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# Speech

by

His Excellency

**Hon. Daniel T. arap Moi, C.G.H., M.P.**  
President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces  
of the Republic of Kenya

on the occasion of

**The State Opening of Parliament**

on

Tuesday, 19th March, 1991

**HOTUBA YA MHESHIMIWA RAIS DANIEL T. ARAP MOI,  
C.G.H., M.P., KATIKA SHEREHE YA KUFUNGUA  
RASMI KIKAO CHA NNE CHA BUNGE LA SITA,  
JUMANNE, TAREHE 19 MACHI, 1991**

**BWANA SPIKA,**

Huu ni mwanzo wa Kikao cha Nne cha Bunge letu la Sita. Ni sherehe muhimu kwa waheshimiwa Wabunge na pia kwa wale wanaowawakilisha. Ni lazima tufahamu pia kwamba sherehe kama hizi ni za muhimu katika juhudi zetu za ujenzi wa taifa. Ni kwa sababu hizo kwamba nina furaha kubwa kuwakaribisha waheshimiwa Wabunge wote katika kikao hiki cha Bunge.

Katika kuanza shughuli zetu za leo kuna kazi mbili zilizo muhimu kwetu kuzifanya tukijitayarisha na kutimiza wajibu wetu muhimu katika kikao hiki. Kwanza inatubidi tuwakumbuke wenzetu waliotuacha. Namwomba nyote msimame na kunyamaza kimya kwa muda wa dakika moja kwa heshima yao na pia tumwombe Mwenyezi Mungu aziweke roho zao mahali pema peponi.

Kwa wale waliojiunga nasi, nataka kuwapongeza, na kuwakaribisha. Ni matumaini yangu kwamba wataifurahia kazi yao kwa manufaa ya Jumba hili, wananchi wanaowakilisha na pia nchi nzima kwa jumla. Wajibu unaotimizwa na Bunge hili ni wa muhimu sana katika maongozi ya nchi yetu. Sheria zinazopitishwa hapa zinaheshimiwa katika kila sehemu ya maisha yetu. Sheria hizo pia ni za muhimu katika kupanga maongozi yetu ya kimaisha na pia kuhifadhi amani na utengamano.

Hivyo basi inatubidi sote tutilie maanani wajibu wetu katika Bunge. Tukiwa viongozi waliochaguliwa, tuna jukumu kubwa la kufikiria kwa makini malengo na makusudio ya nchi yetu ili tutoe uongozi unaostahili na pia kuwa mifano mizuri kwa watu wetu.

**Bwana Spika,**

Mwisho wa kikao kilichopita, niliwashauri waheshimiwa Wabunge wafanye mikutano kuwaeleza wananchi wanaowawakilisha

maongozi ya Serikali na ya Chama. Nimefuata kwa makini matokeo ya mikutano hiyo. Hili ni jambo ambalo tumeona mwanzo wake tu. Inatubidi tuendeleo nalo, hasa kwa sababu kuna mabadiliko mengi yanayotokea mara kwa mara ulimwenguni, katika bara letu la Afrika na pia humu nchini ambayo inatulazimu kuyafikiria. Ni jambo muhimu katika kufanya hivyo kwa usimamizi bora na pia kwa ujenzi wa Taifa.

Natilia mkazo jambo hili kwa sababu katika miaka hii michache iliyopita tumekuwa na maendeleo makubwa, na pia kuna mabadiliko mengi yatakayotokea katika sehemu mbali mbali humu ulimwenguni. Inatulazimu kufikiria mambo haya kwa manufaa yetu wenyewe, ya kisiasa na kiuchumi.

