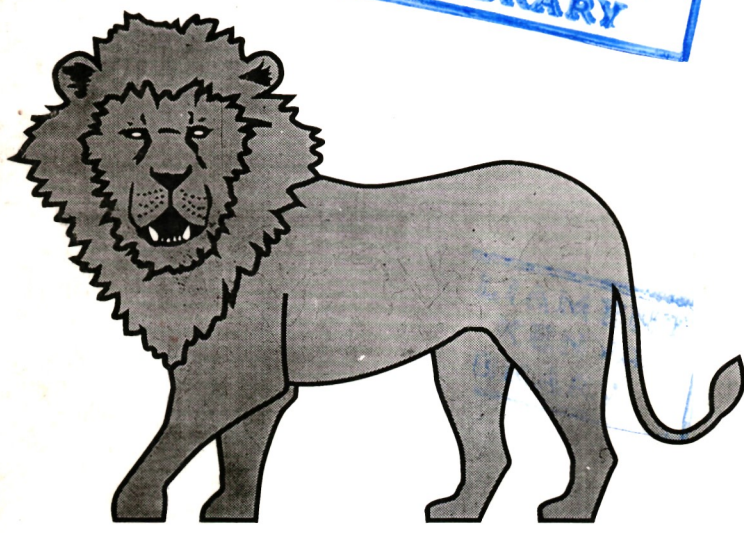


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FORD KENYA

MANIFESTO

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CHARTER FOR THE SECOND LIBERATION

1992

COMPLIMENTARY

THE CHARTER FOR THE SECOND LIBERATION

a manifesto of the

FORUM FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY-
KENYA (FORD-K)

1992



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ISBN-9966-899-01-4

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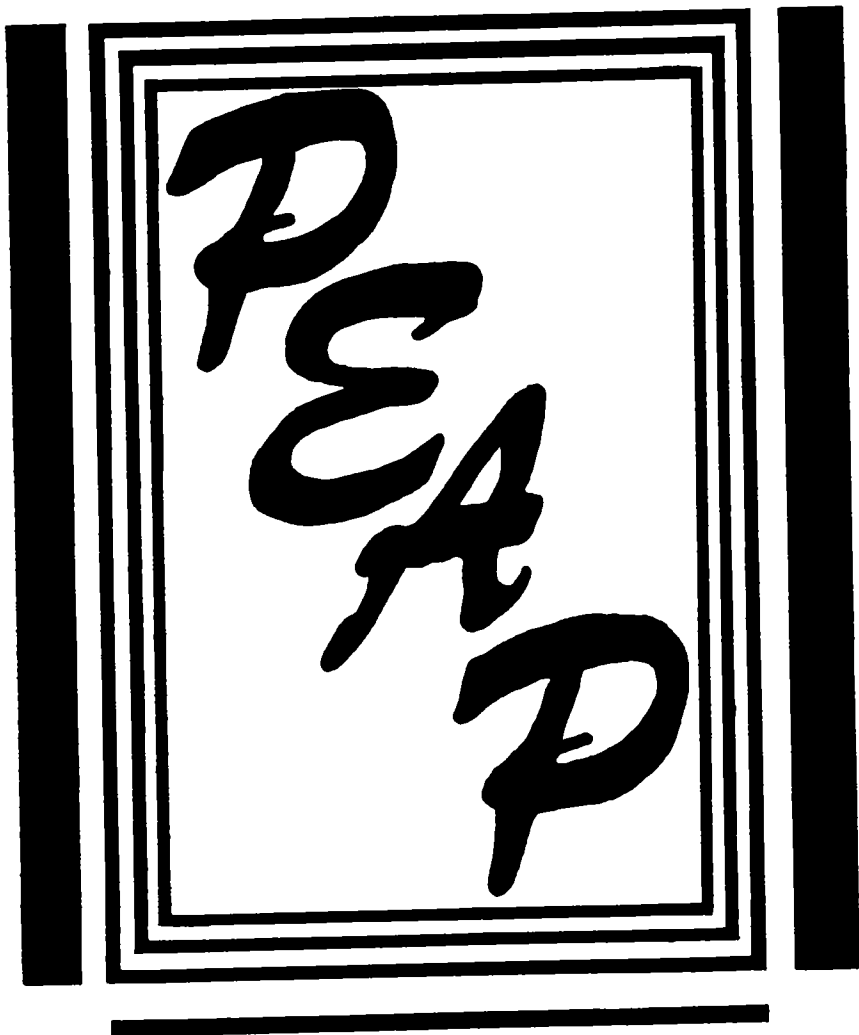


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BLUEPRINT FOR A NEW KENYA

Post Election Action Programme



PREFACE TO THE MANIFESTO

This Manifesto lays down the philosophy and policies of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy- Kenya (FORD-K) as a political party in Kenya. This is to augment what has already been developed from the earlier draft in to the Post Election Action Programme. The preparation of this programme was directed by 3 of FORD-KENYA's specialists in Public Policy; Professor Anyang' Nyong'o, Dr. Mukhisa Kituyi and Mr. Robert Shaw.

The Chairman of the Party has, in his various addresses at the political rallies, touched on some of these issues. Other party officials and militants have also shared these ideas at various meetings with the people. Now is the time to bring these issues together in a major policy document that Kenyans and our friends abroad have been waiting for.

FORD-KENYA has come a long way. When we were together as FORD, we had major dreams for this country. These dreams are not yet gone; they have simply been deepened by the trials and tribulations we have gone through. We are now more determined than ever, more resolute in our goals, more clearer in our objectives.

Our economy is in shambles, our political spirit is very low and our hope for the future is very much put in doubt. But we cannot give up now. We must continue to struggle. We cannot belittle what we have achieved, nor can we achieve more without redoubling our efforts.

We will tell no lies regarding what we have done. We will claim no easy victories against our detractors. We will always rely on the faith the Wananchi have in us and the strength we derive from this. We must encourage the energy and resourcefulness of the youth to find new solutions to our problems. We must be prepared to pass the button of public responsibility to the young. This is the new dawn of leadership that FORD-K brings to Kenya.

With this *Pambazuko Jipya*, the spirit of Uhuru, Haki na Ukweli will be restored in the governing of the people of Kenya.



A Message from the Chairman to Fellow Kenyans

Just about a year ago, the opposition party Forum for the Restoration of Democracy was legally registered. It was an historic day, for it marked the first time in nearly a quarter of a century that Kenyans could look forward to having a choice of who they would elect to govern them.

It was a choice Kenyans desperately wanted. Our first public rally at Kamukunji in Nairobi, and then other rallies that followed soon afterwards in various parts of the country, witnessed a great outpouring of joy at the prospect of seeing an end to a government that had gradually destroyed everything that was important for the welfare of this country.

In the past 14 years, our country has gone only one way - downwards. We used to have healthy coffee and tea industries. They no longer exist. We used to have a healthy tourism industry. It no longer exists. We used to have healthy cotton, sugar, cashewnut, textile and fishing industries. Such industries at one time employed millions of people, who in turn had millions of dependants. Many of these families no longer have an income, and they can barely scratch a miserable living from the soil of our land.

We used to be able to feed our families with maize, and to feel secure in the knowledge that there were reserves of food in our national stores for times when the harvest was poor. We can no longer feed ourselves. We have no food in our national stores. In fact, our people are dying of starvation.

We used to have a good education system. It no longer exists. Our education system has been brutally tampered with and destroyed by people who do not understand the meaning of education. Our children can only look forward to leaving school ill-educated and with no prospects of employment.

We used to have good health care facilities in our clinics and medical centres. Tragically, today, many of these centres do not have even a simple aspirin to offer patients, and many people had died for lack

of urgent medical attention.

How has all this happened? Why is it that we can no longer afford to buy what we used to buy with the money we earn? Worst of all, why is it that most of us can see no prospect of a better future - we can only see that we shall toil and labour until we die, and we shall never be any better off, no matter how hard we work?

There is one simple and straightforward answer. The majority of Kenyans have been forced into this position of permanent suffering so that one small group of people can grow rich. All the money that should have been spent on making the lives of our people better has gone into the pockets of a few people close to the top leadership of our nation. When they have taken whatever they can - and it amounts to billions of shillings, nearly all the wealth of our country - nothing is left for the millions who suffer in poverty.

As we approach the general election, we have seen the Kanu government suddenly making all sorts of promises about the good things it is going to do. It is also trying to tempt Kenyans by giving out some of the wealth stolen from our public coffers. Why did it wait 14 years to show this concern for those who are suffering in poverty?

The answer is obvious: the Kanu government will do anything it can to keep itself in power, so that the same people can go on eating away at the riches of our nation, and so that those who have committed crimes against our people can be protected from exposure.

But no one should make the mistake of thinking that the good things being given out and promised will continue if Kanu gets back into power. The ordinary people of Kenya will be used, and then discarded and ignored, as they have been ignored for more than a decade. This cycle has been repeated over and over again throughout the years, whenever there has been an election. When the election is over, the people in power have gone back to using this country like their personal property.

We beseech you not to make the mistake of letting them do it again.

At this crucial time in our history, it is vital for all Kenyans to think hard about what will be the result of the way they vote in the forthcoming general election. Every Kenyan with a voting card must sit down and ask himself or herself a very serious question: "Isn't it up to me now to do what I can to change what is happening in this country?"

The FORD KENYA team consists of many professionally trained people of great skill and talent, and with the will to work very hard. Indeed, without them, the opposition in this country would never have achieved what it has today. Many of them have been offered great riches to go back to Kanu; if they had only self-interest at heart, they would have accepted the rich offers being made to them. But no amount of money is sufficient to buy any of the core team at FORD KENYA, because their determination to renew the life and hope of this country far exceeds whatever they could be paid to abandon their principles.

It is this team of committed people that has prepared the FORD KENYA manifesto that follows. They have worked hard and seriously to try to produce a charter for a new liberation of the people of this land.

Now it is up to you, the voter. Will you vote for fear, or for hope? Will you vote for the continuation of poverty and despair, or will you vote for hard work and a just reward? Will you choose the past, or the future?

The people of Kenya have great power in their hands, for more than seven million hold a secret weapon: the vote. Please use your vote wisely. Do not think only of what you are being offered today. Think how you have suffered for the past 14 years. And remember that you have no reason whatsoever to believe that, under a Kanu government, anything will be any different in future. We have already seen 14 years of broken promises.

With your help, we can change this nation. We can put it on a new course and reach out for a better life, a future of hope for all of us. The FORD KENYA team cannot wait to get started on the task of returning this land to the people it belongs to, all 25 million of them.

With the deepest sincerity, we ask you to help us to help you. Let us make December 7th, 1992, a turning-point in the history of this nation.

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga

I THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

FORD KENYA is a liberal democratic party that is committed to the restoration of democratic institutions and processes in the governance of Kenya and the prosperity of the economy in a competitive market system.

FORD KENYA believes that all human beings are born equal. In this regard, the basic objective of a government is to assist and protect human beings to develop and strive towards excellence in all their endeavours: moral, intellectual and material. This should be done under conditions of freedom and dignity: freedom from injustice, oppression, discrimination, exploitation, and inhuman and degrading treatment.

FORD KENYA will re-establish the constitution and the law as the only source of legitimate governmental authority. It will restore a limited constitutional government, and institutionalize checks and balances as originally envisaged in the independent constitution. It will dismantle the authoritarian powers of the presidency and evolve an appropriately constituted parliamentary system of government and a cabinet that will guide this government by the principle of collective responsibility.

The Presidency

Under this system, the President shall be the Head of State, and as such shall take precedence over all the other persons in the State. The President shall exercise the powers and perform the functions specified in the constitution and the law. The President shall be removed if he acts in flagrant disregard or contravention of the constitution. As such, **FORD KENYA** shall enact laws regarding the impeachment of the President. He shall be elected by the direct vote of the people and shall hold office for a term of five years. He shall be eligible for re-election only once for a similar term.

The Executive

The prerogative powers of the President will be reviewed to avoid their abuse and to enhance integrity and competence in the exercise of such powers. The powers of the President as head of State will clearly be distinguished and separated from the powers of the Prime Minister, who will be appointed by the President to be the Head of Government. Executive Powers of the State will be exercised collectively by the Council of Ministers under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, who shall exercise such powers as delegated by the President, and who will keep the President informed of the policies of the Government, consulting with the President on a regular basis to ensure the principle of collective responsibility in the executive branch.

To re-assert the independence of the Legislature from the Executive, the President shall not be a member of the National Assembly, but will have powers to prorogue and dissolve the Parliament as laid *down in the Constitution*. Necessary measures will be taken to effect a meaningful de-linking of all political parties from the Government, and to ensure the neutrality and objectivity of the civil service.

