

LIBRARY
OF KENYA
39407

NDP



National Development Party
of Kenya

TOWARDS A BETTER KENYA

324.267
62
NDP

MANIFESTO 1997

Contents

<u>MESSAGE FROM THE PARTY LEADER</u>	3
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	6
<u>Chapter 1</u>	
<u>1.0 GOOD GOVERNANCE</u>	9
1.1 Central Government	9
1.2 Civil Service	11
1.3 Local Government	12
1.4 National Defence and Security	12
<u>Chapter 2</u>	
<u>2.0 ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT</u> ..	14
2.1 Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries	14
2.2 Taxation and Monetary Policy	18
2.3 Natural Resources and Environment	20
2.4 Parastatals	21
2.5 Land	21
2.6 Tourism and Wildlife	
2.7 Corruption	23
2.8 Unemployment	24
<u>Chapter 3</u>	
<u>3.0 SOCIAL POLICY PROGRAMMES</u>	25
3.1 Education	KENYA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ... 25



Accession: 10013554

Call No: 324.26762 (NDP)



3.2 Health Care and Population	27
3.3 Housing	28
3.4 Social Welfare and Social Security	28
3.5 Sports for Development	30
3.6 Culture and the Arts	30
3.7 Gender and Development	31
3.8 Youth and Development	31

Chapter 4

<u>4.0 INDUSTRIALISATION</u>	33
4.1 Industry	33
4.2 Objectives of Industry, Trade and Commerce	33
4.3 Trade	34
4.4 Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise	
4.5 Science and Technology	34

Chapter 5

<u>5.0 FOREIGN POLICY</u>	36
5.1 Regional Co-operation	36
5.2 Pan-Africanism and the OAU	36
5.3 International Co-operation	36

<u>Appendix</u>	38
------------------------	-----------

MESSAGE FROM THE PARTY LEADER

KENYA is in a state of deepening political, economic and social crisis. It is a crisis that has been caused by inadequacies of government since independence from Britain in 1963.

Kenya's successive independent governments have failed to use the country's material and human resources to improve the living standards of the country's citizens, and have failed to create a durable democratic culture. As a result, Kenya remains perpetually a country of the future, forever a promise waiting to happen, while those in positions of national power continue to fleece the nation, and to abuse and degrade its people. But the pride of Kenyans which led them to victory over oppressors of the past, against all the odds, will lead them to victory again, against those who would use them for their own ends.

The system of government we have had for the 33 years since Independence has demonstrably failed, both as a guarantor of basic human rights and as an effective means of eradicating poverty. The system has bred tyranny, corruption, indolence, fear and confusion, and has perpetuated an oligarchy, which has deprived the majority of an effective say in their own governance, which is the basic tenet of democracy.

Kenyans are prevented from personal progress as effectively as if they were in chains. None has the freedom to take advantage of more than the few crumbs that drop from the table of plenty, where a privileged few sit and pick at will from the gorgeous spread before them that is the wealth of our country.

Today begins the quest for a new freedom, which will release us from that kind of bondage forever.

Our new Kenya, in which the word freedom is at the cornerstone of our character and is our guide to action, will be based on equal opportunity for each individual, family, clan or community, so that they may develop their talents, resources and potentials to the full.

Such expectations were written into our Constitution at independence, and yet at no time has our government respected them. The National Development Party (NDP) will change all that.

Our Party stands in the tradition of the African society. That means we hold the simple but profound belief that individuals prosper only when supported by a strong and active community, and that people owe a duty to each other as well as to themselves. This is an old idea, but an enduring

one, and one that holds the key to social, political and economic change. This core belief in the power of community to liberate the individual is rooted in our African tradition and is one that our Party holds dear.

We believe that anti-poverty strategies can only be successful if they unleash the energies of people living in poverty and enable them to gain access to resources, including capital, to improve their situation – for themselves, especially their young people and children, and for the society they live in – which in turn would promote social justice and harmony, and contribute to the consolidation of peace.

We want to build a thriving, expanding economy which offers people rewarding jobs and fulfilling careers. The route to that sort of economy lies in ensuring that people progress on merit, rather than privilege. The individual interests of the majority of people lie in greater freedom, social justice, new opportunities, safe working conditions, decent housing, better healthcare, dignity in retirement, equal educational opportunities and a fair day's pay for a fair day's work.

To achieve these goals, the National Development Party considers the following things, amongst others, indispensable in the creation of a just society in Kenya:–

- true national unity* as the only option in creating a political environment for real development
- human dignity* and the right to pursue lawfully and freely ends which maximise and sustain individual and group happiness
- the political cohesion* of Kenyan society as a means of securing basic needs for all people, regardless of sectional, tribal, religious, social or racial interests
- a free market economy* and the private ownership and disposal of property, but where private and public sectors work in harmony for the benefit of the citizens
- a participatory democracy* as the best means of involving every citizen in the democratic process
- freedom of association* under a multi-party system.
- the separation of powers*, the rule of law and the equality of all citizens before the law.

Our manifesto contains the most fundamental and greatest programme of change towards democracy ever proposed by any political party in Kenya since Independ-

ence:

- *Every citizen* will be protected by fundamental rights that cannot be taken away by the state or by their fellow citizens, enshrined in a Bill of Rights.
- *Government* will be brought closer to the people. We will devolve power from the centre to the periphery by giving the reconstructed Local Authorities a greater say in local affairs.
- *A freedom of Information Act* will rid society of conspiratorial secrecy wherever it exists, in the public or the private sector.
- *Parliament* will be reformed to make its working practices and its powers more effective, and affirmative action will increase in the number of women MPs.
- *The power to nominate MPs* will be transferred from the Presidency to the National Assembly.
- *Political parties* will receive designated state financing.

The time has come for Kenya to change course.

The time has come for an NDP government.

Raila Amolo Odinga

Introduction

TODAY, in Kenya, the demand for change is urgent. Kenyans of all walks of life – workers, civil servants, rural peasants, professionals, students, youth, women, the clergy the unemployed, the disabled, the elderly, ‘jua-kali’ artisans, farmers, traders and manufacturers all yearn for a change in the political leadership and governance of this country.

And we are determined to give it to them. We are determined to put an end to more than 30 years of repression, economic mismanagement, corruption and the divide-and-rule tactics which have kept Kenyans suspicious of each other, negat-

ing the quest for national unity.

Our country needs fundamental and far-reaching political, constitutional, economic, social and cultural changes to meet the people's wishes and aspirations – yet since the repeal of Section 2(a) of Kenya's Constitution and the consequent re-introduction of multi-party politics, Kenyans have noticed no improvement in their lives. The Kanu regime has not only remained deaf to widespread and popular demand for constitutional reform, especially before the 1997 General Election, but it has also intensified repression, insecurity and the harassment of those clamouring for change. At the same time, the leadership of the mainstream opposition has shamelessly let Kenyans down. It has failed to mobilise the people consistently to demand:–

- constitutional reform;
- the repeal of all anachronistic and repressive colonial laws, including the Public Order Act, the Preservation of Public Security Act, the Chief's Authority Act, the Societies Act, and the sedition laws;
- the appointment of an independent Electoral Commission;
- legislation for the independence of the media;
- a constitutional provision for a coalition government, and the election of the president by a simple majority, i.e., a vote of at least 51 per cent;
- the delinking of the civil service, particularly the provincial administration, and the security forces from the political machinery;
- facilitation of the civic and economic empowerment of citizens and communities respectively, for self-governance and self reliance.