Moja wapo ya mabadiliko hayo katika sehemu yetu ya bara la Afrika ni maendeleo mema ya hali katika Afrika Kusini. Sisi hapa Kenya tunawatakia heri njema watu wa Afrika Kusini katika jitihada zao za kupanga hali yao ya maisha katika siku zijazo. Ni matumaini yetu kwamba tutakuwa na uhusiano mwema wa manufaa kiuchumi wakati ubaguzi wa rangi utakapomalizika na wananchi wote kuwa na haki sawa. Wakati huu pia tunawaomba viongozi wa Afrika Kusini wafanye kila juhudi kumaliza ugomvi kati ya wafuasi wao. Ugomvi huo tayari umesababisha watu wengi wapoteze maisha yao. Vita vya kupambana na ubaguzi wa rangi havijamalizika. Viongozi wa Kiafrika wana wajibu muhimu wa kukabiliana vilivyo na tatizo hilo.

Bwana Spika,

Kumekuwa na ukosefu wa amani katika eneo letu la bara la Afrika. Imetubidi tutumie rasilimali yetu kuwakaribisha wakimbizi kutoka nchi jirani. Imetubidi pia tufanye mipango maalumu kuhifadhi usalama wa wananchi wetu na mali yao kutokana na shari inayoweza kuenea kutoka nje hadi humu nchini. Nataka waheshimiwa Wabunge wachunguze kwa makini jambo hili kwa sababu huenda likaendelea kwa muda na pia kuhitaji rasilimali yetu.

Serikali itafanya kila juhudi kudumisha uhusiano wetu na nchi jirani hata katika wakati huu wa shida. Hasa, tutahakikisha kwa-



mba wale tutakaopatia makao kwa muda hawatajiingiza katika shughuli za kuhatarisha maisha katika nchi zao. Mimi nitaendelea kufanya kila juhudi kutafuta amani katika bara letu. Nina hakika kwamba waheshimiwa Wabunge wataendelea kuniunga mkono kikamilifu katika kutimiza wajibu huo.

Bwana Spika,

Hali ya kiuchumi ya bara letu la Afrika imeendelea kutatizwa na hali ya ukosefu wa amani ulimwenguni. Ukweli ni kwamba hali hiyo inazidi kuwa mbaya tukiingia miaka ya 1990. Bara letu la Afrika linaendelea kutatizwa katika bei za bidhaa, musaada ya kiuchumi, uzalishaji mali na pia katika siasa. Pamoja na hayo, kuna tatizo la deni ambalo linarudisha nyuma maendeleo yetu.

Kenya na nchi nyingine za Afrika zinapasa kufahamu hali hiyo. Pia ni lazima tufahamu kwamba hali yetu ya kiuchumi na kisiasa itaendelea kutatizika. Inatubidi tuungane katika jitihada zetu za kukabiliana na hali hiyo, na pia kujitegemea. Ni kwa sababu hiyo sisi hapa Kenya tunaunga mkono pendekezo la nchi za bara la Afrika kuungana na kuunda soko la shirika. Katika kutekeleza pendekezo hilo, tunaunga mkono juhudi za kuimarisha mashirika ya kiuchumi, kama shirika letu la P.T.A. kama mwanzo wa ushirikiano huo. Nchi za bara letu la Afrika zinapaswa kufahamu kwamba ushirikiano wa kisiasa ni muhimu kwa ushirikiano wa kiuchumi.

Hali inayoikabili Afrika inahitaji tuchukue hatua pia katika sehemu nyinginezo. Nimezungumzia kuhusu umuhimu wa kuhifadhi amani katika bara letu la Afrika. Bara letu linahitaji pia kufikiria mambo mawili. Kwanza hatuna mtu wa kutegemea, kwa hivyo inatulazimu tujitafutie wenyewe masuluhisho ya matatizo yanayotukabili. Pili, nchi za nje zina makusudio yao wenyewe. Kwa sababu hiyo, inatulazimu tufahamu kwamba mbinu walizotumia kutugawanya ili wadumishe ukoloni hawajaziacha.

