

**TUSINDANGANYANE: A SPEECH TO AMANI NATIONAL CONGRSS (ANC) DELEGATES BY PARTY LEADER H.E HON. MUSALIA MUDAVADI, EGH, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS ENDORSEMENT AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AT BOMAS OF KENYA; JANAURAY 23, 2022.**

We are assembled here on what will be remembered for generations to come as one of the most defining gatherings in the history of our Kenyan nation. It is not common to witness an assembly of this character in the regular ebb and flow of civic events in our country. The choice of this day was most careful and deliberate. For we have come here to mark the start of turning the wheel of the history of our country. We are at a turning point where the story and experience of our country must turn. In the past, Kenya has experienced many turning points where her history has refused to turn, because there was no will to turn it. This assembly is different from all other assemblies of this kind before it, hence its theme, **NI KWELI, TUSINDANGANYANE.**

It is true, let us not lie to one another. For so long, Kenyans have lived on a political diet of lies, deceit, and betrayal. Those in leadership have failed to place any useful premium on the words that leave their lips. There has been no passion in the hearts, nor sincerity in the mind, when promises – and especially electoral promises. A wide berth exists between the words of our mouths and the meditations of our hearts. Hence, our words dissolve into meaningless vapour the very moment they leave our lips. This assembly is gathered here at the beginning of bringing an end to the culture of leadership paying lip service to the long-suffering people of this country in the spirit of our mantra, **NI KWELI, TUSINDANGANYANE.**

Hence, no day of the week could be more astute for this assembly, its mission and vision than a Sunday. Within Christendom, Sunday is a sacrosanct day. It is a day to make ablutions, sacrifice and renewal. We are here to renew ourselves and to commit ourselves to the great sacrifices that lie ahead, in the greater interest of the national good. We are here to define greater loyalties and bigger dreams for our country, beyond our narrow individual agendas. We are here to begin the journey of destroying personality cults and elevating the national course, national agendas and national values. **NA HUU NI UKWELI, TUSINDANGANYANE.**

FELLOW KENYANS, allow me, therefore, to thank you all who are gathered here today, as well as all those who are following us through other platforms, for being a part of this 2<sup>nd</sup> ANC NDC, since the formation of our Party in 2015. I take great pride in the knowledge that ANC

has grown in leaps and bounds, way beyond the founding expectations. We are on the 4 million membership mark today. We are gallant men and women, young and elderly, marching together towards a noble goal, with the youth as the pride of the party!

Allow me, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, to singularly thank this NDC for ratifying my Presidential candidature for this year's election, now less than seven months away. You have bestowed upon me a great honour, and a momentous task, which I accept with a lot of humility and yet also with a sense of pride. Whether the road ahead is marred with thorns or stones, heat or thunderstorms, I promise and commit that; because of the confidence you have shown in me; and because of your commitment to walk with me – we will this time get to the Promised Land. The true Canaan, the Land of Milk and Honey. *Wakati huu, Tusindanganyane!*

FELLOW KENYANS, join me on a brief journey of reflection about our dear country; where it is and what we could do, and must do about it.

## **1. Kenya is Broke**

Let me state the obvious. Kenya is broke, *na tusindanganyane*. It was the great American, Abraham Lincoln, who admonished us to always follow truth. He taught humankind that *“The fact is, truth is your truest friend, no matter what the circumstances are”*. So, the truth must be told, no matter how uncomfortable it may be, *Tusindanganyane*.

Kenya's public debt is galloping towards the Ksh 9 trillion ceiling against a GNP of Ksh11trillion. This means that for every 100 shillings of revenue collected; 70 shillings goes towards paying debt. That leaves a paltry 30 shillings for public salaries, health services, education, security, infrastructure and all those services that fall under devolved government. Yet we are all the time told by faceless people, *yaani Team Ndanganya Wakenya*, not to speak about this to Kenyans. I, Musalia Mudavadi, have refused to board that boat of lies! I was never taught to lie and will not begin lying to Kenyans in my ripe age. Like Abraham Lincoln, I solemnly believe that *“The fact is, the truth is your truest friend, no matter what the circumstances are”*. So, I am not boarding that train of lies. Let me, instead, to tell Kenyans the truth:

Loans and interest servicing have sapped financial resources from the productive private sector. And because we are on the verge of bankruptcy, many creditors cannot risk lending us anymore. As a result, the retiring government has resorted to scotched earth tax policies; punitive heavy taxation is applied to anything and everything – from airtime, to fuel, electricity, and to agriculture and manufacturing inputs. Shouldn't Kenyans know why they are buying cheaper eggs, milk, maize, sugar and tomatoes from neighbouring countries?

