education in information technology at all levels of our education system,
- use the fiscal policy, both in expenditure and taxation as well as other policy instruments, to promote development of this technology,
- prepare a programme of standardized information; communication and telecommunication training and education.



*Market in the Florentine Pombos / Corlinton*

## 3.0 ADDRESSING SECTORAL NEEDS

### 3.1 Industrial Sector

The industrial sector, which many thought would surpass agriculture in propelling economic growth, has not performed well. Since the 1990s, the industrial sector has consistently declined and has now virtually collapsed. The dismal performance of this sector is as a result of several factors, including:

- inadequate infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity,
- high cost of capital and challenges arising from a rushed and haphazard liberalization of the economy,
- the diversion of goods on transit and goods designated as exports into the local market,
- corruption and bureaucratic red tape.

The result of all these, is that the investors are operating at high costs and under capacity while those who could not cope have closed down and moved to other countries. The erosion of investor confidence in Kenya, both local and international, has led to a position where, currently, Kenyans invest more in both Uganda and Tanzania, rather than at home. It would be a healthier situation for Kenyans to invest abroad without prejudicing their investment at home.

Lack of local investor confidence has created an even greater fear amongst foreigners who wanted to invest in Kenya. Clearly there is an urgent need to rethink our national industrial development strategy and create a more conducive environment if we are to reverse this trend and accord the sector the necessary incentives for growth to enable Kenyan goods to compete in the increasingly competitive global market. Failure to reverse this trend will make Kenya a consumer of goods and services produced by others, including our neighbours, who are attracting large numbers of investors.

To address the urgent need for an enabling industrial development strategy NARC will undertake the following:



- consult with sector stakeholders and together identify key areas of concern that need to be addressed by a new all-embracing industrial development policy,
- establish a sustainable consultative forum through which issues relating to industrial sector development can be jointly discussed and recommendations made for action,
- review research and development institutions and their current mandates against the needs of the development of the nation,
- institute a mechanism by which research work in agricultural sector can address the entire product chain (including processing and marketing) and thus trigger industrial growth.

### 3.2 Agricultural Sector

The Kenyan economy is dominated by the agricultural sector, which contributes more than 25% of GDP directly and another 27% indirectly. It also employs over 75% of Kenya's labour force and contributes about 40% of our export earnings. It is also a major source of raw materials for most of our industries with potential to produce more if policies and practices are made more enabling. We believe that it is not possible to reduce poverty when half the districts are food poor and nothing is done about it. We are disappointed that poverty reduction has been used as an avenue to get donor funds but with no activities on the ground. In particular, we strongly deplore the practice where the government spends between Shs.10-15 billion each year on famine relief, yet little is invested (3-4%) in the agricultural sector. NARC believes that if smallholder sub-sector is improved, this economy would soon be on the road to recovery, as resources going to famine relief would be released for investment in more productive areas. Poor performance of the agricultural sector over the last two decades, and by extension, of the rural areas, has resulted in the poor performance of the national economy. Reasons for this poor performance include:

- the predominant role the government has played in the sector,
- the collapse of farmers' institutions, especially producer cooperatives, through political interference,
- weaknesses in farmers' organizations,
- failure of public sector marketing and management boards,
- lack of access to markets,
- lack of processing capacity,
- over concentration on on-farm production in sector research at the expense of processing and value addition,
- poor rural infrastructure.

Despite the numerous problems facing the sector, especially the institutions, no one has been taken to court for mismanaging sector institutions. Some of the officers who mismanaged the marketing and management boards, such as the Sisal Board, Agricultural Finance Corporation, Agricultural Development Corporation, Kenya Meat Commission, Kenya Cooperative Creameries continued to draw salaries from the Treasury long after the institutions collapsed.

In an effort to address the problems of the agricultural sector NARC will undertake the following steps:

- institute a sector review to facilitate the development of a conducive sector-wide development strategy,
- complete withdrawal of government from production and marketing of goods and services,
- design a programme for the rehabilitation of producer organizations,
- review all taxes that impact on the sector,
- provide incentives for increased investments in the sector,
- develop a national strategy for the promotion of technology,
- renegotiate the terms of WTO to protect local production,
- design a sector research strategy that addresses the entire product chain to encourage processing and value addition.

With the above we will ensure agricultural development led industrialization and thus use of comparative advantage for greater wealth generation. We will also empower farmers to take control of their resources and to negotiate effectively with other stakeholders.

### 3.2.1 Cereals: Maize, Rice, Wheat

While Kenya is, generally speaking, self-sufficient in food, it does not produce enough wheat and rice, which are important food commodities in the country. It therefore imports large quantities of these foods from elsewhere. For example in 1999, Kenya imported wheat worth US\$ 81 million. In addition, in 1997 and 1998 respectively, Kenya imported maize worth US\$ 200 million and US\$ 77 million and in 1998 and 1999, Kenya imported rice worth US\$ 15 million and US\$ 14 million respectively. Such large imports of food, which we can easily produce is not fully justified given the availability of the suitable soils and the existence of favourable climatic conditions.

The main reason why we have to import such volumes of food is because the government, through state corporations such as the National Cereals and Produce Board, the National Irrigation Board, the Lake Region Development Authority has continuously exploited local producers and made farming non-economical. Another reason is that smallholder producers who dominate the Kenyan agricultural sector have no capacity to store or process their produce. For this reason, they lose much of their harvests due to pests and physical deterioration as a result of poor storage facilities.

The NARC government will give special attention to capacity building in farmer organizations to enable them handle their affairs and, particularly their produce, in a more sustainable way. In addition, we shall ensure that producer organizations have the necessary infrastructure for processing and marketing their produce.

To address the special needs of these commodities NARC will take the following steps:

- ensure that agricultural research addresses the key

demands of food security and poverty alleviation by allocating research funds to meet specific farmers' needs,

- institutionalizing modalities for farmer-to-farmer extension service delivery,
- ensure that farmers have the knowledge and the capacity to demand production technologies and information,
- facilitate the development of farmer managed credit schemes to enable them acquire new technologies and information,
- develop farmers' capacities to deal with other stakeholders and to market their produce,
- encourage the processing and value adding in food crops to reduce post-harvest losses,
- strengthen capacities of farmer organizations for self-management,
- overhaul the Agricultural Act and all other laws relating to the Irrigation Act and streamline the operation of National Irrigation Board in the context of a liberalized market,
- support the rehabilitation of old rice schemes and put in place interventions that promote irrigation,
- support and provide the lead in investment in small-scale seed production and processing firms in the rural areas, especially by Community Based Organisations.

### 3.2.2 Cash Crops

Ensuring good performance of coffee, tea, pyrethrum, and sugar sub-sectors is vital to our efforts to resuscitate our economy. These commodities play a significant role in raising household



incomes, providing employment, earning foreign exchange, and enhancing food security to many smallholder producers. Despite this, the history of these crops is riddled with constant government interference. For many years the government continued to appoint the directors who managed these three sub-sectors. In so doing the government was only interested in rewarding its supporters and providing occupation for political failures.

The result of mismanagement of these sub-sectors by failed politicians has led to serious declines in the production of coffee and sugar. In the tea industry, political interference led to unending controversies in the award of supply contracts. In the tea industry, poor management perpetuates the problem of inadequate processing capacities, leading to serious processing problems. As a result, farmers have lost millions through waste, rotting, and degradation of quality during transport to long distances for processing.

