[Mr. Malinda]

belong to them. We have paid our taxes. We pay Sh. 600, but, Sir, out of that Sh. 600, Sh. 300, which should be remitted to our county councils, have never been remitted since 1964. We do not even have receipts to show that we have paid our taxes. This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the money which has amassed itself in the city council and which is making the city council big-headed. Mr. Speaker. Sir, I hope that, by the time we come back here, the Government will have appointed a special commission, let alone the commission which is inquiring into the county councils and local government, but a special commission to look into the affairs of the city council, because they are completely rotten now.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I also hope that the Ministry of Commere and Industry will have decided on the restoration of the castor oil seed factory at Kibwezi. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have been waiting for this factory for a long time. We know that all the surveys have been carried out, feasibility studies and arrangements have been made, therefore it should be started any time from now, and I hope that the Government will see fit to start it immediately.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, with regard to the question of foreign policy. This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, needs to be properly looked at and I feel that the Government should also make an announcement as to what the Kenya Government's views are with regard to the Rhodesian issue and also with regard to recognizing these governments which have had coups d'état. We want to know what the Government policy is.

Now, Sir, I would like to touch on the question with regard to the people who were removed from Donyo Sabuk to Makueni, because they were brought to my place of residence and I have seen them so many times that, by now, I know quite a bit about them. Mr. Speaker, Sir. it is known that when these people were being taken away, the Member who was speaking about them was a Minister. We also know that this question, the question of these people, has been aired in Government circles. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say here that I am very grateful to the Government for taking steps to ensure that these people do not die of famine, because, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I, myself, have gone to the provincial commissioner, the district commissioner and the Minister for Home Affairs to see that the welfare of these people is not neglected I have also, Mr. Speaker, Sir, gone to the Commissioner of Squatters who has promised land for these people, because these people were taken away during the time when the hon. Member was in the Government, but, it is ironic and also shows the insincerity of the Member to come and start talking about them now, because when he was in the Government and had the chance to present the difficulties of these people, he did not do it, but, Sir, now that he is no longer in the Government he finds it necessary to blame the Government. Mr. Speaker, Sir. that should not be allowed.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to support the Motion.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry to have to say this while the hon. Member for Butere is out of the Chamber, but Sir, the hon Member has elected himself the president of the poor people and, at the same time, he is also a selfappointed trade union official. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wanted to warn him to stop meddling in the affairs of the drivers of the Ministers, because these people have a contract with their employers, and if the Mr. hon. Shikuku's meddling brings about a breach of contract, this, Sir, will be too bad. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to inform the drivers of all our Ministers, including mine, that they are free to join the Transport and Allied Workers Union. It is only by joining this union, that their rights and their responsibilities as workers will be taken care of most effectively. The hon, Mr. Shikuku's noise in this Chamber, does not help these workers one little bit. They are free to join the Transport and Allied Workers Union, and I would be delighted to see all of them become members of that union. Through that union, Sir, they will be given better support and protection than the noise the hon. Member usually makes here.

Mr. Masinde: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am seeking your ruling on this point. Is the hon. Assistant Minister in order to refer to any hon. Member's speech here as only noise?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No. No, it is not. Order! Hon. Members are free to disagree with what other hon. Members say, but they should never be offensive in their description of what other Members have said.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I withdraw the "noise" part of what I said, but, Sir, I believe, and this is my sincere opinion, that it is doing these people no good. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say a few things with regard to the question of unemployment. The Government is fully conscious of the plight of the unemployed people in this country. I have, personally, been charged with the responsibility of drafting a plan as to what should be done to combat unemployment in

[The Assistant Minister for Labour]

this country. I would like to say that this plan is almost ready, and I am sure that before the hon. Members return from their recess, they will hear an announcement about the steps which the Government is going to take to combat this problem of unemployment.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, a certain hon. Member did a great disservice to our friends, the Chinese, when he, more or less, associated them with all the coups d'état which are taking place in the world today. He was using a certain logic, namely, that whenever, something happens, when a certain factor is always there, that factor becomes the cause of the event. He says, for example, that in Central Africa when there was a coup d'état, the Chinese were outside, and that in Upper Volta, and in many other places, the Chinese have been ousted after coups d'état. I think that anybody who knows the logic I am talking about would conclude straight away that the Chinese have caused all these coups d'état, which I think is unfair. Frankly, we still do not know much about the causes of these coups d'état and the best we can do, is to guard our own fortress. Let us all join together in protecting Kenya and making Kenya a more stable place of freedom and dignity of our people.

One hon. Member proposed a panel of advisers to the President. This will not work, because we already have these advisers and each of them in his own field is working in the proper place to give the right advice to the President. So, we do not need to impose yet another panel of advice on the President.

Sir, now I come to the subject of Kanu, because it is said that this is causing a great deal of concern in the country right now. I hope, however, that this is only a temporary excitement. A lot of us have demanded that Kanu elections be held immediately and I do not see the reason why they are now rejecting them, now that the cards are on the table.

Sir, I beg to support.

Mr. Rurumban: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first point I would like to make is my usual complaint about stock sales. The people are now being asked to pay their Graduated Personal Tax; children are being expelled from schools because parents have not paid their school fees. Where are these people to get the money from? We know very well that the Samburu have no other source of getting money except through selling their livestock. So I would like the Government to organize stock sales immediately in Samburu District.

Another point I would like to raise again, Mr. Speaker, is about the Electoral Commission programme which appeared in the papers today. Sir. I have noted that the commission will visit various centres to hear evidence from delegates and individuals who submitted their memoranda. In the list, I tried to find a mention of Samburu District, because I wanted to see whether it was included in one of the centres that were to be visited, but, unfortunately, my district was not there. I remember that we did put in our memorandum to the commission. We did put it in in the hope that the commission would really look into the points we raised in our memorandum. I feel that the commission has done us a gross injustice in failing to visit Samburu District and see for themselves the points that we raised in our memorandum. The constituency that I represent is so vast that it cannot be represented by one member in the Lower House alone. The roads are so bad that a Member has to buy new tyres for his car nearly every month because of the rocky and rough nature of the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the constituency comprises two districts, Samburu District and part of Baringo District, a part which was annexed to the Samburu District by the hon. Minister for Home Affairs when he was trying to get more seats for Baringo District.

Sir, these are the points that the commission should look into. I do not know what other unique or unusual problems the Narok or Kajiado people have that enables them to be visited while the Samburu District has been left out. What other evidence would the commission require, other than the points we raised in the memorandum? If the complaints we raised are within the terms of reference of the commission, I accuse the commission of injustice for failing to visit the Samburu District.

Mr. Oduya: I want to raise a few points in this debate. Firstly I will start with the coming Kanu elections. I am bringing up this point, because I feel that the President of the Republic, who is also the President of the party, is aware that there are different opinions with regard to the coming conference. We are not opposed to the conference, but we are opposed to the elections. I say this, because just recently, we have had coups d'état all over Africa. Somebody clever engineered these coups d'état in order to get these cheap people to elect him into power. We reject this sort of thing. If this is ignored, then the possibility of other people having their different opinions, let us say, forming a new party, cannot be ruled out because we are living

[Mr. Oduya]

in democratic times. However, I am not prepared to sit on one bench with people who cannot respect the constitution of approved institutions. This must be made clear.

I would like also to bring to the notice of the Government that just this year, since Teso people depend entirely on cotton, the Minister for Cooperatives was a bit weak in running this affair, as far as the sale of cotton in the Western Province was concerned, particularly Teso. Here, Mr. Speaker, they transferred the power of buying cotton back to the Indians who exploited our people all these years. The Teso people had the monopoly to plough and plant cotton, and they would like also to have the right to handle the sale of cotton themselves. If the Ministry was advised by certain unscrupulous people, that are employed in the field, known as co-operative officers, then these people need to be disciplined, because we feel we are not prepared to see our people being undermined. We are not prepared to see them undermine the determination and effort of our people. I reject this entirely.

Another thing is this: when the Teso came to collect money to buy their own ginnery, these very people came up and stopped the collection of money. I would like to know whether this is the policy of the Government. The person who is going to answer on behalf of the Government must tell me if it is the policy of the Government (a) to transfer the business which has been transferred to the co-operative societies by the people themselves back to the Indians who have been exploiting the masses; and (b) whether it is the policy of Government to use people to work hard jointly to collect money, in order to establish industries of their own.

I appeal to the person in charge of the Youth Service to send some people to help us in Busia District. We have very big bushes in this district, from Samiia to Teso. We want to clear the bushes because the land is fertile; it is potential land for cotton which will bring the country a lot of revenue. We would be able to help in the economic planning of this country. The Minister for Economic Planning says that he has in mind 100,000 bags of cotton by 1970. In order to achieve this, the Teso area and that of Samia must be cleared of bush so that we are able to make use of the land. We should not waste youth. So let us make use of these youths. Since I am not a Minister and am not friendly with any Minister, what is the position? All that I want is that even if my views differ from the man who is controlling the youth, if my views differ from the entire Cabinet because they say I am British,

let them at least think of Teso and not of me because I am speaking for the Teso. Bush clearance must be carried out straight away, because we want to use that land. Our Mzee said that we must go back to the land and we must do just that. In fact we want to do that,

The Teso require immediately two secondary schools. I am saying this because, the other day when the President went to some place this way, he said that he had ordered the Minister for Education to offer places for the children of Embu. Since we are one of the backward areas, we do not have many educated people, I ask the Government to offer: (a) one school for girls because we now have over fifty girls who passed K.P.E. and who have no place in any school; and (b) an additional secondary school for boys. This must commence during the second term. I have seen the Ministry of Education about this and the Minister seems to be reluctant to do this. If this is not done I will carry a demand to Gatundu and demand that the President himself orders that we should get these schools.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I am afraid your time is up, Mr. Uduya.

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Mr. Achieng-Oneko): I am a bit surprised, Mr. Speaker, because the hon. Member says that he is not friendly with any Minister, because he is a close friend of mine and a close friend of many people as well, because we have so many things in common. I do not think we are enemies of anyone.

I have a few points which I would like to answer at the moment, and I would like to say that when this Motion was moved the hon. Mr. Kibuga, who is fortunately here, criticised the Government, particularly the Ministers because they were not in the House. However, he failed to say that there were only a few Members in the Chamber at the time he stood to speak. I think we should try to be as constructive as possible. I know that the Ministers have great responsibilities, but, at the same time, the Members are equally responsible to their constituencies. For this reason, they need to listen to other views expressed by various Members.

The hon. Mr. J. D. Kali raised the question of money being spent on sending delegations to the Organization for African Unity conferences. He said that this money was being spent uselessly. He proposed that it should be spent on finding employment or on giving free primary education. However, he forgot one thing: that we, according to our policy, are committed to African unity, we are committed to see that the whole of Africa is free from foreign domination. With this in

[The Minister for Information and Broadcasting] mind, the Kenya Government must spend money to see that the whole of Africa is free. I remember before we became independent other countries like Tanzania, Ghana, Algeria, Morocco and the United Arab Republic contributed to our struggle, and it is now our turn to do likewise. Therefore, it would be futile to suggest at this stage, when we are supposed to contribute to the freedom of Africa, that the money is being spent uselessly. I am sure other hon. Members will disagree with the hon. Mr. Kali.

There is one other point on unemployment. I am glad that my colleague, the Assistant Minister for Labour, has dealt with this and I do not need to labour it.

But he also mentioned the question of two parties within one party. Well, one party is a very new thing in Africa and we are trying to give it time. It is a sort of experiment .However, people seem to forget one thing, that we belong to families. You find that within a family, there is one father, one mother. When there are about six of you, you talk and argue over a piece of bread, a cup of tea. You may not agree at all. Therefore, we should be patient and not say that there are two parties within one party. Let us give it a trial; if it fails, then it is up to the Members themselves to decide what is good for Kenya. However, in the present circumstances, we have worked very well.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am speaking on behalf of Government and these are the views which are held by the Government in the present circumstances.

One hon. Member suggested that there should be a kind of advisory council for the President. I am glad to hear that this is rejected. Why do we need a doctor? The President does not need a doctor. I am sure he is energetic and in good health at the moment. If it is a question of advisers, well, there are advisers qualified in their own special fields. They do advise the President now. Therefore, I do not think it is right for anyone to suggest that the President cannot decide on his own because there are certain people around him.

It is true that hon. Members mentioned the Kikuyu being around the President, I think this is a very unfair statement. Even the hon. Members-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! It is the end of your five minutes. You will have the right to reply to the debate when you might finish off what else you want to sav.

Mr. Kerich: Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday we passed a Bill to curtail the privileges of the Members of this House. I consider that the Attorney-General has forgotten the most outstanding matters affecting the public as such. One example, Mr. Speaker, is the question concerning the administration of African courts. Today, Mr. Speaker, vou cannot sue an Indian, an Arab or a European because the African Ordinance says unless the accused or the defendant agree, if the defender or the accused is a European, or Indian you cannot take him to an African court. But when an ordinary African goes to a magistrate, he is told this case is a case which can go back to an African court. This, I consider. Mr. Speaker, is a very serious matter and it is high time that we acquired an Attorney-General who is an elected Member of this House. Not an Attorney-General who, by virtue of that post, becomes an ex officio Member of this House. Mr. Speaker, Sir, these are the things we would like the Attorney-General to do, rather than play about with the privileges of the Members of this House.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another point that I would like to mention, is the question of secondary schools. I would like to tell the House that secondary schools which exist today in Kericho, were set up by the regions. Mr. Speaker, we have never had a single secondary school granted by the Central Government, and yet two years ago they were seeking our help to dismantle our regions. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if this Government is going to delay because of tribalism and only have secondary schools in particular districts, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are going to demand the regional set-up again. This is a warning, this Central Government has to prove itself, that it is capable of ruling as well as the regional set-up did.

Mr. Speaker, another point is that the Government is now adjourning the House and yet it has failed to implement most of our Motions. Again, it has also failed to allow time for debating the most outstanding Motions brought to this House. It has also failed to implement the demand by this House that in private firms should be Africanization. While we appreciate what the Government has done as regards to Africanization in the Government sector, we do not appreciate the way the Government has tackled Africanization in private firms. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in my district, we have thirtyfour tea companies, you cannot find a single African manager, and yet we have had independence for nearly three years, if I am correct.

Mr. Kerich

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a warning to our Government that it must instruct these private firms that they must Africanize as much as possible and also the Government too.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another point which I would like to mention is the whole Sessional Committee should be sacked, because they are being dictated to either by this chairman or other forces, I do not know. Because, Mr. Speaker, it is said that Government is adjourning this the reason House, is because they have run short of business. What about the hundreds, and hundreds and hundreds of Private Members' Motions? Is this a Parliament of Government Bills only? I want the Minister, when he comes to reply, to tell me whether this Parliament is only for Government Bills If this is so, then there is no use in giving notice of Private Members' Motions.

With these few remarks, Mr. Speaker, I beg to oppose this Motion.

The Assistant Minister for Home Affairs (Mr. Nyagah): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to support the Motion, and while supporting the Motion, I would like to put forward very quickly a number of points.

First of all let me disagree, very strongly, with the hon. Member who has just sat down about the Sessional Committee being dictated to by the chairman. The Sessional Committee works strictly for the good of this House and what it has done is both for the good of this House and the country. There was no dictation at all from the chairman.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make a suggestion, right from the beginning, that the motto we have at the gate as we come into this Chamber, should also be written right in front of you so that it reminds Members, wherever they may be sitting, that we are here for the welfare of society and the just government of man. I hope when we meet the next time, there will be the same letters over your Chair to remind us of this in whichever corner we are sitting.

My second point, Mr. Speaker, is with regard to the North-Eastern Province. I have had the privilege, recently, of visiting the place; I had never been there before in my life, but I am delighted to say Mr. Speaker, that the place is not devoid of life; there is hope; in spite of the trouble that we have there, I think our Government can do a lot of good work, even at this time, to make sure that the loyal people over there can appreciate what the Government is doing. There are places with water, and I am sure a little development done in those places will go a long way to solidifying the loyalty of those people. I know education has been started, Mr. Speaker, but I would like to see more radio information from the Minister for Information intensified in that area, so that those people can live as part and parcel of this country.

The other point, Mr. Speaker, is with regard to areas that have been neglected in the past, or kept backward. I would like to make an appeal to the Government for all these areas, mine included, that in those areas we need various field officers. It is not a place where the Government should dump anybody, just because he is called a district commissioner, a district officer: they should have first-class people, so that these people can be helped to catch up as quickly as possible. Careful attention should be given to those places and the question of frequent transfers-because some officers do not want to those backward areas—should be examined and those officers be made to stay there and help build Kenya.

The other day, Mr. Speaker, I tried to raise the question of the salary structure. I think now this is the right place for me to put this request. Since we became independent, we have not had a complete overhaul of our salary structure both in Central Government, the Civil Service and also in this House. If anything, we have been asking for more money to increase our salaries. I think. Mr. Speaker, the time has come for us to try and cut our coat according to our cloth. This Government should, during the recess, think how best this can be done or implemented.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me speak very parochially about my constituency. Being one of these places that has been neglected in the past, I would like to ask the Government, first of all, to try and help us in establishing more road communications, so that we can reach those people living in remote places to enable them to come in to the open world, to enable the medical people to reach them, to enable the educationists to reach them and to enable civilization to reach them. Also development of agriculture, grazing schemes, land registration should also be established, not to mention the ever standing need of education and schools. I hope, Mr. Speaker, before we assemble here again, the Government will have given us an inkling of what these so called revised development plans contain. We want to know what is going where. We would like to have time, during the holidays or recess, to study this, so that when we come here, we should know what goes where and how and how much of it is going to a particular place.

[The Assistant Minister for Home Affairs]

The other point, Mr. Speaker—and I would also like to speak in a very parochial nature—is about the headquarters in Embu. It is a provincial headquarters and the provincial heads are scattered all over the country, some in Nairobi, some in Isiolo and some in other places. We would like them to be put together, just as they are in Nakuru or in the Central Province, Nyeri, or in Nyanza, so as to help the provincial commissioner and his provincial team to work for the good of the province.

I would like to ask the Minister for Information, when he replies, to answer in the affirmative that before we meet next time, there will be a telex and a television camera in the Embu Provincial Headquarters.

With these remarks, Mr. Speaker, I support the Motion.

Mr. J. M. Kariuki: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to inform the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, who is here to reply on behalf of the Government, that it is very important for the Government to concentrate mostly on the areas where the information is not reaching the Government. It is no use all the time to send information to the Ministers and Assistant Ministers and the Government servants. I believe that the people who matter in this country are the ordinary people in the field. It would be better for the Ministry, in future, to have photographers and camera-men going into the field and finding out what the people there are doing. What is more important are the old women in the fields, and the men, what they are doing and how they are helping to develop the country. Instead of concentrating on cowboy films like "Bonanza", we would also like to see on the television how our people are developing their own fields. This is very important for the development of this country. I do not see what we have to fear. We should not be afraid of seeing our mothers wearing goat skins; we would like to see them; we would also like them to be seen by foreigners. I feel that we should be proud of this, as this is the sort of image that we would like to show to the outside world. That is one point.

The other point that I would like to speak on Mr. Speaker, is regarding the unity of this country. That is the most important thing and I sincerely believe that the people who are going to disunite this country are the Members of Parliament themselves. The reason why I say this is because I have noticed with great interest the speeches made by the hon. Members in the House, and we have been hearing a lot about the groups called, "Corner Bar" and another one

called, "Progressive Group". There have been a lot of Motions and a Motion was even started in this House. I personally would like to put my point across, but I have never heard anyone in the country saying that he has no confidence in our Government. I have never heard anyone speaking at public meetings and saying that they have no confidence in our Government, and yet we debated a Motion of confidence in the Government. Whoever said that there was no confidence in the Government? This is just a mere fear; we should not be acting on fear. I would like to say that if there is any particular Minister of our Government, and even the President himself, he should come as an individual Minister and seek the confidence of the Members of this House, and then we can say whether we have any confidence in that particular Minister or that particular President, rather than saying that we would like to seek the confidence of this House.

Another point I would like to put forward, Mr. Speaker, is in connexion with hospitals. We know of many cases where people are taken to hospital, but they wait for a few hours and, in most cases, as long as six hours, because of the lack of initiative of some of the doctors in the hospitals. These people, in most cases, are suffering, and we have already put some of these suggestions across to the Ministry as we feel that some sort of investigation must be carried out, because a doctor's profession is not like a clerk or an accountant in an office, who can put his pencil down, go back home and return tomorrow morning. You cannot leave somebody in the theatre and say, "Let me go and have a cup of tea", and then come back and treat the patient. Now he cannot do that, because, after all, he is a human being, so we feel that this is something which the Minister should take into consideration. We are very happy at what the Government has been able to do as regards free medical treatment for out-patients, but we also feel that it would be better if the Government saw to it that those people who go as out-patients are treated as human beings rather than that they be made to wait for so long.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would also like to mention the reason why I said that we are the people who will disunite this country. This is because there is going to be a Kanu election in the near future and let people not be deceived that most of the people in this country do not want the election; we want an election, but we also feel that the people in the field—the people who elected us hon. Members in this House—must be given time to read their new constitution and amendments. The reason why I am saying this,

[Mr. J. M. Kariuki]

is because there is a lot of duplication in that constitution. For example we are having the president and also eight vice-presidents. Mr. Speaker, what will happen is this, when we come to elect these eight vice-presidents, they will all consider themselves as being the only person next to the president and there will be a lot of problems in this country, because every one of them will be fighting to see who can see what in near future. This must be changed completely. We have the national chairman of the party and eight provincial chairmen, in order to see what can happen in the future, because these people will consider themselves as the only people next to the president. So, Mr. Speaker, I feel that time must be given to the people, who cannot even read English, even some of these branch chairmen cannot read English, and they must be given time to read, amend and criticize the constitution. But if this is going to be imposed on the people then, Mr. Speaker, I am afraid to say that there will be disunity in this country which we must always try to prevent from occurring in such a country which has an international reputation for having a stable and well led type of Government.

Mr. Chirchir: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, for giving me this opportunity. What I would like to mention, Mr. Speaker, is this. I should think that, at this stage, the leaders of this country should unite without delay. If the leaders of this country will not unite, I should think that the people will be betrayed if anything should happen; because I have found amongst those who have come into power that they are going to create a problem in this country, so I think that the people in this country should watch carefully.

Another thing that I would like to mention, Mr. Speaker, is this: in this country, we fought for at least sixty years to achieve independence in order to get our land back. Up to this moment, the price of land in this country is too high and I feel that the Government should appoint a commission to look into the price of land which some people have already taken over from our parents.

Mr. Speaker, another point that I would like to mention, is that I have found only a few people who are enjoying the fruits of this country and if those people continue to enjoy the fruits of Kenya, I think that they must watch carefully and, unless they watch carefully, I am sure that the Members of this House and the people of Kenya, will see that something will take place.

With these few remarks I beg to move.

POINT OF ORDER

DEBATES LIMITED BY RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order, As this is our last day, could we not extend the time for at least fifteen minutes or up to 7 o'clock so that we can give an opportunity to Members who are interested in saying something to the Government before we go on our holiday.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! It was by resolution of the House that this kind of debate was limited to two hours, having been limited previously-likewise by resolution of the Houseto one and a half hours. Now, a resolution of the House cannot be rescinded within six months following without leave of the Speaker, and J do not think it is right, when the House has considered how long to allow for these debates, to keep on reconsidering it. It always happens in any debate, or almost always, that not every Member who would like to speak gets a chance. After all, we have 130 Members, and even allowing five minutes each, it takes a very long time to get round them. So I am afraid hon. Members must be patient in these matters and adhere to resolutions of the House.

POINT OF ORDER

RIGHTS OF MOVER IN ADJOURNMENT DEBATES

Mr. G. G. Kariuki: On a point of order, Mr Speaker, Sir. I would like to get a ruling as to whether it is in order for the Minister, who has spoken already, to speak again now.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I am quite glad that you raised that point of order. I did say at the start of the debate that as the Minister only moved the Motion formally he simply moved the adjournment and then sat down, he would be entitled to speak in the course of debate as well as replying. In fact take his five minutes later. He could have had five minutes at the start and five minutes to reply. I said he could have his first five minutes at a later stage in the debate. I think I was wrong and, in future, I shall say that hon. Members who move a Motion, must speak then or hold their peace until they reply. But that is what I did on this occasion, and that was why I did it.

(Resumption of debate)

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Mr. Achieng-Oneko): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have only two points to reply on. I am very pleased that the hon. Members have put the blame for disunity on themselves. I have heard with interest Members saying that if there is anything wrong, the Elected Members in this House are

[The Minister for Information and Broadcasting] to blame because of their activities. Now that will have to go on record, because we here are charged with a great responsibility and a duty to our people to deliver the goods and not to disunite and divide our people. I think we have a breathing space from tonight until the 24th May, and, when we come back, we may come back with a new thinking all together.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have to say something on the party and also on some of the points which were raised here that there were two parties within the party. I think it is up to the hon. Members to examine themselves and to find out where the mistake lies and once they get it, they will have to correct it for the good of this country. Otherwise, the hon. Members are digging their own graves and it would be very difficult, and that door over there will be too narrow for some Members to come back, if they engage in activities which the ordinary voters look upon as division or destruction.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad to have heard from my old friend, who said that only a few people in this country enjoy the fruits of our independence. It is the policy of this Government to see that we enjoy the fruits, every one of us enjoy the fruits of our independence, and we should work towards that. It is, of course, up to everybody to examine himself to see whether he is playing the role of replacement of the outgone imperialists who used to abuse us and call us names. It is a challenge which, of course, has been made here and you will have to take it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is one other point I would like to raise. The hon. Mr. Malinda suggested that something should be done about the taxes in Nairobi. I would like to make this point very clear. It is true that those who are working in Nairobi, or living in Nairobi, pay their Graduated Personal Tax in Nairobi, but those whose familes are living in the countryside or in their homes, are entitled, according to the present law, when they are filling in their forms, to ask for 50 per cent of their taxes to be sent to their respective homes. They fill in the forms which are supplied by their employers, and these are collected at the end of every year. If there is a failure to do that, it is not the fault of the Government, and they should not say that their money is not reaching their homes, or that their money is being used to buy other things like expensive cars. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I think it would be in the interests of every Member to advise those who are working here whose families are at home, and not to blame the Government, because when you fill a form in, you ask the

city council which is responsible for receiving the taxes, to transmit the taxes to the respective homes.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with those few words I would like just to move. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have not talked about the recess, but I would like to wish the hon. Members a happy holiday and to help as much as possible—because it is the rainy season—to help in the cultivation of the *shambas* and to look after their families well. Thank you.

(Question put and agreed to)

ADJOURNMENT

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): The House is now adjourned until Tuesday, 24th May at 2.30 p.m.

The House rose at forty minutes past Six o'clock.

WRITTEN REPLIES TO QUESTIONS

Question No. 63

EXPANSION OF TEA-GROWING AREAS

Mr. arap Biy asked the Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry what he was doing to expand the tea-growing areas in the country.

The Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. McKenzie): An enormous amount has been done to develop smallholder tea throughout the country. At the end of June last year, 12,544 acres had been planted under the K.T.D.A. supervision and by the end of 1968, over 25,000 acres will be under tea by smallholders. Meanwhile, planning is already in hand to produce a Third Plan covering the period 1969-1973.

Question No. 91

Machakos District Agricultural Committee: Membership

Mr. Ndile asked the Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry if he would say how the selection of members of the Machakos District Agricultural Committee was done. Was he satisfied that the small-scale farmers' interests were being cared for by these committees.

The Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. McKenzie): (a) The appointment to all district agricultural committees including Machakos is done under Legal Notice 352/63. This legal notice lays down the procedure to be followed which required, among other things, that the Eastern Regional Assembly should have enacted legal procedure to be followed for

[The Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry]

appointment or election to the committee. The Machakos District Agricultural Committee appointed in Gazette Notice No. 2690/63 was interim pending legislation by Eastern Region which legislation was not done so the committee continues. Amendment to L.N. 352/63 will be made to enable the Minister to lay down the electoral procedure.

(b) Small-scale farmers are well represented in the Machakos D.A.C., and I am not aware that their interests are not being looked after.

Question No. 125

REGISTERED NON-RACIAL PARENTS' ASSOCIATIONS

Mr. Godia asked the Minister for Education if he would tell the House the number of non-racial parents' associations he knew of registered in Kenya since 1963. What aid did the Ministry give to the establishment, support and encouragement of such associations throughout the country.

The Minister for Education (Mr. Koinange): There are fifty-seven registered parents' associations, of which fifty-five have non-racial constitutions. Nineteen of the associations have been registered since 1st June 1963, and all of these are non-racial.

The two associations which still have racial constitutions are the Kilimani African Parents' Association (Kenyatta National Hospital School) registered on 8th May 1957, and the Ngiya Hill School (Nairobi) Parents' Association, registered on 28th February 1958. The latter's membership has always been small—varying from twenty to thirty members.

The Ministry of Education considers that each school, or where appropriate group of schools, should have a parents or parents/teachers Association, and has encouraged the establishment of these associations by indicating that they are accepted in principle as suitable bodies for nominating representatives to be appointed as members of boards of governors and school committees.



REPUBLIC OF KENYA THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OFFICIAL REPORT

Thursday, 28th April 1966

FIRST SITTING—9 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. (Cols. 1991 to 2017)

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE CHAIR

Assent to Acts (Col. 1991)

Constituency Vacancy—Nyambene South (Mr. Gaciatta) (Col. 1992) Resignations from Kanu and Recognition of Official Opposition (Col. 1992)

REDUCTION OF BILL PUBLICATION PERIOD: CONSTITUTION OF KENYA (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL

Motion—The Minister for Economic Planning and Development—Agreed to (Col. 1994)

POINT OF ORDER

Which Bill to be discussed (Col. 2000)

BILL

First Reading-

Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Col. 2007)

MOTION FOR THE ADJOURNMENT

Adjournment of the House: To Sit Again Later in the Same Day— Minister for Economic Planning and Development—Agreed to (Col. 2008)

CONSIDERED RULING

Definition of "Sitting" of the House (Col. 2009)

ADJOURNMENT (Col. 2017)

SECOND SITTING—2.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m. (Cols. 2017 to 2104)

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

Members rejoining Kanu (Col. 2017)

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SECOND SITTING—(Contd.)

NOTICE OF MOTION

Appointment of the Sessional Committee—Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Col. 2017)

BILL

Second Reading-

Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill—Minister for Economic Planning and Development—Question proposed and debate interrupted (Col. 2018)

EXEMPTION FROM STANDING ORDERS: HOURS OF MEETING

Motion—Minister for Economic Planning and Development—Agreed to (Col. 2070)

BILL

Second Reading-

Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill—Resumption of debate interrupted by Motion for Exemption of Standing Orders (Col. 2072)

POINT OF ORDER

Relevancy in Second Reading of Bill (Col. 2055)

DIVISION

Second Reading of Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Col. 2100)

MOTION FOR THE ADJOURNMENT

Adjournment of the House: To a Sitting Later in the Same Day— Minister for Economic Planning and Development—Agreed to (Col. 2101)

ADJOURNMENT (Col. 2104)

THIRD SITTING—8.45 p.m. to 10.10 p.m. (Cols. 2105 to 2122)

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

More Resignations from the Opposition (Col. 2105)

BILL

The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill—In Committee (Col. 2105) Report and Third Reading (Col. 2105)

DIVISION

Third Reading of the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Col. 2121)

ADJOURNMENT (Col. 2122)

WRITTEN REPLIES TO QUESTIONS

Ouestion Nos. 312, 412, 599 (Col. 2122)

Thursday, 28th April 1966

The House met at Nine o'clock.

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) in the Chair]

FIRST SITTING

PRAYERS

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE CHAIR

ASSENT TO ACTS

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Hon. Members, I have a number of Communications to make. In the first place, His Excellency the President has assented to the following Bills.

	Pas	ssed Third Reading		
		House of		D
N T	Title	Represer	ı- Senate	Date of Assent
No		ianves	senate	Asseni
1.	The Board of Adult Education Act, 1966	26-1-66	2-2-66	24-2-66
2.	The Loans (Guarantee) Act, 1966	9-2-66	11-2-66	24-2-66
3.	The Copyright Act, 1966	25-1-66	8-2-66	24-2-66
	The Eviction of Tenants (Control) (Mombasa) (Amendment) Act, 1966	26-1-66	8-2-66	1-3-66
5.	Trading in Prohibited Goods Act, 1966	27-1-66	8-2-66	1-3-66
6.	The Exchequer and Audit (Amendment) Act, 1966	1-2-66	9-2-66	1-3-66
7.	The Extradition Act, 1966	2-2-66	9-2-66	1-3-66
8.	The Income Tax (Allowances, Reliefs and Rates) Act, 1966	9-2-66	11-2-66	1-3-66
	The Betting, Lotteries and Gaming Act, 1966	27-1-66	9-2-66	11-3-66
10.	The Supplementary Appropriation Act, 1966	17-2-66	18-2-66	11-3-66
11.	The Pig Industry Act, 1966	9-2-66	16-2-66	11-3-66
12.	The Traffic (Vehicle Licences) (Duration, Fees and Refund) (Amendment Rules) (Validation) Act, 1966	10-2-66	16 2 66	11 2 66
10	•			11-3-66
	The Irrigation Act, 1966	26-1-66	23-2-66	11-3-66
14.	The National Assembly (Powers and Privileges) (Amendment) Act, 1966	23-2-66	1-3-66	11-3-66
15.	The Central Bank of Kenya Act, 1966	2-3-66	8-3-66	24-3-66
16.	*The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 1) Act, 1966	9-3-66	18-3-66	5-4-66
	*See Mr. Speaker's next			
	CI III. Decine 3 Hext	Commu	acunon,	from the

Chair, where Assent to this Act is referred to.

CONSTITUENCY VACANCY—MR. GACIATTA

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Then hon. Members, with reference to the Constitution of Kenya Act (Amendment) Act, 1966, to which His Excellency the President assented on the 5th day of April, 1966, hon. Members are aware section 41 (1) (b) of the Constitution of Kenya, as now amended by that Act, disqualifies from membership of this House any person who is under sentence of imprisonment exceeding six months imposed on him by any Court in Kenya or substituted by competent authority for some other sentence imposed on him by such a court; and section 42 (1) (b) of the Constitution of Kenya provides that a Member of this House shall vacate his seat if any circumstances arise that, if he were not a Member, would disqualify him from election as such.

Mr. A. L. Gaciatta, Member for Nyambene South, was sentenced by the High Court of Kenya, a little time ago, to imprisonment for two years. More recently the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa substituted for that sentence, a sentence of nine months' imprisonment.

Since Mr. Gaciatta was, on the 5th April 1966, and is still serving a sentence of imprisonment exceeding six months, I have to inform hon. Members that, in accordance with the Constitution of Kenya, as now amended, he vacated his seat in this House on the 5th day of April 1966, the date when that amendment took effect.

A writ for by-election of a Member for Nyambene South will be issued in due course. I seem to have omitted from my list of those Bills to which His Excellency has assented, actually that Bill. His Excellency has assented to the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act, 1966 on the 5th April 1966.

RESIGNATION OF MEMBERS FROM KANU: OFFICIAL OPPOSITION

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): On Wednesday the 22nd day of this month, I received a letter from Mr. Kali, stating that twenty-two Members of this House (as well as some Senators) had crossed the Floor, and seeking official recognition of those Members as a formal Opposition in the House.

The Members named in that letter as seeking such recognition were:

Mr. Z. N. Anvieni.

Mr. S. K. Sadalla.

Mr. J. D. Kali.

Mr. K. N. Gichoya.

Mr. S. K. Choge.

Mr. L. R. Obok.

[The Speaker]

Mr. C. C. Makokha.

Mr. A. S. Khalif.

Mr. E. D. Godana.

Mr. J. K. K. Tanui.

Mr. Oduya Oprong.

Mr. G. K. Ekitella.

Mr. B. Kaggia.

Mr. Okuto Bala.

Mr. J. Odero Sar.

Mr. Lorema.

Mr. Bonaya.

Mr. W. R. Kamuren.

Mr. Kioko.

Mr. Oginga Odinga.

Mr. T. Okelo-Odongo.

Dr. Waiyaki.

Mr. Ekitella and Mr. Kamuren have since published repudiation of their inclusion in that list; and I have also received written notice from Mr. Lorema and Mr. Choge that their names should now be withdrawn from that list, as they no longer wish to cross the Floor, but support the present Government and wish to remain members of the Kenya African National Union.

The same letter named Mr. Oginga Odinga as leader and Mr. Kaggia as deputy leader of this Opposition.

In reply to further inquiry, I received vesterday written confirmation from Mr. Kali that the Members named in his previous letter (from whom Messrs. Ekitella, Kamuren, Lorema and Choge must now be excluded) intend to function not merely as a group of independent individuals, but as a definite Opposition in the true sense; that is to say, offering to the House and to the nation an alternative Government with a definite alternative policy, and with their leader as alternative President of the Republic.

Honourable Members will understand that there can be a Parliamentary group or party, whether or not supported by any external or country-wide political party. Therefore, although no country-wide political party other than the Kenya African National Union has yet been registered, this group of Members is entitled to be recognized in this House as a separate Parliamentary party. Moreover, since this Parliamentary party is offering an alternative Government, and is prepared in the event of the resignation of the present Government, to assume office, it is entitled to be recognized in this House as an Official Opposition.

Therefore, in this House, I shall recognize the hon. Members named by Mr. Kali (other than Messrs. Ekitella, Kamuren, Lorema and Choge) and any other Members who may wish to join them as constituting an Official Opposition, with

Mr. Odinga as their leader and Mr. Kaggia as their deputy leader; and they will have all such rights as are accorded to an opposition party by our Standing Orders.

Furthermore, though I am not in a position to direct the seating of Members except as provided by Standing Orders, I would suggest that this party occupies the block of seats nearest to the left of the Chair. Their leaders will not, however, be able to sit in the Front Bench unless and until Standing Order 168A is amended so to provide.

MOTION

REDUCTION OF BILL PUBLICATION PERIOD: CONSTITUTION OF KENYA (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

That this House agrees that the period of publication of the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill, 1966, be reduced from fourteen days to one day.

Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to make a long speech. All hon. Members are aware, and indeed the country is aware, that this is not a normal sitting of this House but a special sitting convened by the Speaker on the request of Government in view of the recent developments in the country affecting part of the membership of this House. It is, in the view of the Government, a matter of urgency that the confusion arising from recent developments should be resolved as quickly as possible, for the stability of this country is essential for the development of the country and the welfare of the people. It is important that the people have an immediate opportunity to declare their own verdict on these matters, and it is for this reason that the Government wishes today to bring into the House an amendment to the Constitution as proposed in the Bill.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all hon. Members wish that the House debate these matters without any further waste of time so that the country may be able to move forward without unnecessary and undue confusion.

I beg to move.

The Minister for Internal Security and Defence (Dr. Mungai) seconded.

(Question proposed)

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I see that the Government intends that the Constitution of Kenya, which took a lot of days to discuss in London in order that Kenya should achieve independence,

[Mr. Anyieni]

today is to be changed, and I see that the Government intends that it should be discussed and changed within one day.

Hon, Members: Shame, shame,

Mr. Anyieni: I do not really understand why the Government is in so much of a hurry. This Government tells us that they are doing all these things according to the wishes of the masses. If it is according to the wishes of the masses, why is it that time has not even been given for the masses also to know, for the masses in your constitutuency and my constituency to know, why the Government wants to hurry these things up. Mr. Speaker-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order!

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Government feels that what is said in the Voice of Kenya by spokesmen and the Government spokesmen, that is the voice of the masses. We question this, Mr. Speaker, we question this. We think this Kanu spokesman, we think this Government spokesman, is just Mr. Mboya and nobody else.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order!

The Assistant Minister for Education (Mr. Mutiso): Point of order. Mr. Speaker, could we know from the hon. Member whether that has anything to do with the Amendment Bill?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I was going to suggest to the hon. Member that we must keep to the point of the shortening of time, on which he was relevant until just now. I think we are getting away from it now.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I do not want to deal with this at length, but what I should like to say is that an amendment of a Constitution should not be hurried up because it seems that if we start doing this, at last the people of Kenya will not know under what Constitution they are being ruled.

Hon. Members: They know.

Mr. Anyieni: I can hear hon. Members saving. "They know," but this was published yesterday afternoon. When did the Members who today are hurrying it through, go to their constituents? Are they doing it on behalf of the masses or on behalf of themselves? If they are doing this on behalf of the masses, when did they consult these masses?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade) Order! Order! I would ask hon. Members to give every other Member a fair hearing, especially in a debate of this kind.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I know very well that this Bill is intended to be passed very quickly, because after some of our Members have decided

that the electorate is very difficult, they do not want to face them, but they say, "It is all right for Mr. Anyieni and others to face the electorate, but it is not all right for us, too. For that reason, we must hurry these things up, Mr. Anyieni must go to Majoge-Bassi to contest an election." I should have thought that if this thing was given today. every Member would go down to his constituency and tell the people, "Look, my dear friends, now there is a new law. The new law is that the contract which your Member had with you for five years is going to be changed, and we want to change it this time." Then the masses would say, "All right, change it." However, Mr. Speaker, I know many of these people, practically all of them even including myself, have not gone to our constituents to ask for this, because it was given to us only yesterday. Mr. Speaker, when this came up, and the President suggested that we should go and seek the mandate of the country, we should introduce this Bill and pass it in one day so that we can all go and seek the mandate of the masses for this, I tell you, all the Members said, "No, no, we don't want to go to fight an election. It is only those people who should go down and fight an election, it is only they who should go." But if you want to be democratic and fair, why do you not give the fourteen days allowed-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Address the Chair.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, why do they not allow the fourteen days, even fourteen days would not mean very much because if you have decided that a person like myself is not supposed to be a Member of this Parliament, you are not men enough to keep me out of this House even after fourteen days, it does not matter and even maybe the wait of the fourteen days is immaterial. For that reason I would like to urge the Members of this House, many of them I know who sympathize with the views that we are expressing, many of them who I know sympathize like the hon. James Nyamweya, sympathize with us-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): You have a point of order, Mr. Nyamweya, I take it?

