

## 1. FORWARD MESSAGE

### SPEECH OF THE PROPOSED PARTY LEADER

I thank God for the gift life and grace.

I am humbled for the trust and confidence you have bestowed upon me by electing me.

I pledge my commitment to serve you and the party diligently to the best of my ability.

I commit to work collaboratively to address the needs and aspirations of the party to restore our country.

I believe in open and honest communication with all members.

I commit to keep you informed and involved in the progress of the party I implore you to be available at all times when duty calls.

I endeavor to engage all communities in our republic to understand our values and ideology to implore them to join to build our party.

I commit to ensure that our party resources are managed responsibly and purposefully.

I commit to build a strong relationship with other leaders and organizations with similar shared values.

I will strive to learn and adapt as we move forward to improve the party

I commit to uphold the constitution of Kenya, party constitution, rules and regulations as a guide.

I commit gallantly to promote our ideology and manifest to full realization.

Tujenge taifa kwa Upendo na Amani

Thank you,

Yours sincerely

Hon. Ngare O. Rogers

Proposed party leader, NRM.

## 2. HISTORY AND JUSTIFICATION

The **National Restoration Movement** (NRM) is a political party founded with the primary aim of reviving national pride, protecting national sovereignty, and promoting cultural identity. It typically emerges in contexts where citizens feel disillusioned with globalization, foreign influence, or internal political corruption.

The party advocates for nationalism, Pan-Africanism, regional integration, and global engagement. Its ideological focus positions it as a progressive force aiming to promote equality, unity, and international cooperation. This is how the party will promote pan-Africanism, regional integration, and global engagement

1. **Pan-Africanism:** NRM seeks to foster solidarity among African nations, advocating for collective action to address common challenges and promote the continent's development.
2. **Regional Integration:** The party supports deeper integration within East Africa, aiming to enhance economic cooperation, security, and political unity among neighboring countries.
3. **Global Engagement:** Recognizing the interconnectedness of nations, NRM advocates for active participation in global affairs, promoting Kenya's interests on the international stage.

Through these principles, the NRM aspires to contribute to a more equitable and interconnected world, aligning with broader movements for social justice and international cooperation.

The key objectives of forming the party were:

To restore unity by promoting nationalism philosophy of one people, one nation and shared prosperity.

To restore national, regional and international peace and cooperation.

To restore quality and dignified life for our country, through distribution of our shared national resources and services equitably.

To restore love and patriotism through our national heritage, history, cultural diversity, environment, wildlife, sports, music for our posterity, pride and identity.

To restore good governance, rule of law, democracy and integrity

To restore the spirit of Pan-Africanism and brotherhood.

## **PREAMBLE**

### **We, the people of Kenya, recognize that:**

1. The independence breakthrough that seemed a strategic victory for our people has turned into a strategic defeat.
2. Kenyan society drifted from its core values, and it is struggling with moral decay.
3. Compounding these issues is a liberal constitution that constrains the political influence of the majority.
4. In practice, the true wielders of power are unelected institutions and those with money.
5. Our prolonged period of national shame since independence is a result of inadequate scientific, industrial, financial, technological and military capabilities.
6. The foundational issues of poverty, unemployment, and inequality stem from the outright perennial institutional theft of land, mineral resources and public coffers.
7. Post-independence reconstruction efforts cannot be pursued through neoliberal policies that prioritize the market over state intervention.
8. Neoliberal policies under this failed government worsened unemployment, poverty, inequality and economic emancipation akin to colonial-era conditions.

### **We recommit ourselves through the NRM Party and our People's Mandate to fight this injustice. We declare that we will defeat this neo-colonialism by:**

1. Re-centering our country on African cultural, and moral values accommodative of various spiritual beliefs and persuasions.
2. Moving our country away from constitutional supremacy toward unfettered presidential supremacy.
3. Expropriating all land without compensation and transferring ownership to the landless and squatters for resettlement.
4. Nationalizing the Reserve Bank, major banks, and insurance companies to reduce the dominance of private finance over our economy.
5. Nationalizing strategic mines, natural resources and revitalizing our state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to fulfil their developmental roles, and spur economic growth.
6. Ensuring free, mandatory, high-quality education from early childhood to postgraduate level to boost human capital and research capability.
7. Providing permanent jobs fall capable and willing workers at a universal basic salary, with training and skills opportunities.
8. Ensuring that every young person reaching the age of 18 serves a year of military service to cultivate discipline and patriotism among our youth.

## NATION AND STATE BUILDING

### Pillars of Nationhood

#### National Identity

- We are committed to work with all Kenyans to develop a National Identity that;
  - Will include the collective aspirations and values of our people taking into account our diversity.
  - Is rooted in the philosophy of Pan-Africanism and the integration of our region and continent
  - Is based on Kenya becoming a good citizen of the world, exercising its sovereignty responsibly, while seeking to establish international relations based on national interest, respect and justice.
- We believe that our National Identity is the foundation of our social cohesion.
- National Values
- Our constitution is rooted in moral and political values and ethical norms. The national values and principles of governance we have proclaimed therein are patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and the participation of the people; human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized; good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and sustainable development.
- To date there has been no effort to promote and inculcate these values. Yet many of the failures we lament about every day, tribalism and corruption in particular, reflects the erosion of these values in society, such as celebrating wealth is celebrated irrespective of how it is acquired. We are slowly becoming a Nation where right and wrong, truth and lies are morally equivalent.
- NRM Pledges to Kenyans to build our Nationhood based on our Culture, National Values and Ethical framework provided under our Constitution including by;
  - Mainstreaming these values in all government operations. All public servants will have to be oriented to accept that these values will govern all aspects of governance and public affairs. The
- Public Service Commission will be expected to provide leadership on ensuring the public service demonstrating these values.
  - Resourcing all constitution commissions and other structures managing constitutionality to play a leading role in inculcating these values throughout Kenya.
  - mainstreaming constitutional education in the school curriculum
  - revive the Kenya National Integrated Civic education Programme (KNICE) which was established under the Mwai Kibaki – Raila Odinga administration, but was unfunded by the Jubilee administration, and partner with and support non state actors, including civil society and religious institutions to develop and implement it.
  - Honor and promote our national symbols particularly the national flag and the anthem and its aspirations and values. The NRM government will use national days and celebrations to unite and build cohesion amongst all Kenyans. They will be used to showcase the very best of our values and aspirations.
- Inclusion of All Communities;
- We will include all Kenyan Communities in building a new Kenyan Nation. The colonial forces created a myth that Kenya was made up of forty-one Communities (41) and another 42nd category of smaller groups called other.
  
- We believe all Kenyan Communities should be recognized and be given official status. During the constitution review process many Kenyan communities that had suffered exclusion and marginalization demanded to be recognized.
  
- Some of these Communities included, amongst others, the Nubian, Elwana, Munyoyaya, Ilchamus,
- Waswahili, Waata, Boni, Dushnak, Sakuye, Segeju, and Makonde.

- In this list, only the Makonde has so far has been given official status since the promulgation of the
- Constitution but have not been given equal and full citizenship rights. The Makonde have been designated as citizen by registration yet the grandparents were born during the colonial period.
  - All Kenyans, individuals and communities, will be treated fairly and their rights' will be respected and enforced, including citizenship rights and responsibilities.
  - We will establish a government that reflect the representation of the Kenyan People including fair representation of women and men, youth, persons with disability and marginalized communities.
  - We are committed to a National leadership structure that is inclusive and reflect the face of Kenya.
- We will share power and pursue rotational national leadership that allow and promote even Kenyans from small or marginalized communities aspire and hold the highest offices based on competence and the “content of one’s character” only. We are opposed to any form of tyranny including the type imposed by numbers or ethnic chauvinism.

### **Unleashing the power of Culture;**

- Culture plays a critical and central role in national development as it impacts on political, economic, social and technological development.
- The Constitution of Kenya clearly recognizes and acknowledges this fundamental role. NRM embraces culture in its broadest sense – as a manifestation of who we are as a people, thus, as Kenya grapples to redress its nationhood, it is crucial that culture plays a central function in this process.
- Apart from leveraging the power of culture to unite Kenyans and build a cohesive Nation, NRM will seek to mainstream culture across the different sectors to spur innovation, improve services to citizens and build a strong Kenyan brand at the global level. The Kenyan Youth with very limited resources and without proper government support have made giant steps in developing and emerging vibrant cultural and creative industry that is employing thousands of Kenyans. In fact, those in power have been a negative factor in the development of these industries including by proposing backward and retrogressive laws and policies.
  - We will support the promotion and development of culture in all its positive manifestation including by demonstrating the status of Kiswahili as the National and official language as well as the protection and promotion of Kenyan sign language and all other Kenyan indigenous languages.
  - We will give impetus, fund and develop our emerging cultural, creative and performing industries by making Kenya an African hub for theatre, cuisine, music, fashion, radio and television, film, video games and other forms of publishing and entertainment. This will be an important corner stone of employing the youth and growing our economy.
  - We will transform the institutional base that support cultural, creative and performing arts industries including the Kenya Film Commission, Kenya Cultural Centre, permanent Presidential Music Commission and the Bomas of Kenya.
  - Working closely with county governments and stakeholders to establish a conducive atmosphere and legal infrastructure to support cultural, creative and performing arts including exploring opportunities to establish talent development Centres in all 47 counties.
  - To work with Kenyans to transform the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) into a premier public funded institution playing a key role in developing local talent and content.

## **Language Policy**

- The NRM Government is dedicated to use the new language dispensation established by the Constitution of Kenya. Article seven (7) of our constitution establishes the role and place of the national language, official languages, Kenyan sign language and other Kenyan languages.
- NRM recognizes the great potential in using the development of languages in transforming our nationhood. We will:
  - Promote Kiswahili as the national and official language as a unifying factor and an important element of our nationhood. We will allocate adequate resources to promote Kiswahili to the level of an official status to be able to offer official government services in both Kiswahili and English.
  - Establishing the Kenya National Languages Council which will be the institutional base for the promotion and development of Kiswahili and other Kenyan languages.
  - Promote and develop Kenyan sign language including by developing the educational infrastructure that we allow for provision of adequate services to all persons with disability in all government structures.
  - Promote and safeguard all indigenous Kenyan languages including those that are facing extinction such as the Elmolo and Ilchamus languages. We will promote the teaching, learning and academic study of all our languages and cultures as a way of increasing cross-cultural communication and learning.

## **Transforming Sports**

- Kenya is a sports global super power particularly in long distance running. Our success story has become part of our positive global identity. Nothing unites us as Kenyans as watching our athletes win.
- Young Kenyans have shown great potential in other sports in past including football, cricket, boxing, swimming, rugby and hockey. Unfortunately, this success and potential is not anchored on government policies or adequate support. In fact, government officials, functionaries and entourages have played a very negative role in the development of sports and image of sports in the last four years.
- This negative role including high level corruption has reached shameful and intolerable levels under the current regime.
- Official corruption, mismanagement and even doping scandals have begun to taint our good name and jeopardizes the future of our sports and success of our youth.
  - We will work with stakeholders to transform and strengthen the legal and institutional arrangements of sporting infrastructure including of government agencies, sports associations and all sporting structures.
  - We are committed to develop the sports industry as an opportunity to grow our economy and create substantial employment for the youth.
  - By working with county governments to develop sports and sports infrastructure in all parts of
- Kenya, while paying particular attention to the needs of the youth.
- Coming to Terms with our Past;
- NRM believes that we should endeavor to right the wrongs of the past and allow Kenyans, individuals and communities, to have a chance to forgive, heal and reconcile. A nation that is not at peace with its

past will not be at peace with its present or even future.