The destiny of our nation, therefore, now calls for our collective efforts and solidarity to remove decisively a moribund and ineffectual regime, so as to usher in a humane and democratic system of governance capable of restoring national unity, democratic values, social justice and economic well-being for all Kenyans.

The rejuvenated National Development Party of Kenya (NDP) today offers the best alternative to Kenyans. Its principled and disciplined political leadership, nationally and internationally respected, has a clear vision for the future of Kenya. The Party's membership is drawn from across the nation, which enables it to meet

this historic call for change and to lead Kenya towards the realisation of true democracy, economic prosperity and social reconstruction. The NDP stands for:-

- * **National unity** which respects and appreciates our rich ethnic, racial, religious and cultural diversity, and which promotes cohesion and equality of all Kenyans without any form of discrimination.
- * **Good governance** which promotes the rule of law, respect for human rights and participatory democracy, particularly through civic empowerment of the citizens, as well as an accountable system in the decision-making process.
- * **A dynamic, efficient and socially-responsive economy** which meets the basic needs of the majority of Kenyans, based on creative partnerships between the public and private sectors, and between local and foreign entrepreneurs.
- * **Land reform** which will ensure “land-banking” for posterity and the security of tenure for all Kenyans, as well as the distribution of residential and productive land to those who need it but cannot afford it. It will also ensure land restitution for those who have lost it through land-grabbing.
- * **Reform of the education system** which ensures good-quality, affordable education, for the enlightenment, empowerment and happiness of all Kenyans. The reform policy will ensure that every Kenyan child has the right to quality education all the way from nursery to further education levels. A free and compulsory education package will be provided at the primary level. The reform policy will review and improve the terms and conditions of service for teachers at all levels, commensurate with the importance of their role in society.
- * **Reform of the health-care policy** which promotes a healthier and happier citizenry with a longer life expectancy. The reform policy, which will emphasise preventive rather than curative health care, will ensure the provision of free medical care and health services for all Kenyans. The terms and conditions of service for medical doctors, nurses and paramedical staff will be reviewed and improved, commensurate with the importance of their

role in society.

* **Gender equality** which eradicates all forms of discrimination against women, young or old, rural or urban, and promotes their total emancipation to ensure their full involvement and participation in all aspects of national life.

* **Environmental protection** which includes deliberate efforts to conserve, protect and improve the environment for sustainable development.

An industrialisation policy which will integrate the industrial and agricultural sectors, based on local resources. The NDP's industrial policy will not only be geared towards increased income and provision of employment but will also prepare Kenya for industrial take-off in an integrated, self-sufficient, independent, national economy.

* **Regional co-operation** which promotes co-operation and integration among the people and governments of Africa, through various regional and sub-regional economic bodies (ECA, COMESA, PTA, SADC, EAC, IGAD, etc.) and in particular hastens the process of creating full East Africa co-operation, through practical and meaningful measures, treaties and legislation.

* **Pan-Africanism and international co-operation** which promotes peaceful co-existence and co-operation among the peoples and governments of Africa, where cross-border trade can flourish without unnecessary barriers, where there is free movement of labour, goods and services from one country to another, and where the people of the African continent are able to travel more freely from one country to another.

The NDP recognises the right of a people to self-determination. The NDP stands for the promotion of respect for fundamental human rights in Africa and the world and will advocate a review of the clause in the OAU charter concerning the non-interference in the internal affairs of member states, to check against brutal dictatorship in Africa.

Chapter 1

1.0 GOOD GOVERNANCE

AUTHORITARIAN government in Kenya has ensured the emasculation of the democratic institutions and processes of governance. It has brazenly trampled on the rights, freedoms and dignity of citizens, by the use of the provincial administration and state security organs. It has also unabashedly usurped parliamentary powers, destroyed the independence of the judiciary and denied citizens the ability to participate meaningfully in the decision-making processes in public affairs, thereby disempowering them.

This authoritarian system has also ground the economy to a halt, through deep-rooted corruption and massive looting of national resources, particularly through the Central Bank, state-owned commercial banks and other financial institutions, and through agricultural, commercial and industrial parastatals. More than half the population lives below the poverty line.

An NDP government will provide a responsive political leadership which will pursue a policy of good governance that will be humane, incorruptible and accountable to the citizenry. It will restore democratic institutions, consciously promote civic education to enable the active participation of the citizenry in the decision-making processes of public life, and pursue economic policies which facilitate a higher rate of economic growth for the well-being of all Kenyans. In order to realise these objectives, the NDP will initiate a series of legislation and policy instruments, as follows:-

1.1 Central Government

TO DEVOLVE excessive power from central government, the NDP will ensure the following measures:-

—The appointment of commissions and public officers, such as the Judicial Service Commission, the Public Service Commission, the Office of the Attorney-General and the Controller and Auditor-General will be effected with the approval of parliament.

—Impediments against the independent operation of the Judiciary, the Electoral Commission, the media and the Public Service Commission will be

removed.

—An independent office of *Ombudsman*, to prevent and curb maladministration, malpractice and corruption by public servants, will be created.

—The operations of the ruling party will be delinked from government operations.

—Legislation for *proportional representation* in parliament and civic bodies will be introduced, based on the number of votes garnered during elections, and the specific number of registered voters who constitute a constituency will be determined and implemented.

—A constitutional provision for a coalition government, to foster national unity, will be introduced.

—The constitution will be amended to enable the election of the president to be based on simple majority, i.e., at least 51 per cent votes, instead of 25 per cent in at least five provinces.

—Economic policy packages will be reformed, with a view to re-activating the public-sector with increased efficiency and effectiveness, with infrastructural and social development programmes, while stimulating the private sector for industrial take-off. The legislation which protects monopolies will be dismantled and competition introduced into the public sector, to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery.

—The power of the presidency will be streamlined by ensuring that there is total separation of powers and in-built functional checks and balances. The Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary will work separately and independently of each other. The powers vested in the *presidency* in past years, through the systematic mutilation of the constitution, will be shared between the president, as constitutional head of state, and the *prime minister*, as head of government.

—The powers of the presidency will be reduced in the appointment of the cabinet, which shall be the responsibility of the Prime Minister.

—The system of nomination of MPs as currently practised will be abolished, and nomination will be based on special interest groups' preferences and on expertise, and parliament will be given the responsibility of nomination.

—Legislative structures will be reviewed to ensure checks and balances and to reduce unicameral "dictatorship", whereby harsh legislation is enacted without taking into consideration negative effects on the citizenry. The Offices of the *Attorney-General* and the *Director of Public Pros-*

ecutions (DPP) will be separate, with the former performing the duties of chief legal adviser and the latter directing public prosecutions. The DPP shall be independent and enjoy security of tenure.

—It will be provided that *independent candidates* may seek elective office at the local and national levels.

—The provincial system of government will be reformed and restructured through the process of devolving power from the centre to the local councils.

—Democratic values and the principles of *good governance* will be promoted by strict observance of human rights and civil liberties and equality of all persons, irrespective of ethnicity, religion, gender class, level of education or other distinction. Since Kenya is a culturally pluralistic society, cultural and community land rights shall be protected to ensure that no group community dominates others.