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): Not strictly, Mr. Speaker, but perhaps the hon. Member would like to give way so that I may clarify this point.

Mr. Anyieni: No, thank you very much, my dear friend. I said this, Mr. Speaker, because the hon, gentleman coming from my district, I know him and I do not think he would like to rush me like that.

Mr. Speaker, I know that what I have said that very many Members sympathize with this, I know it, Mr. Speaker, because if it were not for this Bill, I tell you, Mr. Speaker, there would be

[Mr. Anyieni]

very many Members sitting here. But you know, Mr. Speaker, everyone fears an election. Everybody fears an election even myself. Everybody, even President Kenyatta himself, fears election. Nobody wants an election, even Mr. Mboya here does not like elections, but we ask you that you should give us only fourteen days to go to the country and inform the electorate that my dear constituency do you know now, they have changed the contract. Now we are not going to stay for five years; they are in the middle of the way of working and they may have decided to change the contract from the five years to, I do not know, to two and a half to three years, and from now on you have to know that whatever I do I will have to face you at any time, I know my constituency and I have no fear, even if they do not bring me to this House, I know that one day they will be aware that I stood for them. I want to assure the Kanu spokesman that people like myself will never, never apologize for the decision I took to resign from Kanu, and until the policies of Kanu are changed, until Kanu is not controlled by one individual, who is controlled by the outside world. Mr. Speaker, I will not come back to Kanu, I will remain, if the Government is to be fair, let them register the new party.

With these few words I plead with my colleagues to give us fourteen days, let them all go to their constituents, then we will come back and pass the Bill. I know you will pass the Bill anyway. With these few words I beg to oppose.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I, too, stand up to oppose this idea of discussing this very important Bill, and every stage of the Bill in one day. This is an historic Bill, it is something unprecedented; it is a thing that does not normally happen in the affairs of Parliamentary government. This is a very important Bill and it is very wrong, like my friend said, that it should be passed so quickly without giving the public, the people of Kenya, a chance to hear our arguments, our points why the Government wants to do it and so on. This is an indication that the government of Kanu know the public of this country very, very little. They do not care about the public of this country. This is a Bill which ought to take days to be debated so that the people of this country have a chance to hear what arguments are being advanced against it and the arguments that are being advanced for it. If we did this, we would be doing an honour to the people of this country. Mr. Speaker, our Members of Parliament have been called specially for this meeting, and this meeting is supposed to be for just one day. They have wasted the taxpayers' money to come here, and they sit here in Nairobi for four or five days, and then only sit for a few hours, and then go back, this is a waste of the taxpayers' money, and this is a very irresponsible thing to be done by the Government which is running a country which is under-developed and is poor. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this kind of action shows just what the Government thinks the Members are, that they are just like a pack of something, a pack of sheep that you bring here, use them and then send them back. Mr. Speaker, Sir, Members of Parliament are supposed to be representing the people of this country. They are supposed to be individuals who were elected because of their judgement-

Mr. Khasakhala: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is it in order for an hon. Member to refer to Members as a pack of Shifta?

Hon. Members: A pack of sheep.

Mr. Khasakhala: Sheep or *Shifta*, whatever he said, is it in order for him to say it, Mr. Speaker?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): If the phrase was a pack of chiefs-

Hon. Members: Sheep, sheep.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): A pack of sheep, a flock of sheep? Order! Order! Hon. Members will hear rulings on order in silence, please.

If the hon. Member was saying that Government is treating Members as a flock of sheep, he is entitled to do, whether or not you agree with him.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, these Members have been called from their homes, have been brought here, they are being asked to sit for one hour and do something, and then are being sent back. That means that people should not be thinking at all. They have not been given any time to think because they are not probably expected to think. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is something that is unprecedented and something that is wrong in the representation of the people of Kenya. A Member of the National Assembly is supposed to be an individual who was elected for his ability to judge matters and to think out matters carefully

An hon. Member: Which you have not done.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: They are not people who are elected merely to be collected together, to do something that somebody wishes them to do and then to be sent back to be good boys. This is a very wrong approach to all these things and it is a betraval of the confidence that people put in

Mr. Speaker, as my hon. friend has said very well, these Members have come back here to Nairobi to pass this Bill and they want to do it in one day. They have not consulted anyone, they have [Mr. Okelo-Odongo]

not consulted their constituents, they have not talked to the people of Kenya, they have not been able to assess——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! Will you sit down, Mr. Okelo-Odongo. Hon. Members must not continue with this running commentary, twenty at a time. You will all have an opportunity to speak, if you want to, and it is necessary that you should speak, but not while other hon. Members are speaking.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. Members have not had time to assess the importance of the amendment of the Constitution, they have not had time to assess the feelings of the people of Kenya, and yet they are prepared to come and sit here and do something because somebody is supposed to have asked them to do it. This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think, is very wrong and is a betrayal of the people of Kenya.

Mr. Speaker, finally, I would like to say this. Now, in this country, only a few years back—less than a century—we were a group of different language-speaking people, different linguistic groups, having our own autonomous little units where we used to have our government and political matters. Now, Mr. Speaker, we have embarked on a very important thing in this country, we have embarked on the task of creating the Kenya nation, and always the song is sung that Kanu is building the nation. Now, what the Members should know is that you cannot build a nation just by singing; you have to build a nation by actions.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): You are getting off the point now, Mr. Okelo-Odongo.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, the point I am trying to make is this: that in order to build our nation, we must try to inculcate and to plant in this country the principles of truce democracy. It does not matter what his race, religion or tribe is, the individual should be able to feel in this country that the system that has been created will protect him and that, even if he is alone, his thoughts will be heard and he will be listened to. We do not want anybody to feel that just because there are three of them, a big mob will come and push them down; what we want to create in our country is democracy on the correct principles, create a system whereby the individuals, the tribes, the races, however small or big they are, should feel that they are safe.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think that by saying that we vote this in one day, this is violating this very important thing. If Kanu were really interested in building the nation, then they ought

not to have done this. They should stop singing a song and do things, like debate this thing for fourteen days, so that the people in the country can see what Kanu is doing, that they are establishing a system in this country that will be fair to everybody, big or small.

Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker.

POINT OF ORDER

WHICH BILL IS BEING DISCUSSED

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is something here which is very interesting. It appears that the Government was not able to make up its mind and has given us two Bills here which are different. I am therefore seeking your guidance as to which one we are going to discuss. It appears that the one which was circulated yesterday, Supplement No. 35, and the other one which appeared this morning, Supplement No. 36, which has something added to it, means that the Government, during the night, thought of something else. Now, Sir, which one are we being asked to discuss in one day, as we have just seen it now in the Chamber?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes, I am glad Mr. Kaggia has raised this point. I should, perhaps, have mentioned it at the start of this Motion. The Bill which was published in the Gazette early yesterday has been replaced by another Bill which was published late yesterday. I understand that a copy of this later Bill is now in the hands of Members, and that is the Bill to which this Motion and all subsequent Orders today, refer. To distinguish it from the other Bill, it is called Bill No. 9, whereas the earlier Bill yesterday was called Bill No. 8. Hon. Members will keep their eyes, please, on Bill No. 9. That is the Bill we are discussing throughout.

(Resumption of debate)

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, I would like to say that this little corner on my right is a very interesting corner, but, I think, Sir, that it is quite wrong, according to what the speakers have said who have just sat down, for them to prepare and say that they are the majority of the country in representation. I think it is futile, Sir, for anybody who occupies a little corner like that and having the whole sea around them even dare to say such a thing.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I do not think that they have said in this debate that they represent the majority. That is irrelevant to this debate. Let us keep to the point of the time.

Mr. Odinga: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I seek your ruling on this? If we are being asked to stick only to Bill No. 9, which

[Mr. Odinga]

we have just received, is that strictly the one Bill which we are being requested to discuss?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes, it was actually published vesterday, though very late vesterday.

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think that there is no need to speak to great length on this matter. because I quite agree with the Mover of the Government that we should only have one day to consider this Bill.

Now, Sir, the issue which is intended to be covered by this Bill, is a very short straightforward issue. Because it is so straightforward and short, it is only a pack of dull sheep that cannot understand it. We are intelligent. We can read this one piece of paper and get a grip of it in one day. Therefore, I think some of the speakers seem to undermine the thinking and understanding of the ordinary man. They are assuming that the ordinary man does not understand what is going on. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, Sir, since the confusion came about, the ordinary man has reflected, beyond any doubt, that he knows what is going on. I am not just speaking of the ordinary man in Nairobi, Mombasa or Kisumu, but the ordinary man from Wajir, Tana River, Lamu and all these remote Turkana places; they know what is going on and they know exactly what the Government is doing. This cannot be questioned, because if anybody questions this, then he has not been awake for the last two weeks. Mr. Speaker, Sir, some of the speakers say, "Let us go back to our voters first on this issue". Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think this is going too far. Are we told here that anything which is raised in this Parliament, before we as representatives speak our minds, we should go back to the voters and ask for mandate for every occasion that the Parliament has to discuss an issue? If this is what the little group here is saying, then I will have to tell them now that this is not how parliament works anywhere in the world. I have not known of any parliament where an issue which comes up, even a small issue like this question, going back to the voters. Some of these people do not go to the voters during the weekend, perhaps. We do not go and see our people over the weekend and we are out of touch with them.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, some people say that it is waste of money for us to come here. I wonder, Mr. Speaker, why the hon. Member has come, if it is a waste of money. If he had not come. perhaps, according to his own logic, we would have saved some money, but why has that not been done? The country is wise enough, the country is matured enough not to be bluffed by a little corner group.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I therefore support the Minister and the Government in moving that this small, short, straightforward issue should be covered in one day.

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion very strongly and I would like to say from the outset that this so-called big group here in the House should not deceive itself that it is a representative of this country. I challenge them, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if they think that they are representative of this country, let us go to the voters today and you shall see. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I very strongly submit that this is a Bill which seeks to amend the Constitution of this country, and for the Government to come here and try to convince this country that this is an easy matter that can be discussed within one day, is really betraying the people whom they are telling us they are protecting. One cannot understand how the Government expects the people to know by one day this great protection which they say they are giving to the electors.

This is a Bill which is seeking to amend the Constitution and introduce a provision which cannot be found in any other Constitution in the world.

This is a provision which is being introduced by a coward Government which is not prepared to face the electors, but they think they can use the Constitution to intimidate the Opposition. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to show that we are not going to be intimidated. We are not afraid. You can pass this Bill any day you want. Mr. Speaker, the world and the country will judge. Mr. Speaker, the reason for opposing this Motion is that we would like to have time to debate this Motion, to tell the Government of their misdeeds, or their misbehaviour. Then, after that, we do not mind, you can pass it after the normal debating, as usual, and, Mr. Speaker, if the Government is not afraid of the Opposition, they should give us this opportunity of debating and we will tell you how wrong you are.

Mr. Speaker, the point of order which I have just raised, just before I spoke, indicates very clearly, that this Government is either sleepy, or it has not got a proper legal advisor, and I am surprised to see that although my friend, Mr. Nyamweya, is there, it surprises me. It surprises me that the large amount of lawyers the Government has in the Parliament here and in the Attorney-General's Chambers, they could not pass such a small Bill properly, but they should draft two different Bills in one day, this is for the world to see what sort of Government we have and what sort of legal advisors we have. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I do not want to take much time on

[Mr. Kaggia]

this because I am preparing to speak on the main Bill, but, Mr. Speaker, I challenge the Government to give us this chance to speak. You can keep quiet if you have nothing to say, and we will tell you what we have to say. We will tell you, we will tell them, Mr. Speaker. So, Mr. Speaker, I would very sincerely ask my friend, Mr. Tom Mboya, the Mover of this Motion, to withdraw it, so that we debate here for fourteen days and we educate him.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Balala: I beg to move that the Mover be now called upon to reply.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! This is a very important matter, for time to be allowed for the debating of a proposed Amendment of Constitution. I do not think I can permit the closure to be moved until every Member of the Opposition who wants to speak has had his chance.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was not my intention to speak on this particular Motion, because my friends have already expressed the views which I strongly support. But, there is one thing, Mr. Speaker, although you have just said that we are going to ignore one paper and use the other one. This, in fact, shows that the Government, when introducing or when thinking of introducing this Bill, never made up their mind, and I think I should take this opportunity to be the Government spokesman, because they do not have any. In fact, Mr. Speaker, when the hon. Mboya was moving the Motion, he should have explained why there had been two papers, whether they were confused, whether they were not thinking about it, whether they were confident of their number, so that they could just come and bulldoze everything in this Parliament, and if they wanted to bulldoze by mere number and by not reasoning, they should not have brought these two papers. We got one yesterday, but I think I can now guess how they got the idea.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order!

The Minister for Labour (Dr. Kiano): My point of order is, is the hon. Member not repeating what was said by the previous speaker, on this question of two papers?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think he is getting a certain amount of additional enjoyment out of it, which the other Member did not have.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel strongly how the Government got the idea of the amendment to the original Bill. We discussed this yesterday, and we thought it was a second string to our bow and that we may use it in future, because walls probably have ears, the

Government got it somehow. This shows how bankrupt they are in their thinking and also in considering the introduction of this particular Bill.

Mr. Speaker, it is no use confronting us. I have just received mine here, when I entered the Chamber. I have not been given the opportunity of even reading it, because I have been reading the old one all the time and I prepared my notes on the one of yesterday, but it has just been received. I think, Mr. Speaker, this is very, very unfair to the Opposition which, of course, is going to oppose this Bill and give reasons to the Government, and for that reason, Mr. Speaker, I think that it would be fair for the Government to agree, while we are looking at this silly paper of theirs, to give a fourteen days' period for the country to read and to be properly informed on the reasons why this Bill is to be introduced.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): If no other Member wishes to speak, the Mover may reply, Mr. Mbova.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, when I introduced this procedural Motion, I was determined not to make a long speech. I am determined not to make one even after some of the provocative remarks from the Members of the Opposition, but for the record, I will make the following observations:

First, that we have been treated to the usual and well-known state of delaying tactics. All we are being told is not new. It is obvious to the public and to this House that what Members of the Opposition would like to do, is to buy a little bit more time to delay things a little bit more. Mr. Speaker, the question that the public must ask is, "Who precipitated this crisis?" Mr. Speaker, the crisis in this country, if at all it is a crisis, the current confusion was created by none other than the same persons who now wish to have fourteen more days of confusion. Mr. Speaker, the welfare of ten million Kenyans cannot be left in the reckless hands of the thirteen so-called wise men in front of me.

Mr. Anyieni: Is the word "reckless". the hon. Member is using, not too strong a word to describe this?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! No, I do not think that is too fierce a word to use in Parliament. We have to have a certain amount of cut-and-thrust, and expressions of that kind are in order.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, all I can say to the hon. Member from Kandara, my friend, the hon. Member from Kandara, is that

if he insists on creating confusion, then he must accept the consequences of it. When my friend, the hon. Member for Kandara was speaking, Mr. Speaker, as I sat down there, I could not help thinking of a preacher, and I wondered whether we were all being asked to be converted to Kaggiasm. I thought he had given up that religion long ago, Mr. Speaker, but since he is my friend I will not pursue him any further.

The hon. Member for Nakuru Town spoke for a few minutes and I could not help thinking how wise people become immediately they resign from the Government. I note that the only way to become wise is to resign from the Government. If all this wisdom could be made available and used constructively. I am sure Kenya would be the better.

Mr. Speaker, allegations have been made that these are measures intended to intimidate the Opposition. How can one be intimidated by being told to go back to one's own home? If the Opposition were to come here and say that because they opposed the Government or because they resigned from Kanu or because they have used insulting language about the President of the Republic that some of them have been locked out habitually, then I would accept that there was intimidation. However, what has the Government instead decided to do? The Government has decided to do exactly what Members of the Opposition have been asking for, namely, that the people should decide which of the two they want.

Mr. Speaker, if, in this House, the majority were to reject the Government today we would have no option but to resign. Mr. Speaker, it must follow that if in a constituency the majority rejects a person, he has to resign.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is not the hon. Minister completely out of order-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I cannot quite hear.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Is not the hon. Minister completely out of order in discussing the merits and the demerits of the Bill when we are talking about the time?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That is so, but I think so far Mr. Mboya has been answering criticisms that have been made in the course of this debate, which he is entitled to do. We are not really concerned with the merits of the Bill at this stage.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, whenever the hon. Member for Kisumu speaks he manages to surprise the House. For his education he always surprises me when he speaks.

Mr. Speaker, the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi spoke and as usual, of course, his speech can never be complete without mentioning the name, "Tom Mboya". The hon. Member's spate of jealousy is worse than a woman's.

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, in view of these serious allegations that my jealousy is more than a woman's, would the Minister say what I am jealous of, or would he not agree that he is using a language which only a child of ten and a foolish person would use?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Anvieni raised a point of order which requires consideration of two things. One is that he is requiring substantiation of the fact that he is jealous which is not a thing which can be done, because it is merely an expression of opinion related to the way the hon. Member has spoken. He is also, I think, complaining as a matter of order of the language used. Again, I think one has to allow comment of this kind within bounds, but I would suggest to Mr. Mboya that it does not really help debate to be more offensive than you have to be.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, it is not my wish to be unnecessarily offensive but if an hon. Member in this House or outside makes it his business that at every point he speaks he makes personal attacks against me, I am quite capable of hitting back. I can take as much as he can give but let him also be prepared to take as much as I can dish out because I do not intend to take any abuse from anyone without retaliat-

Mr. Speaker, the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi spoke of a change of contract in that he should be given a chance to go and tell his voters that Government intended to introduce a shorter contract from five years to something in between. I am surprised to hear this come from the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi because if anyone has recently changed his contract without consulting his partners, it is the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi.

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, could the hon. Member substantiate the allegation that I have broken the contract as I stood for election independently and won the election as Anyieni?

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): All I am saying-and I do not intend to pursue this even if the hon. Member wishes—is that his partners in this contract are his constituents and I suggest that when he decided to resign he did not go back to

hold the meetings, that he now wishes to go back and hold, in order to get affirmation before he resigned.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think I know quite well what you are getting at, Mr. Anyieni. You are wanting to correct the suggestion that you betrayed your voters, and you are stating that you were elected as an independent and so party does not come into it. However, you will have an opportunity to discuss this later, and I suggest you leave it until then.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, why should the hon. Member say that I have not held any meetings, because he does not know this?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): We will not argue any more about this now.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, the other point made—I believe by the hon. Member for Kandara—was that this is a measure which has never been introduced in any other Constitution. I do not know if he is quite right in that one, but in any case, the most important thing about Kenya is that we think for ourselves. The Constitution that we now have in Kenya is a product of our own thoughts, imagination and philosophy, but if the hon. Member for Kandara wishes so to import one from some other place then he is most to be pitied.

I beg to move.

(The question was put and agreed to)

BILL

First Reading

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL

(The Bill was read a First Time)

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I would like to remind hon. Members that this is with reference to Bill No. 9 and not Bill No. 8.

Hon. Members will see that the Second Reading of this Bill is on the Order Paper subject to the leave of the House. We cannot take more than one stage of any Bill in the same sitting without the leave of the House, that is to say with the consent of all present. Therefore, I have to ascertain whether any hon. Member objects to our proceeding now to the Second Reading of this Bill.

Mr. Bala: Yes, I do.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): In that case the Second Reading will have to wait until another sitting, and that concludes all the business on the

Order Paper we can deal with at this sitting. Normally I have to adjourn the House, under Standing Orders, until 9 a.m. tomorrow but I think Mr. Mboya wishes to move some alternative.

(Bill ordered to be read a Second Time at next sitting)

MOTION

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE: TO SIT AGAIN LATER IN THE SAME DAY

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): In view of the obstruction of the Second Reading and in view of the urgency of this matter and since this particular urgency of this matter and since this particular sitting should come to an end at 12.30 today, I beg to move that the House do now adjourn until 2.30 p.m. today instead of the normal time tomorrow. This will give this House another sitting today in which to take the Second Reading.

I beg to move.

The Minister for External Affairs (Mr. Murumbi) seconded.

(Question proposed)

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I stand to oppose this Motion. I am rather surprised because a few days ago those of us who sometimes have been tolerant enough to listen to the Voice of Kenya have heard so much of the Government or Kanu spokesmen, sometimes he is from the headquarters and we do not know where he is. This person has talked so much, he likes to talk so much, that I am surprised that the Government spokesman or the Kanu spokesman is not prepared to talk on this particular Bill.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I oppose the Motion moved so that we, as Members who represent the people of Kenya, can have time to read the Bill that we have just been presented with this morning. We have not read it yet. I would like to go and read this today, discuss it with other people and hear what other people are saying about it and we would like to come to this Chamber tomorrow in the normal way like we generally do. This is a very important matter and the Government is not doing this country any good by showing anxiety to rush it through. This gives everybody the suspicion that there must be something that the Government wishes to hide. This Government wants to work in darkness, it does not want the people to know what it is doing. They do not want the people to have the chance of knowing what they are doing, what they are up to. This Government wants to do things in the dark when the people do not know, so that they present the people with

[Mr. Okelo-Odongo]

a fait accompli. It has been done, and this is what they want to say to the people, not, "This is what we want to do, what do you think?" They are not prepared to listen to this.

Mr. Speaker, on this basis, I strongly object to and oppose the Motion.

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Speaker, I very strongly oppose this Motion. The behaviour of the Government this morning makes the whole thing suspicious. As I said previously, this is a very important matter, and it surprises us that when we are to debate such a very important matter in this House, the Government comes and tries to steamroll everything. It is also surprising, Mr. Speaker, that a Government like this, which claims to have such a great majority in this House, should be afraid to debate with this small Opposition! I think this is a challenge, Mr. Speaker, and I do not think you should allow the Government to use their so-called majority here to deny the public of this country the right to know what is going on.

As we said earlier, we have just received the new Bill this morning, and that is why we would like to have time to discuss and read it until tomorrow morning. It is also very surpring that the Mover of this Motion is trying to get everything passed by today. Mr. Speaker, we as the Opposition, would claim this right of having time, because we told them they could keep quiet. If, for the first time, they have nothing to say, we still have a lot to speak about. Therefore, we would like to study this and bring our views tomorrow, our amendments, and so on.

Mr. Speaker, I would oppose this very strongly, and I would ask you not to allow this trick of the Government.

CONSIDERED RULING

DEFINITION OF "SITTING"

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Mr. Kaggia is suggesting that I have some power to prevent this Motion going through. That is not so. Sittings of this House, once the House has sat, are controlled by the House by majority vote, both as to the date to which we next adjourn and as to the time at which we sit on any day. This is not actually a trick. According to our Standing Orders, it is laid down that you can only take one stage of a Bill at each sitting without the leave of the House, but "sitting" is defined as a period of continuous sitting without adjournment, so that if you have one sitting in the morning and then an adjournment until the afternoon, you have, within the meaning of Standing Orders,

quite clearly two sittings. It is something which is not without precedent; we have on other occasions in this House, and in the former Legislative Council, had more than one sitting in a single day.

The Assistant Minister for Home Affairs (Mr. Nyagah): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that the question be now put.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Again, I think I must give hon. Members a little longer on this.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I would not oppose the Government, even though we are an Opposition. If, for example, there were people fighting in the countryside, people were dying, and the Government wanted powers to send troops there to stop the people fighting in order to save lives, we would pass the Bill as quickly as possible so that the Government would be empowered to go and deal with the situation. However, Mr. Speaker, honestly speaking, I do not see the reason why——

An hon. Member: That is your problem.

Mr. Anyieni: ——on an issue like this the Government is in so much of a hurry. First of all, I would like to state that it is all right, we are the minority in the Opposition. Of course, I do not pretend I recognize things as they are, but the majority also must be fair to the minority, because that is the fundamental right of every citizen. Mr. Speaker, if we were to use the majority to hurry things up, what would stop the bigger tribes from crushing the small tribes?

I would like to tell the Government that if they want to prove to the country, the nation and the whole world that the majority they have believes in democracy, we also are prepared to accede to that and agree, you are a majority, but, Mr. Speaker, how can a majority behave as cowards? What difference will it make if tomorrow morning at nine o'clock we sit? Why do we ask that we should be allowed to sit tomorrow morning? It is because when I walked in here, that was when the hon. Odero-Jowi gave me the new part of the Consititution. The speech that I had prepared, Mr. Speaker-and I had prepared one-was to deal with the Bill which I was given yesterday, but the one which I have been given now I have not studied; I have not even consulted my legal adviser so that he can tell me how to deal with it, and I am sure-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order!

Mr. Anyieni: I am also sure, Mr. Speaker, that even all the Members of this Parliament—who I am glad have good humour, because I can hear them laughing—have not even tried to study this

[Mr. Anyieni]

thing, consult whoever can advise them, so that they can speak of facts and with proper advice, even from those who have written this. Mr. Speaker, if the Government had time to write this Bill in about two days, with all the expert brains they have, Mr. Porter and the others, and still the few words they were writing were not perfect, they would take it back again and introduce a new one. Why are they not fair to the poor Anvieni so that I can go and look it up, and then when I come here I can speak. I do not intend to speak in order to change this, but I want to put it in the record that when I was here I said this. It is important. The hon. Members must know that there was a time when there were only five African Members-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Mr. Mwan-yumba, would you please refrain.

Mr. Anyieni: I see the hon. Ministers shouting like children. Why do they not behave like hon. Ministers?

Mr. Speaker, there was a time when there only five African Elected Members to represent all the millions of Africans in Kenya, and there were Europeans in this House who were a majority, but I think those Europeans were even more democratic; they never did things the way my hon, brothers are doing them. This is the wrong way of doing things. If you really do not fear us, and you do not have to fear us because we have nothing to hide, if we were a subversive force underground, we would never have come out to speak openly. If you want us to speak openly, you should give us time to study what you have given us. I know that whatever you do--- sorry, Mr. Speaker, I know that whatever they want to do, this majority do not want to read it; they are not interested in reading it. All they want to do is to pass the Bill and go home.

An hon. Member: Automatic.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, there is a machine, there is the idea of automation, the idea of modern automation is being practised here, and I will even bet that many Members have not looked into this. I want to tell them that with regard to what they are trying to hurry up today, I bet that one day—because many of them are very young and I would like them to live long—it will be applied to them. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I would have liked it to be done this way, all right, let them vote for it, but they should have the right to study it, give their views on it. I know they will not vote against it because they are afraid they may be kicked out at the next election. I am sure for that reason they are not going to vote

against it, but, for heaven's sake, why do you not give them, and if not them us, the time to study it and contribute reasonably to this Bill.

Mr. Speaker, I suspect that very deliberately they wrote this Bill yesterday, I suspect they wrote the two yesterday, but deliberately I suspect they gave us the wrong one so that we would prepare the wrong speech. Then, just as we came to this House, they bring another one. Is this really the way to behave? There are these gentlemen, I tell you, there are so many, 130 and we are only about twenty, so why are these 110 Members afraid of only twenty Members? Why should they be afraid, Mr. Speaker? I ask them, we, in the Opposition, feel that it may be because of this majority, people just do things unreasonably, things that cannot be explained properly, with all the brains my colleagues have, they should explain why——. This has already been done in this House, Mr. Speaker. We have never had in the history of this House-maybe in the Legislative Council days—a Bill being given to Members when they had just come in, and then the Members were immediately asked to debate it.

An hon. Member: Emergency.

Mr. Anyieni: Emergency, if there is an emergency, I accept that one.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! Point of order, Mr. Anyieni.

Mr. Mate: Point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi not repeating himself?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! No, I do not think so, but he is repeating some of what Mr. Kaggia said. A little bit of new material, please, Mr. Anyieni.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to be repetitive. All I would say to hon. Members is that there is no crisis. There is no crisis, as has been said, and we have never worked for one. All we have said is that we do not agree with your policies, and all that we want is, since this move is specifically intended to be implemented retrospectively in order to affect those who do not agree with them, we kindly ask them to allow us to go and study this and come back tomorrow morning and debate it then. Then over the weekend we can go to our constituents and see what they have to say.

With those few words, Mr. Speaker, I hope the automatic machine will not use the majority voices, because even machines can have voices, to do things like this in a hurry. Otherwise they have fear, which I do not think they are justified

[Mr. Anyieni] to have, but if they have fear then they know

to have, but if they have fear then they know they are dealing with a small force but a formidable one which has the backing of our people.

Mr. Ngala-Abok: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not intend to speak, but I think I should have the courage to remind Members of the Opposition of their own statement with which I have considerable sympathy, that we should not sit to waste the taxpayers' money. The Members of the Government recognize this particular fact, and they would like the Parliament to sit only for one day so that we can just use a little, not too much

Having this in mind, I do not see any point in trying to extend this to a day other than today, and this, of course, is the reply to them, that the Government as the custodian of the taxpayers' money does not want to use it any more than necessary, and therefore we should only debate this question for one day.

Mr. Oduya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I actually did not intend to speak, but I only want to put one thing on the record, that my face today is very happy because of what I call a collection of friends sitting together to think and also to have an impression that they own this country, and decide about rushing in and passing such Bills, but I want to put one thing very clearly.—

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, could the hon. Member speak up, please? He usually speaks sufficiently loudly for the House to hear. Can he not do that today?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): All right, Mr. Oduya will you speak up a bit, and hon. Members will you be silent enough to here Mr. Oduya.

Mr. Oduya: I think some of them are deaf because—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I have just asked hon. Members to keep silent.

Mr. Oduya: Mr. Speaker, all I want to say is that one day in future the same Members are going to regret what they are now rushing, because no one is a judge, but we know who is the real judge, that is the public. We may be happy now that we are doing all that we can to try and run down other leaders. We know certainly that in some parts of the world today we had some people who thought that they were holding the country and holding the machinery of Government, they were almost second to God. Where are they today? Here also if the present Members of this House see they are powerful in this country, that they are going to determine to do unconstitutional changes to own power, I assure them that even if they take five years, the

day will come when changes will take place, and the same Members here will meet me, if not me, they will meet other people, and they will regret. Thank you.

Mr. Odinga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not actually wish to talk on this thing because I feel that what my colleagues have said about the Government was quite effective and should have been taken in, but seeing what has happened since yesterday, the Government party did not think deeply enough, then hurriedly, at night, they went off to talk, to think again. We feel that given more time, one day or two days, wise councils will prevail. I sincerely do not see any harm in this particular Bill because it is just an intimidatory Bill, which has been thought up by Government to put on somebody who disagrees with him, has called the Government to come and legislate for him, so in this country someone who does not agree with you can be intimidated, because it is only a few cliques somewhere who are actually trying to use this intimidatory manner, and they are using the machinery of the Government to help their own ambitions which is really very pitiful, Mr. Speaker, as such, we are immune to intimidation, and if anyone feels or thinks that intimidation alone will make us do what they want, and make us follow them blindly, we will not, we will not do it. Now we are assuming the position where we should be, because when we were on that side some of them called us such-and-such groups, some of them also called themselves "corner bar group", and so on. I think that the sooner everybody knows that we are two parties it will be much better. The sooner the Government recognizes-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): We must keep to the question of the adjournment.

Mr. Odinga: I will keep to it. The sooner the Government recognizes that we have come out as an Opposition party, and that we are going to exist as an Opposition party, they will cease to obstruct us, including wasting the time of the Government here, and wasting time in passing legislation which is merely intimidation.

Mr. Gatuguta: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the issue before the House is very straightforward, and I do not think that the House should waste a lot of time discussing this matter. Nevertheless. I think I should make one or two points, which in my opinion are important for the opposition to know.

One of these points is that it has been said that we have not had time to consult our constituents. I want to make it clear that we are in this House not as delegates but as representatives, so we are supposed to know what are the wishes

[Mr. Gatuguta]

of the people, and if anybody wants to know whether this is the wish of the people, then he should go back to the records in the newspapers over the last two weeks, and see what is the wish of the people. What we are doing in this House now is merely to bring in legislation so that the wishes of the people can be put in the Constitution. Now, this legislation, Sir. would not have been necessary if the people who have resigned from this Parliament and the party had any conscience at all.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Gatuguta, I think you are getting on to the merits of the Bill. All we are discussing now is whether we adjourn to 2.30 p.m. or until tomorrow.

Mr. Gatuguta: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am saying that the opposition should not be——

The Assistant Minister for Lands and Settlement (Mr. Gachago): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a great deal of repetition on this merely procedural Motion. I propose that the question now be put.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think out of courtesy to Mr. Gatuguta we will allow him to finish his sentence.

Mr. Gatuguta: Let me just point out, Sir, that the question that has been raised that this Bill was published twice yesterday is not very relevant really, because, if the Members look at it, there is only one provision that has been added, and I took five minutes to read that provision when I came in here and understood it, and I do not see how these Members of the Opposition would require fourteen days to read this thing which I can read in five minutes.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think I must now accede to Mr. Gachago and put the question of the closure.

(Question, that the Mover be called upon to reply, put and agreed to)

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are only a few points raised by those who have spoken from the Opposition which again, for the record, it is necessary to put straight.

I want, in the first place, to make it quite clear that the Government's motives in this whole matter, are entirely based on a faithful desire to ensure democratic practice and the preservation of democratic institutions in this country. I want to make it quite clear, without discussing the merits of the Bill which I will do later this afternoon, that the Government here is not concerned with

individual Members of Parliament as such or with what party they resign from or support subsequently, but rather with the rights of the voters as the people who have elected us to this House and whose mandate we exercise.

Mr. Speaker, whether or not the Government's record is a bright one is a matter that we shall discuss quite exhaustively when we go for elections. Mr. Speaker, I want to tell the Member for Teso South that these steps are entirely constitutional and it is entirely misleading and unfair for him to suggest that they are unconstitutional.

This is entirely constitutional and it preserves the supremacy of this Parliament. I am sure that Members have noticed the contradiction that exists in the minds of the Opposition. On the one hand, we are told that the Government is inefficient and incapable of making up its mind, and that that is why we have had a second special issue of the Gazette. But, on the other hand, we are told that the Government is so clever and cunning that it had two issues of the Gazette, gave one first and kept one until the last minute, so as to destroy the debating ability of the Member for Majoge-Bassi. Mr. Speaker, I leave that to the public to decide.

However, I think it is necessary, since this point has been made so many times, that we establish one point. We have not brought to this House a book for Members to read in one day, it is one-half of this sheet of paper, printed on both sides, but very briefly, which Members have been asked to read in one day. Now, Sir, our voters would be really surprised if they thought that the elected representatives here cannot read two pages in one day! Mr. Speaker, I understand then the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi would have liked to consult his legal adviser. I can understand his difficulty because I hear that his legal adviser does not read Roman alphabet!

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member for Kisumu Rural has gone out, but he spoke at length about Government and, as I said, I rarely understand him sometimes. He says the Government has moved this Motion because it likes to work in darkness. If perhaps the Opposition did not understand the Motion, I said, we should meet at 2.30 today, this afternoon, in broad daylight. There is no darkness involved in that at all. But, Sir, the hon. Member, the Leader of the Opposition, has rightly appealed for wiser council to prevail and I would, in all sincerity, wish to echo his appeal and I would like to echo it in the context of the whole of the Kenya nation, that we all hope that wiser council shall prevail. There are already signs and symptoms in the Opposition itself that wiser council is beginning to prevail.

Mr. Speaker, when the hon. Member for Kandara spoke—and I want to end with this—I could not help to feel the sum total of the speeches by the Opposition this morning, and some of the things they have been saying outside recently, can only bring one's mind back to a very interesting remark once made by Winston Churchill. He said, in observing some of his colleagues, "There, by the grace of God, goes God."

(Question put and agreed to)

ADJOURNMENT

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): The House is therefore adjourned until today at 2.30 p.m. with the same Order Paper.

The House rose at thirty-five minutes past Ten o'clock.

Thursday, 28th April 1966

The House met at thirty minutes past Two o'clock.

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) in the Chair]

SECOND SITTING

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

MEMBERS REJOINING KANU

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Hon. Members, I have a further short communication to make. Since the sitting this morning, I have had written notice from Mr. E. D. Godana and Mr. Bonaya, that on the 26th of this month, they withdrew from the Opposition Party and rejoined Kanu.

NOTICE OF MOTION

APPOINTMENT OF SESSIONAL COMMITTEE

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to give notice of the following Motion:—

That the appointment of the Sessional Committee nominated by the House on 5th November 1965, be terminated and that there be nominated in its place a new Sessional Committee consisting of the following Members:—

The Minister of State, President's Office (Chairman).

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development.

The Minister for Defence.

The Minister for Home Affairs.

The Minister for Local Government.

The hon. Jaramogi A. Oginga Odinga.

The hon. S. M. Amin.

The hon. B. M. Kaggia.

The hon. J. Z. Kase.

The hon. E. E. Khasakhala.

The hon. C. Kiprotich.

The hon, C. C. Makokha.

The hon. O. Makone.

The hon. W. M. K. Malu.

The hon. F. M. G. Mati.

The hon. R. G. Ngala.

The hon. K. K. Njiiri.

The hon. J. J. M. Nyagah.

The hon. J. Odero-Jowi.

The hon. J. C. N. Osogo.

The hon. A. J. Pandya.

The hon. P. L. Rurumban.

The hon. J. M. Shikuku.

The hon. J. K. ole Tipis.

BILL

Second Reading

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Before calling on Mr. Mboya to move this Motion, I would, again, inform any hon. Member who was not here this morning that the Bill to which this Motion refers is the Bill No. 9, printed late yesterday in the official Gazette, not Bill No. 8, which was printed earlier.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill, (Bill No. 9), be now read a Second Time.

Mr. Speaker, this morning, we had, in fact, what amounts to a preview of the debate we are now about to have. I do not believe that it is particularly necessary for me to spend too much time explaining the background to this Bill. The situation has arisen out of developments that have taken place in the country over the last two weeks.

Certain Members in this House decided on a certain date during this month to resign both from Kanu and from the Government and set themselves up as an Opposition. In the process

they have said a number of things, they have made numerous serious allegations both against the party and also against the Government. What is even more, they have stated publicly that they and not the Government, they and not Kanu, now represented the overwhelming opinion of the people of this country.

Mr. Speaker, each Member in this House is a representative and not a delegate. As a delegate it would be easy for the constituents to recall him and replace him with another person. For example, our country is represented at the United Nations by a delegate. If and when we should feel that the delegate is no longer the appropriate representative we are entitled to withdraw the delegate and replace him with someone else. Unfortunately, that is not the position of a Member of Parliament: he is elected for a fixed period-in this case, five years-he is both expected to lead his people and in certain cases to initiate policy, but it is understood in every case that a Member of this House must constantly make it his business to ensure that he does, in fact, reflect the views of the people he represents. On this assumption, and it is only on this assumption, we all have come to accept the concept of the democratic Government based on the will of the people. This Parliament does not exist in a vacuum; it exists as the mouthpiece, the spokesman and the instrument of the people of this country.

From this concept derives the principle enshrined in our Constitution, namely that any Government in our country must be that which is supported by the majority of the Members of this House of Representatives. It is assumed that when a Government enjoys the support of the majority of the elected representatives it also enjoys the support of the majority of the people in the country. Based on this assumption we proceed to the next provision in the Constitution, namely, that in the event, at any time in the course of the five years of the life of this House, the Government ceases to enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Members in this House it is obliged to do one of two things: first, that at the moment a vote of no confidence is passed in the Government the Government must resign; if on the other hand, the Government does not wish to resign although it no longer has the confidence of the majority of the Members of this House, then the President is obliged, within a specified period after the passage of such a vote of no confidence, to dissolve Parliament itself and force a General Election.

This provision is specifically included in the Constitution as a security the democratic concept that at all times Parliament shall be the mouthpiece and instrument of the people, that the legislation and the measures that we debate and resolve in this House shall reflect the will of the people. The House and the country are aware that only a few months ago, Government saw fit to introduce in Parliament a Motion asking for a declaration of confidence. Mr. Speaker, on that occasion, the House gave unanimous support to this Government under the Kanu Party and leadership.

Mr. Speaker, it is interesting that any Member should now confess to his electorate that when this very important measure was being debated, he was otherwise occupied, doing other things.

Mr. Gichoya: On a point of order, is it in order for the Minister to state that, when a Member has been removed from the House by the Speaker, he was occupied elsewhere?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I do not quite follow the point, but I would imagine that if an hon. Member is sent out of the Chamber, he has to be occupied elsewhere.

Mr. Bala: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I——

Hon. Members: Speak up, speak up.

Mr. Bala: I am speaking to one man, that is Mr. Speaker. On that occasion, some people decided not to vote. If some people decided not to vote, can we call it unanimous?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No. Will you continue?

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr Speaker, I am sure that the constituents from Gichugu will read the Hansard carefully. Not only was the hon. Member otherwise engaged elsewhere, but he was actually removed from this House for misbehaviour.

Mr. Gichoya: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is it in order for the Minister to say that if a Member contravenes the Standing Orders of this House, that amounts to misbehaviour?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, I will not pursue the hon. Member any further.

An hon. Member: Give him another blow!

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): The point that I have tried to establish in the first place, which

is relevant to the amendment that we now seek, is that for a Government to continue to govern in this country, it must continue to enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Members in this House. It is assumed that by continuing to enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Members in this House, it also enjoys the confidence of the majority of the people of this country.

Mr. Speaker, the day when that principle breaks down, then democracy as we know it, with the institution of Parliament as we practise it now, shall also have broken down. Now, Mr. Speaker, so far so good. No Government may disregard the support it must have of the elected representatives of the people, but let us now move back to the elected representatives themselves, and this is the crux of the matter in this debate. The crux of the matter is whether, when the people elected the Members to this House, voting for them on the assumption that they will pursue certain policies and accept certain leadership for this country, they expected them to abide by these assumptions and understanding or they gave them the freedom to act without consultation and without consideration of the overall interests of those who voted for them, merely because they have a five-year contract, as someone called it this morning.

Mr. Speaker, any democrat, any person who believes in democracy, parliamentary democracy, must reject any suggestion that just because a Member has five years in this House, he has a licence to do what he likes, when he likes, regardless of the voters. Mr. Speaker, if in fact that were to be accepted, then, Sir, the whole concept of a Government by the people, for the people and of the people would have ceased to be at the foundation of the parliamentary democracy that we now practise.

