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Welcome to the harmonised manifesto of the new coalition between The National Alliance (TNA), The United Republican Party (URP), the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) and the Republican Congress Party of Kenya (RC) – simply referred to throughout this document as “The Coalition”. This manifesto both clearly and insightfully delineates how Kenya and all her citizens will benefit in every sphere of life under a Government run by the Jubilee Coalition. The Coalition partners are united by a common vision for the future of Kenya; a future with the promise of prosperity and opportunity for all.

At this point in our development and history, Kenya needs strong and united leadership. That is precisely what the Coalition undertakes to provide. The Coalition partners are determined to transform Kenyans’ quality of life and to secure the future of generations to come. Through the years Kenyans have suffered difficulties resulting in needless suffering and strife. Thankfully, those days now belong to the past with this exciting Coalition of four of the most prominent political parties in the country. We know that we have created the right team, to not only make Kenya’s Vision 2030 a reality, but also to immediately deliver accelerated economic growth, higher living standards, better healthcare and more jobs from 2013 onwards. Most importantly, the Coalition has purposed to radically address the inexcusable poverty and inequality that exists in our country today.

It is with these goals in mind that we have decided to combine our strengths and ideas to create a strong, lasting and visionary Coalition Government. Ours will be a Government capable of quickly delivering the vital changes and reforms which Kenyans so urgently need and deserve. We have set out in this harmonised manifesto a clear vision for what we will achieve between 2013 and 2017, if given the opportunity by Kenyans at the March 4th election.

We invite you to support us in making Kenya’s dreams come alive.
Uhuru Kenyatta
The National Alliance (TNA)

My promise to Kenya as the President of a Coalition Government of the TNA, the URP, NARC and RC.

TNA was founded with a vision to offer a fresh outlook to the role political parties play in serving the people of Kenya. We created a party that would be based, not on ethnicity or personality, but on ideas.

Our vision has been to create a party open to all Kenyans and one that would uphold the dignity of every Kenyan, irrespective of their background; one that would give wananchi the opportunity to take part in decision making processes that have a direct bearing on the quality of their lives.

TNA was formed to capture Kenya’s spirit as expressed in the country’s new Constitution. That spirit reflects the dynamism of a young country with a great history and a people with immense potential.

Our philosophy, policies and programs aim to transform the way politics is conducted in Kenya and in Africa as a whole. We seek to unleash the energy and strength of the Kenyan people. TNA is a party whose time has come. We are indeed proud to be part of a Coalition with URP, NARC and RC.

Our Coalition brings together progressive parties who share the vision of a New Kenya. A Kenya where every citizen has equal opportunities, an equal say in the affairs of the nation and equal access to our county’s resources.

I am determined that our Government will transform our country and make that vision a reality. Kenya will, at long last, fulfill its potential as a leader in Africa and beyond.
William Ruto  
United Republican Party (URP)

I am delighted to be part of the Coalition. In the event this Coalition forms a Government in 2013, the cabinet will comprise the best suited professionals across the entire profile of ministries, drawn equally from the various jurisdictions represented by the Coalition partners. As Deputy President, I will be in a unique position from where I will deliver change in the key areas which represent the core ideals of the URP and by extension The Coalition. These include Devolution, Youth Empowerment & Human Capital, Development, Human Security, Transformational Leadership and Infrastructure Development.

I am certain that the Coalition with TNA, NARC and RC will deliver the generational change of leadership for which the country is now clearly ready. The transformational model of governance proposed by the Coalition will lead us to socio-economic prosperity, justice and equality. In summary - and as I have stated on the campaign trail and continue to state - the Coalition, I am confident, will take Kenya to a state of economic self-sustenance.

As an equal partner in the Coalition, URP is committed, alongside the other Coalition partners, to deliver both positive change and reform, which will greatly improve the quality of life of the people of Kenya.

Personally, I am committed to working with Uhuru Kenyatta, Charity Ngilu and Najib Balala, and I am excited by the prospect of this ‘Coalition of equals,’ united by vision - united for Kenya. The core focus of my involvement in the Coalition Government will be to grow the economy; growth that will be the key enabler for the many changes we desire for our society. With the support of the people of Kenya I know that the Coalition will transform Kenya into an economic powerhouse for both within Africa and the rest of the world.

“As Deputy President, I will be in a unique position from where I will deliver change in the key areas which represent the core ideals of the URP and by extension The Coalition.”
Charity Ngilu
The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)

The Coalition made up of TNA, URP and RC definitely offers the people of Kenya a unique choice in the Presidential election next March. It is a Coalition for fast and readily discernible change.

I agreed to join the Coalition on the basis that it would ensure NARC’s 5 manifesto promises and commitments become a reality within 5 years. These are:

- To make food and water accessible and affordable to all Kenyans.
- To ensure that all Kenyans get quality and affordable healthcare.
- To ensure that Kenyan children and youth will get affordable, quality and relevant education that would make them competitive players in the world economy.
- To ensure that women are empowered to play their rightful roles in the development of this nation.
- And to ensure that every Kenyan is engaged in meaningful work and can afford a decent life.

I know that as a member of the Coalition I will have the ability to take a lead in creating wealth through development in 5 key areas of our economy; namely Agriculture, Manufacturing, Industry (at all levels), Tourism, Renewable Energy, Sports and Entertainment. I am confident that the Coalition’s “Agenda for Kenya,” which is set out in detail in the pages below, will achieve all the goals that I wanted the NARC to fulfil and which indeed propelled me in the first place to offer myself for election.
Najib Balala  
*The Republican Congress (RC)*

I joined the Coalition because its policies and aspirations resonate with our people’s quest for justice in the resolution of land matters, the inclusion of the marginalised communities in Government and securing of developmental benefits for all our people.

The Coalition has major plans to promote tourism as a key investment, a major income earner and employer to many. The current insecurity situation in the country and along our porous borders requires bold leadership and bold decisions.

The Coalition has these qualities and I have no doubt in my mind that these issues will be resolved once and for all. Consequently our country will be safe for our children, the youth, the elders and the investors. As a member of the coalition, my party’s beliefs and values on devolution, democracy, equity and justice resonate very well with my coalition partners and my belief is that the Kenyan people will get a transformational leadership they have always yearned for.

Our manifesto highlights the challenges of the Kenyan people and it seeks to address those challenges under the Umoja, Uchumi and Uwezo banners through issues ranging from resolution of Land matters, strategies that will ensure employment for our people especially the youth, food security, irrigation and dealing conclusively with Security of the Kenyan people.

I bring in my expertise in transformational leadership to the Coalition and as an equal member will contribute to its success in the delivery of the manifesto.

“The current insecurity situation in the country and along our porous borders requires bold leadership and bold decisions.”
The Coalition’s Agenda for Kenya

OVERVIEW

Guided by the principles enshrined in our new Constitution, this agenda for the people of Kenya is primarily for the period 2013-17, under the Presidency of Uhuru Kenyatta. The Coalition Government, as proposed in this joint manifesto, will build on the successes in economic growth seen in recent years, whilst addressing current economic challenges. Our goal is to make our peoples’ aspirations and dreams a reality.

What we propose is something of a revolution in Kenya; a revolution at its most basic that will:

- Put food and clean water on every Kenyan table
- Ensure that every child in Kenya gets quality education
- Create wealth
- Ensure that every Kenyan gets quality and affordable healthcare
- Empower Kenyan women to take their rightful place in developing this country
- Keep Kenya safe and secure both internally and externally
- Develop a cogent foreign relations and trade policy for Kenya

In order to achieve this we must introduce major structural change across every stratum of society and Government, so as to deliver to the people of Kenya the life which they deserve.

The three central pillars of the Coalition which illustrate our shared Agenda for Kenya are:

Unity (Umoja) | Economy (Uchumi) | Openness (Uwazi)
We, the partners in the Coalition, believe in one Kenya; a Kenya where every citizen, whoever they are, wherever they live, will have the same opportunity to succeed and prosper free of discrimination—open or hidden. Our shared aim is to end ethnic tensions and rivalry and to unite all our citizens. We stand for an inclusive Government committed in word and deed to the people it serves. We will actively seek to promote policies that make our people more cohesive and create opportunities for all.

Crime and insecurity threaten our national unity. Criminals stalk our cities, while disorder threatens our rural communities. Terrorism and instability are a real and present threat along our borders. The Government must act to keep Kenyans safe—we can no longer tolerate the terrible incidents that have wreaked havoc in several places like Samburu, Tana River and Wajir, whether they are caused by ethnic tensions, or by terrorist extremists.

The Coalition partners believe both in tough action to crackdown on crime and lawlessness, and in building strong communities where family and traditional values reinforce a sense of right and wrong. We will work together with the communities to promote dialogue and reconciliation whilst identifying wrongdoers and bringing them to justice. The Coalition will work tirelessly to unite our country so that we can face the challenges of the 21st century together. We all believe that our tribe is Kenya.
THE CHALLENGE

Kenyan politics has become mired in personal animosity as political competitors fail to conduct themselves in a
civilised and professional manner. Too often this personal animosity has been allowed to turn into ethnic rivalry,
with hate speech employed to rouse fear and despondency among different communities, all for transient political
gain.