Bwana Spika,

Inatulazimu tufikirie mambo haya kwa sababu tunapata mawaidha mengi ambayo hatuyahitaji tunayoambiwa kuhusu jinsi ya

kuendesha mambo yetu wenyewe na pia jinsi ya kusimamia hali yetu ya kiuchumi. Baadhi ya mawaidha hayo, hasa yale yanayohusu uchumi yametusaidia na wengi baadhi yetu tumeyatekeleza. Lakini kuhusu mawaidha ya kisiasa, hatuwezi kuwa na uhakika juu ya makusudio ya wale wanaotoa mawaidha hayo. Wao pia hawana haja ya kusikiza maoni yetu. Kwa mfano, eti tunashauriwa tujaribu maongozi ya vyama vingi. Kama nilivyosema, hatuwezi kulazimishwa tufuate maongozi kama hayo bila sisi wenyewe kuwa tayari ama kuyakubali.

Tuna ushahidi wa kutosha katika bara la Afrika, kwamba hatuwezi kupuuza ukabila katika maongozi kama hayo. Ukweli ni kwamba hata baada ya karne nyingi ukabila ni jambo linalotatiza nchi kaadha za Ulaya.

Sisi hapa Kenya hatupingi maongozi ya vyama vingi eti kwa sababu za mwongozo maalumu ama kama mbinu zinazotumiwa na viongozi kuwagandamiza wananchi. Sisi tunasema kwamba maongozi ya kidemokrasia ya chama kimoja yanatufaa kwa sasa hadi wakati ambapo jamii zetu hazitakuwa na ukabila.

Si kusudi letu eti nchi nyingine zifuate msimamo wetu. Tunasema kwamba katika hali yetu ya sasa ya kiuchumi na kimaendeleo, maongozi ya vyama vingi yatatatiza umoja wetu, na kwamba hatutakuwa na msingi mwema wa maendeleo bila ya kuwa na umoja. Haya sio maoni ya watu wachache pekee. Wakati wananchi walipotoa mapendekezo yao kwa kamati ya kuchunguza maongozi ya chama cha KANU, na pia katika mkutano maalumu wa wajumbe wa KANU uliofanywa Kasarani, mwezi wa Desemba mwaka jana, watu wetu walionyesha wazi kwamba wanaunga mkono kwa dhati maongozi ya chama kimoja kwa wakati huu.

Bwana Spika,

Walheshimiwa Wabunge hawana haja ya kuona haya ama kuwa na tashwishi ya kuwaeleza wengine kuhusu vile tunavyoona kuwa vinawafaa watu wetu. Sisi tuna wajibu wa kusimamia wenyewe maongozi yetu ya kiuchumi, kimaisha ya jamii na pia kisiasa. Kwa hivyo ni lazima tujihadhari na wale, kati yetu na pia katika

nchi za nje, wanaotaka kutugandamiza na kutudhoofisha kwa kutuhutubia misimamo fulani. Watu kama hao wanatudanganya eti kwamba matatizo ya kiuchumi yanayotukabili yatamalizika ikiwa tutatupilia mbali baadhi ya kanuni zetu.

Bwana Spika,

Nimesema mara nyingi kwamba si jambo la sawa kwetu kukubali mabadiliko kwa sababu tusizofahamu. Kuna kanuni kadha wa kadha ambazo inatubidi tuendelee kuzifuata hata ikiwa tutabadilisha maongozi yetu. Inatulazimu tuhifadhi hekima ya Bunge letu, kama nguzo ya pekee ya kutunga na kuondoa sheria. Nchi yetu ni lazima iendelee ikiongozwa na sheria. Nikizungumza kuhusu umuhimu wa kufuata sheria sizungumzi tu kuhusu wajibu wa Serikali kutawala ikifuata sheria zilizotungwa hapa. Ninafikiria pia umuhimu wa kila mwananchi kufuata sheria zinazotungwa na Bunge hili.

Kuna sehemu fulani fulani za sheria zetu na pia Katiba yetu ambazo watu fulani kati yetu na wengineo huko nje hawazikubali. Sehemu kama hizo ni pamoja na ile iliyoifanya nchi hii kuwa na chama kimoja. Ukweli ni kwamba nchi hii imekuwa na chama kimoja tangu mwaka wa 1969. Kuna sehemu kadha wa kadha nyinginezo ambazo kwa hekima yake, Bunge hili lilionelea vyema kubadilisha. Masahihisho haya yametufaa kwa njia nyingi. Hatuwezi kuyatupilia mbali eti kwa sababu kufanya hivyo kutawapendeza watu fulani.