- We are committed to developing and promoting the use of restorative processes and justice in handling our complicated past and historical injustices. These approaches focus on restoring dignity to victims and survivors and finding closure, forgiveness, healing and reconciliation at individual, communal and national level.
- This approach is different from the existing system of justice in Kenya today that uses the retributive justice approach which focuses on punishing offenders and/or allocating blame. To this end we are cognizant of the need to build a justice system to include the capacity to administer restorative justice.
- We are committed to recognize and honor all those who heroically struggled to bring freedom and justice to our nation. We will establish an institutional framework to address their issues including the establishment of a National Heroes Trust mandated to immortalize our freedom fighters and to support those in need. We are committed to “never again walk on the path of injustice and impunity”.
  - Establish a national remembrance framework that will memorialize spirit of resistance as well as the excesses and failures of the past including addressing the issues of memory and history. We will involve our universities and research institutions to deal with questions of forgotten memory, false memory and other forms of challenges and gaps in our history. This will also entail developing documentation that will be made accessible to the public and educational institutions.
  - Re-settle and/or compensate equally and fairly all internally displaced persons (IDPs) and all Kenyans who were forced by state actions or inaction to seek refuge in foreign countries.
  - We will also support an active process that addresses injustices that have continued to be carried out even after the promulgation of the 2010 constitution including extra-judicial killings, torture, renditions and enforced disappearances.
  - Uphold the principles and objectives of the Constitutional provision on community land (Art. 63), including enacting legislation that is faithful to the aspirations of the people with regard to ancestral and cultural land rights, as required by the constitution.
  - Review of all laws that have been an impediment to addressing of historical injustices to make them compatible with the 2010 Constitution. An example of such laws is the Indemnity Act.

### **Peace and Security;**

- NRM believes that our Nationhood must be anchored on peace and security for all. We will work with
- Kenyans to make our country a haven of peace. We will build a Nation where Kenyans are at peace with themselves, are at peace with the land and at peace with their neighbors.
  - We shall develop a National Peace and Security framework with the capacity to address causes of conflict and violence, including structural ones, which affect Kenya. Peace building with communities and between communities will be an important pillar in the framework.
  - We shall develop joint efforts and a shared responsibility between the national and county levels of government.
  - We shall develop the NRM national plan to address regional security challenges. Through a consultative process, we shall address peace and security challenges that have bedeviled certain regions from colonial times including northern region, parts of eastern, parts of coast and parts of Rift Valley. The regional plans will include genuine peace building amongst all communities

and developing investment interventions designed to spur inclusive economic growth, creation of employment and enhance livelihoods.

- We will implement infrastructural development designed to enhance ease of travel, improve communication and abolish a sense of remoteness and alienation and provide adequate security services to all Kenyans. These regional plans will be undertaken in consultation and coordination with neighboring countries and communities' in South Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Uganda.
- The NRM party believes in the constitution of 2010 and the devolved system of government as its main transformative aspect. It is the party of the constitution and the devolved system of the government. Devolution is at the heart of the constitution as it is identified as one of the national values of governance. It promises the most fundamental transformation of the country and the building of the new Kenyan state.
- Subsequent party which formed the first National government under the new constitution had the first opportunity to implement the new constitution and the devolved system of government. The experience of the past fifteen years however indicates that the Subsequent government is unwilling and reluctant to fully implement both the constitution and the devolved system of government.
- Indeed, the Subsequent government has been actively frustrating and undermining the constitution and the implementation of devolution. On many occasions the Subsequent government has used its tyranny of numbers in parliament to enact unconstitutional legislation aimed at undermining the constitution and the devolved system. Only the intervention of the courts has saved Kenyans from such unconstitutional legislation.
- The hopes and aspirations of the Kenyan people about the new constitution and the devolved system of government have remained unfulfilled. Despite the challenges, the Kenyan people have embraced and still long for the fruits of the constitution and devolution.
- NRM is the party of the constitution and will deliver to the Kenyan people the fruits of the constitution namely political rights and civil liberties, good governance, empowerment of the Kenyan people and communities through devolution, and equitable sharing of resources.
- NRM will;
  - embrace and institutionalize cooperative governance between National and County Governments
  - Strengthen County Governments through transfer of all functions provided for in the constitution, delegation and sharing of other functions and the resources commensurate with the functions.
  - Resolve the tensions between organs of government, that is, national and county governments, the National Assembly and the Senate, and the Senate and County Governments.
  - consolidate and refine of the constitution through amendments to ensure gender parity in political governance, and introduce hybrid parliamentary executives based on the Bomas draft constitution
- The NRM Government will deploy executive administrative action; legislative action; and constitutional amendments to achieve the following:

### **Cooperative government and intergovernmental relations**

- The constitution demands for cooperation and mutual intergovernmental relations between the national and county governments which have so far been dysfunctional. The relations among the two levels of

- government and organs of state within them have been adversarial and antagonistic rather than cooperative as required by the constitution.
- NRM believes that the success of the devolved system of government is dependent upon a properly functioning and well managed system of cooperative government and intergovernmental relations.
  - NRM will;
    - Begin its administration with a national conference on cooperative government and intergovernmental relations, aimed at getting agreement between National and County Governments on how to cooperate in running the affairs of government in the next five years. The conference will come up with a Charter on cooperative governance and set out the cooperative governance tenets to be followed in the next five years.
    - Align many national government ministries and sectors which perform functions that interface with devolution, to ensure their commitment to devolution. Key among them will be the National.
  - Treasury; the Ministry of Devolution and Planning; Provincial Administration and the security sector. At a functional level the Ministry of devolution and Planning will be aligned to focus more on intergovernmental matters rather than supervision of County Governments.
    - Fast track amendments to the Intergovernmental Relations Act to strengthen the Intergovernmental
  - Relations Technical Committee to enable it effectively facilitate cooperative government and intergovernmental relations. The amendments will seek to clarify the roles and relations between the Committee and the Ministry of Devolution and Planning.
  - Relations between the National Assembly and the Senate
  - The Constitution of Kenya establishes a bicameral parliament comprising the National Assembly and the Senate as an integral part of the devolved system of Kenya. However, the relations between the National Assembly and the Senate in the past four years have not been cordial.
  - The National Assembly has on many occasions acted in total disregard of the Senate and the provisions of Article 110(3) of the Constitution. These poor relations have not only affected the legislative process but also the proper implementation of devolution.
  - NRM believes that given the manner of assignment of functions under the constitution and the division and allocation of revenue raised nationally, the National Assembly is a key player in the implementation and consolidation of the devolved system of government.
  - NRM further believes that through his legislative role to assent to Bills passed by the two houses of Parliament, the President can intervene and establish harmonious working relations between the two houses of parliament.

### **Relations between the Senators and the Governors/county governments.**

- The relations between the Senators and the county Governors/County Governments have not been cordial. One reason for these poor relations is the fact that the direct election of the Senators delinks them from the governments of the counties they represent. NRM will propose legislation to structure and improve these relations.
- Review of the transition process and transfer of functions to county governments

- The Constitution provides for a five year transition period from the date of the promulgation of the constitution and a three year period from the date of the first elections. NRM will review the transition process, identify all the challenges and address them with a view to completing the transition process.
- Transfer of all functions and resources to county governments
- Although the transition period has lapsed, NRM is aware that the process of unbundling and transferring of functions has not been fully and successfully done. The national government still holds onto a number of functions that should have been transferred to County Governments. NRM will:
  - Immediately transfer to County Governments, all the functions and resources that the National Government is still holding onto.
  - Work with County Governments to clarify the functional distribution under the Fourth Schedule and once agreement is arrived at, propose a legislation titled “The Functions and Powers Act”.
  - Through legislation assign to County Governments the function of providing infrastructure in primary and secondary schools.
- Allocation of more financial resources to county governments
- The Subsequent Government has undermined devolution by denying the County Governments adequate financial resources to govern and deliver services to the people. NRM believes that the constitution establishes County Governments not only as service delivery units but also important players in the development of the country.
- County Governments must thus, be given adequate financial resources to enable them discharge this important role.
- NRM pledges to allocate more financial resources to county governments by;
  - Fully implementing the constitutional principles requiring that funds must follow and match functions; and that County Governments shall have reliable sources of revenue to enable them to govern and deliver services effectively.
  - Eliminate all strategies that the Subsequent Government has been using to reduce the shareable revenue, and ensure there are no delays in the transfer of funds to County Governments. Institutional reforms as a consequence of transfer of functions.
- NRM believes that transfer of functions to County Governments must be followed by the transfer of all the resources, including human resources that go with the devolved functions.
- NRM pledges to rationalize and reorganize old order institutions that straddle national and devolved functions so that they become joint entities of both the National Government and all or groups of County Governments, notably the roads boards (KURA, KENHA), water boards, and regional development authorities (RDAs) Constitutional Consolidation and refinement.
- NRM believes that implementation and consolidation of the constitution to put in place a devolved system of government requires recognition of any emerging challenges and weaknesses in the constitution and the new system, and addressing them through legislation, constitutional amendments, or both.

- NRM pledges to identify and address such challenges and weaknesses, as appropriate.
- NRM will work with the Kenyan people and other stakeholders to consolidate the constitution through constitutional amendments in the following areas.
  - Constitutional amendments to provide for a hybrid executive system based on the Bomas Draft as a mechanism for enhancing cohesion. NRM recognizes that a directly elected president in a presidential system favors larger communities and encourages exclusivity.
  - A hybrid parliamentary system based on the Bomas draft will not only allow individuals from smaller communities to rise to the highest office in the land but also encourage an inclusive system of power sharing.
  - Constitutional amendments to address the gender balance issue.
  - Constitutional amendments to provide for sharing of the benefits coming from resources located in certain communities and counties with those local communities and host counties.
  - Constitutional amendments to provide for the involvement of county governments in the provision of security in their respective counties.
  - Constitutional amendments to streamline the role of bicameralism in the devolved system of government.
- Our governance structure and systems have been built on the foundation of a repressive and exploitative master-servant relationship between the governors and the governed that we inherited from the colonial administration.
- In our constitutional dispensation, we have endeavored as a sovereign people to establish a government that is a servant of the people. But the legacy of the colonial administration persists. The culture of leadership in Kenya today continues to perpetuate a life of opulence for a select few, paternalism, manipulation and misuse of public resources for self-enrichment at the expense of the public good.
- The social, political and economic problems that bedevil the country today, such as tribalism and a poorly motivated public service, are a product of this primitive governance and leadership culture. We face serious security challenges that include terrorism, organized crime, inter-community conflicts and rivalries, general lawlessness and impunity.
- These are manifestations of a compromised security system, reflecting its authoritarian origins compounded by poor remuneration and benefits, deplorable welfare and working conditions, poor equipment as well as misuse and abuse by the powerful. The end result is that the security services are unappreciated and demotivated.
- NRM recognizes that corruption is the most destructive interlocutor to good governance; and a monumental national security threat; it kills, stifles and cripples social, political and economic development and destroys citizens' morale, aspirations and patriotism. Yet this is where the Subsequent administration has thrived, setting the record for the highest number of unpunished corruption cases of any government, and consequently pushing the country to the edge of the cliff of economic collapse.
- NRM will facilitate to the reconstruction of the national psyche to bring about a shift to servant leadership at all levels of governance, for the well-being and benefit of all citizens as enshrined in the Constitution.

## **Governance Culture**

- The NRM party Government will institute a transformation initiative that will cure this colonial hangover so that every public officer, from President to the police officer on the beat is at all times alive to the fact that they are employed by the people to serve them, not to rule over them. We will;
  - embrace and institutionalize human rights in Government
  - Undertake comprehensive security reforms, including continuous capacity building, welfare improvement, and sector resourcing in order to serve the people.
  - Ensure security services at the lowest administrative unit envisaged in the Constitution.
  - Enhance and foster cordial relationships with our neighbors and the international community.