The Coalition believes that all Kenyans should be proud of their ethnic heritage, but that above all we are Kenyans
first and discrimination and hatred among our many communities must be finally stamped out altogether. Too
many of our communities have been troubled by violence and the resulting tension has been fuelled by a sense
of exclusion and disadvantage. We believe all Kenyans should actively share in the benefits of our country’s
successes.

THE OPPORTUNITY

The Coalition will be open to all, regardless of ethnicity, gender or religion.
**SOLUTIONS**

The Coalition Government will:

Use affirmative action to ensure that under-represented and marginalized groups are properly represented in every respect.

Make sure that all IDPs (Mau Forest Evictees, PEV IDPs, squatters in the Coastal counties) are settled and where possible return to their homes in accordance with the law and have a decent place to live when they do.

Ensure that 30% of all appointees to public bodies and parastatals are women.

Actively promote the appointment of young people, the disabled and marginalised groups to public positions.
THE CHALLENGE

With the terror attacks, violent clashes in some hotspot pockets within our borders, instability outside our borders and rising crime on our streets, Kenyans are worried about their safety, and with good reason. Besides, insecurity is affecting our economy as tourists stay away because of travel bans and warnings and business people are unable to carry and expand their enterprise.

Our security forces have done well in tackling the threat of terrorism but are under-equipped. They need better resources and skills to keep Kenyans safe from the terrorists. The police are currently underfunded and overstretched and there are far too few police officers, most of whom live in deplorable conditions. Many people, particularly young men, have lost faith in the police. Stories of corruption and harassment are rife. Yet no police service can function unless it has the respect and confidence of the communities it is designed to protect and serve.

THE OPPORTUNITY

Any Government's first duty is to keep its citizens safe and secure from harm. The Coalition is committed to strengthening our security forces to fight the forces of crime and terrorism. However, we also recognize that much disorder stems from a lingering sense of alienation. We will therefore act to unite all Kenyans, promoting national cohesion and building a secure country for all. Our commitment to social justice will also reduce the frustration and alienation which is so often the root of crime in our country.
SOLUTIONS

The Coalition Government will:

Equip and modernise the security forces, especially through increase motorization which will dramatically enhance the ability to tackle crime in a more efficient and focused manner.

Ensure that the security forces adopt a ‘Buy Kenyan’ procurement and maintenance sub-contracting policy to support domestic businesses.

Shake up the NIS and enhance and invest in the specialist Anti-Terrorism Unit with the professional expertise to tackle groups such as Al-Shabaab.

Pass a new Prevention of Terrorism Act to give the police and other security forces the powers needed to keep the Kenyan population safe, at the same time ensure that no Kenyans are unfairly targeted or harassed.

Improve police pay and conditions of service.

Strengthen the new Independent Police Complaints Authority to provide independent capacity to investigate instances of corruption and harassment, with the power to suspend officers and refer cases to the Director of Public Prosecution.
Incorporate CCTV technology in the fight against crime.

Provide Government funded life insurance cover for disciplined forces personnel so as to secure their livelihoods and their families’ health.

Create a new Border Security Force to defend the nation’s borders and provide additional security support to border counties.

Promote tenets of family values such as honesty, a positive and production-based work ethic, and responsibility, so as to weaken the roots of crime and foster harmony through social justice, fairness and equitable distribution of resources.

Increase the police-citizen ratio from 1:1150 to a ratio of 1:800 citizens within five years - recruiting an extra 15,000 police officers per annum and enhance efficiency by providing modern security equipment and transport, including at least two police vehicles per ward.

Encourage participation in periodical capacity development programmes to maintain good order in the disciplined forces.

Establish functional linkages through training and through the command structure of the various disciplines of the armed forces to create synergy, efficacy and cooperation, so as to maximise their respective capacities.

Rationalize security budgets and subject procurement of security equipment and services to public scrutiny and oversights mechanisms and ensure competitive bidding so as to promote transparency, eliminate wastage and guarantee quality and value for public funds. Large security contracts shall be subjected to scrutiny by the relevant parliamentary committees and oversight bodies.

Introduce bolus technology to deal with cattle rustling and other forms of livestock theft.
CCTV CASE STUDY

Closed Circuit TV can be used to dramatically change an area for the better, improving safety, boosting the local economy and generally adding to the quality of life.

A well-positioned camera can act as a greater deterrent to crime than a patrolling police officer. The central control room is the hub of a network of cameras that allows the police to monitor wide areas and respond to crime as it happens, using patrol vehicles to quickly reach the scene of the crime.

By investing in modern police equipment such as cameras we can create a local supply chain assembling, installing and maintaining the equipment. While improved security will increase trade as more people come and use local shops and markets and local residents will benefit as they see the value of their properties rise.
**THE CHALLENGE**

We believe in a strong and independent Kenya, recognized by all as providing leadership for East Africa, Africa and beyond. We desire a Kenya that continues to be a responsible member of the international community, playing its role in promoting regional stability and upholding the rule of law as we have done in Somalia and Sudan. However we also recognize that some international institutions have been shaped by the interests of other nations rather than by our own interests. We therefore also seek an international system which recognizes the right of the developing world to choose its own leadership without external interference.

**THE OPPORTUNITY**

Kenya must continue to provide leadership in East Africa. We strongly support the East African Community and its move to introduce a single currency for the EAC. The Coalition will co-operate with other developing countries to positively engage the developed world bilaterally and through multi-lateral systems such as the WTO in a more professional manner so as to secure mutual benefits. Trade and progressive foreign policy are also important for fostering innovation, opening up external markets, free trade, job creation and promotion of sustainable development for economic growth.
SOLUTIONS

The Coalition Government will:

Redefine Foreign Policy to establish out global trade priorities and pursue robust, reciprocal bilateral and multilateral trade, taxation and investment relations, through regional and international trade agreements.

Facilitate annual trade meetings between Ambassadors and High Comissioners and County Governors and maximize trade opportunities for county economies.

Engage the traditional economic powers, including the USA, Great Britain, and other European countries, as well as emerging players such as China, Brazil, India and Russia. We shall endeavour to mould relationships within guidelines that guarantee our national interests, not external ideologies, in order to secure Kenya’s economic and security priorities.

Work with the people of Somalia, the African Union and International partners to bring stability to Somalia, tackle piracy and fight the menace and impeding threat of Al-Shabaab’s terrorism.

Support the move by the African Court of Justice to expand its remit to cover international human rights abuses.

In respect of Trade the Coalition Government will:

 Expedite the East African integration process to facilitate free movement of labour, goods and services and accelerate the expansion of our regional market.

Deepen Kenya’s economic ties with her northern neighbours of South Sudan, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. We believe that this northern axis will be the new engine to power Kenya's economic growth given its huge market and resources.

Take deliberate steps towards the removal of tariff and non-tariff trade barriers and seek the support and collaboration of our trading partners.

Promote regional integration through joint regional infrastructure programs and investments in order to harness the collective potential of the region.

Spearhead initiatives designed to combat international crime, including terrorism, drug and human trafficking.
THE CHALLENGE

Our collective love of sport and the arts is one of the strongest factors that unite us. In the sporting arena we are world leaders in middle and long distance running. At home our culture is vibrant and thriving. However, successive Governments have too often neglected sports and creative industries. As a result, the potential in these sectors has not been accorded a chance to improve our quality of life or boost our economy. Major sporting events such as the Olympics and World Cup would provide a massive boost to local investment and growth. The success of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa has demonstrated what Africa can do. Kenya should be a serious contender to host future regional and international sporting events. While we have some of the best creative talent in Africa but our copyright laws and production systems seem skewed against them.

THE OPPORTUNITY

The ambition of the Coalition is for Kenya to host major sporting events such as the Africa Cup of Nations in 2019 and the 2019 World Athletics Championships. To that end the Coalition will continue to support our emerging athletes in the areas where Kenya has traditionally been strong, as well as encouraging our young people to explore their sporting potential in other areas, such as rugby, cricket, basketball, tennis, volleyball, hockey, swimming and football. We will also support the growth of sports at a local level by helping to provide community sporting facilities. The association between sport and the creative industry have long been overlooked by the Government in Kenya. We believe they should be nurtured and supported. We will take measures to ensure that they are able to flourish and contribute to our economic growth and general well-being as a nation.
**SOLUTIONS**

Establish a National Lottery Scheme, boosted by National budget allocations to fund and support professionization of local sporting leagues across the major sporting disciplines.

Pursue tax incentives for individual and private sector investors in Sports, Arts and Entertainment sectors.

Provide both the national teams and the domestic leagues with all the support they require while respecting their autonomy.

Facilitate and encourage the better management of sports. Facilitate the professionization of sports through introduction of professional coaches in schools.

Establish youth development centres in all counties that will house a fully equipped library, an ICT hub, five sports pitches (football, swimming, basketball, netball, volleyball) and a social hall.