For the coffee and sugar sub-sectors, liberalization is yet to take effect, in that the government has not instituted a smooth transfer of the management to key stakeholders. In the case of coffee, there is still no private sector-led trading floor, which is essential in boosting the confidence of dealers and growers. As a result of this, there is still suspicion that the government is not ready to let go.

In the sugar industry poor management and lack of capital have sustained the use of outdated processing technologies thus making locally produced sugar uncompetitive even in the local market. In addition, sugar factories have failed to pay growers, undermining their confidence in the industry. Furthermore, in many areas, processing capacities remain grossly inadequate. All these factors continue to retard economic development in general and the respective sub-sectors in particular.

The pyrethrum sub-sector has never been liberalized and continues to suffer ruin. As a result our exports have been declining because farmers do not realize full benefits of their labour. Consequently, production has been unstable and on the decline.

In order to address these problems once and for all, NARC

government will institute measures that will ensure complete liberalization of the entire agriculture sector and its sub-sectors. In particular, the NARC government will:

- ensure systematic withdrawal of the government from all production and marketing functions in the sector,
- effect institutional and structural reforms in the sub-sectors and leave the key stakeholders in-charge of their sub-sectors,
- review all the laws relating to these and other commodities to make them more appropriate for private sector management,
- resuscitate the collapsed sugar factories while promoting the private sector investments in the new factories,
- facilitate capacity building in farmers organizations to make them more effective partners in sector development,
- create incentives for more investments in the respective sub-sectors as a means of enhancing efficiency and cost effective production, processing and marketing,
- streamline and strengthen the use of levies in the sub-sectors,
- ensure audits of all the accounts before handing over to the stakeholders.

In addition to these measures the NARC government will set aside financial resources for the institutionalization of a product-chain approach and thus support post-harvest processing and value addition.

### 3.2.3 Livestock

In the livestock sub sector, there have been liberalization policies since the mid 1980s. The implementation of these policies, however, has resulted into near collapse of the smallholder livestock production sub-sector. In many rural areas, dairy production has collapsed and where it still survives prices have been fluctuating seriously. In the rangelands, traditional livestock production continues to decline, thus resulting in high poverty levels amongst the pastoralist communities.

In recent years potential has been identified in non-conventional livestock production such as in crocodile farming, ostrich farming, and game cropping. However, the government has not developed an enabling environment for the realization of this potential. Major issues that require immediate attention include:

- the development of a legal framework to facilitate effective exploitation of these new livestock production opportunities,
- establishment of the necessary health and operational standards,
- development of appropriate institutional arrangements and regulatory frameworks.

For the smallholder livestock production sub-sector, there is an urgent need to address the problems that face producers. These include, poor or lack of access to markets, lack of access to animal health services, insecurity in many areas, increasing degradation of the rangelands, poor access to water, poor breeding stock, and high costs of inputs.

In addressing these challenges, distinction will be made between the areas of traditional livestock economy, in the rangeland and the rest of the livestock producing areas. In the areas of nomadic pastoralism, the most critical problem is insecurity. Cattle rustling has become more rampant now than in any other time in the history of independent Kenya. As a result some areas have become no go areas yet some of them are the only available dry season grazing areas. In some other cases, as in the North Rift, some communities have abandoned livestock production altogether.

From available reports it is estimated that between 1997 and 1998 there were 89 incidences of cattle rustling, resulting in loss of 80,000 animals and human lives. Considering that many other incidences may have gone unreported in the media, it is obvious that the communities concerned have suffered untold damage. This situation must be corrected in order to stop budgeting for famine relief on annual basis, so as to feed the displaced and destitute Kenyans.

To overcome the challenges of the livestock sector NARC commits itself to:

- develop a national strategy for sustainable and profitable livestock sector covering all the areas,
- develop an appropriate regulatory framework for quality meat processing, meeting all the requirements of key markets such as the EU countries,
- support a programme for the diversification of products in the sector, including new niche products,
- create incentives for investments in processing and value adding, particularly for export markets,
- support a programme for the empowerment of producers and their organizations such as producer associations in various sub sectors such as dairy, beef and poultry,
- rehabilitation of arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) as the key producers of quality beef.

#### 3.2.4 The Fish Industry

The fish industry has been riddled with problems that the government continues to ignore. In inland as well as ocean fishing, small scale fishermen continue to be exploited by middle men due to lack of capacity and institutional support. In some instances security forces have also harassed them on flimsy grounds of security. The sector also faces the problem of quality standards which threatens export markets particularly in Europe. There has also been trawlers invading areas where small-scale fishermen operate, ruining their nets and livelihoods.

As a result of the neglect from the government those who depend a

problem ofon fisheries for their livelihoods have become some of the poorest families in Kenya. To address this problem once and for all the NARC government will:

- develop a comprehensive sector policy to guide its future development
- institute a special programme to support small scale fisher communities in establishing capacities for quality management of their livelihoods
- establish quality standards as a means of ensuring continued access to quality markets abroad
- revive and strengthen fishermen's institutions including cooperatives.

### 3.3 Agricultural Credit and Food Policy

After nearly 40 years of independence, Kenya has failed to attain food security and self-sufficiency, mainly because of policy failures by the government. Despite that, Kenyans have shown unequaled resilience and support to the government policy directions. Whenever the government advised farmers to undertake a project such as growing a new cash crop, they did so faithfully. This was the case with cotton, coffee, tea, sugar, pyrethrum, cashew nuts and bixa. Unfortunately, the farmers suffered losses, as a result of several factors, including, lack of adequate processing capacity, delayed payments and non-payment by parastatals, poor infrastructure and poor management by co-operatives.

In areas with cash crops such as coffee, tea, sugar, pyrethrum and bixa, as well as in livestock production, many families went hungry while they were owed much money by non-functioning parastatals. The dilemma was that they had abandoned food production hoping to earn more money from the cash economy. In the sub-sector of food crop production, the situation was not any better in that many who delivered their produce to National Cereals and Produce Board(NCPB), the Lake Basin Development Authority (LBDA) and National Irrigation Board (NIB) were not paid on time. All these factors have impacted against food security, poverty reduction and credit worthiness. The weather too has had its own contribution to the worsening situation.

Unfortunately, government policies on food security, agricultural sector and rural development in general, have not been implemented. As such Kenyans continue to languish in hunger, food insecurity, and poverty.

To address the issues relating to agricultural credit and food security it will require a comprehensive review of the sector and designing a national sector policy. In this regard, NARC will move fast to ensure the growth of the sector and the creation of incentives for increased credit flow. In the short term the NARC government will:

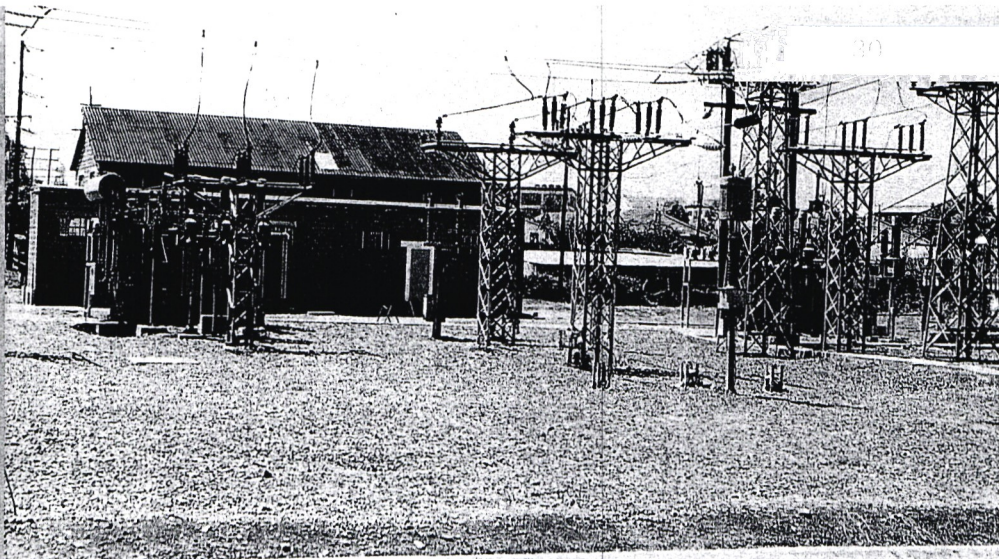
- pursue an integrated approach to sector development
- immediately strengthen the capacities and efficiencies of producer organizations such as co-operatives, farmers' groups, associations
- create incentives to support institutions that access credit to rural producers
- encourage and support rural credit institutions
- use part of the resources currently going to famine relief to support any producer organizations aspiring to create own food security strategies
- develop a strategy for the development of community based credit schemes.