Bwana Spika,

Kuna nchi kadhaa ambazo zimekumbwa na matatizo kwa sababu ya uchoyo na ukabila. Mapatano yamekuwa magumu kuyapata kwa sababu ya hali hiyo. Ghasia hizo husababisha kupotea kwa maisha na mali ya watu. Kwa hivyo si jambo la maana kwetu kutupilia mbali sheria ambazo zimetuwezesha tuwe na umoja na tuanze kufanya majaribio tena na mambo ambayo hatufahamu matokeo yake.

Wananchi wa Kenya wana uhuru wa kujadilia kuhusu sheria wanazotaka kuwa nazo. Katiba yetu inaruhusu watu walio

wachache waendeleo kusema maoni yao hata baada ya wengi wetu wakiwa tumekubaliana kuhusu msimamo wetu. Lakini, hakuna mwananchi yeyote aliye na haki ya kuvunja sheria kwa sababu ana uhuru wa kusema atakavyo. Uhuru wa mtu binafsi hauna nafasi kuingilia uhuru wa mtu mwingine.

Kwa sababu hiyo nataka kuwahakikishia waheshimiwa Wabunge kwamba Serikali itaendelea kuhifadhi hekima ya Bunge hili kwa kufuata sheria zinazopitishwa na Bunge. Wale wanaotaka kupuuza hekima ya Bunge hili kwa kutotii sheria zilizopitishwa hapa, watachukuliwa hatua ipasavyo kufuatia sheria hizo. Tunaweza kujadiliana kuhusu wema ama ubaya wa sheria hii ama nyengine. lakini hatuwezi kuruhusu majadiliano yo yote kuhusu wajibu wa wananchi kufuata sheria za nchi hii. Hakuna nchi yeyote inayoweza kustawi bila kuwoko na sheria.

**Bwana Spika,**

Sasa nataka kutaja mambo kadhaa ambayo yatapendekezwa katika kikao hiki cha Bunge. Waheshimiwa Wabunge wataombwa kujadilia Hati ya Sheria ya Fedha ya mwaka wa 1991. Hati hiyo itapendekeza masahihisho kuhusu kodi ya bidhaa ya viwandani. Pia kuna hati nyengine itakayowashilishwa inayohusu akiba maalumu ya mafuta ya petroli itakayoivezesha Serikali itoze ushuru kwa bidhaa za mafuta ya petroli zinazotumiwa humu nchini. Bwana Spika, mafuta ni kitu muhimu kwa maendeleo yetu ya kiuchumi. Inatulazimu kutumia mafuta kwa uangalifu. Tukifikiria hayo, tunaweza kufurahia kwamba vita vya Ghuba vimemalizika.

Kama waheshimiwa Wabunge wanavyofahamu, pamoja na kutimiza wajibu wetu kikamilifu katika Umoja wa Mataifa, mimi mwenyewe nimewasihi watu wa pande zote zilizohusika wafanye kila juhudi kumaliza ugomvi wao kwa njia za amani. Sasa Kenya inataka amani ya kudumu ipatikane katika Mashariki ya Kati kwa mashauri, kusikilizana na kuvumiliana. Sababu hasa zinazoharibu amani, na ambazo zimeleta maafa mengi katika sehemu hiyo zinafaa kuondolewa.



Bwana Spika,

Bunge pia litaombwa kufikiria pendekezo la Serikali la kuanzisha shirika la kusimamia shughuli za viwanja vya ndege. Viwanja vyetu vya ndege ni muhimu kwa shughuli za utalii, biashara na nchi nyengine na pia usalama wa richi yetu. Ni muhimu kwetu kuwa na usimamizi bora kwa manufaa ya nchi yetu.