Build five new national sports stadia in Kisumu, Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret and Garissa, while upgrading existing sporting facilities at the County level to accommodate swimming, tennis, basketball and rugby.

Support the Kenya Motorsport Federation to ensure Kenya gets back the Safari Rally in the WRC (World Rally Championships) calendar.

Roll out a network of National Academies for young people, each one specialising in a particular sports or branch of creative arts.

Establish a series of national youth competitions, such as a national youth soccer tournament, so as to identify suitably skilled entrants for the academies.

Bid to host the 2019 Africa Cup of Nations and the 2019 World Athletics Championships.

Establish a series of ‘creative industry hubs’ with full infrastructure facilities such as high-speed internet and design studios as low-cost incubators for new creative industry offshoots and artists.

Fund cultural and sporting projects and facilities such as social halls in order to promote indoor sports such as boxing and to provide a place where people can meet and exchange ideas.

Promote indigenous Kenyan creative and production talent by establishing a Kenya Film School and increasing domestic Kenyan content on our television channels to 60% - half of which should be independently produced.

Increase support for the Kenya Film Commission so that it can improve its facilities with a fully equipped National Film and Animation Studios to promote local talent and innovation.

Promote the performing arts by constructing an ultra-modern National Theatre with audio-visual live-links in Nairobi.

Consolidate the required licenses for artistes/ musicians to perform around the country on a single license.
The Challenge

Our hospital services must be improved, with better pay and conditions for healthcare professionals and a higher standard of care and treatment for patients being central to our health sector reform agenda.

Easily preventable illnesses such as malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS still claim too many lives each year. Only 1 in 10 Kenyans have health insurance and our public health facilities are stifled by inadequate management, insufficient medical supplies and poor procurement procedures. A pitiful 12% of current Government spending on health goes to running services; the balance is eaten up by bureaucracy and corruption.

The World Bank’s imposed system of co-sharing has led to a bloated and corrupt National Health Insurance Fund. We are paying for a swollen bureaucracy that is not delivering the healthcare that Kenyans deserve. Besides, we cannot afford to waste huge investments in the training of health practitioners, especially, doctors who later leave the country and work abroad. Strategies must be developed to stem the brain drain to ensure the maximum possible utilisation of the skills of Kenyan-trained doctors for the benefit of our own citizens.

The Opportunity

Every Kenyan should have access to high quality healthcare. The Coalition Government’s first focus will be on preventive healthcare, as it is less expensive and easier to prevent illness than to cure it. Our preventative health strategy will be based on networks of village level community health workers and midwives, among others. We will roll out universal healthcare through local primary healthcare centres.

We recognise the urgent and immediate need for more public health officers, provision of access to clean water, and protection of the environment to create a disease-free environment. The Coalition also aims to make Kenya an international medical hub with an increase in medical tourism by adopting the successful Indian model.
SOLUTIONS

The Coalition Government will:

Achieve free primary healthcare for all Kenyans, starting with women, expectant and breast-feeding mothers and persons with disabilities by increasing health financing from 6% -15%.

Increase the number of physical facilities at community level and increasing mobile health clinics services.

Reform the NHIF to uproot corruption and bureaucracy, and to ensure accountability and efficiency, by transforming it into an independent outfit run by contributors with a board including Government, businesses and elected contributor representatives.

Guarantee that every family has access to a fully equipped health centre within 5 miles of their home, with a national network of local community health workers promoting preventive health based at the centres.

Upgrade and equip previous provincial hospitals to referral hospitals, supported by a network of County referral facilities and community level public health centres.

Encourage private sector investment in healthcare.

Establish fully-fledged low-cost diagnostic centres and provide adequate screening and treatment facilities for persons with chronic or terminal conditions, including cancer, diabetes, and kidney failure, in every county.

Ensure improved pay packages for doctors and other health practitioners.

Distribute free mosquito nets to all families who need them. Promoting better nutrition by encouraging exclusive breast-feeding, eating traditional foodstuffs and cultivation of kitchen gardens.

Promote medical research, including indigenous medicine.

Promote e-Health as a strategy to reach remote and marginalized areas with health services.
THE CHALLENGE

A good education is the cornerstone of success at the individual level and the foundation for resurgence, and ultimately, national prosperity. Kenya needs an educated and professionally well-adjusted workforce to harness the most its human capital can yield and fully exploit the country’s economic potential. Whilst the current Government has made many positive strides in education, especially over the past 10 years with the introduction of free primary and secondary education, there is still a lot more to be done with regard to adjusting the country’s human skills base to cope with the next level of our national development.

Although primary school enrolment increased from 5 million to 9 million pupils between 2002 and 2010, thereby transforming the long-term life chances for millions of Kenyan children, there still exists unacceptable regional imbalances in enrolment. For instance, while 93% of primary school age children are currently enrolled nationally, in Turkana and Garissa Counties the enrolment figures stand at a mere 25% and 34% respectively. Besides, our classrooms remain overcrowded, schools underequipped and the entire education system underfunded. Disadvantaged regions lack enough schools, while some host unacceptable classroom numbers as high as 60 and above. Furthermore, nearly a quarter of primary school children drop out of school before they complete primary school.

Though secondary education has dramatically improved in recent years, with 1.7 million students enrolled in secondary schools in 2010, attendance still favours the better off. Only 66.9% of primary graduates progressed to Secondary school in 2010. This dissonance is captured by the fact that only 10% of primary graduates go through private schools, yet they make up 85% of the secondary intake. The Coalition is committed to opening up secondary education for every Kenyan child willing to learn. The overwhelming number of young unemployed people do not have the skills necessary to compete in the workplace. We believe that every child should be in education or training until the age of 18. Kenya has over 40 universities and university colleges. Thousands of our best and brightest graduate from our universities each year, but thousands more do not, either because they lack fees or places. In 2010, only 6.5% of secondary students were admitted to university. Meanwhile, access is still skewed against women with less than 40% of university students being female.
THE OPPORTUNITY

The Coalition is committed to expanding access to and raising the standard of education in Kenya. Our aim is to increase the proportion of students moving from primary to secondary education and then into the tertiary and university level.

We will seek to remove both financial and non-financial barriers that undermine or hinder the quest for continuing in education. The Coalition will also increase the amount of funding given to the education sector as a whole.
**SOLUTIONS**

The Coalition Government undertakes to do the following with regard to improving Kenya’s quality of and access to education.

**General Education:**

- Increase the number of schools in disadvantaged areas and restrict class sizes to a maximum of 40. Increase the student-teacher ratio to 1 teacher for every 40 students.
- Encourage county Governments to boost central Government’s funding of the education sector with additional local resources.
- Work with international partners to provide solar powered laptop computers equipped with relevant content for every school age child in Kenya.
- Ensure that learning institutions adequately safeguard the rights of pupils with special needs.
- Invest heavily in disadvantaged counties by providing textbooks, teaching materials, stationery and teachers.
- Increase education funding by 1% each year so that by 2018 it reaches 32% of Government spending.
- Use equalisation fund to introduce school feeding programmes in disadvantaged areas.

**Primary schools:**

- Provide free milk for every primary school going child which will be sourced from County-based dairy farmer saccos.
- Raise the transition rate from primary to secondary to 90% while improving transition rates from secondary to tertiary and university levels.

**Secondary schools:**

- Give tax incentives for companies offering apprenticeships to those who complete their secondary education.
- Introduce a national scheme of Government funded scholarships so that the brightest primary school children enjoy free admission to the best secondary schools.
- Make it obligatory that state secondary schools take a minimum 50% of their student intake from public primary schools.
- Increase the number of local secondary school places by encouraging private investment. As an incentive to ‘eduprenuers’, not tax the first Ksh 10 million of revenue from private secondary schools if they operate the Kenyan national curriculum & provide free bursaries for 20% of their overall intake.
- Increase the number of boarding schools in pastoralist areas.
Tertiary & University Education:

Expand the number of post-secondary places, the aim being to give fresh secondary school graduates tertiary qualifications.

Establish a business bursary scheme and encourage private companies - through tax incentives to contribute to the scheme.

Sponsor qualified students through university in return for a 1-year work commitment after graduation.

Increase the school leaving age so that all children remain in either education or training until they are 18.

Strengthen the Commission for University Education (CUE) and free public universities from statutory status and provide them with independent charters. This will enable CUE to effectively manage the quality of universities, teaching, research and products.

Encourage universities to invest in research, technology & innovation.

Reverse the current trend of turning middle-level colleges into universities and reinstate them.

Open a new vocational technical institutes in each constituency.
THE CHALLENGE

High unemployment rate remains one of the greatest challenges facing our country. Currently, 70% of unemployed people in Kenya are the youth. Youth aged between 18 and 35 are 30.3% of the total population. The education system in Kenya is not geared towards market demand. Consequently, 92% of unemployed youth have some form of formal education but do not possess any relevant skills.

THE OPPORTUNITY

The youth are our strength, our wealth and the drivers of innovation in Kenya. The Coalition Government will make a deliberate and systematic effort to appropriately equip and empower the youth of Kenya to attain and realize their full potential.
SOLUTIONS

The Coalition Government will:

Re-engineer education

Establish Institutes of Technology in every ward to empower youth with effective and relevant skills to service a modern economy. The acquisition of basic vocational skills will be offered free of charge at these institutions.