—A constitutional provision for resort to *referenda* on important controversial national issues will be instituted.

1.2 Civil Service

THE Kenyan Civil service, once among the best in Africa, has deteriorated to dismal levels over the past two decades. Its operation is highly centralised, with power concentrated at the top. No provision has been made for professional civil service continuity, or linking payment with performance. Widespread political interference has led to favouritism, tribalism and nepotism, giving rise to frequent moonlighting, corruption, over-staffing and non-performance.

The need for an effective and efficient civil service is a prerequisite for a stable and orderly society. It is the civil service that must serve as a stabilising force at a time when the scope of the private sector and free competition in meeting society's needs is expanded and the role of government scaled down to activities not suited to privatisation.

The NDP has a civil service strategy for a smaller, better-paid and more efficient force, where fair, simple and consistent rules and procedures would be implemented to foster discipline, while promoting personal initiative.

The *independence* of the Public Service Commission will be restored, to ensure recruitment and promotion on merit only. The new Kenyan civil service will

comprise workers fully responsible and accountable for their assigned duties and committed to achieving clearly-defined individual objectives.

In support of this vision, the NDP aims to achieve sustained macro-economic stability and improved financial viability, in the short and medium terms, to strengthen capacity and reverse the progressive decline in public service efficiency and effectiveness. The design of the programme takes into account the country's changing macro-economic and institutional context, with an emphasis on the NDP's stated development objectives, including decentralisation.

The new civil service will have the following characteristics: result-orientation; transparency; fair and consistent implementation of simple rules and procedures that foster discipline but leave room for personal initiative; shared values, supported by regulations that ensure savings, and elimination of waste through competitive approaches to purchasing and tendering.

There will be a new system of resource allocation to local governments, based on identified priorities and the unit cost or added value of the services and a rational budgeting system based on identified programmes. The Civil Service will have a mandate to undertake only those functions that it can perform effectively.

There will be a reliable information database to support decision-making, a reduced level of corruption, backed by an effective police and prosecution function, as well as the office of Ombudsman to deal with public complaints against maladministration and corruption.

Kenyan civil servants will be paid at least a minimum living wage; they will be respected by the public because of clear organisational goals and objectives, a demonstrated commitment to such goals in their work, and their adherence to the code of conduct for public servants.

1.3 Local Government

THE NDP will seek to amend the Local Government Act to restore the independence of local councils away from the control of the Minister for Local Government. They will regain the authority to levy taxes, expand their taxation base and incur expenditure proportionate to the services required by residents. A Controller and Auditor-General will be appointed for local authorities to ensure proper accountability and security against misappropriation of public funds.

The District Development Committee, as an extension of central government, will be abolished, to be replaced by democratically-elected pillars of local government at the district level.

Administrative boundaries will be redrawn, taking into consideration economic, demographic, geographic, environmental and other relevant factors.

1.4 National Defence and Security Forces

MANY Kenyans have lived with insecurity, both from the state security agents, as in the case of the Kenya Somalis, the Marakwets, the Turkanas and the Pokots, and from state-inspired violence like the “ethnic cleansing” (tribal clashes) which preceded the 1992 general election. Many others suffer under a worrying escalation of criminal violence in both rural and urban areas.

Much of this violence has been instigated as a repressive tool to muzzle government critics and develop the government’s machinery for tightening its grip on Kenyans. The police, the prison officers and sections of the para-military, especially the General Service Unit, as well as the entire Provincial Administration are rude, rough, corrupt and unco-operative with the general public.

The NDP government will ensure the defence and security of the nation’s territory and its people through the comprehensive restructuring and re-education and re-training of the police and prison and military personnel, which will stem the criminal behaviour of the security services, and instead instill professionalism, competence, impartiality and respect for the national Constitution and for human rights, dignity and life.

Under an NDP government, the national defence and security services will also reflect the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and gender characteristics of the country. No room will be provided for ethnic domination, nor for private armies nor parallel police forces loyal to individuals.

The NDP government will review and improve the working and living conditions of all members of the armed forces, the police and the prison service, to foster a productive and responsive ethic, matching the needs of Kenyan society.

Chapter 2

2.0 ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

IRRESPONSIBLE leadership and bad governance, thriving on repression, corruption, mismanagement and economic exploitation, has driven Kenya’s economy to a state of structural imbalance. The result of this is stifled growth and stagnation

causing widespread unemployment and poverty, which has pushed about 12 million Kenyans below the poverty line, and entrenched and deepened gross inequalities between rich and the poor and between rural and urban areas.

The task of the NDP's economic reconstruction programme will be, therefore, to harness the country's abundant resources for higher economic growth and general economic well-being.

The NDP's economic policy emphasises social development programmes, the leading and enabling role of the state, a thriving private sector and the active involvement of and contribution by all sectors of civil society, to promote faster and sustainable growth. Its central goal for economic reconstruction and development programme is to build a strong, dynamic, efficient and balanced economy which will:-

- eliminate economic imbalances and structural problems in the industry, trade, commerce, agriculture, finance and labour markets
- reform uneven development within and between Kenya's regions
- develop the human resource capacity of Kenya so that the economy achieves high skills and wages
- democratise the economy and empower the oppressed, particularly the wage workers, rural dwellers and women and their organisations, by encouraging broader participation in decision-making about the economy in both private and public sectors
- create productive employment opportunities and a living wage for all Kenyans
- develop a prosperous and balanced regional economy in Kenya based on the principles of equity and mutual benefit, and integrate this into the national economy in a manner that sustains a viable and efficient domestic manufacturing capacity and increases our potential to export manufactured products.

2.1 Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries

THE NDP will ensure the diversification of agricultural production and improved productivity, with a view to attaining domestic self-sufficiency and expanded export production.

The NDP government will provide an enabling environment for the improvement of the sector through various incentives to farmers via policy measures such as:-

- the removal of the presumptive five per cent tax levied on agricultural produce
- the reform of the co-operative movements by devolving power from the central government to the local leadership of the co-operators;
- guaranteed access to quality, certified seeds, including artificial insemination
- guaranteed access to soft-credit facilities for all food producers, especially small-scale farmers and peasant farmers
- guaranteed effective storage and marketing system from production to market levels
- facilitation of the establishment of strategic commodity centres, to be run by consumer and producer co-operatives
- the development of an efficient infrastructure, including road networks, water systems, rural electrification and general communication programmes
- the revamping and intensification of agricultural training programmes and extension services, right up to the farm-gate level
- the provision of such incentives as easy access to credit facilities, increased commodity prices and farm-input subsidies to rural peasants and associations; women's groups will play a greater role, especially in food production
- the promotion of joint regional research in agriculture trade and in food production
- the revamping of collapsed irrigation schemes in arid and semi-arid areas to improve agricultural production and food security
- the promotion of research on drought-resistant crops for arid and semi-arid areas.

2.1.1 Maize

THERE is a strategic need to redefine the production policy for this staple food, and to increase production and improve marketing to ensure adequate availability throughout the year.

The NDP government will ensure that maize production is supported by a

high-quality seed-production system, liberalised in such a way as to encourage competition in the sub-sector for better quality and healthier seed at reasonable prices. At present, maize-seed production is monopolised by Kenya Seed Company; the NDP government will ensure alternative production in which private entrepreneurship will play a role. The NDP government will ensure that Kenya is not only self-sufficient in maize once again but is also an exporter over and above strategic reserve levels.