Mr. Speaker, one hon. Member said this morning-and I believe he raised a very interesting question which the Government ought to deal with in order to disabuse those who may be entertaining certain notions about the motives of Government in introducing these measuresthat the amendment that we now seek to introduce in the Constitution has not been part of any constitution that he knows of in any other part of the world. I am assuming that he was referring to the democratic institutions in other parts of the world. Mr. Speaker, it may very well be true that in other constitutions in other parts of the world, one does not find a similar provision as the one we intend to introduce in the Kenya Constitution.

But I am sure that the hon. Member who said this will be the first to agree with me that in all those other countries that he is thinking about it is either established by precedents or usage that when a Member of Parliament finds himself in disagreement with the party upon whose platform he was elected, he would normally—and practically in every case—return to his constituency and declare his disagreement with the party and his decision to resign from the party. The constituency committee would then endorse or reject the position that he has taken. When the constituency committee endorses, he continues in Parliament in a different capacity. When they reject, public opinion is so strong and his sense of duty is so strong that he normally voluntarily resigns.

Mr. Speaker, the Government would have liked to be in the happy position where this matter could have been resolved in a similar way in our country today, but, Sir, the hon. Members who are involved in this matter have made it publicly clear that they do not care for these established standards.

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. the hon. Member is saying that the Members of the Opposition have made it very clear that they do not care about these regulations or points which are taken into account in other countries. that of constituency committees deciding what a Member should do. Could he substantiate that the Members of the Opposition have done that?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Can you, Mr. Mboya? The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Yes, Mr. Speaker, I

To the best of my knowledge, not a single Member who resigned from the Government or Kanu to date has published a single resolution from his constituency asking him to resign or concerning his resignation.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, is it laid down, as the hon. Member was saying, that this must appear in the Press or on the radio for the hon. Member to know it?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Hon, Members must realize—and I have said it so often when an hon. Member is asked to substantiate what he says, he is simply asked to give his reasons for what he is saying. Mr. Mboya has given his reasons for what they are worth, and the value of them is judged by the House; we do not go on arguing about the value of the

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, I wonder how correct your ruling is or whether the Minister is right, when on 22nd, Friday, of this month I

[Mr. Gichoya]

had Kanu leaders from Gichugu Constituency at the Kenyatta Social Hall, and the Administration was there, to tell them why J have resigned and what——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! I am afraid we cannot go into a long argument of fact at this stage, but you will have your chance, Mr. Gichoya, to correct the Minister in the course of debate.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, I was going to add the following point to the one I have already made, which is that, collectively and individually, the hon. Members involved have shown complete contempt for the established practices, in that instead of trying to justify their action to their constituents and even to the country, they have gone about, publicly and in the Press, demanding that the majority, that the Government, which still stands by the platform and the leadership on which it was elected, is the one which must resign but not themselves.

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is it in order for the hon. Minister deliberately to misrepresent other people's views because we have never said that the Government resign and we do not resign?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I do not think we can argue too much on points of order as we go along as to the precise accuracy of what hon. Members say. It is much better that, if an hon. Member does misrepresent facts, he should be corrected when other hon. Members speak in the debate. The Opposition, I assure them, will have plenty of chance.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, the position in which we are is this. That voters in certain constituencies in Kenya elected certain Members on the understanding that they would promote certain policies, that they would work under certain leadership, and those certain Members have now repudiated that leadership and those policies. Let me hasten to say that the Government does not quarrel with anyone who at any time decides to repudiate the policies or the leadership upon which he was elected to Parliament. But, Sir, in the absence of the kind of public opinion that exercises the checks that we find in other developed democracies, and in the absence of a strong individual conscience, to act according to the established practices upon which Parliamentary democracy thrives the Government was left with no alternative but to protect the interests of the voters in every part of Kenva.

We do not say that a Member should not resign from Kanu or from the Government. We say this is a right which every Member must exercise. But, Sir, what we do say is that the voters should not be deprived of the right to determine or to confirm whether he agrees with the actions taken by his representative, and especially when that representative insists on telling the public that his actions are supported by his voters. If, in fact, these actions are supported by the voters then let the voters decide. The hon. Members have nothing to fear because the voters will confirm their action. If these actions are not supported by the voters then the voters must not be deprived of their democratic right to be represented in this House by the people of their choice who will promote the policies and ideas that they themselves would like to see form the foundation for the development of this country. That is the simple factor in this whole Bill before the House.

Mr. Speaker, I know that we have been told that the Government is acting in a cowardly fashion, that it is intimidating those who wish to differ from it. Sir, that is far from the truth. There is no intimidation. When a Member differs with the Government, he is told to go and confirm it with his own voters. There is nothing cowardly about a Government, which is criticised by the Members, involved in this situation. They have told the country that this Government has failed to fulfil the promises made in the Kanu Manifesto. They have told the country that this Government has lost the confidence and support of the people of this country. The challenge has been accepted, why run away from it?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if, in fact, what the hon. gentleman says is true, then they should have the least hesitation in going back to their constituencies and proving their point. We shall fight the elections on the policy, the platform and the record of this Government. This is not a challenge, in fact, there is no challenge involved. This is merely a matter of testing the views of the people. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is all right for the Member for Teso to shout about Nairobi, but, Sir, I have never been returned to this House unopposed. I have fought every election, and I have fought all the elections outside my tribal area, not like the Member for Teso. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will, next time, though when the outgoing Member for Nyando will no longer be there.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we must get back to the serious matters of this Bill. As I have explained, here there is no question of trying to suppress opposition. There is no question of trying to intimidate a Member and there is no question—

Mr. Anyieni: What about passports?

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): This Bill does not speak about passports. I wonder where the hon. Member wanted to go to! Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Bill has nothing to do with passports. The Bill is merely asking the hon. Members to please return to your voters, tell them what you have done and secure their approval.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the Kenya Republic Constitution was approved there were certain important entrenched clauses. These constitute the understanding of the society we wish to maintain in this country. One of these entrenched clauses deals with freedom of association. Mr. Speaker, Sir, that freedom is being preserved. There is no intention to amend the Constitution as it affects that freedom. The second entrenched clause deals with freedom of speech. That freedom is also preserved, and reading over the Press in the past two weeks, I am sure the hon. gentlemen, involved in this matter, will agree that freedom has been available to all. Mr. Speaker, Sir, another entrenched clause is freedom of conscience. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the day will come when the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi will require a passport to go to Majoge-Bassi, we shall then give him one. Mr. Speaker, freedom of conscience is preserved.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am making these remarks so as to show that there is no need for anyone to misinterpret the position that the Government has taken. It is true—

Mr. Kali: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if a Member misbehaves through the influence of drink, is he really entitled to be in the Chamber?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): As I have told hon. Members before, I am not concerned with how much any hon. Member has drunk, in fact, I am not a judge of how much he has drunk. I am only concerned with how he behaves. If he does make a nuisance of himself, whether he is drunk or sober, he has to leave the Chamber; so Mr. Mate, please be careful.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir. it is true, as one hon. Member said, that this may be a new development in constitutional practice in Africa, but it is also true that the Kenya Constitution itself was a pioneering effort in constitutional development in Africa. For example, we in this country are among the first to have a Head of State who is also the Executive Head of the Government, a Member of Parliament and also representing a constituency.

We are proud of these experiments or modifications that we have made to the consitutional development of the world, not just Africa. We are making yet another pioneering effort. We are laying down, Mr. Speaker, that a Member must go back to his people when he makes a major decision, affecting the lives of his people. Mr. Speaker, why should people want to proclaim in the Press that they speak for the people and still fear to go to the people?

An hon. Member: You fear.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, the hon. Member might go to Majengo and enjoy certain things, but not the vote.

Mr. Speaker, I want to cover another point, and that is that this Government is well noted for its patience, tolerance and perseverance, ever since independence, despite the prophets of doom. we have successfully steered the ship of state across, sometimes turbulent waters, without encroaching upon the basic freedoms and rights of our people. This, Mr. Speaker, is what we intend to continue to do. Guided by this belief in the wisdom of the people themselves, we have decided to preserve the right to differ, to preserve the right to form opposition parties, and even preserve the right to have a Parliamentary opposition in this House. The hon, gentlemen who are now involved in this whole situation are well known for one thing, that they have tried to get the Government to do, which we have resisted all along, namely, their continuous demands for a one-party state, legislative. Mr. Speaker, if we had acceded to these demands, where would they be today? Mr. Speaker, memory can play tricks on some people, but the fact is that some of the people now involved have been most vociferous in their demands for a one-party state. The President of this Republic in his wisdom-

Mr. Bala: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, would the hon. speaker substantiate his allegation that there are some people opposite, who demanded the legislation of a one-party state?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Would you substantiate, Mr. Mboya?

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can substantiate, and if necessary, I will bring documentation to the House in respect of actual individuals in this group who have demanded a one-party state by law.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Will you do that in course of tomorrow?

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Yes, I will. Mr. Speaker, if we had acceded to these demands, the hon. Members' attempt to form an opposition

would not have materialized. That is precisely what the hon. Member is an expert at, and very soon he will be starting to oppose from within the Opposition itself.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I want merely to say this: we are not, today discussing the record of the Government, its activities and whether it has succeeded or not succeeded. We reserve this discussion in the place where it now deserves to be done. We reserve this debate for the elections. We are prepared and will go to each of the constituencies and tell the people the truth and expose to them the falsehoods, the generalization, the emotional slogans and cliches, and the imported idealogical jargon. Mr. Speaker, if at that time, the voters are not satisfied with us, they will have at least this Government to thank, because this Government will have given them a chance to speak, which the Members of the Opposition would now like to deny them. We will then be able to discuss all the free things which the Opposition would like to promise the country which they say will be free without taxation, and without loans and without bilateral agreements and without external commitments and without foreign business, all in a certain hypothetical island. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to hear the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi say, in this House, and I want the public to hear it, that we should now wait for their manifesto to come out. This means that these people resigned even without knowing where they were going.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order!

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): We have a serious confession for the people of this country to know, that a group of individuals, without a leadership, without a policy, without a manifesto—

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Speaker, Sir, is it in order for the Minister who is the General Secretary of Kanu to claim that our opposition has no leadership when we have a party with a president and other officers, of whom, Sir, I am the deputy secretary-general?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): It is quite out of order and quite untrue to say that the Opposition party is without a leader. Hon. Members, including Mr. Mboya, heard my announcement from the Chair this morning on the formation of this party with Mr. Odinga as leader and Mr. Kaggia as deputy leader.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, with due deference to you I would like to make the position quite clear. Mr. Odinga was elected the

leader of this group only about two days ago; this group resigned more than ten days ago. They had no leader for ten days, they had no policy and they still have no policy according to the Member for Majoge-Bassi.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! I am sorry I have again to correct an inaccuracy on the part of Mr. Mboya. If you had listened carefully to my communication this morning, or if you read it afterwards, you would see that I referred to a letter from Mr. Kali dated the 20th April which described Mr. Odinga as leader of this party.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): I am prepared to concede, Sir, that without knowledge to the public——

An hon. Member: You think this is America.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, the easiest thing in the world, of course, is to utter some of the statements that we hear across. It does not require any courage, even someone in Mathari can do it. Courage is required, however, for the things that the Government is doing today, the things that Kanu is doing today. It does not require courage to promise people free education; it requires courage to tell people that this can only be achieved through planned development and by accepting certain priorities in planning. That requires more courage than promising free land; it requires more courage to tell people that to get free land you have to buy it from the original owners, you have to have a programme of development.

Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to go into this aspect of the debate except for the heckling and provocation from across.

Mr. Speaker, I will conclude by drawing attention to the Bill itself. In paragraph 3 of the Bill, the Members will note that it is stipulated that when a Member of either House of the National Assembly who, having at his election stood with the support of, or as a supporter of a political party, resigns from that party at a time when that party is a parliamentary party, he must, at the time of his resignation from that parliamentary party, go back to his constituents, his seat becomes vacant and he has to show his constituents the new policies that he now wishes to pursue in place of the original policies, and the new leadership that he now desires for the country in place of the original leadership. That is what the Bill says in the first place.

In the second place, Sir, the Bill says, "having after the dissolution of that party been a member of another parliamentary party, resigns from that

other party at a time when that other party is a parliamentary party." This, Mr. Speaker, covers the situation that where, after a dissolution of a party—as indeed two parties have been dissolved here since the General Election in 1963—the members then proclaim themselves members of another party, that is the ruling party today. When these members resign from that other party they must go back to their constituents and show what new policies they have for the country and what leadership they wish to adopt for the country.

Mr. Speaker, I want to make one point clear and that is the wording of paragraph 3, 42A (1), "A Member of either House of the National Assembly who, having at his election stood with the support of or as a supporter of . . .". This is deliberate and the purpose of it is this: in the light of our development there have been cases where a man says, "I will stand for election but since I have failed to gain nomination of Kanu, Kadu or APP I am going to be an independent Kanu, an independent APP or an independent Kadu." If a man stood as an independent Kanu he stood as a supporter of Kanu and the voters quite clearly understand what he would do when he went to Parliament.

On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, those Members who stood completely as independents, not being Kanu independents or APP independents or Kadu independents, are exempt from this Bill because they were honest enough, in the first instance, to tell the voters that they were going to go it alone, that they would do whatever they liked in Parliament, that they were not committed to any policy beforehand, that they were not committed to any leadership beforehand. They will have the right to exercise their mandate freely for the whole period for which they were elected because the voters quite clearly understood from the outset that this is what they would do. That situation is, therefore, covered in the Bill.

It should also be pointed out, Mr. Speaker, that the Specially Elected Members would fall into the category of Members of Parliament in that at the time of their elections they are either sponsored by one or the other of the parties in Parliament. This can be determined by a certificate from the Speaker who would know whether a particular Member was supported by a given parliamentary party. At the same time, Sir, the determination as to whether a party is a parliamentary party is left on a certificate from the Speaker, and the reason behind this is that matters within this House are normally outside the jurisdiction of the courts. The courts cannot, therefore,

be brought into play in determining whether a party is a parliamentary party or not and the right authority, in the view of the Government, would therefore be the Speaker, of either House as the case may be.

Mr. Bala: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, there does not seem to be any definition of the party to which the hon. speaker refers. Would you kindly give us a definition of the party which is being referred to?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That is not a point of order, you know.

The Minister for Economic Planning and **Development** (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, the other point on the Bill itself is the time when this action would operate. That is, as will be seen on page 94, the Member involved "shall vacate his seat in that House"—the Lower House or the Senate—"at the expiration of the session then in being or if Parliament is not in session then at the expiration of the session next following, unless in the meantime that party of which he was last a member has ceased to exist as a parliamentary party or he has resigned his seat." I think I should explain what is meant by a session. What we have today, this morning and now, is a sitting of Parliament; it is not a session. The session of Parliament in this case starts after the prorogation of Parliament. Our present session, for example, started in November, during the State Opening of Parliament by the President. In normal circumstances, this Parliamentary session would continue until October this year, but there is provision for Parliament to be prorogued by the President at any time, so that in effect the Parliament shall be prorogued by the President under the provisions already available, and that is when this Bill will become effective after it has been approved by Parliament and assented to by the President.

Mr. Speaker, we have a Memorandum of Objects and Reasons on page 94 which I hope will help to explain the situation further for those who may want it.

Mr. Seaker, I am grateful to the House for its attention, but I do want to sit down by saying that the recent confusion in the country is too expensive a luxury for any Government to permit to continue unrestrained. The people cannot be left to the mercies of rumour-mongers and propagandists. The situation that needs to be put to them— Did I hear the former Minister for Information say something? I will not make any comment!

Mr. Speaker, this confusion must come to an end, otherwise all the efforts that we have made over these past three years stand to be jeopardized

by unnecessary anxieties. Instead of our people concentrating on the task of nation building, their energies may be dissipated into unnecessary activities that cannot lead them anywhere, and since the argument is that the Opposition Members claim their stand in supported by the people, the Government now says, let the people decide.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Mboya, there is one point on which I think the House, and indeed I, will need clarification either now or when you reply. It is with regard to those hon. Members who, having resigned from Kanu and joined the Opposition Party, have now changed their minds and sought to rejoin Kanu. Whether or not they have been accepted back into Kanu, the question which we shall want to know is the intention and effect of this Bill as regards such people. Will they, under this Bill, still have to vacate their seats in spite of having changed their minds?

You might be in a position to speak, when you reply, to this point.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Yes.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Who seconds?

Mr. Ngala: I do.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the hon. Mover of the Motion has spoken very clearly and understandably. Although there have been a few interruptions during his speech, he has really successfully managed to put across the intention of the Bill to every Member in the House—

An hon. Member: Including?

Mr. Ngala: Including the dullest fellows here. The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! There is a point of order, Mr. Ngala.

Mr. Shikuku: I seek your guidance, Mr. Speaker, as to whether the word "fellow" is parliamentary.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Not strictly, no. It is not strictly parliamentary. It is not very harmful, but "dullest hon. Members" is preferred.

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I said this morning that the scope of this Bill is precise, clear and straightforward, so I will not be long at it. The purpose of the Bill, Mr. Speaker, is to make it possible for a Member of Parliament or a Senator, who has changed his loyalty to the party for which he stood or the party which supported him when he stood, to go back to his home, to go back to his voters, and tell the people that he has seriously changed his mind on a serious issue and would he get their consent or not. This no hon. Member in this House can fail to understand.

An hon. Member: What about Maize Marketing Board?

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when people start talking of maize, and so on, this Bill is not on maize, and these people who shout the hardest about maize are those who take the biggest chunk of maize at Parliament lunch—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! Did you have a point of order, Mr. Obok?

Mr. Obok: I withdraw it, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, some Members have argued that this need not be in writing in the Constitution. I would believe this if Members observed by tradition or custom the rights of their own voters, if Members observed by convention the rights of their own voters, if Members had a conscience that dictated them to do the right thing on behalf of the people who sent them to Parliament, but the situation being so different in Africa we have even had to write our Constitution. We have a written Constitution in Kenya, and in many parts of Africa to make it quite clear that certain things are necessarily observed, even by those people who today, Thursday, are in Kanu, tomorrow, Friday, they are in another place, and on Saturday they are back into Kanu. Now, this is a situation which we must deal with in Africa, and therefore, it is very, very important that this should be embodied in writing in the Constitution of the country. Indeed, by doing so we are protecting the rights of the voters. The voters need to be protected.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, some days ago, even some of these Members have dared go to the Press and said, "I have been to my constituency, I have checked everything, I have got the mandate." Next morning we get a delegation from his constituency saying that he has never been there since he was elected. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are not going to believe people who keep malingering around in Nairobi and have nothing but their brief case and the Press reporters to give them false stories. It is time that they went back to discover the truth from the people.

What do you fear when you are asked to go to your own masters? You are asked to go to your own masters and tell them your sins. If they accept your sins, that is good.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the membership of this House is a contract, indeed it must be a contract between a Member and his voters. You remember, Mr. Speaker, when we were busy campaigning, every Member, every party, was busy making the contract with the voters. It is on the basis of this contract that the voters did vote us

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in. When you break your contract, what about the second side? Why do you not go and make it good with your second part of the contract?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is no use shouting at me. If you are divorced by your wife, why are you asking me to get divorced when I am happy with mine? Mr. Speaker, Sir-

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! Hon. Members, once again when a point of order is raised. I would ask for silence until it is dealt with.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member is referring to when you are divorced by your wife, and I complain. Is he addressing you as having been divorced?

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was talking to the hon. Member. If the hon. Member for Nakuru is divorced by Nakuru why should he ask me to get divorced too when I have no quarrel with my constituents?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! In that case, you know, Mr. Ngala, you were completely out of order because you should be addressing the Chair. I thought you were just raising the possibility of my being divorced.

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I address the Chair now. Mr. Speaker, some Members are raising the question of African People's Party. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you remember the colourful dances we had when the president of African People's Party dissolved African People's Party. We had colourful dances all round the Parliament here. Now, the president of African People's Party himself went out and danced with his voters. Do these people have a chance of dancing with their voters today? Do they have a chance of even being able to visit their constituencies? Mr. Speaker, Sir, this aspect of African People's Party or the aspect of Kadu has been covered in the Bill already.

Mr. Speaker, when we dissolved Kadu, it was the whole party with the consent of their voters and—this is not a parallel to a Member who walks across in trousers alone and nothing else.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the desire of the voters must be satisfied, and all that I am saying is that the African People's Party satisfied the desire of the voters, Kadu satisfied the desire of the voters. These people have not satisfied the desire of the voters. If they question it, let them pass the Bill today

and go out and see the voters; let them meet the voters. Mr. Speaker, the hon. Members who are doubting their stands in their places are the people who keep on saying, "Let us all go to the countryside." Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are not going to leave them alone to go to their constituencies. As a party we shall follow them up. All that we are asking is for the seats to be made vacant, and then we shall follow you up in those places.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my seat is not mine, it belongs to my voters, and when it comes to the time you can challenge me and some people in Kenva have challenged me and have come out not even with a deposit. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in some of the western countries automatically, when a Member of Parliament changes his side, he goes back, by tradition, by convention, to seek a fresh mandate, but in Africa they stick to it, even if the voters do not like it; this is why it is necessary for us to legislate. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the eastern countries, if a Member of a National Assembly leaves his party, two things could happen to him: either he would lose his throat or he would be in detention. Why? Because the desire of the voters must be respected. If any of the Members has respect for east or west, then here is a challenge today. They must go back to their masters, they must go back to their homes. What are we arguing about because that is where we belong, that is where we have been given the blessing to come here? Let us go back for another blessing.

Hon. Members: All of us.

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when they say all of us, it is very surprising. This is a piece of logic which is not understandable to the world. You say, "Let us go back to Kilifi South." Kilifi South has never demonstrated against its Member. We say, "Let us go back to Kilifi South." Kilifi South has never written. I have never done anything without their consent. If you challenge it, come along with me in 1968.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Parliament must be respected by the ordinary man and if we are to keep the respect of the ordinary man for this Parliament, then representatives of this Parliament must continuously have the support and the respect of their voters. If we leave it free to Members of Parliament to change their sides as they change their socks every morning, this, Mr. Speaker, will bring down the respect and the integrity of this House. Members must learn to respect contracts they make with their voters. Members must not change parties as they change something unimportant. This is a matter of principle.

An hon. Member: You started.

Mr. Ngala: If I started, there is one example which you have not followed. I sought the mandate; you have never done so and we are asking you now to go back——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Mr. Ngala, you must remember to address the Chair. You are speaking too often directly to the Opposition.

Mr. Ngala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will address the Chair. It happens that I am too close to the Opposition.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Members must not take their seats as their personal belongings; their seats belong to, and are the right of, the voters. Therefore, the voters must be given the chance, and the Government is asking this to be observed by law, because by custom, by tradition, by convention, some Members have brutally overlooked this right of the voters.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we say that the life of this Parliament normally is five years. We never say the life of a Member is five years; it is the life of the Parliament. Therefore, if any person changes his policy, changes his party, then he must not stick to this provision of five years in Parliament; it is the life of Parliament, not the life of the Member.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to end by saying that when you oppose something which has sense, you make yourself ridiculous to the public. This morning, when I went to buy my paper, the public said, "We are very happy, the Government kumbe now respects us. Bring these people back; we shall piga them kalumu."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

(Question proposed)

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. Murgor): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, the Opposition should not be sitting on the Front Bench, so is it in order for an Opposition Member coming to the Front Bench?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That does not prevent an hon. Member from coming to the Table to speak.

Mr. Odinga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I call myself a little happy to be able to speak very proudly indeed on this subject, which I take to be very important in the nation building of our own country. I must actually commend the Mover on one thing: that this time he recognized what we call the voters and the opinion of the people of this country. I wish that he would not only use it when it suits him. He should always use it and all the time consider public opinion in any decision which he is about to take. He accused us in this

House of creating confusion in this country, which is very sorry indeed, because I believe that he is one of those major people who created the confusion which now has forced us into this particular situation. Mr. Speaker, when he deliberately, as the key person who was charged with the duty of organizing Kanu completely ignored public opinion and only chose those people whom he thought would support him and come to be with him, absolutely ignoring public opinion in many quarters in this country, that was a very sad thing indeed. I met this at Limuru in front of the President, and I said very plainly that if the President accepted it he was dividing the country twice or even more times.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today I will speak my mind because I am in a position to do so, and I normally speak it, and I intend to do so.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have had a very sorry situation created by a group of splinter people in this country, which has actually brought out also this situation where we are. Certainly they began with what you call the "corner bar" group. Mr. Speaker, Sir, at that time I was holding the enviable position of Vice-President and when these people first made their only argument and all the things which they put down were only to try and find a way of undermining our own position, in the same Government to which they actually said that they were loval to. Now it has taken us time to organize and also to meditate as to where the country was going. I had also taken a good deal of time, Mr. Speaker, Sir, to take the decision which I took recently. I took it after further consideration and when I took that decision I thought that it was the best that could help solve most of our problems in this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I remember at one time we had pledge ourselves to building, what we call the socialist economy in Kenya, and this pledge was accepted by most of the people in this country. Certainly it was, when they thought that those who were supporting that particular idea were in the majority. But immediately another force came in to confuse many of our people, then they changed their ideas on what they had already put in papers and committed themselves in writing they decided to go along with what we call the capitalist economy, and this in fact is what we are facing in Kenya at the present moment and what the Government is committed to practically is not socialist economy but capitalist economy.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! I am sorry to have to interrupt you, Mr. Odinga, I think it is fair to allow you reasonable opportunity for explaining your position; but why you have formed the Opposition is not strictly relevant

[The Speaker]

to this Bill. This Bill is an amendment to the Constitution, which will apply at all times to anyone who leaves his party and is required to go back and consult his constituents. There is a limit to the extent which we can discuss, in this debate, the actual merits of your stand.

Mr. Odinga: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I am allowed, Mr. Speaker, I think this is very important because it is leading to the very Bill we are about to discuss. This Bill is tending to halt the move or to stifle the Opposition which we are about to form. This is the idea behind this Bill and I can go further. some Members on the Government benches have gone further and let me know that the next move will be legislation in this House to say that after they have fought us outside, they will try and reduce us to a limited number, the next legislation is for a one-party State, and I must, Mr. Speaker, in this particular respect, put it to Kenya because I know I will not go back on the stand that we have taken. Some Members on the Government benches have accused me of being one of the major factors in bringing about the downfall of Kadu and the others. They have even put it in the papers, they have put it that I actually brought about the downfall of Kadu. If that is so, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not regret it, because at that time we had a certain purpose. We were trying to fight the colonial régime and we were trying to build a unitary Government in Kenya, and Kadu was for what you call the complex constitution in Kenya, which would not let us move one inch. Therefore, I came out when we were with the hon. Member for Kilifi, when we were in Mombasa at that time I was in a position of power, I gave him time to speak out, I spoke to the people, and he also spoke to the people publicly, the hon. Member also who spoke from Kabarnet, I gave him also a public platform to speak and express himself, and I also expressed myself, and, therefore, I think Mr. Speaker, I know Mr. Speaker, what some people are talking about, but I am coming to that. In the end, Mr. Speaker, when we came together it was the decision of the people that they should come with us together. We did it, and thus helped to lessen the complexity of the Constitution, and I found that we had a unitary sort of Government. Now, Mr. Speaker, we have come to the second stage of our own development, and I will stick to what I have just said, Mr. Speaker, if we are not to be true to the public opinion of this country, and are going to undermine our economy and our own principles which we have pledged and put down, then I am very sorry indeed I will not be a party to it. They talk about

me having indulged in business, even much longer than they have. That is why they should allow me to teach them, because I know more about business. I know more about business because it has been my life for the last twenty-two or twenty-three years.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, all these people who talk about capitalism must know when I tell them that I know exactly what it means. They talk about it but they know very little, because they have not actually helped in it. When it comes to it no one will refuse me in this country of even having anything which I call mine, or which belongs to me Oginga Odinga, as a capitalist. What I have done is to try and help the African people come up in business. This is what it has meant to me. I am trying to help them and therefore I have joined, as an individual, with the small capital which they have put into this. When we are trying to build that. I have also seen the mistakes of following that line, and that is why I am opposing it. If we only learn to follow the capitalist, serve our economy in this country, we will not satisfy these African masses who are running after us for employment and also for coming up.

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. Murgor): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am afraid I cannot follow the hon. Member. I do not know whether he is speaking on the Bill or whether he is speaking a different language.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Odinga, you must come back to the Bill now. I have warned you

Mr. Odinga: Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade); Sit down, Mr. Odinga, with your glass, please.

I hear some hon. Members, on the Government side, making noises by way of imitating Mr. Odinga's style. Will they please resist?

Mr. Odinga: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. Perhaps I will now be given the Floor to get on. First of all, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wanted, when I came to where we have been, to say that my main reason for having actually taken the decision which we took was because I felt that if we do not hold the present trend of events, which are happening into the Government, by having constructive and fair opposition, then we may lead ourselves into chaos later on, because, Sir, I feel we must take into consideration the public opinion, which I hear everywhere, all over the country. This decision, Sir, was taken with good intention, with sincere opinion and with no

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ulterior motive whatsoever. I am glad that we have also had a number of Members of Parliament who have taken a similar decision as I did. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Mover of this Bill, and he is not alone in this, is worried and there are many who are worried. For instance, in Limuru, they have been worried about our bother towards them, and so on. They have misrepresented, though, our good intentions of having formed a genuine opposition, and also expressing and airing our views openly, without going underground in any way. Now, Sir, by daylight intimidation is carried out, because although one may be proud of saying that some Members have crossed the Floor, he must also ask himself. "Why did they sign the document where we are in the first instance?". That is one way of expressing their free opinions. Now, Sir, having been intimidated, they are being flattered that these people have crossed to the other side, but Sir, they must not kid themselves, because I know that most of these people who have crossed have given me their stories of why they have crossed. intimidation which the Government machinery is applying in their areas is one good reason.

The Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Mwendwa): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a very serious allegation against the Government, could the hon. Member substantiate the allegation that these people have been intimidated by the Government machinery in their own constituencies?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Mr. Odinga, you must substantiate that if you wish to maintain it.

Mr. Odinga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can give it because there are a number of these Members who are members of certain boards and they have been asked to quit from these boards.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): This is such a serious allegation, Mr. Odinga, that you must go a little further by way of substantiation and state the names of the Members concerned and the boards to which you refer.

Mr. Odinga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I am given time, I will give you the details of them all.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Tomorrow morning, please, Mr. Odinga.

Mr. Odinga: I will do that, Mr. Speaker.

The Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Mwendwa): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, here we

must be given a substantiation which is relevant. The Member who was turned back must be the same Member who has been sacked from a board.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Now, we cannot go any further with this point until we have Mr. Odinga's substantiation and see whether it is substantiation or not; tomorrow.

Mr. Gatuguta: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think it is necessary for you to give us your guidance on this point. If somebody resigns from the party and he is asked to leave a statutory board, which is a Government board, because he has now ceased to support the Government, could that not be termed as intimidation?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I have just said that we are not going to pursue this point further now. We have to wait and see what the substantiation is, and then we will see the merits of it.

Mr. Odinga: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I will now continue with my speech. I think the hon. Member from the opposite benches should be patient and listen to me, because we were very patient and listened to them when they put across their case.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is being suggested here, and the reason why I moved that this Bill is an intimidatory Bill, was because a Member simply disagrees with the former party where he has been, and in a country where we have not declared that we are one-party State. He has stated that he has disagreed with the policy of the party and will therefore sit on the opposite benches and be in the Opposition.

I do not think it is something which would worry the party and the Government in order to legislate, to keep him by force or to intimidate him, to make him come back against his wish to be in the Government or in the party, because what is happening is that, those people who are vindictive, in the Opposition or in the other party, have actually proved this intimidation by some of them making it so, that if today, the Bill is passed, tomorrow I will cease to be a Member, I will be required to pay the bills of my car to the U.D.C. or something like that. All other things that I have which have been demanded immediately, all kinds of intimidations. If he is going to be in the party against his will, how is he going to help the party if we say we are going to serve democracy, are we not going to keep these people by force, to support our own ideology, when later on, they will be gathering momenta. They will be gathering momenta, and they will be like water, Mr. Speaker.

[Mr. Odinga]

When it rains on top of a hill, the flood of water rushes down and if you put a barrier in front of it, it may stay, while gathering momenta. but when there is sufficient momenta, it will even break all those big barriers which have been put up, and the water will find its own course right down to the sea. Mr. Speaker, should we make Kanu to be such a barrier to the national feelings of the people, I doubt whether that would be the case with Kanu, over which I am very proud to have helped build.

I can now build so many houses. When I feel that a dangerous snake has got into one house, I will build another one whilst fighting that snake to get it out.

An hon, Member: Which snake?

Mr. Odinga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to mention to the Government, that this Bill, the only course that was open to the Government in this Bill was, if they thought, or if they suspected that there was something wrong with the Government benches or even with the party, and that the people were running away, the only course, if there were people who were brave enough to make it, because as it looks, what they are doing now is also the sign of being afraid that many more Members may also cross and come to the Opposition and therefore, to put up a barrier we will keep them into our arms and many more will not cross. Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is the purpose of this. If they did not actually suspect that many more were going to cross, then what is the idea of this Bill, which makes it very difficult for a Member to cross, to come to this side? We do not actually stop any Member from coming to this side if he wants to cross to the other side, let him cross. It is the same cross, and he can serve the country while in the Opposition, criticising the Government constructively. Yes, but what is it? If he thinks he can support the Government better on the other side, all right, let him be on the other side. I take it, Mr. Speaker, this Bill will not serve its full, useful purpose. It will only make Kanu redundant. It will only make it, I think, one day, just explode and nothing more, when, actually, people are afraid. I must put it to all the hon. Members here that we fear to go to the people. What we normally do, we do after a public fashion, and I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, that the action that we have taken just a few weeks ago, we have taken in the best interest of the country and the public opinion. We shall only wait to see who was right or who was wrong. May I also put it across that a mere number of Members is not actually the case. There have been so

many occasions where the majority have been proved wrong, and maybe, this is one occasion where the majority alone may be proved to be

An hon, Member: We used to tell them.

Mr. Odinga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Bill now goes far, because yesterday, they were talking about a Parliamentary Group which is in the Parliament and the man who decides that is the Speaker yourself which is in the Parliamentary party. It has now gone back to accommodate even those who cross from Kadu and other parties, in order also to be included. I should say that this particular cross was added just at the last minute when they knew that those former Kadu, and former APP were going to escape, be scot-free, which means that whatever this thing is composed of is only directed to make it very difficult for the Opposition to function. As a result, I cannot blame those Members who approached the Government because that is the only way. If the Government mentions here that they are afraid to go to the masses or to the people to face the electors, how can we blame the few who have gone to the Opposition? They are afraid. If the hon. Member for Kilifi who always likes to talk very, very strongly about it, I hear he is now in Mombasa, I challenge him to even stand against me in Mombasa, I do not mind. If he wants to stand against me in Mombasa or anybody to challenge me in Nairobi, it would be all right.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the intimidation to show that the Government is only afraid to face the Opposition and only fair and just the Opposition. Lately, things have happened to me since I announced my resignation. A lot of things have happened to me which never happened to me. even in the colonial days. You will remember the time when I actually mentioned the name of Kenyatta in this House, the Colonial Government were so shaken, but they still allowed me to hold a meeting in Nairobi, to even hold a meeting in Kisumu to explain it to the people. But, this time, when I wanted a meeting, even a small meeting in a small hall in Kisumu, the police were all after me. "No, no, no, no meetings" and Mr. Speaker, Sir. something happened to me which was very disloyal. About three weeks ago, in Nairobi, college students had invited me to go to a lecture and just yesterday, when I was going there, I saw police lining up in front of the door, and they said, "Oh, Mr. Odinga, I have a message for you, you cannot address this meeting, you cannot address it, because that is the order.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! I will ask strangers to observe that they are forbidden to clap or otherwise applaud in the gallery, and if there is any more, the galleries will be cleared.

Mr. Odinga: Mr. Speaker, I would not like to tire the House with so many other intimidations that I have received lately because they have been so numerous. Even at small meetings like when I went to Mombasa to meet ordinary people like the Mayor of Mombasa and I took about seven people along and yet this was taken to be a secret meeting. I was holding secret meetings with the people of Tanzania, Ministers from Tanzania and so on. I think that what is wrong with the Government is that the Government has become mad and it is not behavind like a proper government. What happened? I think we must be mature in our opposition and we must be shown our responsibilities quite responsibly. We who have resigned from Government, it is not our intention to wreck the Government, it is not our intention. Our intention is only to ginger up the Government to do what the people actually want.

I was in a position in the Government where I was practically put without any responsibility and that is why I resigned. I did not resign because I had any grudges against anybody but I could not stay because I still feel that I am very young, vigorous and I can do a lot of things. I should not be frustrated in a position and that position be mine.

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) left the Chair]
[The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza) took
the Chair]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I must not actually tire the House but I must tell the Government that this is only the beginning because we who have come to the Opposition may only be part of the beginning and we may only be told, but the principles which are actually pledged-on which the column of this Government is-should always be pointed out. If somebody wants to confirm the public opinion of this country or to take the public opinion of this country he must go to Odinga to check it. I know it is very easy and if I do not know what the people want then I do not know my duty, why I came to Parliament. That is why I always vote for the Government or against the Government when I feel so because I know exactly what I want. No one is going to teach me here what my constituents want and if anybody wants to check whether our action in forming an Opposition was approved by the people of this country he can only check it at (Inaudible.) or he can come with us to Mombasa Stadium or Kisumu Stadium or to Nakuru Stadium and we can prove it. It is no use just coming and telling me that he is going to ask me to go back to my area and then he will follow me with heavy money which he gets somewhere and then he snatches my passport so that I cannot go to get the heavy money which he has got.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, is it fair for someone to run to New York, to London, to all these other places and come back and snatch my passport—snatch the passports of everybody—and then tell me to go back to my constituency so that he can fight me there? Does that not mean that he is being unfair? I would like to let him in and stand man for man with equal facilities and everything. Equal facilities are everything and he should know it.

Now, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you find that this Bill is signed by somebody who is called K. D. Potter, Acting Attorney-General. I heard that at one time this gentleman was constitutional advisor to the Kenya Government when we were drawing up the Constitution. When he was appointed to the Civil Service to act as the Attorney-General I do not know.

An hon. Member: He is even now sitting here with us.

Mr. Odinga: Maybe we may be considering a Bill which is unduly authorized and which is signed by an unauthorized person.

An hon. Member: He is not a citizen of Kenya.

Mr. Odinga: These are the things which Odinga questioned and he was an embarrassment to the Government. I am now in a position where I cannot be an embarrassment to you.

The Mover of this Motion told us that the Government is being patient, tolerant and is persevering. Actually the actions which have happened have shown me that the acts of this Government are even much more useless than the colonial régime that we had here and, therefore, we must also apply the same ruthless methods of dealing with it. Yes. The Government is of the people, elected by the people, for the people but is not actually confirmed by the people and this is openly without subversion. But if the Government actually wants to close our mouths Government is asking us to run down and be subversive which is very deplorable and pitiful in what we call a free Government, an independent Government.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, so many expenses I have give to my constituents so that I may address a meeting and just a small meeting of only a few people yet I am told that I cannot address a meeting, the Government does not allow me to

[Mr. Odinga]

address a meeting. What has happened? Should I behave as I used to behave for the colonial régime or what should I say? This is our Government and I must be a little bit gentle and I always want to be gentle but next time if we feel that the Government is not going to be reasonable to us we will not be reasonable also.

An hon. Member: What will you do?

Mr. Odinga: You are asking me what I will do. Well, I will do what you are doing to me.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if Odinga's passport was snatched because of Odinga's attempt to stamp hard on the Kenyatta issues, if today it is the Kenyatta Government which would like Odinga's passport, do you think that that is really fair? Is that not something which is really very pitiful? If this is what happens then there must be something very wrong with the Kenyatta Government because Odinga's stand on Kenya, Kenyatta and the Government is still just how he wanted it, but what we want is for Kenyatta and the Government to agree with Kenya socialistic policy and if they do not then Odinga will disagree.

I must actually say, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that in saying all these things I do not say them in any way disrespectfully towards the President of this country or to any Minister of the Government here. I am only trying to express the fullest convictions which I have in me and my own mission is to see that each Minister is in his respective place and he should study what he puts down in Paper No. 10.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we in the Opposition, because of the reasons which I have advanced, because this Bill is unnecessary, causes intimidation and at the same time is trying to force each and every Member to be in Kanu against their own wills, feel that this will not be for the best interests of this country. This Bill asks the Opposition to go to the country to ask for a decision which is rather selfish and which is not worthy of a national Government. I would like to say to the Government that the only wise way in which they can deal with this is that if they feel that they want a fresh mandate to know whether they are following the policies and the pledges that they actually gave to people, they should actually dissolve the whole Parliament and go to the country to see what is there.

Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker, thank you very much, gentlemen.

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Government was allowed two spokesmen, a Mover and a Seconder, but the Opposition is not going to be allowed to have two people speak, after this it will be open for you to chose one from each side. You have already given two from the Government side but only one from the Opposition side.

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): I am sure the Speaker will have that in mind for the next speaker.

Mr. Shikuku: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, for having given me this chance to air my views.

Personally, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I do not see anything new. I have in the past made my views well known in connexion with Kenya politics and very many Members in this House are very much aware of my stand. I believe in principles, be they against me or for me. When a principle is a principle it must be upheld. One Member is asking, "How can they be against you?" Even this very Bill we are passing here is going to be a principle and that is a fact. Those of us who will be affected, one day it will cut your own throats. That is the principle.