Bwana Spika,

Hapo mapema nimesema kwamba Kenya itaendelea kuunga mkono shughuli za ushirikiano wa kiuchumi katika Bara la Afrika. Serikali itawasilisha katika Bunge Hati ya Sheria ya Ushirikiano wa Kiuchumi kati ya nchi za Mashariki na Kati ya Afrika, yaani P.T.A. Kusudi la hati hiyo ya Sheria ni kuiwezesha nchi yetu itimize wajibu wake ipasavyo katika ushirikiano huo.

Pia Waheshimiwa Wabunge wataweza kujadilia Hati Maalumu ya Serikali kuhusu taarifa ya kamati niliyoteua ya nafasi ya kazi. Kama wajumbe wa Bunge wanayofahamu, shida ya ukosefu wa kazi ni shida moja wapo inayotutatiza humu nchini. Kwa sababu ya kupunguka kwa idadi ya watu wanaofariki, kutokana na kuimarika kwa mipango yetu ya afya, hasa watoto wachanga, idadi ya watu wetu imekuwa ikiongezeka haraka ikilinganishwa na uwezo wa uchumi wa kutoa nafasi za kazi. Pia tumefaulu katika mipango yetu ya elimu hivi kwamba, shida ya ukosefu wa kazi inawakabili pia watoto wetu walio na elimu ya juu.

Wajibu wa kupata nafasi za kutosha za kazi ni wajibu unaohusu Serikali, makampuni ya watu binafsi na pia wananchi wenyewe. Pia hakuna njia za mkato katika kutafuta suluhisho la tatizo hilo. Wakenya wote wana wajibu muhimu wa kukabiliana na tatizo hilo kikamilifu. Inatubidi tuongeze uwezo wa uchumi wetu kuza-lisha mali, kupunguza ongezeko la idadi ya watu wetu, kuimarisha biashara na viwanda vidogo vidogo, kutumia rasilimali yetu kwa uangalifu, na kwa kuhifadhi amani na nidhamu katika kila jambo. Ni matumaini yangu kwamba waheshimiwa Wabunge watatoa maoni yao kikamilifu wakati Hati hiyo Maalumu itakapowasilishwa Bungeni.



Kwa kumalizia Bwana Spika,

Nataka kutilia mkazo shauri langu kwa waheshimiwa Wabunge watekeleze wajibu wao katika Bunge kwa dhati. Majadiliano yanayofanyika katika Bunge hili ni ya muhimu sana kwa maendeleo ya nchi yetu. Marafiki zetu na pia wasiotutakia mema huwa wanasikiza majadiliano yetu. Inawabidi waheshimiwa Wabunge wajadiliane kuhusu matatizo yanayotukabili wala sio tu ugomvi wa kibinafsi kwa manufaa yao wenyewe. Pia ni wajibu wa kila Mbunge kuhifadhi hekima ya Bunge hili kwa kufanya mambo kwa heshima inayostahili ndani na pia nje ya Bunge. Wajibu wa kiongozi sio wa muda tu, ni wa kila wakati. Nina matumaini kwamba waheshimiwa Wabunge watafikiria mashauri haya kwa makini katika kikao hiki cha nne.

Bwana Spika,

Ingawa nimetilia mkazo kwamba ni sisi wenyewe tulio na wajibu wa kuendeleza nchi yetu, inatubidi tukumbuke kwamba ni lazima tutafute rehema ya Mungu katika kila jambo tunalofanya. Tukichunguza yanayotokea katika sehemu nyingine katika bara la Afrika na kwengineko ulimwenguni ni lazima tuwe na shukrani kwa neema aliyotupatia. Sote inatubidi tuombe kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu azidi kutubariki katika miaka ijayo tukijitahidi kutafuta maendeleo katika moyo wetu wa Harambee na filosophia ya nyayo ya amani, upendo na umoja.

NYAYO.

**SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT, HON. DANIEL T. ARAP MOI, C.G.H., M.P., ON THE OCCASION OF THE STATE OPENING OF THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE SIXTH PARLIAMENT ON TUESDAY, 19th MARCH, 1991**

MR. SPEAKER,

This is the beginning of the Fourth Session of our Sixth Parliament. It is therefore an important occasion for the honourable Members and their constituents. We should also recognize that it is significant occasions of this kind which constitute important landmarks in the process of building our nation. It is therefore with considerations of that kind in mind that I have much pleasure in welcoming all honourable Members to the Session.

But at the very outset of our proceedings there are two important duties which all of us Members of Parliament must discharge as we prepare ourselves for hard work during this Session. First is to remember those colleagues who have left us. I ask you all to stand and remain silent for one minute so that we may honour their memory and pray that Almighty God grants their souls a place in eternal life.

To those who have recently joined us, I extend my congratulations and a special word of welcome. I trust that they will find their new task not only challenging but of benefit to this House, their constituents and Kenya in general. In our system of Government and general management of our country, Parliament plays a most important role. The laws passed by this House are supreme in all the affairs of the nation. They also constitute the most vital element in the build-up of those procedures and traditions needed for steady and stable development of our country.

This implies, among other things, that each and every Member of Parliament must take his or her role in this House very seriously. As elected leaders it is your duty to take long-term and national objectives into account in all your thinking and statements so that you can provide the leadership needed, in addition to providing role models for the others.

Mr. Speaker,

At the end of the last Session of Parliament I requested honourable Members to organize meetings in their constituencies to explain Government and Party policies to the people. I have followed closely the progress of those meetings. Obviously, this should not be seen as a once-for-all exercise. It is an undertaking which should become regular, and indeed continuous, because of the many changes and developments which take place in the world, in our region of Africa and in our own country, and to which we have to respond. Indeed we must keep in mind that effective management of change is the key to success in nation building and consolidation.

I am stressing this point because in recent years truly momentous developments have been taking place, and there are many more now unfolding in the various regions of the world. In order to promote our interest and protect our nation politically and economically, we must always pay attention to such developments so that we can see our own situation in proper perspective and thereby respond to those developments in a manner which supports our national interest.

One of the significant changes in our own region of Africa is the welcome political development now taking place in South Africa. We in Kenya wish the people of that country well in reaching early, appropriate and firm agreement on the future of their country. We also look forward to mutually beneficial economic interactions with South Africa once apartheid has been abolished and equal rights for all are guaranteed. At this time we also call upon all African leaders in South Africa to do whatever is necessary to end violence between their supporters, which has already led to much loss of life. The battle against apartheid has yet to be won. That is where African leaders should be concentrating their efforts.

Mr. Speaker,

Outside our immediate borders there has been a growing atmosphere of instability. We have had to call upon our meagre and

scarce resources to cope with the influx of refugees from neighbouring countries. We have had to mount extra-ordinary measures to provide security to our citizens and their property against the possibility of a spill-over of violence into our country. I call upon the House to take note of these developments, which unfortunately are likely to persist for some time, for they have serious budgetary implications for the Government.

The Government will do all in its power to continue fostering the spirit of good neighbourliness in these difficult times. In particular, we shall ensure that those we offer refuge from the uncertainties and violence of their countries will not abuse our hospitality by engaging in political activities directed against the authorities in their countries of origin. On my part I shall continue to do my utmost in working for peace in our continent. I trust that in those efforts I shall continue to enjoy the full support of all the honourable Members in this House.

Mr. Speaker,

Developments and trends at the international level have continued to be largely hostile to Africa's efforts for economic and social growth. In fact the adverse force of the factors involved appears to be intensifying as we enter the 1990s. Whether one looks at commodity prices, levels of economic assistance, direct investment or even general political interest Africa is becoming increasingly marginalized in the world economy. In addition to this there is the crushing burden of external debt which African countries are finding not only wholly unmanageable but also a solid barrier to their economic recovery.