2.1.2 Vegetable Oils

AT PRESENT, Kenya imports over 70 per cent of the edible vegetable fats the nation requires. There is no properly-defined policy to address the production of oil crops, nor have such crops received the promotional attention they deserve.

The NDP government will facilitate measures that will help to increase the production of vegetable oil crops and will provide extension services for these crops, e.g., sunflower, simsim mustard and groundnuts, which may be grown in areas of medium potential and in semi-arid and other areas where there are no well-established cash crops. The government will also promote rural-based vegetable-oil processing of these crops.

2.1.3 Sugar

KENYA was at one time self-sufficient in sugar. Due to corruption, mismanagement and inadequate marketing, this sub-sector has suffered a major fall in production, to the extent that Kenya has become an importer of the commodity.

The NDP will ensure that the sugar sub-sector is privatised and liberalised, with the aim not only of self-sufficiency but also producing sufficient for export. Until self-sufficiency is reached, the NDP government will ensure that there is no excessive competition from imported sugar, by imposing appropriate tariffs.

2.1.4 Cotton

THE cotton sub-sector has suffered one of the largest setbacks in the agricultural sector, which has had a negative effect on the textile industri-

alisation process, which has had to import two-thirds of the raw cotton it requires.

To overcome the problems caused by corruption, mismanagement and inadequate policies, a minimum producer price will be negotiated between the producers and government. The NDP will encourage liberalised marketing in a way that improves efficiency. The NDP will facilitate the acquisition and rehabilitation of stalled ginneries by entrepreneurs, who might be groups of individual farmers, co-operatives or companies. The NDP government will intensify extension services to farmers and research on improved production technology.

2.1.5 Coffee

COFFEE is one of the most important cash crops for Kenya, earning badly-needed foreign exchange. The coffee industry labours under multiple problems of corruption and mismanagement, affecting production, marketing, research, and extension services to farmers. Farmers have therefore not been reaping the expected benefits from the coffee industry.

The NDP government will assist in the expansion of coffee production, in the increase of extension services, and in the acquisition of credit facilities, as well as through research on technology and bean-improvement.

The NDP government will reform the institutional framework of the Kenya Planters' Co-operative Union in such a way as to increase payments to farmers and reduce deductions by co-operatives and unions. Coffee processing and marketing will be liberalised.

2.1.6 Tea

TEA is the most important cash crop in the country's economy. The NDP government will give high priority to its production and the marketing of quality produce. The government will focus on increased factory capacity to handle increased production. It will facilitate the decentralisation of decision-making and enhance power sharing in the industry. Farmers will have a greater say and be more involved in local factories.

The Kenya Tea Development Authority will be reformed for improved management, more efficient services and prompt payments to small-scale farmers. The government will ensure a minimum producer price.

2.1.7 Wheat

WHEAT production has steadily declined, due to the indiscriminate sub-division of large wheat farms, inappropriate technology and lack of a rational production policy. To revitalise and improve production, the NDP government will provide incentives to farmers in the form of minimum producer prices, guaranteed minimum returns, easy access to credit facilities, inputs and marketing.

Seed production and marketing will be liberalised so that the Kenya Seed Company does not monopolise the industry. The government will also apply the Seeds and Plant Varieties Act to ensure that only good seed is available to farmers by seed producers. Marketing will be liberalised to ensure fair competition. The role of the National Cereals and Produce Board as the sole wheat buyer and stockist will be ended. The Board will no longer have the authority to issue licences for wheat importation.

2.1.8 Dairy, Meat and Fish

THE dairy industry has been fairly well developed but this development has been hindered by corruption and mismanagement, particularly in marketing, with the Kenya Co-operative Creameries the main culprit.

To rehabilitate and boost production, the KCC will be reformed, so that farmers participate effectively in the decision-making process. Private entrepreneurs will participate in the processing of dairy products. Indigenous dairy livestock will be upgraded through quality artificial insemination and through clinical, dipping and extension services, reaching areas currently not supplied. Through research, the government will ensure that good genetic potential is maintained and improved. The NDP will ensure that a well-focused policy instrument is adopted to boost the beef, mutton, pork, poultry and fish industries, including the reform of the Kenya Meat Commission.

The fresh-water pollution affecting the fishing industry will be addressed. Proper attention will be given to problems caused by the encroachment of water hyacinth in freshwater lakes such as Victoria and Naivasha. The management of fisheries, which sustains large lakeside populations, will be improved for effective and efficient service-delivery.

2.1.9 National Irrigation Board

IRRIGATION will be an integral part of the agricultural development policy, particularly in arid and semi-arid areas, to boost food production with a view to eliminating the necessity for relief food.

The NDP government will reform of the National Irrigation Board so that:—

- farmers in NIB schemes are provided with title deeds
- the NIB sells its services (land preparation and irrigation water) to the farmers at the prevailing market rate
- farmers in NIB schemes can sell their produce to any buyer at the free market rate and thus benefit from competition among buyers.

2.1.10 Rain-Fed Rice

THE NDP government will give serious attention to both rain-fed rice and irrigation-produced rice. The research and extension services will address the following issues:—

- the production and distribution of the seed of rain-fed rice varieties in a free-market system
- minimum producer prices as incentives
- milling by co-operative societies or by private entrepreneurs.

2.2 Taxation and Monetary Policy

KENYA reels from the effects of government—instigated inflation and the failure of the government to meet its financial obligations despite very heavy taxation. Mismanagement of the economy and corruption have had far-reaching effects on the incomes of farmers, businessmen and women, entrepreneurs, investors and all other workers in the populace.

Despite the high levels of taxation at all points of implementation, there are no corresponding signs of infrastructural and social development. Taxpayers' money is looted, while patronage ensures the culprits evade taxation. The NDP government will adopt taxation and monetary policies to enhance capacity in the following areas:—

- the import—export sector
- the commercial banking system, reviewing interest rates and credit policies
- tax incentives for investors in productive areas of the economy

- the taxation system, to ensure that every citizen pays a fair tax
- currency movements in the Central Bank.

2.2.1. Restructuring the National Budget

DESPITE relatively high levels of government spending, Kenya displays a worse record than many poorer countries in meeting basic needs. This situation reflects the impact of mismanagement by a corrupt and unaccountable government. In addition, low growth rates and an absence of growth-promoting capital expenditure by the public sector has created fiscal problems. A severe imbalance exists between insufficient capital expenditure and excessive consumption expenditure.

The NDP is, therefore, committed to a programme of restructuring public expenditure to finance the government's contribution to the reconstruction programme. Given the current fiscal malaise, careful programmes must be developed around financing increased capital expenditure, increasing the efficiency of consumption expenditure and improving the revenue recovery capacities of the government.

The existing ratios of the deficit, borrowing and taxation to Gross National Product (GNP) are part of the macro-economic problem. In meeting the financing needs of the reconstructive programme, particular attention will be paid to these ratios.

The emphasis will be on ensuring a growing Gross Domestic Product (GDP), improved revenue recovery and more effective expenditure, in order to make more resources available. In the process of raising new funds and applying them, the ratios mentioned above must be taken into account.