One day, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in this very Parliament, I spoke for about two and a quarter hours opposing and rejecting the Amendment Bill, Bill No. 138 (a), which was supported in this House by the hon speaker who last spoke for the Opposition. Did he agree with me? The answer is no and now he is feeling the effects of what he did. It is written in the Bible, Mr. Speaker, that thou shalt harvest what thou hast sown, you shall have what you have sown, and the same thing is what some of my comrades in the Opposition are doing today. That is why I must submit very strongly in this House, that all of us will have to pay for what we do today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, once you are no longer a man of principle you are always in trouble because you may take an occasion and say, "Well, this suits me and so I will say this because I can get away with it." However, you do not know what is coming tomorrow and you do not know what the future has in store for you. That is the whole trouble with the Members in this Parliament. I remember, if I may recall, what the hon, speaker who spoke last said, namely, it is not always the majority which is right. I told him the same thing when I was in the Opposition and he never believed it. Now he sees the sense, after such a long time. We are told that old men are wise, they are expected to be wise, and it is taken more or less for granted that the voung ones are not wise. But, Mr. Deputy Speaker, may I today prove to this House that just as many idiots as there are among the young ones so there are among the aged. We have many idiots among the young ones, and so have we

as many among the aged because they do not see further than their noses. Mr. Deputy Speaker, it will be recalled, and let it go down in history again that I was the only person out of 130 Members in this House who was last to cross, to leave the Opposition and go to the Government, and everybody, including those comrades of mine in the then Kadu shouted and said, "Young man, you are doomed, the whole country is going the other way. Where are you going?" I told them that I believed in principles and I would not cross the floor until the people of Butere said so, and I gave them my word. Today, I am in the Government but I do not believe in going by emotions; I go by logic. That was the time, Mr. Deputy Speaker, when the Government should have introduced this. Why did the Government not introduce this? Because it was in their favour. I insisted, and time and again I wrote to the Press. The Press made sure that they did not publish all the statements, and the resentment of the people today we talk of was obvious, people sent delegations, but all this was submerged then by the so-called Press. I hope they have improved today. The result was that those who violated the feelings of the people were praised as heroes at that time. People who crossed, as the hon. Mr. Ngala said then had only crossed with their trousers, were heroes of the day.

That is why I say, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that a principle is a principle, and be it against you or somebody else, it is a principle. Therefore, I submit very strongly today and support the hon. Mover of this Bill for having brought this Bill to the Parliament, but—and it is a big but, Mr. Deputy Speaker—this Bill does not go far enough because it does not take into account the people who were trickling one by one from the time of Kadu and A.P.P. I feel a principle is a principle, and I go by it. Though some of the Members may feel I am trying to get bread out of their mouths, even if I go back to Butere and I am not elected, I will stay back at home. The problem here, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is that some of us have only been known as politicians because we have come to this Parliament. Before that, we were not in the field. That is why some people are afraid.

May I make it known that once you are a politician, you are not going to stay in this Parliament for ever and a day. You must be subjected to some sort of difficulties, and some time you may go out of this House. We have known of great men and during my time at school I never thought they would be out of this House. Today, they are not with us. So I feel

that the Bill has not gone far enough. What is going to happen to the people, the voters, who had their Members crossing to Kadu, who did not even inform the party, who were robbed of that opportunity and who were told to wait until 1968? Why do you not include them here?

The Assistant Minister for Education (Mr. Mutiso): What are you doing?

Mr. Shikuku: I am supporting the Bill, and I know what I am talking about. The Member for Yatta does not know anything.

The Assistant Minister for Education (Mr. Mutiso): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, can the hon. Member substantiate that the Member for Yatta does not know anything?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): I am afraid, Mr. Mutiso, that is one of those generalized allegations that do not really require substantiation.

Mr. Shikuku: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I was trying to pursue my point on extending or including the people who have violated the wishes of the people, because if we talk of going back to the electors, I have heard the Mover giving an outline as to how one can go about when he disagrees with the Government. One thing he will have to do is to see his constituency committee, and put across his views and give his reasons why he does not agree with Government policy, and if the views of that particular person are disapproved by the constituency committee then he resigns, or if they support him then he comes back. However, here, when we talk of the constituency committee, most of the people who crossed the floor at that time did not even have a constituency committee, and on top of it, Mr. Deputy Speaker, even the constituency committee itself is not enough because people are not elected to this House through committees; they are elected by the public. Therefore, it must be that these people should have held public meetings to seek the views of the people. Did they do so? If the answer is no, then if we have to sweep the house, let us sweep it clean; not only the sitting room, but also the bedroom.

Take this instance, Mr. Deputy Speaker. I cannot understand how I can speak, representing the people of Butere, and also sitting along with the people who violated the wishes of those who elected them and ran away before they told their people. This is an abuse of the House. That is why I feel these people who are trickling out must go back again and see their brothers at home. That is one point.

The other point, Mr. Deputy Speaker, concerns the type of crossing. The hon. Mover has not mentioned this, his time was short, but may

I take the opportunity to tell you of the type of crossing. One type of crossing was the trickling one. You remember when we were in the Opposition, it was the order of the day. Someone would interrupt at Question Time, he would stand up and say, "Mr. Speaker, on a point of order." "Yes?" "Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to cross." That is one on one day and the crossing is finished. We wait for one or two days. "Mr. Speaker, Sir." "Yes? You have a point of order?" "Yes, Sir." "Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to cross." That is the type which is called trickling, people just cutting off like tapeworms.

The other type was the party crossing, and that we have been told by the hon. Ngala, Member for Kilifi South, in some ways meets the requirements described in this Bill, where people cross as a party. Then they had their committee as a party, but that also can be disputed, because having also been the Secretary-General of that party, I am in a better position to tell the public, and I am telling them today, of what happened. These hon, gentlemen who purport to be speaking the minds of the people today, are, in my opinion, not doing so, because they have violated the very principle they are trying to advocate in this House, by crossing without even holding a meeting but just dancing around here! Anybody can organize anybody or can organize a group of people to dance round this building, but how do we know they are the voters? Why do you not dance in Butere or Kilifi? We do not want to fool the public, Mr. Deputy Speaker. Dance in your constituencies and come here, and that is what I did to set an example and which has gone down in history. Now, this is something which is a dream to me, something which has come into operation, and it is going down in our Constitution; that is why I support it. This will stop these political acrobats from fooling about with the public. An acrobat, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is someone you know very well. He can stand on his thumb; next time he might be standing on his nose. You never know what he does next. That is why I feel this Bill is ideal.

The third type of crossing is that one which is contitutional and which, Mr. Speaker—if I may blow my own trumpet—was carried out by the Member for Butere.

These three types of crossings, the hon. Mover did not try to put them to the House. We are not going to have this wholesale supporting without seeing the reason for supporting. Every Member here has a head on top of his shoulders, and he must use that head.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, the other reason why I support this Bill is what has already been stated by the hon. Mover, and that is that the Bill intends to protect the voters. I feel in future, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the protection, be it first or last -the hon. Member for Kandara says first in history—is a very good one, because the members of the public in the countryside have no other place. I remember during that time when the hon. Members were trickling out, their electors came to me and asked what they could do about their Member. "Can we send a delegation to Kenyatta to futa him?" I told them that Kenyatta could not futa anybody because he was a Member of Gatundu, he was on five years' contract, the other Member was also on five years' contract, so they could not sack that Member. However, today, Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have something which can, with all due respect to my friends in the Opposition, help you to speak, with full authority in this House, just as I am doing. I should think the hon. Members of the Opposition will agree with me that this Bill should go through, except that the hon. Mover should extend it to that time which I have just referred to. Anybody who did not hold an executive committee of his constituency and who did not hold a meeting of the electors to approve his move should go back and say hallo to his friends.

Well, if you say hallo, they will say welcome and they give you food. If they do not say welcome, you have had it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if I may refer to the question which the hon. Member for Bondo, and a good friend of mine raised saying that there is this problem of money. I have always been of the opinion that there was something wrong in Kenya. Are we here to be used by any power bloc? I have already stated, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in the Press that there is cold war in Kenya. Today a bit of evidence has been given by the Leader of the Opposition and Member for Bondo about money, passports being seized and people unable to move around to get money to help themselves. This is a very serious case, Mr. Deputy Speaker. If Kenya is going to be a country of the people of Kenya, then, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to put across to the people of Kenya that we are being sold by people in this very House for their own personal benefits, but this we want to watch in the next election. If we are here as a party or as a country to be used by other countries, to promote the ideology of that country or the other country, then we are heading for hell, Mr. Deputy Speaker.

In my opinion, Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is no difference between a Russian and an American or a British or who. All these people, Mr. Deputy Speaker, are the biggest devils God has ever created. I have nothing to lose, Mr. Deputy Speaker, nor regret. I speak my mind in my own country. I fought for the independence of this country and I am not going to let the Americans or the Russians to mess about with it.

I know, Mr. Deputy Speaker, for certain that the Americans and the Russians have the same policy, they only differ in the way they apply that policy. One says he is not a capitalist but he believes in state capitalism. The other one believes in individual capitalism. Capitalism is capitalism, be it individual or State-wise. Is that what we want here? In my opinion, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I say no. I have made no mistake, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in my philosophy. My philosophy, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is Kenya philosophy based or emanated from Butere, if they want to know where it comes from.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, you will see, for example, even if the hon. Mover also touched the question of loans and so forth, you will find if you go to the United States for any loan or aid, it always has strings. You will have the American experts here. The material will have to be shipped by the American ships, and it will have to be brought here under the supervision of the Americans and that you are going to buy this, that and the other of the Americans, the material of the Americans. That is the condition, the strings. And when you go to Russia they tell you the same thing. Russians who purport to be the biggest socialists the world has ever seen, they tell you, boy, if you want this, you buy the material from us we give you material aid and all this and experts, and all the rest of it.

All these blocs, the East and the West, are for your information, only probably interested in their own bellies, the stomach will never be full until the day you are dead. So if you are going to be led by your belly, which will never get full, then the masses are going to suffer, because I know, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the East and West are not interested in our upcoming or in our economical development at all. If they are, then I challenge the Russian and the Peking man—

Mr. Ngala-Abok: On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, would you please direct that Members stick to the Bill. Is the Member now speaking really adhering to the terms of the Bill?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): I think he is going a little far away from the Bill, but on the other hand I think one has to grant a lot of latitude in this particular debate.

Mr. Shikuku: Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, for your ruling. I am referring to the question of money which has already been touched. Are you touchy about it? If you have the money, then you must know that you are guilty. Mr. Deputy Speaker, if the hon. Member for Homa Bay has had some money, then he must know he is guilty.

Mr. Ngala-Abok: On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is it in order for the Member to allege that I have certain money if I just questioned the way he was digressing and he was not actually sticking to the Bill? Is he in order?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): He is not in order. Mr. Shikuku, you are not alleging that he has received any money, are you?

Mr. Shikuku: No, no. Unless my English is very bad, I remember that I said, "If the hon. Member has had some money...". Well, well, if you have that money, then you are guilty and I will not withdraw that.

But let us speak our minds in this House. The Bill, Mr. Deputy Speaker, if I may come to it now, clause by clause, says—

An hon. Member: Do not waste all the time.

Mr. Shikuku: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I hear some hon. Members—as a matter of fact, Assistant Ministers—talking in terms of my wasting time. Is that in order?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): It is not in order, but carry on.

Mr. Shikuku: Mr. Deputy Speaker, if the hon. Assistant Ministers have nothing to contribute, then wait until the Butere man contributes and let them vote as machines.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I feel clause (a) is very important. It talks of any Member who "resigns from that party at a time when that party is a parliamentary party". I would like to know, Mr. Deputy Speaker, from the hon. Mover if it applies to those people. I think that is where we can extend it to the other hon. Members who were trickling out, who did not come in as a party under this. If that is the case, then I will be very much pleased, because this Bill is intended, in my opinion, to try and give democratic right to our people and, therefore, let us sweep the house clean. Then we can speak with the full mandate of the people.

The other thing which I feel is missing in this Bill is the question of mandate. Mr. Deputy Speaker, when you talk of a mandate, reading the dictionary, you will find that a mandate is a political authority given to the party or parliament by the voters or electors. If that mandate is not included here, anybody may

say, "Well, I had a group or a committee which approved my stand." But a committee or a group which approves a stand is not electors. Therefore, I think the word "mandate" should be included here or a clause should specify that the mandate of the people shall be sought—I am no lawyer, but these are my views-before any man crosses, so that when we analyse the word "mandate", we shall force these people to go to the committee, because you can only have a committee of friends who will say, "Hallo, my friend, get on." We believe Mr. Deputy Speaker, in politics you always have some supporters who can always come round and say, "O.K., good boy, get moving." But that is not enough. It should go again to the electors which always, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in this case will not mean the small committee, but the masses, public meetings which you cannot wriggle out of or play about with. People fear very much going to the public because you can play around with a small committee in a conference somewhere and get away with it, but when it comes to the masses, you always have it in the neck. I feel that is a loophole which should be—we say in Swahili zitoa sealed up so that no water can leak.

Now, the last point, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is that I wish to appeal to this House that it should not be the policy of this House or Members in this House to consider anybody who disagrees with you as your enemy. If we want to build a nation, Mr. Deputy Speaker, we must do away with petty thinking, but be grown up to lead this new generation to a big generation, a generation worthy of the name "generation", and also respectable in the world. It serves no useful purpose, Mr. Deputy Speaker, for us to say that if So-and-so does not agree with this group, therefore he is in the other group. Let him be in any group, but the only group one can be in is the Kenya group, the Kenya group not only in the sense of a cover for some people to be aligned to a certain ideology but in the sense that you only think of Kenya and how the people in Kenya are going to have something for their bellies, how they are going to have a roof over their heads. If anybody has those constructive ideas, we want those ideas, but as regards the question of saying because he does not agree with me, he is my enemy, Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are not going to build this House at all. I think we will be messing up everything.

At the same time, I feel, Mr. Deputy Speaker, as to those who disagree with us or those who feel that their views are not being heard, it would be a gentlemanly gesture for us in this House, even if we differ with anybody, to allow

him to air his views and let him be defeated by the vote. But we should not make a lot of noise in this House. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I feel sometimes embarrassed by the language that is sometimes used in this House; it is so bad that I feel the money which built this House was wasted, because it is intended to be a respectable place where people have cool thinking, also independent thinking will get out something sensible. But if we are going to shout because we are supposed to shout—I do not think the electors elected you to shout here.

Lastly, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I feel I must thank the hon. Mover and the people of this country and I only hope—I am not hoping against hope—that this Bill shall be extended back to that time when people were trickling out. That is the thing I feel very strongly about and that is why I support this Bill. With these few remarks, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I feel there is nothing wrong with this Bill. I support it because it advocates the democratic principles which we must uphold at all costs. Whether it is in your favour or against you, let us be gentlemen and face it as gentlemen. I know some hon. Members will say that the last speaker has said this or the other and tried to justify their cases, but I do not think the masses in this country are all that stupid. You can talk loud, you can talk and put salt or sugar round anything, but they will know the wrong you did to them. Even if you escape in this clean-up now, you will not escape in 1968.

With these few remarks, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I beg to support the Motion.

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am opposing this Bill very strongly and I would like to make it very clear that I am not opposing it because I am afraid of my electors, and I think the hon. friend of mine can prove that I am not afraid of my electors.

[The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza) left the Chair]

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) resumed the Chair]

But I am opposing it on the question of principle. As I said, Mr. Speaker, this is the first Bill of its kind in any Constitution which we know of, and the Mover agreed with me when he was speaking. Therefore, this is a Bill which has no precedent and I am not going to be convinced by the Mover that the Kenya Government is so clever that everything in the Constitution of Kenya is so original that they do not mind about precedents and conventions which have been accepted throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, the intention of this Bill is to dismiss elected Members of this House who have been elected by the people, to be dismissed by a group of Members in this House who have taken it upon themselves to be the advocates of my electors. Mr. Speaker, the Bill demands our resignation from the House because we have resigned from Kanu, and because of this, Mr. Speaker, it is important for this House, the country and the world to know why we resigned from Kanu. It has been said, Mr. Speaker, that because we have resigned from Kanu we must have a new mandate. Mr. Speaker, the mandate that we got from the electors was not given to Kanu as such, but to the elected Members, and this mandate was in terms of certain pledges and principles. Our submission, Mr. Speaker, is that the Kanu Government has forgotten the pledges which were made to the electors, and because of this, Mr. Speaker, we have resigned because we do not want to be associated with the people who have forgotten their electors, with the people who have deviated from their policies and principles on which they were elected. Mr. Speaker, if we had deviated from those principles I agree that we could have gone and demanded a new mandate. We have not deviated from this, and because we are steadfast on these principles that is why we have resigned.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to touch very quickly on some of the pledges on which we were elected.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! No, Mr. Kaggia, I think not, because really the question is the amendment to the Constitution. We cannot have a whole discussion on the merits of your stand versus the Government.

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Speaker, what I was saying is that we are being dismissed because we have resigned, and I think it would be very unfair to discuss this Bill without explaining why we have resigned, so that we can establish a case whether we need a new mandate or not.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Not at great length, Mr. Kaggia, because this Bill is an amendment to the Constitution which will apply to all Members at all times, and not merely to the particular case of this Opposition Party. I have allowed Mr. Odinga to speak outside the terms of this Bill to state the position of your party. I cannot go on allowing this, because it is not strictly relevant to this particular amendment to the Constitution.

POINT OF ORDER

RELEVANCY IN SECOND READING

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, when the Mover of this Motion was moving the

Motion, he ridiculed the Opposition by saying that these people had no policy, they had no nothing, and for that reason they should go back to their constituencies and tell the people what they have got and they say they believe they have nothing. Mr. Speaker, if you are going to restrict us to only discussing this Bill, knowing very well, Mr. Speaker, that this Bill is not a Bill which is going to be used indiscriminately. This Bill is intended—you will put me right, Mr. Speaker, if it is not-to get the Members who have resigned from Kanu to go to the countryside, it does not take into account any other Member. Mr. Speaker, for that reason do you not think it fair that since we were challenged that we have no policy, we have no nothing, that we should not have this opportunity to say why we have resigned, and why, if necessary, we are willing to go back to the countryside?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I have great sympathy with the point Mr. Anyieni is making, but I am still bound by the rule of relevancy which is a terribly important rule in any debate. If I really allow this debate to develop into a discussion of all the failings of Government to honour pledges and the way in which the Opposition Party believe they can honour pledges, we are away into a debate that could last a week. This is a very short amendment of the Constitution; it is a very vital one I know, but let us keep to the merits of this amendment and the principle as to whether or not those who leave the party they were in should or should not be forced to go back to the country. Let us keep to that, with only very little reference to what is not really relevant.

(Resumption of debate)

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Speaker, while I think that that is very unfair I will try and confine myself to the Bill, but what I was thinking, Mr. Speaker, and this is not disputing your ruling, is that this is a Bill which is very important and which is going to affect us as Members of the Opposition and as such I thought that we could have been given a greater latitude to express our views.

Nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, this Bill tells us that it intends to remove these Members as I have said because they have crossed the Floor from Kanu, or in fact they have resigned from Kanu. The Kanu spokesman since we resigned has been very loud on the radio telling us and telling the country what the Government has done and saying that the Members who have resigned are blind and they do not know what the Government has done. What I am saying, Mr. Speaker, is that it is true that when we were elected we gave some pledges, and these pledges have not been

honoured. We have got people today in this country who are still roaming about in the streets without land although we promised them that. We have millions of unemployed in this country; we were promised free medical services, there is no such thing, and because of this failure of the Government to fulfil these pledges we thought that it is our duty, which it certaintly is, to voice our disagreement with this policy, and because of this now the Government, without the permission of our electors, comes here and demands our resignation. Mr. Speaker, we have been told much about the Kanu Manifesto, and the Sessional Paper No. 10 on African Socialism. Mr. Speaker, I must make it very clear that mv constituents cannot eat this Paper. The Kanu Manifesto is a paper, and all the Kanu spokesman has been doing is brandishing this so-called Kanu Manifesto, and since this Paper was passed nothing has been implemented. The same thing with African Socialism Paper-

Mr. Kibuga: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I wonder whether the hon. Member has kept to what you have directed him to speak about the Constitution, but not about other matters beside the Constitution?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Kaggia is being tempted away again. I do not blame him, and it is rather hard to draw the line; because I think that what he is trying to argue, which is relevant to this debate, is that Members should not be forced to leave the House merely because they leave a party, if they are still being true to the principle on which they were elected, and he is entitled to argue on that, but there is a limit to the extent to which he can argue the detail of a thing, because we are dealing here with one principle which holds good in the Constitution. So the particular circumstances of this particular Opposition we cannot labour at greatly.

Mr. Oduya: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I think you ruled when speaking on the former party, that is Kanu, is exactly what we should explain now because we have been challenged that we have no policy, and that is why the Mover of the purporting-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order, Mr. Oduya! I think I have made the position as clear as I can. Please keep within bounds, Mr. Kaggia, and argue on the principle of the amendment to the Constitution rather than on your own particular circumstances.

Mr. Kaggia: Therefore, Mr. Speaker, what I was going to say is that because the Government is seeking to remove us from our seats without

the permission of our electors, this Bill is dictatorial, and as I said in earlier debates this is contrary to any convention which is known in this world. I should like to say that when the Mover was speaking he tried to tell us that the Kenya Constitution is original, but I must tell him that the Kenya Constitution was based on other constitutions, and it was also based on the world recognized conventions, and that no one can convince me that everything we have is original. For one to think that when the time suits the Government they decided to be the pioneer of making this kind of constitution as the Mover told us this morning, this surprises everyone. He was telling us that this is not the only time they have become pioneers, but when we changed our Constitution and made our President an executive President, that they were then pioneers. This was not true. Tanzania and Ghana and many other countries had started before us. Therefore, this Government has only become pioneers in this particular provision so that they may fight the Opposition. I think this is a very cowardly act of our Government which is strong, which has got such a big majority as we are told, and yet be so much harassed and frightened by this small Opposition so as to call Parliament urgently to come and legislate for just a few people here in the House. Mr. Speaker, this Bill amounts to denial of rights because according to the precedents that we have in all the countries of the world, when a Member of Parliament resigns or changes his party, it is left for him to decide whether to go to the voters or not. As I said, my submission is that he is only obliged to go back to the electors when he has changed his policy. We have not changed our policy, we stick to the policy on which we were elected. Now, Mr. Speaker, the policy that I stand on and on which the Opposition stands is the policy on which we were elected.

This Bill to be proved very soon for the Government to know. Mr. Speaker, the Government has only succeeded in forgetting all the pledges that were made and also succeeded in making this country a paradise of foreigners, but the masses of this country have not seen the fruits of independence. So, Sir, because of this, we are not going to be intimidated. Sir, I have been speaking my mind for a long time in this House, and since I was elected I have been opposing the Government, because I knew that it was not fulfilling the pledges made, and because I knew also that they were deviating from the principles. Even now, Sir, I continue to do this.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are here as elected. We were not elected by these Members but by the voters. We were not elected by anybody in the

Government, and I am surprised that the Government has changed its mind, because I remember once when a few chaps were bribed from my constituency to go and see the President at Gatundu, and demand my resignation. The President answered them very wisely. He told them, "I did not elect him, and therefore I cannot sack him, it is you that can sack him.". But, Sir, today, another clever gentleman has appeared in the Government and advised the Government that now they are stronger they can dismiss someone. Now they can take over the rights of the electors and tell my constituency that from today Kaggia is no longer your Member. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we leave this for the country and the people to see.

Mr. Speaker, my contract here is not between me and the Government who is now sitting here trying to displace me, my contract is between me and my electors. Therefore, Sir, the Government has no right whatsoever to say who is going to represent Kandara. It has no right whatsoever to tell my constituents, "You must go back and rethink.". Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have brains. They elected me without your help, and even today they do not need the help of the Government. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have been told by the Mover that this Bill intends to protect the voters. This is very interesting indeed, Mr. Speaker. Our voters are the people who are dying hungry in this country, who are roaming in the towns jobless, without anything; these are the voters. This is the Government which has denied people all these things. They have given land to the Asians, to the rich, and employment to the-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Once again, Mr. Kaggia, restrain your enthusiasm within the bounds of the Bill please. I cannot go on warning you.

Mr. Kaggia: I am speaking about protection. I was trying to show how the Government is not protecting the voters, and we are told that this is the intention of the Bill, Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I am sorry. If you really want to argue that you are being relevant, I will have to explain how you are not being relevant. The argument of the Government on this Bill is perfectly clear, right or wrong. It is a protection for voters, that if any Member elected by them changes his colours, he should have to go back and get their support for that change of colour in order to remain a Member. That is the kind of protection the Government is talking about, and that is the kind of protection with regard to the policy of the Government in other fields.

Mr. Kaggia: You are restricting me very much, Mr. Speaker. I was thinking that the Government which is so concerned about the voting rights of the people should also be concerned with other rights and the other needs of the people.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when these other sides are not protected and they come to protect the rights of the voters, only on the side of the voting, and leave the other sides, then that protection is very questionable.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): We will leave the other sides alone.

Mr. Kaggia: Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, this protection in the way it is given is being given in a very funny way. The Government intends to dismiss the Members who have the courage to speak the wishes of the masses, and if it is protection they are talking about, is this right? If this protection was intended and it was not intended to remove the Members who speak the views of the masses, then why was this protection not given when Kadu and APP crossed from their parties to Kanu? Now, Sir, this shows that this is not protection as we are being made to believe, but instead of protecting these people they are depriving the masses of this country from the only people in this House who are prepared to tell the Government that it is wrong, who are prepared to tell the Government that it has not fulfilled its pledges. This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, as you are restricting me so much, I am not going to dwell on this.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order, Mr. Kaggia! I am only asking you to be relevant. It is your Standing Orders which restrict you, not me. That is what it is, it is what Standing Orders require. Do not blame me for your Standing Orders.

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government is asking us to go back to the voters. We do not refute that and we are not afraid, because we were elected by the people on the pledges we made, and if we go, then you can be assured that we will return. Mr. Speaker, Sir, because we accept that it does not mean that we accept the Bill. The Bill was intended to remove us and not to protect the voters as we are told. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the Government was courageous enough, because we have challenged their policy, the best thing it could have done was dissolve this House, and ask all of us to go to the voters, because it is not right for the Government to deceive themselves that just because they have the majority here they have the blessings of the people to continue in this House, and therefore think that the only people who should go and check this support are the Members of the Opposition. I challenge the Government Members that if they think they are

popular enough, if they think they have fulfilled all the pledges as they tell us they have, to dissolve the Parliament and we all go together, then, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall be prepared even to go and stand in my friend's constituency, Nairobi Central.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have said that this Bill is intended to intimidate Members of the Opposition. This is true, Mr. Speaker, and has been confirmed in the way some of our friends have crossed back into Kanu. No one can blame them because this is really intimidating, because the intention of the Government is to see that byelections are arranged in a number of constituencies, then they gather all their friends and money to vote for particular constituents and try and crush up. So, Sir, it is not easy for Members to go to the elections without money, and so because of this some Members have had second thought, thinking of the expense and all the difficulties of debts and so on, and so they thought that they had better not risk the elections. But, Sir, this should not deceive the Government, that all the Members who are sitting on that side are in agreement with the Government policy—it is wrong. If they think so, then let us go to the people and we shall see how popular the Government is.

Mr. Speaker, we have been told that the Government would resign and they can only resign when they are short of a majority in the Parliament. Mr. Speaker, we have got cases in many countries, when the Government thinks that the country is not with it. To strengthen their position, they can go back and ask for a new amendment. We had it the other day in England. Wilson had a majority, he had more than that, but he thought, I had better go back and check. Now, the Government, through the discontent that is throughout the country, through the grievances which have been raised throughout the country, on many questions which I have mentioned earlier, the Government knows very well that they are not so popular as they think. That is why we were thinking it would have been better if Parliament was to be dissolved so that we all drop back to the country and the country be given the chance to return people who are going to represent them properly. But now, it surprises me that the Government is only giving a few constituencies the right of returning the people they want. In other constituencies, they screw themselves on their seats until the time of 1968. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I oppose this Bill very strongly and warn the Government that they are thinking that this Bill is going to affect us, but

they forget that they are amending our Constitution. The Constitution of the country. It will remain in this country for a long time. Some of them are happy because they say the Bill is going to kick Kaggia off, but tomorrow, it may kick you, my friend, then you will not be so happy as you are today. Mr. Speaker, the other point I would like to mention is that this Bill is being passed after we have resigned. Now, it is left with the Government to say whether they are going to be so ruthless to say that this will have a retrospective effect, because-

An hon. Member: It has already.

Mr. Kaggia: I knew you would say that. This is enacted after the so-called offence, if I can call it that. But, according to the standards of law which are known in the world, law cannot affect someone who might have committed the offence before the enactment of the law. But, today, because the Government is so anxious to see that we are out of this Parliament, because the Government is so frightened of the Opposition, because they know their sins and they do not want the Opposition to expose them, they think, or they intend to say that even that offence which was committed vesterday before this Bill was law, it is effective. If this is done, Mr. Speaker, it is going to prove what we said, that this is a very cowardly act, because, as it has been said previously, this never took place previously although so many Members have been crossing from one party to another.

Mr. Speaker, one can understand a Member crossing from Opposition to the Government. like the Member for Kilifi who crossed from Opposition to the Government after which he got a big position of Chairman of the Maize Marketing Board. But, it is very different, Mr. Speaker, when a Member crosses from Government to the Opposition, because he is not expecting any post. It shows that he is crossing on principle and this, Mr. Speaker, proves our conviction. We are not going to be afraid of any act of Government, whatever they do, we are going to stand to our conviction. I know, Mr. Speaker, that they are going to pass this Bill, in spite of the Opposition, and we will go and face the electors. But, what I must say, Mr. Speaker, even if I am not returned to this House, it will not move me. I have been a politician for a long time, not the two years I have been in Parliament, I have been speaking for my people from outside, and I shall continue to speak for my people even from outside the Parliament. This is going to bring a very dangerous precedent which will make Kenya a laughing stock and to my opinion, this is in contradiction with the principles of

democracy which the Government has told us every time and that they are upholding because they are putting themselves in the place of voters to decide for them instead of allowing them to speak for themselves. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, because you have restricted me so much, I find that the room for speaking is so little, I am going to stop there and say that I oppose this Bill very strongly on principle.

Thank you.

Mr. ole Tipis: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was not my intention to intervene in this debate, but I feel that a few points must be made very, very clear. I would tell my hon. friends——

Mr. Oduya: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I thought this Bill was decided by the Kanu Parliamentary Group and it was only brought here to allow us, as victims, to air views.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think, Mr. Oduya is proposing rather a new principle, that only the Opposition may be heard on a Bill. It may be that it was the intention of Government not to speak very much on this Bill, but if any supporter of Government wishes to speak, he has the right to do so, and I then adopt the ordinary practice of alternating between those on one side and those on the other.

Mr. ole Tipis: Mr. Speaker, as my hon. friend, the Member for Teso, seems panicky about what I am going to say, I will try to avoid any controversial issue. I think, Mr. Speaker, the Members of the Opposition, in all fairness are trying to shed crocodile tears. This is a child of their own making and in all fairness they must nurse it. I should say, Mr. Speaker, that here, since our country became independent, we have done everything possible to run the country smoothly. As far as that is concerned, some friends, including the Leader of the Opposition went to the extent of saying that the Corner Bar Group went to undermine him.

He means, if I may say so, that he is not undermining any individual person as such but he has gone to the extent of undermining the smooth Government of this country. Now, Sir, the decision which our friends took to resign from the Government is their own and, of course, they have been shouting loudest both in this House and outside this House that the masses are behind them. If this is so and if we are to believe it to be so, we are asking nothing more and nothing less than for them to go back to those who elected them to prove whether the masses which they have been boasting are behind them, really are behind them. I do not understand what my dear friends are belly-aching for.

Mr. Speaker, we have had a lot of child's play about free things and especially from my hon. friend the Member for Kandara for whom I have every respect and admiration. I would like him to stand here and tell us where this free land is coming from. Even the land where his own house is situated has not been freely acquired.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think you heard me, Mr. ole Tipis, tell Mr. Kaggia what is relevant and what is not relevant to this debate. Please observe my remarks. This is completely irrelevant.

Mr. ole Tipis: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I withdraw that and I would say that that speech, in passing, is quite uncalled for and there is nothing free in this world.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Please leave it alone. Mr. Oduva: He has no material.

Mr. ole Tipis: The question is, Mr. Speaker, if the hon. Member for Teso wants interjections I am quite prepared for him; I am not as politically bankrupt as he is.

Mr. Speaker, so many things have been said of the Government not fulfilling its pledges to the people. I would like to ask the gentleman who made such serious allegations what part they, themselves, have played in trying to deliver the goods which our people have been expecting for so long. Instead, when we are all united, due to their own personal selfishness, due to the fact of trying to sing with their master's voice, they have gone and formed small splinter groups to try and undermine the elected Government of this country. In fact, they should be ashamed of themselves.

Mr. Speaker since you said earlier on that I should not speak much—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I only asked you to be relevant.

Mr. ole Tipis: My friend ought to rethink again as there is no question of his coming here and trying to address the galleries. If you have a point, go back, stand by-election and come back here.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very happy that I have an opportunity today to speak before the perversion of the law made by the majority which is a minority otherwise.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, according to the Constitution which we made in this country, we have the freedom guaranteed here and when counting so many of them I see that I am protected myself and am allowed to associate with anyone. Mr. Speaker I had better read for these Assistant Ministers who have no time to go through their

[Mr. Gichoya]

documents. It is stated that there is protection of the freedom of assembly and association. Except on his own consent no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of assembly and association. That is to say—it is very clear—his right to assemble freely and associate with other persons in any particular form who belong to trade unions or other associations for the protection of his interests.

That is one of the fundamental principles which Kanu said it was going to protect and which Kadu and APP accepted must be protected. I was not here when that law was being made in London. We were elected and accepted this Constitution as the fundamental law of Kenya. Today, as I see it, because we have certain individuals who feel that unless everything goes to their own liking that law should be changed, we are then confronted with this Bill which is being rushed today. We are told that that right, that freedom which association guaranteed in the Constitution, was there for the sake of appeasement but not for respectability.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I say this today: you are in power and God bless it. As the people will see the true direction to which our country is going, we shall one day come into power. If we come into power, do we have to follow the existing Constitution or can we make a new constitution for us? If we agree to go on amending the Constitution to suit our own interests, I will say that the next constitution that is going to be made if Gichova is the President of this Republic will be Gichoya's constitution and the next morning we will say we must make Mboya's constitution. Where are we going to, Mr. Speaker? Where are we going to if this is the way things are going to run? Today some of the people who are shouting here, "Go back and seek the mandate of your own people" have no footing in their own respective areas. I have managed during this period of being a Member of Parliament, to tour quite a number of places on my own and, even during the time when we were fighting the elections, I managed to go to other constituencies and assist other people. I believe the Secretary-General of Kanu-the dying Kanu—is aware of that.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, one thing I would like to say is this: we are told that if a party becomes rotten, the Constitution of Kenya says you must remain in that rotten party and equally you must accept it to be rotten yourself. That freedom which we had here, the freedom of association, I know is not proper and knowing that it is not proper I must establish another one, I must find another house yet I am told I must remain in

that house. Mr. Speaker, this is a sign of the movement towards dictatorial leadership in this country. That is one point I want to make very clearly here in the House and I am going to do it truly at home when I seek re-election. I know you are going to pass this Bill, there is no doubt about it, but I say when we were re-organizing Kanu at Limuru the people there, after we had done this, more or less abused the Minister responsible for education. What have you done you people? Gentlemen, to have a title of Minister for this and the secretary-general for that does not make very much sense in the eyes of the public when the public do not see the meaning of that particular title.

I say this, Mr. Speaker, because here there are a handful of individuals who feel they control this country and I guarantee to them that if they are careful now they must not use intimidation, they must not kill. If you kill, God will see you. If you kill or organize killing—I am putting it clearly here if the Government is sincere—and if you kill the Bill, you must give us the facilities accorded to us so that we share the platform together.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, those who want to know who is the master should go and find out from him. The position is that if there is no intimidation and there are no threats the Member for Gichugu will come back to this House as honourable. However, it is wrong in principle, it is immoral in principle to make a law for a few individuals, to make a law to curtail the association of a few individuals, the freedom of thinking. I find a situation whereby this mob of people who have no common sense might tell us, "Let's make a law here to see that in our own education petitions we must limit the knowledge up to this extent and call the universities universities."

Mr. Speaker, I have never been one of a confused group of people like the members of Government today who feel that they are a majority, but they are a minority in the eyes of the public.

An hon. Member: Question.

Mr Gichoya: It is not a matter of question; it is a matter of fact——

The Assistant Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Oloitipitip): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Member has just alleged that we are confused here in the Government and in the eyes of the public we are nothing. Can he substantiate that we are nothing in the eyes of the public who are our own constituents?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That is a matter of opinion, not substantiation.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before these Members who are now shouting loudly became Members of the Government, I was the first man to be in the Government if there was a Government the moment I was elected. I was elected and opposed. Consequently, I am along with Mzee Kenyatta; we are Members of this House, since we were elected and opposed along with the Member for Embu North, or south.

Mr. Speaker, it is surprising again, when you look at this-Sir, let me make it clear. I am not fighting for my existence. When I came from overseas, I went straight to a political party, Kanu, and became an officer of Kanu, and I was not given even a cent. This is what you ought to know. I went straight from the university to work for Kanu so that Kenyatta could come to power, and he came to power. I did that in good faith, and I am able up to this moment to get employment, which is more than other Members of Parliament. I have the knowledge, I have the brain, I have the ability to do this thing. Quite a number of the people who are saying, "Shame", if they were not in this Parliament I guarantee that they would not have even half of what they are earning today. Consequently, they are not sincere to themselves but to the salaries they get.

Mr. Speaker, the other point I wanted to raise was this. There is protection of freedom of movement. Today, when I came here to make this law, I found a letter from the immigration officer saying that he has been ordered by his Minister—I wonder where that Minister is—to see that I produce my passport within forty-eight hours from today. Is this common sense, if somebody is not devoid of it, to consider that I am here on duty today, and perhaps tomorrow.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Gichoya, this question of passports is not relevant to the Bill.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, I agree with you, but here I might take a decision to resign from a party because my movement is being restricted, and I feel I should not be a Member of it. Consequently, this Bill has some part in this, because it says if you change from this party you are affected by this.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Gichoya. passports, as I see it, have no bearing on this question.

Mr. Gichoya: Freedom of movement, Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! How does this Bill touch freedom of movement? If it does not, you must leave it alone.

Mr. Gichoya: That movement is restricted. I am told that the moment you think of changing a party, you are kicked out of the Parliament by this law.

An hon. Member: No.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Really, you are taking this much too far, are you not? Freedom of movement means freedom of physical movement, wherever a man is ordinarily entitled to move; and movement from party to party, or movement to Parliament when you are no longer a Member of Parliament, is not relevant to the subject.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not have to argue with your ruling, which is very good, but I will say one thing, that the majority view has been misused and history ought to record that. Secondly, the freedom of association has been denied to the people of Kenya, yet you see in Rhodesia that is the problem; in South Africa that is where there is the problem. Gentlemen, let us also examine ourselves and find out whether we really live on what we preach within Kenya and on the international platform. Kenya has a very good reputation outside, as a country which believes in democracy, but—

An hon. Member: Kenya has good laws.

Mr. Gichoya: I am talking about this moment, before this law is passed, but the law is going to be passed and it is going to be passed because Gichoya left Kanu after knowing that Kanu has rotten machinery, instead of being put properly, is again drifting towards rotten goals. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I say this with the full experience of Kanu organization, and not a single former Kadu member can dispute my knowledge, not even a Kanu member, or the secretary-general, can dispute my knowledge of the working of Kanu.

Mr. Speaker, the other thing which is now being spoken of is maintaining the personality cult. Today, everyone is using the name of Kenyatta: Government of Kenyatta, everything of Kenyatta, Kenyatta as the Head of State.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order, is it in order for the Minister for Works and Communications to use words which might irritate me?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I did not hear the words; you had better carry on, Mr. Gichoya. I have complained I think twice of your interruptions, Mr. Mwanyumba. Please control yourself. Remember your office.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, if a Government can be composed of so many irresponsible people, then what do we expect in terms of leadership of the country? People talk of Kenyatta. We agree,

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Kenyatta is a man of integrity, but suppose after Kenyatta retires, what is going to happen? Is the Minister for Power, as he calls himself, who is irresponsible, capable of leading this country? It is today that we have formed an Opposition to provide this country with an alternative programme, alternative leadership for the future. It is democratic, Mr. Speaker, to have an Opposition party, and the head of the Opposition party will one day or the other come into power in order to correct the blunders which the Government of the day is making.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard many people talk of the people who have formed this party as being pro-East, but I have found one thing: that after we have sent students to the Soviet Union. when they return here, only students from certain districts cannot be given employment in the Government of Kenya because they are communists. Yet certain students, their own colleagues, went to the same universities and same institute and when they come back, because they belong to certain districts or certain places, they are given-

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. Murgor): On a point of order, is the subject of students from overseas relevant to this Bill?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No, I think no. It is not relevant. Mr. Gichova.

Mr. Gichoya: At any rate, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are challenging the Government today, that it is not ruling justly, and the best way is that instead of making a law for a few, the Government ought to have the courage in simple things, they should have the morality, and say, "Right, we hear that people are not supporting us. Let all of us go to a general election." I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that more than 90 per cent of the people in this House would never come back.

Mr. Speaker, Sir-

Mr. Somo: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I beg to move now that the Mover be called on to reply.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! On such a serious matter as the amendment of the Constitution, I have to be very slow to allow the closure. I do not think the Opposition have had a full opportunity yet to express their opposition, though they are in danger of repetition of what they say or what others say, and if there is much repetition, then I always think the closure is justified: but as long as the Opposition has anything new to offer, I will let them offer it before allowing the closure, I think.

MOTION

EXEMPTION FROM STANDING ORDERS: Hours of Meeting

The Minister for Economic Planning and **Development** (Mr. Mboya): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, in view of the time factor and since this sitting should end at 6.30, and the Government has already expressed its wish to pursue this debate to finality today. I now wish to move that the business of the Second Reading of the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill be exempt from the provisions of Standing Order 11, Hours of Meeting, so as to enable the House to sit continuously until that business is completed. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister for Education (Mr. Koinange) seconded.

(Question proposed)

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, there is something suspicious somewhere and really the people of this country must be suspicious. What is it that this-I think he should be called the Leader of Government Business in this House or the Government spokesman or Kanu spokesmanwhy is it that he wants this to be finished today? Why is it so? Why is it that he does not want us to debate this at the normal time? It was he, Mr. Speaker, just now who was saying that 2.30 was daylight. Why is it now that he wants us to continue into the darkness? Why can he not wait, why can he not leave us to discuss it tomorrow? Is the intention, Mr. Speaker, to keep the Members of the Opposition here for a long time. since they are few, because the Government has very many Members and some of them can go and sleep, then they wake up and come back; some can remain here. But we, the Members of the Opposition, who are today few in this House and who are going to be the majority very soon— Is it not being unfair? What would be wrong if we discussed this tomorrow morning? What is wrong with that?