### 3.4 Irrigation Development

Irrigation development is a critical part of efforts towards food security and poverty alleviation. However, it can also pose serious challenges and threats if it is not well managed. Since we fully recognize the important role irrigation will play in addressing our future development NARC will:

- develop a national irrigation development and management policy giving clear guidelines on its future development and the standards to be applied
- give incentives to the private sector to encourage investment in irrigation schemes through tax concessions
- establish an appropriate regulatory body to deal with water resources management with emphasis on development with environmental protection
- develop a capacity building programme to train communities already involved in irrigation management.





Manifesto for the National Rainbow Coalition

## Chapter Four:

### 4.0 INFRASTRUCTURE

#### 4.1 The place of Infrastructure in the Economy

A functional physical infrastructure is essential for the rehabilitation of our economy. While we realize that the Kenyan infrastructure has collapsed we also know that it costs dearly to rehabilitate it because every part of it is in ruins. In this situation we propose to proceed as follows:

- identify critical areas that require immediate attention in order to lay the foundation for economic recovery and do minor repairs to keep it going
- assess the extent of damage and the cost for the key areas
- draw a master plan for the rehabilitation of the identified areas
- carry out a major study to identify what needs to be done
- identify available resources to fund the programme
- draw a phased out implementation plan based on agreed priorities
- establish a rehabilitation team made of credible professionals.

#### 4.2 Energy

##### 4.2.1 Electricity

The mismanagement of the electricity sub-sector has made producers suffer great losses as a result of unreliability of supply and high costs of energy. Problems emanating from energy supply have continued to make Kenyan goods uncompetitive in both local and international markets, as producers have engaged in the generation of own energy supplies.

To address the problems of this sector in a fast and efficient manner the NARC government will take the following steps immediately it takes office:

- amend the laws governing energy generation and supply to completely liberalize the sector
- develop a sector reform programme
- complete audit of all public funds that have gone into energy sector
- formulate a comprehensive energy development policy embracing all sources of energy, especially renewable ones
- establish a fund to develop renewable sources of energy for both rural and urban poor.

#### 4.2.2 Petroleum

Petroleum remains our main source of energy, yet we all know that it is also a major cause of environmental pollution. A NARC government will establish measures to minimize the bad effects of petroleum. It will also deliberately promote environmentally friendly fuels.

### 4.3 Transport

#### 4.3.1 Roads and Public Works

Despite all the taxes Kenyans pay, including the fuel levy, our roads continue to deteriorate. Consequently, our goods and services are becoming increasingly more expensive and many rural areas have become inaccessible, with produce rotting in farms due to poor state of roads. The NARC government shall:

- revive the broken down road network on the basis of a phased out programme drawn on the basis of economic benefits of each road
- further extend the existing road network on the basis of an agreed ranking.

#### 4.3.2 Railways

Like all other sectors Kenya Railways have been destroyed through mismanagement and corruption. In particular, railway properties have been disposed off in an irregular manner. To try and correct

the current situation, the NARC government will carry out a thorough evaluation of the current network and make a long-term policy decision on how the facility ought to be developed and managed.

#### 4.3.3 Waterways

Since independence Kenya has not used its waterways as an important means of transport yet this is an essential and cheap resource. NARC Government will investigate ways and means of promoting the use of waterways as part of the national transport systems.

#### 4.3.4 Air Transport

Air transport has become the major means of travel both internally and internationally. Unfortunately, Kenya has not developed enough facilities to promote internal air travel, beyond the four main towns of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, and Eldoret. NARC Government will carry out feasibility studies to establish the way forward in the development of internal and regional air travel.

In addition, to enhance the safety of air travel, both local and international, NARC will strengthen the capacity of the Kenya Airports Authority and all related services. Following consultations we will ensure that our air travel personnel are adequately facilitated, with appropriate terms and conditions of service and operational tools.

#### 4.3.5 Telecommunications

Kenya government has consistently dragged its feet in the liberalization of the telecommunication sector. Since we do not believe in protecting inefficiencies, on coming to power, NARC Government will:

- systematically liberalize the telecommunication network, both for fixed lines and mobile service provision
- sell government shares in Telkom so as to be an impartial umpire in the industry.



Men in the United Provinces, India.

## Chapter Five:

### 5.0 ADDRESSING BASIC AND SOCIAL SERVICES

#### 5.1 Poverty Alleviation

The most daunting challenges for Kenya today are poverty alleviation and job-creation. Our approach to poverty alleviation will be through the promotion of economic growth. This is because through economic growth, we would be able to create employment opportunities, generate incomes and wealth, which are crucial to poverty alleviation. We recognize however, that although economic growth is crucial, it does not always lead to sustainable development and poverty alleviation. In a society with gross inequality as in our case, growth alone is unlikely to benefit marginalized sections of our society.

To ensure poverty reduction, the NARC government will adopt appropriate re-distribution tax measures. To avoid adverse effects on the poor, we will put in place proper safety nets to enable the poor access basic social services such as health, proper housing, clean water, sanitation and education.

Addressing unemployment with its attendant personal and social problems is a critical issue for Kenyans. However, we believe that a positive approach is required, based on the creation of jobs in areas of need and searching for new opportunities, rather than concentrating only on unemployment remedies. As such, expansion of trade and investments are in our view key to this process. We shall therefore, ensure the establishment of an enabling environment and fair-trading for all. The specific measures that we intend to pursue are to:

- encourage labour intensive private sector led growth by providing an appropriate and conducive environment;
- encourage labour-intensive public works such as road construction and bridge building
- encourage farmers to invest more in agriculture so as to create more jobs in the rural areas;
- develop innovative programs to help small businesses and to revive tourism and other service sectors of the economy



with a high absorptive capacity for labour.

- simplify the administration procedures, deregulation, and the creation of a climate favourable for enterprise development.
- encourage the growth of the informal sector by providing incentives for such enterprises to grow rather than remain informal.
- support skills training programmes as basis for employment creation.
- steer partnership between government, trade unions and business in addressing unemployment in the country.

## 5.2 Provision of Education to All

Provision of universal primary education has been recognized as an important milestone to economic and social development. In particular it has been established that by providing primary education to women, a society is able to hasten its development. Despite its formal commitment, Kenya has not achieved any of the education goals it committed itself to achieve. The gains made in the past are getting eroded through high school dropouts rates, with less than a half of those entering standard one completing standard eight. Adult education has long collapsed and many Kenyans have reverted to illiteracy. That is the legacy we are going to inherit from the current leadership.