Rationalise the remuneration and recognition of graduants from technical institutions so as to put premium on technical education and training by emphasising its importance to economic development and wealth creation.

Within the first year, undertake a national audit of skills and competencies and aligning training opportunities and resources to respond to national and County human resource demands.

Develop a framework for identifying children's inherent abilities and talents and aligning them to early childhood education and future professional training.

Emphasize peace, moral values, and universal human rights content in education curriculum review at all levels.

Jobs & Enterprise

Allocate 2.5% of national revenue annually towards establishing a Youth Enterprise Capital/Fund designed along the CDF model to enable youth access interest free business financing either individually or in groups without the requirement of traditional collateral.

Enhance youth specific affirmative action on Government procurement to 25% so as to mainstream the participation of youth-run enterprises in economic development.

Develop and promote a policy on internship (on the job training) for all college students requiring practical training-with built in incentives for industry actors.

Establish innovation centres to support the emerging generation of highly creative Kenyans.
Women’s Empowerment:
An Equal Share

THE CHALLENGE

Women make up half the population of Kenya, taking the lead role in raising children, playing a vital role in the economy and in many cases ensuring the family has enough money to put food on the table. Yet they suffer discrimination and hardship every day - often denied the opportunity to meet their full potential as Kenyan citizens. The hard-won protections of the new constitution are yet to be implemented, including the ‘one third’ rule on public appointments.

THE OPPORTUNITY

The Jubilee Government is committed to promoting and protecting the role of women in society and we will fully implement the one-third rule. The women of Kenya are rightly tired of empty promises of equal treatment. We will take concrete, practical measures to empower women and deliver full equality in both law and practice.

SOLUTIONS

Double the number of women elected to Parliament by amending the Constitution to replace the 12 nominated MPs, with 60 MPs elected by Proportional Representation, with 48 of these seats reserved for women.

Fully implement the ‘one-third rule’ to ensure at least 33% of all Government and parastatal appointments are women.

Increase civic education to help eradicate Female Genital Mutilation.

Promote education for girls and increase the number of boarding school places

Make discrimination on the grounds of gender and ethnicity a criminal offence and give the Gender & Equalities Commission prosecuting powers.

Encourage the growth of micro-finance institutions the majority of whose customers are women.

Promote Jobs for women by outlawing workplace discrimination and providing grants and loans for women business people as well as providing opportunities in county enterprise parks.
THE CHALLENGE

Despite our huge natural resources Kenya suffers from entrenched poverty, ranking 128th out of 169 in the UN’s Human Development Index. Nearly half our citizen’s are poor or unable to meet their daily food requirements. Although the vast majority of the poor living in rural areas, dependent on subsistence farming and cattle raising a third of city dwellers are also below the poverty line. Despite the economic advances of the last 10 years unemployment remains over 40% and an unequal access to our resources fuels discontent and conflict.

THE OPPORTUNITY

The Jubilee Coalition is committed to eradicating poverty in Kenya, no-one in a country as rich as ours should have to go without food, or shelter or healthcare. Our aim to fulfil the Vision 2030 ambition and make Kenya a middle-income country within a generation. A country with a thriving economy and a network of policies that provide a strong social safety net for the vulnerable.

SOLUTIONS

The Coalition will:

Create a new legislative framework to place cash transfers for the needy on a solid foundation through a new system of social protection payments administered by County Governments.

Provide universal healthcare for all Kenyans by 2020, starting with the children, pregnant and breastfeeding women, people with disabilities, people with HIV/AIDS and the elderly.

Use the tax system to provide incentives to people to save for their old age.

Reform the NSSF to provide efficient and effective management.

 Guarantee free water supplies to all those living in informal settlements pending slum upgrading.

Boost agricultural production through mechanisation, irrigation and assistance grants to smallholders.

Fully implement the constitution and guarantee all Kenyan communities equal access to our natural resources.

Increase the reach of cash transfers to attain universal coverage for older persons and persons with disabilities.

Include greater participation/inclusion for persons with disabilities in all sectors of the economy.
Kenya has a strong and growing economy with the potential to drive growth for the whole of the East African region. Our intention is that Kenya becomes the Continent’s manufacturing and technology hub, the preferred gateway to Africa for foreign investors, and home to a thriving army of local entrepreneurs.

We believe that all Kenyans have natural potential—flair as well as propensity—for entrepreneurship and that it is the Government’s duty to help them unleash it. Our policies are therefore designed to allow Kenyans of all ages, economic backgrounds and communities to enjoy the full benefits of our national successes. We want all Kenyans to be able to stand tall on their own feet and reclaim their dignity.

The Coalition Government’s role will be that of an enabler, regulator, guarantor and funder. We believe in a society where people are big and Government small.
Our fundamental aim is the attainment of high and sustainable levels of economic development within a stable and secure environment. The Agenda for Kenya calls for rapid economic growth in order to reduce the rate of poverty and meet the requirements of its growing population.
THE OPPORTUNITY

Kenya is the growth engine in the Eastern Africa region, with good climate and a growing regional market of an estimated 150 million people. Our aim is to further strengthen and rebalance our economy by building on our strengths in agriculture and tourism as well as growing new sectors such as telecommunications and manufacturing.

Too much of our economic activity is concentrated around Nairobi. With a Coalition Government, this is set to change. Our nation's wealth will be spread across the country. We will create more jobs at local/county levels by supporting small businesses, promoting vocational training, and preparing young Kenyans to compete in the global market place.

THE CHALLENGE

Coalition partners agree that Africa is changing. Democratic change is sweeping across the Continent and millions of Africans are moving up the economic ladder. With the recession in the West and rising labour costs in the East, there is renewed interest across the world in Africa’s potential and place in global economic renewal.

We believe that Kenya can be at the heart of this African renaissance, with a market economy that builds on our successes and promotes private sector enterprise. This desired state of affairs would benefit greatly from production-oriented economic growth that funds a strong safety net for the vulnerable in our society.

Whilst our economy is fundamentally strong compared to our contemporaries in the region, there are still a lot of improvements to undertake. Despite relatively major economic progress, our society is still too unequal. The poor in our cities, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, live in slums, while scores in the rural areas struggle to survive through subsistence farming. Meanwhile, the world economic crisis, coupled with our own political instability, has hurt economic growth, making it all the harder to close the gap between rich and poor.

Despite our economic strengths, we are far too dependent on agriculture and tourism, though the last decade's growth has been skewed towards the telecommunications sector. To reach our ambition of becoming a middle income country as projected in Vision 2030, we need an industrial revolution that creates a strong manufacturing base and propels us towards becoming Africa’s industrial hub. This means that we must improve our infrastructure - road, rail and power supply- so that we not only produce raw materials but also manufacture the consumer and agricultural goods we use internally.

Corruption, unemployment and inflation continue to plague the Kenyan economy. The priority of the Coalition is to stamp out these festering problems and build a strong industrial and service base in order to increase jobs and to stop price rises by balancing the budget and reducing public debt.
SOLUTIONS

The Coalition Government will:

Promote the creation of a Single East African Market (SEAM), totally phasing out tariffs and barriers among East African Community member countries and moving towards the creation of a single regional currency.

Target a 7-10 per cent growth rate in the first two years of the Jubilee Government in order to create 1 million new jobs for our youth.

Cut waste and fight corruption so that public resources are spent wisely and properly.

Reduce the public deficit so that the Government spends more money on services instead of paying off Kenya’s debts.

Keeping the exchange rate stable and control the flow of money into the economy in order to lower interest rates and keep inflation in check.

Create the 1 million new jobs by:

Actively growing Kenya’s manufacturing sector through tax incentives and grants for overseas companies to establish industrial plants in the country that will supply our own and the wider East African economy.

Creating a reliable energy infrastructure by extending the national grid network and promoting renewable energy. This will enable the private sector to plan and invest for growth.

Implementing a “Buy Kenya” policy for both Government and parastatals, where Kenyan goods and services are accorded first priority. We will encourage a regime that only looks outside Kenya if goods and services cannot be found locally at a reasonable rate.

Introducing a policy where at least 10% of Government procurement is acquired from entities established under the youth enterprise fund.
Encourage enterprise by:

Expanding the economy and promoting industries so that jobs and business opportunities are created. We will transform the Youth Enterprise Development Fund and Kenya Industrial Estates into a new national enterprise agency – Biashara Kenya. This agency will catalyse further economic growth.

Retaining a youth focus by placing representatives from the National Youth Sector Alliance on the new agency’s board.

Giving tax breaks/holidays to our young people to encourage them to initiate start-up businesses. To sustain this, the Coalition Government will introduce a policy of purchasing locally manufactured goods and services.