Mr. Speaker, I know that very many Members of the Government do not genuinely agree with this Bill and for that reason they do not want to say anything about it. They find themselves in a very difficult situation, so they want to keep quiet. But then, if this is genuinely true, why do they not allow the Members of the Opposition to have a proper opportunity, not run us into the night, because we have had it twice, Mr. Speaker, when this House was allowed to sit up to midnight. What happened? The first time, I think it was the hon. Member for Meru-I do not want to upset him- He came here under the influence of drink and he spoke and he did not even know what he was talking about until the

situation was becoming intolerable, the House was closed. The other day the two Ministers, when we were discussing the Motion of confidence in the Government, the hon. Gichuru and hon. Mwendwa, were so drunk that when they were speaking you could see that they were drunk——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! No, you must not say things like that, Mr. Anyieni. You are entitled to comment on the fact that an hon. Member has been ordered out of this Chamber for improper conduct, but you are not entitled to allege that Members have been drunk on particular occasions.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I withdraw and say that if the House continues to twelve midnight or later, we are going to have so many Members here drunk and they will not this serious matter as seriously as that. For that reason, I would suggest to the hon. Members, and particularly the spokesman of the Government, that we should continue with this matter tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

With those few words, I beg to oppose.

The Assistant Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Oloitipitip): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the Motion as moved by the hon. Mover. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the point is this. We have been elected by our own people to represent their interests here and we have volunteered, and we promised our people that we are going to labour for their welfare. Therefore, it does not matter whether we are going to stay in this House up to tomorrow morning, provided we are labouring for the welfare of our own people.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I see no reason why the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi should fear sitting in this House. He has been elected to sit in this House and the country is interested to hear what his arguments are. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the point is this. Anybody might think that our Kenya land is as it was before. But we people are worried at heart. Kenya's land is not as it was and we want to correct it here tonight. We want to prove to the Opposition party that they are guilty and we are not going to allow such a situation to continue, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very anxious to speak tonight on this Motion, but I am told that I should sit. But, Mr. Speaker, I would like to put it to the Members that it is high time that we should correct those people who think that they are right, when we know that they are not.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! Let us keep to the point of the Motion.

Mr. Kase: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, since this Motion is procedural and so straightforward, may I move that the question be now put?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I will put the question.

(Question, that the question be now put, put and agreed to)

(Question put and agreed to)

BILL

Second Reading

CONSTITUTION OF KENYA (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL

(Resumption of debate)

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Gichoya, you were speaking.

Mr. Gichoya: I was speaking, Mr. Speaker, but then there was the interruption. At any rate, I will develop new points.

Mr. Speaker, we have been told here that the intention of this Bill is to allow our electors to go to the polls and tell the Government that they still have confidence in us. One thing which surprises me here, Mr. Speaker, is this. The assumption which the Government is making is that every member of our own society, every citizen in Kenya is a member of Kanu, but I say, with all sincerity, that even when we had Kanu and Kadu, in Kanu potential zones not every member was Kanu.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me teach this fool Minister who cannot understand things. Now, here we have civil servants and they are not entitled to membership of any political party unless that rule of conduct has been changed.

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) left the Chair]
[The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza) took
the Chair]

I still maintain that civil servants are not members of any political party—

The Minister for Works, Communications and Power (Mr. Mwanyumba): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is it in order for the hon. Member to refer to a Minister as "this full Minister"? I do not know what he means by that.

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): No, it is not in order. I am sorry, I did not quite hear what you said. If you said "full Minister", I think the word is a bit redundant. If you say Minister, I think it is quite sufficient, there is no need——

Mr. Gichoya: Because we have Assistant Ministers—

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): No, no. I think you must refer to them as their titles demand.

Mr. Gichova: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I must say this, that we have been elected not by the party only, although we obtained the support of the party, before we stood but, whether the support was there from the party or not, quite a number of people are largely voted in by nonmembers of any political party in this country. I have been an executive member of the party in a district and I know that it has been very, very difficult to recruit a sufficient number of members to out-number the opponents in the Civil Service. In other words just simple civil servants who are not allowed to be in a political party, they more or less out-numbered members of political parties. Yet I am told that you must go and seek the support of that group of people, the party officials, the small committee members, and after that you have got a chance, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am challenging what one Member said here, that they have been receiving representations, representations, who are they to receive representations from my own constituents? Who are they to receive complaints from my own people? They could only receive complaints that in our own area Gichugu we want the right of our people to be preserved by the Government. That representation, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, will be going straight to the President himself. His Excellency. the President, sees that Mwea Tebere is our own property, and does not give it to other people because they are in power. Should he do so we are going to fight you. These things are possible, Mr. Deputy Speaker, as a part of representation. and even our Ministry officials, Kirinyaga people, and Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir-

The Assistant Minister for Home Affairs (Mr. Nyagah): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, can the hon. Member speaking substantiate that Mwea belongs to the Kirinyaga people alone?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): I do not know if that can be substantiated, that is an opinion.

An hon. Member: Is it the property of the Gichugu people?

An hon. Member: Gichugu Ndia.

An hon. Member: I do not want you talking.

An hon. Member: Shut up.

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): Order! Order! Carry on.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir,

The Assistant Minister for Home Affairs (Mr. Nyagah): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, this question of Mwea Tebere belonging to Gichugu or Ndia or Embu, is it relevant to the substance of the debate?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): No, I can say that except I was listening also, I think he was giving this as an example of representations being made to a Member of Parliament. I am not quite sure how it all comes in but I am afraid I have not got the full trend of this debate, I am sure I am getting it now.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Deputy Speaker, what I was trying to explain to the hon. House is that representations by people from Gichugu, to come to Nairobi and say Gichoya has resigned from us, we do not want him. This representation can never be. The maximum my people can do is to come and tell the Government look here is our problem, and I cited Mwea Tebere as an example. There was nothing more than that, and if the Assistant Minister for Home Affairs who has prevented our people from having a right to their own titles, should bear in mind. I said you come when you will have it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would request this House to note very carefully that security of individuals must be respected whether we are in this House or outside. The hon. Member for Kilifi South did point out here that he is very happy that this law is coming to tell those people who oppose the Government to go back to their own constituents. Did he seek the merit of these people to change from Kadu or Kanu? If he says so, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I say with honesty of mind it was a telephone call from this place to his own area by hon. Masinde Muliro who called him to immediately to come and dissolve this party, we are losing the members, because I did do my best to disorganize Kadu yet he comes and tells us here that he went to Kilifi and told them I am leaving Kadu and joining Kanu. The hon. Member for Butere who was Secretary-General of Kadu did make it clear here, that these people never had the guts, the very simple human conception of respectability to sit together and decide in the National Executive Committee to dissolve this party. What they were, were mere good opportunists, aiming at getting portfolios and positions, and today, Mr. Deputy Speaker, they solve this problem when within a few days time you find among these very people fighting for Vice-President of the Republic of Kenya. I must be made the Minister for Information, the other one I must be in the office of the Vice-President as his Assistant Minister. These

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things are obvious that if people are really jealous if the Government is jealous, it would have put in this particular clause that instead of telling a few people to do so, every constituency, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, should have the right to recall a Member, and then we could have another arrangement whereby the method of recalling the Member should be stipulated in the Constitution. This thing not being there, I say we are making a Constitution to make it possible for our friends to rule the country. But you rule it wrongly, and even when it is wrongly run this country of ours, one day you will repent and ask yourselves as human beings. It so happens, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, that the best Government in the whole of Africa was in Nigeria, where there was democracy in its finest form, so far as Africans were able to make it. That is what we used to be told, and today it is in Nigeria where we had the sorrowful story, which I would never again like to see happen anywhere. Whereby the powerful leader of that country, Sir Haji Abubaker Tafawa Balewa was not even buried with dignity, in his own country, it was a new change. Perhaps a change for the worse or for that matter, for the better. I would like here, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, people to use a ballot paper and change this machinery, but if a rule is made in this form whereby you make a law to suit yourself. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, what would prevent me from keeping quiet as we did during the Mau Mau period, and we told the British—gentlemen, we are human beings.

With these few words, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir— Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish these people with authority, Dr. Kiano has sent him, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, from Kikuku club here with our own money to go to the United States of America for education. Could he deny that, Mr. Deputy Speaker? After we have already done this. Mr. Deputy Speaker, he comes here and says he is so well educated but all the time, Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have better educated people in our own families than himself.

The Minister for Labour (Dr. Kiano): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, what has the United States to do with this young man, because he was not even grown up when I went to America?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): Order! Order! I am dealing with one point at a time. I think I told him, Dr. Kiano, that he was out of order, and I think you should restrict yourself to the Bill now.

Mr. Oduya: On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is the hon. Minister for Labour, a wellknown character who denounced Mzee Kenyatta before in order to call the hon. Member for Gichugu—this young man? When he denounced Mzee Kenvatta?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): Order! He is not in order, but carry on.

Mr. Gichoya: It is good that history is being reviewed bit by bit, and I believe it will not be very long before the whole history of Kenya is properly known. But how will it be known, Mr. Deputy Speaker, if by legislation, by law, every person who can make that history, is bottled up nicely, I say if you bottle me up today, put me in a bottle, but I keep quiet as a human being, I am bound to say well these chains are not as tough as you think, and I will unchain myself, and in the process of doing so I will hurt your conscience. or your pride. I would not like that to happen, Mr. Deputy Speaker. What I am trying to say is this can we make this law? I appeal to this hon. group of members of Kanu that the laws should be expanded in order to include, or for every Member of Parliament to be able to be recalled to his own constituents, but not when you think it suits you, you make a law for that particular section.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is one point which I must make quite clear. I am very bitter on this amendment and here I must make it clear that I am coming back after I have been back for the elections. I can guarantee that people like Dr. Kiano have no place in their own areas. A person like that has no place under the sun in his own area. Onamu has no place under the sun. No matter—

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): Mr. Gichoya, you must refer to these Members as hon. Members; hon. Dr. Kiano and hon. Onamu.

Mr. Gichoya: Thank you, Sir. These hon. Members although they are very proud today will be the saddest characters in 1968 unless they float our Constitution once more.

With these few remarks, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I want to say that I am ready to serve my own people of Kirinyaga, my own people of Kenya, either in this Parliament, as I have done in the past, or outside the Parliament as an officer of the party, if the Government does not take a cowardly act of refusing to register the KPU. If the Government is genuine in its pronouncing of a democracy, then let us have that particular party registered and given equal opportunities along with Kanu and then let us see who is coming here in 1968, a Kanu Government or a KPU Government.

With these few words, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I denounce this arrangement that it be made into law by this House; that we make laws for

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a few and protect ourselves. This Parliament is unique in the history of Africa.

With these few words, I pray to God that wisdom will be given to these people to see the right way of ruling the country.

The Assistant Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Oloitipitip): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir-

Mr. Oduya: On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am sorry to raise a question again like the other one—perhaps you were not in but, Sir, are not the Members of the Opposition those which are directly affected, but it seems that the Members of the Government are taking precedence over the Members of the Opposition all the time, and I was wondering whether this Bill is intended for the Members of Government or the Members of the Opposition, because we are the people-

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): I seem to remember you made that point earlier and the Speaker ruled on that, and you are not allowed to make the same point again. I do not propose to give a ruling on that.

The Assistant Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Oloitipitip): Mr. Speaker, I think next time you will allow the hon. Member for Teso to speak as he wishes, but, Sir, we must have our opportunity as well from the Government side. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we cannot sit back, when the Government is being challenged by the Opposition and listen and not reply to them. If the country is interested in hearing what the Opposition has to say, it is also interested in hearing what the Government has to say. Therefore, Sir, it must be equal. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think that it should be you that has the final ruling, one speaker from the Government side and one Member from that side, until we have all finished what we wanted to say.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am going to be very brief on this Bill. Firstly, Sir, we are told that by making mistakes we learn our lesson, and therefore they are the best teachers, and I learn from the speeches of the hon. Members of the Opposition that they now appear to think that they have made a very big mistake and have realized it. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is not bad, if they see that they have made a mistake, to repent, because the hon. Member who has just sat down appears, although he speaks very strongly, to be repenting the mistake which he has made. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this Bill is very straightforward. There is no point in us arguing in this House and wasting the taxpayers'

money. The thing is this, Mr. Deputy Speaker. Sir, in my case, I had to go to see my people in every corner of Masailand and ask them to vote for me. That is why I came to this Parliament. I must admit that I came here on a Kadu ticket, but I have not let them down because the day I crossed the Floor, I went back to the people, called a conference, and I formed the unity in this country for which you people were crying. When the Masai came here they gave me the mandate to come into Kanu and there was unity in the country. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am historical. Nobody can denounce that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I therefore do not see why there is any reason for such strong opposition if anybody is told to go back to their constituency. The Member for Kandara, for example, said that they differ from the Government because the Government has failed to deliver the goods to the people, all well and good. That might be true, but on the other hand, it might not be true. But, Sir, the thing is this, the Member for Kandara is not the judge. Who is the judge? The Member for Majoge-Bassi is not the judge. The judge, Mr. Deputy Speaker. is that masses of people who have been denied their right. The judge, Sir, is that mass of people who, we are told in this House, are suffering. The judge is that mass of people who, we are told in this House, are jobless. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we still doubt, and the Kenya Government want to testify, whether the very nation is a genuine one, or whether it was your own cause, therefore, Sir, I see no reason why, if I know that the people of Kajiado do support me very strongly, I should not go to them and tell them that I differ with the Government because of this and that, I mention the points to them, and if they follow me, then all well and good, I will come back to this Parliament with the right election; that of the people. But, Sir, if the Members who have just resigned from Kanu tell us that we should all resign, why should we resign? We think that the Government is doing all it can to support the people in the country, therefore why should we resign, it is you who should resign? You are the ones that have seen that the Government is sinful and should go back and tell the people that the Government is sinful and that way you get the support of your own people.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, two birds from one tree cannot fly at once. It is impossible, one flies away and then another, but you cannot see them all flying together.

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): Address the Chair.

The Assistant Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Oloitipitip): You have to go back to the people and tell them that you have done this for their sake, and you get the mandate from the people, then you will come back.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I therefore feel very strongly if such a spokesman in this House thinks that he is to represent the interests of the people in this House and outside, then I see no reason why he should not go back to his people and seek fresh mandate from them, therefore when he comes back to this House we will recognize him and that he has the people of Majoge-Bassi behind him. We do not know, Sir, if this resignation of the Members is a true resignation. We will know when you go back to the masses and return to the House, then we will know that that constituency is fully KPU, but today you say that you have resigned from Kanu, and then there is another group of people who comes to the Government and says that it is Mr. Anyieni, or that it is the Member for Teso, but we are not a party to that.

[The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza) left the Chair]

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) resumed the Chair]

This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is what the Government wants to correct. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are not going to allow our country to get a very bad name, as it is getting today. We believe, the Government believes very strongly, that the step which the Opposition Members have taken is their own step and not that of the public. So, Sir, why should they fear 40 go back to their people and seek a fresh mandate from their own people? Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think that if anybody comes and says, "The Government is cowardly, because it does not want to dissolve Parliament." I think, Sir, that it is them who are cowardly because they do not want to go back to their own people.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I thought I saw Mr. Kodhek put a stick on the back bench there, will you please give it to the Serjeant-at-Arms, Mr. Kodhek? Mr. Arwings-Kodhek, did I not see you bring in a stick and put it in the back bench? If so, please give it to the Serjeant-at-Arms.

The Assistant Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Oloitipitip): Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the point is this. The step which these hon. Members have taken is very grave. Let us test it and see whether it is a genuine step and we can only do that if the Members go back to their respective constituencies and seek fresh mandate, that is all. We want you in this

Parliament to come and oppose the Parliament if you can, but we want you with the fresh mandate of your own people, that is all.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, with these few remarks, and feeling very strongly that the Bill should be passed in this House and by-elections take place and then the Members come back to the House as a true opposition. Mr. Speaker, Sir, when we were in the Kadu Party we were then the opposition party, and we had to seek a fresh mandate from our people. We had the Kadu Manifesto and the people believed in that manifesto. Kadu people believed in that manifesto. Kadu people believed in that Manifesto. Now, Sir—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Remember to address the Chair, please, Mr. Oloitipitip.

The Assistant Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Oloitipitip): Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am going to be very brief on this. I feel that the Bill is very straightforward and therefore see no reason why we should waste more time and money.

Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Now, I think I must warn hon. Members that we are getting a great deal of repetition on both sides. I shall allow the closure, unless from now on, we have purely new material.

Mr. Anvieni: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I will not take up as much time as I wanted to do before because a lot of things have been said by my friends, which I wanted to say. We are told, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that we stood on a policy, leadership and manifesto which we have now abrogated. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would not like to speak for myself personally, that I can do in about one minute, and then sit down, but I do not think that that should the subject of our debate here. However, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are told that we stood for Kanu and now we have refused Kanu we are going somewhere else. I would like to make it very clear that we have left Kanu because we believe that Kanu has now ceased to be that democratic party which we believed it was before. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you will allow me to speak.

The Assistant Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development (Mr. Oloitipitip): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is that not repetition?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): It is, but it is such a very important point of the Opposition, that I think we must allow Mr. Anyieni to state it briefly and very clearly again, not over-labouring, but you must make it very clear.

Mr. Anyieni: I do not normally repeat myself, generally my head is very clear. I will be very clear. We are leaving Kanu and as a result of our leaving Kanu there is a Bill today to get us removed from this Parliament. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it would be important for me not to dwell on that for a long time but to mention a few things about what has happened in Kanu, in short, and why we have decided to leave.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, how could I stay in Kanu when my hon. friend knows himself, made directions that a coup d'etat should be staged in Kisii District to take over the leadership of Kanu? While we are quarrelling over this and disagreeing with it, another meeting was called in Nairobi and elections took place. This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is a well-known fact. Fifty-two Members signed a document asking the President to postpone the meeting, but, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President said that he agreed with the majority. I agree that he agreed with the majority.

I agree that I agreed with the majority, but to be President must be a wonderful responsibility. We cannot blame him for this. He came out and inherited a very unfortunate situation. He found that people were divided up. In Kanu, we were divided: there were some to the right, there were some to the left. In Kadu, there was also division, but through the work of Mzee Kenyatta, all these people were brought together. When they were alone, they differed, and it is him and him only who could bring them together.

Mr. Speaker, today we have decided that we must go to another party. It is unfortunate that going to another party means opposing Mzee Kenyatta, because it is the last thing I ever thought in my life I would do. But I am forced to do it because of some of the things which are happening. Unfortunately, the advisers are misadvising him and the Government of Kenya, and even the Government says, it is not as clean as it used to be before.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we who have decided to go to the Opposition, have been told that we should go back to seek the mandate of our people. Mr. Speaker, suppose that the Members who have crossed the Floor are re-elected to this House? Of what benefit will it be to the country? Will the Government then change their policy and follow the policy of those few? Will the ten or twenty Members who may come back have any influence on 150 Members? I think it would not be for personal glory and it would not be in the interests of our people. When we have all the time said we should go back to the country in order to fight an election, we did not say that Anyieni should go back to the country. The hon. Minister did say that we have been saying that Government should resign, that we do not resign. We were also Government. When we said we should resign, we said that the House should be dissolved, and the first information I received—which was very wrong—was from the Kanu Parliamentary Group and that was that now the President had agreed to dissolve the House, so that we would go for elections. I shouted at the top of my voice, only to be told a few minutes later that it is not everybody who is going, it is only me and Mr. X. I was very disappointed. It is not that I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, because if we were all going, I was going to face my opponents. My opponents were going still to be there, they were not going to go to another constituency to fight the election, they were going to be still in my constituency. But I will have said, even if I do not win-me as Anvieni-maybe we shall have new people with a new policy which may serve even Anvieni who may not be a Member of Parliament. I was not talking of my own personal interest. When we say that we want to go back to the country, it is not that anybody is sure that he is going to be back, because in elections you can never be sure, because people have lost elections whom everybody thought were popular, and they have perhaps lost to a person who has never been known by anybody. So, when we said, "Let us go back", it was not that we wanted to show our glory, it was that we felt that the majority of the Members of Parliament were no more original.

We know, for example, Mr. Speaker, that the reason why this Bill has been introduced is because of one statement which was made by a Kenya People's Union leader. He said, "Now we have about thirty-two Members who have crossed, but there are thirty-eight more coming." When the Government heard this, the Government said that two plus thirty-eight is going to be dangerous: "We must now sit down", because some people never believed that we would cross over. So the Government said, "We are going to be in fire, now we have to do something." I think Mzee Kenyatta would be elected even in Majoge-Bassi if he wanted to fight the election. With all due respect, let nobody think that because we are Members of the Opposition we do not recognize Mzee Kenyatta, because that is a very serious mistake. He is the President of the Government. What are you talking about? Mr. Speaker, we disagree with the policies. We can recognize somebody, but not necessarily agree with him.

Mr. Speaker, now, when they went to the Parliamentary group meeting, what happened? Mzee said, "We want to go for election." The

Members said, "No, no, no, Mzee, we cannot go to election, we have taken loans from U.D.C. and we have not paid them back. Now, how can you ask us to go back for election?" Then Mzee said, "What shall we do? These people are challenging us every day. The Kanu spokesman has spoken, but we have sent out our own men and they tell us the masses are very dissatisfied?" The Members said, "No, no, Mr. President, it is good enough for them to go, it is not good enough for us also to go." Why did they say it is not good enough—

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I hate to intervene, but is the Member now reporting statements from Members, or is he imagining what Members are supposed to have said, because if he is reporting what Members are supposed to have said, then we would like it substantiated, but if he is imagining, then I think he should say so?

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, you know very well that it is very difficult to have 130 people meeting and all of them agree with you; some of them do not agree and so they can—but then, let us say that I am imagining so that you do not have to ask me because, Mr. Speaker, nobody wants to disclose the source of his information, otherwise he will never receive such information again.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is the Member saying he is imagining or is he making a defence, because he is now saying he cannot disclose the source of his information? Either he is imagining or he is making a statement of fact, and if it is a statement of fact, we want substantiation. If he is imagining, he must say so without this qualification.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think he is imagining. But let us have it clear, Mr. Anyieni.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I think that what I am saying is really logical to this Bill. Because of this, Mr. Speaker, the fact is that all those people who went to *Harambee* House are not going to face election. It is only we, the people who were not there—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! Mr. Mboya has raised a point which I was about to raise myself. I am sure that what you are saying is your conjecture or deduction from what has happened as to why it has happened, not based on clear fact. It is all right, only you acknowledge that and then we go on.

Mr. Anyieni: That would still be good enough, Mr. Speaker.

Now, Mr. Speaker, they said, "But how are we going to draft this Bill? If you go on drafting it so that Members who cross must go to the electorate, then Moi has to resign from the Ministry of Home Affairs, and I have to go back. Now, Mr. President, I would not like this." Ngala then said, "I will have to resign from this and that——"

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, we are now told that Mr. Ngala said something, and Mr. Moi said something. Originally, we were told it was just imagination and conjecture. I think the House needs to be quite sure what exactly Mr. Anyieni is talking about.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Oh, no, quite clearly we are still in the land of imagination!

Mr. Anyieni: I hope, Mr. Speaker, that my imagination has not carried me too far from what is going on. I think my imagination is still limiting me to what is going on now.

Mr. Speaker-

Mr. Ngala: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, since this is just imagination, is it in order that it should be on record in the Hansard, because anybody can go and dream.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Oh, yes. As long as it is on record as imagination, it is quite all right.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, so I need to be short, I do not want to dwell on that.

They agreed that what we must do now is to ask those Members who have crossed to the Opposition to go to the elections. Then they said, "No, no, no, we have left a loophole. If we do not say that those who were also in Kadu will also have to face the election, then some of them are going still to remain in Parliament. What we really want is a clean sweep of them out of Parliament." So, for that reason, we had a Bill given to us yesterday and we had another one given to us this morning. Mr. Speaker, the point I want to prove is that this Bill, at least for the time being, is being created for us, the Opposition. But I am glad, Mr. Speaker, that this Bill will continue to be there in the future.

As far as the future is concerned, I do not really think that it is very bad, because it should be able to safeguard the party, and so on. But, Mr. Speaker, why is it being created for us? Not only that, but if it was created so that it would take effect from the Kadu time to this time, I would not have minded even; I would not have complained, Mr. Speaker. But now it surprises me that even members of Kadu——I remember one time hon. Ngala telling the hon. Oloitipitip

that he was crossing with his trousers and not with his people. I remember hon. Ngala telling the hon. Oloitipitip——

The Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Mr. Onamu): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, since the Opposition now seem to be dwelling on imagination and other things, may I ask that the Mover be called upon to reply?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No, not quite yet. Mr. Anyieni is being fairly original in a lot of what he is saying and not irrelevant. Only we are just coming on to repetition now, Mr. Anyieni; this point of the Bill not applying to Kadu has been made many times, so do not dwell long on that.

Mr. Anyieni: I think, Mr. Speaker, that it is correct, what I have just said, as an example which nobody else had given before.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the Government this. Suppose we are returned? It will prove that what we are saying is correct, that what we are saying is completely correct, and what they are saying is wrong. Would the Members of the Government then also resign and go for election, or would they just sit here and say they are right? Mr. Speaker, on the question of Members resigning, if the Members of the Government resign today, is there a guarantee that all of them will come back? If some of the Members of the Opposition lose, will that demonstrate that all of them are wrong? No. It has been alleged here, Mr. Speaker, that some of the Members of the Opposition sit in Nairobi all the time, they never go home. Is that typical of the Members of the Opposition only, or is it also typical of the Members of the Government?

If these friends of ours are genuine—this Bill is being introduced today, but it will not become law maybe until tomorrow or the day after-this Bill is going to disqualify those who have maintained themselves in the Opposition, but it is a well-known fact that some Members also did resign from Kanu and joined the Opposition, but when they saw this Bill they said, "No, no election", and they went back. Is the Bill going to apply to them? Does it mean, Mr. Speaker, that if now I decide that I am not going to go back to the election, I now have the mandate of my people again? It does not. As a man, I am prepared, within the legal quarters, to face my constituents and I would like to say this, Mr. Speaker. One Member said—and I think it is proper-Mzee Kenyatta has been a politician and the leader of the people for a long time, but I think he has been in Parliament for a very short

time. Even the hon. T. J. Mboya has been here longer than Mzee Kenyatta. So politics does not mean only being in Parliament. It may be I will serve my people more if, for some reason or other, I am defeated and I go home. Maybe I could have more time to stay in my constituency instead of coming to Nairobi and serve these people.

An hon. Member: It will not be your constituency.

Mr. Anyieni: It could be mine.

Mr. Speaker, what I am saying is that this has been a very cowardly act, a very, very cowardly act. We have been told that we are going to be removed from here, then we shall be followed up to our constituency. Of course, we knew that; of course, we knew that before you told us, and of course we know that is the reason why they want us to resign. So that they will go to Majoge-Bassi, to the people who do not have even one man in the Civil Service, and they have a lot of educated people. I have introduced very many of them to the Government, but the Government has seen fit not to do anything. These people are going to come there with American dollars, very many of them with very sweet words; they are going to take the votes of Majoge-Bassi and then they will come back to Nairobi and forget about the people of Majoge-Bassi. It is what they did last time. The hon. T. J. Mboya came to my constituency when we were fighting the election. He was fighting for Kanu; I was fighting as Anyieni. He told my people a lot of sweet words. From that time until now, my dear friend has never bothered to come to my constituency.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): You have not invited me.

Mr. Anyieni: Now, am I going to invite him next time? No. He is going to come.

So, Mr. Speaker, I think that it is unfair for the Government to introduce a Motion of this type. They are talking, Mr. Speaker, of protecting the people of Majoge-Bassi. Now, Mr. Speaker, if these people were protecting the people of Majoge-Bassi, why did they not do it the way the hon. Oloitipitip did and the hon. Ngala and the hon. Shikuku? They went to their constituencies and consulted. What might have been proper was for even Government to convene a meeting in the centre of my constituency, and then speak to the people and I also speak to the people, and they see all the people do not want me, the people say, "Anyieni resign", and Anyieni

refuses. They say. "No, no, no, now we have to pass a Bill because this man can't even listen." But then the hon. Members who are trying to band together in order to get rid of Anyieni are not bothered about that, all they want is to pass a Bill. If they are protecting my constituents, is it not the reason why, Mr. Speaker, there is a limited period?

If there was the question of permanency, then it would be different. This is why, Mr. Speaker, even the person who thought of Parliament also knew that the person could go in and forget his people, so we must limit the period to a number of years. If a Member has been misbehaving, after five years he will go into oblivion. He will never be seen again, automatically. But, Mr. Speaker, my constituency has not discharged me from Parliament. I went home, I knew this was going to happen, and I asked them and they said, "But we thought it was we who were going to discharge you. Why are you going to be discharged again?"

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not think that this is intended to protect the masses. I think this is intended to penalize those who do not agree with the Government. There are a lot of accusations which have been made—that we are self-seekers, we are this and that—but I want to make it very clear, Mr. Speaker, that crossing from the Opposition to go to the Government is a very good thing, it is a very sweet thing. Why is it sweet? Because, as a result, the hon Mr. Moi becomes a Minister; as a result, the hon. Mr. Ngala becomes chairman of a board; as a result, the hon. Mr. Muliro becomes chairman of a board; as a result, so many friends get employed. By so crossing to the Opposition—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): We have had that point before, Mr. Anyieni.

Mr. Anyieni: By so crossing to the Opposition—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I said we have had this point before. We must not have any more repetition.

Mr. Anyieni: All right, Mr. Speaker. But of course, I am only suffering and nothing more.

The hon. Mover did say that a Member of Parliament is not----

Mr. Mate: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi better than the Member for Meru Central?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I think you must leave the Chamber, Mr. Mate. Will you leave the Chamber, please.

(Mr. Mate withdrew from the Chamber)

'Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, I wanted to make one point. The hon. Mover did say that a Member of Parliament was not a delegate; he was a representative and a leader. Mr. Speaker, the hon. Mover of this Motion did say that a Member of Parliament was not a delegate, he was a representative of the people and a leader of the people. But what is being done to us now, Mr. Speaker, is that we are being treated exactly like our representatives in the United Nations would have been treated, not by the rightful employers, but by our own colleagues. If our ambassador in Washington or Cairo did something that the Government did not like, they would immediately withdraw him or discharge him. Now, if I do something wrong, is it for my other colleagues to make a special rule to remove me from Parliament? Is it not the responsibility of my constituency to remove me, and what difference does it make between now and 1968, for if I have misbehaved I will be removed? The only reason I know why this is not wanted is because, after we formed the Kenya People's Union, it was known that the Kenya People's Union was going to be so popular that, with even ten or twenty Members here, the Kenya People's Union will have a voice here and outside and very many of our friends feared that the Kenya People's Union may win. For that reason KPU is being put to unnecessary expense, before they have organized themselves, so that we can be nipped in the bud. From the moment we have just started something, they want to nip us, but I want to assure my hon. friends that today, I know very, very well that very many of the Members of Parliament on the Government side are not genuinely agreeing with the Government policy. What can these poor people do? Who wants to fight an election? Even my blood runs cold, when I hear of an election because I know what it means to fight an election. I have lost one and I have won one. I know elections, even the Ministers know elections. We wish that there were no elections in this world. All politicians wish that there were no elections. I am not accusing the Government of this; it is typical of everyone. For that reason, I would like to say that the Members of the Government have been very, very selfish. They have been very selfish in that they have decided to ask us to go to the country and they themselves have thought fit to stay here. Why do they not also go out and tell the people that they have done this and that for them, and for that reason they would like the people to give them a mandate? No, they do not want that, they want a few people to go and seek a mandate. The mandate just to serve a few individuals.

With those few remarks, I would like to say, Mr. Speaker, that this may be my last day to speak for a long time. I hear, Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether I should say this, if I am out of order, you will tell me, I hear that what is intended is that we should be kicked out, then a strict check will be made on us, and a little mistake will be found, and then some of us should be arrested and locked up so that when the byelection wer are asked to fight, will find us in detention. If this became—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! It would be in order for you to say that you fear that, Mr. Anyieni, but not that you hear it without fairly strong substantiation. Perhaps you would like to change it to "you fear".

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, you see it is all fundamental, I have done this deliberately so that the Government speaker may say that it is not true.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Oh, no. Order! No, you cannot make allegations and then wait for other Members to disprove them. You know that rule. Serious allegations, and this is one, have to be substantiated, or withdrawn or changed to your personal fear. Which would be in order.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, if I may call it my personal fear. I have the fear that when the Government has decided that we should go away from Parliament, and in view of the fact that they have just withdrawn our passports, I fear, Mr. Speaker, that it is the intention to have us detained, and I want to assure the Government in this House, that for conviction one is willing even to go to detention, and even to die. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that there is one thing which was said by the hon. T. J. Mboya, by saying a Member who came in with the support—now, Mr. Speaker, this one, I would like to make it very clear that if there is a person who came in as an independent, it was the very Mr. T. J. Mboya who came to my constituency and told people that there was no point in anybody saying that I was Kanu when I had refused to recognize the Kanu candidate when I was fighting Kanu. He said it very clearly, and my people understood it and agreed with him, but they said that despite that, I was the man they were going to elect. It was my choice to come to Kanu and for that reason, now nobody should say Kanu Independent, it is not incorporated in the Kanu constitution. It is not said that in an election you can have Kanu Independent. I have regretted I refused Kanu, I fought Kanu, a lot of money was sent there, poor man I walked on foot, and my people said, "No Anyieni, no Parliament", and they brought me here. For me to go and tell them now "oh, you know, I went and joined Kanu, and it is for this reason I am being discharged from there." I think it is not very fair. I think the hon. Mover just mentioned that to make sure that I was covered. He made it very clear that it was the Speaker who was going to decide, and not the court.

The question we would like to ask, Mr. Speaker, is the interpretation and implementation of that particular clause which affects a person who stood against Kanu, who is going to implement, if the matter is taken to court, is the Government going to accuse, sentence and hang somebody, and then while the case is continuing, or is a Member going to be allowed to continue to be a Member of Parliament until the court which interprets this law has said now, according to that you have to go to the masses? Now I want to assure my hon. friend that even if I am allowed I think it might be wrong for me to continue as a Member of Parliament at this stage, because it would be shame for my other colleagues whom I have been telling that they just involve me, let me go and sit behind and say, "No, I am not going." I think I would be prepared, but the court of law should, if we believe that Kenya has got an independent judiciary, I think the court of law should take its own course.

With those few words I wish to oppose, and wish to tell my Members that what they have done today, God help them to live to see the day when they will regret having created this law. With those few words I wish to oppose.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will try as much as possible to cover new ground, but it should be borne in mind that it is very difficult after several speakers have spoken not to repeat certain things.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Then I have to accede to the closure, you see. I have already refused it twice.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, I will try as much as possible not to repeat myself.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity which you have given me in this House to give my maiden speech, because when we were elected about three years ago, I have been more or less answering questions, taking part in Government debates, and informing the people, both misinforming and informing the people on behalf of the Kenya Government. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say this, that this Bill which we are discussing tonight is both unfortunate and uncalled for. Why? Because the Bill has been introduced with the intention of threatening the people of Kenya. Why do I say the people of Kenya? Because the

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hon. Members in this House do represent the people of Kenya and when it was learned that probably more Members would be crossing to join the new party, the Government automatically decided to take action. It is, in fact, intimidation. It is intimidation, because many Members, and many people, who have decided on their own choice have been threatened, and although they are in the Government, and this is very unfair, although they are in the Government, some of them are not really with the Government, and these, of course, have been informed, that some of the Members can come and criticize some of the aspects of this particular Bill, but not to oppose it—

The Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Mr. Onamu): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, with all due respect to my ex-Minister, is he not repeating himself now? Therefore, I ask that the Mover be called upon to reply.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I am very loath to allow the closure so long as there is need for the Opposition to have opportunity of saying something new, but it is quite true what Mr. Onamu said that, so far, every word of what Mr. Oneko said is repetition of what has already been said by other Members of the Opposition.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think I must give him one more chance. But if hon. Members detect any repetition, they must say so.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: I thought the hon. Mem-

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if one hon. Member stood up, for example, the hon. Mr. Oneko, stood up and repeated himself, would it not be fair, instead of calling on the Mover to reply, to call for another Member who may have new material?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No. The party, whether Opposition or Government, must so organize themselves that they do not destroy their case by repetition.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was not my intention to repeat anything, I was trying to advance some arguments as I had arranged them. I was just trying to skip some of the remarks which have already been made, but, Sir, I thought the hon. Member for Nakuru West would have waited until I had already made some points.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have been told about this Bill, that it is the intention of Kanu and the Kanu Government to see that all of us quit our positions in the House. Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel that this is a very unfair thing. It is quite

unfair for one to make laws themselves against those who disagree with them. Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir——

Mr. Kibuga: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Member not repeating what has already been said by other hon. Members?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I am very sorry, Mr. Oneko, but the fact is that you are still saying what more than one Member of the Opposition has said. I cannot resist the closure any longer, when that is all that the Opposition still has to say. I must allow the House to consider this now.

(Question, that the Mover be called upon to reply, put and agreed to)

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I sat and listened with a great deal of interest to the points made by the various speakers from the Opposition, and, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think one credit that both the Opposition and this country, and, in fact, every democracy-loving person in the world, must give to the Kenya Government is its concern with the preservation of democracy itself. Here this afternoon, we have been able to demonstrate a very important, in fact, a basic and fundamental rule that must govern our society in future, and that is tolerance and patience to listen to people with whom we may disagree, however small their numbers may be. Mr. Speaker, the hon. Member for Teso has achieved only one thing so far, that is going round and round in circles and not knowing where he is going.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the position remains that the policies of the Government, and the attitude of the Government, in defending the rights of the Opposition, the rights of minorities, the freedom entrenched in the Constitution have been upheld. I listened to some Members of the Opposition talking generally about these measures being an attack, or encroachment, upon certain freedom. They mentioned freedom of association, freedom of speech and so on, but they cannot have listened to my opening statement. At that time, I made it clear that there was no intention to interfere with the freedom of association or speech. Mr. Speaker, the Opposition, despite their references to these freedoms, have not produced a single instance where these freedoms have, in fact, or even by implication, been encroached upon in the Bill before the House. In effect, the Bill entrenches the right for any Member who has the mandate given to him by his electors to come back here and oppose the Government. It is necessary that the public appreciate this point, because it would be unfortunate if the public is

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treated to a series of deliberate misrepresentations or accidental misrepresentations perhaps based on a complete misunderstanding on the part of the Opposition as to what the Government really intends to do.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope that it will go to the voters, not only in the areas from which the Opposition come, but also throughout the country, that for the first time in this country the Government has seen fit to ensure that the supreme voice in this country, at all times, shall be the voice of the people, and not just the voice of a few individuals who arrogate unto themselves the pretention of deciding for the masses what the masses think or feel.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another misconception that must be put right is the suggestion that this Bill is aimed at the Opposition. Mr. Speaker, it is not anything of the sort. There is nowhere where the Bill says that when a person resigns from the party in power, he shall cease to be a Member of this House. All that the Bill says is that when a person resigns from a Parliamentary party, he shall cease to be a Member of this House, that means, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that we are also protecting the Opposition. Any Member who is elected on the platform of the Opposition party cannot come here and just cross the Floor as and when he likes in the future. That Member, too, will have to resign and go back to his constituency in order that he is elected to this House. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is, in fact, an act of mercy, and I thought the Leader and the Deputy Leader, of the Opposition, my friend over there, would get up today and thank the Government and congratulate the Government for having seen fit to come to their rescue, because their forces are dwindling so fast that I am led to believe, Mr. Speaker, Sir, or if I may engage in that world of imagination in which the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi was living a few minutes ago, I can imagine right now as they sit in front of me the hon. Members are saying to themselves, "What exactly went wrong?"

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I imagine that they are also saying to themselves, "How could men like ourselves make such a serious miscalculation?" I can also imagine the hon. Members saying to themselves, "What is it that we could do to be accepted back?" "What is it that we can do to get out of this dilemma?" But, perhaps, Sir, the hon. Members will at least accept one point and that is this, that this Bill will apply not just to those who cross from the Government to the Opposition, but also to those who may wish to cross from the Opposition to the Government.

In that sense, Mr. Speaker, Sir, it does achieve its purpose and it does achieve the purpose which the Opposition had in mind.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry that the hon. Leader of the Opposition is not in the Chamber just now. I detect, or imagine, that he did speak at a certain time in this House this afternoon, and with a travelling audience ready to applaud, another travelling audience given placards to jump a little outside, whose origins are rather well known, he has, perhaps, gone for a joint entertainment.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Minister in order to imply that the Leader of the Opposition has organized a demonstration outside, can he substantiate that?

Several hon. Members: Also in the public galleries.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I do not want hon. Members to answer points of order for me. I will ask Mr. Mboya if he can. You are being asked if you can substantiate that.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was dwelling in that world of imagination. I said, "I imagined——"

An hon, Member: You did not.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): I did say that quite clearly, Mr. Speaker, Sir, and I am following in the footsteps of the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi.

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the hon. Member spoke, he did not say that he was imagining this. He said that Odinga organized these people outside to demonstrate and the people in the public gallery.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): He has said it now, that it was the same land of imagination.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are a few remarks that were made by the hon. Leader of the Opposition, and which have been repeated by some other Members of the Opposition, which deserve just a brief comment; a very brief comment.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, first there have been continuous comments about Kanu and the Kanu Limuru Conference. I would like to say just this. The first thing I would like to say is that I find it very difficult to appreciate the honesty and logic behind the arguments now presented by Members of the Opposition regarding the Kanu Conference and the Kanu Party.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): We do not allow the honesty of Members to be questioned in what they argue.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, then may I use the word logic? Mr. Speaker, Sir, this logic is strange. Let us recount, very briefly, the background, because this is not part of the Bill, although it has been injected into this debate, and we ought, for the record, to clear the situation today.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first thing is this. There was a petition by some Members of this House, and the public should make a note of this, that the first petition was not by the Government or by those supporting the Government, it was engineered, or initiated, by those Members who now complain. It was they, more than anyone else, who, several times in this House and outside it, called for a Kanu election immediately. Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is the first thing. When, however, the Kanu election came, they were the first to oppose its taking place. This is the first thing of which the public must make a note; the contradictory attitude we are beginning to meet here.