Kenya and other African countries must recognize the consequences of this external situation. Above all they must recognize that both their economic future and political independence are directly threatened. The response to this situation must be conducted within a framework of collective action, and on the basis of collective self-reliance. Kenya, therefore, supports the declared aim to integrate African economies to form an African common



market. In pursuing that goal Kenya believes that strengthening of sub-regional co-operation, in our own case the P.T.A., should be the starting point. African countries should also accept that political co-operation is essential in promoting economic co-operation.

The situation facing Africa demands action in other areas as well. I have already mentioned the importance of establishing peace in the continent. In addition African countries must recognize two realities: First that they are on their own, and that they must therefore work out their own solution. Secondly they must be aware that foreign countries are primarily interested in achieving their own objectives. In this connection we should be aware that the tactics of "divide-and-rule" which were practised to perpetuate colonialism were never abandoned.

Mr. Speaker,

These points must be kept in mind because there are now hundreds of unsolicited suggestions by outsiders as to how Africans should manage themselves and their economies. Some of the suggestions, especially those in the economic areas, have been useful and many African countries are now embarking on their implementation. But when it comes to the issue of political management the objectivity of some of the advisers appears doubtful. There also appears little patience or willingness on their part to listen and learn. Take, for example, the advice now strongly being given that African countries should embrace the multi-party system. As I have said before political developments of that kind should not be imposed on people or be introduced prematurely. We have enough evidence in Africa to show that tribalism should not be ignored in these matters. In fact even in some countries of Europe tribalism is still a factor after hundreds of years of nationhood.

We in Kenya, are not opposed to multi-party system because of ideological reasons or designs by those in leadership to impose their will on the people. What we have said is that until our society has become cohesive enough so that tribalism is of no significance

in the economic and political activities of the nation the strategy of a mass based, democratic and accountable one-party system is the best in our nation building efforts.

We are not saying that each and every other country should copy us: We are saying that given the stage of our present economic, social and political development, a multi-party system would threaten our unity. And without unity we have no base for effective nation building efforts. This is not the view of a few individuals. Our people, during the KANU Review Committee's hearing and debates at the Special KANU Delegates Conference at Kasarani held last December, strongly reaffirmed their faith and commitment in a one-party system for the time being.

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable Members should not feel inhibited or shy of telling others about what we believe is good for the people of Kenya and their country. The whole process of economic, social and political institutional development should be managed by us. We must therefore be aware of those, within and without, who would wish to control us and weaken our country through ideological arguments, or false promises that the economic hardships we face would disappear if we abandoned some of the basic principles which guide us.

Mr. Speaker,

As I have said on several occasions change cannot be pursued merely for its own sake. There are certain principles that must remain inviolate even as we change. Parliament must remain supreme and the sole entity within our nation that has the right to make, set aside or over-ride laws. This nation must remain a nation governed by the rule of law. And by the rule of law, I am referring not only to the obligation of the Government to govern in accordance with the laws enacted by this House. I am also referring to every citizen's obligation to comply with the laws enacted by Parliament.

There are certain aspects of the law indeed, the Constitution, which some people within the country and some of their friends abroad may not like. These include the provision of which in 1982 made this country a one party State when it had been so in fact since 1969. They also include various laws which Parliament in its wisdom passed to give provisions as well as to protect law and order. These provisions have served us well, we cannot discard them merely for the sake of doing what is fashionable elsewhere.

Mr. Speaker,

Today we continue to witness national tragedies brought about by selfish and ethnocentric interests. In Africa many attempts at reconciliation have floundered on these narrow interests. In some cases nations have been torn apart by ethnic and sectarian violence. Given the great cost in lives and property inherent in such violence, it is important for us to avoid rushing into discarding a system of laws which has proved itself as an effective unifying factor of our national life in favour of experiments of doubtful consequences.

Kenyans are, of course, free to debate about what kind of laws they wish to have under our Constitution, a minority has the right to continue expressing its views even after the majority has decided what is good for our nation. But free speech does not bestow upon any citizen the right to disobey the law. All liberties and rights carry with them this obligation: to obey the law and to so conduct oneself as to ensure that one's liberty and rights are not exercised at the expense of someone else's liberty and rights.