Making the Public Procurement regime open, transparent and corruption-free in order to ensure that all deserving young entrepreneurs have the opportunity to secure Government tenders. Developing special Industrial Parks and clusters in the counties that will target young people and women who start small businesses and providing access to electricity, water, capital equipment and clean sanitary environments and improved access roads. This will boost growth at the county level and help to stem rural-urban migration, itself a significant strain on Kenya’s major towns.

Create a National Trust Fund from a significant portion of proceeds from Government sale of its shares and assets of parastatals. The fund will be appropriated in the name of every citizen in the nature of pension funds, CDS accounts, and other Social Security Funds.

With immediate effect, activating the 30% procurement rule in Government procurement policy. In specific projects like water harvesting and renewable energy, women entrepreneurs will be given priority. We will also review the Women’s Enterprise Fund to assist women entrepreneurs seeking large contracts and business.

Equipping investment parks with major capital items required in operating small businesses such as motor mechanics, plumbing, artisans, leather and wood works, carpentry and similar trades. We will, for instance, provide tools for technicians and ICT-based enterprises.

Providing training services and creating market for locally produced goods and services internally, regionally and internationally. We will promote brand-names of locally manufactured products to boost incomes for promising artisans. More specifically, we will create markets for Jua Kali products, male and female body care products, coffee houses and milk-bars.

Building on the Economic Stimulus Program (ESP) by establishing local economic development agencies at a county level so that every county and constituency will have access to crucial facilities and services.

Introducing tax breaks for companies that establish apprenticeship programmes for young people equipping young people with necessary skills and technology.

Encouraging the development of micro-financing schemes for new businesses and farmers along the lines of the renowned and successful Grameen Bank model.
THE CHALLENGE

There is a stark mismatch between the current rate of economic growth and the rate of growth of the manufacturing sector in Kenya. This unattractive state of affairs is partly a result of high production costs, excessive red tape and a lack of access to credit. Increasing our ability to make the products we use on a day-to-day basis is the key to our quest to becoming a middle income country by 2030.

THE OPPORTUNITY

Demand for consumer goods and farm equipment continues to grow apace every year. The supply into this sector is largely dependent on imports. We need to start producing these products ourselves, and by so doing create hundreds of thousands of new jobs for our youth.

We therefore need to attract more foreign investment and take full advantage of the growing demand for manufactured goods across East Africa. Kenya should therefore be the natural destination for overseas companies intending to open new factories with the capacity to satisfy the demands of the region and beyond.
SOLUTIONS

The Coalition Government will:

Improve our energy infrastructure and promote alternative energy sources so as to create the adequate and cost-effective energy supply regime necessary for industrial take-off.

Improve other infrastructure services for business, such as roads, rail and water supply.

Enact new Public Private Partnership (PPP) legislation to encourage private investment in public projects, speeding up the delivery of infrastructure urgently needed to achieve Kenya Vision 2030.

Establish a Kenya Development Bank to provide currently unavailable finance to the private sector for all types of capital projects, including infrastructure development.

Help Kenya’s business sector become as competitive as possible by reducing business taxation, removing unnecessary regulation and encouraging competition through new enterprise zones in each county.

Introduce tax incentives to encourage investment and growth in the manufacturing and service sectors, which will enable the Coalition's pledge of creating 1 million new jobs to become a reality.

Pursue exchange rate stabilization policy and monetary policy that will lower interest rates.

Bolster funding for the Anti-Counterfeit Agency to fight counterfeiting.

Provide loans and grants to new small businesses through the new development agency - Biashara Kenya.
THE OPPORTUNITY

Kenya should become the ICT hub for East Africa and beyond, building on the progress of recent years to connect every Kenyan to the new infrastructure and promote e-commerce and protect consumers.

A lot of progress in the ICT Industry has taken place since the introduction of the ICT Policy Paper in 2006. Key accomplishments such as building of the relevant ICT Infrastructure and legislation of comprehensive policy, legal and regulatory frameworks are already bearing fruit to the industry. A lot of the listed challenges then are impressive works in progress such as local content development, universal access and e-Government.

Our overall challenge in the ICT Industry is still how to Harness ICT for Efficient and Effective Government, Economic Growth and Job Creation for our youth. We understand that Information and Communication Technologies do not operate in a silo. The adoption of ICT across all our policy positions is critical if we are to meaningfully utilize ICT in the way we do business. The challenge will be how to translate ICT into programs that add value to the education system, the Agricultural sector, the Health Sector, Business and Finance, Governance, Leadership and ultimately achieve the overall goal of driving economic growth. Kenya is at a take-off stage where access to ICT and a groundswell of talent and economic opportunities from ICT products and services have come together. The Government through the ministry of information has been at the forefront of facilitating this. Our biggest opportunity comes from developing our human resource capacity through proper education/courses to not only match but surpass the needs of business and Government and even export our local solutions.
SOLUTIONS

Increase human resource capacity in ICT through improved ICT education in schools and training for teachers.

Establish a universal single registration system activated at birth which will streamline registration, National ID registration, voter registration, NHIF, NSSF, and any other tax or commercial related registration.

Expand the fiber optic network to cover hospitals, schools, and police stations.

Progressively roll out free WI-FI in major towns within the next 5 years.

Create incubation hubs for ICT start-ups in each county through the new Biashara Kenya agency.

Instigate a ‘buy local’ policy for Government and parastatals enabling local Kenyan ICT companies to become suppliers.

Streamline Government by creating a single electronic records system across all Departments and deploying the IFMS, which tracks public spending to local & county Governments.

Develop ICT Incubation hubs at county level with the plan of extending these to constituency levels to empower our youth with the necessary training and work experience to develop market ready ICT services and products.

Develop our Human Resource Capacity through education to improve the ability to perform tasks effectively in a digital environment. Literacy includes the ability to read and interpret media, to reproduce data through digital manipulation, and to evaluate and apply new knowledge gained from digital environments. This will lead to a more efficient Government and Businesses.

Tackle corruption through deployment of IFMIS at the Central and County Government levels. Using technology, we will allow the public to walk with the Government through every step of the tendering process and to track every tax shilling spent by the county Governments and national Government.

Embark on Digital Government programme by cleaning up and managing databases that will be stored in a secure and centralized location and which can be accessed and used by all ministries and branches of Government. This will make Government more efficient.

Investing and facilitating a digital economy by empowering our youth to develop software that is market ready and which the Government and County Governments will be primary consumers of these software/products.

Create employment for our youth through ICT related jobs in Government and the corporate world supported by education and professional development programmes as well as granting them the necessary work experience.
THE CHALLENGE

Tourism accounts for close to 1.5% of Kenya’s GDP and 9% of the country’s total formal employment. It is also one of the largest contributors to foreign exchange earnings. Due to its many linkages to other sectors (including agriculture, manufacturing, banking and finance, transport and communication, and SMEs), tourism has great potential to generate employment and wealth and help to achieve the Coalition’s pledge of the creation of 5 million new jobs.

However, the sector remains underdeveloped, compared to other tourist destinations, in terms of the number of tourists, yield and diversity of experience. Only 1.5 million tourists visit Kenya a year, compared to some 30 million per year to Malaysia. Tourism in Kenya is currently concentrated in seven parks, which receive 80 per cent of the total number of visitors to the country’s 26 wildlife sanctuaries. To increase our competitiveness, there is a need to expand our product choice and the quality of our facilities and services, as sports tourism and ecotourism are becoming increasingly popular.

Kenya needs to develop its tourism sector further, however it requires heavy capital investment, is sensitive to seasonal fluctuations of tourist arrivals, and security scares. Its expansion faces natural limits in the number of tourist attractions available for game viewing and beach vacations. Finally, tourism is dependent upon a protected and nurtured environment.
THE OPPORTUNITY

Sustaining the growth of tourism is critical, and will require consistency and commitment from all stakeholders in the industry. With the recent increase in tourist arrivals, the bed occupancy levels during the peak season are close to full capacity (92%). We need to increase bed capacity to cater for increased tourism. There is an opportunity to position Nairobi and Mombasa as a hubs for international business conferencing. Nairobi has an excellent all year round climate, excellent infrastructure and amenities, and is easily accessible by road and air, while Mombasa could be promoted as an alternative regional conference to Dubai. The Coalition will harness this potential by enabling and incentivizing the private sector to invest in high class hotels and resorts both in the vicinity of Nairobi and in other popular destinations, such as Diani, Kilifi, Lamu, Masai Mara, Isiolo and Lake Victoria. This includes the promotion of local tourism.

This will enable Kenya to provide a full range of tourism services—from high end niche markets and conference business to coastal and safari tourism that exploits Kenya’s natural environment. Tourism is what puts Kenya in the minds of millions of people across the globe.

SOLUTIONS

Promote Kenya as an end destination rather than a stop over with the aim of doubling the number of tourists to 3 million visitors a year.

Provide incentives to encourage investment in tourist accommodation to increase hotel bed capacity across the country.

Introduce incentives, diversify products and improve other infrastructure requirements to encourage such investments that will attract high-value tourism such as business conferences, sports tourism and medical tourism.

Enhance the mandate and increase the funding of the Kenya Tourist Board to enable it to promote a diversified range of tourist destinations beyond our beautiful national parks and promote investment in high quality alternative attractions.