The Judiciary will be separated from the Executive, and strengthened through the allocation of sufficient funds, sufficient qualified personnel, and other resources.

A Long-lasting Constitutional Order

FORD KENYA is committed to drawing a new constitution for approval by Kenyans to last for prosperity. This will replace the present one as a sounder basis for political authority and legitimacy for future governments. It will also provide a more acceptable social contract between the governors and the governed.

Civic Responsibility

Democracy will be an illusion if government officials who are charged with the duty of enforcing the law do not respect it and themselves become law breakers. FORD KENYA will ensure that

the law is strictly enforced to penalize and deter official lawlessness. Criminal activities by law enforcement officers will be punished with great severity. FORD KENYA recognizes that there are historical, economic and cultural dimensions to official lawlessness, leading to the growth of a lack of legal culture. This cannot be corrected solely within the context of penal law. To this extent, FORD KENYA will encourage broad social education on issues of law and ethics, insisting on broader and better police training, seminars and refresher courses for civil servants and the police so as to foster discipline, efficiency, better human relations, and a commitment to legality.

FORD KENYA will also safeguard democracy against destruction by bureaucratic insensitivity and red-tape through the establishment of a department of an independent Inspector-General, similar to the office of the Auditor and Controller-General, who shall monitor the performance of the civil service and handle public complaints to ensure that public officials do not apply rules mechanically, maliciously or sadistically - thereby adversely affecting the lives and the fundamental rights of the people. To restore civic responsibility, a FORD KENYA government will go out of its way to inculcate a new political and civic culture among Kenyans, a culture of upholding the rule of law and "doing unto others what you would that they do unto you."

State Security

FORD KENYA is conscious that it might be necessary to limit some human rights in time of war or public emergencies which threaten the life of the nation. FORD KENYA will enact appropriate legislation to provide for the exercise of limited emergency powers in such times. Such powers will be those strictly required by the exigencies of the situation and their invocation and duration will be subject to strict control by the National Assembly to ensure that they are not used to unnecessarily abridge the fundamental rights and freedoms of Kenyans.

Promotion of Human Rights

FORD KENYA will work for the restoration of human rights and

fundamental freedoms in the country, including civil and political rights, economic, social and cultural rights, the rights of women, the rights of the child, the right to development, the right to a clean and satisfactory environment and the right to international peace and security.

FORD KENYA will undertake the following corrective measures to enhance respect for human rights in Kenya:

- (a) encourage and support independence of the Judiciary as the guardian of the Bill of Rights.
- (b) abolish detention without trial which has led to denial of protection under the law and arbitrary deprivation of liberty.
- (c) abolish the death penalty for all offences and replace it with more humane and acceptable forms of punishment.
- (d) review all colonial laws such as the law of sedition, the Public Order Act, the Chief's Authority Act and other laws which have been used by the Kanu government to deny Kenyans their basic rights and freedoms.
- (e) create a favourable legal environment for National, Regional and International Human Rights Organisations to exist, protect and promote the enjoyment of human rights in Kenya.
- (f) ratify the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and all other appropriate international human rights instruments.
- (g) establish the office of a Commissioner for Human Rights to investigate human rights abuses and grant appropriate redress to victims of such abuses.
- (h) disband and punish sections of the police especially torture squads of the Special Branch which have engaged in consistent patterns of gross violations of human rights through torture, cruel and inhuman treatment and other degrading practices.
- (i) reduce overcrowding in prisons by ensuring that only the most serious offenders get custodial sentences. Generally improving prison conditions so that Kenyans who are imprisoned are treated with dignity and with due respect for their basic rights.
- (j) abolish colonial regulations and practices in prisons. Provide legal aid to indigent victims of gross violations of human rights.

- (k) introduce human rights education and awareness at all levels of society and especially incorporate it in school curricula.
- (l) defend the freedom of worship and conscience, giving all religions the dignity they deserve and not proscribing in any way whatsoever their freedom to make social commentaries and criticism of the temporal order.
- (m) guaranteeing press freedom by avoiding any form of censorship, either by law or through undue political pressure. In this regard, the Kenya Union of Journalists will have even greater latitude in promoting responsible journalism in Kenya.
- (n) ensure the independence of the labour movement and other working people's associations from the state, noting that FORD KENYA will dismantle COTU as a state-dominated umbrella organization for the workers and encourage the coming together of workers into an organization of their own, not one imposed on them from above.

Rights of Women

FORD KENYA recognizes the crucial role played by women in the struggle for Restoration of Democracy and is committed to the emancipation of women through the eradication of age-old forms of oppression, exploitation, and marginalisation. A FORD KENYA government will review all the discriminatory laws and practices against women in economic, social, and cultural spheres, and create a favourable environment to enable them to meaningfully take part in all levels of political organization and decision making.

A FORD KENYA government will accord full and equal rights to women, and will foster their participation in all aspects of national life through affirmative action. FORD KENYA recognizes that true emancipation of women cannot be granted by any government through legislation or mere ratification of international treaties on women's rights.

FORD KENYA will create a favourable legal environment for women to articulate, organize and mobilize themselves for genuine economic and cultural emancipation through nongovernmental organizations, and other organs in civil society such as the National League of

Women Voters, the Committee on the Status of Women, etc.

The Youth

Demographically Kenya is a young nation, and the FORD KENYA youth policy will begin with a thorough review of the education system as contained in the manifesto. It will then embrace a new political culture which emphasizes CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY for all, including the youth.

To further the interaction of youth with the political process, FORD KENYA will encourage civic youth organizations, giving them incentives to engage creatively in material and cultural production.

FORD KENYA will have a positive youth policy that will direct the energies of the young ones towards productive activities.

The Judiciary

FORD KENYA firmly believes that enjoyment of human rights and observance of the rule of law demand a credible, professional and truly impartial and independent judiciary commanding public confidence and respect. Such a judiciary must be insulated from all anxieties of political and economic nature. FORD KENYA believes that an independent judiciary cannot be founded on formal legislative guarantees alone. In addition to academic qualifications, FORD KENYA believes that only men and women of conscience and proven integrity can ensure meaningful independence of the judiciary.

FORD KENYA will review the remuneration and fringe benefits of the judiciary so as to attract lawyers of great ability into the bench.

FORD KENYA is committed to a total indigenisation of the judiciary. This will entail abolishing the system of acting and contract judges, as this undermines the principle of the independence of the judiciary.

FORD KENYA is committed to seeking justice, honour and dignity for litigants irrespective of their economic and social status.

A FORD KENYA government will establish and fund an effective legal aid system for indigent litigants especially in constitutional and criminal litigation.

II. POPULAR PARTICIPATION AND DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

A FORD KENYA government will strive to establish those democratic institutions which will guarantee full popular participation in public affairs. A government for the people must be a government by the people.

The people, organized into political parties, pressure groups, interest groups and other civic organizations will be allowed to freely come together, articulate their views over public issues and seek to influence the government so as to satisfy their interests within the framework of the Constitution. A FORD KENYA government will ensure that this kind of civic culture emanates from the smallest unit of civic and political life (the sub-location or ward) to the highest unit at the national level. This explains why FORD KENYA is committed to the revival of representative institutions at the sub-locational, locational and district level as the basis for popular participation in the legislative process.

Further, the role of Non-Governmental Organizations and other civic organizations in promoting and sustaining popular participation in a democratic society is vital to FORD KENYA's agenda in restoring democracy to Kenya. Such organizations as the Greenbelt Movement, the Law Society of Kenya, the Kenya Association of Architects, the Kenya Medical Association, the National League of Women Voters and so on will be encouraged and given the political space within which to operate. FORD KENYA is firmly opposed to any form of subordination of such organizations to the state. Their autonomy from the state is vital to the healthy functioning of our democracy.

At the local level, such bodies as the District Development Committees (DDCs), after having been restructured in line with FORD KENYA's

elective local authorities whether presently constituted as county councils or municipal authorities. FORD KENYA intends to establish viable councils at the location and district levels.

To prepare for this enhanced role, local authorities are going to be strengthened in a number of ways. The powers of the minister will be spelt out clearly with a view to removing the current trend of firing elected leaders of urban authorities. The ministry shall play a facilitative role in decentralized decision making and not re-centralize management through the back door.

The revenue base of local authorities will be expanded as the first step in improving their service delivery. This will be done through a number of changes. The current rating system will be revised with a view to rationalizing rates for different categories of payers, and improving collection. Local authorities will be given a greater share of locally earned cess and service charges, and additional allocations deriving from savings through disbanding provincial administration will be directed to the elective councils.

In order to improve the quality and operations of elected councils, professional back up teams will be mobilized to all authorities to advise councils and implement decisions. Increased responsibility and power should gradually lead to greater attraction of professionals to work for local authorities and also professionals seeking elective office. Courses for elected councillors will be introduced in government training institutions as a way of empowering elected representatives of the people to deliver better on local development agenda.

The Civil Service

For many years, the Kenyan civil service was known for its efficiency, professionalism, and competence, and FORD KENYA intends to see this reputation revived. The role of the Public Service Commission in making appointments and promotion in the civil service will be fully restored. Its independence will be guaranteed. Political interference will be consciously discouraged. Panels will be established in every ministry to ensure the transparency in appointments. Any promotion or appointment from the level of Deputy

Secretary will require Parliamentary approval. The Civil Servants Union will be reinstated and its role of civil service remunerations will be reviewed to provide adequate incentives for effective and optimal productivity.

III AN ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY FOR KENYA

The Kenyan economy today is a litany of gross mismanagement and wholesale plundering. Every year for the past 14 years the Controller and Auditor General's Reports have confirmed this.

The Kenyan economy is in serious trouble and is performing way below its potential. Disturbing signals include the following:

- The standard of living for the average Kenyan is declining. His or her actual purchasing power has decreased considerably in the last two years alone.
- According to estimates by the United Nations Development Programmes, 44 per cent of Kenyans fall below the poverty line.
- Unemployment is growing at an alarming scale. For example the labour force is increasing by at least four per cent, each year and only about a quarter of those who enter the labour market are finding formal and informal sector employment.
- Kenya's annual inflation in 1991 as measured by the revised Nairobi CPI, was approximately 20 per cent. It has doubled to around 40% in 1992.
- Hardly a day goes by without Kenyans facing a shortage of some vital commodity whether it is sugar, water, milk or maize meal.
- The country's infrastructure is deteriorating rapidly whether it is basic health or education facilities, local government

Civil Service morale, particularly in the senior echelons, is at a very low ebb. Many stated policy intentions have never been implemented, or have progressed at a snail's pace due to poor or no implementation at all. These include parastatal reform and divestitures, the curtailing of government expenditure, the Cereals Sector Reform Programme and the Maritime Zones Act. All four would have had a significant uplifting effect on the economy if they had been fully implemented.

Instead the government's history of economic management is one of wholesale plundering and corruption: the Turkwell Gorge HydroElectric project; the Kenya Pipeline extension scheme; the proposed Ewaso Nyiro hydroelectric project and the energy sector in general are but a few examples. The government has allowed parastatals to be grossly mismanaged and misused often for the individual benefit of its supporters. In the case of parastatal reform and divestiture the government has been talking about this for over ten years but only very recently have there been tentative signs of action. It has squandered hard working taxpayers' money, for example in the form of National Social Security Fund, in dubious financial institutions and shady land deals.

Irregular, but highly profitable, imports of sugar and wheat have been allowed by a favoured few with no benefit for the consumer. Hardly a day goes by without some economic scandal, and hence sabotage, coming to light.. One of the largest that surfaced in 1992 was the Goldenberg Scam which directly implicates the Vice President and Minister of Finance, Professor George Saitoti. Another has been the advancing of huge sums of money through the inter-bank system to a select group of government and private banks with strong political patronage.

The Foreign Debt

One of the most debilitating aspects of the decline in the Kenyan economy is the country's external indebtedness. Kenya's foreign debt has been increasing steadily since the eighties: the debt service ratio has equally been going up. At a time when our export earnings are going down, an increasing debt burden will discourage economic growth.

The Kanu government has made matters worse by incurring commercial loans from private international financial circles to fund projects whose productive potential remains dubious. There are instances where the purchase of factor inputs abroad, occasioned by these loans, have been undertaken more for corrupt reasons than for domestic development and industrialization. The symbiotic relationship developed between Kenyan bureaucrats and external agencies and individuals to fuel this kind of corruption cannot be condoned by FORD KENYA .

THE TASK AHEAD

FORD's economic and development policy will be governed by the over-riding aim of improving the economic well being of all Kenyans.