The second point, Mr. Speaker, Sir, of which the public ought to make a note is this. It was these same Members who initiated and organized a petition signed by fifty-two Members and which they submitted to the President. When they had precipitated this situation, other Members organized a petition, which was signed by ninety-nine Members, and which was also submitted to the President. But, Sir, the strange logic that we have now and which they now argue, is that, although they organized the first petition, the other Members had no right to organize another petition.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the second strange logic which we come up against is that although they were only able to find fifty-two signatories for their petition, they argue that the President was wrong in listening to a petition submitted by ninety-nine Members; that is that the President can only be right if he listens to them even if they are in a minority! Mr. Speaker, these gentlemen's ideas of democracy has been strange right from the start. Firstly, they do not recognize the simple facts of democracy. Secondly, they do not concede that when they precipitate a situation, they must also accept the consequences which flow from it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the third very strange logic is that these gentlemen, all of them who now speak here, attended the Limuru Conference, fully took part in it, some even allowed their names to be proposed for offices, some proposed others for offices, but when all this was finished and done, and when all of them had lost in the Limuru voting, they suddenly discovered that the conference was not legally constituted. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sure the public could have sympathized with them a little if they had not come to Limuru, if they had not even proposed their names for election, and if they had not taken part in the voting. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, they go and eat the same food as everybody else, then they come out and say, "It was badly cooked."

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, now that we are being treated to the normal Kanu and Government voice that we are very much acquainted with recently, is the hon. Minister not going a little bit too far? I think he should stick to the reply of the debate, rather than talk all the time of the Limuru Conference.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I would have said that it was irrelevant to this debate, but he is, in fact, replying to criticism of this conference. He has the right to do that.

Mr. Oduya: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, what help can the Chair be, for example, when the Member makes such a silly remark that some of us ate the food at Limuru, when, in actual fact, we did not eat the food he is referring to?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! The hon. Member is clearly speaking figuratively.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, these facts ought to be brought out to the public, because it is no use the hon. Members, having suffered defeat at Limuru, and having attended themselves; taken part in it. Mr. Speaker, the Government did not put any Member now in opposition, the Government did not—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order, Mr. Oduya! Will you please keep quiet. Unless you can control yourself, I am afraid you will have to go, Mr. Oduya.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will ignore the hon. Member throughout my speech. The Government did not pick up any of the hon. Members, nor did President Kenyatta, take them in chains to Limuru. They all came willingly. All this sudden discovery that there had been coups, that the election had been badly arranged is what we might call, "sour grapes". What the hon. Member, Mr. ole Tipis, called crocodile tears. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there can be no question about that.

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I ask, and I also ask the public to ask themselves. Supposing the hon. Member for Kandara, who fought for the vice-presidency of the party was elected and he did allow his name to be proposed, supposing he had been elected, would he now be talking about the bad Limuru Conference? Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the point has been made, but I want the record today to be put straight.

Mr. Speaker, it is this same strange logic that we are now faced with in this House. Firstly, we have Members who resigned from the party and the Government, and tell the whole world that, in their opinion, the Government has lost touch with the people; that, in their opinion, the Government no longer represents the people. The implication is that they represent the people, that they are in touch with the people. Mr. Speaker, then when the Government says, "All right, you have questioned, you have suggested or proclaimed that you are in touch with your people, that they all want you to deviate, therefore go back to your people.". This is where we meet, again, that strange logic. They say, "Oh, but this is persecution. This is intimidation and this is cowardly.".

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Members must know the simple elementary practice and principles of democracy. In this House, at any time, when the Government ceases to command a majority, it will resign. The principle is now being extended to all our constituencies. Mr. Speaker, it is true that from many of the constituencies we have received representation from people who say, "These things were done without our knowledge and without consultation." It is right and proper that the people should now speak.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Leader of the Opposition spoke, as usual, with uncontrolled emotion, and I am sure that those who were here, witnessed the performance. It was a terrific performance. But, Sir, it was on the wrong stage. This is not a theatre. It is a House, a solemn House of Parliament. Sir, when the Donovan Maule begin to recruit their new actors, we shall know where to direct them. We are told, Mr. Speaker, that the best thing to do is to put the Leader of the Opposition at Kamukunji. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the better thing is to meet with the leader at Bondo, that is really what we are offering. Right in his own home, and if I might say so, the hon. Leader of the Opposition knows very well that there was a time when we met in Nairobi and I am sure he knows what the results were.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, nobody in the Government is afraid of an Opposition.

An hon. Member: What about our passports?

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): I do not think you vote with your passports. We are told by the Leader of the Opposition that the Bill is signed by an Acting Attorney-General, and he made some remarks about this. But when I carefully listened, I could not tell precisely what he wanted to say. Is it because it is signed by an Acting Attorney-General? What has that to do with the material, status and effect of the Bill? Surely, a small child in Kenya today knows that the Attorney-General is away attending an important conference in London. When he is away, an efficient Government puts in an Acting Attorney-General.

Mr. Speaker, then we were told, "But this has been signed by a civil servant", but, surely, Members of the Opposition must know that our own substantive Attorney-General is a civil servant. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate, and the public in this country must now begin to beware of the contradictions, the confusion and the half-truths to which they might be treated.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon, the Leader of the Opposition said, among other things, that the Kenya Government has deviated from building a socialist economy, and that in practice it has now embarked on creating a capitalist economy. We are told also by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition that all the things promised have not been fulfilled. I restrain myself today from discussing this in any detail, but I want to make two points for the record. The first is that no sane person, whether literate or illiterate, in our country today can be led to believe that the angels who now form the Opposition could have worked miracles to wipe out the poverty, the hardships, the unemployment and the economic reconstruction that is needed in this country within the last twenty-eight months. This is an under-estimation of the intelligence of the common man in this country.

Mr. Speaker, we were told—I would like just to say—that the Government's record speaks for itself. We do not have to sell it because it is selling itself. What is interesting is the shouting we hear from some Members of the Opposition and especially the one who has been shouting most today, who has done not a single thing in his own constituency to help his own people.

Mr. Speaker, the road to the United States is a very wide one. The hon. Member, if he is so keen to go there, could be sponsored any time

[The Minister for Economic Planning and Development]

by the Kenya Government for training in leadership, for training in many other things, and also in many of the things that he has missed.

Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to answer all the points made today, because some of them are not really important enough to dwell on. As was acknowledged here, some of the speeches we have heard from the Opposition merely dealt with some imaginary situation that they would like to believe. That, Sir, is not worth replying to.

Mr. Speaker, the Government—I think I must make this quite clear for the Member for Kandara—does not wish at any time to select for any constituency who should represent them; the Government, in fact, is only saying to the people of Kandara, "Choose for yourselves who you want and the policies you want." Mr. Speaker, the choice has not been made since the hon. Member changed his coat.

For example, you see the strange way in which the mind of the hon. Member for Bassi-Majoge works. He says that he has introduced many people for jobs in the Civil Service and that they have not been taken. Mr. Speaker, this is the kind of thing that leads to the corruption which the Government has rejected. A man who wants a job must go through the Public Service Commission and not through the Member for Bassi-Majoge. No wonder these people have failed to get jobs—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Mboya, I have said that all this is irrelevant to the Bill. Please keep off it.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, these are points made by the Members and I will desist from following them too far.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes. I think they have all been ruled irrelevant.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): This one was not, Sir.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Oh, pity.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me conclude by dealing with the point raised earlier regarding those Members who have written to say that they return to Kanu. I suppose, Sir, that the Members of the Opposition are shouting that we should reject them. Mr. Speaker, Kanu as a party has its branches in all these districts and these branches are, naturally, in touch with the situation, and those Members are also, as

I understand it, both in touch with us at Kanu headquarters and in touch with the districts from which they come. The question, then, is one in which they and ourselves will have to arrange the most suitable procedure by which both they and the party can be reconciled.

We, Sir, as Kanu know the sincerity with which anyone deals with us, and we know that some people have been misled, just as the Members sitting in the Opposition now have been grossly misled by their master. Mr. Speaker, the party will select its own candidates and the party—

Mr. Oduya: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I stand to seek your guidance on this or your help, actually; let me say your help. Is the Minister in order to suggest that those of us who have crossed—and even those other Members who crossed and then went back—were misled? If we were misled, and he believes that we were misled, does he, therefore, think that we were misled, just as much as the Americans do mislead him?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! I think you know very well, Mr. Oduya, that the hon. Member is entitled to say that, in his opinion, certain Members have been misled, and have been misled by certain other Members. For the rest, you know you are getting on to a fraudulent point of order.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not think there is any need for me to say any more, as I see the time is running and we would like to have the vote on this Motion.

Mr. Speaker, I beg to move.

DIVISION

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I will put the question.

(The question was put)

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Since, under the Constitution of Kenya, we have to go to a Division to ascertain that we have the minimum number of eighty-four votes, I shall not take the Ayes and Noes, but we will proceed to ring the Division Bell.

(The Division Bell was rung and the House divided)

(Question carried by 97 votes to 11)

AYES: Messrs. Abdirahman, Amin, Angaine, Areman, Argwings-Kodhek, Ayodo, Babu, Balala, Biy, Bomett, Chirchir, Dr. De Souza, Messrs. Dingiria, Ekitella, Gatuguta, Gichuru, Godana, E. D. Godia, Ithirai, Jahazi, Jamal, Kamau,

Kamuren, Kariuki, G. G., Kase, Kerich, Khasakhala, Kiamba, Dr. Kiano, Messrs. Kibaki, Kibuga, Kiprotich, Koinange, Komora, Konchellah, Kubai, Khaoya, Lorema, Maisori-Itumbo, Makone, Malu, Masinde, Matano, Mati, Mbai, Mboya, McKenzie, Mohamed, Moi, Moss, Muliro, Dr. Mungai, Messrs. Murgor, Muruli, Mutiso, Murumbi. Mwalwa, Mwanyumba, Mwendwa, Ndile, Ngala, Ngala-Abok, Ngei, Njeru, Njiiri, Nyaberi, Nyaga, Nyagah, Nyamweya, Ochwada, Odero-Jowi, Okwanyo, Oloitipitip, Omar, Omweri, Onamu, Oselu-Nyalick, Osogo, Otiende, Pandya, Rurumban, Sadalla, Sagini, Seroney, Shikuku, Soi, Somo, Tanui, Theuri, Tialal, Tipis, Too, Tuva, Tuwei, Dr. Waiyaki, Messrs. Wamuthenya, Wariithi.

Tellers of the Ayes: Messrs. Mwendwa and Okelo-Odongo.

Noes: Messrs. Achieng-Oneko, Anyieni, Bala, Gichoya, Kaggia, Kali, Kioko, Obok, Odero-Sar, Oduya, Okelo-Odongo.

Tellers of the Noes: Messrs. Muliro and

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I therefore declare that the Ayes have it by the requisite statutory majority.

(The Bill was read a Second Time and committed to a Committee of the whole House at the next sitting)

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Hon. Members, that brings us to the time of interruption of this sitting, but I understand that Mr. Mboya wishes to move an alternative to the ordinary adjournment until tomorrow.

MOTION FOR THE ADJOURNMENT

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE: TO A SITTING LATER IN THE SAME DAY

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, since this brings us to the end of this particular sitting, and as I indicated since this morning it was the Government's wish that all the stages of this Bill be taken today, I now wish to move that the House do now adjourn until forty-five minutes past eight o'clock today, instead of the normal time tomorrow. Mr. Speaker, the effect of this is that we will be able to have another sitting at which the remaining stages will be taken and also at which we will take another vote similar to the one we have just had.

I beg to move.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi) seconded.

(Question proposed)

Mr. Komora: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel that it is important that this House adjourns until 8.45 p.m., and returns again to debate on this Bill, because most of us, I feel, have such aching heads and as such, we have to work out a way to see to it that this Bill passes through today.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I stand to oppose that Motion. We already said this morning-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Before many hon. Members leave the Chamber, I would remind them that if we do adjourn to another sitting today, we shall again require the same majority for the Third Reading, and it would be a great pity if all hon. Members who wish to support the Third Reading, disappeared meanwhile.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we said this morning that this was a very important Bill. We should really take several days to discuss this Bill, so that the people of Kenya can have a chance to hear how the Members of Parliament, whom they have elected, are debating on this thing, and how they are also expressing their views.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Members of the Government side have demonstrated very clearly today that they have refused to think and that they are not interested in the welfare of the people of the country, and that all they are interested in is to pass things that somebody has told them to pass. Mr. Speaker, Sir, these automatic machines which today are switched on by the press of a button, I see these machines walking out one by one, because this does not interest them. However, Sir, these automatic machines are a shame to this country. The Kenya people elected Members of Parliament to be able to reflect the affairs that affect their lives. They did not elect them to come here and do things which they are told to do. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we would like to say again—

The Minister for Labour (Dr. Kiano): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Member implying that the Government and the Back-benchers are acting as automatic machines for somebody else? If so, would he say who the power is behind all this automation?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I do not think he is saying that.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not say that, all that I said was that it was a shame for Kenya, and I am saying this very seriously, that we—

Mr. Kiprotich: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the present hon. Member who is now speaking, is he speaking for his own constituency or is he speaking for the people of Kenya?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Sit down, Mr. Kiprotich.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I was saving, today is one of those days when things have been made clear to us that the Members of the Parliament of Kenya are not really doing their duty. It is a shame that a Motion like this one which is intended to change the Constitution of Kenya so drastically, should be taken in one day, let alone that, it is also being done at night, when the people of this country are sleeping. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a very true betrayal of the people of Kenya by the Members of this House. I believe that what the Opposition said, that the whole Parliament should be dissolved was very right, because this is a very clear demonstration, that the Members of Parliament are not willing or interested-

The Assistant Minister for Lands and Settlement (Mr. Gachago): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the question of the dissolution or the non-dissolution of Parliament relevant to this particular part of the Motion?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No. Mr. Okelo-Odongo, we are concerned with this particular question of whether we sit again today or whether we sit tomorrow.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am saying that this is a very important Motion. We are making a very important decision, and it is bad that we should make it at night, when our people are sleeping.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! You have said that once already. Mr. Okelo-Odongo.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel that this, more or less, amounts to a secret meeting by the Members of Parliament against the people of Kenya.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as we said before, that in our view this matter will also be considered extensively because today, for instance, many of the Members of the Opposition have not had a chance to speak, and for these Members of the Opposition this will be their last speech, probably, and therefore, I think that the Members of the

Government should think of this. Now, Sir, if the Members of the Opposition—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Whether the hon. Members have a further opportunity to speak on the Committee stage or Third Reading does not depend on whether we sit again today or tomorrow. Please, Mr. Okelo-Odongo, keep relevant to the Motion.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in keeping relevant with the Motion, I would like to say that quite a few Members of the Opposition have not spoken. It is quite possible that this is their last chance to speak in this House before they are removed by their own colleague Members which is——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Okelo-Odongo, will you pay attention to what I say. That is quite irrelevant to the question now before the House as to whether we sit again this evening or whether we sit tomorrow.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: In that case, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say——

The Assistant Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Kibaki): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, since it is quite clear that the hon. Member has exhausted himself and is merely repeating himself, and this is only a procedural matter, would I be in order to ask that the question be now put.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I will give Mr. Okelo-Odongo one more chance to say something that is relevant, then I will proceed.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that in view of the fact that this meeting is being held at night, I oppose that we should go on.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Yes, not only is he saying things which are irrelevant, but he is repeating something a third time. I will now put the question of the closure.

(Question, that the question be now put, put and agreed to)

(Question put and agreed to)

ADJOURNMENT

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): This House is therefore adjourned until 8.45 p.m. today.

The House rose at thirty minutes past Eight o'clock.

Thursday, 28th April 1966

The House met at forty-five minutes past Eight o'clock.

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) in the Chair]

THIRD SITTING

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

More Resignations From Opposition

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Hon. Members, I have yet another short Communication from the Chair.

Since we started our last sitting today, I have heard from Mr. Sadalla, Mr. Tanui and Mr. Khalif that they wish to withdraw from the Opposition and support the Government.

At the same time, although Mr. Mbova did not answer the question which I asked him to answer, I must warn hon. Members that it does seem to me quite clear that the effect of this Bill, if it becomes law, is such that those who have once resigned from the Kenya African National Union will not be saved from vacating their seats by having subsequently changed their minds.

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE

(Order for Committee read)

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) left the Chair]

IN THE COMMITTEE

[The Chairman (Dr. De Souza) took the Chair]

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL

(Clauses 2 and 3 agreed to)

(Title agreed to) (Clause 1 agreed to)

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move that the Committee report to the House its consideration of the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill and its approval thereof without amendment.

> (Question proposed) (Question put and agreed to) (The House resumed) [The Speaker (Mr. Slade) in the Chair]

REPORT AND THIRD READING

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL

Dr. De Souza: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been instructed by the Committee of the whole House to report its consideration of the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill and its approval thereof without amendment.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the House doth agree with the Committee in the said Report.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi) seconded.

(Question proposed)

(Question put and agreed to)

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill be now read the Third Time.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi) seconded.

(Question proposed)

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as many of my colleagues have said before about this Bill, the feeling is that this Bill is a very special one, and I think even the Minister himself, when he moved this, said it is not found anywhere else. I think he attributed this to the fact that, maybe, the Kenya people are very inventive, can invent things, and so on, but I think I disagree with him there. The reason why this kind of Bill cannot be found anywhere else is because, as a matter of fact, this kind of Bill is never passed anywhere by any reasonable Government or any reasonable House.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I listened very carefully to the Minister, and all I could arrive at was that he was making two points. One was that this Bill was intended to protect the voters; the other one was that there had been confusion in the country. These are the two points I could get from the Minister's speech. Now, Mr. Speaker, if it is really to protect the voters, I think that some of my colleagues have already proposed something, and I think that this is a challenge. If the Government cannot answer the challenge, I think they had better accept the fact that this is not intended to protect the voters but merely to victimize the Members of the Opposition. The challenge is as follows, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Kibuga: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I am just seeking your guidance. Is the debate on the Second Reading to be repeated or are new arguments to be produced on the Third Reading?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): In the debate on the Motion for the Third Reading we do not expect repetition of the whole debate on the Second

[The Speaker]

Reading. Nevertheless, when we have here a solitary and heroic figure who has not had the opportunity of speaking on the Second Reading, I think we give him a chance on the Third Reading. We do not want too much repetition of what was said before, though.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Thank you very much for your kindness, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

What I would like to say, Mr. Speaker, is this. I would like to let the House know, and everybody know, that what the Government is saying —that this is to protect the voters—is not true. It is not true because of this. If the Government were really interested in protecting the voters, they must make an amendment to this Bill, because it is not complete. To protect the voters, you must protect them against those people whom they have elected as Kanu and who have already deviated from the policies of Kanu. In other words, you must give the voters the right to recall Members when they think that the Members have deviated from the policies they voted them in for. If the Government were really interested in protecting the voters, this would be it. They must make an amendment to say-and I think they have their legal advisers around here—that when the constituents feel that their Member is no longer serving their purpose. they should be given an opportunity to come to the Speaker with a specified percentage of signatures of the Member's electors, to be able to recall the Member. This is the only way to protect the voters; if the Government were really interested in the voters. If they are interested in the voters, this amendment must be made.

Now, for instance, the Members of the Opposition are being victimized. How do we know that the voters in Kilifi South no longer like the Member for Kilifi South? We must give the people in Kilifi South a chance also to be able to contract to come to Government and state whether they have confidence in their Member or not. Then, in that case, we are really taking an interest in the voters.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my position is this, and it is only one point I am making: the Government are trying to deceive other people and deceive the country that they are interested in the interests of the voters. If they are—

Mr. Muliro: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is the hon. Member not making the speech which he ought to have made during the Second Reading?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I think you were not here when I answered a similar question a few moments ago, so I will not answer it again.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker Sir.

One point I want to make is that I think this is directed to the Members of the Opposition only. If it was meant to protect the voters, then the Government would add an amendment to say that the voters of constituencies should have the right to recall Members who they think have already violated the pledges they made to them. As long as that is denied to those people, you cannot pretend that you are protecting the voters.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my second point is on the question of creating confusion. The confusion in this country started a very long while ago; it was not started by the Opposition Members. This opposition was started with very good intentions and to avoid that opposition, because everybody knows that in Kenya the politics have been people getting on individual attacks, and all that kind of thing. If there were an Opposition, I am quite sure that this kind of politics would lessen and that we would be able to have some kind of mature politics, so that we can discuss ideas, ideologies and the interests of our country, rather than running after each other.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this was a challenge to the Kanu Party, to the Kanu Government. Now, if the Kanu Government thinks that they are very popular with the country and that the country do not like the Opposition, the only fair way is that there should be a general election—

Mr. Jahazi: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in view of the fact that the Member is repeating himself and what he is saying is the same as the material used in the Second Reading, is it in order for him to continue?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! Mr. Okelo-Odongo, I am giving you an opportunity to make a speech when you have had no opportunity on the Second Reading, but, as I said on the Second Reading, we cannot have very much repetition of what has been said many times in the Second Reading debate. If I may say so, I think you have done quite well so far, but you are now coming back on to old ground.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do appreciate your consideration.

Mr. Speaker, what I would like to say is this: that what, in fact, the Government is telling the Opposition is, "We are prepared to fight you. We are prepared to fight you, except that you should come bare-handed, with nothing, and we are allowed to have a spear and a shield." This is what the Government is telling the Opposition. "You come bare-handed and we have the right to

[Mr. Okelo-Odongo]

have a spear and a shield; then we can fight, but not on an equal basis", or, "You come barehanded and we will have a pistol or gun." This is what the Government are telling the Opposition which is quite wrong, and I think that should be

Mr. Speaker, Sir, to finish I will say this. As I said before, our interest is in democracy and in iustice.

An hon. Member: Do not repeat yourself.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: These things cannot be repeated too often and I can tell the Members that. They cannot be repeated too often. If we depart from these ideals, I am warning the Government that they are breaking the country and there will be confusion and chaos in the country.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Bala: Mr. Speaker, first of all, I would like to thank the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association of Kenya for having sent me abroad during last month to see the way the British Government conduct their elections, and the democracy in Britain.

An hon. Member: That is irrelevant.

Mr. Bala: No, it is not irrelevant. Let me make my speech.

When I come to the same Bill, I would say this, gentlemen. Now, the so-called little group, which was referred to by Ngala, is a group of very courageous men who can face the public because we do not want in Africa, or in Kenya for that matter, to be a dictatorial Government. We want free democracy, whereby we can have a few people or majority people to oppose the Government.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I think I see two hon. Members on the Front Bench who are not Ministers. Please remember Standing Orders.

Mr. Bala: Mr. Speaker, what I would like to say at this Third Reading of this Bill is that we know for certain that we have voted. The Government have defeated the Opposition. We know that the Bill is going to be carried through, but what I would like to appeal to my hon. friends is this. Let Kenya be a democratic country, whereby we people as Opposition should have proper freedom, no intimidation. We go to the masses, we face the masses, we talk to them, freely, without intimidation. That is what we would like to see. I, as a person, would not like to engage myself in-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! There is much too much conversation.

Mr. Bala: I would not like to engage myself in what some people call subversive activities. I hate to see it, I would not like it. I want the Government to be clean. Even tomorrow when I have somebody opposing me-and for your information, Mr. Speaker, I know I will come back, nobody will prevent me; I will come back because everybody referred to me as a Member of Parliament: a Member of "Legico." Everybody referred to me as such. No matter what Kanu put, I know I will come back, but I would not like to engage in these subversive activities. It is very wrong because you know our country, having toured the world-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order! Again, I would ask hon. Members to refrain from all these private conversations which make speeches inaudible.

Mr. Bala: Having visited the United Kingdom, having seen their politics, I know those people are engaged in economic matters, they do not worry about this "-ism", "-ism", "-ism". They are not worried about that. They are worried about economic development in their country. So in Kenya also we should be worried about our economic set-up-

Mr. Jahazi: On a point of order, Sir, I wonder whether the Member is being relevant to the debate on Third Reading when he talks about Britain and economic development.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think he is being very relevant in his references to democratic practices anywhere—Britain or anywhere elseand he is just elaborating on the benefits you get from those practices. You do not want to wander too far from that, Mr. Bala.

Mr. Bala: Mr. Speaker, thank you very much. When I was in Britain last month, I had the opportunity of seeing the election campaigns. I attended Mr. Heath's Press conference, Mr. George Brown's, Mr. Wilson's, and all these people-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I do not think we need all the details of it, Mr. Bala. It is the principles, you know.

Mr. Bala: I will keep that short. But, in any case, some of our colleagues, with whom we have been maybe suspect us, that we are the wrong people crossing the Floor, that we have a policy which may bring trouble to Kenya. I can assure you, gentlemen, that is not our policy. We want Kenya to develop democratically, we want Kenya to be a peaceful country, we want Kenya to be a place where somebody can invest money. I cannot associate with anybody who wants to use Kenya for his own personal gain; I cannot be.

Hon. Members: Cross, cross.

Mr. Bala: No, not cross. Why I am on this side of the House is because I feel that something went wrong at the Limuru Conference. There is one maggot within the group which made me come to this part of the House.

Now, gentlemen, let us not deceive ourselves. Mr. Speaker, let us not deceive ourselves. I, for one, do not fear losing or gaining in an election, although I know that I will gain. I do not fear losing or gaining. The thing is this. Our country has a big name in Europe. I was there last month; our country has a big name—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Now, for the third time I warn hon. Members to control themselves in the babel of conversation. If they cannot, we shall just have to adjourn the House until tomorrow and finish off this matter tomorrow. It is not worth going on with this sort of noise.

Mr. Gatuguta: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons why there is so much conversation privately is that the Members are very tired and they have been listening to these speeches since this morning. I wonder whether it is in order for you, Sir, to say that we do not have here this repetition again and we go to the proper sections of the Constitution and finish the business, because we are tired.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I gather that Mr. Gatuguta is suggesting the closure. No, not just yet. Mr. Okuto Bala is trying to contribute his own point of view and if he will just keep it relevant and short, he must do so.

Mr. Bala: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. Even if I am out of the Parliament I will always support my Speaker because he is a very reasonable man. He is an independent man with independent judgement and I will always support him, whether somebody outs me or I am returned.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That is not relevant to this, Mr. Bala!

Mr. Bala: Now, gentlemen, we are a people-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): You must address me.

Mr. Bala: Mr. Speaker, we are independent people. Whatever happens in Kenya today is the internal affair of Kenya. We cannot appeal to anybody outside. It will be the internal affair of Kenya. I would like to appeal to the Government, because now we have gone through the Second Rending of the Bill, to be fair to us people. We shall also be fair. We shall fight like men. Mr. Mboya said the other day that they can always fight. We can fight like men to come to this Parliament, but before closing this,

there is one point which I want to make on the Constitution, especially at the last reading. Here we have the Second Schedule, page 94——

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): There is no schedule.

Mr. Bala: On page 94, we have: "For the purposes of this section and of section 50 of this Constitution any question as to whether a political party is or is not at any time a parliamentary party in either House of the National Assembly, or as to whether a Specially Elected Member of the House of Representatives stood at his election with the support of a political party, shall be determined by the Speaker of that House, ".

Mr. Speaker, I raised this point at some time and you gave a ruling, saying that it was not relevant at that time. But I feel that you as the Speaker of this House should give us a proper definition. We know, definitely, that we have been defeated because we are only eleven people, eleven wise men in this Chamber because other people are a bit stupid. I would like you to make a ruling whether I as Okuto Bala—

Mr. Shikuku: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I was wondering whether it is in order for the hon. speaker—of course, I have no quarrel with him referring to himself as a wise man—to refer to other people as stupid?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No. I did not hear him do so.

Hon. Members: He said it.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No, no. Mr. Okuto Bala, you should withdraw your reference to hon. Members as stupid even if you think you are wise.

Mr. Bala: Mr. Speaker, the Member for Butere may not be listening to me. I am not one of these people who want to intimidate anybody——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No. Order! I understand you did refer to hon. Members as stupid.

Mr. Bala: Stupid?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes.

Mr. Bala: Maybe the English words are different, but I did not say that.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): All right.

Mr. Bala: All that I say is that hon. Members might not have studied. Studied and stupid are different words.

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to intimidate anybody and I feel that if I go to my constituency I would not like to be intimidated. Mr. Speaker, this is a matter directed to you personally, that you can give a ruling as to whether I as Okuto

[Mr. Bala]

Bala am a party, or Achieng-Oneko is a party, or our intended Kenya People's Union—which I hope the Government will not be afraid to register—will be a party. In this section, section 2, page 94, are we being referred to as party individually or party as a group or party as what? That, I think, is for your personal ruling.

Now, if I am being referred to as a party, in this Opposition we have certain people who were elected independently, who were not elected by Kanu. Are these people going to be disqualified because they were supported by a party or are the people who were elected by Kadu, who are now with us, going to be disqualified by the party, or the people who were elected by this Coast something: Coast People's Party? Are they going to be disqualified? This is one thing I would like you personally to give a ruling on before we leave this Chamber.

Now, gentlemen, I would not like to take your time. I know I will be with you some other time because I know I am going to be elected, whether you like it or not. I know for certain because I have confidence in myself as Okuto Bala. No matter——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Okuto Bala, you have assured us of this several times, we do not need any more.

Mr. Bala: Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, and my hon. colleagues, before I sit down I do not want to take much of your time. Gentlemen—

The Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Mr. Njeru): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. since the hon. Member is only repeating himself, I beg to move that the question be now put.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think Mr. Okuto Bala has really exhausted all he had to say, but Mr. Oneko did not have much opportunity on the Second Reading, and therefore if he has anything new to add now, which he did not have then, perhaps he would like to speak. Mr. Okuto Bala, will you conclude your speech very soon now?

Mr. Muliro: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I never spoke on the Second Reading, would the opportunity now being accorded to the Opposition, be accorded to me as well, Sir?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes, most certainly, Mr. Muliro. There is no special privilege for the Opposition to speak when the other Members cannot. Only when it comes to the question of the closure with an obvious majority on one side, then it is the minority that the Speaker has to protect.

Mr. Bala: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would only like to take one minute of your time. Gentlemen, I am appealing to you. I know that I am in the minority. but you keep the good name of Kenya by not being mean, like seizing passports, chasing us in the bars, and checking up on us in every respect. I want the Government to be reasonable to us so that the democracy which we have been preaching in Kenya will prevail.

Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have only two technical points to raise at this particular stage. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was this morning, when you decided that the Opposition should be recognized.

At that time, there were some names which, of course, had indicated that some Members had already crossed the Floor. This was a fair action on their behalf, because we know quite a lot of pursuation and intimidation is being carried out. I think this is a challenge to the Government to clarify, because, this morning, when it was recognized that there is a Parliamentary party, whether these people who then were in the Parliamentary party in the Opposition will be accepted by the Government. That is one thing which must be clarified.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the same thing equally applies to those who had indicated their intentions before, because we can take it by your recognition of that particular party, Parliamentary party, in this House, whether it was yesterday or the day before yesterday, they were still recognized as such, therefore, by their crossing back to Kanu, they will be equally disqualified and have to stand again for elections. One cannot have it both ways.

The Minister for Labour (Dr. Kiano): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, does it mean that if you recognize Members of the Opposition, are you, at the same time, by that same act, recognising an Opposition Parliamentary party?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes, I think, if the hon Member would read the Communication which I made from the Chair this morning, he would see that that is the case.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Now, Sir, I would like to tell the hon. doctor, the learned doctor, Dr. Kiano, and I would also like to refer him to paragraph 42A, which reads, "A Member of either House of the National Assembly who, having at his election stood with the support of or as a supporter of a political party, either——(a) resigns from that party at a time when that party is a Parliamentary party; . . ". I would not like the hon. Members to provoke me. I am a very simple

[Mr. Achieng-Oneko]

person in Kenya, and I would like the Members to give me an opportunity, whether in the Government or the Opposition, to give me an opportunity to speak about what I feel. I think this is a very fair request. I have been sitting here the whole day listening to some of the reasonable arguments advanced by some of the hon. Members. Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, this must be clarified, because if somebody, say, yesterday, declared that he was in the Opposition, and today, through pursuasion by Government or by the party spending so much money to bring his wife, father and those who supported him at the elections, to come and prevail over him, to change at the eleventh hour, whether, Sir, that man will be——

Mr. Muliro: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Member suggesting that the Government has actually bribed the wives or relations of the people who have declared that they are rejoining the Kanu Party and supporting the Government, could he substantiate that?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I do not think he said so, but perhaps he would make his position clear on that.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am trying to advance my argument by saying that the Government, or the party, might have taken the trouble to bring the supporters and their relatives—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): All we want made clear is that you are not suggesting bribery.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: No, no, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have never accused the Government of bribery, but I can accuse some people if I know that they are capable of being bribed.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is this not what falls under the Standing Orders dealing with imputation of improper motives? Is the hon. Member not, in effect, saying that those Members who have now decided to rejoin the Government and the party have done so out of improper motives, either by being induced through material gains, or by intimidation or whatever it is?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think you must make it clear you do not mean that, Mr. Oneko, because it is quite out of order if you do.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have said nothing about material gains.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! We must not waste time on this, and I would ask you to face this question quite clearly and fairly, Mr. Oneko. Are you, or are you not, suggesting that any of

the hon. Members who have withdrawn from the Opposition have done so for any improper motive whatsoeyer?

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: I have not suggested that they have recrossed because of any improper motives, but what I am trying to say is that they have been pursuaded.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): But not improperly pursuaded?

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: No, Sir. I am also suggesting, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that these people who have crossed the Floor should face the same fate as any other Member——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I think if you were here when I made a Communication from the Chair, at the start of this sitting, you would have heard the expression of my own opinion, that that is their fate, whether or not they have changed their minds since they resigned.

Mr. Kase: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member for Nakuru South has constantly been referring to some hon. Members as "these people", is he not really out of order to refer to these hon. Members as "these people" when they are hon. Members of this House?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! This casual reference to hon. Members as "these people" or "these fellows" is much too frequent, and it is contrary to our tradition and the dignity of the House. I would ask hon. Members to refer to hon. Members as hon. Members.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I referred to the hon. Members as "these people" it was just a slip of the tongue, I do not intend, whatsoever, to be discourteous towards my own colleagues. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very pleased that you gave that particular ruling, because now it is obvious that those hon. Members who indicated that they supported the Opposition and only crossed the Floor through being pursuaded, will have to face the same fate as any other Member who has stuck to his guns like me. That is the first thing I wanted to say.

The second point which I would like to raise is this. It deals with the question of election. Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I know that the hon. Members who are supporting the Government have been seriously urged to see that this Bill is made law by midnight tonight, at least in this House. Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to appeal to the Government, that if it is the intention of the Government to hurry up this Bill, then it is also equally important for the Government to see that we go to the country a month from the time when the Senate finalize its decision, which is, possibly, tomorrow, because there has been a great deal of sympathy——

[Mr. Achieng-Oneko]

Why do the hon. Members not give me a chance, I have not spoken on this particular Bill before? Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government spokesman has already indicated that they are very anxious to see that this Bill is passed. Now, Sir. we would also like it that the Government, as soon as possible, immediately if possible, announces the date for the elections and this should be done within thirty days from the time——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I think, Mr. Oneko, I should make it clear that it is not actually the Government's responsibility to direct an election. Elections are directed by writ of the Speaker in consultation with the Electoral Commission, both of whom are out of reach of the Government. However, I can assure hon. Members that on this occasion as from the time when this Bill takes effect, if it becomes law, that will only be, of course, the prorogation of the House, there will be the minimum delay in writs going out for the by-elections.

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I was trying to appeal to the Government to see that they take immediate steps to see that elections take place as soon as possible. I am quite satisfied with your answer, Mr. Speaker, Sir, because we do not want unnecessary suspense nor do we wish to leave our electors in suspense, because probably, the hon. Members who are talking about immediate action to be taken, may take perhaps, another three or four months whilst they are waiting for new registration, we want it now. Mr. Speaker, Sir, whether we are here or not, we will continue to serve Kenya.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the main thing which we all want. I would not mind if I am not back in this House, but I will still continue to serve Kenya in another capacity altogether, which will be productive to this. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I know that I love this Government, I like it, but I would only like to correct it where the Government goes wrong. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would only use my brains as far as this country is concerned, and I will always try to help as much as possible to see that this country delivers the goods to our people. I am not working for myself. I am not working so that I gain from this personally, otherwise I would not have decided to leave this seat. This is why I have decided to go into the Opposition.

With those few remarks, and I am quite satisfied with those remarks, and your explanations, Mr. Speaker, Sir, with regard to the election and still say that they should be done immediately.

Mr. Somo: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to call on the Mover to reply.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes, I think it is time for the House to consider that proposal. I will call on the Mover to reply.

(Question, that the Mover be now called upon to reply, put and agreed to)

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to tell the hon. Members of the Opposition that it should be of definite interest that I should comment upon some of their remarks.

Firstly, Mr. Speaker, the hon. Member for Kisumu Rural, as I said this morning, is always full of surprises, and they become even more interesting as the day goes by. Just now, Sir, he gave us a treatise into this concept of what a representative in this Parliament should be. He cannot have been listening to my speech in the Second Reading stage of this Bill, when I tried to point out the differences between a representative and a delegate. If we had been here as delegates, then, of course, those who sent us here would have had the sort of powers that he has tried to suggest. If we had to accept the proposals he had mentioned, then there would be very little room for us even to conceive of this House as a Parliament any more. However, Government is always looking for ways and means of improving the Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have never held that this Constitution must be a rigid or static document. It is a growing document and so are all constitutions and our constitutional experts, together with the Government, continue to think of any modifications, improvements and any accommodation of whatever problems experience brings to light. On that basis, Sir, if he has—

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: On a point of information——

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): I will not give way. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we will always listen and since the Opposition is preparing its manifesto we hope to see some of these ideas in the manifesto. This is despite the fact that they accuse us of having a document called a manifesto which they say people cannot eat. We will now wait and see whether people can eat their own manifesto.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as an aside to this, I regret that the hon. Leader of the Opposition, as he usually does made his statement and left the Chamber. He is always leaving. I hope, Mr. Speaker, Sir, he will, in future be able to stay and lead.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Minister in order, in answering to the Third Reading of this Bill, during which the Leader of the Opposition did not speak, to refer to the Leader of the Opposition when he did not speak during the Third Reading?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think he can refer to his absence from the Third Reading. I do not know for what purpose, but he is entitled to.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am only drawing attention to the fact that he is absent. It seems that the hon. Member for Kisumu Rural does not wish the public to know that their leader is absent and has been absent since he spoke. He is very fond of running away any time things are happening.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member for Nyando gave us a report about his Commonwealth Parliamentary Association education and, Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you ruled that he should be allowed to make these references I was sitting keyed up, hoping and expecting, that he would tell us a little of what he had learned from his tour of education. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member came back worse informed and more confused about Parliamentary practice, much worse than when he left us.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, he reminded me of the story of that, two stories, in fact, of that old man in those very old days who was taken out of one of the three East African territories to visit London. He went and came back and wrote a book about his visit, because he wanted to tell people about the education he had received. Having gone to London and only stayed in London, he came back and wrote his book saying, "That is a wonderful country. They have no cows, no trees, not even grass, everything is paved." Sir, that is quite true and the book actually exists.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the second one took place during the Victory Parade. Some Africans were taken from here, some chiefs, and sent off to Britain, having been promised that they would be meeting these very great generals who had won the war against the Germans. They arrived in London and the door was opened for them by a well-dressed up doorman, with his ribbons and shoulder straps and his big porter's cap. The chief saluted him and asked, "Which general is this?" Mr. Speaker, Sir, this just shows what different people learn when they go to Britain.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the outgoing Member for Nyando-

Mr. Shikuku: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Minister in order to refer to the Member for Nyando as the "outgoing Member for Nyando"?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): He is taking it for granted that the Bill will go through this House and the Senate. He is not out of order in doing that.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very interesting to hear of the hon. Minister's private readings, but, Sir, do you not think that this thing is going a little over the line, because he should be answering the debates on the Third Reading rather than stating whether the hon. Members, Mr. Bala's description of Britain was right or wrong.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Not quite relevant, but quite humorous.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will touch on one point on which the hon. Member for Nakuru Town has tried to make a lot of play.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it must be obvious that there is an attempt to try and confuse or win the sympathy and support of those Members who have recently had the courage to look realistically at the country's needs and their own people's interests and had the courage to say, "I made a mistake, I do not intend to go on making it." Mr. Speaker, Sir, these Members who have now announced their support for the Government have lilstened to the voice of their own consciences and the wisdom of their own people, and I would like here and now to state quite categorically, that neither myself nor any of my colleagues in the Government or in the party are aware of a single instance where any of them have acted as a result of intimidation, persuasion or any other coercion. Mr. Speaker, Sir, just because these men have immediately been able to see the false position in which the Leaders of the Opposition were trying to lead them, does not make them any less true sons of Kenya, as is being suggested by the Leaders of the Opposition now-

Mr. Bala: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I seek your ruling on this. Would the hon. Member speaking substantiate the meaning of "intimidation", because we, as the Opposition, feel that taking away passports——

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! This is not a valid point of order at all.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I therefore repeat what I said earlier, that the question of reconciliation between those Members and

I arge-Scale

[The Minister for Economic Planning and Development]

Kanu is a matter between those Members and Kanu and has nothing whatsoever to do with the dwindling Opposition.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I listened to the last speeches of some of my friends in the Opposition, I could not help to think that this was a strange case of someone trying to read his own obituary before he was dead.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Order!

DIVISION

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I will put the question.

(Question was put)

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): As with the Second Reading, there is a minimum of eighty-four votes required by Division to pass this Motion, so I will not call for the Ayes and Noes, but we will proceed to a Division. Ring the Division Bell.