Enhance security so that tourists feel safe visiting our country. This includes protecting not only tourists visiting Kenya, but the environment itself, and ensuring that the appropriate conservation measures are in place at all times.

Promote alternative income of communities living around game parks and wildlife reserves to ensure they are not a threat to natural habitats and expand the system of direct benefits to locals to include National Parks.

Increase Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) capacity by introducing an air unit, provision of body armour for wardens and competitive perks for KWS staff. Also introduce robot decoys by 2015 as a pilot program to curb poaching.

Design and introduce an elaborate KWS-based intelligence network to monitor animals, deter intrusion and stop threats to parks.

Lobby internationally to stop trade of ivory and other products of poaching.
THE CHALLENGE

Millions of Kenyans today have no property to call their own, yet remarkably, only 20% of Kenya’s land is privately owned. Public land is 13% of the land in the country with 67% being community land which has been traditionally managed by local authorities, with communities who actually live on it having little benefit. A significant portion of private land is untitled, with poor records of ownership which in some areas is made worse by absentee landlords.

As it is now community land has little or no commercial benefit for the individuals and communities that live on it. This has been made worse by poor basic infrastructure and unclear land rights which have fuelled inter-community conflict. By adjudicating and issuing titles for community land, we will unlock its potential as a commercial asset in addition to providing communities a secure place to live. This will result in increase in food production, improved security for individuals and communities, enhanced investment in and development of land and importantly minimise conflicts that arise from ownership disputes. By improving the skills of our youth and expanding economic opportunities available to them, we will reduce pressure to own land and economic reliance on subsistence farming activities.

The Kibera informal settlement area is approximately 630 acres. This land at current market rates of approximately Ksh 100 million per acre, would amount to Ksh 63 Billion. By adjudicating and issuing titles to the community living in here, the individuals and families living here will be able to commercially exploit this potential even while upgrading of the settlement is ongoing. Our Government will work to put in place basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation and electricity as well as facilitate investors to put up proper housing and other investments on this land of which the community will be owners. This programme will be pursued in all informal settlements.
THE OPPORTUNITY

We believe Kenya’s future prosperity is dependent upon the transformation into a property owning and land-user rights democracy. Our ambition is a massive expansion of land user and ownership rights, so that all Kenyans who want to own their own homes are able to do so.

SOLUTIONS

As regards General land policies the Coalition Government will:

- Establish and reinforce a mandatory national land title register.
- Computerize and digitize the land registry and management system.

As regards Private land the Coalition Government will:

- Reform Land Control Boards and abolish search fees.
- Control development through local county zoning policies.
- Introduce a system of planning gain so that developers contribute to County Infrastructure Funds as part of the planning permission process.

As regards Public land the Coalition Government will:

- Repossess illegally occupied public land without compensation.
- Prosecute land grabbers, especially Government officials.

As regards Community land the Coalition Government will:

- Immediately embark on adjudication & titling of Community Land.
- Give communities, rather than the National Land Commission, the titles to Community-held lands.
- Give every Kenyan the right to lease a reasonable holding of land in their community.
- Provide funding to counties to complete the process of registering and unregistering community land.
- Facilitate the resolution of property disputes over community land by creating special community land tribunals, working with traditional leaders and others.
- Provide infrastructure and key services such as water and electricity to induce the actualization of property rights.
THE CHALLENGE

Kenya is facing an energy crisis. Only one-fifth of the population has access to regular supply of electricity. At a generating capacity of a paltry 1.3GW, the energy shortage is holding back our economic growth and improved quality of life. By comparison, Argentina, which has a similar population to Kenya, has a 24GW production capacity. Given our wealth of natural resources, there is no reason why Kenya cannot meet its energy needs for both industrial and domestic use for all our citizens.

Although there have been major extensions to Kenya’s power grid, it is still too expensive for most Kenyans to connect to even when power lines run outside their homes. Furthermore, even as we extend the grid, there are still many places that are too remote to reach by way of traditional methods and where the capital cost of installing individual power supply systems is uneconomical.

THE OPPORTUNITY

We believe that every Kenyan should have reliable electricity supply in their homes and that all businesses and industries should be able to operate safely with the knowledge that they will have access to energy they need. Kenya must promote diversification and generation of alternative forms of renewable energy such as solar, biogas and wind. The Coalition is also keen on utilising recently discovered gas and oil to boost power supply. Expensive energy raises the cost of doing business and hinders industrial competitiveness. The average cost of power supply in Kenya today stands at US Cents 8 per unit, compared to US Cents 2 in South Africa, and US Cents 3 in Egypt. It is evident that the country needs affordable, efficient and competitively priced energy.

The Coalition will encourage the private sector to participate in extraction and processing of the country’s natural resources while ensuring that the people of Kenya benefit fully from these resources and experience improved living standards.
SOLUTIONS

Ensure every Kenyan has access to electricity by 2020.

Expand electricity production capacity to 10GW over the next decade and then to 25GW by 2030, thereby transforming Kenya into a net exporter of energy.

Encourage and develop PPP projects and create an enabling environment based on international best practices to both attract private enterprise and speed up the delivery of energy projects for the benefit of the people of Kenya.

Encourage new private energy generators in the Kenyan market and increase private investment in existing state-owned companies such as KenGen, Kenya Power and the Kenya Pipeline Company.

Complete the Nairobi Transmission Ring Project and the Mombasa-Nairobi Transmission Line to ensure reliable power supply for our two largest cities.

Prioritise the construction of an oil pipeline from South Sudan and a new oil refinery at the coast.

Revamp the current rural electrification program to bring electricity to every village through small renewable energy projects such as solar panels and wind turbines, funded by the sale of state energy assets. Encourage private sector participation across the whole renewable energy sector.
Give low-cost loans for households and villages currently off the grid to buy small renewable power systems. The loans can be paid back as part of their electricity bills using mobile money transfer services.

Introduce low-interest 5-year loans, paid back as part of electricity bills, for households and businesses that want to connect to the national power grid.

Set up oil refinery and distribution centres within the county of production.

Encourage the establishment of solar farms that are partly owned by the local community to supply local people with energy and sell the surplus back to Kenya Power at commercial rates.

Create an Oil & Gas Revenue Fund and give 5% of public revenues back to the local communities where resources are located and 5% to pay for the roll out of local renewable energy schemes. It will also fund the restoration and rehabilitation of excavated areas.

Set up national training and research institutes to produce world-class technical expertise in the energy sector.

Ensure sufficiency of energy supply and treat it as a catalyst for industrial growth and stimulation of national economic development.

Review legislation governing access to energy resources in order to give the source county 20% rights of the net income of the resource.

Enact legislation to ensure proper use of the expected future oil and gas revenues for the benefit of all Kenyans.

Establish an in-country sovereign wealth fund based upon international best practices to secure an income from the resources of today for future generations of Kenyans.
The Challenge
Kenya is endowed with such plentiful natural resources that it has the capacity to be Africa’s breadbasket, yet we still struggle to feed our own people. Although agriculture employs nearly three-quarters of Kenyans, half of our production remains regrettably at subsistence levels. Food supply to our major cities and urban areas is mainly from small-scale rural farmers who hardly make enough from their labour and produce to sustain their needs, let alone make a decent living.

The Opportunity
Since subsistence farming has failed in Kenya, we must start an agricultural revolution. Agriculture shall be an economic/commercial enterprise that provides Kenyans with employment, not mere subsistence. The Coalition is determined to ensure all farmers - no matter how small their piece of land – make a decent income and are able to meet their basic needs.
The Coalition Government will:

Introduce affordable state loans to subsidize fertilizer and farm equipment as a way of ensuring food security.

Establish a vibrant national irrigation scheme to open up more arable land.

Make it easy for Kenyans to lease agricultural land and provide extension services.

Create and encourage Agricultural Investment Trusts (AITs) through tax incentives to direct private investment into the agricultural sector.

Encourage mechanization and value addition so that young Kenyans can find employment and investment opportunities in agriculture.

Establish a national livestock insurance scheme and introduce an acceptable livestock evaluation system that would make it easier for pastoralists to access credit.

Encourage every school to have a model agricultural and fish farm.
In order to enhance Food Security the Coalition Government will:

Increase efficiency in agricultural production through mechanization and employment of modern technology in farming while enhancing the certified seed and fertilizer subsidy programme to reduce the cost of food production and manage inflation.

Triple the budgetary allocation to scientific research and information and create a framework for technology transfer to enhance agricultural productivity.

Within five years, put a million acres of land under modern irrigation and further expand agricultural production by employing modern technology on currently cultivated land and on the 2.5 million acres presently not in use.

Within two years, initiate and implement a public-private partnership insurance scheme to cushion livestock and crop farmers from risks, including disasters and effects of climate change.

Reduce the cost of credit by at least 50% of the commercial rate (to crop and livestock farmers) and improve access through consolidating, rationalizing and capitalizing agricultural and livestock sector financial institutions (especially the Agricultural Finance Corporation & Agricultural Development Corporation).