In this environment, the dignity of the Kenyan people is badly eroded. The government *Fuliza* has turned Kenya into a *Fuliza* country. Kenyans *Fuliza* Ksh1.2 billion daily. Last year they borrowed Ksh 351 billion. Now, every other Kenyan is a fugitive from *Fuliza*, with several disguised phone numbers. ***Kwa hivyo Tusindanganyane. Kwa Ground ni kubaya.***

When things were this bad in Ancient Greece and dictatorship was a malignant tumour, Euripides, an Athenian playwright who lived between 480 - 406 BC, had the courage to vow, **“I would rather die on my feet than live on my knees.”** I don't know about you, but I don't want to live on my knees in my own country. Indeed, how can we be proud that the government has bankrupted itself plus its people and we now all live on our knees?

Kenya is at the crossroads, where government is suffocating the goose that lays the golden egg. While the Government is borrowing to pay salaries; many businesses have downsized, closed down, or relocated from Kenya. For example, MSMEs contribute approximately 40 per cent of Kenya's GDP. Yet they operate in a hostile business environment in which Covid-19 restrictions nearly wiped out the sector. A high level of unemployment and heavy taxation, has taken the cost of production through the roof. And the costs are pushed to **mwananchi wa Kawaida**. And as the Covid-19 pandemic has taken poverty among Kenyans to another level, depression has set in. Violence has overwhelmed us at home and away. That's the way it is, *tusindanganyane*.

In a worst-case scenario, we have formalized corruption through “budgeted corruption”. We have allowed the criminal mind to take over the budgeting process. Once upon a time armed with a new Constitution, we swore that it would not matter who becomes the President. For we believed that we would all get our share of development regardless of who was in charge. Today, we all want to line up next to the president to get development. This is because revenue and loans are acquired for the singular purpose of being stolen.

The Auditor General's Report for 2019 shows that stalled projects over which we continue to borrow billions now stand at Ksh9 trillion. *Kwa hivyo, tusindanganyane tafadhali!* Times like these require focused, level headed, visionary and truly patriotic and selfless leaders and leadership. And that leadership is speaking to the nation here, now. I want to be your next President, and I trust that through the will of God of all creation, you will give me the opportunity to get our country out of the morass of decay, and place it back on track where she once was as Africa's undisputed Tiger Nation that competed head and shoulder above the rest of the Tiger Nations of the 1960s.

## 2. Why do I want to be President in 2022?

Let's be honest: **Wakati wa kundanganyana umewisha Kenya.** Let's not lie to each other that economic recovery is a touch and go affair. Kenyans have the right to ask this question of all those offering themselves to lead: Why are you seeking to be President of a corrupt and broke country?

My answer is straightforward. I desire to lead the charge back to economic prosperity; to reclaim the soul of our country. I offer trust; trust that I will always tell Kenyans the truth, do what I say and not promise what I cannot do. I ask Kenyans to trust me since I come with clean hands, experience and I acknowledge that there are problems to be dealt with.

Like the voice of Abraham Lincoln speaking centuries ago, I am not among those who might take the oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution but whose intentions are to *"take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using power"*.

I ask Kenyans to rally around the ANC's **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni** clarion call. This is not the usual empty rhetoric Kenyans have got used to. *Sio kundanganyana.* Unlike some eccentric experiments being bandied around, **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni** is about creation of wealth and employment. It is not a celebration of poverty. I am indeed glad that our competitors cannot avoid invoking **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni**, whether as a slip of the tongue or old age plagiarism.

**Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni** is a strategy to resuscitate the economy and put money where it helps most – in your pocket, and in your neighbour’s pocket. Remember, you are only safe if your neighbour is safe too. Therefore, **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni** is about moving sovereignty to shared economic benefits for all. No one will be left behind or be discriminated against. **Even Hustlers need Pesa Mfukoni.** Together, we will do it.