Taxation policies will provide incentives for institutional affirmative action programmes covering gender, with respect to employment and education. All macro-economic allocations will be accompanied by social and economic impact analyses of gender, urban-rural dimensions, class/income distribution, religion inequalities, and age (to encompass marginalised young people and the elderly). Future budgetary allocations will show concretely the commitment of a future government to women's development and empowerment.

The budget will be gender-sensitive and it will contain a social impact statement detailing how budgetary allocations affect women with respect to workload, income, education and career options.

2.2.2 Foreign Borrowing

THE NDP government will develop an overall foreign debt strategy. It will use foreign debt-financing only for those elements of the programme that can potentially increase the country's capacity for earning foreign exchange. Relationships with international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will be conducted in such a way as to protect the integrity of domestic policy formulation and promote the interests of the population and the economy. Above all, the NDP government will pursue policies that enhance national self-sufficiency and enable reduced dependence on international financial institutions. Measures will be introduced to ensure that foreign governmental and non-governmental aid supports the development programme.

2.3 Natural Resources and Environment

THE NDP is increasingly aware of the importance of a sound environment management policy and the intrinsic value of biological diversity and its components. The NDP's environment policy is meant to realise the conservation, protection and improvement of biological diversity and the physical environment for sustainable development. The following policy measures will therefore be undertaken in order to ensure sustainable utilisation of natural resources and environment. The NDP government will:—

- promote conservation of biological diversity and the physical environment, through appropriate legislation and sound management policies
- promote the protection of major ecosystems and other natural habitats, such as forests, fresh waters, marine waters, wetlands, savannah, forest, woodlands and wildlife, through policy reviews
- promote environmentally-sound and sustainable development in areas adjacent to protected areas, with the aim of enhancing the protection of these areas
- promote ways and means of regulating, managing or controlling risks associated with the use and release of chemicals and organisms which may affect the environment
- control and manage pollutants from industries and farming activities through environmental monitoring unit policy instruments
- encourage sustainable use of natural resources and the environment through time-tested customary methods compatible with sustainable use

requirements

—educate and train local populations to develop and implement remedial action in degraded areas

—promote co-operation between government, NGOs and industry, in developing methods for the sustainable use of physical and biological resources

—promote public education and awareness of the importance of measures required for the sustainable use of the environment, through the print and electronic media, and provide for the inclusion of these topics in educational programmes at all levels

—promote national preparedness for emergencies or activities, whether caused by accident or design, which pose grave and imminent danger to the biological diversity and to the physical environment

—promote and encourage regional and international co-operation, through agreements and treaties.

2.4 Parastatals

THE public sector in general and parastatal bodies in particular have been abused by successive post-independence regimes in Kenya. They have been both used as rewards for those who enjoy state patronage – often following their rejection by the electorate – and looted by state bureaucrats to pay for their entrenchment in power. The results have been inefficiency, mismanagement, corruption and lack of adequate services to the people.

The NDP government will support liberalisation and privatisation policies, but divestiture programmes will be undertaken with state participation remaining a factor, particularly in critical areas such as banking and credit institutions and cereal crops.

2.5 Land

LAND has historically been a contentious issue in Kenya, both before and after independence. The independence struggle revolved around land issues and land questions remain unresolved to date.

The NDP believes that land, as a natural resource, belongs to all Kenyans and must be used with the necessary providence, equity and productivity. As a result, the NDP undertakes to:-

—promote individual/group ownership of land, especially for agricultural/

industrial use

—promote effective and efficient utilisation of land, using scientific/modern methods of farming/industrial use, through government-assisted projects or private treaty arrangements. At all times, environmentally-sound methods or processes should be used, in order to protect the quality of the land in question

—promote irrigation and modern methods of farming in marginal or seasonal rainfall areas

—promote ethnic mixing in land-acquisition programmes throughout the country, to assist the process of reducing such animosity as exists among the country's different ethnic groups in Kenya

—repossess for the state all public land, in both rural and urban areas, that has been illegally acquired, and distribute amongst genuinely landless people those parts not required for public ownership

—invest local government authorities with more authority to manage any land within their jurisdiction in a rational manner, i.e., land is to be used more for community-oriented than for individualised projects. The role of the commissioner of lands will be reviewed

—encourage the amalgamation of small pieces of land for group farming or any viable project, but allow individuals to retain their right of ownership of each share contributed, in order to improve productivity where it has been affected by land fragmentation

—promote rural/urban industrialisation where farms are not productive. This will encourage owners of such farms or pieces of land to pool them for more lucrative ventures. The NDP government/private sector will provide grants/technical advice for productive utilisation of such land

—review all land laws to make them responsive to and consistent with national interests

—introduce taxation for non-usage of tracts of land appropriate for agricultural/industrial use yet lying unused, to avoid loss of national income through “land-hoarding”

—provide incentives for good land use, e.g., partial exemption of land rates, and the provision of grants/loans for development, to encourage agricultural/industrial production.

2.6 Tourism and Wildlife

TOURISM and wildlife make up Kenya's largest foreign exchange-earning sector.

As in all other institutions in the country, the infrastructure necessary for the development of this industry has been allowed to run down, due to corruption and mismanagement.

The NDP government will undertake to review the legislation governing this critical sector, with a view to improving it through the following resources:-

- creating an enabling political and social environment conducive to the tourism industry
- rehabilitating and improving such necessary physical infrastructure as airports/airstrips, hotels, resorts, water and electricity supplies, and communication networks
- rehabilitating the game parks and reserves and restructuring the management system of Masaaai Mara game reserve and others
- enacting by-laws which will ensure that the preservation of wildlife does not take place at the expense of human life
- ensuring a revenue trickle-down effect for communities living adjacent to areas inhabited by wildlife bringing in tourism revenue
- improve security in the game parks and reserves.

2.7 Corruption

CORRUPTION in Kenya has reached a level where it is almost taken for granted that a bribe is always necessary to get anything done. Indeed, the International Institute of Transparency in 1996 rated Kenya the third most corrupt in the world. It is the single most potent cause of the institutional and structural breakdown of the nation. Public accountability and transparency in public affairs simply does not exist.

Corruption is systemic, arising from the corruption of leadership which has induced the collapse of institutions designed to contain corruption. This has contributed to the grinding poverty which has driven those living at the margins to engage in petty corruption, simply in order to survive. In the absence of a living wage, the people are victimised twice over: they are denied development and then forced to lower personal standards of honesty.

Corruption in decision-making creates white-elephant projects and contributes to the impoverishment of the people.

The NDP government will put an end to corruption and to do this is committed to reviewing and improving the terms and conditions of service for civil servants, the police and the prison and military departments, to help

instil in them a sense of patriotism and self-worth and inculcate a sense of duty and responsibility.

The NDP government will:—

—introduce a leadership code of conduct, requiring public office aspirants and holders and their immediate relations to declare their assets, as a means of encouraging transparency in public service

—restructure the civil service, which will also have a method of evaluating planned or executed projects

—ensure public participation in policy conceptualisation, formulation and implementation

—intensify efforts to realise the initiative of the World Bank on a standard living wage and on service delivery, as part of the promotion of openness and accountability in governance

—review the structural adjustment programme with a view to absorbing its sharp effects, such as devaluation and inflation

—set up a commission of inquiry to investigate past cases of corruption and to repossess corruptly-acquired assets and pursue the prosecution of culprits

—reconcile the consumption pattern in Kenya with the level of productivity. Individuals will be encouraged to develop creativity to overcome economic limitations without resorting to corrupt means.