## **Inclusive Government**

- NRM is committed to an inclusive government that reflects the “face of Kenya” as demanded by Article 27 of the Constitution.
  - NRM has adopted these values and principles in our party Agreement and we are committed to live by them in letter and spirit.
  - All the appointments by the NRM government shall be guided by the party Agreement’s principles on inclusivity, diversity and equity.
- NRM will embark on an affirmative initiative with short, medium and long term measures to ensure that all the historically marginalized and heavily under-represented communities assume their rightful place in government and national leadership.

## **Combating Corruption**

- Corruption in Kenya is a product of impunity. We have the laws and the institutions required to combat corruption, but they cannot work when the Presidency is the refuge of the most corrupt. We cannot end corruption when there is no line between the public interest and the private business interests of the powerful. This has to end.
- Ending impunity is not a Government policy issue. It is a leadership imperative. There is no half-way house, either a culture of impunity, or the rule of law. It is about resolve, commitment and courage. This is our promise to Kenyans. The culture of impunity will end on DAY ONE.
- Fighting corruption will start from the top; from the Presidency and the Cabinet. NRM appointed and elected members shall abide by a specific code of conduct as spelled out in Article 11 of the NRM party Agreement. In this agreement, we have committed ourselves to a Code of Conduct that sets the bar higher than has ever been set in this country. The Code binds all of us, and all the people who will be elected on the NRM platform and those appointed by the NRM government to the following:
  - We shall not do business with the government either directly or indirectly
  - We shall not tolerate conflict of interest between public and private affairs
  - Every one of us will disclose their financial interests on appointment so that we ensure that there is no potential for personal benefit from the policy decisions that they may make.

- We shall demand of our members and appointees take moral and political responsibility for misconduct, failing which they shall stand dismissed
- There will be no sacred cows. The NRM party President will never get away with passing the buck to the EACC or Judiciary. This is the pledge to ourselves and to the people of Kenya. We are so telling the world that Kenya is turning a new leaf, where investors can come without fear of being obstructed to extract bribes, and our development partners can trust that the assistance they provide us will be in safe hands.

## **Citizen Services**

- Government exists to serve the citizens. During the colonial, administrative services were designed to control and police the native population, not as a service to them. It is most unfortunate that this culture persists. The most critical services such as registering births do not get the attention and resources that they deserve such that less than half the children are registered at birth. Getting a national identity should be a straightforward matter, but it remains a torturous rite of passage for many young people.
- Citizens should not have to go to government offices for days on end following up on this document or the other. Dead people should not be eligible to vote.
- Administrative services are the main contact between Government and citizens and therefore how they are delivered shapes the relationship between Government and citizens. NRM believes that transformation of administrative services is critical aspect of the change that Kenyans would like to see. The NRM Government will;
  - Overhaul our national identification and citizen registration infrastructure into a unified seamless system that captures every citizen's information from birth and transmits the citizen's data for national identification, passport issuance and eligibility to vote.
  - modernize all registries and administrative services, streamline processes, cut bureaucracy and instill a customer service culture.
  - In collaboration and the cooperation of each County Government, progressively establish people friendly citizen's centres at Ward level for the participation of the people in governance and the provision of basic services including library, recreation, cultural expression, and information. (Kill the culture of you need to know someone).
- Financial obligations to its citizens
- People serve and when they retire we don't respect them. People provide goods and services to the government and are subjected to inordinate delays in payment. Victims of human rights abuses are awarded compensation by courts but never paid. This must change. Retirees have a right to their pension upon retirement.
- NRM government will;
  - ensure that future retirees access their pensions within the period specified in the Pension law. For those who have retired and have yet to access their pension, NRM government shall within

100 days put in place a program to ensure access to what is due to them.

- Those who have genuinely provided goods and services to the government have a right to be paid.
- The NRM Government will honor its repayment obligations to its genuine creditors and agree on a sustainable payment program.
  - All those victims of human rights who have been awarded compensation by courts of law will be paid their compensation.

### **The Public Service**

- The public service is the heart of governance. There can be no law enforcement without judges, magistrates and police officers or no public education or healthcare without teachers and health workers. There is a strange myth in this country that a large public wage bill, and spending a large proportion of our budget on recurrent expenditures generally is bad, but spending more money on “development” meaning brick and mortar is good.
- So we build health facilities that we cannot resource and buy equipment we cannot maintain. This is procurement led mentality.
- The Subsequent administration has been fanning hysteria against the public wage bill while borrowing recklessly and plundering the debt. As a result, our capacity to compensate our public service well is now severely compromised by the ballooning debt service burden. Under the Subsequent Government, our annual debt service burden has increased by 3.7 percentage points from 16.6 to 20.3 percent of revenue which translates to an additional Ksh. 50 billion. It is debt, not the wage bill that is driving us over the financial cliff.
- NRM’s governance transformation promise hinges on a motivated adequately compensated public service.
- NRM is committed to restoring responsible prudent fiscal policy and public financial management as detailed under the Economic Management theme, so as to be able to afford adequate compensation for the public service.
- The public service has a role to play in this as well, by being a worthy custodian of public resources, by shunning corruption, wasteful spending and ensuring the public gets value for money in everything we do. The culture of privilege and extravagance must end. Spending public money on fleets of expensive cars, opulent offices and other extravagancies, in a country where many people can barely make ends meet, where public facilities are dilapidated, where people with disabilities needs are unmet is unconscionable.

### **Industrial relations**

- Strikes and industrial unrest have bedeviled critical sectors of the public service. The shambolic manner in which genuine industrial disputes have been handled lately must end. Within 100 days, the NRM Government will resolve the perennial industrial disputes particularly in the education and health sectors. A roadmap for harmonious resolution of such disputes in the future will be through honest engagement.
- Economic Governance Cartels must go

- There is a myth from textbook economics that left to their own devices, markets will become competitive and deliver quality goods and services at the best possible price. This is not true. Left on their own market players form cartels. It matters not whether we are talking about big banks or the matatu industry, they will form cartels. Shopkeepers will cheat on weights of commodities, traders will adulterate milk, conmen will sell counterfeits and fake medicine, industrialists will pollute our air and water, and property developers will cut corners. Markets, like any other human institution, have to be governed.
- Consumer protection, enshrined in Article 46 of our Constitution, is a core pillar of our Bill of Rights.
- NRM is committed to the realization of this right. But NRM has no illusions that this is a formidable challenge. We have the legal and institutional apparatus for consumer protection in place. The lack of implementation is not inability. It is a manifestation of state capture by cartels.
- The power of cartels can be seen in the furor generated by our pledge to regulate house rents, yet this is nothing more than enforcing existing law. On the Ministry of Lands website we read:
- “The Rent Restriction Act is meant to protect tenants from exploitation by landlords while guaranteeing the landlord reasonable profits from his investment in housing.” The ultimate aim of the RRT Department therefore is to facilitate stability of rents especially for low-income earners and ensure that capital invested in housing yields reasonable returns.”
- The furor generated by our pledge is an example of cartels fighting back. The Rent Restriction Act exists because well-off tenants are afforded this protection by formal leases, but the poor cannot afford individual leases. Well off tenants are not subjected to arbitrary rent increases every other month, just because someone else has offered more, and landlords do not remove their doors because of rent arrears. We cannot have rule of law for the rich and law of the jungle for the poor. Here, we propose to enact Landlord and Tenant Act (merger of RRT & Business Tribunal)
- To realize our consumer rights, we have to dismantle cartels. NRM is not afraid of cartels, no matter how powerful. CARTELS MUST GO.

## **POLICY PREFERENCE AREAS**

➤ **EDUCATION**

➤ **HEALTH**

➤ **SOCIAL WELFARE**

➤ **EMPOWERMENT OF THE MARGINALISED GROUPS**

➤ **SECURITY**

## A. PILLAR 1: EDUCATION

### Recognizing that:

#### Goals of Education Under Nationalism Manifesto

- Strengthen **national identity and unity**
- Promote **patriotism, citizenship, and national values**
- Revive and preserve **cultural heritage and indigenous knowledge**
- Encourage **loyalty to the constitution and national sovereignty**
- Equip citizens to defend and develop the nation intellectually and morally

#### 1. Short-Term (0–2 Years): Laying the Foundation

##### Objectives:

- Curriculum review
- Capacity-building
- Awareness creation

##### Key Actions:

- **Revise Civic Education Curriculum:** Integrate themes such as **patriotism, national heroes, constitutional values, and civic duties**.
- **Launch a "National Pride" Campaign** in schools: Flags, national anthem singing, and storytelling about independence, heroes, and unity.
- **Teacher Training Workshops:** Train educators on **national values, unity, and inclusive patriotism**.
- **Language Policy Reinforcement:** Promote **Kiswahili and indigenous languages** alongside English for cultural pride and identity.
- **Introduce National Days in School Calendars:** Structured learning around **Jamhuri Day, Madaraka Day, Mashujaa Day**.

#### 2. Medium-Term (2–5 Years): Institutional Strengthening

##### Objectives:

- Deepen implementation
- Strengthen systems
- Expand reach

### **Key Actions:**

- **Create a National Institute for Civic and Patriotic Education:** A public institution to drive nationalism-based civic training.
- **Revamp History & Social Studies Curriculum:** Center it around **Kenya's struggles, heroes, and unity-building stories.**
- **Student Clubs for National Service:** Launch clubs like "**Young Patriots Clubs**" or "**National Heritage Ambassadors**" in schools.
- **Cultural Exchange Programs:** Promote inter-county student exchanges to enhance **unity across tribes and regions.**
- **Support Production of National Literature and Arts:** Sponsor books, plays, and documentaries on Kenyan identity and values.

### **3. Long-Term (5–10+ Years): Generational Impact**

#### **Objectives:**

- Institutionalize values
- Achieve measurable national transformation
- Promote sustainable patriotic identity

#### **Key Actions:**

- **Introduce Mandatory National Service (Non-Military): A one-year civic service program for all post-secondary graduates focusing on nation-building, community service, and skills development.**
- **Build National Unity Schools or Academies: Establish elite public schools that integrate students from all regions to foster unity and shared identity.**
- **Embed Patriotism in Higher Education & Research: Support university programs in Kenyan studies, governance, and cultural preservation.**
- **Develop a Generational Monitoring Framework: Assess levels of patriotism, civic engagement, and social cohesion among youth every 5 years.**
- **National Identity Innovation Labs: Use youth innovation hubs to explore tech, entrepreneurship, and national development through a patriotic lens.**
- Education is the primary engine of both economic growth and social mobility. A society which makes quality education available to all is guaranteed equitable development. A society where quality education is the preserve of the rich undermines economic growth and guarantees itself inequality.

- We as a Nation have enshrined the right to education in Article 43 of Constitution. The right to education is recognized as essential to achieving all the other rights, particularly political and civil rights. The right to education has three pillars namely;
  - Free and compulsory primary education,
  - Progressive achievement of universal secondary education
  - Equitable access to tertiary education
- As a party that is committed to implementing our Constitution, the NRM Government is committed to the realization of the right to education as follows:

### **Basic Education**

- Through the free primary education (FPE) introduced by the NARC government in 2003, we have achieved the first pillar of the right to education. We are able to maintain close to 100 percent primary school enrollment. But many challenges of infrastructure and quality remain.
- The NRM Government will ensure - delegating school infrastructure to the Counties— giving conditional grants.

### **Secondary School Education**

- The Subsequent Government years have been a total loss for education. Our progress towards realization of the right to education remains where the NARC and Grand party government left it.
- Only half the children who complete primary school are proceeding to secondary school, and close to a quarter of those are not completing secondary school.
- In effect, only a third of the cohort that completes primary is completing secondary school.
- NRM party has set the goal of achieving universal secondary education within the next decade by;
  - Arresting the high secondary school dropout rate, NRM will implement free secondary education immediately on assuming office.
  - Expanding secondary school infrastructure with a target of closing the gap between primary school leavers and Form 1 places in the next five years.
  - Expanding teacher training capacity to ensure maintenance of the appropriate teacher student ratio.
- Achieving this will make the primary school examinations (KCPE) redundant since every child will be assured a place. The culture and terminology of “failures” and “drop out” will be a thing of the past.
- No child should be condemned to this stigma by an examination whose only purpose is to eliminate those who it does not have school places for.