Education trends at high school level are not any different from the ones in primary sector. Here, too, there are high dropout rates, especially for girls. In many areas facilities have fallen apart and learning conditions are deplorable. In addition, mismanagement and scarcity of resources have become common yet we hear of no prosecution. All these factors have led to high levels of indiscipline among high school students.

At university level many of the facilities have fallen apart and both physical learning and residential facilities are in terrible state of disrepair. These factors too have generated indiscipline in our public universities. There have also been loud calls for a review of the curriculum to make it relevant to changing economic and social circumstances.

Despite all these problems, the current leadership has adamantly refused to hear the voice of reason. Even after the leadership appointed the Koech Commission and after spending huge amounts of taxpayers' money, they have ignored its recommendation and continued to play games with our children.

The government is unable to fund education at any level because of the corruption and misallocation of resources. Despite that reality, it still wants to continue with its lies that all is well. Since they will not listen to anybody, including those they appoint to advise them, time has come to throw them out and put in place a more accountable and voter friendly government.

The NARC government promises to:

- undertake a comprehensive review of the current system of education.
- provide free and compulsory primary education to all children.
- design a new system which guarantees all our children the right to education and a competitive edge in a global job market.

### 5.2.1 Skills Training and Certification

Skills training, testing and certification constitute an important part of national development. The system a country puts in place for skills development determines the quality of skills its human capital will possess. A good skills development programme also attracts foreigners who want to learn from quality institutions. It is a pity that despite the knowledge that human capital can be an important export commodity the government has seen it unfit to develop a national skills development strategy. This is despite the leadership getting a loan from the IDA, in mid 1990s that included a component for this purpose.

As a result of this lack of vision, Kenyan youth have continued to register with foreign institutions for courses that could easily be offered locally. The sad bit is that as a result of lack of a credible skills training and certification system many parents are forced to send their children abroad, thus spending huge sums of foreign exchange. We in NARC have a clear vision of turning the large

number of young Kenyans into a world-class human capital. Towards this goal we shall initiate a national consultative process through which stakeholders can dialogue and recommend the necessary institutional arrangements for this important national exercise. This process shall entail:

- establishing a consultative process in which key stakeholders come together to dialogue on the ways and means of developing a credible and comprehensive skills training and certification arrangement
- establishing the necessary legal framework for this purpose on the basis of the recommendations emerging from the consultations
- putting in place an independent skills development and certification board
- developing the necessary infrastructure to service the programme.

### 5.2.2 Special Education

Every nation that is committed to education for all has established special programmes to meet the special needs of those, who for no fault of their own do not fit in regular education programmes. Such nations also establish comprehensive assessment programmes to determine the special needs of the various categories of its citizens. While Kenya government claims to have a special education programme, its facilities are riddled with problems and have never worked efficiently. In particular, assessments are not done in a systematic manner and learning facilities, where they exist, are in shameful state.

The NARC government will:

- ensure that the less fortunate members of this society are treated with the respect all human beings deserve
- establish the basic necessities for the assessment of disabilities and special learning needs for all those in need
- adequately equip the special education programme.

### 5.2.3 Adult Education

Our adult education programme was established by an Act of

Parliament yet it has never been operationalized. We continue to witness fathers, mothers, grandmothers and grandfathers, who wish to pursue continuing education being forced to sit for the same examinations with their children and grand children. If such candidates fail the examination, they lose respect before the eyes of their children. For this reason very few adults dare to sit for the examination.

The NARC government will:

- endeavour to correct this situation by establishing a comprehensive adult and continuing education programme with its own examinations conducted under the Board of Adult Education.

### 5.3 Research and Development

Research and development work provides an important input into national development by generating technologies and information that are used in production. Unfortunately for us, most of our research and development work remains separated from the development process. Under a NARC government all research institutions and programmes will be reviewed and redesigned to ensure that they address basic and adaptive work as well as linking up with the industry.

### 5.4 Health Services for all Kenyans

Public health services, like all other services, have deteriorated beyond description. We have even heard of some health facilities that have been abandoned by the Ministry staff. We have also come across districts where there is only one doctor, who also doubles as the District Medical Officer. This is the health sector that claims to be meeting the needs of Kenyans.

When Kenyans are dying of preventable diseases doctors trained through public funds are streaming out of the country to search for greener pastures. Consequently, we have lost all the gains Kenya made in the early decades of independence. Child mortality is rising, now standing close to 220 per 1000. This is a serious indictment of the current leadership, considering that by 1979 the

national average for under five mortality rate was 160 per 1000.

Another indicator of the falling health standards is the declining life expectancy. By 1989 life expectancy was 60 years but has fallen to the current 55 years. These and other indicators are a reflection of the sorry state of our health sector. To reverse this trend the NARC government will take the following measures:

- undertake a comprehensive reform of the health sector with decentralization of management as a key consideration.
- avail more investments in preventive health.
- build partnerships between the government, the private and the civil society sectors in the management and rehabilitation of the sector.
- develop a comprehensive health insurance policy by restructuring the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) into an insurance scheme for Kenyans.
- improve the health sector facilities and service delivery

## 5.5 HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS has become a major challenge to humanity and to Kenyans in particular. However, although HIV/AIDS was declared a national disaster in 1999 and a National AIDS Control Council (NACC) set up, as a coordinating body, much remains to be done to reverse the trend. The multi-sectoral response against the epidemic that was launched and expected to create an effective response to this scourge is still to make an impact. Up to now the programme remains a public sector and government owned initiative. The main challenge therefore remains, how to make the programme community owned and implemented. Other challenges include:

- lack of resources to scale up cost-effective interventions against HIV/AIDS, country wide,
- weak community based organizations to take up the role of programme implementers,
- growing poverty in the country that encourages the poor to engage in activities that increase chances of infection,
- poor access to basic services among the majority of Kenyans,
- collapse of health services in the country,

- deep-rooted cultural beliefs and practices, which slow down the progress of behaviour change.

The NARC government's major priorities in combating the spread of the pandemic will include:

- developing a comprehensive HIV/AIDS research and control programme based on partnership with stake holders,
- re-examining the institutional arrangements for HIV/AIDS control to improve the quality and coverage of awareness and knowledge among Kenyans,
- strengthening blood screening facilities throughout the country,
- strengthening the national surveillance programme for monitoring the trends and impact of AIDS in all sectors,
- strengthening and expanding the national STD programme to reverse the incidence and prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases,
- building the capacities of the intermediary organizations,
- building the capacities of local level partners to enable them own and implement the programmes,
- using the recently enacted Industrial Property Act, NARC will facilitate the acquisition of appropriate drugs cheaply,
- make access to anti-retroviral drugs affordable to those already infected.

## 5.6 Housing

Kenya has no clear policy on housing and even when we are told that there is one it is more for public relations than to provide a guide to sector development. In addition, investments in housing sector have been minimal and sporadic. Furthermore, research on building materials and standards remains limited thus not producing viable guidance to sector development. Growing poverty has made housing a rare commodity for resource poor Kenyans.

Besides, the high levels of corruption makes access to urban plots impossible even for the middle income group. It is this corruption that explains the current policy of selling government houses to private individuals loyal to those in power. Instead of embarking on



new housing programs to house many desperate public officers, including the police and prison departments, the KANU government is engaged in an immoral act of transferring public property to politically correct personalities. In an effort to address the housing problem, NARC government will:

- develop a housing policy aimed at enabling the poor to access housing, especially in urban areas.
- develop a slum upgrading programme to effectively combat poverty.
- fund research aimed at developing low cost building technologies.
- amend laws governing the urban development and electric power connections to facilitate more cost-effective housing development.
- create a Housing Development Fund to be financed through the budget provision, support from development partners and other sources.