Unlike my competitors, I have reconciled myself to the fact there are problems that need solving. Unlike others, I will not wish away the problem in populist jargon. I know that economic recovery is not going to be a joyride. Recovery is going to be painful in the short-term but rewarding in the long-term under **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni Strategy**. That is the truth.

And to doubting Thomases and naysayers, let me restate that **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni** is not a populist model to be experimented on Kenyans, or indeed a work of fiction to entertain Kenyans. **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni** is a pragmatic strategy to get us out of the hole we have dug ourselves in. Therefore, **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni ANC Manifesto 2022** is a solid promissory note that Kenyans can bank. It is a clear Plan of Action, underpinned by bold economic objectives and a clear visionary and missionary agenda that will rescue the country. I wholeheartedly commend it to all Kenyans.

### **3. The Issue is Quality Leadership**

FELLOW KENYANS

Look for quality in leadership and abandon those with trust deficit and deceit. Trust issues have a very special place in my heart and in my life. A person must be as good as his or her word. If your word cannot be your bond, then you are not good even for the ashpit. Leaders must be the salt of the nation. If they have lost trust, or are untrustworthy, then they have lost all the flavour of the salt of leadership. As we close in to the critical moment when Kenyans must decide, I caution my compatriots to beware of those who can never be trusted.

In the coming days, ANC will be seeking partnerships on the journey we are now embarked on. There is no shortage of friends of goodwill and good intent to choose from. For avoidance of doubt, let me state this in plain words: We may not know who’s going with us, or who will

be our comrades-at-arms on this mission; but we know who they will not be, no matter what. We have travelled with untrustworthy persons before. And even when we have given them another chance to redeem themselves, they have failed miserably, by returning to their old mischief. It is true that bad manners die hard. We shall no longer countenance the company of those who cannot be trusted. For avoidance of doubt, the specter called Azimio is not an option when it comes to partnerships. Indeed, this thing is neither an Azimio, nor about unity. It is about self-aggrandizement. And we have had enough of self-aggrandizement schemes. Enough is enough, **TUSIDANGANYANE**.

Meanwhile, I pledge to place at my fellow citizens' disposal my solid tested and proven ability to restore the Kenyan economy from the doldrums. The present predicaments are not different from the economic meltdown that I successfully handled in the early 1990s, as Kenya's Finance Minister; the country was broke. It was an international pariah; bilateral and multilateral lenders shunned us, because borrowed foreign money had gone down corrupt throats, just like now. I restored macroeconomic stability that resuscitated Kenya's economy and spurred its growth. I established the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) to protect domestic revenue from being stolen. I made the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) an independent entity, therefore closing avenues of graft under foreign exchange controls regime. The lenders came back, and our economy was soon back on its feet.

Today, however, there is an embarrassing national ritual of adjusting the debt ceiling upwards, all the time. It is deceit bordering on criminal intent. Indeed, there are now Ksh9 trillion worth of stalled projects dotting our landscape as monuments to bad borrowing, entrenched corruption and poor planning. The consequence is a country on the verge of insolvency. To hecklers who feel offended by this truth, I say to you, don't be afraid of truth, take consolation in John 8:31-32, because truth shall set you free.

I therefore boldly step out of the shadows of cautioning government against borrowing expensive easy-to-embezzle commercial loans with short repayment periods. This is because I have what it takes to change course. I may not have the fabled Midas Touch. But yes, trust me, I can. Once again, the great Abraham Lincoln famously said, "**By all means don't say "if I can", say "I will"**". I am stepping forward to do what I know must be done to save this country. So, I say, "I Will".

**Yes, TUSINDANGANYANE!** Loans and interest servicing has sapped financial resources from investments in productive sectors resulting in business closures and downsizing. It has meant massive job losses for millions of Kenyans. But recently, the government borrowed Ksh 67 billion to settle Ksh170 billion government-guaranteed debt by insolvent State agencies. I ask this: Why should a monopoly that is taking every shilling a Kenyan has become bankrupt and Kenyans be asked to bail it out?

I am saying this; under a new leadership code fashioned from Chapter Six of the Constitution of Kenya, we will not allow agencies to be run down and then be rescued through loans or increased taxation. Boards and management of State corporations that run down institutions will answer for it. Borrowing will be strictly to support enabling infrastructure, not for bailouts.