This can be achieved by sound economic management, and by encouraging and fostering Kenya's vibrant private sector and entrepreneurial skills. The most effective and proven way to succeed in this aim is to achieve high, sustainable economic growth of around eight per cent per annum. This is not going to be an easy task. It calls for a clear understanding and sound knowledge of the national economy, the will to revitalize and reform it and a leadership with vision.

A high economic growth rate is particularly necessary and urgent when one takes into account the extra pressure and challenges created by the country's population growth rate of at least 3.4 per cent per annum. More than 8, additional Kenyans are born each year, placing extra demands on the system for their basic needs.

This high economic growth will help the country to provide and facilitate these basic needs for all Kenyans, particularly in the form of more and more job opportunities. Kenya's economy will have to create over four million jobs in the decade of the 1990s alone.

This high sustainable economic growth needs to be accomplished throughout all areas of the country and in all economic sectors. Particular emphasis, though, must be placed in the rural areas where the majority of the population lives, and in the informal

sector where the potential for job creation is very high.

We need an economic revolution in order to achieve this sort of growth and resultant increase in productive capacity, and to create the number of job opportunities that are needed.

This economic revolution will benefit all Kenyans enormously, particularly in the longer term. But in the short run there are likely to be sacrifices and difficulties for some as FORD KENYA's attempts to tackle the legacy of economic mismanagement. The following tasks will have to be undertaken by FORD KENYA.

- *Restoration of confidence*

The first fundamental step that will be taken by the FORD KENYA government will be to restore the confidence of all those involved in Kenya's economy. This confidence and faith will return if Kenya has a strong and clear economic policy based on good management, integrity and economic reform.

The restoration of confidence combined with sound economic policies will help foster the conducive investment climate Kenya so desperately needs, and it will help provide jobs for the millions of Kenyans seeking employment.

- *Boosting the administrative infrastructure*

The senior echelons of the civil service are seriously run down both physically and in morale. Immediate efforts to boost both will be made. We recognize that without a sound civil service back-up a FORD KENYA government will find it difficult to carry out effectively the sound economic agement and reforms we propose.

These efforts will involve the following:

- (a) rehiring those who are competent and efficient and who retired prematurely.
- (b) the recruitment of skilled personnel where non are available within the service.

- (c) restoring the original constitutional arrangement of security of tenure for civil servants. This will involve bringing back the independence of the Public Service Commission and its ability to discharge its functions regarding recruitment, promotion and termination of services based on the principle of merit.
- (d) reviewing the structure of the civil service (see Reduction of Government Expenditure) and the present scales of remuneration .
- (e) striving for a professional civil service. FORD KENYA will review the impact of civil servants' involvement in business in relation to corruption, conflicts of interest and efficiency.

SPECIFIC ECONOMIC POLICY INTENTIONS

Reducing the government's direct and indirect involvement in the economy

(1) *Parastatal Divestiture and Reform*

It is the intention of a FORD KENYA government to pursue a vigorous, but co-ordinated, parastatal divestiture and reform programme. This will involve:-

- (a) drastically reducing the operations of various parastatal marketing bodies such as the National Cereals and Produce Board.
- (b) turning over to the private sector the many commercial operations in which the government currently has a stake. This will be done by whatever methods are deemed to be most suitable, and at a pace which will enable the private sector to absorb such operations. Every encouragement will be given to the local entrepreneur and investor, both small and big, to be able to participate in the privatization process.
- (c) reviewing immediately the operations of vital level

opment and service parastatals such as the Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation, Kenya Railways Corporation, Kenya Power and Lighting Co Ltd and the Kenya Ports Authority. This will be with a view to subjecting them to private sector management disciplines and possible eventual privatization of some functions which are not easily amenable to be run as public concerns.

- (d) halting any further moves to continue with the Nyayo Motor Corporation project, and reviewing the operations of other recently formed parastatals such as the Nyayo Tea Zones, both of which may be good for populist politics but proved to be bad economics.

It is essential that this whole operation is conducted without delay, and is completely transparent and accountable to the public. This policy will help stimulate economic growth, provide many more opportunities for Kenyan and foreign entrepreneurs, and in turn create many more job opportunities. It will also enable more Kenyans to have a stake in the economy through share ownership.

(2) *Reduction of government expenditure*

Over 70 per cent of the government's recurrent budget is spent on civil service salaries and wages alone. Over staffing and unjustified hiring practices have greatly damaged the operations of the civil service. It is increasingly accepted that the civil service could be halved and still carry out all the functions it currently performs.

Measures such as the reform and scaling down of the civil service will be a priority. This will entail the freezing of new hirings for certain categories and encouragement of early retirement in over-staffed areas.

Other measures will be explored including a compensatory scheme that will lead to the reduction of the size of the civil service with the minimum adverse effects. Whilst it is accepted that this will be hard on those whose services are no longer required, every effort will be made to introduce, for example, a "golden handshake", or half pay for a specific number of years.

A re-appraisal of the need, or otherwise, of all government ministries and their operations is also necessary. This will entail the reduction in the number of ministries and the rationalization of the rest of them.

(3) *Reduction of government regulatory framework and red tape*

The numerous, and often unproductive, government bureaucratic procedures will have to be reduced, consolidated and streamlined. In some cases certain operations will have to be done away with.

Producer and consumer prices should be left as far as possible to market forces, although some safety nets and ceilings on basic foodstuffs will be put into place (see Agriculture section).

(4) *Continuing fiscal reform and structural adjustment*

In a few areas the government has made meaningful reforms such as rationalizing the import licensing system, de-controlling interest rates, some relaxation of foreign exchange controls and regulations and a flexible exchange rate policy. These will be consolidated and built on.

FORD KENYA is committed to the removal of all foreign exchange controls and regulations. This will be done carefully and gradually as the economy permits.

FORD KENYA is also committed to a policy of gradual trade liberalisation based on tariff amendments and where necessary selective import restrictions.

The role of the Central Bank of Kenya will be reviewed with the intention of making it a more professional and independent body. One immediate action will be to investigate the conduct and competence of the Governor and his staff. Appropriate action will be taken.

(5) *Foreign debt obligations*

FORD KENYA will honour all Kenya's justly and honestly incurred or concluded international obligations. This includes our foreign debt. FORD appreciates the initiative taken by certain foreign governments to write off some of these debts, or to convert them into fresh loans payable at very low interest rates over long periods of time. But where debt has been incurred to finance projects whose usefulness to the country is questionable, FORD KENYA will seek fresh appraisal of such projects. The complicity in corruption by external financiers as well as the executors of the projects will have to be established by an independent firm of international auditors who will advise FORD KENYA on the proper course of action to be followed.

FORD KENYA will tighten procedures for borrowing in the international financial markets. There will be strict parliamentary review of the government's fiscal commitments and the Treasury will not be allowed undue latitude to commit the Kenyan taxpayer to questionable debt burdens.

(6) *Banking and financial institutions*

Kenya has a well developed financial system comprising of the following institutions:

- 57 banking institutions
- A branch network of well over 400 branches
- 10 savings and housing financial Institutions
- About 40 insurance companies
- 1,000 active co-operative societies
- Five development banks
- One Co-operative Bank
- One Agricultural Finance Company (Bank)

The sources of deposits come from two main areas: Public Sector which contributes about 80 per cent. The balance of 20 per cent comes from the Private Sector. The Multinational Corporations tend to place their deposits (surplus funds) with multinational banks.

FORD KENYA will encourage and assist the development of well-capitalized and managed indigenous banks and financial institutions. FORD KENYA will encourage development of Nairobi as a regional banking and capital market centre, particularly for the PTA region and then for Africa as a whole. FORD KENYA intends to be very proactive in strengthening the capital market and promoting Kenya as a leader in the service industry.

- *The role the government will play*

Central and local government are currently committed to providing a number of services, but so often they fail to provide them adequately or at all.

For example, the District Focus for Rural Development Strategy often lacks resources, and the Operations and Maintenance (O&M) percentage of most government ministries is abysmally low.

As a result the average Kenyan is receiving very little from such operations: agricultural extension services that do not function, hospitals and health centres that do not have adequate medicines and working equipment, roads that are in desperate need of repair and maintenance.

What is needed?

1. The performance levels would immediately be improved by the proposals outlined in sections 'Boosting the Administrative Structure' and 'Reduction of Government Expenditure'
2. A FORD KENYA government will have to decide what it can effectively provide and what it cannot on the basis of what can be afforded. This might mean the prioritization of certain services, and cutbacks in a number of services which are in effect not being provided for anyway.
3. More efficient and stricter financial management to control

waste and misuse of public money. Highlighted irregularities and recommendations made by the Controller and Auditor-General will be acted upon.

4. The most overdue and urgent corrective measure needed in our economy is a clamp-down on corruption and this will take place under a FORD KENYA government.
- *The need to strengthen and broaden Kenya's economic base, particularly for EXPORTS*

A greatly enhanced export performance will both help Kenya's job creation prospects and improve Kenya's balance of trade position. As outlined earlier, the policy of a FORD KENYA government will be to create and foster a conducive investment climate. This, coupled with further tariff reforms and making the shilling a convertible currency, will provide key incentives for the growth of exports.

A FORD KENYA government will waste no time in ensuring that the Kenya Bureau of Standards plays the pivotal role in standard setting and maintenance, and that its work is properly organized so that its stamp of approval will guarantee that Kenya's exports are competitive regionally and internationally and produced according to internationally-accepted standards.

Receipts from agricultural products and tourism, which account for three-quarters of all export and foreign exchange earnings will be maximized in conjunction with efforts in other sectors.

Where possible, specific facilitating measures will be taken to help key sectors (see specific sector references). For example, a reduction in the Kenyan price of jet fuel and review of duty on packaging material will immediately render Kenyan horticultural exports more competitive.

However it will not be the policy of a FORD KENYA government to get directly involved in commercial operations. To carry out the functions of proper governance and referee fair play in the marketplace, the government should not compete with businessmen.

- *The pivotal role of AGRICULTURE*

It is the intention of a FORD KENYA government to ensure that Kenya's agro-economic sectors are given a stable and conducive environment with a set of market oriented policies and signals. This is so that farmers from all agricultural sectors can plan, grow and prosper in line with what has been spelt out in detail in the *Post Election Action Programme*.

Prioritising the farmers' needs and interests is a fundamental pre-requisite to ensuring that consumers also get a fair deal in terms of uninterrupted supplies at competitive prices and that the economy as a whole benefits.

- *A policy based on MODERN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS*

FORD KENYA's agricultural policy is based on the well tried principles of modern agricultural economics that have proved so successful in other developing countries such as India, Thailand and Indonesia. This involves assessing the market on the basis of all requirements for human needs, the animal feed industry, raw materials for manufacturing as well as export and strategic reserve stocks.

A policy based on these principles will go a considerable way to supplying the country's needs, and producing surplus for export. It would also enable a strategic food reserve policy to operate more effectively and efficiently. FORD is committed to keeping a strategic reserve of its staple food product maize to ensure food security.

- *Marketing, payment and inputs*

A policy based on Modern Agricultural Economic principles requires a free market framework, speedy and attractive payments to farmers, and a guaranteed and competitive supply of inputs.

Market principles involve the dismantling of almost all government and parastatal marketing and price controls and restrictions on agricultural produce.

This would be carried out on a sector by sector basis due to the variety of existing controls and their applications. In the case of price de-control this would be done on a staggered basis by widening the producer and consumer price bands over an agreed period of time.

(ii) Payments

The abolition of market controls would result in most produce being sold to private purchasers who would pay the farmer directly. In the case where there is still some government or other body involved in the payment procedure it is essential that a streamlining method is put into place. It is essential that the farmer receives prompt payment at all times.

FORD KENYA recognizes the important role played by agricultural season credit in enabling farmers, especially in the small scale sector, to boost their agricultural production. FORD KENYA will therefore look at ways to establish a more effective and professionally run agricultural season credit scheme which would enable farmers to acquire essential agricultural inputs at the appropriate times.

(iii) Inputs

The adopting of free market principles will improve the supply and variety of inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and chemicals, and vital government co-ordination and back up will be supplied.

Imports of inputs will be monitored and co-ordinated so that the country's farmers receive inputs promptly and at the

most competitive prices possible.

The Kenya Grain Growers Co-operative Union will be re-structured and handed back to farmers in order to properly fulfil a distributive role effectively.

(iv) Maize

There will be no further restrictions whatsoever on maize transport.

The private sector will be responsible for the buying and selling of maize. Producer and consumer prices will be determined largely by the market. The operations of the National Cereals and Produce Board will be scaled down accordingly so that it becomes a strategic reserve stockist only.

The result will be that Kenya will return to self-sufficiency in maize production in two years, and production will expand to keep up with the increasing demand.

(v) Wheat

Kenya produces only half of its wheat consumption. In order to encourage domestic production, a minimum producer price, which is currently above world prices, would be kept in place. Other price controls will be scrapped.