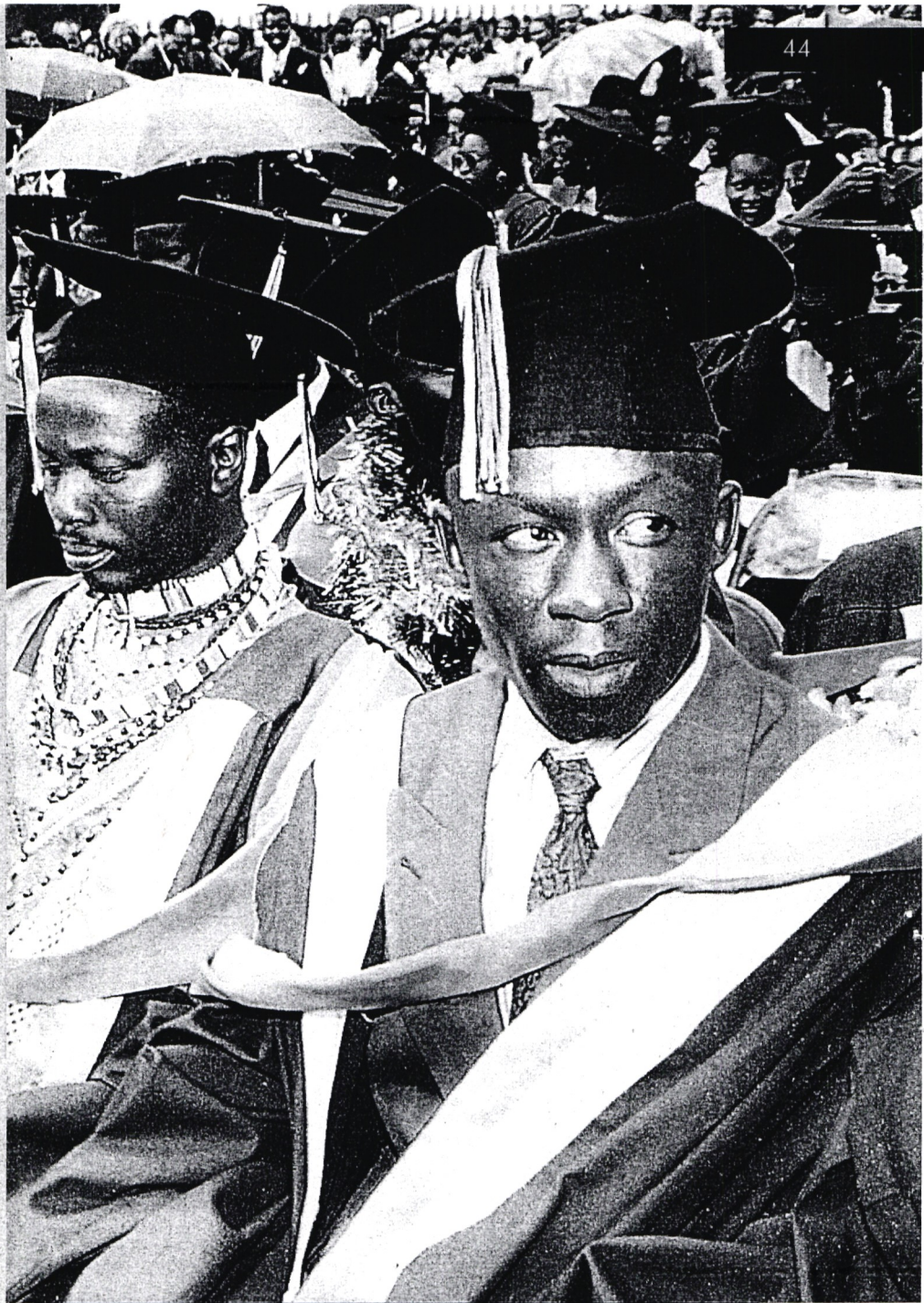
### 5.7 Water Supply and Sanitation

For a long time Kenyans have been promised adequate access to clean and safe water. However, existing schemes have continued to fall apart and more people are experiencing very poor access to safe water. As a result most people, both in towns and rural areas, trek long distances in search of water. This situation arises from inadequate and poor investments in the sector and excessive involvement of the government in the management of water. In order to facilitate improvement of access to water for more Kenyans, the NARC government will:

- design a comprehensive sector development strategy with clear division of roles and partnerships between the government, the private sector and beneficiaries.
- develop an appropriate legal framework to accommodate new operational environment .
- ensure complete withdrawal of government in community water schemes management but retain supervisory and quality control.
- develop a capacity building programme for beneficiary

institutions such as asset and service management committees to enable them manage their water facilities.

- increase public investments in water resources development.
- create incentives for the private sector to play an active role in sector development.



Manifesto for the National Rainbow Coalition

## Chapter Six:

### 6.0 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

#### 6.1 Women

Some of the most influential people in the current leadership still live, at least mentally, in the past when societies considered women as inferior beings and only gave them responsibilities to be seen to conform to the current norm, of equality and equity between all people regardless of sex. This state of affairs does not exist by accident but through deliberate efforts of the current leadership. This outdated attitude was exhibited by the ruling party when it amended the law so as to reduce the number of women representatives from Kenya in the East African Legislative Council from three to two. Women constitute the larger proportion of our society yet they play marginal roles in the life of this society. This situation is not only undemocratic but also impedes national development, in that the bigger fraction of our human resources remains underutilized.

Marginalization of women has led to famine and poverty. Consequently the poorest of Kenyan households tend to be those headed by women. Currently more than three quarters of the poor live in rural Kenya and women are a large majority of the rural poor. This face of poverty is especially severe in rural areas where traditional attitudes and divisions of labour are still dominant, particularly among the nomadic pastoralists groups where men play dominant roles in the management of livestock and pasture.

Kenyan women bear a disproportionately large share of the burden of work in the household, on the farm and in market places. Yet less than 5% of Kenyan women own land, which is the most critical factor of production. Among female-headed households in Kenya 44% were classified as very poor as compared to 21% of male-headed households, according to government statistics. This appalling disparity must become a priority entry point for a new government in the drive to eradicate poverty.

NARC considers gender equity as a necessary pre-condition for

national development and the realization of the full potential of each and every Kenyan. We are happy that our past records attest to this and commit ourselves to do what it takes to ensure that Kenyan women enjoy the right to fair treatment and opportunity with their men counterparts. In recognition of the fact that women and men experience poverty and all the attendant problems differently we shall make deliberate efforts, including affirmative action, to bridge this anomaly. NARC will:

- ensure adherence to all international conventions on gender,
- establish institutional framework for mainstreaming gender in all sectors of our society,
- access equal opportunities in education, employment, asset ownership, accessibility to credit facilities, among others,
- facilitate the adoption of the new constitution and make the provisions on women empowerment and make them a reality,
- enforce a policy of equal opportunities for women and men,
- support capacity building in women's organizations, at the national and local levels,
- support women's income-generating potential by facilitating their access to, and control over productive land, credit, capital, property rights, development programmes and institutional support,
- ensure removal of policy and regulatory obstacles faced by women in social and development programmes that discourage private and individual initiative,
- develop an affirmative action to address any situation where women have been marginalized.