(The Division Bell was rung and the House divided)

(Question carried by 95 votes to 8)

Ayes: Messrs. Abdirahaman, Amin, Areman, Ayodo, Babu, Balala, Barasa, Bomett, Chirchir, Dr. de Souza, Messrs. Dingiria, Ekitella, Gachago, Gatuguta, Gichuru, E. D. Godana, Godia Ithirai, Jahazi, Jamal, Jubat, Kamau, Kamuren, G. G. Kariuki, Kase, Kerich, Khasakhala, Kiamba, Dr. Kiano, Messrs. Kibaki, Kibuga, Kiprotich, Koinange, Komora, Konchellah, Kubai. Khaoya, Lorema, Maisori-Itumbo, Makone, Malu, Masinde, Matano, Mati, Mbai, Mboya, McKenzie, Mohamed, Moi, Moss, Muliro, Dr. Mungai, Messrs. Murgor, Muruli, Murumbi, Mutiso, Mwalwa, Mwanyumba, Mwendwa, Ngala, Ngala-Abok, Ngei, Njeru, Njiiri, Nyaberi, Nyaga, Nyagah, Nyamweya, Ochwada, Odero-Jowi, Ogle, Okwanyo, Oloitipitip, Omar, Omweri, Onamu, Oselu-Nyalick, Osogo, Otiende, Pandya, Rurumban, Sadalla, Sagini, Seroney, Shikuku, Soi, Somo, Theuri, Tialal, Tipis, Too, Tuva, Tuwei, Wamuthenya and Wariithi.

Tellers of the Ayes: Messrs. Mwendwa and Okelo-Odongo.

Noes: Messrs. Achieng-Oneko, Anyieni, Bala, Gichoya, Kiogo, Obok, Odero-Sar and Okelo-Odongo.

Tellers of the Noes: Messrs. Muliro and Kioko.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I therefore declare that the Ayes have it by the requisite statutory majority.

(The Bill was accordingly read the Third Time and passed)

(Ordered that the Clerk carry the said Bill to the Senate and desire their concurrence)

ADJOURNMENT

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That concludes the business on the Order Paper. The House is therefore adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, 29th April 1966, at 9 a.m.

The House rose at ten minutes past Ten o'clock.

WRITTEN REPLIES TO QUESTIONS

Question No. 312

LOANS BY AGRICULTURAL FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. Wariithi asked the Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry what was the amount of loans given to large- and small-scale farmers by the Agricultural Finance Corporation district-wise during the years 1964 and 1965.

The Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. McKenzie):

				Large-Scale
				Loans
District			1964	1965
23			£	£
Muranga			18,571	32,725
Kirinyaga			_	30,408
Nyeri			25,529	26,316
Kiambu			90,755	126,248
Machakos		• •	30,305	28,740
Kitui			_	_
Meru		• •	1,000	
Embu			_	4,627
Kwale			_	
Lamu			_	_ _ _
Tana River			_	_
Mombasa		• •	-	_
Kilifi		• •	_	
Taita			_	_
S. Nyanza				13,415
C. Nyanza				2,250
Kisii		• •	_	1,210
Bungoma			18,786	76,198
Kakamega			6,300	20,282
Busia			_	3,855
Narok			_	_
Kajiado			9,250	67,787
Baringo			_	3,530
W. Pokot			_	_
Elgeyo-Marak	wet			
Nandi			12,500	11,524
Kericho			40,100	32,4 25
Laikipia			35,800	30,150
Uasin Gishu			81,975	106,399
Trans Nzoia			198,282	130,92 0
Nakuru			172,677	13 1,383
Nairobi		• •	12,600	28,117

[The Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry]

Requirements

The qualifications for large-scale loans are as set out in my reply to the hon. Member's Question No. 313. These are:

- (i) Not less than fifteen acres of productive land likely to produce a gross income of £500 within a reasonable period.
- (ii) Less than fifteen acres of productive land if the district agricultural committee recommends that the piece of land will yield a gross income of £500 within a reasonable period.
- (iii) Two or more small-scale farmers in partnership who, in the opinion of the district agricultural committee, would be able to produce not less than £500 as gross income within a reasonable period.
- (iv) In all three cases above, the application must satisfy the Agricultural Finance Corporation that he either had title to his land or his land was consolidated or demarcated pending issue of title deed.

			Small-Scale Loans
	£	Sh.	Louis £
D1 1 1 1	1964/65	on.	1965/66
District	1904/03		1705/00
Muranga	11,536	5	8,400
Kirinyaga	18,996	15	18,301
Nyeri	17,086	15	11,479
Kiambu	14,551	15	4,673
Machakos	4,090	0	9,725
Kitui			
Meru	4,160	0	10,586
Embu	4,000	0	4,320
Kwale	5,960	0	6,555
Lamu	1,000	0	485
Tana River	750	0	250
Mombasa			60
Kilifi	1,990	0	2,880
Taita			100
S. Nyanza	_		2,925
C. Nyanza	2,065	10	_
Kisii	_		5,020
Bungoma	15,126	10	16,054
Kakamega			8,000
Busia	6,133	0	9,007
Narok	1,575	0	3,860
Kajiado	3,775	0	1,085
Baringo	540	0	2,545
W. Pokot	1,650	0	1,250
Elgeyo - Marakwet	11,592	10	6,550
Nandi	3,100	0	3,006
Kericho	2,775	0	3,975
Laikipia	_		_
Uasin Gishu		.arge-S	cale Loan areas
Trans Nzoia	1,830	0	400
Nakuru	1,750	0	250
Nairobi	12,697	5	10,562
	•		

Certain district agricultural committees did not recommend the issue of loans because of the outstanding arrears thus freezing of the working of the revolving fund. Kitui furnishes a good example.

Ouestion No. 412

DEVELOPMENT LOANS AND SETTLEMENT: COAST PROVINCE

Mr. Ngala asked the Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry:

- (1) The number of development loans which had been given to Roka/Tezo, and Mtwaga settlers, in each case giving specific names of settlers who had received such loans and the amount involved separately.
- (2) How much land had already been earmarked for settlement in the Malindi Sub-district, apart from the Gedi Settlement Scheme.
- (3) How much State land was available for settlement in the Kurwitu, Shariani and Takaungu areas of Kilifi District.

The Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. McKenzie):

	Name				Amount Sh.
1.	Mwinyi Haji				1,000
	Baik Bin Mubarak		• • •	• • •	1,000
3.	Francis K. Charo				2,000
4.	Makupe Yawa				1,300
5.	Daniel M. Johana				2,000
6.	Nathan N. Ruwa				1,000
7.	Charo Mwaro				1,000
8.	Kazungu Maingi				2,000
9.)			1,500
10.	Julius M. Shemu				2,000
	Gideon Ngetsa				4,000
12.	Japhet K. Samuel				1,000
	William K. Shume				2,000
14.	Miahib bin Shaibu	1			3,000
	Abdulkadir Abdur				1,000
	Juma Saidkin				1,000
	Abdulkdir Khamis				1,000
	Jembe Maita			• • •	1,400
	George Karisa	••	••	• •	1,000
	Ngole Cheo	••	• •		1,000
	Chokwe T.M.C.	••	••		10,000
	Abdullahi Ali	• • •	• •		1,200
	Pala Masudi	• •	••	• • •	1,200
	Joseph J. Tembo	• •	• •	••	1,500
	Sharif H. Alwi	• •	• • •	• •	2,000
	Samson Zakaria	• • •	••	••	1,200
		akiti	••	••	1,000
	Khamis Bakari	aniti	• •	• •	1,000
	Shoka Mupe	• •	• •	• •	1,000
	Shadrack Chigiri	• •	• •	• •	1,000
	Ahmed Bin Chai	• •	• •	• •	5,000
51.	Annou Din Chai	• •	• •	• •	J,000
		Total		Sh.	56,300

[The Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry]

- 24,507 acres broken down as follows:-
- (a) Madunguni, 4,507 acres.
- (b) An area North Sabaki River—20,000. Investigations area on to establish the suitability of developing Adu for settlement.

10,455 acres broken down as follows: --

				Acres
Konjora .			 	4,142
Maji Ajani			 	1,942
Mavueni .			 	3,671
Kurwitu .			 	200
Kijipwa .			 	500
		Total	 	10,455

Question No. 599

PIPED WATERS, BARINGO DISTRICT

Mr. Sadalla asked the Minister for Natural Resources, Wildlife and Tourism if he would inform the House what he was doing to speed up the supply of piped water to the residents of Chemogoch, Saos, Emening and Radad Schemes, in order to save the people and their livestock from tedious journeys in search of water:—

- (a) If the responsibilities was for the local authorities, would the Minister indicate what advice he had so far given to the authorities in this connexion.
- (b) Had the Minister any tangible plans for providing some financial support for the local authorities for the supply of piped water in the area. If so, what were these plans.

The Minister for Natural Resources, Wildlife and Tourism (Mr. Ayodo): The planning of water development in any given area is basically the responsibility of the people concerned who, through their leaders, make their requirements known to the appropriate committee, such as the

district agricultural committee, and the district commissioner's planning team which forwards such requests through the provincial water committee to my Ministry.

It is my Ministry's responsibility to consider all requests, to comment on their feasibility, to carry out designs and estimates and to assist with installation works once the funds have been made available.

There has been no firm requests received through the proper channels from the residents of Chemogoch, Saos, Emening or Radad. Saos, however, is already being served by a piping scheme which delivers water to a large number of smallholdings. Chemogoch is served by a borehole and several dams. In Radad, water supplies have been provided at strategic points for ranching purposes by means of dams and tanks. In Emening, preliminary estimates of the likely cost of supplying water have been made.

There is a need for extending water supplies in all four areas, but the local authority has not put forward any requests or recommendations. Consequently, no financial provision has been made for these areas in this financial year and only £1,000 for minor improvements in the South Baringo District has been asked for in the 1966/67 estimates.

I would like to emphasize, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that to provide a piped water supply, requires enormous amounts of money. This means that users of a developed water supply would be expected to pay water rates calculated on the cost of operating and maintaining the supply and repaying the capital charge over an agreed period of years.

So far, the residents of South Baringo have shown no intention or readiness to meet these conditions. Their agricultural development has not reached the stage where the productivity could afford an elaborate form of water supply. I leave it to the people and their leaders to do their utmost to raise their productivity and to accept the responsibility of having to pay for the water before any major schemes can be initiated.

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OFFICIAL REPORT

Friday, 29th April 1966

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

No Questions on the Order Paper (Col. 2127)

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

Substantiation of Allegation: One-Party State (Col. 2127)

EXEMPTION FROM STANDING ORDERS: GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

Motion-Minister of State, President's Office-Agreed to (Col. 2128)

APPOINTMENT OF THE SESSIONAL COMMITTEE

Motion—Minister of State, President's Office—Agreed to (Col. 2129)

MOTION FOR THE ADJOURNMENT

Adjournment of the House: To a Day other than the next normal Sitting Day—Interrupted for Personal Statement (Col. 2137)

PERSONAL STATEMENT

Substantiation of Allegation: Intimidation (Col. 2140)

MOTION FOR THE ADJOURNMENT

Adjournment of the House: To a Day other than the next normal Sitting Day—Agreed to (Col. 2141)

Friday, 29th April 1966

The House met at nine o'clock.

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) in the Chair]

PRAYERS

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

No Questions on Order Paper

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Before commencement of business, I think I should explain to hon. Members why we have no questions on the Order Paper today, although strictly according to Standing Orders they should be there. It is simply that the proceedings of yesterday put our rather limited reporting staff under very heavy strain, and I felt sure that hon. Members would wish to show their usual consideration for these hardworking ladies by sparing them a little bit today.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, could I rise on a point of order?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Yes.

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): I have to be in the Senate and the Minister of State is taking on my business for the morning, but I do want, before I go, to substantiate the point I made yesterday in the debate.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That is quite in order. Would you remind the House, Mr. Mboya, just what the point was.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

SUBSTANTIATION OF ALLEGATION: ONE-PARTY STATE

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): The point was that I stated in the debate that certain Members who are now in the Opposition have, for a long time, been urging the establishment of a one-party State, leaving no room for an Opposition I was asked to substantiate this point and I want to do that now.

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, the hon. Minister said yesterday that there were Members in the Opposition who sought legalisation or to bring a Bill to Parliament to make it legal for a one-party system. For that reason, I do not know whether the hon. Member is going to quote a statement, that some Members of the Opposition said that a law should be made or that they urged people to come to one party.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): You are quite right; that is what he is asked to substantiate. You had better wait and see now what the substantiation is, had you not?

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development (Mr. Mboya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, while we had an Opposition in 1964, on the 20th July, this is a report that was made of a speech by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition. He stated—and I quote—". . . to devote all my efforts towards working for a one-party system in Kenya. My submission is that a one-party system is only possible if you legalize it." On that basis, I claim that they have been pledging that they would introduce a one-party State.

The other one was by the then Minister for Information who, at Baringo on Sunday, September 27th 1964, took part in a meeting, at which a resolution was passed urging that, were a referendum to be held, the meeting would support amendment to the Constitution so as to introduce a one-party State. That also, I submit, is proof of my contention and I will lay these documents on the Table.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think in support of Mr. Anyieni's contention, those who are working for a one-party system are not necessarily seeking legislation to enforce it; but, as regards the second incident mentioned by Mr. Mboya, it is quite clear that legislation was implied.

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, in the second allegation where the hon. Mr. Achieng-Oneko said that a plebiscite should be held to decide whether the country should have one political party or two, does that mean that the Member wanted to legalize the idea of only one party, in view of the fact that he was keeping in mind the wishes of the masses which the Government—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! Mr. Anyieni, I think the meaning of that second thing is quite clear. An amendment of the Constitution could only mean legislation, could it not? That was the point. We must go on now, I think. Hon. Members will have an opportunity to study these documents, of course.

MOTION

Exemption from Standing Orders:
Government Business

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to move:—

That the business of Order No. 7—Nomination of Sessional Committee—be exempted from the provisions of Standing Order 23 (Government Business) to permit the said business to take precedence over Private Members' Motions.

[The Minister of State, President's Office]

The purpose of this Motion, Mr. Speaker, is to enable the House to have the opportunity of nominating a new Sessional Committee which has been necessitated by the late political events in the country. The new Sessional Committee should be able to include some Members of the Opposition, as we all know, the present Sessional Committee had no such Members in it. It is the practice that in every Sessional Committee of a Parliament the Members of the Opposition should be able to take part to decide the work of the House. For that purpose, Mr. Speaker, as I will explain later, these changes have been effected and we think the House cannot be without a Sessional Committee which reflects these changes.

I do not want to take the time of the House any longer, this being a procedural Motion.

Mr. Speaker, I beg to move.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi) seconded.

(Question proposed)

(Question put and agreed to)

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): So we take Order No. 7.

MOTION

APPOINTMENT OF THE SESSIONAL COMMITTEE

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move: --

THAT the appointment of the Sessional Committee nominated by the House on 5th November 1965, be terminated and that there be nominated in its place a new Sessional Committee consisting of the following Members:

The Minister of State, President's Office (Chairman).

The Minister for Economic Planning and Development.

The Minister for Defence.

The Minister for Home Affairs.

The Minister for Local Government.

The hon. A. Oginga Odinga.

The hon. S. M. Amin.

The hon. B. M. Kaggia.

The hon. J. Z. Kase.

The hon. E. E. Khasakhala.

The hon. C. Kiprotich.

The hon. C. C. Makokha.

The hon. O. Makone.

The hon, W. M. K. Malu.

The hon. F. M. G. Mati.

The hon. R. G. Ngala.

The hon. K. K. Njiiri.

The hon. J. J. M. Nyagah.

The hon. J. Odero-Jowi.

The hon. J. C. N. Osogo.

The hon. A. J. Pandya.

The hon. P. L. Rurumban.

The hon. J. M. Shikuku.

The hon. J. K. ole Tipis.

Mr. Speaker, as I said earlier, the purpose of reconstituting the Sessional Committee is to bring it into a position where it can reflect the Membership of this House as it is today. The chairmanship of the committee always-according to parliamentary practice—is given to the Government, and since the Leader of the Opposition, who was the chairman of this committee, is no longer a member of the Government, this Sessional Committee will, therefore, have the Minister of State as the chairman. Nevertheless, utilizing the experience of the Leader of the Opposition, he is retained as a member of the Sessional Committee.

There has been also the inclusion of the names of the hon. Member for Kandara and the hon. Member for Elgon West, who are Members of the Opposition. That brings the total number of the Members of the Opposition in the Sessional Committee to three. This is fair, Mr. Speaker, taking into account the present number of Members of the Opposition in the House.

Mr. Speaker, the majority of the Sessional Committee always must favour the Government side and this is also contained in the newly-constituted Sessional Committee which the House is called upon to approve. We sincerely hope that it will not be necessary to reconstitute this Sessional Committee at a later date, thus hoping that the three Members of the Opposition who have been included in this committee will be able to be returned in the coming by-elections.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi) seconded.

(Question proposed)

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very unfortunate that the Government has failed to be realistic. If you look at the whole list, Mr. Speaker, you find that Nyanza Province has five people: one province only and it is a province of three districts only.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I understand that in the Sessional Committee Motions are selected and given priority. Consequently, if one looks at it, he might think it is only the Motions from Nyanza which will be getting support, since there is a kind of voting in the Sessional Committee.

The other point which I want to make, Mr. Speaker, is this. It is not proper just to put three Members of the Opposition in this Sessional Committee. It would have been fair to put in five or six and give the Government the upper hand, as

[Mr. Gichoya]

it is having. But three people only, I think, is wrong in principle. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wonder whether the Minister who comes from Kisii saw it fit to have another Kisii Member in the Sessional Committee. If any man with thinking capacity just looks at this, he will see that the Minister was not considering parts other than his own district: the Minister of State to the President's Office, hon. Mr. Nyamweya. Then we have Makone, from the same district: Kisii District. Is this the best way of sharing the booty? Mr. Speaker, as the whole thing stands-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I do not think, Mr. Gichoya, you should refer to the Sessional Committee as booty!

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the sort of Government which wants to make it a family affair; a Government for all but it must be more of the ujamaa type. This, Mr. Speaker, is a wrong principle and I would suggest that if we made one mistake long ago, it should never be repeated. I have said many times that even the Government of today, if you look at it, is typical ujamaa, family Government. That is all right, it is the Cabinet system, we agree with it, but the Sessional Committee ought to be a proper representative body and not just solving the family problems.

With these few words, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I disagree with the whole set-up.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to point out that, as far as the Government side is concerned, the hon. Members we have in the Sessional Committee are people we trust very much, because at least now, on the Government side, we are people of the same mind and we trust each other implicity. So it would not matter even if all the Members on the Government side in the Sessional Committee were from one province, because we trust each other so implicity that we know they will do exactly what all of us would like them to do.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member for Gichugu would like to see half or more Members in the Sessional Committee from the Opposition side, but how big is the Opposition? Is it not really fantastic to expect more than half the Opposition to be in the Sessional Committee? It has already been pointed out that the practice is that the representation in the Sessional Committee must reflect the strength of the parties concerned, and the fact of the matter right now is that the Opposition is so tiny that if we gave them more than five in the Sessional Committee we would by magnifying their size and importance beyond the facts of the case.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, most of the Members we have in the Sessional Committee have been there, they were elected previously almost unanimously and I do not see any reason why we should take so much time debating this matter over again.

I beg to support.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Speaker, the reasoning of the Assistant Minister for Labour is very interesting. He says that the Government group trusts each other so much that it does not matter whether all these Members come from one district; they will still do the job without minding. This is a pretence which will very shortly leave, and it is a pretence which refuses to recognize the facts.

Just before that, there is a Motion by one of the Members of the Government, urging that the Government should be able to appoint a Minister from not only the Coast but from the lower Coast. If the Members trust each other so well in the Sessional Committee, which can then work for the whole nation, how is it they cannot trust the Members of the Cabinet? How is it that they are demanding that there should be a Cabinet Minister from that particular area, the lower Coast, so that the problems of the lower Coast may be solved? I think, Mr. Speaker, it is not relevant, it is not something which is consistent with the argument forwarded by the Assistant Minister. I contend that our country must move to a situation where representation is fair.

I have no objection to Nyanza controlling because I also come from there and some of the Motions may be able to help Nyanza, whether I am in the Opposition or not. But then, to refuse to be selfish I think it would be fair that the Sessional Committee should be drawn from all parts of the country. I know the reason why it has been necessary to draw so many Members from Nyanza Province. One of the reasons is that the Minister who nominated these people comes from Nyanza; not only that but Nyanza has so many problems now that you have to bring all these people in order to try and solve the problems. But then, Mr. Speaker, I think the argument forwarded by the Member for Gichugu is very, very fair.

The other point which was mentioned by the Minister of State—that he hoped that the three Members of the Opposition would win their byelections— also raises another problem. I do not want to go into this because this is not the point of our discussion, but since it was mentioned by the Minister of State, it might be necessary for me to say something about it. The question of the Members winning the by-elections raises the question of when these by-elections are going to take place. According to-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): On the Third Reading, Mr. Anvieni, you heard me answer Mr. Oneko on that question. It is a matter for the Speaker not for the Government; I gave an assurance.

Mr. Anyieni: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I hope that the Government will not bring undue influence on the Speaker to delay unnecessarily the by-elections. For that reason, I want to assure the hon. Minister, the hon. Member for Nyaribari that-

Mr. Achieng-Oneko: A small Kisii town.

Mr. Anyieni: No, it is not a small Kisii town, it is a big Kisii town. My hon. Member here from Nakuru must realize that although I am in the Opposition, I am very proud of my small town and it should be called the largest town in Kenya.

Mr. Speaker, I want to assure the Minister that, all things being equal, there is no question of the hon. Mr. Oginga Odinga not coming back; there is no question of hon. Mr. B. M. Kaggia coming back; there is not even a question of hon. Mr. Makokha coming back, because he defeated the so-called leaders of the Abaluhva all the time and we believe that he will continue to beat them, if not this time, in 1968.

With those few remarks, I do not think I shall have too much objection to the Motion.

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. Osogo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as a member of the Sessional Committee that is now being terminated, I would like to point out a few things that have been said by the Members of the Opposition.

The hon, Mr. Gichova jumps to a very wrong conclusion about the number of Nyanza Members in this Sessional Committee. Sir, he failed to tell us here that the Sessional Committee now being terminated was biased, as he suspected, or was dealing unfairly with Motions placed by the Members, because if the hon. Member for Gichugu looked at the old Sessional Committee, he would find that there is no new Member on this committee, from the old Sessional Committee. on the Government side. He will find that the only new Members are from the Opposition side: two Members from the Opposition side. So this is one thing that I would like to clarify, which was said by the Member for Gichugu.

The other point, Sir is that the Sessional Committee has adopted a system of putting the Motions in a ballot box and they are picked out, so the question of more Members coming from any particular province does not arise at all. It is the ballot that decides on the Motions, Sir, and when this ballot is finished, the Motions come here to Parliament and notice of them is given.

I would like to assure the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi that the Leader of the Opposition, as they are appointed here, was consulted by the Government to give us names and there are three names, according to the percentage of the Members now sitting in the little corner, as the hon. Mr. Ngala called it. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, there were more Members then; we calculated them when they were twenty-three and gave them 10 per cent of the House. But now that they are only eight, we would not have given them so large a representation had we known.

Mr. Anyieni: Your arithmetic is rotten.

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. Osogo): Mr. Speaker, my arithmetic is not wrong because the results of polling yesterday proved that the Opposition had only remained with eight. In any case, if the others were suffering from fever----

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think I must correct you there, Mr. Osogo. On the Second Reading it was eleven for the Opposition. I think not all were present on the Third Reading possibly.

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. Osogo): Yes, Sir, I was going to say that some of them had already contracted fever in this House and had gone out, I hope they will come back here. Mr. Speaker, it is a fact that the hon. Members now sitting in the little corner yesterday were very sick.

Mr. Speaker, what I am trying to put to the Opposition is that we have been very fair, having calculated this on twenty-three Members of the Opposition. Now that they are eleven—with your correction, Mr. Speaker-we should just have given them one Member in the Sessional Committee.

With these few remarks, Mr. Speaker, I beg to have corrected what the hon. Members of the Opposition said.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I stand to support the Motion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very glad that the previous Sessional Committee is being terminated because when that Sessional Committee was formed, it was formed under all kinds of pressures and what not, and it was all made up of the Corner Bar group.

Mr. Speaker, one would have expected that an appeal from the Corner Bar group we should agree, and it was most surprising that when they

IMr. Okelo-Odongo)

went to meet up there in the Sessional Committee they could not agree, so they had to resort to balloting to choose Motions. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this, I think, is a very bad way of treating Motions, and I also think that this new committee should stop this. Mr. Speaker, Sir, what we had previously is that one finds motions appearing on the Order Paper which resulted in one man speaking for the whole day, because these Motions were taken by casting a lot or something like that. Mr. Speaker, Sir, these Motions were picked by people just choosing a piece of paper with their eyes blindfolded, and in many cases three papers were picked but they all belonged to the same person. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a very inefficient way of choosing the Motions that should be debated in this House. and it is not called for, because we are all intelligent people, and as my hon. friend, the Assistant Minister for Labour said, we all trust each other. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if we trust each other we should also be able to trust each other's thinking. I then think that the people should sit down, look at the Motions, exercise their judgement-fairly because they trust each other-and choose the best Motions for the day.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I do not think, Mr. Okelo-Odongo, we should go into all the questions of how the Sessional Committee should discharge its functions. It is only the question of finding people suitable to discharge those functions we are concerned with now.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: I am sorry, I was going out of the way a little bit.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I approve of the new Members because I think that perhaps the new Members will be able to stop that inefficient way of choosing, because it has been very inefficient and not the best way which we should have. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I also recommend the Committee because now we do not have any confusion but clear thinking and now the people will listen to each other's views without trying to exterminate them from the Sessional Committee and things like that.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

The Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Mr. Onamu): Now that the little corner, Mr. Speaker, Sir-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Not to be confused with the Corner Bar, because it is a little confusing sometimes.

The Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Mr. Onamu): Mr. Speaker, Sir, could I now call upon the Mover to reply?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think the House would like to consider the closure.

(Question, that the Mover be now called upon to reply, put and agreed to)

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweva): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I notice the House is in a very happy mood this morning and very liberal. I hope this is a change of tactics and policies to some of our Members who are now sitting here. I would only like to dispel some of the suspicions which have been expressed by some of the hon. Members, with whom, in the past, and even now, I still have some strong admiration.

First of all, perhaps I may start with what was said by the shadow Finance Minister, that there has not been any confusion among the previous Sessional Committee. As a matter of fact, we should pay compliments as to the efficient way the past Sessional Committee dispatched its business, I think I should also, at this stage, although not late, pay some tribute to the good work which the previous chairman of the Sessional Committee did in the Sessional Committee. Whatever system was devised in deciding the business of this House, I am sure the hon. Member who claims to be an expert on financial matters and some far-fetched economic policies, we are also qualified in other fields, like the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi and particularly me.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member for Nakuru Town, a good friend of mine, who, several times when he was Minister for Information, was invited to visit Kisii so that he could enjoy the peaceful and friendly atmosphere of the Kisii people, but he refrained from doing so because the air of Kisii was so good it was too good for him. I hope his colleague the Member for Majoge-Bassi will take this advantage and get his colleague, the ex-Minister, to see Kisii, then he will realize that I represent a very large town which is Kisii which is very progressive, in fact, more progressive than Nakuru.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I do not see how that is the concern of the Sessional Committee, Mr. Nyamweya.

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): There are no fatinas in that place, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, what the hon. Member for Gichugu said leaves a lot to be desired. The Sessional Committee has not been nominated in the way he thought; that I sat in my office and picked my relatives or my friends to go into it. As a matter of fact, if he cares to go through the list, he will see how fair the Government has been. Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, let him go down

The Minister of State, President's Officel

the list with me and he will find that there are four Members from Nyanza in the Sessional Committee, from the Western Province there are also four Members. There are four Members from the Rift Valley, Eastern Province there are three Members, Central Province-including Nairobithere are two Members-

Mr. Gichoya: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Minister in order to say that Nairobi is part of the Central Province?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): He has not said so. Anyhow, that is not a point of order.

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, from the Coast Province, there are three Members, also three Members from the North-Eastern Province. How else, Mr. Speaker, Sir, can the Government be fair?

Further still, Mr. Speaker, Sir, he has accused the Government of being unfair to the Opposition, that the membership is too low, that it should be increased to five. Mr. Speaker, Sir. according to my arithmetic, which I have worked out, the membership of the Sessional Committee, three who have been taken from the Opposition side, comes to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total membership. But, Sir, on the Government side it is only 18 per cent of the total membership of the Government side. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are being very generous, very generous indeed. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, since we believe in getting the voices of the minority heard, and also protected, we have thought it fit to give the Opposition that high percentage in the Sessional Committee membership.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad for the co-operation we have received this morning from the Members of the Opposition. I hope they will continue to do so in matters of national importance.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

(Question put and agreed to)

MOTION FOR THE ADJOURNMENT

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE TO A DAY OTHER THAN THE NEXT NORMAL SITTING DAY

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that this House do now adjourn until Tuesday, 24th May 1966.

Mr. Omar: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am wondering why the Minister for State has moved this Motion for the adjournment when my Motion appears next on the Order Paper.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I am afraid, Mr. Omar, that that is something any Member has to face at any time. In spite of business being on the Order Paper, it is always open for a Member to move the substantive adjournment of the House. As you see, there was warning that this would happen today not later than 10.30 a.m., and it is happening now. You cannot resist it; except, of course, in the debate, you can speak and vote against the adjournment of the House.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi) seconded.

(Question proposed)

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, usually I know when the House adjourns like it is proposing to do the time given is five minutes for every Member to speak on anything. Now, Sir, there is the question of refusing to adjourn the House and proceeding with the Motions on the Order Paper until a certain time, Sir, if we speak now opposing the adjournment, will one be allowed to speak generally afterwards on other things?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No, that is part of the debate on the adjournment. When there is a substantive Motion for the adjournment of the House, hon. Members have the right of speaking either to oppose the adjournment or to put before Government things that the Government should be doing while the House is adjourned, before they have the opportunity of meeting and criticizing again. That is what gives such freedom of discussion on motions of this kind. But you can, if you like, concentrate the whole of your five minutes on why we should not adjourn at all. But you cannot have two chances.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, again this morning, it is very unfortunate that the Government which is expected to be responsible has acted irresponsibly. Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the Order Paper, Motion No. 6 which says, the Government should aid within the 1966/67 financial year all Harambee secondary schools where parents have completed construction of modern classrooms and teachers' houses, because the Government fears to face facts, that if this Motion is passed it will not implement the decision of this House, it is rushing through the business of the day in order to show to the country that they are still planning for the development of this country. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have been challenged many times that we do not carry out any Harambee jobs, or any Harambee activities, but Sir, here is the case of a Harambee secondary school where the parents have done their maximum and now the intention is that the Government ought to

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assist them. But, Sir, now the motion on the adjournment has been brought about in order to block this Motion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel that it is very unfortunate, and I am going to tell my people in Gichugu that their Motion, which they thought very vital, has been blocked by the Government.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are now leaving the Parliament, and I am wishing "good-bye" to every hon. Member who is going to remain here, but I hope that next time I will be back with a fresh mandate as was suggested yesterday. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must say this. The only thing which we do not expect is intimidation practised by the Government, and even—

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, would it not be fair for the hon. Member for Gichugu, if he could reserve all these things to be said in his five minutes, rather than now, when I suppose he is dealing with whether the House should adjourn or not?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): He is using his five minutes.

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): I am sorry.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I appeal to the Government for them to let it remain a civilized Government and afford the Members of the Opposition equal facilities as the Kanu candidates and if that is done it will be proved beyond any reasonable doubt that the mob which has been left in this House is a mob which has no backing in their respective constituencies but the few people who are leaving this House to go and get a fresh mandate, as dictated by the mob which has no brains in this House, will come back——

The Assistant Minister for Education (Mr. Mutiso): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Member speaking at the moment, in order to describe the hon. Members in this House as a mob: a mob of no sense?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No, you must withdraw that word. I did not hear him, but if you did use it you must withdraw it.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I mean the hon. Members.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): You did not mean to call them a mob. I am sure.

Mr. Gichoya: No, Mr. Speaker, Sir, they are the hon. Members of the House and they are also the majority which constitutes a mob.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Oh no, Mr. Gichoya, a mob is an offensive term which you do not apply to all majorities.

Mr. Gichoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say this. The hon. Member for Yatta, who has a very big voice in this House, may not have a strong voice in his own constituency. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have made a tour of Ukambani, and there he is, more or less, a man without a home.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, what I want to say is this. We are going to win the elections and we are going to return here with a fresh mandate and we shall be the ones to rule this country in the next general election. I would like to request the Members of the Government to have even a simple bit of common sense and respect human dignity and the Constitution which we have given unto ourselves. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if they go on abusing the Constitution, then by 1968, Mr. Speaker, Sir, these people will never face this Parliament. They will regret this, because our party, the KPU, will be in power and we shall be fair to you gentlemen. So, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we also expect fair play from the people who are in the Government today.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Odinga, I think you had a point of order which you wanted to raise.

PERSONAL STATEMENT

SUBSTANTIATION OF ALLEGATION: INTIMIDATION

Mr. Odinga: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday I was requested by the Minister for Commerce and Industry to substantiate some of the intimidatory acts which the Government has applied on the Opposition Members.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think the point is that the Government had penalized the Members of the Opposition by removing them from certain boards. That is the particular one; the particular substantiation.

Mr. Odinga: Yes, Mr. Speaker, Sir, and I have here two letters, although there are several others which I have not been able to get hold of but in time, I will probably be able to collect some more. However, Sir, there is a letter written to the hon. J. D. Kali, Member of Parliament, which reads as follows: "I would inform you that after consultation, and due consideration, I have decided to recognize the expert promotion council, and with this in view, your appointment with this council is being terminated. Your past assistance and valuable contribution as a member of this council has been very much appreciated by me and I would like to express my sincere thanks for the services you have rendered."

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that does not, categorically, mean that it is being done because he is not actually in the Government, but in the second letter which I have here, which is written

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by the same Minister to J. D. Kali again, which states: "This is to inform you that I have decided to terminate your appointment as one of the directors of the Kenya National Trading Corporation, for the simple reason that this corporation was founded in order to help the Government to accelerate its Africanization in commerce. Since you do not now support the Government, I feel it my duty to appoint somebody else who will be interested in Kenya and its problems." This letter was signed by the Minister for Commerce, Industry and Co-operative Development.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is another letter here, although a little bit different, but written by the principal of the Immigration Department to Mr. Bala, which reads: "I am directed by the Minister to inform you that the Government has decided to withdraw your passport and that this passport should be surrendered within the next forty-eight hours to this department."

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I do not remember you being asked to substantiate anything about that.

Mr. Odinga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are several such letters. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we consider these as intimidation because we only received them when we took our decision to leave the Government and join the Opposition. We consider that that is intimidation.

The Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Mr. Onamu): On a point of order. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I understand the hon. Member correctly, he is alleging that the Members who had crossed over to the Government side were being intimidated, but not those Members who are already with him.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No, order, Mr. Onamu. The particular thing that Mr. Odinga was asked to substantiate, and I am sure of my recollection that it is the only thing, was his statement that Members who have joined the Opposition had been penalized by being removed from certain boards. Those first two letters which Mr. Odinga read were his substantiation of that. The other one, concerning passports, I do not think is relevant to any matter that he was required to substantiate. This matter is finished now.

MOTION FOR THE ADJOURNMENT

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE: TO A DAY OTHER THAN THE NEXT NORMAL SITTING DAY

(Resumption of debate interrupted by Personal Statement)

Mr. Omar: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel that is was most unfortunate that the Minister of State moved a Motion on adjournment before I moved my Motion, which is Order No. 5. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thought I would get a chance to move this Motion so that I could air my views and the views of the Coast people as a whole, with regard to the appointment of Ministers in the Kenya Cabinet. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I appreciate that the appointment of Ministers to the Cabinet is entirely the responsibility of His Excellency. the President, but, Sir, I think there are some Ministers who can advise His Excellency the President on how the appointment of the Ministers should be carried out, to cover the whole country so that every corner of the country gets adequate representation in the Cabinet.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, at present, most of the Ministers in the present Cabinet come from upcountry, whereas there is only one Minister from the Coast. Mr. Mwanyumba is the only Minister from the Coast area. Also, Mr. Speaker, Sir. we have only one Assistant Minister from the lower Coast. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the north of the Coast covers about five districts, and since Mombasa is the second capital of Kenya, and has big industries and big difficulties and a Kanu headquarters, we feel that His Excellency should appoint some of the Coast Members of Parliament as Ministers so that he can air the views of the Coast people and the difficulties.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we know very well the importance of the Cabinet, because that is the Head of the Government. Things come from the Cabinet to Parliament and then on to the civil servants for implementation. Now, Sir, if the Coast people do not have any Ministers in the Cabinet, their views are then not properly heard in the Cabinet, therefore they do not get equal representation. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we feel very strongly that His Excellency should be advised to appoint some lower Coast Members of Parliament as Ministers. I understand, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that there are a few vacancies now for Ministers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think His Excellency should be advised that when he considers filling these posts of the Ministers, he should think of appointing Ministers of the Lower Coast so that we can feel that we also have a proper share in the Cabinet and fair representation. I am not mentioning any Member, that rests entirely with His Excellency. He will decide for himself who should be appointed a Minister, because the Ministers can help their people even in the selfhelp projects, where you find that some of the Ministers are contributing, but, Sir, in the Lower Coast we do not have any Ministers, therefore,

[Mr. Omar]

Sir, we do not get subscriptions to the self-help projects. If we did have Ministers, then we are sure that they would contribute quite a lot of money to these self-help projects. Also if there were any functions taking place at the Coast, instead of us getting a Minister from upcountry coming down to us, we would have our local Minister there to attend all these opening ceremonies.

So, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the Ministers who are here, although they are chatting, will take this into account very seriously and advise His Excellency to appoint some Members of Parliament of the Coast to become Ministers in the Cabinet.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to support.

Mr. Somo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I just rise to support my hon. colleague for what he has said. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you look at the Cabinet you will see that Kiambu has produced five Ministers and one Attorney-General. At Shauri Movo you will find another Minister who resigned long ago. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will find that another Minister, Dr. Waiyaki, is also of the same tribe. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you come to the Coast you find no Minister at all, but at Nakuru. you find two Assistant Ministers although two have resigned. This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, shows the public clearly that this Government is being run unfairly.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, what we feel towards this Government of Kenya is that the Government should be a Government of the people of Kenva and not a Government for the Luo or the Kikuyu. I quite agree with the Opposition that there is no Government in the whole of the world without an Opposition. If there is no Opposition, it means that the Government is run as a dictatorship and we feel that we should be a democratic Government and give a chance to other people and that if the Government is doing its job, we must congratulate it, but yet if the Government has failed to do its work, then other people should be given a chance to air their views. Mr. Speaker, Sir, although I support the Government, I still stand firm for the good of it and the benefits.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with these few remarks, I just stand to support my hon. colleague for Mombasa Town, that his Motion should be discussed today.

Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I would like to make a few remarks within this five minutes.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think it is disappointing to note that our Government, which is an African Government, seems to be gradually conspiring against the people of this country. Mr. Speaker, Sir, during the colonial time, our voters' roll was made up. The minimum age was eighteen years. This Government of ours is suggesting a new rule and the minimum age has been raised by three years to twenty-one years. That means that a big portion of our people who could vote under the -

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I think the hon. Member is misleading the House by making an allegation that, at any time in Kenya history, people under the age of twentyone have been allowed to register.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, what I am saying is that under the voters' roll which was made by the Colonial Government in 1962, the minimum age was eighteen; and under this one, which the Government has just made, the minimum age has been raised to twenty-one. That means this Government is denying a big portion--

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. Osogo): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, to my recollection, the forms that we filled in when we were registering as voters contained the age of twenty-one, and unless the Assistant Minister produces a form to show us that the age was eighteen, he should substantiate the age for registration in 1962 was eighteen.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, I think it is they that bear the burden of proof. I know that it was eighteen; now it is twenty-one.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): No. If you are questioned as to the accuracy of any law you quote, you must be prepared to produce the law, Mr. Okelo-Odongo, or acknowledge that you are not certain.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thought that this was common knowledge, but it seems that this Government probably does not know what it is doing. Then I leave that one, Mr. Speaker, and I go to another one.

The Government has now protected itself against the opinions of the people of this country, so that even if this Government wishes to do the opposite of the opinions of the people of this country, there is nothing the people can do about it. The representatives of those people in this House have become the prisoners of the Government. If they disagree with the Government, the

[Mr. Okelo-Odongo]

Government merely asks them to resign and go and seek a new mandate. Mr. Speaker, Sir, now this, I think, is another thing where our Government has demonstrated that it is denying and continuously going to deny people freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I think there is still time for leaders of this country to find out ways and means whereby people's opinion can find expression, and I would suggest in this case that our President would do the country a great deal of good if, for instance, this provision, whereby the Members of Parliament are not allowed to disagree at all; the President should also give the people of this country the right to recall a Member. This would create the necessary balance to restore justice between the Government and the people of Kenya because, Mr. Speaker, I was even surprised yesterday when the Minister of the Government said that when a Member disagrees with the Government, he is told to resign; when he resigns, the Government still follows him in his constituency to fight him there, I believe, with money. Now, whose money is this going to be, the taxpayer's money, to fight somebody else's election or what?

The Assistant Minister for Home Affairs (Mr. Nyagah): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, can the hon. Member speaking now substantiate that it was a Minister of the Government who said that these people will be followed to their constituencies?

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: I can produce the HAN-SARD where the Minister for Economic Planning and Development said that any Member who disagrees with the Government is given the opportunity to resign and when he resigns, he will meet the Government in his constituency. He said that. What I am saying is that-

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Order! I recollect what Mr. Okelo-Odongo said. At the same time, I am afraid I must stop him on this particular line of discussion. There are many things one can discuss on a Motion for adjournment of the House, but not a Bill which has just been concluded by a whole day's debate the previous day. We cannot resume a debate like this in another Motion for adjournment.

Mr. Okelo-Odongo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, all I am saying is that the trend which seems to be developing in our Government is unfortunate and that it will be a sad day when our people will have to contend with the realization that the Uhuru we fought for so hard was not really going to bring true freedom to an individual in this country.