## **Higher Education**

- Considerable progress has been made in expanding access to higher education, particularly university education. Still, higher education in Kenya reflects the system of privilege for the better off in society.
- A truly equitable education system is one where no child is disadvantaged or advantaged by social background, i.e. education attainment and achievement reflects only the person's ability and effort. The
- NRM Government is committed to this ideal. NRM government will pursue this commitment by;
  - Progressively expanding higher education loans, presently limited to universities, to cover all postsecondary education institutions including TIVET.
  - Pursuing innovative ways of financing higher education infrastructure, including Public Private

## **Partnership and education bonds.**

- Implementing the provision of the Education Act 2012 viz. ensuring that there is at least one public university in every county.
- Increasing research funding for universities and strengthening the linkages between university research and the socio-economic development of the counties where they are located.
- NRM is alive to the plight of fresh graduates who are required to produce HELB loan compliance certificates before they can be considered for employment. This requirement is unreasonable as graduates from poor families cannot afford to service the loans, and yet failing to do so denies them a chance to get employment. The NRM government will review the HELB loan terms with a view to removing this penalty

## **B. PILLAR 2: HEALTH**

### **Guiding Principles: Nationalism in Health**

**Under this manifesto, the party will endeavour to:**

- Protect and strengthen **national health sovereignty**
- Build **self-reliant health systems**
- Promote **unity through equitable access to healthcare**
- Prioritize **local solutions and traditional knowledge** alongside modern medicine
- Reduce dependency on foreign aid and external control

### **1. Short-Term (0–2 Years): Foundation & Public Mobilization**

#### **Objectives:**

- Create awareness and promote national responsibility for health
- Strengthen local health systems and service delivery
- Build trust in public healthcare

#### **Key Actions:**

- Launch a "Health is Patriotism" Campaign: Encourage citizens to seek care from local facilities, donate blood, and take part in community health drives.
- Boost Support for Local Clinics & Community Health Workers: Train, equip, and promote frontline workers as "health heroes" of the nation.
- Mass Immunization & Clean Water Drives: Mobilize national pride in fighting diseases such as cholera, malaria, and TB.
- Promote Local Herbal and Traditional Medicine: Recognize and regulate traditional healers as part of a culturally rooted health system.
- Media and School Education Programs: Teach basic hygiene, nutrition, and preventive health as patriotic responsibilities.

### **2. Medium-Term (2–5 Years): Infrastructure & System Development**

#### **Objectives:**

- Expand health infrastructure and capacity
- Strengthen national health independence
- Promote equitable access across regions

### **Key Actions:**

- **Establish Regional Patriot Health Centres:** Build modern, fully equipped referral hospitals in **underserved counties** to bridge the urban-rural divide.
- **Train & Retain Kenyan Health Professionals:** Offer incentives and scholarships to discourage medical brain drain and build local capacity.
- **National Health Manufacturing Drive:**
  - Promote **local production of medicines, vaccines, and equipment**
  - Create partnerships between government and Kenyan innovators
- **National Health Volunteer Corps:** Youth program to support medical outreach and civic health training.
- **Create a National Health Data System:** A patriotic investment in sovereignty over citizens' health data.

### **3. Long-Term (5–10+ Years): National Health Sovereignty & Global Leadership**

#### **Objectives:**

- Achieve national self-reliance in health systems
- Embed patriotism in health innovation and governance
- Position Kenya as a regional health leader

#### **Key Actions:**

- **Develop a Kenyan National Health Insurance Sovereign Fund:** Fully fund healthcare from national resources and reduce reliance on donors.
- **Establish the National Institute for Public Health Sovereignty (NIPHS):** A research and training center focusing on:
  - Kenyan health challenges
  - Epidemic preparedness
  - Local pharmaceutical innovation
- **Export Kenyan Health Solutions:** Build regional prestige by sharing Kenya's health models and traditional medicine practices.
- **Integrate Nationalism in Medical Education:** Train doctors and nurses with patriotic values, cultural competency, and national service ethics.
- **Build a Culture of Preventive Health:** Foster personal responsibility as a **national duty** (e.g., yearly check-ups, fitness, nutrition)

## **PILLAR 3**

### **SOCIAL WELFARE**

Implementing social welfare programs under a **nationalism ideology will** involve aligning social welfare initiatives with the goals of national unity, self-sufficiency, cultural identity, and state-driven development. Here's a breakdown of how such programs might be implemented in the **short, medium, and long term**, framed by nationalist principles:

#### **SHORT TERM (0–2 years): Foundation and Mobilization**

##### **Goals:**

- Establish trust in national institutions.
- Address urgent needs.
- Promote national solidarity.

##### **Key Actions:**

1. **Emergency Relief Programs:** Quickly roll out food security, healthcare, and housing support, prioritized for citizens to emphasize national identity.
2. **Patriotic Messaging:** Use national symbols and media to promote participation in welfare programs as a civic duty.
3. **Job Guarantee Schemes:** Launch public works initiatives to reduce unemployment, with projects that promote national pride (e.g., infrastructure, monuments).
4. **Local Resource Utilization:** Emphasize domestic products and local labor in welfare implementation.

#### **MEDIUM TERM (2–5 years): Institutionalization and Expansion**

##### **Goals:**

- Embed welfare into national development.
- Promote self-reliance and loyalty.
- Reduce foreign dependency.

##### **Key Actions:**

1. **Education Reform:** Promote national history, values, and skills needed for national development.
2. **National Health Service:** Expand citizen-focused health infrastructure, emphasizing access and national pride in domestic healthcare.

3. **Social Security Systems:** Create or scale pensions, disability benefits, and unemployment insurance for citizens.
4. **State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs):** Use SOEs to create jobs and reinvest profits into welfare.
5. **Rural Development Programs:** Bridge urban-rural divides by investing in agriculture, clean water, and transport.

### **LONG TERM (5+ years): Sustainability and Cultural Integration**

#### **Goals:**

- Cement national cohesion.
- Sustain welfare systems.
- Deepen cultural identity and national purpose.

#### **Key Actions:**

1. **National Social Contract:** Codify welfare rights and responsibilities in the constitution or national charter.
2. **Cultural Welfare Programs:** Support national arts, traditions, and languages through education and media.
3. **Intergenerational Equity:** Plan long-term pensions, environmental sustainability, and youth employment programs.
4. **Research and Innovation:** Fund local R&D to reduce dependence on foreign welfare technologies and pharmaceuticals.
5. **Foreign Policy Alignment:** Tie welfare diplomacy with national image—aid and development assistance that projects national values abroad.

### **Food Security**

- A Hunger Free Nation: Putting food first
- Ng'aragu ndihoyaguo uhoro (You do not enquire about a visitor's business when they are still hungry).
- This Gikuyu proverb speaks not just to the African spirit of hospitality and generosity of spirit, but also to the fact that food is the most basic of our needs.
- Kenya is a hungry nation. Half of our population is undernourished, that is, they eat less than what is deemed adequate calories that a person needs per day. Specifically, half the population eats 25 percent less than the minimum required for a person to be healthy and productive.

- Simply put, half of Kenya cannot afford to eat three square meals a day every day without sacrificing another basic need. Worse still, twenty percent of Kenyans, that is, one out of every five families is “critically food poor” which means that even if they used all their income on food, they still would not meet their daily requirement.
- We are, fifty years after independence, a middle income agricultural nation that cannot feed itself.
- Chronic hunger is a manifestation of poverty. The vast majority of the critically food poor are farmers.
- They are poor because their yields are too low. The yields are low because they do not have the resources to improve their farming, for instance to buy improved seeds, and fertilizers or livestock for manure or water to irrigate in the drier parts of the country.
- NRM believes that as with families and communities, so it is with nations. The first business of a nation is to feed itself. Chronic hunger undermines both physical and intellectual development of children as well as making them more vulnerable to diseases.
- Thus chronic hunger undermines, both the health and human capital of the nation as these children are not able to achieve their full potential.
- In addition to chronic hunger, we suffer from episodic food deficits due to droughts and unpredictable weather. Droughts are becoming more frequent because of climate change. But droughts on their own are not the cause of the food crises that ensue.
- Lack of planning preparation is what has exacerbated the situation. No responsible Government would allow a country to deplete its strategic food reserve— and then go around blaming drought.
- Under a NRM Government, we shall never run out of food. It will be food first.
- We as the people of Kenya have enshrined the right to food in Article 43 of the Constitution. We have said that no Kenyan should go hungry.
- The right to food is not the right to be fed. Rather it is the right to feed oneself in dignity. To be able bodied and not be able to feed oneself is also to be stripped of one’s human dignity.
  
- A caring society
- Every person has the right;
  - To the highest standard of health, which includes the right to healthcare services, including reproductive healthcare;
  - To accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standards of sanitation
  - To be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality;
  - To clean and safe water in adequate quantities;
  - To social security; and
  - To education

- NRM is committed to upholding the dignity of every Kenyan, and that of the nation. A hunger free society is our pledge to the Nation. NRM will deliver on this pledge by;
  - Progressively expanding income transfer programmes (presently limited to the elderly and households with orphans and vulnerable children (OVC)) to the critically food poor.
  - uplifting the critically food households out of poverty through agricultural productivity interventions, that is, empowering the households to feed themselves.
  - establishing a National Food Security Council. The Council will continuously advice government and keep the public apprised of the state of food security. This will ensure that in future, no government will get away with passing the buck when it has caused a national food crisis.
  - The NRM Government will, in the spirit of cooperative Governance, share the strategic food reserve function between the National and County Governments. Because County Governments are on the ground, they better placed to respond quickly to food shortages than the National Government, but the National Government is better placed to coordinate importation and movement of food from surplus to deficit areas.
  - Kenya Integrated Food Security Plan.

## **Health**

- A cure for hospital bills
- Health is wealth. Research shows that the burden of chronic diseases on a household is the single largest contributing factor to households falling into, or remaining trapped in poverty. But even regular illnesses also contribute to poverty for smallholder farmers and informal sector people who account for 77 percent of our workforce.
- Unlike the wage employed who can take paid sick leave, farmers and self-employed suffer the double burden of losing income and draining resources from the business for medical bills. Many small businesses collapse when the owner falls sick for an extended period of time.
- The right to healthcare is enshrined in our Constitution. Realization of the right to health is tied to the provision of universal health coverage.
- The defining feature of universal health coverage is the absence of “out-of-pocket” payments that is payment for health care services at the point of delivery.
- Universal health care is achieved through various means, with a public health system paid out of taxes at one end, universal health insurance coverage on the other, and a variety of hybrids in between. Essentially, it boils down to citizens never having to worry about health care bills.

- Although we have an expansive public health care system as well as a public insurance scheme (NHIF), our health care system falls very far short of universal health coverage.
- Out of pocket expenditure contributes to 32 percent of total health spending, more than the Government which contributes 24 percent. All Kenyans can relate to this, as we all contribute to medical harambees all the time.
- NRM is determined to realize universal health coverage. Our promise is a Nation where no one worries about affording medical care if they or their loved ones fall ill.
- NRM is persuaded that this pledge is achievable within the current health care resource envelope by way of restructuring the way the resources are deployed. Indeed, we are encouraged by the fact that Makueni County has restructured its health care financing in this direction.
- NRM’s plan for basic universal health coverage will:
- Establish a National Universal Health Service Fund to be funded by the public budget for curative health services and a minimal basic health insurance contribution by citizens. This means that instead of giving money to public hospitals to spend as they wish, the hospitals will provide services to patients and bill the Fund just as they do.
- The Universal Service Fund will convert the Government’s curative health outlays from budgetary allocations for health facilities to an insurance premium for each citizen.