## 6.2 Economic Empowerment of Women

The minimal access to micro-financing schemes to many Kenyans and women in particular has largely led to the dormancy of small-scale industries, and stifled expansion of business in this sector. Our government will specifically promote and support women's self-employment and the development of small enterprises, and

strengthen women's access to credit and capital on appropriate terms, through the support to institutions dedicated to promoting women's entrepreneurship, including, as appropriate, non-traditional and mutual credit schemes, as well as innovative linkages with financial institutions.

Gender responsive budget initiatives are an important tool for strengthening economic and financial governance and for promoting accountability and equality. National budgets reflect how governments mobilize and allocate public resources, and give directions on how the government wishes to meet the social and economic needs of its people.

The Kenyan government made a commitment, in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (1995), to "incorporate gender perspectives into the design, development, adoption and execution of all budgetary processes, as appropriate, in order to promote equitable, effective and appropriate resource allocation and establish adequate budgetary allocations to support gender equality and development programmes that enhance women's empowerment." Unfortunately nothing has been done to effect these commitments.

Gender responsive budgeting enables governments, who are parties to the Convention on the Eliminations of Discrimination Against Women, to better fulfill their obligations. It is a means to ensure that there is no discrimination, direct or indirect, against women in policies governing taxation and expenditure. It is also a means to ensure that the requisite resources are taken into account and made available to implement legislation that advances gender equality and the fulfillment of women's human rights.

On the basis of the above, the NARC government will pay special attention to the following areas:

- encourage the examination of budget processes and objectives to ensure that women's and men's needs and priorities are considered equally, and encourage women representatives to participate in this examination
- encourage the incorporation of gender analysis in the preparation, implementation, audit and evaluation of government budgets; and show commitment to



transparency and accountability by encouraging the application of gender analysis in government budget reports, including the setting out of the impacts of past budgets and the expected impact of the proposed budgets, to ensure pursuit of gender equality objectives.

- recognize the use of gender responsive budget initiatives as a tool to ensuring that civil society preferences and needs are incorporated into the budget and to achieve good economic and financial governance, and to improve transparency and equality.

### 6.3 Youth

The youth constitute over 60% of the country's population yet they are the hardest hit by poverty. Unemployment among the youth has reached a crisis level in Kenya and is likely to deteriorate unless quick answers can be found to the problem. As such the greatest challenge for the government is to create a conducive environment for the creation of jobs for an estimated 700,000 young job seekers every year. Currently less than 80,000 are being employed each year. It is estimated that in the last two decades of this century the economy needed to generate a total 10 million new jobs. However, less than 3 million jobs have been created during this period.

NARC recognizes that this sad state of affairs necessitates that there be a change of focus from employment in the modern formal sector to informal sectors. There will be need for example to focus graduate skills to the informal sector. The NARC government will focus its attention to Micro and Small Enterprises (MSEs) so that this sector can absorb the rising number of youth entering the labor market. The NARC government will work with micro-finance institutions to:

- ensure that the appropriate credit policy environment is put in place.
- ensure that the lending systems adopted by them are youth friendly.
- develop the capacities of youth to manage their enterprises.
- ensure that these institutions live up to their social responsibilities of lending to new businesses initiated by the

youth as a recognition of the importance of investing in the country's future.

- facilitate increased investments in the development of the communities by financing rural youth development projects.



*Acrida* for the Diamond (Cotton) C. Cotton

## Chapter Seven:

### 7.0 ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Kenya continues to experience serious environmental challenges, mainly as a result of the government's mismanagement of the sector. It is particularly shameful for the government to allocate public lands, especially forest areas, to well connected individuals and leaders. There is also an ever-growing problem of environmental degradation resulting from destruction of water catchments through logging and lack of appropriate extension support services to poor farmers. As a result of these problems and the rampant poverty, the country faces enormous challenges, including reducing and irregular rains, drying of rivers, depletion of soil nutrients and imminent desertification. All these factors have led to unpredictable weather patterns as well as soil and environmental degradation.

Our current problems would have been checked if the government had developed a comprehensive land use policy and provided the necessary support services to resource poor producers who, in desperation, result to destroying the very natural resource base on which they depend. Unfortunately, current leadership has been more interested in preaching environmental conservation while it was busy depleting our natural resources and doing nothing to improve the peoples' capacity to effectively manage their production and natural resources. The government has been the greatest destroyer of the sector through privatization of public forests and licensing of logging to a few politically connected individuals. The ruling party has created numerous institutions with criss-crossing mandates on natural resource management but without the necessary capacities and resources to deliver effective services to Kenyans. In many instances, institutions have been engaged in undue competition and struggle for control instead of improving the management of natural resources. There has also been deliberate actions taken to enhance conflicts such as the assigning of the management of some forests to both the Forest Department, the Kenya Wildlife Services and the National Museums of Kenya.

Another major environmental issue that the leadership ought to have addressed but which it did not is the problem of domestic energy requirements. It is estimated that over 80% of the total energy used in this country is wood-based. Other sources of energy such as electricity, petroleum products, solar and biogas are either inadequate or too expensive for the majority of our people. Given the high levels of poverty, the forest sector continues to play a vital role in the provision of energy for many of our rural and urban families.

Unfortunately due to the hostility that exists between the communities and the Forest Department, communities do not see themselves as partners in the development and conservation of forests. They simply harvest without planting any trees to replace what they use. In smallholder agricultural sector, many families have adopted tree farming as a strategy to meet their wood fuel needs. This trend is what the NARC government hopes to exploit as an entry point to a participatory dialogue with our people to ensure working partnerships with communities in environmental conservation.

As part of our strategy to improve our national environmental conservation and sustainability we shall:

- work with communities to develop work-plans for environmental protection, rehabilitation and conservation.
- endeavour to educate local communities to understand that they are the immediate losers when forests are destroyed, in that they suffer from loss of reliable rainfall and water supply.
- review the current institutional arrangements of natural resource management and design a new and more effectively coordinated institutional structure.
- make the local communities party to the protection of the local forest resources.
- design a formal policy based on partnerships with communities to ensure sustainable utilization of natural resources and protection of areas with critical biodiversity, which require preservation.
- support research on natural resources with the aim of developing appropriate technologies and management systems.

- generate and disseminate energy and time saving technologies to serve two critical purposes of reducing the amount of wood fuel used at household level and saving some of the time that rural women spend in search of wood fuel and energy.







## Chapter Eight:

### 8.0 THE LAND QUESTION

Land is one of the most contentious issues in Kenya today and has been so since colonial days. Land is of particular interest to Kenyans because of a number of factors, including the fact that 80% of Kenyans are rural peasants who eke their livelihood out of land. For such people land is life and any threat to their land resources causes fear and panic. Indeed our struggle for national independence revolved around the land issue.

Despite the centrality of land, existing land laws are conflicting and in some instances their application is not relevant in some parts of the country. Abuse of existing land laws and other state powers has led to irregular allocation (grabbing of public land) to a favoured and privileged few. This has angered many who feel that such land should have been put to the common good of many.

Existing land tenure systems have caused the greatest inequality that has been experienced in this country. Large areas of arable land are controlled and owned by a powerful minority, with the rest of the poor majority having no access to land. Some of those having no access to land are squatters with no regular land tenure rights, others live on very small pieces of land that are hardly sufficient for subsistence production while many others live on land that is considered unsuitable for agriculture.

Since the law allows the government to relinquish any piece of land to anybody, those with political connections and power have exploited public land resource for personal gain through arbitrary allocation of public land to individuals, using the Commissioner of Lands and the authority vested on the office by the Governments Land Act, Cap 280.