Wheat farmers will no longer be confined to selling their crop to the Kenya Grain Growers Co-operative Union or any other government stipulated agent. The importation of wheat will no longer need to be licensed by the NCPB, but will be subject to a viable import tariff structure that will ensure its Kenyan wholesale price is in line with the locally produced wheat.

The result will be that Kenya will move steadily towards self-sufficiency in wheat production over the next three years.

(vi) Sugar

The ownership of the country's parastatal sugar factories will gradually be transferred to the private sector, with local

outgrowers associations or companies being given the option of buying a significant share of those factories. The transfer of ownership will ensure efficient management of these factories and therefore reduced cost of sugar production.

The Kenya National Trading Corporation will no longer have a monopoly in the distribution of sugar, and will have to compete with private sector distributors.

The producer and consumer price of sugar will be determined by market forces. As with wheat, a minimum producer price will be put in place and imports of sugar, if necessary, will be subjected to a viable import tariff structure which will ensure its local wholesale price is in line with locally produced sugar. FORD KENYA is determined to ensure that any differential goes to the exchequer and not the individual profiteers. If anything, Kenya does not need to import sugar since we are capable of producing more than our domestic requirement.

The result will be that Kenya will return to sugar self sufficiency within three years, and production will keep up with increased demand.

(vii) Dry beans

Although the bean market since July, 1991, has effectively been a free market, the knowledge is not yet wide spread and commodity movement is restricted by some habitual timidity.

More dry beans need produced for domestic consumption thus improving diet. A freer marketing environment will result in greater competition which is to the benefit of the consumer. It will also result in farmers having the opportunity to supplement their incomes by growing a crop in conjunction with maize. It will also unleash the potential for the growth of another important export crop.

(viii) Dairy sector

A FORD KENYA government will lift producer and consumer price controls on milk. This will stimulate dairy farmers into producing more. Government will give priority to the construction of all season roads in major milk producing areas. The Kenya Dairy Board will be instructed to licence all applications for processing, pasteurising and marketing of milk so long as applicants conform with the relevant health requirements.

The result will be that there will be more milk produced and more delivered on to the market, and milk products will be available without frequent shortages.

(ix) Tea

Tea, coffee and horticulture are Kenya's three main agricultural exports and are vital both for economic growth and agricultural incomes.

Because they are so dependent on world prices it is essential that their domestic production conditions are as stimulating as possible. This means ensuring that as much of the earnings received are given to the farmer as speedily as possible.

It will be the policy of a FORD KENYA government to foster the continuing growth of all sectors of the tea industry so that Kenya moves up from third to second place in the world tea export league. This will involve improving major and rural support roads so that what is produced can reach the factories without unnecessary delays.

A serious effort will be made to improve and rationalize the management and operations of the Kenya Tea Development Authority so that it services the needs of the small scale tea farmers more efficiently and effectively. For example senior management posts will be filled on the basis of meritocracy, and private sector commercial disciplines will be encouraged. Farmers will be encouraged to become more involved in the management of their local factories.

Large tea estates will be encouraged to maximize production of existing acreage.

A scrutiny of the objectives and operations of the Nyayo Tea Zones will be undertaken on the basis of their current and potential contributions to the health and growth of the industry. Where applicable their operations will be amended, curtailed, or even closed down.

(x) Coffee

A serious effort will be made to arrest the decline in the quantity and quality of Kenyan coffee. This will be incentive- and not regulation-based.

Priority will be given to ensuring that all coffee farmers are paid as swiftly as possible for their crop. Schemes which speed up payments, such as the World Bank /Co-operative Bank funded small coffee improvement project (SCIP II) will be vigorously supported.

Strict monitoring of imports of inputs will be maintained to ensure that they are freely available and as competitively priced as possible.

A FORD KENYA government will ensure that the Kenya Planters' Co-operative Union will become much more accountable to its members. This, in turn, will encourage the improved management of the KPCU, especially in its central role of milling. The operations of the Coffee Board of Kenya will be rationalized and reduced so that it becomes the effective overseeing body like that of the Horticultural Crops Development Authority.

(xi) Cotton

Long neglected and finally destroyed by inappropriate government intervention in marketing, FORD KENYA is determined to revive the cotton industry by improving production, marketing and the access of the textile industry to the raw material. The end result will be the revival of the economy in cotton growing areas, improvement in farmers' income and improved standards of living.

(xii) Horticulture

It is accepted that the phenomenal growth in the export of fresh vegetables, fruit and cut flowers has been largely as a result of the initiatives taken by the private sector and the absence of excessive government involvement or regulations.

A FORD KENYA government will foster the exciting growth potential of horticultural exports by playing a facilitating and stimulating role.

Efforts will be made to reduce the pre-shipment bureaucratic requirements, and to ensure that airfreight handling becomes a competitive and hence efficient business and that the price of jet fuel is reduced. The latter should help make Kenyan horticultural products more competitive and increase the availability of air cargo space.

Similar efforts and principles will be applied in other important sectors such as rice, beef cattle rearing, poultry and pig farming. For example, in the case of beef cattle, the existing restrictions on selling cattle without getting clearance from the Kenya Meat Commission will be scrapped. In this respect, FORD KENYA recognises the professional and detailed work carried out in the Post Election Action Programme and reaffirms that it forms the direction towards which concrete actions will be taken.

INDUSTRY and MANUFACTURING

FORD KENYA's long-term industrialization policy is aimed at transforming Kenya into a New Industrializing country (NIC) in the mode of South Korea, Taiwan and more recently Malaysia and Thailand. We do understand the political price that the popular masses have paid so that the ruling elites in these countries can achieve models of economic growth leading to the NIC status. But FORD KENYA believes democracy is not necessarily incompatible with rapid economic growth and the attainment of NIC status.

FORD KENYA believes that a healthy, expanding and competitive manufacturing sector is vital to Kenya's economy. Apart from creating more of the greatly needed employment opportunities, manufacturing will create the conditions for increased value from agricultural produce. FORD KENYA will work to attain manufacturing expansion by carrying out measures already proposed.

Industry, together with other open sectors, will serve as a locomotive in the restoration and revitalization of the Kenyan economy. FORD KENYA will therefore encourage and facilitate the growth and restructuring of both large and small manufacturing industries. This will involve:

- (a) the creation of a national, dependable and consistently implemented framework of incentives within which industry can plan with confidence, expand and re-structure where necessary. This would include a more outward-oriented strategy based on expanding into export markets.
- (b) promoting greater efficiency of the sector through exposure to international competition. At the same time care would be taken to remove anomalies in the existing structure of incentives that discriminate against local production of intermediate and capital goods.
- (c) improvement in working relations between the public and private sector.
- (d) in particular, encouraging agricultural-based industries where Kenya has a comparative advantage, and primary goods production, such as steel, pharmaceuticals, basic chemicals and fertilizers.
- (e) reducing the many makes and models in the automobile industry so as to encourage the domestic production of spare parts and the progressive development towards higher value addition in the manufacturing of automobiles locally. This principle should apply to other manufacturing sectors as well. Although the reduction of models might be

regarded as interventionist, no developing country has "taken off" industrially without some amount of "positive regulation" in critical areas which have some substantial forward and backward linkages deemed vital for industrial growth at a specific historical period.

FORD KENYA is conscious of the fact that the expansion and promotion of greater efficiency in the industrial sector is critical for that sector and the economy as whole.

TAXATION

FORD KENYA does not subscribe to the present tax regime. FORD KENYA believes that, since a government is run to provide services to its people, its expenditure must be borne by the people through taxes and levies. However, any government of the day must ensure that:

- better services are provided to taxpayers.
- taxes are not punitive to the extent that they have adverse effects on economic resources - labour, capital, etc.
- taxes are laws applied fairly, efficiently and without discrimination.
- taxes are easy to collect and not easy to evade.

FORD KENYA believes that, at present, the above conditions are lacking.

FORD KENYA'S MISSION

FORD KENYA pledges to streamline and improve the present system of administration and collection of taxes in order to increase efficiency in tax administration and maximize revenue collection.

FORD KENYA will demand greater accountability and transparency

of those entrusted in the administration of our tax laws.

FORD KENYA is also committed to the provision of better services to taxpayers.

- *Action plan*

FORD KENYA will seek to adopt immediate short-term measures which we believe are critical and must be undertaken within the next five years in order to win back the peoples confidence in our tax system, increase efficiency in tax administration and revenue collection eliminate corrupt tax evasion and to provide a basis for long-term planning.

FORD KENYA will focus on the following strategic tax areas:

- *Direct taxation*

Our commitment is to strengthen the administration of Income Tax in order to eliminate corrupt tax evasion and to ensure that tax incentives given reach the people they are intended to attract. This should enable a FORD KENYA government to increase personal tax allowances and reduce tax rates so that a significant number of low-income earners are taken out of the tax net.

- *Indirect taxes*

FORD KENYA will endeavour to raise more revenue through indirect taxes which can then be used to finance cuts in Income Tax.

In doing this, FORD KENYA pledges to ensure that basic commodities such as food, medicine and educational materials will suffer no tax. FORD KENYA also pledges to ensure that indirect taxes will not have adverse effects on businesses.

- *Presumptive tax*

FORD KENYA pledges to abolish presumptive Income Tax.

We believe this will be an incentive to the agricultural industry which is currently faced with falling producer prices and increased cost of inputs.

- *Miscellaneous taxes*

FORD KENYA will review miscellaneous taxes to determine whether they are necessary. FORD KENYA believes that the number of licences and permits that have to be paid for by individuals and the business community can be reduced substantially.

Local Government Finance

FORD KENYA will carry out a critical review of the sources of local government finance. FORD KENYA will streamline revenue collection mechanism and introduce financial discipline in local authorities.

FORD KENYA will also seek to streamline and reduce the number of permits and licences issued by local councils with a view to eliminating corruption and red tape.

FORD KENYA pledges that the proceeds of local government services charge, rates and other income will be properly accounted.

External, Regional and Domestic Trade

Kenya's policy of external and domestic trade has lacked the aggressiveness associated with the Newly-Industrialized Countries (NICs) such as Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore. An effective policy on external, regional and domestic trade must be informed by experts and must earn the confidence of the private sector at home and abroad. The Kenya External Trade Authority (KETA) cannot afford its current state of lethargy.

A FORD KENYA government will get rid of all the red tape in the Ministries of Commerce and Industry and weed them of all the corrupt elements. FORD KENYA will give priority to the genuine

trader and stamp out "sellers of import licenses" who, because of political connections, have been known to straddle the Ministry of Commerce and genuine traders.

FORD KENYA will give priority to expanding the domestic food trade by an innovative interfacing of its work with that of the Ministry of Industry. It will revise the licensing, taxation and incentive systems affecting traders.

FORD KENYA is keenly aware of the importance and untapped potential of regional trade to our country's economy. Already our most positive trading results world wide are enjoyed with Uganda. This must be built on. A FORD KENYA government will explore and take up realistic opportunities to enhance regional trade cooperation, particularly in the East African region, and eventually in the PTA zone. This will include efforts to redress the trade imbalance heavily in Kenya's favour by identifying items that Kenya can import more of from the countries concerned.

IV. EDUCATION

Today, education is a nightmare in Kenya. The poorly-thought-out programme of radically changing the education system through the 8-4-4 programme has all but brought about the system's collapse. As Kenyans consider a new leadership for their country, this radical 'experiment' will be uppermost in their minds.

A major weakness in the education policy of the past decade has been the shift in emphasis from skill-based to content-based education. Committing facts to memory has replaced the pursuit of understanding. Hence students are overburdened with information which is not accompanied by enhancing the capacity to comprehend and synthesize. Teachers have problems evaluating the skill-acquisition of students beyond the ability to echo what they are taught. Many children find schooling a frustrating experience from a very tender age.

At primary school level, a new system has overburdened children with unnecessary chores. Children are denied a chance to inter-

nalize knowledge. They are forced to compete at memorizing difficult and diverse subjects. This increases an unhealthy competitiveness at a tender age. Children are laden with homework. They are robbed of their right to be children: the right to play, to receive parental attention, to develop their feelings and imagination, to feel the privilege of being children. This will have major social repercussions in their adult life. What benefit derives from such sacrifice is hard to discern.

At secondary school, the problems of overburdening are compounded by limited teaching resources. The government has forced schools to increase the number of subjects taught. Too few teachers, impossible teaching schedules and the sheer volume of work has meant that instruction is too thinly spread. Most rural schools are forced to offer laboratory and workshop-based courses using the most basic infrastructure. Students, after giving their best in class work, have little time for extra-curricular activity, and live like robots. Many cannot cope. They are expected to do the impossible. They cannot be properly equipped for further studies. Although the government has set up a few vocational training centres, not much effort has been put into articulating high level curricula with the requirements of vocational training. University education represents the most dramatic manifestation of the failed Kanu government education policy. A large expansion in university admissions (a 500 per cent expansion in five years) without any attention to the requisite infrastructure and teaching personnel has led to a crisis that will take years to correct.