2.8 Unemployment

HUNDREDS of thousands of Kenyans are without gainful employment and the NDP government will tackle this problem with urgency.

Economic reforms, proper economic management, high rates of economic growth and an end to corruption, within the first few months of NDP government, will place Kenya on a path of economic recovery and improved employment opportunities.

Chapter 3

3.0 SOCIAL POLICY PROGRAMMES

WIDESPREAD social injustice in Kenya under post-independence regimes to date, manifest in flagrant violations of human rights, abuse of political power, denial of basic social needs, rampant unemployment, mass retrenchment, land-grabbing, misuse of social insurance funds, ethnic discrimination, child abuse, gender imbalance, and chronic corruption, especially in high offices, demonstrate the kind of bad governance, poor leadership and irrelevant social policy frameworks that the NDP will put an end to.

Rights enshrined in the constitution have not been observed, and land-buying and land-selling policies, cost-sharing in essential social services, the social security fund policy and food security and employment policies have failed to provide the populace with protection from social injustice, particularly the unemployed youth, slum-dwellers, street-children and school drop-outs. Effective and long-term solutions for famine and flood-prone areas have not been sought, while the gap between rich and the poor has continued to grow. Job security among workers and professionals has disappear, while no effective policies have been implemented to assist the suffering pastoralists, peasants, fishermen, small-scale traders and jua-kali artisans. The NDP government will therefore abandon the existing irrelevant social policy instruments and devise relevant consistent social policy instruments which will address the issue of social justice for all.

3.1 Education

EDUCATION and training has been characterised by three key features. First, the disgraced 8.4.4 system was imposed on society. Second, there is a lack of access, or unequal access, to education and training at all levels of the system, with vast disparities between the rich and poor sectors and in regional provision. Large numbers of people – adults (more especially women), out-of-school youth, and children of pre-school age – have little or no access to education and training. Third, there is a lack of democratic control within the education and training system. Students, teachers, parents and workers are excluded from decision-making processes.

The fragmented, unequal and undemocratic nature of the education and

training system has had profound effects on the development of the economy and of society, resulting in the destruction, distortion or neglect of human potential, with devastating consequences for social and economic development. This is evident in the lack of career-paths offered to workers and in the effect this has on worker motivation and general productivity. The 8.4.4 system of education and attendant resistance has destroyed the culture of learning in large sections of our communities, leading, in the worst-affected areas, to a virtual breakdown of schooling and conditions of anarchy in relations between students, teachers, principals and the education authorities. Our public universities are in a chaotic state, with many lecturers having left for greener and more hospitable pastures. Girls and women are frequently denied education training opportunities because they are female. Furthermore, when girls and women are educated and trained, it is to fulfill traditional roles, which perpetuates their oppression.

Within all education and training programmes, attention will be given to the special interests of girls and women. For example, adult basic education and training programmes will put special emphasis on women trapped in the rural areas. Campaigns and information will open up a wider range of learning opportunities and choices for women, which in turn should lead to a wider range of income-generating forms of employment. Girls and women will be encouraged to pursue subjects such as Mathematics and Science. In addition to these measures, however, special steps will be taken to give full recognition and value to the work and skills traditionally associated with women, where appropriate. These should be recognised within the national qualifications framework.

The challenge that faces us at the dawning of a democratic society is to create an education and training system that ensures people can realise their potential in society. This is a basic prerequisite for the successful achievement of all other goals in this transformation and development phase. The NDP government will therefore undertake to overhaul the entire education system and adopt one which is broad-based, responsive to national needs and individually self-fulfilling. It will: –

—*provide quality education* that is affordable, sound, equitable and dynamic

—*provide basic infrastructure* for all public schools, colleges and universities in the country (e.g., electricity, roads, clean and safe drinking-water,

equipment building, staff)

—*introduce free and compulsory* education from pre-primary through primary school

—*abolish the 8.4.4 system* of education and replace it with an improved 7.4.2.3 system

—*reform the quota system* in order to curtail mismanagement and abuse

—*review the terms and conditions* of service of teachers at all levels of the education system and improve their working environment, remuneration and social welfare, in accordance with the importance of their role in society

—*democratise the education system* in its entirety by ensuring academic freedom in all institutions of learning

—undertake specific measures to enhance female education at all levels

—*create the means* of integrating disabled students within the general education system

—*institute an educational management policy* that provides for collective decision-making in the management of schools, colleges and universities and ensures that input from heads, staff and parents (or students, as appropriate) is accommodated

—*encourage* the formation of national movements and trade unions for students and teachers respectively, at all levels of education

—*promote linkages* among the universities themselves and between sectors to contribute to the financing of university education

—*promote closer co-operation* between the tertiary institutions and the public, private and voluntary sectors, to enable various sectors to assist in financing training programmes and developing curricula relevant to their needs

—*depoliticise the administration* and management of public universities and democratise the entire university system, in order to create an enabling environment for academic freedom, excellence and motivation

—*ensure the appointment of chairs and members of university councils* and the election of chancellors is done by the university's academic community

—*review the establishment of public universities* and their curricula with a view to streamlining university education

—*encourage pre-primary education* and entrust local authorities, church

- organisations and communities with its development and management
- standardise fees at all public secondary schools* for equal access to secondary-school education
- review the education curriculum* to make it more balanced and goal-oriented
- provide bursaries* and grants to qualified but needy students.

3.2 Health Care and Population

INADEQUATE and inappropriate health-care and population policies, coupled with gross mismanagement of this sector and political interference, have had disastrous results.

The sector has not only failed to provide effective and efficient health-care services and proper population policy guidelines, but the policies governing the sector, such as the cost-sharing policy, have further alienated the majority of the populace from enjoying basic services. The NDP undertakes to:—

- review all current policies* governing health care and population, with a view to formulating clear and socially-responsive policies
- promote preventive medical care*, rather than curative medicine
- provide a subsidised and affordable Medicare* system for specialised cases
- provide free basic medical services* for common illnesses
- formulate sound policies on the prevention of common diseases, communicable diseases and Aids
- restructure* the National Hospital Insurance Fund for effectiveness and efficiency, and widen its coverage to include broader sections of the population
- encourage* more research into tropical diseases such as malaria, cholera and typhoid, which daily claim many lives
- ensure* the equitable distribution of health workers and medical facilities country-wide
- encourage* the development and use of traditional/herbal medicine and other alternative forms of medicine
- review and improve* the terms and conditions of service of doctors, nurses and other paramedical staff, to boost morale, improve productivity and stem the ‘brain-drain’

- improve the quality* of training and in-service programmes for doctors, nurses and paramedical staff
- introduce a clear insurance policy for doctors
- formulate clear policies* governing the formation of medical associations and welfare societies
- encourage* the use of natural birth-control methods, alongside other appropriate birth-control methods
- promote the development* of local medical and pharmaceutical industries to manufacture medical equipment and drugs.

3.3 Housing

THE housing situation in Kenya today is agonising. Not only is middle-level and primary-level housing in urban areas inadequate but the rate at which slums mushroom is a matter for national concern.