For this reason I would like to assure honourable Members that my Government will protect the dignity of this House by enforcing the laws which this House passes. Those who have chosen the path of agitation; those who wish to mock this House by flagrant disregard for the laws passed by Parliament will face the full rigour of those laws. We can debate about the merit of this or that law; but there can be no debate whatsoever about the obligation of all citizens to obey the law of the land, for without laws a nation soon degenerates into anarchy.

Mr. Speaker,

I would like now to mention some of the matters which will come up for deliberation in the House during this Session. Honourable Members will be asked to deliberate on the Finance Bill, 1991, which proposes amendments to the Value Added Tax on mineral oil products. Related to this are the proposals to establish a Petroleum Development Fund to enable the Government to impose a levy on all petroleum products consumed in Kenya. Mr. Speaker, fuel is an important factor in our economic activities, in particular we must always use whatever oil we have efficiently. In thinking about this important commodity we must express relief that the Gulf war has come to an end. As honourable Members know, in addition to our playing our role vigorously through the United Nations, I made personal pleas to the parties involved to do whatever was necessary to avoid conflict. At this time, Kenya urges that every effort be made, through negotiations, compromise and tolerance to establish permanent peace in the Middle East by eliminating the root causes of these rather frequent and extremely costly and dangerous conflicts in the area.

Mr. Speaker,

The House will also be asked to consider the Government proposal to establish a state corporation for effective management of the nation's aerodromes. Our airports are not only important for the tourist industry, transactions with other countries but also for security of our nation. They must therefore be managed efficiently and always in national interest.

Mr. Speaker,

Earlier on I said that Kenya will continue to work for economic co-operation in Africa. In this connection the Preferential Trade Area (Implementation) Bill, 1991 will be tabled. The aim is to enable Kenya to fulfil her obligations in the P.T.A. treaty, which will also be presented for debate during the early part of this Session.



Finally, the honourable Members will be able to deliberate on a Sessional Paper on the report of the Presidential Committee on Employment. As honourable Members know unemployment is one of our most demanding challenges, thanks to the decline in the death rate, especially of infants, brought about by expanded medical services, our population has continued to grow more rapidly than the capacity of the economy to absorb all job seekers. Moreover, the fact that we have been so immensely successful in promoting education for our children means that the employment challenge is now beginning to affect even those with higher education.

The task of creating adequate job opportunities is a complex one involving the Government, the private sector and the people themselves. Furthermore there are no effective short-cut solutions to this challenge. But it is a challenge we Kenyans must be prepared to deal with decisively. This calls for, among other things, determination to make our economy more efficient, reduce the rate of increase in our population, promote small-scale enterprises, use all our resources properly and maintain unity and discipline in all our endeavours. I look forward to hearing constructive contributions of honourable Members when this matter comes up for discussion in the House.

Finally, Mr. Speaker,

Let me stress again my advice to honourable Members to take their work in this House conscientiously. The open debates which take place here have considerable direct and indirect effect on our nation and its development. What is said here is listened to by Kenya's friends and foes alike. Therefore, honourable Members must always be constructive and concentrate on the real issues facing our country instead of personality clashes or attempts to make narrow political gains. Further, it is the duty of all honourable Members to uphold the dignity of our Parliament by conducting themselves properly both within and without this House. The responsibility of a leader is total and continuous; it

cannot be exercised occasionally or casually. I have every confidence that during this Fourth Session of Parliament the honourable Members will be guided by such considerations and objectives.

Mr. Speaker,

To conclude let me say that although I have stressed that we ourselves are responsible for our own development, we must never forget to seek God's guidance in all our affairs. When one looks at what is happening in some parts of Africa and elsewhere in the world, one must thank God for our blessings. Let us all, therefore, pray that in the challenging years of the 1990s God will be with us as we make further development efforts based on our national motto of Harambee and the Nyayo Philosophy of Peace, Love and Unity.

NYAYO