The Harambee schools initiative needs to be very carefully re-evaluated and a dispassionate balance sheet established to determine to what extent Kenyans can continue with the Harambee initiative without over-taxing the contributors.

At the university level, the lack of facilities adequate to cope with the number of students admitted has resulted in overcrowded libraries with empty shelves; book stores with a few ancient books; overflowing lecture halls with an average of over 400 students in each class; the disappearance of any attention to individual student concerns, and the collapse of the critically important tutorial system. This frustration has led to the exodus of some of the best lecturers.

The mobilization of research staff to do teaching, disappearance of funds for research, and the absence of teaching materials have all led to a major "intellectual depression" at our public universities.

FORD KENYA'S SOLUTIONS

Based on our understanding of these painful failures in education, and conscious of the limited resources available for education, we undertake to develop an educational system that reflects the principal importance of human resource development while also reflecting economic rationality. Subject to limited resources, FORD KENYA will undertake to guarantee that every Kenyan child receives primary school education. It will also facilitate the development of curricula which recognize the right of children to be children, and will develop diversity of opportunity through institutional development, rather than a simple crowding of subjects at every institution.

FORD KENYA'S policy on tertiary education is in line with a sobering economic reality. Our economy has diverse human resource needs, and we have limited funds available to put into education. Consequently, there has to be clear rationalization of the policy direction we pursue. We shall undertake to re-emphasize technical and other professional training at non-university level thereby responding to the needs of a growing economy, and making education cost-efficient. Instead of counting success in terms of the number of undergraduate students, we shall strengthen the structures that support the varied levels of necessary training.

Under our current economic conditions, it is unrealistic to promise a university education to everyone aspiring to it. The diverse demands on our economy are such that other areas of national life, particularly the provision of acceptable primary health care, the fight against illiteracy, infrastructure support to primary producers, and the creation of new employment opportunities, have to be considered in relation to the amount of money to be allocated to an expanded educational programme. In this regard, the Higher Education Commission should make its discourse on higher education and the accreditation of universities MORE PUBLIC, so that Kenyans know

what it does. It has not articulated to the public what its mission is - and how it intends to iron out the myriad problems that face university education in Kenya. The growth of disciplines and the structure of resource allocation in tertiary education should be reconciled with identified national and market needs. Today, there is an imbalance between the over-production of graduates in areas with limited opportunity to utilize acquired skills, and other areas of the economy which lack properly trained personnel. The use of any education to postpone the challenge of unemployment will have to be stopped. In rationalizing curricula at university, we find it important that industry and the private sector re-examine the role they play in the development of human resources.

In the past, most employers in Kenya have recognized the problem of students ill-prepared for the marketplace. While many enterprises have resigned themselves to employing such graduates, some have taken the costly path of re-training graduates in-house. FORD KENYA considers it cost-effective for industry and other businesses to help strengthen training at universities and polytechnics. Joint sponsorship of select courses will boost performance, improve the quality of graduates joining the labour market, and greatly reduce the burden on government in improving education.

In organizational terms, FORD KENYA is committed to major changes that will weed out some of the excesses of the failed KANU education system. While the old system of pre-8-4-4 days did have major weaknesses, the solution to those weaknesses called for managed reform and not radical experimentation as was done in the eighties. Our approach will be to clearly identify the problems in the earlier structure, learn from the expensive mistakes of the Nyayo era, and embark on necessary reforms with due attention to articulated public views.

A seven year primary education could be strengthened by well-planned expansion in vocational training and technical education. Similarly, a return to two years of "A" level high school education could be accompanied by reforms to make education at this level more broad-based than that of the traditional "A" level system. One possible reform can be the increase of subjects from the traditional three to four, with two principal subjects and two subsidiary.

Compulsory subjects may be introduced at this level.

From primary to secondary school level, we shall manage a gradual reduction in the number of subjects students have to study, and instead emphasize project work and research as a way of returning to skill-based learning. Similarly, testing will be geared to assessing the understanding of knowledge and not just the ability to memorize. In line with this, practices like the system of multiple choice questions, particularly for secondary school students, has to be questioned. Its main strength seems to be the ease of marking.

As in all areas of public policy, FORD KENYA strongly believes that the dictates of good planning are not based solely on the knowledge we have of contemporary problems, but also on the reservoir of informed opinion held by our countrymen and women. We believe the evolution of a rational education system will be nurtured by democratic dialogue between different interested citizens. In this regard, FORD KENYA is committed to the restoration of the democratic rights of lecturers and students.

FORD-K is committed to reviving extra-mural studies in public universities, and adult education.

V. HEALTH

Under the outgoing government, health services in Kenya have been riddle with problems. These include a lack of priority between different facets of health care, accelerated decay of health infrastructure, low morale among health personnel, inefficiency and corruption, unequal access to health services, and excessive centralization and red tape in the management and provision of health services. To put it bluntly, Kenya's health services are in a shambles.

FORD KENYA is committed to a policy which seeks to accurately identify the problems and prescribe viable solutions to heal our ailing health system. A central tenet of our policy is to mobilize the limited resources at our disposal in the most efficient way to offer the basic health services to as many of the people as possible, and to

rationalize the allocation of such resources between the different levels of health service with primary attention to primary and community based health care - the basic philosophy being emphasis on prevention rather than cure, and not on the basis of means but on the grounds of need.

We believe that the central thrust of a viable health policy is to seek and facilitate a method of empowering the people to take care of their own health through a sound health education and accessible primary health care system.

The State of Health Today

The state of our health care today reflects most clearly the lack of a consistent policy and the poor implementation of policy edicts. Too much attention has been paid to curative medicine, removing attention from socially more critical health services that benefit many in society, particularly the poor. This area of health service is most embodied in an efficient primary health care policy. To the average rural Kenyan, health care has become too distant, too expensive and non functioning. The government spends a very high proportion of scarce resources on urban based secondary and tertiary health services. These are expensive and benefit few people. The more socially significant arm of medicine, primary health care, receives little attention beyond high-sounding promises.

The management of public health services in Kenya has been excessively centralized around a small group of Nairobi-based administrators. This has led to exceedingly frustrating delays for personnel in the districts, over-concentration of personnel in Nairobi, and the absence of any autonomous decision-making authority by health personnel in the districts.

In addition to administrative centralization, the infrastructure for health care in Kenya is heavily concentrated in Nairobi. Kenyatta National Hospital is a clear embodiment of the health problems. It keeps most of the available public service doctors, consumes the greatest portion of health spending and has no clear rationalization of the staff structure.

For far too long, too much of our resources for health staff have been concentrated on increasing the number of trained medical doctors. No opportunity cost assessment is made to balance the need for doctors with that for other health personnel. Too little attention has been given to paramedical personnel who remain the most cost efficient route to public health care. And not enough emphasis has been given to the quality as opposed to numbers of trained doctors.

For a long time, there has been an injustice in the contribution to, and returns from health care. Highly remunerated public officers like senior civil servants, parastatal heads and university professors get private medical care at the expense of the tax payer, while most tax payers get nothing for their effort. Through the National Health Insurance Fund, poorer contributors subsidize the rich who get most out of the Fund by going to private hospitals, while the poor can only use to government hospitals with their poor services.

There are extensive complaints in the country about overcharging by private medical practitioners, and a lack of quality control for both the services and drugs used by some practitioners.

While some of the complaints can not be eliminated in a free market situation, specific policy guidelines can help reduce the abuse of this privilege.

FORD KENYA's Solutions

FORD KENYA is sharply aware of the great demand of a workable health service, and the limited resources available to address this demand. Our policy on health is therefore determined by the need to balance the diverse needs of health services and optimal use of limited public resources.

Priority to preventive and promotive health

FORD KENYA will emphasize preventive and promotive aspects of health care, availing realistic resources to this cost effective health approach. This will include greater emphasis on housing as a health factor, domestic and work place environment, and health education. Hence the interface between health and other sectoral policies will

become increasingly important in our health programmes.

FORD KENYA will seek to strengthen the positive linkage between health and other concerns of development. Attention will be given to the provision of clean drinking water through expanded supply and more rational use; healthier domestic and work place environment; better nutrition and regimes of traffic control to curb the increasing carnage on our roads.

Emphasis on primary health care and community medicine

Primary health care is not only the most cost effective level of medicine, but reaches the greatest number of people. In consideration for this, FORD KENYA will implement policies that strengthen the three components of this level of medicine. These are streamlining the operations of basic curative services nationwide, increased funding and popularization of public health education and preventive medicine, and establishment of efficient linkage between primary curative services and referral services.

FORD KENYA intends to rationalize medical services not only by implementing positive primary care declarations which have been developed by personnel in the Health Ministry, but also by directing resources to the improvement of small scale community based facilities like dispensaries and clinics as the primary points of health services delivery.

Burden sharing in curative medicine

Whereas FORD KENYA will help with infrastructure for curative health services, the government will reduce its responsibility in direct curative services. Its share of costs in this area must be brought down. This is a service which can be implemented efficiently by a streamlined system of user charges tailored with the need to reduce the burden borne by the poor in mind. This will free limited public resources to go into more under-funded areas such as immunization, pre- intra, and post partum care, health education, contraception, control of vector borne diseases and child development.

Partnership with other health agents

For many years different groups have made important contribution to the provision of health services without due appreciation by the Kanu government. FORD KENYA appreciates this significant contribution and will seek to facilitate its greater effectiveness.

FORD KENYA will orchestrate a health care system in which the private sector, charitable organizations and missionary groups will work with the government in the financing and provision of health facilities.

Health insurance

One way of reducing government burden in curative services will be a policy of encouraging greater access to health insurance both through private employer-based packages and an expanded public service. The latter will come by streamlining and ensuring efficient management of an improved National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF). The NHIF should move from its current practice to a more equitable one where payment is according to earning, but provision of refund when sick be made uniform for all members. This is the only way the average member will approximate the benefits currently enjoyed disproportionately by the wealthier.

Hospital decentralization and rationalization

To solve the management problems deriving from over-centralization, FORD-K will systematically move to de-centralize the management of health services. There is no reason why district hospitals should gain greater autonomy as self-managing institutions. Planning, purchasing and collection of user fees should be decentralized. Apart from enabling the matching of supply and demand in local health services, this policy will reduce excessive administrative personnel and their red tape, particularly in Nairobi, raise staff morale in the districts, and cut overhead costs incurred in health care. To achieve this, due attention will be paid to the training and mobilization of health managers.

The role of district hospitals as regional centers of referral medicine will be strengthened. This will reduce pressure on Kenyatta National

Hospital and ensure that critical services are provided within relatively short distance from most rural people. FORD KENYA will mobilize the resources necessary for this shift in focus.

Provincial hospitals should offer only referral secondary and tertiary services as a step beyond the district hospitals. But Kenyatta National Hospital must be radically transformed into an exclusively tertiary referral hospital. It may have to charge a lot for the expensive specialized functions it will offer to the small number of direct beneficiaries, but this will be much cheaper than the costs currently incurred in sending such patients to India and Britain. This transition has to be implemented in tandem with the establishment of district and provincial hospitals for Nairobi.

Such specialized services as open heart surgery are not beyond the reach of Kenya. We have the necessary but we have been by s get that is unable to harness national resources for proper national gains.

Rationalization of health education

The structure of medical education will be changed to reflect the new orientation towards more community-based health services. This will include greater attention to and more funding for training paramedical staff, clinical officers, community health workers, counsellors, community nurses, and midwives. The training of doctors will be restructured as to reflect this new orientation towards community-based and social medicine.

While this country is still in need of many more doctors than have so far been trained, doctor training will shift from emphasis on numbers to quality of training. Such quality changes will be achieved through greater emphasis on community health in a number of policy based changes. There will be obligatory exposure to district-based health services not merely at internship level, but as part of regular training. Consideration should be given to the creation of a specialty in General Practice as a way of enhancing competence and professional significance of this important level of medicine. A department of Primary Health Care will be considered for opening

at the Medicine Faculty. Senior university staff and all post graduate medical students should be obliged to spend some of their time in district hospitals.

A combination of more reasonable terms of service, more challenging responsibility and training packages will be important in reducing the concentration of health personnel in towns, which is hurting the provision of services in the countryside.