The post-independence regimes have proved totally incapable of addressing the problem of housing, especially for the urban middle- and lower-class workers. There is no clear policy on housing, while construction costs are higher than the ordinary worker can afford. The current policy of the KANU government in selling government houses to private individuals loyal to the regime exacerbates the housing crisis. The NDP's policy on housing will ensure that everyone has an affordable and decent housing as a matter of human right. It will initiate a broad-based legislation and policy instrument that will ensure the following:—

- that government encourages individuals to build owner-occupier houses through the provision of such incentives as affordable mortgage schemes and subsidies in construction costs
- that architects are encouraged to incorporate the cultural values of clients into housing designs
- that there be a clear policy and legislation aimed at putting an end to the mushrooming of illegal structures in both urban and rural areas
- that the use of locally available materials in the housing construction industry is encouraged and supported, while materials which are health hazards are banned
- that conducive conditions are created for employers to provide housing for their workers/employees
- that private developers are encouraged to build more affordable and

- decent houses, especially for middle and low income-groups
- that local authorities build houses for their urban residents, while investment in such public utilities as water and electricity is extended to cover peri-urban areas
- that housing development is located closer to work places, especially for low-income workers
- that such housing development consists of well-planned schemes with adequate basic social amenities
- that attractive incentives for productive agricultural enterprise and employment opportunities in the rural areas be devised to stem rural-urban drift.

3.4 Social Welfare and Social Security

DESPITE the fact that more than 50 per cent of Kenyans live below the poverty line, there is no clear social welfare and social security policy to cushion this huge number of socially and economically disadvantaged people, especially in light of the World-Bank inspired Structural Adjustment Programmes, which have aggravated an already difficult situation.

The current narrow-based social security policy only covers the employed few, who form a small fraction of the total population. Moreover, it only serves the retired category, and even then the process of achieving payment of their dues is ridden with corruption and inefficiency, as is the National Social Security Fund itself, which has also been used at will by corrupt politicians to pay for the perpetuation of their hold on political power. The qualified but unemployed, the disabled, the terminally-ill and the elderly have no social security.

The NDP's social welfare and social security policy will initiate broad-based pension and allowances legislation which will cover the employed, the unemployed, professional small-scale agriculturalists, micro-enterprise business people, children and jua-kali artisans.

The institutional structures which will administer the scheme will be accountable, transparent and efficient in service delivery. There will be an appropriate policy for the utilisation of excess funds for productive investment in social and physical infrastructure.

The NDP will:—

- introduce legislation for the proper control and management of the na-

tional fund for the disabled

- establish geriatric centres for care of the elderly, where required
- formulate a policy for the establishment of hospices country-wide
- introduce legislation on the collection, management and appropriation of the NSSF, with a view to offering direct benefit to contributors
- introduce a social health-care programme to assist needy Kenyans to participate in a Medicare system.

3.5 Sports for Development

SPORTING activities play an important role in the development and health of the human mind and body.

Sporting activities also serve to bring people of diverse cultures together and as such are an integral part of other aspects of human development. An NDP government will endeavour to:-

- promote all types of sporting activity
- rehabilitate and improve sports facilities in the rural and urban centres country-wide
- improve the management and administration of sports in the country. Professionalism will be encouraged by the introduction of appropriately progressive programmes
- improve and standardise sporting programmes for schools, sports centres and youth clubs
- identify, nurture and promote young men and women with outstanding sporting abilities
- establish a national sports academy for gifted sportsmen and women
- establish an insurance policy to cater for medical and social welfare for sportsmen and women
- introduce incentives for sportsmen and women.

3.6 Culture and the Arts

WITHOUT sound cultural foundations, a nation cannot forge a head in any sector of development. It is the intention of NDP to nurture and promote the authentic cultures and arts that give Kenyans their identities.

To this end, the NDP government will:-

- do everything possible to preserve African cultures
- promote African cultures in their diversity, in such fields music, dance, sculpture, painting and oral and written literature
- establish cultural and heritage centres in both urban and rural areas

- introduce cultural studies in schools, colleges and universities
- encourage and promote annual cultural festivities at local and national levels
- encourage and enhance cultural exchange programmes both locally and globally
- promote and provide incentives for creative and performing artists.

3.7 Gender and Development

DESPITE empty rhetoric to the contrary, post-independence regimes have continued to practise extensive discrimination against women in all spheres of life.

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

The NDP recognises the great contributions of women to the welfare of the family and the role of both parents in the upbringing of children, which requires a sharing of responsibility between men and women and society as a whole.

The NDP is aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as in the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality between men and women, and will adopt the measures required for the elimination of gender discrimination in all its forms and manifestations.

In that regard, the NDP subscribes to the Beijing platform of action of 1996, and, in order to address gender issues in Kenya, will:—

- promote programmes for women's development through affirmative action*
- review*, with a view to expunging, repugnant laws that discriminate against women
- encourage* and support more women to join the political mainstream

—*promote* women economically by removing obstacles that deter them from obtaining direct credit access from financial institutions and other income-generating projects and activities.

3.8 Youth and Development

NO CLEAR youth policy in terms of national development has ever been put in place by post-independence regimes. Any semblance of establishing national youth development organisations by the state has merely been so that these organisations may act as conduits for the use of public funds for electioneering and political patronage.

The NDP government will change this scenario by clearly recognising the status of youth (aged 32 years and below) and nurturing youth both for future leadership and for national development programme. To this end, the NDP will help youth develop by the following means:—

- the provision of grants and soft loans to assist them in income-generating projects and activities
- the instilling of cultural values important to Kenyan society and the promotion of the integration of diverse cultures
- the creation of an enabling environment for youth to participate fully in the political affairs of the country
- encouragement to youth to organise themselves into groups for their own development
- formation of a party youth organ for political mobilisation.

Chapter 4

4.0 INDUSTRIALISATION

THIRTY-FOUR years after independence, Kenya has not harnessed her immense natural resource base and dynamic human resources to enable the majority of citizens to gain a sustainable livelihood. The manufacture and processing of products, goods and services is vital in order to increase earnings and inhibit inflation.

4.1 Industry

KENYA'S economy requires co-ordinated and effective policies that combine private sector initiatives and government support to address structural weaknesses.

Coherent strategies are required in industry, trade and commerce to meet the challenges of a changing world economy, while at the same time meeting the needs of the majority. Also required are broadly accepted, well-designed programmes which minimise the costs of restructuring and change. A six per cent growth rate and the creation of 300,000 to 500,000 non-agricultural jobs per annum can be achieved within five years.

4.2 Objectives of Industry, Trade and Commerce

KEY goals in the NDP's industrial strategy are a substantial increase in net national investment, especially in manufacturing, job-creation and the meeting of basic needs. Through the prudent implementation of macro-economic policies, such as monetary policies and, in particular, such instruments as interest rates and an increase in public sector investment, gross investment in industry will rise.

In general, the objective is to enhance technological capacity to ensure that, through the restructuring of industry, Kenya emerges as a significant exporter of manufactured goods.

The industrialisation strategy aims to promote a more balanced pattern of industrial development, capable of overcoming the acute over-concentration of industrial activities in certain metropolitan centres of the country. Trade and industrial policies must respond to the demands of reconstruction and development. In particular, industrial expansion should follow from the extension of infrastructure to urban, peri-urban and rural constituencies. Some of this new demand will be met by utilising the considerable excess capacity that exists within the industry. That should lower unit costs, raise productivity and foster innovation, providing new impetus for international competitiveness.