Another avenue that has been exploited is the Trust Land Act, Cap 288, which gives respective Local Authorities the right to hold public land in trust for the community and the power to adjudicate this land. Since the Local Authorities are under the direct control of the Minister for Local Government, they have been used to facilitate the

allocation of this land to individuals or groups that prove they will improve on the land, for the good of the community. However, once the title deeds are out, the land becomes the private property of the holder of the title deed.

Many Local Authority representatives have allocated themselves, or other undeserving applicants, land falling under the Trust Land Act. Such allocations seem to escalate just before general elections, which means that public land is being used to raise money for campaigns to influence voting. In addition, there have been conflicts between the Local Authorities and the Land Commissioner's office, when the latter has allocated Trust Land without their consent.

Another potential area of conflict is that women have no control over land resources, even though they are the main actors in subsistence agriculture. Though they are the main cultivators, workers and managers of household lands, they do not have direct ownership or control over the land. They also, do not have access to credit facilities because they do not hold the titles to the land, to use as collateral.

In addressing the issues of land, the NARC government will pursue a policy that aims at ensuring sustainable utilization of available natural resources for national development, while at the same time ensuring the protection of genuine rights of individuals. As such, our land policy will be developed through an open and participatory process. However, the basic principles will be:

- all public lands belong to the Kenyan people and cannot be privatized.
- communally owned land requires the protection from illegal acquisition.
- legally acquired titles have the protection of the law.
- developing a national land policy that embraces all aspects of land.

In order to deal effectively with issues of land, the NARC government will:

- streamline and sustain efficient record keeping in all land registries.

- work concertedly towards creating a comprehensive land policy where all issues touching on land are harmonized into a single statute.
- create an Ombudsman's office to look into the grievances involving displacement, caused by development projects, land clashes or natural disasters.
- pursue a no land grabbing policy to public land and investigate all cases of public land that has been allocated to individuals.
- address the question of squatters and slum dwellers, making every effort to improve their living conditions, especially slum dwellers, by facilitating the provision and access to quality water and sanitation.
- institute research and development needs assessment to identify land use strategies that would yield optimal value of land as an economic resource.
- ensure that rural support infrastructure, road networks and water systems are improved upon and developed, where they do not exist, by encouraging public-private partnerships in development.
- ensure environmental recovery measures with lands that have become degraded as a result of unsustainable exploitation.
- establish an intensive natural resource inventory to determine what other resources, apart from agriculture, accrue from our land.
- develop a natural resource management strategy including, wildlife management, that involves communities in order to improve sustainability of our natural resources.
- develop an industrial development policy that protects the environment.
- protect community land ownership by registering the rights of communities to own land, and ensuring that those rights are not abused.



*Members for the Fátima and Rumbero Coalition*

## Chapter Nine:

### 9.0 INTEGRATION OF ARID AND SEMI-ARID LANDS (ASALs) INTO THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

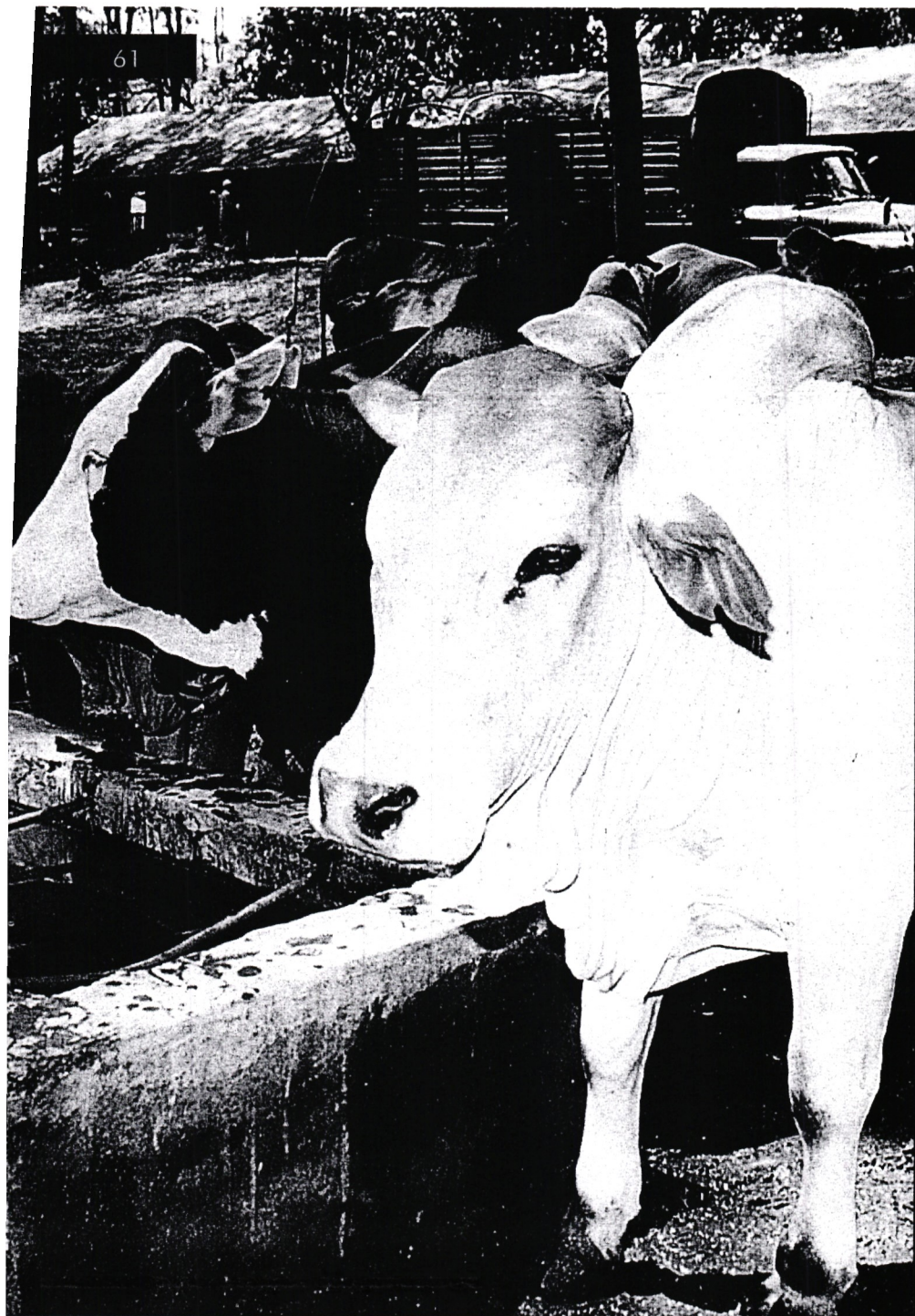
#### 9.1 Marginalization of the Arid Regions

A larger proportion of our country comprises of arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) that are dominated by traditional livestock production, a mixture of dry-land farming and livestock production. Through no fault of their own, communities living in these areas have been marginalized throughout our history. As a result of the long-term neglect, these areas have the highest levels of poverty and do not access markets for their livestock products. Insecurity is rampant and basic services are not available.