Initiate and support a county level framework for value addition through the processing of livestock and agricultural products at source to maximise returns to farmers.

Double and diversify our national strategic food reserves from the current 22% to 40% of annual consumption.

Increase the agriculture sector budget as recommended under the Maputo Declaration and attain food surplus.

Provide the necessary infrastructure to support commercial agriculture and livestock production, including greenhouses, dams, silos, warehouses and coolers.

Revamp the mandate of the National Livestock Board to ensure continuous research on livestock, improve the marketing and value addition of livestock produce and extend services to pastoralists.

Facilitate and encourage pastoral communities and regions to establish pasture banks along traditional pasturing routes, which will be supported by social amenities and services such as health centres, schools and business parks.

Offer minimum guarantee to farmers in terms of crop and produce prices at the beginning of a crop season.
THE CHALLENGE

Climate change, population growth and mismanagement of water in the current regime of irrigated farming have meant that Kenya’s water supply has become increasingly unreliable. Only 60% of Kenyans have access to an improved water supply, but even then that supply is often intermittent and unreliable. Indeed, only a third of our population is connected to improved sanitation services.

THE OPPORTUNITY

We believe that the water sector needs a dramatic overhaul. We need to promote investment in basic infrastructure and increase the supply to homes and businesses throughout Kenya. Our commitment is to ensure that every Kenyan will have access to clean, safe running water by 2020.
**SOLUTIONS**

*The Coalition Government will:*

Make water policy more accountable and stamp out corruption by combining the current 8 regional Water Service Boards into a single national Water Services Authority (WSA), with devolved units at county level.

Put representatives on the WSA Board from the new counties Governments, NGOs & community based Water Action Groups.

Require the WSA to produce a detailed 5 year infrastructure investment strategy outlining the investment required to upgrade the water network, and ensure accountability through audits with the target of everyone in their counties having access to water supply.

Increase investment in the 117 Water Service Providers (WSP) by allowing public-private partnerships.

Improve the funding of water infrastructure, by obliging counties to contribute through their new CIFs, in addition to the current service levy on WSP & state grants.

Give the Water Services Regulatory Board (WASREB) the power to place a cap on water tariffs.

Establish a national water harvesting policy in every village and/or estate as part of the 5 year investment plan and oblige all new developments to include water harvesting programmes.

Introduce a system of flat rate water charges on an area basis, with informal settlements receiving services for free.

Review international treaties that address water supply management in order to serve the best interests of the Kenyan people.
The Environment: Protecting Kenya’s Environment

THE CHALLENGE

As the cradle of mankind, Kenya has an amazingly rich natural heritage; however over the years this has been eroded and undermined. Since independence our forests have been reduced from 10% of our land service to just 2%. As a result, our water supply has also been reduced. Our seas have been overfished by foreign mechanised trawlers and our lakes and rivers polluted by industrial developments.

THE OPPORTUNITY

Economic growth can and must go hand in hand with protecting our environment. The quality of our life depends on the environment. Tourism for instance, one of our biggest economic earners, is dependent on the preservation of our landscape and wildlife.

The current system of regulation is ineffective and open to abuse. Far too often instead of being prevented from damaging the environment, polluters are issued with licences to pollute as a way of raising revenue. We believe that the Government should limit and eliminate pollution, not encourage it as a revenue earning outlet.
**SOLUTIONS**

Protect Kenya’s remaining forests and increase our forest cover to 10% over the next 20 years through a national planting scheme and by providing alternatives to over intensive farming and ending clearances for luxury development and industrial projects.

In the short term, provide incentives and commercialize tree planting to meet the energy needs of 80% of Kenyan families now dependent upon wood fuel.

Progressively enhance forest/tree cover to more than 10% of land in every county through the integration of agro-forestry into mainstream extension programmes.

Rehabilitate arid areas through afforestation, prevention of soil erosion and land reclamation.

Tackle industrial pollution, through ensuring the industries release non-toxic emissions through research especially in Kenya’s lakes, implementing stricter guidelines and imposing vheavier punishment for polluters.

Protect the integrity of the national parks by recruiting more and better equipped park rangers as well as involving local communities in managing the parks.

Establish a series of additional marine reserves.

Protect Kenya’s fish stocks by taxing and registering foreign owned fishing trawlers through more effective policing of our water bodies.

Establish a regional framework for carbon trading across the EAC and the wider African region and beyond.

Scale-up the investment in clean energy sources such as geothermal, wind and solar.

Position Kenya as the African continent’s carbon credit trade hub by establishing county carbon trading schemes.

Enforce statutory mechanisms for the disposal of human and industrial wastes.

Enforce statutory mechanisms to eliminate harmful emissions, including those from factories and motor vehicles.
Agenda for Kenya 2013 - 2017 and beyond

THE CHALLENGE

President Kibaki’s signature achievement has been the delivery of major infrastructure projects such as the Thika Superhighway. However, despite this record of investment over the last 10 years in our nation’s ‘hardware’ our transport system has been held back by an aging road and rail network. Too many parts of the country remain difficult to reach, inconveniencing both individuals and businesses transporting freight cross-country and putting lives at risk.

THE OPPORTUNITY

As the economic hub of East Africa, Kenya needs a modern, efficient transport system that connects it to the rest of the region in order to support our growing economy and enable people to travel safely and comfortably. We are committed to securing investment through private sector partnerships to upgrade our transport infrastructure. We believe that it is time to invest in Kenya’s ‘software’ – in the ‘last mile solutions’ - that connect ordinary people to the major projects currently being delivered. This software will come in many forms. Individuals will find their own ways to benefit from infrastructure development but the opportunities are immense from the economic stimulus provided by the investment, to providing value-added services such as fridges at markets. Other opportunities such as supporting infrastructure such as feeder roads, to increased provision of one stop shop information services to local businesses so that they can bid for sub-contracts will also be developed.
**SOLUTIONS**

Give the Kenya National Highways Authority responsibility for all international, national and primary roads.

Abolish the Kenya Rural Roads Authority and the Kenya Urban Roads Agency and devolve management of secondary and minor roads to the counties.

Prioritize the upgrading of rural road networks and feeder roads.

Continue with the program of upgrades to the major road network.

Improve the rail network to upgrade the links between major cities. This will include building a new standard Gauge Railway from Mombasa to Malaba with a branch line to Kisumu in line with the Railway master plan. This is aimed at increasing the current freight transport by rail from the current 5% to at least 50%.

Construct a series of commuter railway networks in all major cities in Kenya i.e. Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu, including a link to Nairobi’s Jomo Kenyatta International Airport.

Implement and actualize the LAPSSET corridor (Lamu Port, South Sudan, Ethiopia Transport)

Restructure and modernise the ferry and inland water vessel services in Kenya and create linkages to the main ports and road networks

Make JKIA the regional airline hub and expand and modernise existing international airports i.e. Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret. Expand, modernise and maintain airstrips and create a network of county airstrips to promote trade.

Complete the expansion of Jomo Kenyatta International Airport which includes a new terminal and runway, and build a new international airport at Isiolo.
The Coalition Government will:

Increase the paved road network from the current 11,000km (7%) to 24,000km (15%) in five years using modern development instruments such as concessions, public private partnerships (PPP), Build Operate Transfer (BOT) and Toll and Maintenance arrangements.

Modernise and improve Mombasa seaport to international standards to serve the East African Community and the central Africa regions.

Develop the necessary policies to ensure safety of all transportation systems with an emphasis of road safety.

Develop policies to ensure the safety of the transport system. Improve the rail networks leading into the big cities.

Modernise the ferry and water vessel services in Kenya to promote efficient movement of people and goods.

Revamp existing airstrips and create a network of county airstrips to promote trade.

Complete the expansion of Jomo Kenyatta International Airport and make it a regional hub which includes a new terminal and runway, and build a new international airport in Isiolo to meet increasing international demand.

Continue the modernisation of Mombasa Port to cement its leading role as the largest and busiest international seaport on the East African Coast, and complete the development of the new deep-sea port at Lamu.

Pre-design all transport systems to accommodate ICT/electric cables, water and sewerage systems and special purpose lanes.

Rehabilitate existing roads to open up new areas.

Upgrade unpaved road networks to make them accessible to motor vehicles.

Develop domestic and international ports on Kenyan shores (Indian Ocean, Lake Victoria, and Lake Turkana).
THE CHALLENGE

Too many Kenyans lack access to decent housing. Every Kenyan has the fundamental right to a warm, safe, secure home with access to clean running water, sanitation and electricity, and this is true as well for those who currently live in remote villages and urban slums.

THE OPPORTUNITY

The Coalition aims to guarantee all Kenyans a decent home by 2020 by introducing a range of measures to upgrade the slums around Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and other urban areas, and to supply affordable loans to low-income Kenyans to enable them to build their own homes and to facilitate the new counties to provide new low-cost housing for rent.