#### **4. What will I do?**

Under the *Uchumi Bora Pesa Mfukoni* mantra, ANC is looking beyond the five-year term of government, to implement appropriate policies to support faster economic growth. Targeted for immediate action will be to implement measures to contain the economic meltdown through a National Economic Recovery Plan. Allow me to state that under this Plan, our priorities will include:

##### **One: To Rescue of Vulnerable Sectors. Here, we will:**

- a) Avail enough Covid-19 vaccines to ensure that we attain herd immunity and therefore get back to the business of building our country.
- b) Restrict borrowing through scaling down of non-priority projects, balance recurrent and development expenditure, close opportunities for leakages and crackdown on corruption.
- c) Have a social-welfare package that is sufficient to support and stimulate rapid economic recovery. These will include 20% increase of remittances to the most vulnerable population like our senior citizens and provide them with sustainable free medical cover; and provision of financial incentives for the recovery and growth of SMEs for job creation.
- d) Enhance agricultural production and marketing to ensure access to affordable inputs and commodities.

- e) Expand the manufacturing base by reducing the cost of energy in doing business by 20%.
- f) Support pastoralism as an economy by providing durable and accessible water and pasture; and value addition investments.
- g) Unleash the inert potential of clean energy; and for sustainable Green, Circular and Blue economies.
- h) Release the untapped potential of tourism through diversification.
- i) Tap into the creative potential of the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector.

**Two: Prudent Management and Reduction of Public Debt will mean:**

Restructuring public debt portfolio with an emphasis on renegotiating our foreign debts to progressively reduce expensive borrowing. **We will acquire and use debt prudently without straining Kenyans by creating a debt regulatory institution within the first year of the ANC government** to curb the burgeoning debt burden. Systematically, we will decriminalize taxation and make taxes unavoidable but affordable by Kenyans.

In support of this, we will strengthen stringent anti-corruption laws; making anti-corruption agencies efficient to stop theft in public procurement, and enforce transparency and accountability in government. From then henceforth, the report of the Auditor General will not be the refuge of thieves, but the basis of criminal investigation and prosecution of offenders.

**Three: A Fair Taxation System** will no longer be coercive and an impediment to investment.

The size of government, endemic operational inefficiencies and almost normalized wastage through formal corruption account for high taxation. The cost of basic commodities has in turn spiralled due to punitive taxes. We will make the tax system elastic as opposed to the current discretionary tax measures that are unpopular with the public.

**Four: Agriculture that feeds the Nation**

Agriculture directly contributes 27 % to GDP; 75% of industrial raw materials; 65% of export earnings; and 60% of the total direct employment. But nearly 47% of our

population are food insecure. At any one time, between 2 to 4 million Kenyans are on food relief.

This is because Kenya's agricultural production is way below demand due to high costs of inputs that makes products uncompetitive. Production also remains poor because it is predominantly rain-fed yet there is the irrigation potential of 539,000ha which can be achieved through storage and exploitation of ground and rain-water harvesting. For this reason, also, little progress has been recorded in livestock development.

Our agriculture policy will focus on strategies to enhance food security, increase production of raw materials for industries, create gainful employment and fast-track value-addition through PPP investment in agro-industries. This will be by subsidies-supporting growth of cottage agro-industries for export and import substitution; ensuring access to affordable inputs and facilitating the marketing of coffee, tea, dairy, beef, floriculture/horticulture produce and sugar sub-sectors.

The ANC government will pursue a *Kenya Kwanza policy* in agriculture and manufacturing. We will boldly put first the interests of the Kenyan farmers and entrepreneurs, and will vigorously subsidize the cost of inputs to make Kenyan products competitive.

With these measures in place, Kenya will once again be attractive to foreign direct investment (FDI); new businesses will open and closed ones will reopen; revenue will be used to kick-start productive sectors, people will get back to work, taxes will be affordable, revenue will increase to fund healthcare and education services; and incentives will flow to farmers, entrepreneurial SMEs, youth-owned and women-owned start-ups. Kenyans will regain their dignity.

**Five: Making Devolution work:**

The constitutional basis for devolution is the actual transfer, or surrender of political and economic power, authority and resources to counties, and not the current patronizing belief that devolution is delegation of duties to counties by the National Government.

Since I was in charge of crafting laws for what today are counties, I speak with authority that the promise of devolution does not just mean structural realignment to create National and County levels of government with distinct duties and responsibilities. Counties are designed as incubators for rapid national economic growth, leading to an industrialized country.