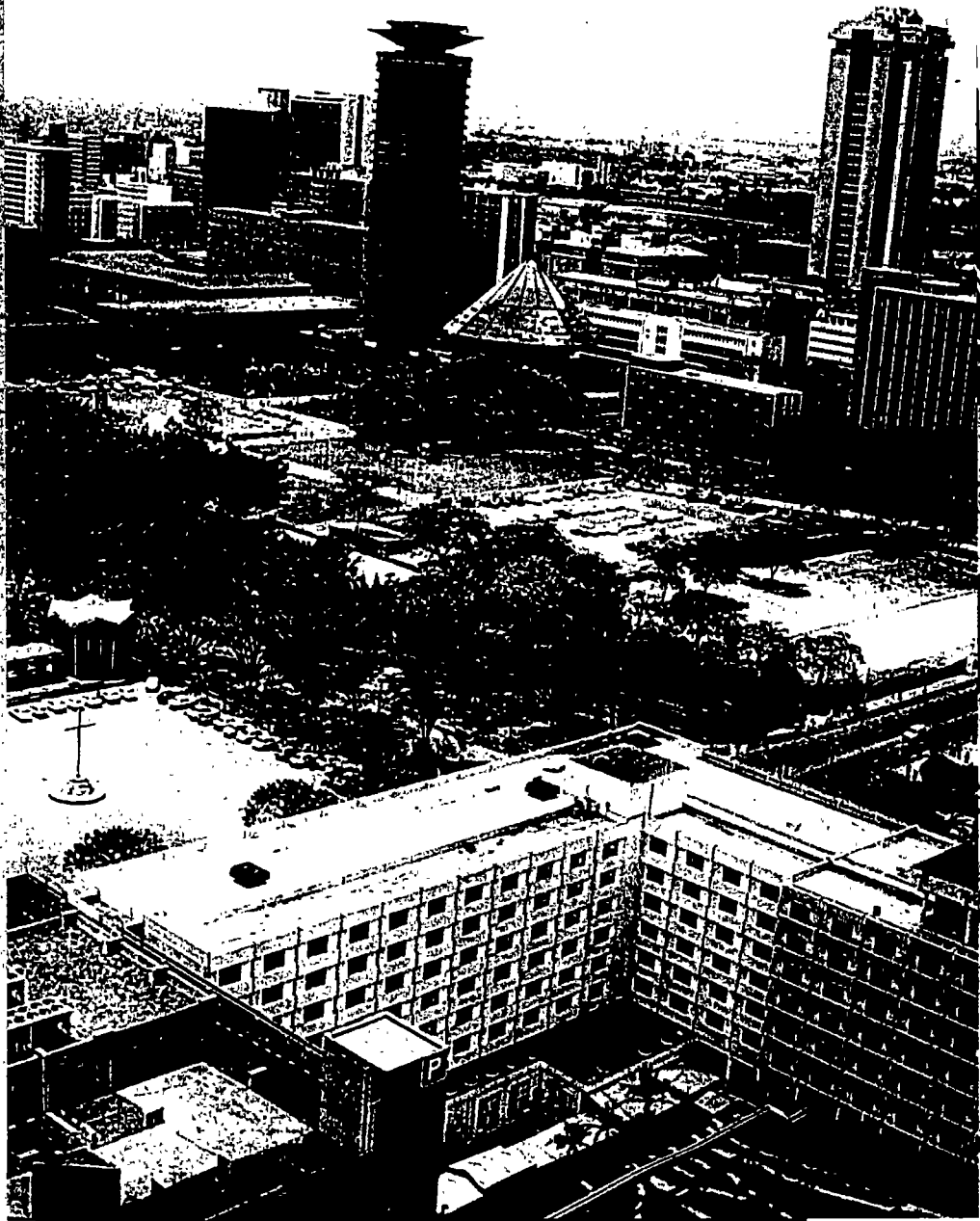
NARC recognizes the urgency to address these communities and to integrate them into the mainstream national economy without disrupting their way of life or their natural resource base. Such integration would, in our view, have a major positive impact on both the communities and the national economy as a whole. Our government will therefore:

- design a development policy that creates strong partnerships between the government, community organizations and NGOs working in the areas.
- improve security in the regions.
- design an infrastructure development programme aimed at maintaining all weather road communication between the ASALs and the major towns.
- invest in telecommunications and energy sectors in these areas.
- develop the necessary education infrastructure for the areas through construction of classrooms and other learning facilities, establish adequate boarding facilities to cater for children of nomadic families, support the form of provision of teaching and learning aids, and provide bursaries for needy families.

- support investment in the provision of basic services to these areas.
- ensure support for the sustainability and diversification of livelihoods.
- design a special programme for traditional modes of livestock production aimed at ensuring sustainability and improvement of the sub-sector.
- ensure support for dry-land research programme to develop and disseminate appropriate technologies to enhance livelihoods.
- create incentives for processing and value adding in livestock production.







*A Manila look for the Editorial Pamphlet / Corbetta*

## Chapter Ten:

### 10.0 KENYA IN THE WORLD ARENA

#### 10.1 The Changing Global Scene

With the end of the cold war and the emergence of the market-controlled economies as the dominant forces in the global politics, the world is becoming increasingly integrated. The World Trade Organization (WTO) rules have also injected new values and standards in the community of nations. With these changes, nations are coming together to form trading blocks, which are also becoming strong political power blocks. Already, EU and NAFTA are growing in strength and influence and setting common standards to which those who want to trade with them must adhere.

With the new rules and emerging institutional arrangements, national sovereignty and borders are becoming less important. For this reason nations in every region are forming regional trading blocks and speaking in one voice. In the African continent, examples of the emerging blocks include ECOWAS (for West African region) SADC (for Southern African region) and COMESA (for the Eastern and Southern African states). In this situation, no single country can afford to remain isolated and any country that fails to play an active role risks being disadvantaged and marginalized. However, to be an active and influential member, a country must invest in high value human capital and negotiating skills.

NARC appreciates that Kenya's influence and participation in the world arena has been declining as a result of the negative image created through failure to be consistent and predictable in our dealings with partners. In the recent past the Kenya government has portrayed itself as unconcerned on issues of human rights, environmental conservation and in addressing poverty. It has also portrayed itself as unable to keep its obligations on issues it has committed itself.

NARC is committed to correcting this negative image by ensuring that we remain consistent in our interactions with all partners, both bilateral and multilateral. In all the interactions, our negotiating position will be guided by:

- respect for all the treaties, conventions and protocols to which Kenya is a signatory.
- the principle of equality of all members of any organization whose convention we subscribe to.
- pursuit for peace and peaceful coexistence between all members and nations of the world.
- respect of human rights of all the people regardless of race, religion, nationality or social status.
- the principle of reciprocity.
- pursuit for fairness and fair play for all parties.

On the international scene we will ensure active participation in all bodies whose conventions Kenya is a signatory, including the UN and its bodies, the Commonwealth, the APC, AU and NEPAD.

## 10.2 Kenya in Africa

NARC will ensure that Kenya becomes and remains, an active member of the family of the African nations. In particular, we want to see Kenya playing a prominent role in the African Union and in addressing the issues that vex this continent. To assure strong and effective participation, we shall:

- operate a predictable foreign policy and ensure that Kenya's representatives have the required skill and are adequately facilitated.
- review all the agreements currently in force to establish whether they are all still relevant and necessary.
- meet our obligations to all the bodies to which we are members.

## 10.3 Kenya in the East Africa Region

On the East African Cooperation, we assure Kenyans that NARC is committed to a strong relationship between the member states and will:

- support further integration into an eventual Eastern Africa Federation, embracing as many states as will be willing to come together.

- give the sub-regional issues high priority as a means of creating strong regional and sub-regional integration.
- remain committed to playing a strong role in EAC, IGAD and COMESA.

In Eastern Africa, including the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes regions, NARC will commit all the necessary efforts and resources towards peace building and the fight against terrorism. In this regard, we will work with partner states to combat the flow of small arms, and agents of terrorism into the region.



**MWENGE - RAINBOW**