While trade policy must introduce instruments to promote exports of manufactured goods in general, industrial policy must support and strengthen those internally competitive industries that emerge on the basis of stronger internal linkages, meeting the needs of reconstruction and raising capacity utilisation.

4.3 Trade

WITH the existing foreign-exchange constraints on growth, trade policies assume

enormous importance. The agreements that Kenya enters into with her major trading partners will play a crucial role in future development.

The NDP government will rapidly restructure relations with neighbouring East African countries, which import about 20 per cent of our exports. More balanced and less exploitative trade patterns will result in more mutually-beneficial outcomes, which will strengthen the Eastern African region in its relations with emerging global trading blocs.

4.4 Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise

SMALL businesses, including jua-kali enterprises, form an integral part of the national economy and economic policy. Micro producers need to develop from a set of marginalised survival strategies into dynamic small enterprises that can provide a decent living for both employees and entrepreneurs. Policies to that end must focus particularly on women, who are represented disproportionately in this sector, especially in the rural areas.

Government agencies will provide infrastructure and skills to raise incomes and create healthier working conditions in small business. They must protect the rights of workers, whether family members or others, and provide training in productive and managerial skills.

Experience shows that four major constraints face small and micro enterprise: the lack of access to credit, markets, skills and supportive institutional arrangements. The NDP government will develop an integral approach to all four problems.

4.5 Science and Technology

TECHNOLOGY policy is a key component of both industrial strategy and high-quality social and economic infrastructure. It is critical for raising productivity in both small and large-scale enterprise.

NDP science and technology policies will pursue the broad objectives of developing a supportive environment for innovation, science and technology efforts, in both private and public sectors, enabling appropriate sectors of the economy to compete internationally, ensuring that scientific advances translate effectively into technological applications – including in the small and micro sectors and in rural development – and humanising technology to minimise the effect on working conditions and employment. Technology policy must support inter-firm linkages that facilitate innova-

tion. In research and development, the NDP government will support pre-competitive collaboration between local firms and public efforts combining enterprise and scientific institutes.

Incentives will support the expansion of technological capacity in both existing firms and start-ups. A greater share of government initiatives which facilitate technological development, knowledge-acquisition and training will directly benefit small and micro enterprise.

Girls and women will be encouraged to obtain technical and scientific skills. The Ministry of Education will establish targets in the study of science and technology in educational institutions it subsidises. Research in the science and technology arena by the NDP government, parastatals and educational institutions will cater equally to the needs of women in this area. New legislation will ensure that agreements to import foreign technology include a commitment to educate and train local labour to use, maintain and extend technology. Appropriate technology for small and medium-sized enterprises will be purchased where necessary and applicable from other developing countries. The government will limit excessive payment of royalties and licence fees.

The NDP government will develop programmes to make university-based science more responsive to the needs of the majority of the people in basic infrastructure, goods and services.

Chapter 5

5. 0 FOREIGN POLICY

POST-INDEPENDENCE foreign policy has often embarrassed patriotic Kenyans. Within the continent, and particularly within the region, the latest regime has aligned itself with the most moribund and dictatorial regimes Africa has even seen, supporting dictators Said Barre of Somalia, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Habyarimana of Rwanda, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and the racist regime of South Africa, while offering sanctuary to reactionary and anti-democratic forces of Dhlakama's Renamo.

Foreign policy has dictated hostility to the governments of Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi, and support for collapsing regimes like that of Mobutu, while wishing away progressive forces struggling to liberate Zaireans from the dead-weight of Mobutu's repressive government.

5.1 Regional Co-operation

THE NDP government will pursue a dynamic and friendly foreign policy within the region, which promotes peaceful co-existence and regional co-operation, especially East African co-operation, in trade, education, research, transport and communications, and harmonisation of fiscal policies, including regarding a common currency.

5.2 Pan-Africanism and the OAU

THE NDP government will promote the creation of regional political and economic bodies as building blocks for African unity, while rekindling the spirit of Pan-Africanism.

While subscribing to Africa's foreign policy of non-alignment, the NDP government will advocate a review of the clause concerning non-interference in the internal affairs of member states in the OAU charter, so that acts of genocide perpetrated by dictatorial regimes against their populations be stopped by intervention.

5.3 International Co-operation

THE NDP government will promote international co-operation and the peaceful co-existence of peoples and nations of the world, through such bodies as the UN, and the North-South, South-South and North-North dialogues. It will review, with a view to renewing its commitment and respect, all the bilateral and multilateral conventions and treaties to which Kenya is a signatory.

The NDP government will fight all forms of foreign domination, will recognise people's right to self-determination and will co-operate with all friendly countries in ensuring the peaceful resolution of disputes.

Appendix

THE extent of corruption in the affairs of the ruling regime are such that, over the past few years, the following financial scams have virtually ground the economy to a halt:-

Goldenberg: The theft of Kshs.18 billion from the Central Bank of Kenya (a total of 75 per cent of the governance budget) caused the collapse of Kenya shilling in 1993.

National Social Security Fund (NSSF) building: The original cost estimate for this Nairobi building of Kshs.500 million was inflated to Kshs.5 billion, enough to build adequate low-cost housing for all the inhabitants of the Kibera and Mathare slums, or to build a four-lane highway from Mombasa to Kisumu.

NSSF/Postbank Credit: Kshs.9.5 billion stolen from the NSSF was channelled through Postbank Credit to fund the disbanded YK'92 youth organisation, which in turn funded the ruling party's 1992 general election campaign.

Malaria Control Programme, Ministry of Health: A total of Kshs.7.2 billion, equivalent to 75 per cent of the ministry's annual budget, was stolen in a scam deal to "provide" anti-malarial drugs and equipment, at a time when malaria is the single largest cause of death in the country.

Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI): More than Kshs.5 billion of taxpayers' money was used to "purchase" this bank, only for the bank to be looted out of existence.

Kenya National Assurance Company: By 1992, more than Kshs.3 billion had been stolen from the company, which included Kshs.180 million deposited in five banks in receivership, including Thabiti Finance.

Kenya Co-operative Creameries: Farmers are owed nearly Kshs.1.5 billion, a debt incurred at the time the Ministry of Co-operatives was managing the company.

Molasses Plant, Kisumu: By 1989, more than Kshs.2.2 billion had been sunk into this project. To date, it has never been operational.

Turkwel Gorge Hydro-Electric Power project: This white elephant was built at the over-valued cost of Kshs7.5 billion. It has failed totally to function to its designed capacity in terms of electricity generation.

Firestone: The government sold its shares for Kshs. 100 million, and these were in turn sold to the public for Kshs 1.4 billion soon afterwards.

The net effect of these huge financial losses from state banks and parastatals is the devastated economic stability of the country. The cost of living has continued to rise as Kenyans continue to pay the price of these acts of fraud. The majority of Kenyans and Kenyan businesses can no longer afford bank's interest rates. Teachers and civil servants are continually paid late, and then only after an overdraft has been obtained from the Central Bank.

Yet the head of government donates an average of Kshs. 10 million per month at Harambees meetings, out of a monthly income of Kshs. 150,000.

Where does he get the difference?

IT IS TIME FOR CHANGE



THE TIME HAS COME!
NDP