## **Education**

- “A bright future for every child”
- Education is the primary engine of both economic growth and social mobility. A society which makes quality education available to all is guaranteed equitable development.
- A society where quality education is the preserve of the rich undermines economic growth and guarantees itself inequality.
- We as a Nation have enshrined the right to education in Article 43 of Constitution. The right to education is recognized as essential to achieving all the other rights, particularly political and civil rights.
- The right to education has three pillars namely;
  - Free and compulsory primary education,
  - Progressive achievement of universal secondary education
  - Equitable access to tertiary education
- As a party that is committed to implementing our Constitution, the NRM Government is committed to the realization of the right to education as follows

## C. PILLAR 4:

### EMPOWERMENT OF THE MARGINALISED GROUPS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Implementing empowerment programs for **marginalized groups** under a **nationalism manifesto** involves a unique balance: promoting **inclusive national unity** while maintaining a strong focus on **national identity, sovereignty, and self-reliance**. The key is to ensure that all citizens, regardless of background—are seen as integral to the nation’s strength and future.

Here is a structured outline for **short-, medium-, and long-term implementation** of such programs:

#### **SHORT TERM (0–2 Years): Inclusion and Identity Alignment**

##### **Goals:**

- Recognize marginalized groups as vital contributors to the nation.
- Build trust through symbolic and practical inclusion.
- Address immediate disparities.

##### **Key Actions:**

#### **1. National Identity Campaigns:**

- Promote inclusive narratives (e.g., “One Nation, Many Faces”) showing diversity as part of national strength.
- Celebrate contributions of marginalized communities to national development.

#### **2. Targeted Support Programs:**

- Emergency aid (health, food, and housing) for the most disadvantaged.
- Access to ID cards, voting rights, and public services.

#### **3. Community Mobilization:**

- Create local committees that include representatives from marginalized groups to guide welfare delivery.
- Use traditional leaders or cultural figures to bridge state-community gaps.

#### **4. Education Access Drives:**

- Scholarships and free basic education in underserved areas.
- National curriculum that reflects diverse histories and cultures

#### **MEDIUM TERM (2–5 Years): Structural Integration and Economic Empowerment**

##### **Goals:**

- Embed marginalized groups into the national economy and public institutions.

- Reduce structural inequalities while promoting national loyalty.

### **Key Actions:**

#### **1. Employment and Skill Development:**

- National skills programs tailored for women, indigenous people, minorities, etc.
- State-sponsored micro-enterprises and cooperatives using local resources.

#### **2. Affirmative Action (with National Framing):**

- Quotas or incentives in education, government jobs, and the military framed as “empowering all citizens for the nation’s progress.”

#### **3. Land and Resource Access:**

- Equitable land reforms or leasing rights for indigenous or rural communities.
- Support for community-based tourism and agriculture linked to national branding.

#### **4. Decentralization with Oversight:**

- Greater autonomy in regional governance with central support—encouraging loyalty to the state while allowing local decision-making.

### **LONG TERM (5+ Years): Leadership Development and Cultural Mainstreaming**

#### **Goals:**

- Normalize representation of marginalized groups in leadership.
- Institutionalize equality as a patriotic value.
- Strengthen national cohesion through shared ownership of the state.

### **Key Actions:**

#### **1. Leadership Pipelines:**

- Youth and civic leadership programs for underrepresented groups.
- Scholarships and mentorship for political, academic, and civil service roles.

#### **2. Constitutional or Legal Guarantees:**

- Entrench rights and protections for marginalized groups in national law as part of the “national social contract.”

#### **3. Cultural Recognition:**

- Integration of minority languages, traditions, and festivals into national celebrations.
- State media and education celebrate pluralism within the national identity.

#### 4. **Monitoring and Accountability:**

- National commissions to track inclusion metrics and propose continuous reforms.
- Annual reports or “Inclusion Scorecards” tied to national development plan

#### ● **Economy**

- An equal opportunity nation
- There is a big mystery in Kenya today. While the economy continues to register respectable headline growth rate year after year, the average Kenyan is not experiencing improvement in their standard of living. On the contrary, making ends meet is becoming harder every day. Many people now doubt whether this growth is real.
- The reason behind this anomaly is because economic growth under Subsequent is not expansion of the productive economy— it has been fueled by profligate procurement led Government spending.
- The budget deficit that is the difference between revenue and expenditure, which is financed by borrowing is now in the order of a record eight percent of GDP, which translates to the Government spending 40 percent more than it earns year after year.
- The Subsequent administration’s mega-project preoccupation is a continuation of the trickle down economic model that has failed the people since independence. This is the mistaken belief that the trickle down ideology is the legacy of the colonial division of the country into “high potential” and “low potential” regions of the country for white settlement which we carried over into independent Kenya and adopted as development policy in Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1965 (see box).
- There is no such thing as absolute economic potential.
- We now know for instance, that Marsabit has the highest potential for wind power in Kenya, and neighboring Turkana has enough underground water to make its deserts bloom.
- More fundamentally, we are compelled by our Constitution to acknowledge the characterization of some citizens as more development oriented than others, put bluntly, high and low potential communities, is a historical injustice for which apology and redress is owed.
- NRM rejects trickledown economics. We believe in and stand for prosperity from below.
- Our agenda is to unleash radical, innovative, transformational economic initiatives that will uplift all Kenyans.
- Trickle Down Ideology
- “One of our problems is to how much priority we should’ give in investing in less developed provinces.
- To make the economy as a whole grow as fast as possible, development money should be invested where it will yield the largest increase in net output.
- This approach will clearly favor the areas having abundant natural resources, good land and rainfall, transport and power facilities, and people receptive to and active in development. A million pounds invested in one area may raise net output by £20,000 while its use in another may yield an increase of £100,000.

- This is a clear case in which investment in the second area is the wise decision because the country is £80,000 per annum better off by so doing and is therefore in a position to aid the first area by making grants or subsidized loans.
  
- The purpose of development is not to develop an area but to develop and make better off the people of the area. If an area is deficient in resources, this can best be done by;
  - Investing in the education and training of the people whether in the area or elsewhere;
  - Investing in the health of the people; and
  - Encouraging some of the people to move to areas richer in resources; and of course
  - Developing those limited resources that are economic.”
  
- African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 NRM will implement transformational economic policies and programmes that will uplift all Kenyans.
  
- The idea of trickle down suggests that one should have a bowl to catch whatever it is that trickles down.
- NRM believes that every Kenya deserves a ladder. NRM’s goal is to provide every Kenyan with that ladder.
- Restoring Sanity in Economic Management After five years of financial recklessness, our public finances are precarious. The Subsequent Government has doubled our public debt. Moreover, the Subsequent administration has eschewed the long term soft loans from development finance institutions we have relied on in the past, in favor of expensive short term commercial bank loans, resulting in the cost of servicing the debt rising faster than the debt itself.
  
- While the foreign debt has increased two fold from Ksh 880b in 2013 to Ksh. 1890b this year, a growth of 115 percent, the cost of servicing it has increased by 220 percent from Ksh. 34b to Ksh.108b.
  
- The precarious situation is not just a matter of the rapidly rising cost of serving the debt but also the nature of the repayments. The short term syndicated bank loans are structured to be paid off in one payment at the end of the term, typically two years.
  
- It is not possible to finance these “bullet” payments, so the only way to pay them off when they mature, is to refinance with a similar loan. We are now living in permanent debt refinancing mode. The Subsequent Government has put the country on a debt treadmill.
  
- Subsequent Government’s stated objective of sovereign bond was to reduce domestic borrowing so and bring down domestic interest rates, and to stop crowding out the private sector from domestic market.
  
- But far from reducing the appetite, the administration has doubled both foreign and domestic debt. This has made the capping of interest rates counterproductive by making lending to Government even more attractive than lending to the private sector. This is the road to economic ruin.
  
- We in NRM and all Kenyans of goodwill must ensure that we get off this road. NRM is committed to and determined to restore credible public financial management by;
  - Returning the country to the path of sustainable borrowing, that is, a budget deficit not exceeding 3 percent of GDP.

- Responsible external and domestic borrowing. NRM will get Kenya off the debt treadmill.
- Establishing an operationally autonomous Public Debt Management Office as provided for in the Public Finance Management Act.
- Declaring war on procurement fraud and wasteful spending. NRM Government will buy goods and services at the lowest price offered by a vendor to any customer.
- Suppliers will be required to sign, and officers to verify. Officers who procure at above market prices will be surcharged for the difference, and suppliers who charge the Government more than other customers will be blacklisted.
- Undertake an independent evaluation of IFMIS to ascertain whether it is fit for purpose. Based on the findings, either overhaul it, or replace it with a suitable system.
- A fair and taxpayer friendly tax system, coupled with uncompromising revenue protection.
- Empower the Auditor General's office and provide it with resources to build capacity to conduct value for money audits on ongoing basis.
- Cost cutting — big cars —juxtapose with PWD.

### **Transformational Agenda for Agriculture**

- Reach every farmer
- Agriculture is the largest sector of our economy, and is the primary source of income for half the population. But agriculture is also where poverty resides.
- This is a manifestation of low productivity, particularly in smallholder agriculture. But within smallholder agriculture, there are large disparities in productivity even within the same localities.
- Smallholder milk production varies by a factor of 10 between low productivity and high productivity smallholder farmers.
- Our average maize yield has stagnated at 8.5 bags per acre, against a potential of 30 bags per acre, and this reflects the very low yields among smallholders who produce 80 percent of our maize.
- Increasing maize yields by only four bags per acre on current acreage would increase our production by 16 million bags per year, enough to keep up with consumption growth for another decade.
- We believe that smallholder agriculture represents the best value for money of any economic strategy options as it addresses poverty, food security, inequality, employment and growth. There is no other sector that can hit so many birds with one stone.
- We will transform smallholder agriculture through farmer-centred support services. There are already considerable resources for smallholder agriculture, but just as we have middlemen for produce, we have far too many intermediaries for support services— most of the resources are absorbed by big salaries, four wheel drive cars and seminars. This reflects Government abdication of its role of providing leadership and coordination, leaving the field to donors, NGOs and market players.
- We have no doubt that our smallholder farmers have the potential to produce a surplus. If some farmers

in Busia can get 20 bags of maize per acre, there is no reason why every farmer in Busia cannot do the same. If smallholder dairy farmers in Githunguri can produce 20 kilos of milk per cow per day there is no reason why their counterparts in Embu cannot do likewise.