But the obligation to implement devolution beginning 2013 has been substituted by attempts to claw back on its gains. Delayed disbursement of funds to counties has condemned them to perennial pending bills. Result? Counties are not creating wealth and employment, but have impoverished local entrepreneurs. Indeed, there are fewer thriving local entrepreneurs today than existed before the advent of devolution.

I know where the nuts and bolts of a working devolution system are needed, I vow to fully implement an effective devolution system as demanded by the Constitution and desired by Kenyans.

**Six: Democracy requires eternal Vigilance:**

An optimistic Abraham Lincoln believed that **“While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration by any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years”**.

Of course. Lincoln had not reckoned with rogue administrations in the USA and less enthusiastic and constitution-shy ones in Kenya. Had he done so, he would not have underrated the determination of an extremely wicked administration to injure democratic foundation in a very short time.

Kenya is a constitutional multiparty state guaranteeing far reaching rights and freedoms to all Kenyans. This has been achieved through untiring struggles of tears, blood and death. It behoves any leader in this country to lead Kenyans in nurturing our nascent democracy. But there is sinister counter-democracy insurgency creeping into our governance system. Anti-people plots are afoot to curtail and defeat not only rights and freedoms, but also electoral democracy. These shenanigans are aimed at subverting free, fair and verifiable elections by crippling political parties.

This is reflected in shameful manoeuvres to assault and curtail Kenyans' political rights to associate and freely choose their leaders. Some shadowy elements are busy attempting to coerce, intimidate and impose handpicked leaders. This is a perilous road that can only lead to civil strife.

We must constantly be reminded that the stability of this country is derived from the legitimacy bestowed through popular elections. In the forthcoming elections, the people of Kenya as a sovereign have the duty, as warned by Lincoln "not to overthrow the Constitution," like some want, "but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution".

***Uongozi Bora*** [good governance] pillar of **Unchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni** other than tackling corruption in the theft of resources, seeks to also fight political corruption by strengthening and protecting the independence of institutions of government, and of constitutional commissions and offices. We will use this protective shield to shelter and embolden important institutions such as the Judiciary and labour movement. It is tragic that the robust labour movement that played a sterling role in securing Kenya's independence has been vandalized and cannibalized by clueless and clownish self-serving leadership. Under my watch, the labour movement I going to regain its sense of purpose and respectability as the middle house between employers and their employees. It will not be a clownish cow boy club that labours for a few individuals who openly boast of, and display, the trappings of massive wealth, whose sources remain smoky and mysterious.

It is worrying how these groups have bastardized state institutions by weaponizing them for selfish ends. The war against corruption is on the limp, because of weaponization of the entities that should be fighting graft in the country. They have been politicized and personalized, for political scarecrow purposes. Individuals who do not tore a particular political line are targeted day-in-day-out for witch hunting through state agencies. This must not be allowed to go on. We will stand up against political arm-twisting and kidnapping of state entities for selfish missions, even way before we form government. And when we get there, they will be things of the past.

### **Special Groups**

Finally, let me something about vulnerable groups in Kenya.

A country's maturity is measured by how it treats its vulnerable populations. Vulnerable populations – the minorities, youth, women and PWDs – are segments that face perennial challenges and risks. These populations have to grapple with social, economic and political exclusion in addition to the disadvantages of inadequate skills, unemployment, lack of capital to fund start-ups, and lack of business support and extension services to cultivate businesses. It is therefore not a choice but a duty to integrate them in the development agenda of the country.

Vulnerable populations require relevant, pragmatic and realistic programs, strategies and policies that directly address their plight. We must not be caught up toying and ensnaring them with tokens and handouts. They require sustainable livelihoods.

### **Youth**

For the Youth, I have already articulated my desire to uplift their status through the Youth Agenda Policy which I invite you to access. But let me commit that among other actions I will take, I am not going back on my commitment that:

- *Half of the 22 Cabinet slots in my government will go to female and male youth. This scenario will be cascaded to the lower levels of public service. This is because Youth are almost 32% of our population and deserve a fair, equitable and proportional representation in government decision-making organs to plot their future.*
- *I shall put the current six (6) million jobless youth to work, and not on handouts. This is under the Uongozi Bora of our Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni Strategy.*
- Waive company registration fees for the youth to reduce the cost of starting a business and encourage them to get into private enterprise.
- Increase and implement access to Government procurement opportunities reserved for the youth from the current 30% to 40%.