Public health education

Beyond training health personnel, FORD KENYA is keenly aware of the need for public education. A lot of the health hazards experienced in this country reflect the limited attention given to public health education. This is one of the main vehicles for dealing with preventive medicine, nutrition, family planning, road safety, AIDS, and maternal care. Public education is one of the main instruments for empowering the people to take care of their own physical and mental health.

In this area, information is of critical importance. Packages will be developed paying due attention to educational, generational, cultural, gender and other differences of the target groups. Greater empowerment of the population will help increase interventions on areas of weakness where in the past frustration borne of inadequacy has been bottled up. Open expression will be encouraged as a way of ensuring that ethics and the right attitude when dealing with patients are observed by medical practitioners.

Professional associations and self-regulation

On the question of private medicine overcharging patients and the absence of quality control, FORD KENYA will pursue a line of facilitating greater self-regulation by the members of the profession. In the past, associations of medical doctors, nurses, clinical officers, and pharmacists have worked under a very constraining environment. This led to limited attention to and control over the excesses of members.

FORD KENYA aims to strengthen these professional bodies as

custodians of standards, professional prestige and fair charges. The public will also be informed of where to complain in cases of over-priced services.

Sexual assault and violence

There has been a significant increase in the number of cases of sexual assault and violence in this country. Rape, incest and the battering of wives and children are on the increase. Many more cases go unreported.

FORD KENYA will establish crisis teams at every district hospital and regular clinics in other health centres to deal with such matters. Their tasks will include the identification of assault victims, counselling, training of other staff to deal with victims, prevent infection borne of assault particularly rape, shape attitudes of society towards the victim and perpetrators and, more importantly liaise with social welfare officers to engage in public awareness so as to discourage further assaults.

Child health

FORD KENYA is committed to a policy of mobilizing resources from different groups to strengthen child health management at the community level to enhance child survival and reduce new morbidity at this stage. This will be done in line with the World Summit for Child Survival, Development and Participation.

Family planning

FORD KENYA is aware of the urgent need to curb our population growth rate, currently at over 3.5 per cent per annum. The greater use of contraceptives and better marketing of family planning are at the centre of this effort.

The trend towards decentralized health services and community-based primary health is well-suited to greater service delivery on family planning matters. FORD KENYA will encourage greater campaigns on this front. This will include increased cultural sensi-

tivity to the consumer of these services, and more serious information on the dire consequences of a failed campaign to reduce our birth rates.

AIDS containment

FORD KENYA recognizes the dangers and potential calamity posed by the scourge of AIDS to Kenyans and its implications for the economy.

FORD KENYA believes that only a forthright, frank and honest approach will succeed in controlling the spread of AIDS. Hence we shall intensify the AIDS control programme. This will be done through forthright health information, education and communication programmes, and public campaigns to encourage behaviour that reduces the spread of the epidemic.

Central Medical Stores

The system of purchasing drugs and equipment for the Kenyan health system has been riddled with corruption, secrecy and bad management. As a result, our hospitals and people have suffered a great deal.

FORD KENYA will work out very careful ways of streamlining the Central Medical Stores and the whole system of purchasing equipment and drugs, doing away with the iniquities introduced by decentralization in the name of the so-called District Focus. The latter has simply led to the multiplication of centres of corruption.

VI. SOCIAL WELFARE

Kenya has undergone significant demographic changes since independence. While less than five per cent of the people lived in urban areas 30 years ago, close to 20 per cent now live in urban areas, and the rural-urban drift continues unabated. This trend constitutes one of the major bottlenecks in planning for development. Urban amenities such as roads, houses, etc. cannot effectively cater for the

growing unproductive population.

The issue of social welfare affects all strata of society, particularly those who are somehow disadvantaged as a consequence of age, lack of employment, physical disabilities, living zone, etc.

First, the present social welfare policy is centred on social security as a way of taking care of those who retire from active agricultural production or the jua kali sector hardly have any social security benefits.

Second, the operations of Kenya's National Social Security Fund (NSSF) have been grossly abused. While its assets should have been productively invested so that the beneficiaries could be assured of a safe and secure future, its misuse has led to the beneficiaries suffering more hardship as a result of disappointed expectations.

Third, while it is possible to invest social security funds in projects that benefit workers while still in employment, such projects require proper accountability in government to attain their intended goals. For example, social security funds could be used to build vacation centres or hostels for workers. They could also be used as sources of low-interest loans for workers investing in socially related projects such as housing.

FORD KENYA's social welfare policy will be centred on proper administration of social welfare funds and the targeting of benefits to the beneficiaries themselves before and after retirement. Further, the philosophy of social security will be extended to include all productive individuals. Creating a social welfare fund for the benefit of the aged, the physically disabled and the mentally sick needs to receive very well planned attention. No help will come from sporadic and spasmodic fund raisings - quite often done without any proper system of accounting for the money raised. (Kenyans are currently eager to know how the millions of shillings collected by the President on behalf of the disabled has been used.) To assist in these areas, proper information will be gathered through research, and the opinion of professionals will be sought and used in a proper manner.

The benign neglect of the old and disabled comes from an attitude that regards them as a *problem* and not as citizens endowed with rights and obligations. Disability presents society with the challenge to establish institutions and processes that will encourage those affected to fully utilize their skills and faculties. Thus schooling, transportation, entertainment and other facilities should cater for the needs of the disabled and not neglect or thwart them. A FORD-KENYA government will fully integrate the disabled in the development process of the nation.

The eradication of poverty is also a social welfare issue. It can only be properly planned for if development programmes are properly conceived.

VII LAND

The land question represents a singular example of a national crisis of immense dimensions. Primarily Kenya's land crisis is caused by the combined effects of unsustainable demographic patterns, objective limits to available land resources, limited application of scientific knowledge in facilitating sustainable land use, increasing social injustice through uncurbed expression of insatiable appetite for land among the rich, increasing rural poverty and economic stagnation, and a blend of incompetence and corruption on the part of the outgoing government.

More than any other problem, the increasing cases of rural landlessness and its attendant manifestations like rural and urban slums, growing numbers of squatters, and increasing numbers of the underemployed, represent a major threat to the long term stability of our country.

For many years, the government has practiced a policy of ostensibly free market for land, while in much of that period availing favourable access to land for those close to the holders of state power. These practices have led to a situation where the landlessness that fueled the independence struggle has remained unattended for many of the citizens.

The pressure for land is much greater than it ever was during the colonial period. The stagnation in the labour market has refocused survival attention to owning some land more than ever before. At the same time, ownership of large farms with some kept purely for speculative purposes has proceeded unencumbered. Corrupt acquisition of farms continues unabated. A sense of insecurity persists among the more marginal groups like pastoralists about the possible loss of communal land resources.

Today, the problems associated with irregular land allocations, landless squatters driven off land where their ancestors have lived for decades, inconsistency in government implementation of statutory provisions, and increasing landlessness among the marginalized groups have come to make the land issue most central to public policy.

The outgoing rulers have recently added to the crisis surrounding the land question by manipulating insecure landless people to turn against neighbours from other ethnic groups with whom they have lived peacefully for many years.

The government has for a long time practiced a policy of corruptly allocating state farms and public urban land to individuals and groups that win the favour of those in high office. Since the '80s, the president has systematically distributed public land in major urban areas to his cronies as if this was his private estate. Poor people (the so-called squatters) whose families have occupied land for decades, have been expelled and their land given to powerful or favored rich people.

There has been no clear policy on the land question. The main features of the '80s were highly-publicized rituals of the president presiding over the sub-division of farms bought in the '70s by land-buying companies. The other feature has been the legally dubious, economically irrational, but systematic sub-division of pastoral lands into individual units of doubtful economic significance

Major blunders perpetuated by the government in the '80s call for urgent correction as a first step in a new land policy. It is our policy

in FORD KENYA that the only sure way of guaranteeing fair play in the future is by subjecting all to the rule of law.

Over the past decade a lot of public land has been acquired either freely or obviously below market prices. Large portions of urban land have been steadily apportioned to political supporters by the government. We see this as an outright act of plunder against state resources.

There is urgent need to ensure that the beneficiaries of illegal acquisition of public property for their private use must be made to pay the state at market rates. This will apply whether the land has since been disposed of or not. Far from exacting revenge, this policy will emphasize that, under FORD KENYA, all will be equal before the law. The use of public resources by senior politicians as if they are discretionary personal property must be totally annihilated from our political culture.

Under FORD KENYA, the disposal of state farms where households have lived for over 12 years will be done in such a way as to give those households the first option to purchase.

In the past, uncertainty about small scale farmers' ability to meet quantitative and qualitative standards of production led to extensive involvement by the state in agricultural production. Hence large tracts of land in the high potential regions remained in government production. However, in the three decades since independence, it has been clearly demonstrated that the small scale farmer is the most efficient producer of both food and cash crops. This knowledge shall now be the basis of rationalizing the use of high potential agricultural land.

We are aware of the critical importance of some state farms as experimental and breeding grounds for improving the livestock and agricultural breed of this country. Such farms shall be protected and facilitated to more efficiently contribute to our primary producers. However, farms which have ceased to perform or were never used for these purposes need not continue to be kept by the government. Such land is an important resource for reducing the problem of landlessness, and will be converted into settlement schemes for

impoverished landless people. Indeed where such farms have illegally changed hands, they shall be repossessed and fairly allocated to the landless who are willing to buy them.

A basic tenet in our land policy is the fundamental principle applied to all property. All Kenyans who own land in any part of the country legally have every right to own that land and pass it to posterity. No provision or practice shall alienate this right under the FORD KENYA government. The exclusion of double standards through fair application of this ground rule will ensure that ethnicity never rears its ugly head in dealing with land issues.

In all matters of public policy, transparency by those in authority is critical to the removal of uncertainty. All land dealings will be done openly and totally in line with stated policy.

The advances of science have shown that solutions to the land question need not totally derive from re-distribution of existing land. New crop and livestock varieties, and better methods of water harvesting make it possible to increase the human carrying capacity of erstwhile marginal areas. As a way of reducing the displacement of impoverished people and the resultant landlessness, it is our policy that the results of science will be systematically brought to bear on increasing the sound use of marginal lands, the reclamation of waste lands, and the intensive utilization of high potential areas.

While emphasizing the strengths borne of science, however, it is important that genuine concerns of occupants of arid and semi-arid lands in the face of sustained peasant infiltration are not dismissed out of hand. It is a reality that the emerging creation of private ownership in rangelands is often facilitating the alienation of critical collective resources. The title deed that often accompanies the subdivision of grazing blocs and group ranches is increasingly becoming an instrument of dispossession and impoverishment rather than the means of access to credit markets it is often said to be.

This is increasingly leading to major disruptions to sustainable pastoral resource use, introduction of non-viable alternative adaptations, and heightening of local cultural and material insecurity.

In FORD KENYA we appreciate the uniqueness of some situations, which calls for careful application of broad principles. In areas of the range lands where local social institutions have adequately controlled the utilization of fragile resources and exclusion of communal strife, FORD KENYA will allow for the operation of plural tenure systems.

Some parcels of land, especially in the neighbourhood of townships may transit to the individual tenure system as practiced in the rest of the country. In such areas, the right of any Kenyan to own land and pass it to his or her descendants will be guaranteed. In the interior of the pastoral range areas, however, flexibility will be necessary. Those who have retained some form of private communal control of landed resources will get legal recognition as ownership units. Their right to retain such forms of ownership in exclusion of external infiltration will be respected.

The extent of landlessness in Kenya, combined with recent demographic trends make a total solution to land scarcity difficult to attain. However, a policy informed by a clear view of national interest, and an appreciation of the intensity of plight of our landless people, will go a great way in reducing the problem. At the core of such a policy is a clear awareness that landlessness is a manifestation of unemployment. Hence resolving the employment creation challenge is critical to reducing the landlessness problem.

No single policy approach will resolve the land problems. In the short term, the different approaches under consistent management will reduce the extent of this major crisis. The creation of alternative sources of income, especially in rural areas will contribute to the reduction in the pain of being landless.

For the longer term, democratic dialogue should be encouraged on such critical matters as repossession and allocation of lands currently under-utilized and merely kept for speculative purposes, and the possible introduction of a ceiling to the amount of land any one individual may own. Such fundamental decisions will increasingly become critical if Kenya is to manage this social scourge called landlessness.

Land Resources and Mines

The UN has completed surveys relating to gold deposits and other minerals in this country. The FORD KENYA government will devise appropriate methods of mining these minerals where maximum returns will be retained in the country. The oil being mined and the ore still in sea bed wells should be mined for the benefit of Kenya. European and North America firms doing the prospecting work here should be seen to be genuine and not repeat the story of India in Kenya. Finally, our resources in the sea, rivers and the soil should be prospected and harnessed for the benefit of the nation.