- If a commercial rancher rear steers weighing 500 kilos, there is no reason why our pastoralist cannot do likewise. If the Rift Valley highlands can be the granary of Kenya, there is no reason why Ukambani cannot be orchard of Kenya.
- Our plan for agriculture is to reach every farmer, and provide the support that they need to get the maximum yields from their crops and livestock, and the get the best price for that produce in the market. Because needs vary in different parts of the country, this support will be tailored to the needs of a particular place. Farmers in Busia have good soil and rainfall, but they cannot afford the inputs required to get bountiful maize harvests.
- Increase maize yields from 8.5 to 12.5 bags per acre over the next five years Given that the potential maize yield is 30 bags per acre, our average yield is less than a third of their potential yield, the scope for increasing maize yield is extremely high.
- To meet our requirements, we are now growing maize on 4.5 million acres of land, which is far too much. On this acreage, increasing maize by 4 bags per acre translates to an increase of 18 million bags, enough to meet the consumption of our growing population for another decade.
- Raising productivity hits many birds with one stone. First, it increases the food security of the farming communities and the country as a whole. Secondly, it reduces poverty. Third, it keeps maize affordable, thereby benefitting all consumers.
- The highest Farmers in western Kenya in particular can adopt to the use of improved seeds and fertilizer to achieve the desired yields.
- Improve dry land agriculture through water harvesting and small scale irrigation.
- Our capacity to feed ourselves by depending on rain-fed agriculture is exhausted. Our future food security depends on irrigation of dry lands which account for 75, particularly of the low rainfall.
- The agricultural potential of our dry lands can be illustrated by looking at Israel. Rainfall in Israel ranges from 45 - 900 mm per year, as compared to Kitui's 500 - 1070 mm per year. Other than cereals which require far too much land, Israel is self-sufficient in food for her 8 million people, and earns as much as we do from agricultural exports on land that is a third smaller than Kitui. This means that Kitui has the potential of feeding at least 10 million people. Yet Kitui is unable to feed the county's one million people.
- The main constraint facing our dry land agriculture is water for irrigation. Yet, as this example shows, some of the less arid dry lands like Kitui get sufficient rainfall which, if harvested and used efficiently can support small scale irrigation. Many technologies for water harvesting as well as efficient small scale irrigation exist (e.g. drip irrigation) but adoption remains low.
- NRM's goal is to eliminate dependency on rain-fed agriculture in our dry lands by scaling up adoption of water harvesting and small scale irrigation.
- Expand and commercialize small stock rearing with a focus on resource poor farmers.
- Raising small stock, that is, poultry, sheep and goats, pigs) are one of the easiest ways to lift subsistence

- farmers out of poverty, particularly those with limited amounts of arable land.
- Many households are trapped in poverty simply because they lack the very little capital required to start a small poultry enterprise.
  - On the other hand, the demand for the products particularly chicken meat is extremely high. Western Kenya for instance has the highest concentration of indigenous chicken but is unable to meet local demand.
  - Moreover, research shows that chicken is the most preferred meat in Kenya, but also the most expensive, with an average consumption of 0.7 kg per person per year, compared to a global average of 14 kg per person.
  - This shows tremendous potential to expand poultry production and consumption, a win-win for farmers and consumers. Lower the cost and improve access to agricultural inputs
  - Agricultural inputs in Kenya are expensive by any standards. The high costs make farming unrewarding, and are passed on to consumers. There have been many schemes to bring down the cost of fertilizers through subsidies, including by the current government but they have all proved unsatisfactory and unsustainable.
  - Under Subsequent administration, government statistics show that fertilizer use has increased by close to 150 percent, but there is no crop that shows a commensurate production increase.
  - Production has stagnated for most crops, while that of maize has fallen every year but one. Clearly, the scheme is not working.
  - Input purchasing and distribution is one of the functions that farmers' organizations do well, and Government does badly. This was the case before political interference ruined the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA). Today, the Kenya Tea Development Agency (KTDA) still does a good job of providing fertilizer to smallholder tea farmers.
  - NRM will;
    - strengthen farmer organizations and transfer to them the input procurement and distribution functions presently being undertaken by Government
    - Facilitate imports of grain for the manufacture of animal feeds.
    - Scale up the multiplication of certified seeds, and fast track the certification of new seed varieties.
  - Farmers are exposed to more risks than any other type of business, notably weather, pests, diseases and volatile market prices.
  - These risks predispose agriculture to market failure, that is, the free market does not work as well as it should, and hence the need for Government to create institutions and support mechanisms that mitigate the market failures.
  - Blind faith in markets led to liberalization of agriculture with the rest of the economy in the 80s and 90s dismantling the old support mechanisms without alternatives, leaving farmers to the vagaries of poorly functioning markets.
  - NRM will;
    - Develop a comprehensive national crop and livestock insurance system.
    - Establish a policy and legislative framework for warehouse receipting to enable farmers to use

their crops as collateral for credit.

- Promote the development of commodity markets and risk management instruments including forward markets, futures and options.
- Restructure and revitalize the Agricultural Finance Corporation and the Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) to become more responsive to farmer's needs.

### **Specific Regional Initiatives**

- The specific support services will vary from region to region, informed by each region's resource base, and what its critical constraints are;

#### **Western Kenya and Lake Region.**

- Despite having dependable rainfall, and potential for very diverse agriculture, Western Kenya and the Lake region have the highest concentration of farmers trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty.
- NRM's transformation initiative for western Kenya and the Lake region will promote mixed farming i.e. combining dairy, small stock (chicken, dairy goats, fish) horticulture and cereals.

#### **Eastern & South Eastern Kenya.**

- This region, which includes parts of Meru, Embu and Ukambani, has excellent soils and warm weather, and people have ample land.
- The most critical constraint is water. Public resources are put in big dams, and not enough resources are invested in reticulation of that water to households, yet the region has sufficient rainfall which, if properly harvested could meet households domestic, livestock and small scale irrigation requirements.
- NRM will aim to ensure that every household in the region has adequate water harvesting and storage capacity either at the household and shared capacity within the community.
- NRM will banish famine relief from Eastern Kenya.

#### **Coast**

- The Coast region has high agricultural potential yet it suffers from both episodic and chronic food insecurity. Moreover, the region is itself a large captive food market on account of tourism, but a lot of food that could be produced there is transported from upcountry at high cost, making food in the region expensive.
- Why is the Coast so food poor? Research shows that wage income is the most significant factor that helps resource poor households to get out to poverty.
- When a member of the household gets a wage job e.g. a child who has finished school, they are able to help the household to improve agriculture.
- The Coast region has very low levels of education attainment, hence low access to wage jobs, hence lack of resources to improve agriculture.

- The NRM Government will break this cycle of poverty by helping the Coast to access the resources they need to lift themselves out of poverty.
- NRM will attack both poverty, through agricultural investment and the cause of poverty, through education, training and jobs creation.

### **Central**

- No sector captures the chaos of botched liberalization like coffee. Our coffee production peaked at 130,000 tons in the late eighties, just before liberalization. Today, it is down to 40,000 tons, yet we produce some of the best coffee in the world, and the market for the coffee we produce has been booming. T
- The KPCU, once the wealthiest cooperative is no more.
- Task force after task force has made recommendations but all have come to naught, frustrated by local and international cartels. But the cartels shoot themselves in the foot because farmers cannot toil for middle men forever.
- Our coffee farmers have the potential to regain their position as one of the country's top foreign exchange earners.
- Moreover, Batian, a new disease resistant and fast maturing variety offers the exciting prospect of expanding coffee production into western Kenya and lower Eastern regions.
- We can be a coffee giant again. We know what we need to do. Coffee farmers have been failed by the lack of political will to confront cartels. NRM is not afraid of cartels. We will implement coffee reforms.

### **Transformation agenda for Livestock and the Pastoral Economy**

- Kenya is well endowed with livestock wealth, with an estimated 60 million head of cattle, sheep goats and camels, over 80 percent owned by our pastoralist communities.
- But our pastoralists' communities remain the most economically insecure members of our society.
- This should not be case. If this livestock wealth was in property and financial assets, it would be worth a trillion shillings, generating an income stream of at least Ksh. 100b a year.
- Somalia, with a third of our livestock earns an estimated US\$ 360m (Ksh. 360b), from livestock exports, more than one a half times our coffee export earnings.
- Northern Kenya's socio-economic deprivation is the direct consequence of marginalization by the high/low potential dichotomy of Sessional Paper No. 10.
- The crux of the development challenge in Northern Kenya is not how to make it wealthy, but how to translate its livestock wealth into economic security.
- What this requires more than anything else is a change of mindsets— a paradigm shift. Our plan for the livestock and pastoralist economy will focus on the following:

### **Productivity**

- Yield of our livestock in terms of meat, milk and hides and skins is well below potential. In meat, the

average carcass yield of cows is 110 kg, against a potential of 180 kg.

- This translates to a loss of Ksh 20,000 per cow at current prices that could be gained by fattening cattle before they are slaughtered.
- We also need to invest in improvement of genetic stock of the livestock. One of the manifestations of economic marginalization of the pastoralist community is that we have allowed our genetic resources of our indigenous cattle to deteriorate while investing our resources in exotic dairy cattle.

### **Market Development**

- Development of entire value chain from farm to fork. This includes producer organizations (e.g.co-operatives/collectives), regulation and standards (meat inspection, grading) and infrastructure (abattoirs, cold rooms, cattle trucks etc), value addition of hides and skins, and development of disease free zones for export market development.

### **Physical Security**

- Livestock theft is a major economic crime and security challenge in our country that has not received the attention that it should. When 100 cows are reported stolen, most of us do not appreciate that someone has been deprived off two million shillings but when car worth a million shillings or less is stolen flying squads are dispatched immediately and do not rest until it is recovered.
- NRM believes that our pastoralists have the right to the same protection of their property to vehicle owners. We have in place an elaborate machinery of titles (logbooks) for cars and regulation of sale and transfers that minimizes vehicle theft.
- The NRM government will put in place a livestock identification system and trade regulation that will afford our pastoralists similar protection of their property as it provides vehicle owners.

### **Transformation Agenda for Industry**

- Industrialization is the engine of economic transformation. Kenya's industrialization engine has stalled.
- This is a consequence of the historical bias for large scale capital intensive industrial development.
- This notwithstanding, Jua kali manufacturing presently employs 2.7 million Kenyans, ten times the formal large scale industry (270,000), and in fact more than the entire formal private and public sector combined (2.4 million).
- Jua kali industry accounts for 17 percent of all jobs excluding smallholder agriculture.
- Jua kali industry is not just a big sector in terms of employment, it is also dynamic, innovative and competitive against imported products, as well as in the regional market.
- Our Jua kali industry is successful not because of Government support, but in spite of the lack of it. We are persuaded that empowering Jua Kali is our surest route to industrialization.
- We will unleash the potential of our Jua Kali entrepreneurs by:
  - Establishment of appropriate industrial parks for micro- and small enterprises. Working with the

- County Governments, the NRM Government will ensure at least one industrial park per ward.
  - Establishment of workshops where jua kali entrepreneurs can lease machine time. This will give entrepreneurs access to machinery and equipment that they individually cannot afford.
  - Technical support services to help entrepreneurs with design and product improvement.
  - Establish incubators to help MSEs to develop globally competitive products and break into export markets.
- Specific sub-sector initiatives

### **Agro-processing**

- Agro-processing adds value to agriculture, creates jobs and diversification of the rural economy, reduce post-harvest losses (It is estimated that up to 30 percent of agricultural products goes to waste through post-harvest losses), and stimulate agriculture since farmers can increase their production of perishable products such as fruits and vegetables, since farmers can increase without the risk of excess supply depressing prices.
- The NRM Government will support development of agro-processing through the cooperative movement.
- The cooperative movement has proved to be successful model for agro-processing notably in the dairy sector.
- That said, success is not guaranteed, and unlike milk, which has a ready market, it takes time to develop a market for new products. Quite often, the technology required for agro-processing is simple for instance, tomatoes can be dried in the sun and preserved instead of going to waste. Mangoes, which go to waste in huge quantities can also be dried, or converted into concentrate with simple machinery.
- The primary challenge is risk
- To address this, NRM government will establish a Cooperative Enterprise Development Fund (CEDF).
- The Fund will invest in agro-processing enterprises jointly with farmers organized as a cooperatives as an equity partner. Once the agro-processing enterprise is successful, the CEDF will divest by selling shares to farmers through the cooperatives.

### **Textiles and garments**

- The garment and textile sub-sector merits special attention because of its job creating potential.
- Garment export industry was instrumental in propelling the East Asian tig
- ers economic take-off. Today, it is not feasible to compete on low wage with South Asia e.g. Bangladesh, where the manufacturing wage is equivalent to Ksh. 5,000 per month. This however, does not mean that we cannot compete.
- Countries that have much higher average such as Turkey are still able to sustain a large garment export industry, by focusing on high end segments of the market.
- Competing in the high end segments requires developing a sophisticated domestic industry, as opposed to “sweatshops” which only stitch garments for mass market.