### **Women**

The Constitution of Kenya has a clear framework for empowerment of women. It is clear that the composition of elective or appointive membership of state bodies shall have not more than two thirds of persons of the same gender. The Constitution also reserves 30% of government procurement opportunities for vulnerable groups such as women, youth, and persons with disabilities, children and elderly persons. The Bill of Rights further outlines education for girl-

child empowerment as a vital step towards gender equity. However, socio-economic and political disparities inhibit the full advancement of women. My government shall muster the will to actualize these constitutional provisions.

Despite agriculture being the mainstay of Kenya's economy and a major contributor to poverty reduction, women are not guaranteed equal rights in the acquisition of agricultural resources. In Health, Kenya's maternal mortality is higher than the SGD target of 70 per 100,000 live births by 2030.

Meanwhile, a nationwide spike in gender-based violence has resulted in molestation and even killings of women and girls despite the Protection Against Domestic Violence Act, the Sexual Offences Act, the Marriage Act and the Matrimonial Property Act.

I understand the plight of women and therefore for the Mothers of our Nation I reaffirm to, among others;

- Finally enact the Two-Thirds Gender law to be applied across all sectors and structures (Government and private).
- Embrace, re-brand and scale-up the funds, products and services under the women's economic empowerment funds.
- Enact legislation that safeguards the Procurement Opportunity program that reserves 30% procurement opportunities for women.

### **Persons with Disabilities (PWDs)**

There are more than three million people living with disabilities in Kenya. The Constitution recognizes the right of PWDs to be treated with dignity, and have equal access to social facilities. It also recognizes braille, sign language and other accessible formats as official languages in Kenya and the right to participate in public life as essential to creating an active citizenship.

The Constitution further requires 5% of all elective and appointive positions be people with disability. However, despite The Persons with Disabilities Act of 2003 and the Elections Act of 2011, PWDs continue to face barriers, remain underrepresented and are more likely to be excluded from education, productive and decent work; health services, economic and financial resources. For these long-suffering Kenyans, I will, among others;

- Enact law that affirms 5% of all Government workers be PWDs; and another that enhances equity in access to opportunities under AGPO.
- Establish a ring-fenced fund to support bursary allocations to PWDs learners as well as PWD businesses.
- Provide free medical cover to persons with disability.
- Ensure ICT tools and systems are accessible as a necessity for persons with disabilities.

### **Pastoralism and Pastoralists**

About 80% of Kenya is Arid and Semi- Arid Lands (ASALs). Pastoralism forms 95% of household incomes, and contributes 13% to GDP. But the great potential in ASALs communities is not realized. Most of the challenges are man-made and natural, and can be resolved by man. Resources in pastoralist counties are enormous, hence importance to market ASALs as investment destinations. To harness ASALs potential, I will:

- Establish an agency dedicated to investments and the general development of counties where pastoralists live.
- Invest in communication access infrastructure; decentralized value-addition infrastructure for meat and milk collection, refrigeration, processing and packaging.
- Improve security by creating and increasing the number of units to bolster security.

### **Ethnic Minorities and Marginalized Communities**

Kenya is a melting pot of diverse groups – both large and small, powerful and powerless, dominant and subject, rural and urban. Three million members of ethnic minorities and marginalized groups are found in 26 counties. They suffer consequences of being few in number and are often despised, ridiculed, barred, ignored, devalued; are unrepresented and unemployed.

These three million Kenyans cannot be wished away. Throughout the world, ethnic minorities are recognized by law and given reasonable measures of protection, and through positive discrimination/affirmative action, access to government services and employment at all levels. It is therefore embarrassing that 11 years since the Constitution 2010 was inaugurated, the constitutional provisions meant to safeguard the interests of ethnic minorities and other marginalized groups have not been implemented.

I vow that this will not go on under an. As Kenyans, they deserve equal treatment and must enjoy all the rights and privileges conferred on them by the Constitution. They need protection, facilitation and inclusion into processes of governance. We shall therefore;

- Work with Parliament to pass the necessary laws that give life to Article 56 of the Constitution on affirmative action for minorities and marginalized groups within six months of ANC administration.