VIII. THE CO-OPERATIVE SECTOR

The co-operative sector is a major factor in the economy of Kenya. Accounting for 40 per cent of the country's GDP and with about 50 per cent of the population either directly or indirectly involved in co-operative activities, this sector deserves close attention. The co-operative movement has been greatly weakened by a number of problems under the current government.

Inadequate credit facilities for many, poor and deteriorating management, over taxing of members' produce, delayed payments to farmers, poor extension and follow-up services by the ministry are among the well-known problems bedeviling this sector. But above all, the main problem to the co-operative movement is the intrusion and excessive control by politicians, and their interference with the democratic running of co-operative societies and unions.

Under FORD KENYA, the co-operative movement will continue to play a central role in the agricultural development of Kenya. Specific measures will be taken to resolve the problems that have held back the healthy growth of this sector.

A major policy step by FORD KENYA will be the complete delinking of political leaders from management of cooperative societies.

Management guidelines will be developed for societies with weak

management. The government will help strengthen management through a strengthening of the management training programmes at Government Training Institute and the Co-operative College.

Further strengthening of management will come through increased visits and on-the spot assistance from ministry personnel, greater interaction between societies and unions in different parts of the country, and greater movement to movement interaction between Kenyan and overseas co-operative movements.

Improved efficiency of societies and unions will help in reducing delays in farmer payment, and increase the profit margins of co-operative members. This efficiency has to be accompanied with increased accountability to curb corruption and questionable practices.

FORD KENYA will help strengthen the co-operative movement in areas of primary produce where it is currently very weak. Similarly, government fiscal management expertise will be mobilized to strengthen the savings and credit co-operative societies which have had a great impact on capital mobilization and investment in rural areas. Part of the revamping will entail ensuring that powerful personalities who owe a lot of money to these societies be made to pay.

FORD KENYA will streamline the investment guidelines for co-operatives to ensure that there is flexibility for management to make shrewd decisions, while curbing the excesses of corruption and unsound investments. The present trends where cooperative saving societies in rural areas are primarily collecting points for rural savings to be redeployed into urban credit must be reversed by creating conditions for greater local investment to reduce the rural-urban divide in growth.

The great gains of the co-operative sector realized in the 1970s must be studied as instructive in our pursuit of a revival. The factors here include revival of systematic staff and member training programmes through the Farmers Training Centres, and encouragement for increased support to the don-ors who have played a major role in the birth and nurturing of the cooperative movement in the country.

IX. TOURISM AND WILDLIFE - KENYA'S LARGEST FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNER

Tourism is a key industry in Kenya. It continues to be the number one foreign exchange earner in the country. But it cannot contribute to do this unless the political and social environment is favourable. The latter, consequently, affect the smooth operation of the infrastructures in which the industry thrives. The backward and forward linkages that a growing tourist industry will encourage in the economy will affect mainly food production, construction, transport and factor inputs and outputs in the tertiary sector.

A FORD KENYA government will make every effort to encourage quality growth in Kenya's number one foreign exchange earner, so that earnings are maximized and growth is both healthy and sustainable.

This will involve:

1. The establishment of a Kenya Tourism Council to run and oversee the industry. This will comprise all private and public sector players in the tourism industry.
2. the improvement and rehabilitation of infrastructure such as airports, water supply and roads.
3. incentives to encourage the industry to upgrade hotel and tour facilities so that Kenya becomes a more up-market destination.
4. the privatization of the government's direct and indirect holdings in hotels.
5. the continuing rehabilitation of all game parks and reserves by the Kenya Wildlife Services, and the restructuring of the management of Maasai Mara Game Reserve.

scale enterprises and as platforms for teaching and exhibiting skills. FORD KENYA will build on the work already carried out by Public and Private Development Agencies, to which the government has typically given lip service.

3. *Framework of Credit Finance*

There is a need to channel more funds to the Jua Kali sector. This will come via remodeling financial institutions to appreciate the sector's credibility and encouraging associations of small enterprise lenders to build confidence in the sector.

Review the Joint Loans Board with a view to passing its functions to more user-friendly organizations including NGOs and financial institutions. This will be backed by the establishment of a Jua Kali monitoring unit at the Central Bank.

4. *Promotional Projects*

The driving force in this area will be to help the Private Sector help itself. This will include assisting with the identification and development of more market-related training programmes for the Jua Kali sector. This will be boosted by closer integration of Jua Kali technical needs into the courses offered at Institutes of Technology.

Encouragement will be given to apprenticeship system with proper facilitation for trade tests to give recognition to this oft unappreciated form of training. Tax credits and other incentives will be explored for firms which train Jua Kali operators. Government procurement procedures will be amended to allow for greater preference for Jua Kali products.

XI THE ENVIRONMENT

FORD KENYA is keenly aware of the futility of pursuing development of any kind without due consideration being given to the degradation of our natural resource base. Recent scientific studies have shown worldwide that the trends of development that have

paid scant regard to the environment have come at a high cost to long term sustainability. It has also become clear that the level of lip service offered to sustainability in planning development will not do.

Our natural resource endowment is critical to the world we will bequeath to our children. Our landscape, fauna and floral resources, our water systems, our cultures and our soil resources are a major endowment which must never be compromised for short term economic gain. Hence a clear policy on environmental dimension to development must be developed and implemented.

Environment and Industry

Under FORD KENYA, the government will strengthen the instruments of environmental monitoring and assessment for all existing and new manufacturing projects. Apart from building on the emerging international attention to sustainable development, FORD KENYA will seek to establish mechanisms to ensure that we adhere to all international conventions on environment to the extent that they are consistent with our national goals and within realistic means for our implementation. We will further spear head African efforts at developing a regional agenda beyond the Earth Summit taking place in Brazil in June 1992.

Environment and Agriculture

In the past, lip service has been paid to environmental issues in agriculture. We still have farmers applying DDT on their crops in spite of international conventions banning this major health hazard. Many farmers still practice erosion-prone cultivation and cropping systems, large scale cultivation especially in wheat and barley producing areas of the range land are exposing these regions to sheet erosion in addition to major sacrifices of biological diversity.

These negative patterns must be addressed more seriously now. FORD-K is committed to a new approach to the development of agriculture. Fresh impetus in training farmers on the potential impact of unsustainable land use practices on the land and human resources will be emphasized. Due legislation will be brought into

common respect for our shared resources and shared risk. We shall undertake to respect all such conventions in our appropriation of national resources. (refer to the section on Foreign Policy below).

XII. HOUSING

The provision of decent housing at affordable cost in both rural and urban areas is a major challenge facing Kenya at the present time. The demand for housing in most urban areas is much higher than the supply. This has tended to inflate the rents of decent housing beyond what most workers can afford. Today many workers spend between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of their monthly earnings on rent alone. Many people have consequently been pushed to indecent living conditions especially in the slums of our main cities. This continues to be a national shame for our country.

FORD KENYA'S SOLUTIONS

FORD KENYA will undertake the following specific measures to address the growing housing problem. It will:

- facilitate greater attention to building affordable houses through utilizing recent research into cheaper building materials by the Housing Research and Development Unit of the University of Nairobi. Develop such materials and reduce cost escalation in such material as cement and roofing tiles.
- encourage developers to build more houses, especially for the middle and low income groups. This will be done through incentives such as tax exemptions or reduction, provision of publicland where possible at competitive cost. The National Housing Corporation and the Housing Finance Company of Kenya will be expected to take the initiative in this regard.

- establish a regime of incentives to employers who provide housing for their workers.
- offer incentives to individuals to own their own houses in rural and urban areas through owner-occupier schemes and affordable mortgage schemes. This can be done by allowing wage earners to have early access to their retirement funds for housing mortgage deposits.
- encourage planned development of high rise apartments in some urban areas as a way of building relatively low cost housing units for the lower income groups.
- work out modalities for a return to the system where local authorities build housing for their residents.
- while encouraging housing development close to the work place, invest in the expansion of facilities like water and electricity to peri-urban areas as an incentive to developers to build affordable houses in such area.

XIII CULTURE

In a multi-cultural nation-state such as Kenya, a national policy on culture is very important. The major reason for this is that the cultural mosaic that our people portray at the national level is one of our most important human resource and national heritage. Rather than suppress this cultural diversity for the promotion of national unity, this unity should be made to evolve out of a more intricate intermeshing of the national cultural mosaic.

A FORD KENYA policy on culture will emphasize the active promotion of cultural life from the grassroots to the national level. Village and ward level social and cultural centres will be encouraged.

FORD KENYA will promote a national culture based on respect for the individual and the national collective within a democratic polity.

This is in line with a world which, for all intents and purposes, has become a global village. In this village, international cultural harmony will be achieved not through competition but through interaction and mutual appreciation of differences.

Sports forms an important aspect of cultural expression. Kenyans are known to be very good in sports. But quite often, there is neglect on the part of government in providing adequate sporting facilities and an environment that encourages the best in sports men and sports women. This is why Kenya's sporting achievement has either stagnated or has, in the case soccer, gone down.

A FORD KENYA Government will streamline Kenya's sports policy and come out with a Blue Print that will be innovative and long term oriented.

XIV POPULATION

The best-known fact about Kenya's population is that it has been growing very fast, perhaps it has one of the highest growth rates in the world. Seen in the context of an economy which is sluggish, the "population factor" becomes a major problem for Kenya's socio-economic progress.

FORD KENYA believes in a rational and dispassionate approach towards developing a viable population policy, taking into account popular attitudes and appreciating the need for cultural and attitudinal transformation.

The following principles will guide FORD KENYA's population policy:

- **Emphasis on quality education, i.e. increasing educational, health and social welfare amenities which will make it possible for those already living to enjoy quality life and hence appreciate the need to have access to such amenities on the basis of self initiative not governmental spoon-feeding.**

- Expansion of popular education for the enhancement and growth of quality population. This will be done through popular organizations, NGOs and the party. The system of popular education that FORD KENYA envisages is based on animator/recipient close interaction, where the intended outcome of education is illustrated by contact and the relevance of such outcome to the individual's concrete situation.
- Provision of family planning materials which are "user-friendly" and which will be made available through hospitals, clinics, and well trained and disciplined social welfare agents
- Introduction of population studies and demography into the curricula of schools, making it more relevant to people and not a subject for specialization at the higher echelons of the education system.

FORD KENYA notes that with time and socio-economic prosperity, the rate of population growth will of necessity go down. Hence what is more important now is to pay greater attention to economic growth and education. This has been the major thrust of this manifesto.

XV TRANSPORT

FORD KENYA is aware of the critical importance of a viable transport system as the nerve centre of the economy. Streamlining the investment and maintenance of this infrastructural requirement is therefore closely linked to improvements in regional, and internal trade.

Regional Communication

Good communication links by road, water and air are primary to increased regional trade. Consequently FORD KENYA will seek means to open up or improve communication with Kenya's

neighbours where transport and communication is still poor. Major attention is to be given to links with Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia by a much better improved road and air network. While road connections with Uganda and Tanzania are good, cheaper transport costs would be encouraged through an enhanced use of the rail network. Moreover, air links with Uganda and Tanzania are still rudimentary FORD KENYA intends to improve this by improving air links through Kisumu and Mombasa.

Measures will be taken to restore and enhance the competitiveness of Mombasa to serve as the principal regional port as well as speeding up the movement of domestic imports and exports.

National Transportation

FORDKENYA will develop guidelines which should rationalize the nature of road haulage. This will include rationalizing the use of existing railroads to reduce over utilization, destruction of, and carnage on the road network.

The current road system will be strengthened through rational investment in new additions, and greater attention to operation and maintenance. Revenue from toll charges will be strictly used for this purpose.

FORD KENYA will create an enabling environment for the rapid growth of transport facilities like lorries, buses and matatus to reach all parts of the country and achieve acceptable security and cost levels for travellers and produce. This will be done through ending harassment of innocent transporters, through stricter enforcement of rational traffic rules, and through taxation measures that will enable transporters to acquire vehicles and spare parts more cheaply.

A national plan will be developed to create an objective criterion for expanding the existing network of all weather roads. Productive and densely populated areas of the country will be given priority to facilitate movement of people and produce. This will move some way in rectifying the existing problem where in some parts of the country, agricultural produce is unable to reach the market or buying centres during the rainy seasons, leading to high losses for

the individual farmer and the country as a whole. In many ways Kenya's success story in domestic transport has been in the area of rural access roads. These, however, are not developed in the same way in all parts of Kenya. In the commercial agricultural areas, e.g. in the coffee, tea and sugar zones, the roads are meant to be developed and maintained by the "cess" paid on these crops. This, however, does not seem to have been happening, and FORD KENYA is concerned that proper and durable roads be developed in all parts of Kenya.