- NRM believes that we can grow this capability and competitiveness based on the domestic market.
- If every Kenyan was to buy a locally made garment for Ksh. 2,000 a year instead of an imported one, the turnover of the industry (Ksh. 90b) would be more than the total value of our exports from EPZs (Ksh. 70b).
- The NRM Government will develop our garment industry by encouraging Kenyans to support our local garment industry.
- These measures will include;
  - Change official dress code to allow men to wear local/African wear, and encourage women also to wear African wear in the offices. Encourage the private sector to do the same.
  - Support the local fashion industry so as to make our locally made garments more appealing and dynamic.

### **Large scale manufacturing**

- The focus on transformational agenda on micro and small enterprise focus is not at the expense of the large manufacturing sector. The manufacturing sector accounts for 12 percent of our economy, and close to half of our total goods exports, and is a major contributor to the exchequer in terms of taxes.
- More fundamentally, the reason why our manufacturing sector has stagnated in terms of contribution to GDP is because of inability of small manufacturing enterprises to grow into big ones.
- Shattering the glass ceiling is therefore the surest way of expanding our industrial sector.
- NRM will work with our manufacturers to create an enabling environment and synergies between the small, medium and large enterprises, as well as backward linkages to agriculture.

### **ICT Services**

- Over the last decade, we have invested heavily in ICT infrastructure, notably the undersea fibre optic cables, as well as a national fibre backbone that now extends to all County headquarters.
- We had high expectations that this infrastructure would bring business process outsourcing (BPO) and IT-enabled services sector jobs to the country.
- These expectations were predicated on assessments that rated our workforce on par with the Philippines and higher than India, in terms of BPO industry potential. More than a decade later, the BPO industry is still in its infancy.
- ICT service exports have the transformational role that labour intensive export processing played in the early stages of the Asian tigers industrialization. At more than US\$15b per year, the Philippines BPO services exports exceed our total foreign exchange earnings.
- The failure of our BPO industry to take off is because we have continued to put our resources and efforts in the physical infrastructure (i.e “hardware”) such as the proposed at the expense of “soft infrastructure.” Experience has shown that quality of the workforce is the most critical factor.
- Countries like Malaysia which also focused on building new “cyber-cities” have not done as well as Philippines and India, which have pursued organic growth. NRM Government will aim to create 50,000

BPO and IT enabled services jobs by 2027.

- To achieve this, NRM Government will;
  - Establish an enabling policy and legal framework for IT-enabled services, in particular data protection and information security legal infrastructure.
  - Partner with private sector and training institutions to develop a world class ICT services workforce.
  - Work with investors and County Governments to create enabling environments for BPO services outside Nairobi.
  - National Addressing System (NAS). One of the small challenges that Kenyans encounter regularly is what to write in the space for “Physical Address” in various official forms that we have to fill.
- This is not as trivial an issue as it might seem. Physical addresses are a critical part of national infrastructure for many reasons including security, business, emergency services etc.
- The lack of a national address system has been decried for many years, and a number of initiatives have stalled for lack of political support. The NRM Government will make this a national priority.

## **Tourism**

- Tourism is a job creating sector. It also has strong linkages with agriculture and manufacturing. Although tourism industry has suffered from terrorism, its performance is way below potential.
- Our holiday tourist arrivals have declined five years in a row from 1.1 million visitors a year in 2012 to 930,000 visitors last year. This performance is woefully below our potential.
- Our share of international visitors coming into the EAC has declined from two thirds in the mid-90s to one-third today.
- South Africa, which emerged from apartheid with no tourist industry, is now attracting ten times as many visitors as we do.
- The stagnation of our tourism industry reflects over-dependence on beach and safari tourism. In addition, we are overly reliant on package tours, which are highly vulnerable to travel advisories and similar risks.
- NRM’s top priority is to diversify our product portfolio in order to attract more and different kinds of visitors.
- NRM will achieve this by;
  - Sports tourism. Develop world class sports facilities and aggressively pursue hosting of regional and international sports events. However, NRM will not pursue the mega-sports events such as Olympics, Commonwealth or World Cups but rather niche sports which do not require such huge capital outlays. Priority will be on sports which only require upgrading existing facilities. Leveraging on our athletics prowess, we should be able to host at least one international athletics event a year. NRM will establish a sports marketing function within the Kenya Tourism Board.
  - Residential tourism. The population aging in developed countries is creating a huge market referred to as the “silver dollar.” The silver dollar is driving growth of long stay tourism. To tap

into this market, we need to develop the infrastructure such as long stay resorts which incorporate many leisure activities, and very importantly, world class medical facilities (investment incentives for large scale residential resorts e.g. designate as SEZ)

- Independent travel. Create infrastructure and enabling environment for independent travelers. This requires setting and maintaining high standards of hospitality facilities throughout the country, not just in exclusive tourist hotels and resorts.
- Unlocking tourism potential. We are endowed with a country of amazing geographical diversity and breathtaking beauty, but many parts of the country are still inaccessible. The most cost effective way of doing this is by air. NRM will develop a domestic commercial aviation network that to unlock the tourism potential of the whole country.

### **Creative Economy**

- Creative economy is the economy of ideas, that is, it entails the translation of creativity into products and services.
- The creative economy consists of two sectors namely creative industries (advertising, architecture, design) and cultural production (music, film, performing arts, media, gaming etc).
- The creative economy is one of the fastest growing industries in the world, spurred by the ICT revolution, and the internet in particular.
- It is presently estimated to account for 3 percent of global GDP which makes it significantly larger than the telecommunications industry for instance.
  - Enabling environment for creative industries
- This is the primary, and most important responsibility of the state. The key elements of an enabling environment for creativity is first, freedom of expression and second, protection of intellectual property rights.
  - Investment in public arts and culture infrastructure (theatres, museums, music halls, art galleries etc).
- The rise and potential of the creative economy provides added impetus for the state to put more resources in cultural infrastructure.
- NRM will make cultural infrastructure part and parcel of public infrastructure in the same way as roads and sports facilities.
  - Incentives and subsidies for cultural production.
- Cultural production is the wellspring of the creative economy—it is the engine. But cultural production does not capture all the socio-economic benefits that accrue from it to create more value than it is paid for.
- It is, in this sense, a public good, that should be given incentives and subsidies.
- NRM will establish a framework for public funding of creative production, including establishment of a National Endowment for Culture and Arts.

### **Transport and Communication**

- Eradicate remoteness
- Transport & communication is an enabler of national life. It makes it possible for people to interact and to trade. Transport & communication facilitates integration and inclusion.

- Rapid mobility and communication are also critical for security.
- The legacy of exclusion and marginalization is reflected in the inequitable distribution of infrastructure development in different parts of Kenya.
- We entrenched the Equalization Fund in the Constitution in recognition that national unity and social integration requires physical integration. No part of the Nation should feel remote and isolated from the rest of the country. NRM goal is to eradicate remoteness.
- Infrastructure has a large impact on productivity and incomes. There is no point in producing something that one cannot get to the market.
- In the dairy sector, milk transportation costs vary by as much as twenty times from one county to another, simply on account of poor roads. Because infrastructure is costly, how we choose the infrastructure investments is extremely important.
- Rigorous appraisal to establish economic, social and environmental impact of infrastructure is a must. The procurement led Subsequent Administration's has dispensed with investment appraisal, and the consequences are now inescapable. Debt with no returns!
- The overarching goal of NRM's infrastructure policy is to integrate Kenya socially and economically.
- Our mission is to eradicate remoteness.
- The NRM Government will also restore sanity in infrastructure development by pursuing people-centered infrastructure development aligned to our economic strategy of uplifting all Kenyans.
- NRM Government will:
  - Reduce contractors' cost of doing business with Government. This will entail streamlining procurement, prompt payment and zero tolerance to corruption. Experts estimate that the high cost of doing business with the Government increases infrastructure cost by up to 30 percent.
  - Ring-fence proceeds of privatization and public asset sales for infrastructure development. It is bad economics to sell public assets to finance consumption— assets, should finance other assets.
  - To this end, NRM will establish a National Infrastructure Fund. The Fund will be a development finance institution with a mandate to provide soft long term finance for revenue generating infrastructure notably water, sewerage and energy.
  - Build the capacity of local contractors so as to enable them to compete for large infrastructure projects that are presently dominated by foreign contractors. There is no reason why in a few years, Kenyan contractors should not be able to compete domestically as well as regionally.
  - Put mechanisms in place to ensure that local communities reap maximum possible benefits from infrastructure projects in their localities not just from employment, but also by building the capacity of local business to participate in the projects as suppliers of goods and services.
- With regard to the overarching objective of integrating Kenya, NRM has identified the following priority national projects;

- Domestic commercial aviation network. The NRM Government will create a domestic aviation network by upgrading selected airstrips in the country to commercial aviation standards, to ensure that each County Headquarters is accessible by commercial flight. (Fly everywhere in Kenya for 3000 shillings) — add taking advantage of the category 1 aviation status (more highways in the sky) every part of the country is within an hour of Nairobi. (40 minutes)
- Moyale - Mandera - Wajir - Garissa Road. This road will connect North Eastern Kenya to the rest of
- Kenya—eradicate the North Eastern’s isolation.
  - Likoni Bridge. The Likoni Bridge has been mooted for many years. Preliminary design was undertaken five years ago. The NRM Government will pursue construction of the bridge through Public Private Partnership.
  - Coast Commuter Rail This commuter rail will run along the coastline from Malindi to Diani and from Mombasa inland to Voi.
  - The project aims to stimulate the metropolitan development of the coastal region, supporting the growth of tourism, industry and logistics economy. It will be implemented in phases through PPP.
  - Nairobi Mass Transit system Nairobi now regularly ranks among the top 5 cities in traffic congestion in the world. This should not surprise in a city of close to 5 million people that does not have an organized public transport system.
  - In fact, it is a miracle that the city still moves at all. NRM Government will fast track the implementation of the Nairobi Mass Transit Project.
  - Lake Victoria Ring Road. This road which covers six counties is key to opening up the Lake Victoria region for investment.

## **Energy**

- Our energy sources are biomass (firewood & charcoal), petroleum (transportation, electricity generation) and hydroelectric, geothermal and increasingly wind and solar generated electricity.
- Commercial energy, particularly electricity remains expensive relative to our competitors, thus undermining our competitiveness. The cost in terms of prices is compounded by unreliability which adds indirect costs of self-provision through generators and disruption of production.
- NRM government will pursue the reforms and investments necessary to ensure competitive and reliable electricity.
- Domestic energy is a critical need that has not received the attention it deserves. Indeed in terms of our total energy consumption the domestic biomass energy (firewood wood and charcoal) accounts for 70 percent of total energy consumption while petroleum (for transportation) accounts for 20 percent and electricity only 10 percent.
- Energy poverty is a serious challenge. Our low income households spend a much larger share of incomes on energy than they should.
- Access to clean affordable energy is one of the interventions required to address poverty. But it is not just a need— it is also an economic opportunity that has the potential for creating many jobs and diversifying the rural economy.