Mr. Kaggia: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as we are now going to our constituencies after the Government has passed the law to remove us from the House, I would ask the Government to come out as men and allow these Members who are going to fight elections freedom of holding meetings, and so on. The reason why I am saying this, Mr. Speaker, is that since we crossed the Floor, many of our Members have been refused an opportunity to hold meetings in their areas. The Government here has challenged us to go back to our electors. We are prepared to do this, and as we made our case very strongly yesterday as to our Opposition to the Bill in principle, we are now prepared to go back to face the electors. But we would like the Government to be prepared to give us freedom of meeting the constituents and we are going to prove to them that we have the masses or our voters behind us.

Mr. Speaker, the other thing I would like to say is that we have come openly to oppose this Government and we have said it very openly. We have formed a political party and, under the Constitution of this country, there is nothing to stop anyone forming a political party, as we are told. If this is true and if the Government has the courage to act in accordance with the Constitution, we challenge the Government to register the Kenya People's Union as soon as possible. so that this party has the freedom of fighting Kanu on an equal basis. If the Government hides under the Registrar of Organizations, who seems to be using delaying tactics so as not to register the Kenya People's Union, and the Government continues to pay lip service to this-"We are allowing as many parties as you can"-and yet they do not register us, this is going to prove to be cowardice. So, as we are prepared to fight Kanu candidates, we challenge the Government to register the party.

Then the other point, Mr. Speaker—as we are now going to the campaign—is that it has happened in the past that when we have elections. this Government, being so unpopular and so cowardly, are not ashamed in many cases to use civil servants to support and maintain their favourite candidates. I can prove this, Mr. Speaker. It has happened in my district many times. If I can only give an example of the last Senate election, the candidate that we were supporting was not a favourite of the Government and the Government was supporting another favourite of theirs. To see that this candidate of theirs, who was so unpopular, was returned, they used every machinery. They used the Administration, the police to arrest our supporters, so that their candidate might come through. One instance which was very interesting

[Mr. Kaggia]

was that when they failed to arrest our supporters on various pretexts, they arrested a group of Kanu Governing Council in the Kanu office. This was the first act of its kind in the history of this country, which never happened even in the days of the Colonial Government. Yet this Government was not ashamed to do it at this time, to see that their favourite came out. This is only a mere example. If they could do this when both candidates were Kanu, how much more they can do it when they are dealing with the Kenya People's Union candidate. So we warn you that you must stick to the dignity of a responsible Government and be courageous enough to face us equally without fear.

Another point, Mr. Speaker, is that we are told that many of these Members do nothing in their constituencies. So much has been said by this Government about Harambee secondary schools; because they have failed to provide secondary schools for this country, they have been signing Harambee secondary schools, many of which do not exist. People build Harambee secondary schools and Harambee clinics, but nothing is being done in those schools. After the school is built, the Government are not prepared even to provide teachers. They are not even prepared to provide desks or anything, so many schools are staying idle without teachers because the Government cannot provide them, but they are only intending to deceive the world that we are building so many Harambee secondary schools, so many clinics—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That is the end of your time, I am afraid, Mr. Kaggia.

The Assistant Minister for Education (Mr. Mutiso): Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker.

I would like to take this opportunity to clarify a few points which have been raised by the Members of the Opposition. Mr. Speaker, Sir, one thing which I will touch very briefly is the question of the voters. Mr. Speaker, you remember when we were first registering as voters, a person with property, a person who was rich, could have more than two votes, according to what property he had. I think, Mr. Speaker, at the present moment, the Government has made it necessary only for the citizens of this country to register as voters and to have only one vote. The Members of the Opposition are asking me what I am talking about, but it is really astonishing to see that the Members of the Opposition are not conversant with what was happening during the first time when we registered as voters. It is very evident that if you stayed in a place for more than four years, you had a lot of property, you could have

more than two votes and have more say in electing a candidate, rather than the indigenous person of the country who had nothing. All these things, Mr. Speaker, were the products of the Colonial Government, and this Government has been in a position to clarify the position and has made it easier for the citizen of this country, so that only citizens can register as voters and can vote for the candidates. This is a very courageous step which the Government has taken.

The other thing I would like to touch, Mr. Speaker, is the question of the Members who are now going out to face the electors. Mr. Speaker, many times in this House it has been alleged that the Government has lost touch with the people and that the people should be given a chance to air their views or to decide whether they support the Government, and that the Government has done nothing. It is the very same Members, Mr. Speaker, who are now asked by the Government to go back and seek a new mandate from the public, who have been spreading these rumours. I, personally, Mr. Speaker, see no reason why the hon. Members who are now going out should have any fear. If they had the mandate of their own electors to cross the Floor and form an opposition to Kanu and the Government, there is no cause to fear. They should go back and get this mandate, and when they come back to this House, next time, I am sure the Government will listen to them, knowing very clearly that they have the backing of their own electors.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): We cannot go back on yesterday's debate, Mr. Mutiso.

The Assistant Minister for Education (Mr. Mutiso): Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, the hon. Member who is questioning my crossing the Floor last time is ignorant of the fact that when the African People's Party crossed the Floor we held meetings in our constituencies.

Mr. Speaker, leaving that aside, I would like to come to the question which the hon. Member for Kandara has just touched: the question of Harambee schools. Mr. Speaker, it is of no use for any hon. Member here in this Chamber to talk of Government having failed to produce teachers. I wonder, Mr. Speaker, if the Government has some machines for producing teachers. There is only one channel, and that is having people who have the qualifications to teach and most of these hon. Members, Mr. Speaker, are ex-teachers. They have run away from the teaching profession, they have come to this House and yet they come here and criticize the Government, that it has failed to staff the schools! Where is the Government going to get the teachers from? The only machinery.

[The Assistant Minister for Education]

Mr. Speaker, is to have the people with the qualifications to teach the young generation of this country, and this is exactly what the Government is doing.

Mr. Speaker, if this Government has failed or has not, up to this moment, fulfilled all its pledges, I wonder how long it will take the Kenya Peoples' Union to do a thing in this country.

Mr. Khaoya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to support the adjournment Motion on the ground that we should give sufficient time for the hon. Members in that small group to go and plan their strategy for their campaign.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to warn our Government and our Ministers now that this is the time they should not be idle. Our Ministers must now move in the country, they must see every bit of Kenya. I should like to see some of them in Bungoma District because I find, Mr. Speaker, that when we visit our Ministers here, they seem to be very, very busy indeed in their offices. I find, when they come out, probably they have more sense in their heads, and probably it would be a very good idea if they now took advantage of having disciplined our colleagues here and putting them in the proper perspective; they should now come out.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to emphasize this point because some parts of Kenya-and, for that matter, Bungoma District, which previously was politically aligned to Kadu—have been lagging behind the economic progress in the country. I find, for instance, when we had the Tripartite Agreement, when we had about 40,000 people employed as a result of that agreement, our people of Bungoma failed to get any bit because then they happened to be in their own group. Now that we are in the right group, we would like to see Ministers visiting this district to correct the imbalance which was a sort of hangover of the political system we had.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to dwell very much on this point because only recently we were to see the Minister in the Office of the President, but because of these hon. Members' misbehaviour he had to cancel his visit to Kakamega-and yesterday, in particular, he was to be in our area-to come and discipline our fellows here. Mr. Speaker, I should like to see-

Mr. Shikuku: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is the hon. Member in order to refer to hon. Members here who are in the Opposition as "these fellows"?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Hon. Members, please, Mr. Khaova.

Mr. Khaoya: They are hon. Members, Mr. Speaker: it is only that they are unfortunate.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to point out that unless and until the Government which we have put in power can plan with a sense of responsibility, I think our country is going to be in a mess of one kind or another. I find, for instance, in my area, Mr. Speaker, we have a very rich country with very good potential. I understand that some time a very clever imperialist found some oil at Kimilili, but just because the imperialist was being chased out as we were going to get independence, he very cleverly covered that oil, put on some soil and said, "All right, there is no oil here." I would like to see our Minister responsible visiting this district and see if we can get experts to uncover this and see whether this oil is there or not. If it is there, is it not really going to help this country by getting income into this country? If it is there, surely, why should our Government be slack in trying to detect it and trying to utilize it? I think on this point we have to show the Government that this is the time it must come up and show that they are people we can trust all the time.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to touch on one point which one hon. Member raised here, with regard to appointments when applying for a Minister's job. I think that was not a very clever way of going about his business. I should have thought that probably now that a few vacancies have occurred, the hon. Member-I think it was the hon. Omar—would have kept quiet and seen what the Government is going to do, I do not think it is a very clever way of trying to come here and beg for a Ministry, because if we were allowed to do so, surely everybody here among those who have not crossed to the Kenya People's Union would be a very good candidate. But I should like to see that hon. Members are responsible, know the machinery for Ministerial appointments, and also realize that, in fact, these appointments are given as the result of very careful consideration by the Government, and, for that matter, we should not come here and beg for ourselves and our friends here.

I see, Mr. Speaker, that my time is over, but I support the adjournment Motion. Thank you.

Mr. Ngei: Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a few words because I think I have been keeping quiet for a long time and perhaps the hon. Members of this House and the public might think that I have gone into recess when things are getting worse.

[Mr. Ngei]

I would like to remind the hon. Members that I passed through a very difficult time when I was accused of several serious matters, and I have been waiting and thinking until the matters, which were touched on in Parliament and outside, are out and everybody knows about them. I do not intend to go into that because the inquiry report has not come out, but it has been seen from the judgement which was delivered by the Senior Magistrate at Kisumu that the allegation that I received £2,250 was unfounded and, of course, I do not want to add any more, because it was there.

Mr. Speaker, from there I want to originate from my simple thinking that Kenya will not be helped by serious allegations against other people, be it that they belong to the Opposition or to the Government. I am not-and I want to repeat this—going to be afraid of any Opposition from any corner, provided I am guided by one thing, and this is what I call the guiding star. I am guided by the truth and service to the people of Kenya. I would like to ask the hon. Members to take—and I know they are clever enough—as a guiding star to the progress of the Kenya people, only service and nothing else, service to the people. If we could really think about service to the people, then we would not be having a lot of confusion in this country. We have been told by our President Kenyatta that we politicians in this House must be a shining example to our own people in activities that affect their lives. I think I am not acting like a preacher, but it is my firm belief that no matter what you pretend to be, the main judges of yourself are the people who have given you a mandate to represent them in this House.

If we could provide good service, if we could not see the hon. Anyieni's face and think that it looks bad to us, then we could contain each other in this beautiful country of ours. We can talk some politics, we are not trying to be preachers in a church who pretend to show that everything is good, but everything that is not within the church is bad, and they liken it to a whited sepulchre. But let us face the fact today. It is true that this Government, to which I belong, must be prepared to promote the African traders, the African farmers and the welfare of the society of Kenya. It must cut privilegesif I am not interrupted: I was quiet when the hon. Member was speaking! I think you understand what I say by that.

So we must be prepared. I am not saying that the Government I belong to has done nothing. I think we shall be cheating our own conscience when we say the present Government has done nothing, but we want the Government to do something more. I have been told by the African traders and farmers that they want to see the Government promote them, so that they can do better agriculture, better trade, etc. We want also people who are in labour, people who are employed in various activities of the circle, to get promotion, etc. I am sounding a note of caution, that the Government must not lull itself into a sense of security and think that it has completed everything and there is nothing undone.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Bala: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I wish to take this opportunity to say a few words before we leave this Chamber this morning, which I hope we are going to leave for some time.

An hon. Member: You will come back.

Mr. Bala: I can assure my colleagues that we shall come back.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to say a few words on this Motion for adjournment. Our Government has been in office for about three years and in all these three years, we have not had any tangible plan. We had what we call the 1963-1970 Development Plan, and, in the course of last year, we were told that this plan was being revised so that by the end of December, we could get this plan ready. Up to now, Mr. Speaker, the country has not been told of any revised plans and, as a result, you find that the country is moving in darkness. We do not have any reasonable programme whereby we, as the Members for the public, could tell the public that this is what the Government plans to do. As a result, you find very, very large numbers of unemployed people, people who are supposed to contribute to the economy of the country, are roaming about in the streets, roaming about at home.

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) left the Chair]
[The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza) took
the Chair]

They have no shambas, they have no place to sleep in and yet these are the people who are supposed to be taxpayers of the country. They are made to be parasites of a certain few individuals who are working, so that when some-body is earning a little money, he has to feed so many people who are idle. I do not think this is the sort of Government the people of Kenya expected to have. We expected to have a Government which is of the people and which is supposed to help the people and look after the people of the country. But we did not expect to

fMr. Balal

have a Government which only a few people can enjoy and live happily and the rest of the lot go hungry, walk about in the street, without being cared for.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, some people say that the Kenya People's Union and Kanu have no differences. We on this side of the House feel that we have a big difference with the present Kanu Government, because we feel that the Government is not caring for the masses. They do not care whether some people go without education; they do not care whether some people go without food; they feel that they are doing something for the country, whereas we see that they are not doing anything.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, he is asking me what I am doing. I wish he could have allowed me to be one of the Cabinet Ministers and see what I can do. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I hope very soon, when the Kenya People's Union come into power, he will see how much we can do for the country, and it will not be very long before we come into power.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, when this House adjourns, I wish the Government would take adquate steps and see that we have irrigation schemes in places like Kano, Bunyala, Busia, places where people are actually suffering from this over-flood of water. Recently, we understood the Government was taking some steps, but we would expect the Government not to employ itself on the question of delaying tactics which have been going on for years. I know for certain that the Government is fond of making big Press statements, that it is doing this, and, again, it takes so many years before implementation of the projects.

Now that we are going to stand for re-election, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I hope the Government will be fair to us and see that the meetings which are presently banned in the country are permitted, because you cannot expect us to go and talk to the people secretly. Then you will charge us with subversion. We want to come out, we want to be open, to talk to the people publicly, criticize you as much as we can, so long as we are lawful. But we would not expect the Government to try and ban meetings so as to say later on that we were unpopular with the people. In fact, we are very popular; that is why the Government is afraid. If the Government knew we were not popular, it would have licensed meetings in all parts of the country, so that it could see how best we talk to the people and how best we can tell the people of this country the truth, because the Government promised so many things in 1963, that by 1970 we should have about 180 secondary schools, but so

far in my district I have not seen a single school built by the Government, and three years have passed. So if, after five years, the Government was going to have built 180 secondary schools, surely by now the Government must have built at least something like 60 or 80 schools, but nothing has been done.

I am sorry, Mr. Deputy Speaker, my time is up.

Mr. Wariithi: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have one or two things to recommend to the Government during this time of the recess.

It is quite true that we have had a very brief sitting in which we have passed a very important piece of legislation, in that it is unique, unparalleled, probably not found anywhere else in the world, but the point which I would like to communicate to my learned, hon, friend here is that a Constitution of any country is taken to be the supreme law of the land, and it is usually provided in the same Constitution the way of amending that Constitution. You find invariably that a Constitution is not amended like any other piece of legislation, it has special provisions as to how you amend that Constitution and usually the percentage is very high, to make it difficult to amend.

However, during the last four or five months we have had two amendments to our Constitution. What is disturbing some of us, I think, who have had a kind of formal education, is that we seem to be amending our Constitution any time a crisis arises. A few months ago, a few Members were sent to prison, and because of that crisis, an amendment was brought to amend the Constitution to provide for that kind of situation. A few weeks ago, a few Members left the governing party. Again, another amendment was brought to provide for that kind of situation.

It is disturbing if this kind of a precedent is to be followed. Any time a new development arises in this country, we come to the House and amend the Constitution. We do not even know how far we can continue amending until maybe there is no Constitution, or go on adding and deleting certain sections. So it is my sincere desire and request to my Government that during this period of recess we should have all the brains, all the experts you have in the Attorney-General's Office, all the lawyers or those who have specialized in constitutional law, to sit down and go through the entire Constitution and have one Bill to provide for all these eventualities.

We are told that in Africa there are certain conventions, and certain practices, which are found in other countries and are not found in Africa. Therefore, you cannot copy, maybe, what is done in other countries. But I believe also that

[Mr. Wariithi]

if we had our own people who could sit down, knowing the African mind, the African way of thinking, what they would respect, they could draft a Constitution which would not just be treated like any other Act in the Laws of Kenya. I say this in all sincerity, in that some of us are getting a bit disturbed, when we come to every session, and find there is an amendment to the Constitution. Up to now some of us do not even know what is the actual Constitution. If you ask for a single document providing the Constitution, you cannot get it. If you have to go through all the amendments, it takes you a hell of a time to know exactly what is part of it and what is not.

My learned friend here is taking quite a number of notes on what I am saying, but my own interest is only to see that we respect and work in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Unfortunately, in Africa of late we have seen how Constitutions have been treated, just like a piece of paper you put in your pocket one day and you announce the Constitution is suspended. I hope and pray that this will not happen in Kenya.

But in any case, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would not like to say very much, just this. During this period of recess, let us have our Government thinking deeply: let them appoint even a commission to go into the whole question of our Constitution, so that we do not have to amend it like any other Act, such as a traffic Act. Sometimes you amend it because some development takes place or you forget to legislate on cars or something, and then you can come to the House on just a simple majority. But the Constitution, I sincerely submit, is a different piece of law.

Mr. Kase: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say a few words here.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would like to ask the hon. Members who today have gone to the place we were in 1963 to be patient; they will find it difficult in Opposition. I am just telling them this with all sincerity. Let them not begin complaining that the Government will use civil servants. It is these same hon. Members, Mr. Deputy Speaker, who when we were complaining then, were laughing at us. Mr. Deputy Speaker, you cannot take a knife, cut somebody's body and they say that is pleasant, but when that knife cuts you, you say that this knife is bad; you cannot have it that way. Mr. Deputy Speaker, let them just be patient, let them plan what they want and let them tell us what they want.

Here, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would like also to ask Government, not just to reject the registration of their party. We are interested in knowing what their policy is. We know a Government has

weaknesses. Even a married man and his wife have weaknesses, Mr. Deputy Speaker. There is no Government which is perfect in this world. Even the most socialist country has mistakes and the most capitalistic country has mistakes. There is no government in this world that has no mistakes. I think, Mr. Deputy Speaker, hon. Members who are in the Opposition today should be very careful how they handle some issues. It is useless to find a hungry man and tell him, "You are hungry; Government is not giving you food." He becomes more disappointed; you are not helping him. I think it would help the Members of the Opposition, Mr. Deputy Speaker, if they would come out and say, "This country has no teachers; we think if we follow this method we shall get teachers." We shall listen to them, but if they just come and say that we have no teachers and that the Government is doing nothing, without bringing an alternative-

Mr. Anyieni: Wait for our manifesto.

Mr. Kase: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I did not shout down the hon. Member when he was speaking; I think he should keep quiet now.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are not going to listen and here I would ask Government, too, to be strict. They should not allow empty and unnecessary confusion. The Government already knows that there are not enough teachers. It is useless for somebody to go also and explain that the Government has not provided teachers. They know it. Do you think they do not? Somebody who is hungry knows that he is hungry; you do not need to tell him.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I believe that if I go back, I can teach, but there are some hon. Members here who have had no experience of anything. I do not know what they can go and do; perhaps go and sit on the road. Some hon. Members here, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I understand, were Youth Wingers of some people in Nairobi, and today they come and challenge me. I have my KT1 certificate and I can go back and teach.

Neglecting all these unnecessary interruptions, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would like to end by saying that Government should not allow unnecessary confusion in this country and the Government should take firm measures. The people are never going to accept this. I will not accept it in my constituency, and if any hon. Member here or any person in the Kenya People's Union comes to my constituency just to exploit unnecessary issues, without giving some proper, constructive ideas, he will have it. The people are the judges.

Now, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am not threatening anybody, I am not the Government—

Mr. Anyieni: On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member of the Government who is speaking, is his speech not amounting to an intimidation?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): Order! I do not think it really amounts to intimidation. I think it is just a statement of what might happen. I do not think it is quite intimidation.

Mr. Kase: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if the hon. Member would let me finish. We know, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, that we have, for example, the *Harambee* secondary schools. I can quote, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, that some hon. Members just go and present their cheques but they do not carry any money. They do not have any money in their banks. Are the people going to listen to those Members, when they go and criticize?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not hate the idea of having an Opposition, I am just telling them that they will hate it. They will see. We told them that they will see. They will come back here and we will see them again here.

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

Mr. arip Biy: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to remind the Government of two important issues, which affect the lives of the people of this country.

One of the points, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, is this. In the Judicial Department there is already a light of tribalism which prevails; in that a few months back we had two Kalenjin registrars who, in the end, were demoted and made presidents of African courts and in their places some Kikuyu friend was brought in and put there. This, Sir, indicates the prevalence of tribalism which should not be called for in this country and in the Government of this country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the Government wholeheartedly and I would not support anything which worked to undermine some small tribes of the country. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not want to go into details, but I have made my point clearly with regard to that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the other point is this, the question of administration. Already, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it has been proved that some civil servants, for example district officers, district assistants, etc., from particular major tribes, and again I am sorry to have to mention the Kikuyu, are being given preference with regard to promotion. At one time—

OUORUM

The Assistant Minister for Education (Mr. Mutiso): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is no point talking to an empty House. Do we have a quorum?

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): No, we do not. Ring the Division Bell.

(The Division Bell was rung)

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): We now have a quorum.

Mr. arap Biy: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I hope you will give me five more minutes.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was making a point with regard to the question of district officers and district assistants with regard to the question of promotion. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I remember one time when a district officer was brought from the remotest part of Kericho District and promoted to under-secretary of the Government in the President's Office. This, Sir, indicates very, very clearly that there is some favouritism in the Civil Service particularly where administration is concerned. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this might be since the head of the civil servants, in the President's Office, is a Kikuyu; it follows that other members of the same tribe have to enjoy the fruits of the Government which will lead, in the end, to some nasty criticisms which we do not want to happen in the country.

Furthermore, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have, in the Rift Valley Province, a Kisii provincial commissioner and his deputy is a Kikuyu. The rest of the line is also Kikuyu, and this, Sir, is something else which indicates again the brotherization of the Civil Service, particularly as regards the Administration.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I hope that the points which I have made are very clear to the Government, and I hope that the Government will take a very short time to correct this sort of imbalance which will make us the subject of some very unkind criticisms.

Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish I had ten minutes in which to speak, because this is the last day in which I shall be able to speak in this House for a long, long time. I am coming back, but it will still be a long time.

Now, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I charge our Government of being very, very unfair. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Government boasts of having the confidence of the masses. The Government boasts over the radio of having

[Mr. Anyieni]

done everything. The Government boasts of having everything under control, but the Government thinks that things are not all right, until Anyieni's passport is withdrawn; a poor man going back to Majoge-Bassi, perhaps, to do his

An hon. Member: You do not need one.

Mr. Anyieni: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I can hear somebody saying that I do not need a passport, he needs one but I do not need one for reasons I do not understand. I think this, Sir, is a cowardly act by the Government to withdraw passports from Members just because they have crossed the Floor into the Opposition. This is how the Colonial Government started with our nationalists, and, Sir, I fear that our Government may start resorting to the measures which were used by the Colonial Government. The Government, of course, knows the consequences if it resorts to such behaviour.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I also wish to challenge this Government which calls itself very, very popular. I challenge it to register the KPU immediately. There is no question of the Government asking for the policy of the KPU. The question of policy is an internal matter of the KPU. It is not the affair of Kanu. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that we know that very many people in the country are now waiting for the KPU to be registered so that they can, en masse, withdraw from Kanu and join the KPU. This was demonstrated by the fact that the Government yesterday was very busy trying to keep people away from the vicinity of Parliament Buildings. All these people were shouting, "KPU, KPU." This, Sir, is going to be the Government of the people. This Government, Sir, must listen to those voices on the street. They must never ignore these voices for these are the voices which have brought us to this House. We therefore challenge the Government, and we promise the Government, that we are going to try and be as responsible as possible. When the Government thinks we are becoming irresponsible, we are prepared to take the advice of the Government because we do not believe in an irresponsible Opposition.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would also like to say that the Government is making a very serious mistake. I was one of the people who said that the Voice of Kenya should be nationalized, and I do not regret having said that, but, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, since we now have two parties, I do not see why the Government should make the Voice of Kenya, the Voice of Kanu, because, Sir, even some KPU members and KPU supporters have radios and they are paying for their licences and they do not want, all the time, to be listening to this nonsense from Kanu. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if the radio wants to be fair, they should allow things from the KPU to be broadcasted if they are going to broadcast things belonging to Kanu. But, Sir, of course, if they want to broadcast something from the Government, we have no objection, because we are not the Government. I think, Sir, the Government will take this into account, because if they do not, when the KPU forms the Government, we might also resort to the same use, but, Sir, I think if I were the Minister for Information, which I do not want to be because I want to be Minister for Home Affairs so that I can sort Mr. Moi out, but, Sir, even so I still think the Government should use the radio properly and not allow Mr. T. J. Mboya to repeat, "Voice of Kanu", and even reduce the Director of Broadcasts to stating only Kanu items. I think, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is tiring the ears of our people and every time they hear the Voice of Kanu they switch off their radios. They get very fed up.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am sorry that my time is so short, but the other thing I would liked to have said is this. I do not know why the Government officers of the Criminal Investigation Department follow a simple person like me everywhere. Even if I go to a bar and have a drink of beer, the men are sitting there very close to me. They even want to hear what I am saying. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, even if I go to my house, they drive their car right near my house and ask anybody standing near by, "Is he inside?", and on learning that I am inside, they ask, "How many people are with him?" If they are told that there are three people with me, they want to know who they are and what their names are. These people are themselves followed up afterwards. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, why do these people fear so much? I have never been malicious. My friends know that even before independence we opposed the Colonial Government but we had no malicious though. We were straightforward people. People like me speak quite a bit, but, Sir, I do not work in any underground movement.

Now, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to touch on the question of the local newspapers. These local newspapers continue to call us dissidents. We are not dissidents. We are members of the KPU, and I would now like to take this opportunity and tell the nation that the day the KPU is registered and takes over power, the nation will start to learn what we shall do.

The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza): Your time is up.

Mr. Anyieni: Oh dear, this is very bad.

Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir.

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Mr. Osogo): Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Speaker. I do not want the hon. Member for Majoge-Bassi to leave because the booklet which I am holding in my hand is a target for the Members of the Opposition as they go out to the elections.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, they have a saying that the pledges made in this booklet by our party which brought this Government into power have not been fulfilled. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I only wanted to ask them to understand, read and understand, the language contained in this book-

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would very much like the Secretary-General is here, who has been and is still, a teacher, to teach his colleagues of the language which is in this book. I wish we could have the Swahili copy so that it could be understood and interpreted to the masses correctly.

Firstly, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to refer them to free education. The Kanu says, on page 4 of this booklet, it reads as follows, and I would like the Secretary-General to pay attention to this, "Kanu intends that every child in Kenya shall have a minimum of seven years free education", after this, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is no date. There is no year at all. But, Sir, the word I want underlined is "intends". Kanu did not promise, because Kanu knew very well that it would not get the money to fulfil this promise, but it intends to do this, and that intention, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, has not died away. We still intend to do this.

Secondly, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, is on page 5, and I quote, "More attention will be paid to this need at every level, the need of education and developing community development. Agricultural colleges will be expanded." Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there are three colleges which have been put up in Kenya. Rural education work will be increased, and here I challenge the hon. Members as to what they have done in the way of rural education to help their own people.

[The Deputy Speaker (Dr. De Souza) left the Chair]

[The Speaker (Mr. Slade) resumed the Chair]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, community development and self-help schemes will be geared—the word geared should be underlined—"with the aim of accelerating the agrarian revolution." Here. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the community development has given money, and is still giving money continuously to self-help schemes to buy such things as building material or cement to help in building self-help schools, like nursery schools and other such educational classrooms. This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is what they say Kanu has not fulfilled what it pledged.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to go further on that page and here I would like the hon. Members to stand up and tell us what they have done with regard to this form. This, Sir, is in conjunction with adult education, Mr. Speaker, Sir. it reads, "Adult education, even in classes, or weekend short courses, schools of every kind will be increased". These schools, Mr. Speaker, Sir, have been increased. "Help will be given to the educational self-help programmes of trade unions, co-operatives and local communities." Now, Sir, hon. Members should take a note of this. Every citizen, including the hon. Members, who are lucky enough to possess some education or skill of some sort should be prepared to pass on his knowledge to those less fortunate. Now, Sir, do the hon. Members do this? No, they do not. What they do is stay in Nairobi, go to different bars, but, Sir, they do not go and help and pass on their knowledge to the others. I therefore challenge hon. Members during the long recess that we have had, including myself, those that have gone home and helped to teach adult education to their constituents. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I challenge them because we, the Government, have asked all the district officers and district commissioners and chiefs to bring us the returns of the hon. Members who have gone to teach adult education in their different constituencies.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it will be a shameful thing when we find that this job is taken up by other people who are not leaders of the people and who are neglected by hon. Members of this House.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to quote something about the landless and the unemployment. The people who were demonstrating outside, and who are in the galleries now—— I am afraid time is running short, but, Sir, I will quote, "The problem of unemployment and landlessness will be vigorously tackled and resettlement in the Scheduled Areas has a part to play in this." Here. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Tripartite Agreement is an example. Again, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have had the Special Commission on Squatters registering all the landless to be resettled and settlement has started.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry, there are a lot of things which I would like to say, but what I would like to ask is that these people should take this book and interpret it correctly as it is written. Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Shikuku: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have very few points to touch on this Motion for the adjournment, which I support. Firstly, Sir, I would like to touch on the freedom of association. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to take this opportunity to make it known to the public in this country and the Government that I am a man of principles, whether they are against me or for me. I would therefore like the Government, which I support, to be courageous enough and register the KPU. When I say this, some hon. Members will feel that Shikuku is for the KPU, but, Sir, I am not all that limited in my thinking. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I consider myself somebody who can think for myself and give my views without being dictated to, and so, Sir, if this clause still exists in the Kenya Constitution, the freedom of association, then we must give a chance to the KPU to be registered and let us see how far they can go.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not afraid of any opposition, and I think that even if the Opposition is given this chance of being registered as a party, we shall fix them up on facts, too. But, Sir, if we refuse to register them, they will then have the chance to say, "If we had been registered, then things would have been different." Therefore, Sir, let us give them the chance and they will find out for themselves how much they are worth.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the other thing which I would like to say is this. I also wish them to be allowed to address meetings in this country, in order to air their views just as we air our own views, because, Sir, I know very well that they are the very people who talked too much in this Parliament. They will feel the pinch of being the Opposition. I wish they would come to me and I would give them a lecture on what the word "opposition" means. I would give them this lecture free of charge, because they rejoiced when I was on the other side. This time they are having it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is written in the Bible, "The dead said to me, today for me, tomorrow for thee." So, Sir, it is their time. Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will leave that alone.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I now come to the question of the support of some of us here. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we do not support blindly. We know what we want. We know what our people want and we also know what the Government should do for our people. May I take this chance, Mr. Speaker, Sir, to point out to the Government that the Western Province has been completely forgotten and neglected. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel that it is completely, because the headquarters of the region is one of the most hopeless headquarters one

would ever want to see. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel very strongly that I cannot be a party to this alleluia singing without knowing what I am singing for. Mr. Speaker, Sir, even in heaven if you go to heaven you go with one understanding that you have to sing alleluia to God. If you refuse you are kicked out. That, Sir, is what happened to Lucifer. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel that the Abaluhya people who are in the Government today are supporting the Government with full understanding of what they are doing. We have already told the President of this country of our boundary problems, amongst which, we have the problem of Kitale.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government should honour the resolution passed by two regional assemblies at that time. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we want Kitale back. We want Maseno back. We demand that the Abaluhya, under the freedom of association, who are in Central Nyanza should be brought back to their own brothers. We demand, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that the factories which were promised to the Western Province be given to us. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are not going to sing alleluia without knowing what we are singing for. Harambee is not one-sided. We want these things to be granted to our people. We want, Mr. Speaker, Sir, secondary schools to be built for the people in the Western Province. We also want primary schools to be built in the Western Province. These, Mr. Speaker, Sir, are our demands and the President of the Republic of Kenya is aware of our demands. We believe, Mr. Speaker, Sir, very sincerely, that we support the Government and we hope the Government will also value our support and also act accordingly. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a question of give and take.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I now come to one of the points which is very irritating. Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we want the Government, personally as the president of the poor people, but, Sir, I feel that it is completely unfair to ask people who are unemployed to produce tax cards when they are unemployed. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this complaint has been raised time and time again, but it appears that nothing has been done.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, tribalism in the Civil Service is terrible. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have to stop this to get the unity of this country. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will find that there is one youth winger at the President's house who has the Kenya Preliminary Examination, but who also knows me very well, but has been promoted to a district officer. How, Mr. Speaker, Sir, did that happen? We know, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that even in the Voice of Kenya the civil servants commission is there—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): That is the end of your time, Mr. Shikuku.

Mr. Makokha: Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you very much.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first point which I would like to touch upon is with regard to the ban on public meetings in the Western Province and, since the Minister of State is here, I would like him to give a directive at once to the Western Province that this ban be lifted. Mr. Speaker. Sir, this ban has probably been placed because the civil servants there misunderstood because, immediately after the Limuru conference, all public meetings were banned in the Western Province. Mr. Speaker, Sir, these were not only political public meetings but even chiefs' barazas and sub-chiefs' barazas, school committees, selfhelp group meetings and so on were all banned. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I suspected, and at one time I asked the provincial commissioner who seemed to agree with me that probably this order was misunderstood. Only later on, when I went to my own district and asked the district commissioner, he said that he had not misunderstood. He told me that all public meetings of any type are banned, yet the Government comes here and says, "Well, Makokha, you crossed from Kanu without seeking the mandate of your people".

I do not know if they expect me to stand on trees and talk.

Mr. Speaker, another point I want to raise is in answer to my friend, the hon. Mr. Osogo-we come from the same district—who is asking me during my by-election campaign to go and use the Kanu Manifesto. That is exactly what I am going to oppose. How can I go and use the Kanu Manifesto when I have left Kanu? It is not my job to interpret the Kanu Manifesto, it is only my job to oppose it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another point I want to touch upon, again directed at the hon. Mr. Nyamweya, is the registration of voters, particularly as it is going to affect those areas where we are going to hold by-elections. I would urge the Minister, Mr. Speaker, Sir, probably to call on those concerned to withhold or to stop registration of voters in those areas where we are going to have by-elections, because there may

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think the Minister has some interesting information for you on this

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): Mr. Speaker, it may be for the interest of the hon. Member that the registration of voters has been postponed until August, that is to enable you to be able to run your by-election under the current roll.

Mr. Makokha: That is good news, Mr. Speaker.

Another point I want to clarify is one which was raised by the hon. Mr. Kase; I am afraid he is not here. Mr. Kase is one of those fellows whose teacher I taught, and he should not have spoken as he did; he cannot give me advice when I taught his teacher.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another point I want to raise in supporting Mr. Anyieni is on the registration of the Kenya People's Union. It is no use the Government calling us names, thinking we are subversive, unless they give us a fair chance to address meetings equally with Kanu, so that we address these meetings in the open, without being called subversive. Mr. Osogo is referring to me as Secretary-General of the Kenya People's Union, which is not yet registered, and he knows me to be a very peaceful man, so nobody can ever call me subversive. So my only problem here is to ask the Government to register the Kenya People's Union and they will find that we 'are very, very co-operative people towards the Government. After all, strictly speaking, the Opposition is part of this Government. Some uneducated Members seem to think that the Opposition is not part of this Government. We are part of this Parliament and therefore we are part of this Government.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, another point which was raised by Mr. Kase was the fact that he seemed to feel that we, in the Kenya People's Union or in the Opposition, are misleading people, saying we are going to fight for poor people and implying that a rich person cannot fight for a poor person. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to remind Kanu and the hon. Mr. Kase that if we wait for poor people to fight for other poor people, we shall wait until Jesus comes back. Some well-to-do people must come out to fight for those less fortunate. You cannot expect a hungry person to go and fight for himself.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, lastly, I want to support Mr. Shikuku in calling on the Government to look to the Western Province and fulfil the promises given to the people of that province.

The Assistant Minister for Labour (Mr. Odero-Jowi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think most of the Members have spoken on this Motion. Could the Mover be now called on to reply?

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): I think since we do usually allow two hours and every Member an opportunity to speak for five minutes, if there is any other hon. Member who wishes to speak, we should give him a chance.

Mr. Godia: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in supporting the adjournment Motion, I would like to call upon the Minister in the President's Office to help in organizing provincial seminars where party officials all over the country can attend to be educated on the relationship between the political parties and the Government. Mr. Speaker, Sir, certain civil servants do not know their duty or their work. Some of them tend to think that, since the President of Kenya, the hon. Mzee Kenyatta, is Head of Government and also head of the party, they, too, in their respective areas could automatically be regarded as head of the party in their locations or sub-locations. I think, Sir, that if these civil servants were educated, it will be to the benefit of the country. There has been a lot of confusion and there is bound to be a lot of confusion in the country arising especially from the relationship between, particularly, the chiefs and the political leaders in the country.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if something is done to educate them, it will be for the benefit of the country. Some of them might be tempted to think that if they support a particular politician, they will be helping themselves in future, without knowing the consequences of such action.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, regarding the establishment of the Opposition, we have now established here the Opposition. I notice the benches are empty, but I do hope, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that the Opposition now being established in Kenya will be a different one from the past one. They must understand that they are opposing the African Government, they are not opposing the Colonial Government; they are opposing their own Government. Therefore, if they want to live, they ought to learn to make very constructive criticisms of the Government and, at the same time, they should be prepared to co-operate with the Government in all its efforts to try and build the nation. If, for some unknown reason, they tend to undermine the work which Kanu and Government are doing to build the nation, then they will be a danger to the nation. Then the nation will be called upon to re-examine the Opposition. Therefore, Speaker, it is time they showed the country their policy. We want to know where they are going to do for the country. If they took over Government tomorrow, what would they do? It is not fair for the country to be told that we have an Opposition which has been established as a result of the Limuru Conference. If they base their existence on the result of that conference, then they will not last very long. It must, therefore, be that they have been established as a result of jealousy, because certain of the leaders did not get the offices in Kanu, and when the anger disappears, they will therefore dissolve themselves and come to support Kanu again. So we call upon them to state clearly what their policy is so that the country knows.

I think, Mr. Speaker, we, the Abaluhya from Western Province, the people of Western Province, have decided to support Government whole-heartedly. We have had enough of the Kadu Opposition; we have had enough of the African People's Party, and we know the effects of the Opposition. We have suffered greatly as a result of the Opposition and, therefore, we will not tolerate it any longer. I call upon my hon. friend—who is not here—Mr. Makokha, to reconsider his position as a member of the Baluhya tribe sitting on the Opposition, because we want to pull together—

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Mr. Godia, it is the end of your time.

Mr. Godia: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should have liked to finish my sentence.

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): Rather a long sentence; I am afraid you have to stop it.

No other hon. Member wishing to speak, I shall call on Mr. Nyamweya to reply.

The Minister of State, President's Office (Mr. Nyamweya): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been at pains in trying to take important notes on points made by various speakers this morning, and I intended to deal with them fully, but since the people who raised these points, which were to be taken or presented to the Government for consideration, have thought fit not to be present so as to hear the Government's point of view on the matters they have raised, I then take it that they did not want these matters to be dealt with in the House this morning.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I beg to move.

(Question put and agreed to)

ADJOURNMENT

The Speaker (Mr. Slade): The House is therefore adjourned until Tuesday, 24th May, at 2.30 p.m.

The House rose at twenty minutes past Eleven o'clock.

Members who did not signify their intention of rejoining Kanu and who sat with the Opposition Group and who are therefore Members of the Official Parliamentary Opposition as from 28th April 1966.

The hon. Z. N. Anyieni				Member for Majoge-Bassi.
The hon. O. Bala				Member for Nyando.
The hon. K. N. Gichoya				Member for Gichugu.
The hon. B. Kaggia	••	• •	••	Member for Kandara (Deputy Leader of the Opposition).
The hon. J. D. Kali				Member for Nairobi East.
The hon. S M. Kioko				Member for Machakos East.
The hon. C. C. Makokha				Member for Elgon South-West.
The hon. A. Oginga Odinga			••	Member for Bondo (Leader of the Opposition).
The hon. L. R. Obok				Member for Alego.
The hon. G. F. Oduya				Member for Elgon West.
The hon. T. Okelo-Odongo				Member for Kisumu Rural.
The hon. J. Odero-Sar				Member for Ugenya.
The hon. R. Achieng-Oneko				Member for Nakuru Town.

Members whose names appeared on the original list of Opposition Members sent to Mr. Speaker and who subsequently either repudiated their inclusion in this list, denied having left Kanu or who later announced their intention of rejoining Kanu and who did not sit with the Opposition Group on 28th and 29th April 1966.

The hon. A. W. Bonaya.		 	 Member for Isiolo.
The hon. S. K. Choge .		 	 Member for Nandi South.
The hon. G. K. Ekitella .		 	 Member for Turkana South.
The hon. E D. Godana .		 	 Member for Rendille.
The hon. W. R. Kamuren		 	 Member for Baringo South.
The hon. A. S. Khalif .		 	 Member for Wajir North.
The hon. J P. Lorema .		 	 Member for West Pokot.
The hon. S. K. Sadalla		 	 Specially Elected Member.
The hon. J. K. K. Tanui		 	 Member for Baringo South.
The hon. Dr. F. L. M. Wa	aiyaki .	 	 Member for Nairobi North-East.

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NOTE

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25th January 1966 to 10th March 1966

Explanation of Abbreviations

Notice of Motion = NoM; Motion or Question Withdrawn = Wdn; Dropped = Drpd; Written Reply = (WR); Bills: Read First, Second or Third Time = 1R, 2R, 3R; In Committee = IC; Progress Reported = PR; Report = R; Consideration of Report = ConR; Division = (Div); Debate adjourned = (DA); Not allowed = (NA)

N.B.—For the convenience of Members asking questions, the number of the question has been shown in brackets against the question. This number is also shown in brackets against the Minister or Assistant Minister making the official reply. No number is shown when the question is merely a supplementary question.

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(Member for Garissa North)

Achieng-Oneko, R .--

(Member for Nakuru Town).

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