### **Foreign policy**

I cannot outline all the fantastic gems I have in store for Kenyans in services like education reform, universal health provision, tourism and trade today. However I recommend Kenyans to access **Uchumi Bora, Pesa Mfukoni ANC Manifesto 2022** that is available online. However, it will be a remiss if I didn't outline the essence of our foreign policy going forward; We are going to reconfigure the whole foreign policy outlay to reflect the needs of a modern nation. The guiding principle will be *Kenya Kwanza*.

We shall vigorously and jealously advance foreign trade and investment as a lever in protecting Kenya against external security threats. This potential will be exploited through restructuring of the foreign service into a merit-based system in the appointment of diplomatic agents.

We will have a well-skilled, well-equipped, experienced and well-organized diplomatic service that can effectively implement Kenya's foreign policy and help the country leverage on diplomacy for economic prosperity. Therefore, our friends across the aisle should be confident that we are ready to do business – but as equal partners:

We will professionalize, build capacity and effectiveness of the diplomatic service to leverage on the economic pillar of foreign policy by adopting a 'Kenya first' policy in negotiating bilateral and multilateral trade agreements to protect what is Kenyan. Of course, we intend to collaborate with all nations to deliver reforms in the international rules of trade in order to give developing countries, including Kenya, fair opportunities in international trade. But we will not mortgage Kenya to any bidder, even as we task our foreign missions to attract more FDI to Kenya.

This will be Kenya's new foreign policy shift into the Diplomacy of International Trade. Least it is misunderstood, that the new direction is a hostile takeover, our focus is not hostility but meant to restore Kenya's export competitiveness.

Domestically, we will apply a "whole-of-government" focus to restore export competitiveness by building partnerships with the private sector, lower the cost of manufacturing inputs, improve their compliance with Global Market requirements and standards, and enhance trade and investment financing to SME exporters. We expect to re-instate Kenya as an export-led economy and double the trade to GDP from 11% to 22% by 2027.

Since agriculture accounts for over 60% of Kenya's total exports, we will strengthen the trade supporting capacity of ministries, departments and agencies responsible for assuring food safety, animal and plant health. Special responsibility will be placed on these institutions to be equipped with modern and reliable laboratories for testing and analysis in conformity with international sanitary and Phyto-Sanitary Measures.

Modernization and upgrade of port clearance processes and physical facilities by investing in additional berths and cargo handling equipment at the Ports will enhance evacuation of goods to and from the ports. Customs clearance one-stop process will be a reality once the Integrated Customs Management System (ICMS) reduces verification processes and paperwork. This will ensure internationally competitive ocean and air freight costs and delivery time to Global Markets.

Diplomacy of trade will ensure Kenya's borders are secure from illicit trade activities. We will invest in surveillance infrastructure and equipment to stamp out the menace of illicit trade and the proliferation of counterfeits. Kenyan manufacturers and traders will be safe from smuggling, trafficking and other illicit trade activities.

We will restore the rights of Kenya's manufacturers and services suppliers to access EAC markets. This will be achieved by re-orienting Kenya's trade diplomacy tools. For example, Kenya's diplomatic missions within the EAC will focus on providing active commercial diplomacy support to Kenya-origin traders and investors.

We will transform Kenya into a leading hub for digital trade. Kenya will tap into the growing potential of digital trade by upgrading delivery of digital skills in the education system; re-orienting workforce skills to adapt to emerging uses of technology that facilitate digital trade; build top notch capacity in Kenya for cybersecurity; build robust security at all gateways and cross-connect points.

Importantly, we intend to intensify protection of Kenyans in foreign nations - in a Quid pro quo sequence - in accordance with internationally accepted protocols and conventions. We will not stand by as Kenyan workers abroad are molested and killed.

Fellow Kenyans,

For all the pragmatic interventions I have outlined above to see the light of the day, I must the master at the Ocean Lighthouse. We therefore must work together. The first handle in the coming elections. Board this ship that I intend to command to the Light House ahead. I cannot therefore resist the beautiful words of our National Anthem that invoke the Kenya we want;

“Let one and all arise  
With hearts both strong and true.  
Service be our earnest endeavour,  
And our Homeland of Kenya (be)  
Heritage of splendour,  
Firm may we stand to defend.”

**GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS KENYA**