SOLUTIONS

The Coalition Government will:

- Pursue a policy of waivers and graduated stamp duty fees for first-time home owners, with special consideration for youth, women and persons with disability.
- Devolve responsibility for housing construction to the new counties.
- Require the counties to formulate 5-yearly Housing Plan proposals that ensure enough new homes are built in their area with an audit follow up. These will be funded by grants from the local CIF and National Housing Corporation.
- Continue with the proposed slum clearance programs, replacing them with decent housing.
- Provide micro-financing loans for new home construction to low-income Kenyans.
- Encourage the establishment of local housing co-ops & savings unions to give all Kenyans better access to credit.
- Pursue a policy of lowering mortgage rates following similar successful models in other emerging economies.
The Coalition believes in a new brand of politics; one where the national interest is placed above personal gain or tribal advantage. We are committed to fostering an open, tolerant, forward-looking Kenya with modern institutions that serve the people rather than narrow sectional interests.

We are dedicated to implementing the new constitution quickly and effectively, as it is the paramount guarantor of the peoples’ rights and freedoms. Besides, power must be decentralized from Nairobi to the 47 new counties, bringing it closer to the people so that they can hold those who take decisions about their day-to-day lives to account.
THE CHALLENGE

Corruption has been tolerated in Kenya for too long. It distorts our economy, frustrates our progress and damages our reputation. It is time to get tough on those who seek to use their positions of power for their own personal gain.

THE OPPORTUNITY

The Coalition will clean up Government by introducing some of the toughest anti-corruption legislation in the world.

SOLUTIONS

The Coalition Government will:

Give the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) the power to prosecute corruption cases as happens in other African countries.

Set up local anti-corruption boards at county level with the power to refer cases to the EACC or to the Director of Public Prosecutions.

Ban anyone convicted on corruption charges from working in Government, in any public sector job.

Enact the necessary legislation so that Kenyan companies found guilty of corrupt practices will be liable to have their assets frozen by the courts.

Ban foreign companies found guilty of corrupt practices from operating in Kenya.

Introduce an automatic freeze on the assets of anyone indicted on corruption charges (with appropriate judicial approval).

Introduce the automatic suspension of any official indicted on corruption charges.

Put an end to Parliamentary immunity from corruption charges.
**THE CHALLENGE**

The influence of Civil Society has expanded over the years to the point where the various Civil Society groups play an important role in the country’s political and economic development. In the years following the signing of the National Accord, the sector has grown in stature, influencing Government decisions, political culture, and key appointments. We must identify new and innovative ways of working with the sector so that the country can fully benefit from its expertise and experience.

**THE OPPORTUNITY**

We believe that NGOs have a valuable role to play in monitoring Government and helping to strengthen the social infrastructure in our country. We shall manage our relationship with the NGO sector in accordance with internationally recognized best practices.

**SOLUTIONS**

*The Coalition Government will:*

- Introduce a Charities Act to regulate political campaigning by NGOs, to ensure that they only campaign on issues that promote their core remit and do not engage in party politics. This will also establish full transparency in funding both for NGOs and individual projects.

- Establish a Charities Agency to provide an annual budgetary allocation to the NGO sector.

- Promote accountability and coordination between the NGO sector and national and county Governments.

- Develop strong partnership with the NGO sector that enhances the country’s development agenda and promotes the interests of the people of Kenya.
THE CHALLENGE

The implementation of the new Constitution has taken far too long. Full implementation must be accomplished as quickly as possible. The new Senate, county Governments and national commissions must be fully up and running from the very start of the new Presidential term.

We believe that power is best exercised when it is closest to the people. For too long, too much decision-making has been concentrated in the hands of Government ministers in Nairobi. Our local councils have been filled with centrally appointed officials and have been successively weakened to the point where many barely function at all. This situation must be reversed.

OPPORTUNITY

The Coalition will fast track the implementation of the new Constitution to secure the rights of Kenyans. We will guarantee the devolution of Government to the people, reduce the number of Government ministries and continue to reform the Judiciary.
**SOLUTIONS**

Reducing the number of Government ministries from 44 to 22 in line with the new Constitution and streamlining their functions to achieve greater efficiency and service delivery.

Drawing the line between national and county executive functions, with the intention of devolving the functions constitutionally assigned to county Governments as soon as possible.

Shoring up the Government revenue base at national level by closing tax loopholes and creating an even more efficient tax collection system.

**Devolve power by:**

Using the “Rapid Results Approach” (RRA) to enhance administrative capability in all county executive departments, starting with the least endowed, to prepare them to assume the functions designated for county Governments under the Constitution.

Developing new training and certification programs in collaboration with the Transition to Devolved Government Authority, the Kenya School of Government and our universities.

Assisting all counties to build a strong local revenue base to gradually minimize their dependence upon the national tax revenue that will be distributed to them.

Expanding revenue streams for county Governments through property taxes, entertainment taxes, proposed loans for approval by the National Treasury and royalties from the exploitation of natural resources where applicable.

Increasing the national budget allocated to the counties from the current 15 % to 40% within the next five years.

Ensuring that the Equalization Fund is immediately channelled in the form of conditional grants to county Governments to kick start the development of marginalized and underdeveloped regions. We believe that the county Governments are best suited to identifying the critical needs of marginalized areas within their jurisdiction.

Establishing a Loans and Grants Council to ensure that national loans and grants designated for development are shared equitably.

Ensuring through deliberate capacity building mechanisms and resource allocations, that within a year all county Governments have taken over their constitutional responsibilities.

Transferring the function of the development of education infrastructure for primary and secondary schools to county Governments, while the national Government retains responsibility for all regulatory and employment matters.
Facilitating the establishment of national institutions within counties to enhance national integration.

Creating structures to facilitate direct scrutiny and audit of county and national Government programs, investment and projects.

Creating a benefit-sharing framework that ensures local communities benefit from national resources in their locality.

Ensuring the equitable distribution of revenue is raised nationally among national and county Governments.

Ensuring expenditure that will promote the equitable development of the country, including by making special provision for marginalized groups and areas.

Ensuring that affirmative action continues to be applied in respect of disadvantaged areas and groups.

Creating youth employment opportunities through affirmative action schemes to ensure fair access to jobs in county Governments.

Expanding the mandate of the Kenya Revenue Authority by elevating it to an autonomous institution to ensure greater accountability in revenue collection to both national and county Governments.

Transforming the Regional Development Authorities (currently operating under the Ministry of Regional Development) into Inter-County Corporations to be used as vehicles for joint county development projects.

**Boost local economies by:**

Transforming the Youth Enterprise Development Fund into a National Enterprise Agency, Biashara Kenya, to drive economic assistance, innovation and wealth creation.

Transforming the counties into actual centres for development and growth by devolving responsibility for the Economic Stimulus Programs (ESP) to county level with Biashara agencies reporting directly to the new County Governors.

Ensuring the transparent management of devolved funds and resources.

Allowing counties greater financial independence by giving them access to local and international loans and grants.

Establishing County Infrastructure Funds (CIF) in each county to fund the development and upkeep of roads and houses.

Ensuring that all residential and commercial developments in each county contribute to the County Infrastructure Fund through a Local Planning Gain Obligation.
We are confident that this shared manifesto presents a clear picture of what the people of Kenya can expect from the Coalition. There is much work to be done, but we are confident that our plans and aspirations are both attainable and, more importantly, can be put into place quickly and effectively. We would like to leave you with a reminder of 7 of our key pledges, which we hope emphasise the fact that we are clearly united by a common vision; the vision for a better life for the people of our beloved Kenya.

The Coalition’s 7 key pledges to all Kenyans

**TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP:** We will ensure the public service provides quality services and is accountable to the people.

**A SAFE KENYA:** We will expand, Equip and modernise our security agencies to ensure every Kenyan is guaranteed of their safety and that of their loved ones and their property.

**EMPOWERING OUR YOUTH:** We will equip our youth with the necessary skills, capital and opportunities to create wealth for themselves through securing local and foreign investment in new factories and giving tax-breaks, grants and loans to set up

**A FOOD SECURE KENYA:** We will ensure that our Agricultural sector can produce food in excess of the needs of our country by encouraging mechanization, irrigation, reviving cooperatives and farmer unions and subsidy for inputs. In addition, we will encourage value addition in the production chain and develop suitable marketing support mechanisms for our farmers.

**SOCIAL JUSTICE:** We will ensure that the rights of all Kenyans are preserved through good governance, democracy, and respect for the rule of law and social protection and welfare for the disadvantaged.

**A HEALTHY KENYA:** We will ensure that all Kenyans have access to well equipped health facilities and well trained and motivated health care workers, in addition to developing systems to support health care and sanitation.

**WATER AND ELECTRICITY FOR ALL:** We will ensure that every Kenyan has access to clean water and sustainable supply of electricity by developing necessary policies to encourage investment in infrastructure for water and electricity provision

We hope you will consider giving us your full support in the March 2013 elections. Change is definitely possible for our country, but it requires both “a will” and “a way.” There is clearly a will for change in Kenya, and the Coalition, if elected to form the next Government, is committed to providing the way to make it happen.

“United by Vision – United for Kenya”

GOD BLESS KENYA

Uhuru Kenyatta | William Ruto | Charity Ngilu | Najib Balala