FORD KENYA will initiate major studies on and planning of long-term national transport requirements.

Urban Transport

The cost of urban transport either by bus or matatu is very high considering many working class incomes in this country.

FORD KENYA will seek to resolve the problem of alternative transport. One option is the creation of traffic conditions that would encourage the use of bicycles. This would include special lanes for cyclists especially along the roads from the main working class estates into the main industrial belt. Credit facilities would have to be created to enable more workers purchase bicycles.

Beyond the immediate solutions like facilitating bicycle transport, long term transport planning particularly for Nairobi calls for consideration of options like light rail system, tram rails and a subway. FORD KENYA is aware of major studies have been done in the past with regards to public transportation in Nairobi, although some of these have ruled out a subway system as a possibility, the issue needs to be revisited in the context of its long term implications. Transport problems in major towns is also a reflection of the imbalance of quality and availability of schools in the different areas of the towns. Standardizing such facilities will reduce the extent to which parents will keep criss-crossing areas of their towns to drop children in school.

XVI ENERGY

Most of the Third World non-oil producing countries, including Kenya were plunged into a major energy crisis following the 1973 Middle East oil crisis. The recent eruption of hostilities in the Persian Gulf found Kenya not adequately prepared with a viable domestic energy policy. Over dependence on imported petroleum and gross misinvestment in other alternatives sources of energy remain our policy. The situation is unbearable.

Kenya needs to invest more imaginatively into alternative sources of energy in collaboration with her PTA neighbours.

From the Molasses plant for power alcohol in Kisumu, through the Turkwell Gorge hydro electric project in Kerio Valley, and the Ewaso Nyiro electricity project in Kajiado, to the Euphorbia diesel substitute project in Baringo, this ministry and the entire energy sector has been characterized by some of the worst scandals in the history of this country, and offers testimony to the total lack of foresight and integrity of the Kanu government.

The demands for power in this country are growing steadily and soon will outstrip all sustainable installed capacity. There is therefore urgent need for greater planning on how to meet growing demand and do so in a cost effective way.

Considering the limits on public resources available, FORD KENYA will seek to adopt the least expensive cost investment policies for the energy sector. Broadly FORD KENYA stands for greater local participation in articulating the extent of energy needs, identification of viable solutions, design and implementation of projects. This will call for greater cooperation between policy makers, researchers, contractors and end users, and more use of skilled local people than has been the case to date.

As a way of keeping energy costs manageable by more people, FORD KENYA will undertake measures aimed at saving costs in energy provision. These will include investment in energy efficiency to raise saving on energy particularly in the electricity sector. In-

dustrial investments will be given incentives to apply energy efficient technologies. Resources will be mobilized for research and development of energy saving technology, and standards of efficiency will be set and closely monitored by the bureau of standards.

FORD KENYA will give preference to the use of benign sources of energy such as hydro, biomass and solar resources. Low energy lighting will be encouraged. We will encourage comprehensive maintenance programmes for all existing and planned energy assets.

Electricity

FORD KENYA sees limited returns from the expensive huge dams which characterized government approach to electricity in the past. In hydroelectric development greater focus will be placed on smaller units run by independent non-monopoly utility establishments. These are more cost effective and easier to maintain. They can be later blended into the national grid.

FORD KENYA is aware that our natural hydro-electric potential at sustainable levels is limited. We are also aware that neighbouring countries like Uganda and Tanzania are better endowed with capacity for cheap electricity production. There is no logical explanation as to why Kenya has not moved to strengthen regional cooperation in this important area. The idle capacity and potential in Uganda and Tanzania could be one area of not only supplying cheaper electricity to Kenya, but reducing the trade imbalance we currently realize in the trade with these important neighbours. FORD KENYA intends to explore possibilities of enhanced electricity supply from the Owen Falls dam in Uganda.

While we appreciate our geo-thermal potential and its relative cost efficiency, more attention will be focused on technological packages and maintenance agreements in the pre-project phase, and greater attention will be given to the environmental impact assessment than has been the case in the past.

Co-generation of electricity in industries using biomass is a source of energy not given enough impetus in the past. Sugar, paper and timber manufacturers will be encouraged to produce electricity for

their own use and for sale in their vicinities.

A FORD KENYA government will set up an autonomous rural electrification programme charged with hastening rural electrification by use of cheap methods that have worked elsewhere in the Third World. Incentives such as tax breaks will be used to encourage solar electricity initiatives. FORD KENYA will also seek to extend electricity supply at affordable prices to the poorer areas of the main towns where a majority of the modern sector work force lives.

Biomass

FORD KENYA realizes that a majority of Kenyans will continue to depend on biomass fuels for a long time to come. Given the environmental threat posed by the limited supply and the cost of viable alternatives, FORD KENYA will seek to direct viable tree harvesting for firewood and charcoal. This will include fuel wood farming in designated forest areas, encouragement to entrepreneurs to make fuel efficient stoves, encouragement to waste recycling for fuel, especially through greater use of kahawa charcoal and sawdust briquettes, and the reduction of tax on equipment meant for these manufactures.

The production of power alcohol on the basis of the abundantly available molasses in sugar cane growing areas will be emphasized and properly planned. All such projects will be located in the environs of the sugar factories.

Petroleum

The current high tariffs on petroleum products has had the consequence of adding pressure on biomass resources. A FORD KENYA government will reduce tax on cooking fuels and gas. Tax on gas cookers will also be kept minimal to reduce pressure on our woods.

Greater attention to energy efficiency will be encouraged in transport, services and domestic appliances. A concrete step will be the transfer of bulk transport from diesel vehicles to rail and water routes in the country and region (see Transport section). The Kenya pipeline will be extended to the Uganda border to remove fuel

transporting vehicles from our roads. This will also save on the amount of energy expended on such transport.

XVII RESEARCH, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Kenya's national policy on scientific research and technological innovation has not so far put proper emphasis on science education. Science is still seen as something special, something only a few can aspire towards. Yet, on an almost daily basis, we all live scientific lives and make decisions which could be better were we to be more sensitive to scientific questions.

To enter into a new technological age, a nation needs a science culture, a culture that encourages the inquisitive mind, the experimental attitude and the exploratory spirit. This can only happen if our schooling system appreciates the nurturing of a scientific culture among the students. At the moment, this is not the case.

FORD KENYA's primary responsibility will be to begin from this logical point of departure: the nurturing of a scientific culture in the education system. This will involve both formal and informal education. For example, there are very few scientific programmes on the public radio and television. Such programmes should be aired at prime time to both adults and children. To what extent have we tried to teach our people about the economy through television programmes? Is it possible to teach our people about soil conservation through television? Can such programmes go beyond the commercial currently being repeated on TV till most viewers begin to ignore it?

FORD KENYA believes that the inquisitive scientific mind can only be nurtured if, at higher levels, scientific research is appreciated and rewarded. The National Council on Science and Technology has not done enough of this. If anything, the low status that the government accords it simply undermines its functioning and self image. The Kenya National Academy of Sciences exists only in name, and seems

to have done next to nothing to promote the development of science and technology in Kenya. The ministry of research, science and technology seems to have done no better than the Academy. The end result is a sorry balance sheet.

FORD KENYA intends to change the image of research, science and technological development in Kenya by reviving the relevant institutions and popularizing science among the Kenyan people. The excellent research institutes that exist will be strengthened and the acquisition of scientific instruments and data made easier. Computers, for example, should be regarded as essential scientific tools and not subjected to the same kind of customs duty and excise regimes as other luxury electrical instruments.

University dons and other researchers will be encouraged to undertake research. The National Council on Science and Technology will become a partner in this endeavour, and not a supervisor or inquisitor.

XVIII. FOREIGN POLICY

A country's foreign policy is, in essence, its domestic policy pursued within the international arena. In other words, foreign policy should reflect those interests and ideals that a government pursues on behalf of its citizens in the international sphere and discourse.

The foundations of a successful foreign policy in any country lies therefore in the pursuit of sound, popularly endorsed and efficient domestic programmes. That is why this manifesto has given much weight to the need of setting the political, economic and social programmes in Kenya a new footing based on freedom, justice and truth. It is only on this ethical and philosophical basis that meaningful economic reconstruction and social progress can be initiated after 13 years of political decay and lost opportunities.

Given the recent global changes, a developing non-oil producing country like Kenya needs to take fresh stock of her foreign policy. Not only does a uni-polar international political system require new

tactics in global affairs, but political orientations based on a cold war mentality need to be radically revamped. Thus, the domestic arena, policies that previously took for granted the indulgence of external powers even when such policies were retrogressive will of necessity be discarded. A realistic approach in international affairs, commensurate with Kenya's national interests, is vital.

At the very outset, Kenya needs to have correct and good relations with her neighbours without compromising the ideas of good governance and Pan-Africanism. In other words, Kenya's foreign policy within the Eastern African region should be based on reduction of conflicts and promotion of regional peace founded on the enhancement of good governance and democracy in line with the Kampala Declaration on "Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa."

Economic co-operation within the region is a cornerstone in Kenya's foreign policy. Uganda, for instance, is Kenya's leading trading partner after Britain, and if Kenya's trading policies in the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa are to succeed, true good neighbours must be the foundation they must nurture and live by. Thus further integration into the PTA, while obviously in Kenya's interest, must go hand in hand with making Kenya's manufactures and exports competitive within the region. This will not be realized, and Kenya's external trade will not be improved, until domestic policies for industrialization go beyond the current state of lethargy, and liberal cost-minimization policies begin favouring the export trade.

FORD KENYA's policies of domestic economic reconstruction in trade, agriculture, and industry must be accompanied by expanding national and international markets. This is why Kenya must be a vocal advocate of policies allowing Third World manufactured exports (such as textiles) into a united Europe and the USA, in fora like the Lome Convention, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, UNCTAD and the UN Programme for African Recovery.

Kenya's ability to negotiate and not a consistent policy across in international fora may therefore be negatively influenced by the quality of our diplomats. A foreign service system based on excellence in performance is the answer to our current predicament. Thus professionalism and performance, rather than cronism and the politics of expediency, should be

XIX DEFENCE

As African countries move towards more democratic governance, there will be less need for investing into armaments and armies. Kenya is already among those African countries spending relatively little on defence, but it could spend even less were we to be sure that we have no need whatsoever to defend ourselves against external aggression. Peace and security can be guaranteed more through regional cooperation and development rather than through large armed forces which consume the resources necessary for development.

Appendix

Office Bearers

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, *Chairman*
Paul Kibugi Muite, *1st Vice Chairman*
Michael Wamalwa Kijana, *2nd Vice Chairman*
Gitobu Imanyara, *Secretary General*
Joseph Ouma Muga, *1st Deputy Secretary General*
Joseph Khaoya, *2nd Secretary General*
Abdi Kadir Hassan, *National Treasurer*
David Kitheka, *1st Deputy National Treasurer*
Patrick Laurence Seki, *2nd Deputy National Treasurer*
Abuya Abuya, *National Organizing Secretary*
1st Deputy Organizing Secretary, (Vacant)
John Birgen, *2nd National Organizing Secretary*
Joseph Kimau, *1st Assistant Deputy National Organizing Secretary*
Oyangi Mbaja, *2nd Assistant Deputy National Organizing Secretary*
Waruru Kanja, *National Director of Elections*
Raila Amolo Odinga, *1st Deputy National Director of Elections*
George Kapten, *2nd Deputy National Director of Elections*
Mohammed Noor, *Assistant Director of Elections*
Ngoima wa Mwaura, *Secretary for Information and Publicity*
Ismail Aden Yussuf, *Assistant Secretary for Information and Publicity*
Jael Ogombe Mbogo, *Secretary for Environmental Affairs*

Chris Bichage, Assistant Secretary for Environmental Affairs

Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, Secretary for Public Policy and Economic Affairs

Robert Francis Shaw, Assistant Secretary for Public Policy and Economic Affairs

James Aggrey Orengo, Secretary for Constitutional and Legal Affairs

John Khaminwa, Assistant Secretary for Constitutional and Legal Affairs

Kiraitu Murungi, Secretary for Human Rights and Democratization

Jembe Mwakalu, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Democratization

Munyua Waiyaki, Secretary for International Affairs

Phoebe Asiyu, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs

Mbwana Warrakah, Secretary for Labour Relations

Assistant Secretary for Labour Relations, (Vacant)

Wambui Otieno, Secretary for Gender Relations

Rachel Mzera, Assistant Secretary for Gender Relations

Ntai Nkuraru, Secretary for Youth

Saidi Mtikuu, Assistant Secretary for Youth

Sheikh Hussein Namoya, Secretary for Religious and Spiritual Affairs

Stephen Kitonga Mulatya, Assistant Secretary for Religious and Spiritual Affairs