- There are many viable technologies and innovations that can deliver clean affordable energy, including improved stoves, biogas, briquetting agricultural waste etc.
- Adopting modern kilns instead of the traditional charcoal burning methods can increase the charcoal yield from the same timber threefold.
- The NRM Government will work with stakeholders to increase the adoption of these technologies, as well as supporting further research and development

### **Housing and Urban Development.**

- Urbanization is inevitable and desirable. Cities are engines of productivity growth, creativity and integration. The choice is not whether we will urbanize but what kind of urbanization we will have. It is a choice between planned livable cities and urban jungles.
- Our cities, Nairobi in particular are already developing in the direction of urban jungles. Nairobi is now regularly ranked among the five worst cities in the world in terms of traffic congestion, and Mombasa is no better.
- Buildings are collapsing every other day, killing and maiming innocent Kenyans. This slide into anarchy must be arrested, and NRM is determined to do so.
- Seventy percent of Kenyans live in rural areas, but our housing policy and investment is presently focused almost exclusively on urban housing.
- While urban squalor is a more visible housing challenge, there are many rural households that are unable to afford decent shelter. Poor housing exposes people to ill-health, and also erodes their dignity and self-esteem.
- Decent housing is enshrined in Article 43 of our Constitution on economic and social rights.
- NRM as the party of the constitution is committed and duty bound to the realization of this right. Decent shelter for all Kenyans is a fruit of our new constitutional dispensation that NRM is determined to deliver.
- NRM will;
  - Mount a public-private partnership to scale up affordable housing development, with a target of delivering 500,000 units of affordable housing units over the next five years, with a view to eradicating slums.
  - Fast track the implementation of Nairobi Mass Transit Project, while pursuing other short term interventions to decongest the city.
  - Establish an Urban Revitalization Board to spearhead initiatives to arrest urban decay and revitalize already degraded neighborhoods.
  - Develop long term spatial development and investment plans for our major metropolitan clusters (Nairobi, Coast and Kisumu-Kakamega-Bungoma).
  - Review the building code, and harmonize physical all physical planning and building regulations.
  - Develop a rural housing policy and institutional framework. Specifically, establish a Department of Rural Housing in the national government and work with the County Governments to provide technical services for rural housing development.

- Water, Environment and Natural Resources.
- We need water for domestic use, for industry and for irrigation, as we can no longer depend on rain fed agriculture to feed ourselves. We are a water poor country— in fact the poorest in the region with only 460 cubic metres per person compared to Uganda (1000 cubic metres) Tanzania (1460) and even Somalia (570). It has been said that future wars will be fought of water.
- We are not far. The battle over the Mau is about water. The middle Tana region has the country highest potential for large scale irrigation. The more water we abstract from Mt. Kenya and Aberdare, the less of that irrigation potential we will be able to exploit in future.
- As it is, rapid population growth has reduced the water available per person in the Tana basin by more than half from 720 cubic metres per person to less than 350 cubic metres per person today. We are looking at a stark choice between urban consumption of water today and food security a decade down the road.
- Yet the people of Murang'a have been bullied into silence about water tunnels who's ecological and socio-economic impact on them and the country as a whole, now and in the future, has not been evaluated and debated.
- Water and environment are intertwined. To secure water we need to protect the environment, particularly our water towers. We need to rehabilitate the degraded environment and increase our forest cover. We need to have uncompromising waste management.
- The Nairobi River and the streams in the city can contribute to the city's water needs if we stopped polluting it, thereby reducing the amount of water that the city needs to abstract from other sources. We must embrace water harvesting and recycling as a matter of necessity.
- The NRM Government will:
  - Protect our water towers, and aggressively increase afforestation in order to achieve our national target of 10 percent forest cover. (recognize the land pressure issues that is putting pressure on the forests,
  - Institute independent scientific rigorous socio-economic and environmental impact assessment of the Murang'a water tunnels, Itare Dam, Lamu Coal plant and any other projects that may compromise our water and ecological security.
  - Strengthen the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) to ensure that it does its work without fear or favour.
  - Develop a policy and legislation for water conservation, harvesting and recycling.

### **Minerals and other Natural Resources**

- Kenya is endowed with a wide range of unexploited and under-exploited minerals that can contribute significantly to local and national economic development. Notable ones include Titanium, the rare earths recently discovered in Mrima Hills, coal in Kitui, gold, precious stones, iron ore among others. The most significant is the oil deposits in Turkana presently estimated at one billion barrels.

- NRM believes that properly harnessed, this mineral wealth will contribute significantly to the development of an industrial base, diversifying the economy, and exports.
- NRM is also cognizant that without a proper governance framework, mineral wealth can be cause of conflict and environmental degradation.
- NRM is determined to ensure that our natural resource governance is grounded in our constitutional safeguards and based on global best practices, in particular;
  - Ensuring equitable sharing of revenues between the various beneficial interests namely investors, Government at national and local level and the communities.
  - Maximizing the benefits that accrue to local communities and the country through participation and value addition
  - Ensuring that minerals are exploited in a safe and environmentally responsible manner, and that enough money is put aside to restore the environment once the minerals are exhausted.
- NRM is fully behind the Petroleum Exploration, Development and Production Bill 2016 that has been passed by both houses of Parliament and which the President has declined to assent to. The NRM Government will enact this legislation immediately.
- With the growing importance of renewable energy, wind, sun and geothermal very valuable resources.
- However, these resources are being exploited in a policy vacuum. NRM believes that these resources should be treated in a similar manner to mineral resources.
- NRM will establish a policy and governance framework to ensure that local communities get their rightful share in renewable energy projects either by way of equity participation or a revenue share

## **PILLAR 5: SECURITY AND INTERGRATION**

Nationalism places the **nation-state and its sovereignty at the center** of policy. Security programs under this ideology emphasize **self-reliance, national unity, loyalty, and protection of national identity**.

### **SHORT TERM (0–2 Years): Immediate Protection & Patriotism Mobilization**

#### **Objectives:**

- Address urgent threats (terrorism, separatism, border conflicts).
- Strengthen national unity through patriotic engagement.

#### **Key Actions:**

##### **1. Border Reinforcement & Patrols**

- Deploy military and paramilitary forces to sensitive regions.
- Establish surveillance posts and quick-response teams.

##### **2. Citizen Security Engagement**

- Launch “National Guard” or volunteer defense corps.
- Initiate civil defense training programs as a civic duty.

##### **3. Counter-Subversion Measures**

- Crack down on internal unrest or movements deemed “anti-national.”
- Monitor and restrict foreign influence in media and civil society.

##### **4. Patriotic Campaigns**

- Promote loyalty to the state through schools, media, and community events.
- National holidays and security force appreciation days.

### **MEDIUM TERM (2–5 Years): Infrastructure & Capacity Building**

#### **Objectives:**

- Institutionalize national security frameworks.
- Develop self-sufficiency in security infrastructure and ideology-based training.

#### **Key Actions:**

##### **1. Military & Police Modernization**

- Invest in locally-made defense equipment and arms.

- Professionalize and expand police and military forces with ideological training.

## **2. Strategic Security Institutions**

- Establish national security academies that teach security within nationalist frameworks.
- Develop intelligence networks with a focus on internal cohesion.

## **3. Border & Maritime Security Infrastructure**

- Construct border fences, naval bases, and air surveillance systems.
- Secure remote areas with dual-use infrastructure (roads, communications).

## **4. National Service Programs**

- Mandate or incentivize youth participation in national defense or public service.

## **LONG TERM (5+ Years): Strategic Sovereignty & Cultural Defense**

### **Objectives:**

- Achieve full security autonomy.
- Embed nationalist values in long-term security doctrine.

### **Key Actions:**

#### **1. Defense Industrial Base Development**

- Build a strong domestic defense industry to reduce foreign dependence.
- Encourage innovation in AI, cyber defense, and aerospace within a nationalistic context.

#### **2. Cyber and Information Sovereignty**

- Establish national control over digital platforms, data servers, and communication networks.
- Defend against “ideological infiltration” through censorship and information campaigns.

#### **3. Cultural Security Programs**

- Protect national heritage from “global dilution.”
- Strengthen cultural institutions and educational programs that promote national values.

#### **4. Strategic Alliances Based on Sovereignty**

- Form regional partys that respect national sovereignty (non-interventionist diplomacy).
- Avoid security pacts that compromise domestic control or national decision-making.

## **Regional& international cooperation**

- NRM government will re-affirm and strengthen the role of international law in conduct of its foreign policy. Under a NRM government, Kenya shall show leadership in international matters, especially within the East African Community and on the African continent.
- Our Foreign policy shall be a key instrument for realization of national economic interests. Consequently,
- NRM shall prioritize the search for economic opportunities for our country through, among other things, negotiating for access to global markets for Kenyan goods and services. Regional and continental economic cooperation and integration shall be pursued as a strategy of enhancing national economic development.
- Democracy, Human Rights, Rule of law and Foreign Policy
- NRM government shall pursue a foreign policy that mirrors its own domestic agenda as adherents to the principles of democracy, rule of law and human rights norms. In that regard, NRM will support democratic processes, trends and governance around the world, as a whole, and in Africa in particular.
- NRM believes that our country's national interest shall be better defended at the international level through multilateralism.
- We shall therefore ensure that through our multilateral relations the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national security shall be enhanced through international partnerships and cooperation.
- In the wake of globalization, the architecture of international relations has expanded to include a critical role for non-state actors and civil society in particular.
- The Kenyan state has been reluctant to appreciate and embrace this evolution, and has often been at cross purposes with domestic civil society in international fora. This evolution is indeed reflected in the spirit of our constitution.
- The NRM Government will work with our non-state actors in the conduct of foreign policy.
- Kenya and the East African Community NRM Government shall strive to deepen the diplomatic relations with all neighboring countries of the community.
- The objective will be to have good and friendly relations with all the countries within the multilateral framework of the community but also complimented by strong bilateral relations.
- Kenya shall adhere to all treaties and protocols of the EAC establishing regional economic integration through trade and a common market.

- NRM shall continue with the policy of free movement of goods, people and services within community.
- NRM is committed to the harmonization of the policies, objectives and operations of the community with the view to expediting the realization of the overarching objective of a political and economic union.
- Kenya and the African Union.
- Since independence in 1963, Kenya has been at the forefront in the continental pursuit of Pan Africanist ideals. This proud heritage will be revived under a NRM Government to the extent that pan Africanism is consistent with principles of international law and adherence to democratic practices by member states of the African Union.
- In this respect, our relationships with other member states shall be informed by the provisions of the
- African Union (AU) Constitutive Act of 2002. The NRM Government shall ratify the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance, of 2012.
- NRM will contribute to the advancement of the interests of the African continent and its peoples within the global system in accordance with AU agenda 2063. In addition, NRM shall work closely with all member states to ensure the creation of the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA).
- Kenya and the United Nations Organization
- Kenya membership and active role in the UN will continue unabated. NRM Government holds tenaciously to the view that the UN is the main global multilateral forum for international cooperation.
- With peace as its *raison d'être*, NRM Government shall cooperate fully with the UN to ensure regional and international peace and security. Further to this end, Kenya shall continue to contribute to UN Peace keeping missions.
- It shall be a deliberate strategic aim of the NRM Government to ensure that Kenyan nationals especially the young university graduates are well positioned in some of these agencies and the foreign ministry and a bureau in the presidency shall be assigned this specific task.
- Kenyan Diaspora
- A NRM Government will accord great recognition to the role of the Kenyan Diaspora. Aspects of our foreign policy shall focus on the Kenyans living abroad and who continue to support the economy through remittances.

- Kenyan missions abroad shall be under directive to relate to and encourage Kenyans in Diaspora to invest at home. The missions shall also rely on their local knowledge of the respective countries to get access to business communities for investment at home.
- There shall be a bureau for Diaspora Affairs at the Presidency working together with Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Diaspora issues. We shall institute a consultative forum between the Government and Diaspora, whose representatives shall meet with Government at least once a year on issues of mutual interest.
- A regional leader, and good world citizen.

**THE END//////////**

**Sunrise:**

The renewed hope and determination for Kenya to complete their liberation bring change.



**Mountains:**

The centrality of land and mineral resources in the freedom and development of Kenya

**Fists:**

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**NRM salute**

The masses of Kenya are rising to reclaim their rightful space in their beloved country's development and political landscape.

