

PARLIAMENT OF KENYA

THE SENATE

THE HANSARD

Wednesday, 3rd July, 2024

Afternoon Sitting

*The House met at the Senate Chamber,
Parliament Buildings at 2.30 p.m.*

[The Speaker (Hon. Kingi) in the Chair]

PRAYER

DETERMINATION OF QUORUM
AT COMMENCEMENT OF SITTING

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Clerk, do we have quorum? I have just been informed that we do have quorum. Therefore, we shall proceed with this afternoon's business which is resumption of debate on the Motion that was prosecuted in the morning.

(The Clerk-at-the-Table consulted the Chair)

Clerk, proceed to call Orders for this afternoon.

Sen. Dullo, kindly proceed to give notice of your Motion. That should take us less than three minutes and then we proceed.

Sen. Dullo, if you are not ready, we can give you a few minutes to gather your papers.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS

STOPPAGE OF TRANSFER OF FUNDS TO
ISIOLO COUNTY GOVERNMENT

Sen. Dullo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I wish to give notice of the following Motion-

THAT AWARE THAT, pursuant to Article 96 of the Constitution, the Senate represents the counties and serves to protect the interests of the counties and their governments, and that the Senate exercises oversight over national revenue allocated to the county governments;

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FURTHER AWARE THAT, Article 124 of the Constitution establishes Committees to carry out specific mandates and that Article 125 of the Constitution gives any Committee the power to summon any person to appear before it for the purpose of giving evidence or providing information;

WHEREAS, the Senate Standing Committee on Health invited and later summoned the Governor of Isiolo County, Hon. Abdi Ibrahim Hassan, to respond to questions relating to, among others, the ongoing crisis at Isiolo morgue, National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) deductions and remittance status and total amount of pending bill owed to the county hospital, which invitation he failed to honour on 21st May, 2024 and similarly failed to honour the summonses on 28th May, 2024 and 10th June, 2024;

AND WHEREAS the Governor of Isiolo County failed to honour an invitation by the County Public Investments and Special Funds Committee to respond to issues raised in the Auditor-General's Reports on Isiolo County Bursary Fund, the Isiolo County Emergency Fund and the Isiolo County Youth, Women and People with Disability Fund for the Financial Years 2019/2020, 2020/2021 and 2021/2022 on 28th May, 2024;

AND FURTHER WHEREAS the Governor of Isiolo County failed to honour five invitations on diverse dates between 28th March, 2023 and 8th March, 2024 by the County Public Accounts Committee (CPAC) to respond to queries raised by the Auditor General in the Financial Statement of the County Executive of Isiolo for the Financial Years 2019/2020 and 2020/2021;

CONCERNED THAT following the numerous incidents of failure and or refusal by the Governor of Isiolo County to honour invitations and summonses, the County Public Accounts Committee scheduled for a meeting at Isiolo County offices on 8th March, 2024 which the Governor failed to attend;

FURTHER CONCERNED THAT the committees of the Senate, pursuant to Article 179(4) of the Constitution, invited Governor Abdi Ibrahim Hassan in his capacity as the Chief Executive Officer of the County, and he failed and/ or refused to appear before the committees to answer the respective audit queries raised by the Auditor-General with respect to whether or not public monies have been applied lawfully and in an effective manner by the county government;

NOW THEREFORE, THE SENATE RESOLVES THAT –

(1) Pursuant to Article 228 (4) and (5) of the Constitution, the Controller of Budget should not authorise any withdrawal of public funds by the County Government of Isiolo until the Governor has responded to the issues raised in the summonses to the satisfaction of the Senate; and

(2). The National Treasury, pursuant to Article 225 of the Constitution and Section 96 of the Public Finance Management Act, stops forthwith the transfer of funds to the County Government of Isiolo.

Thank you.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Mo Fire, you have a Notice of Motion to give.

ADOPTION OF REPORT ON THE SOCIAL HEALTH INSURANCE (GENERAL)
REGULATIONS, 2024 AND THE SOCIAL HEALTH INSURANCE
(TRIBUNAL PROCEDURE) RULES

Sen. Gataya Mo Fire: Mr. Speaker, Sir. I beg to give a notice of the following Motion:

THAT, the Senate adopts the Report of the Select Committee on Delegated Legislation on its consideration of the Social Health Insurance (General) Regulations, 2024 and the Social Health Insurance (Tribunal Procedure) Rules, 2024, laid on the Table of the Senate on Tuesday, 2nd July, 2024; and that pursuant to Section 18 of the Statutory Instruments Act, the Senate resolves to annul:

(I). The Social Health Insurance (General) Regulations, 2024 (Legal Notice No. 49 of 2024); and

(II) The Social Health Insurance (Tribunal Procedure) Rules, 2024, (Legal Notice No. 48 of 2024).

Thank you.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Next Order.

BILLS

First Reading

THE NATIONAL DISASTER MANAGEMENT BILL
(NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BILLS NO.24 OF 2023)

(Order for the First Reading read – Read the First Time and ordered to be referred to the relevant Senate Committee)

First Reading

THE COUNTY GOVERNMENTS ELECTION LAWS (AMENDMENT)
BILL (SENATE BILLS NO.2 OF 2024)

(Order for the First Reading read – Read the First Time and ordered to be referred to the relevant Senate Committee)

First Reading

THE PROVISION OF SANITARY TOWELS BILL
(SENATE BILLS NO.7 OF 2024)

(Order for the First Reading read – Read the First Time and ordered to be referred to the relevant Senate Committee)

First Reading

THE COUNTY WARDS (EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT)
BILL (SENATE BILLS NO.20 OF 2024)

(Order for the First Reading read – Read the First Time and ordered to be referred to the relevant Senate Committee)

MOTION

THE CURRENT STATE OF THE NATION

RECOGNIZING the State of the nation at this moment; the ongoing protests following the passing of the Finance Bill (National Assembly Bills No. 30 of 2024) on 25th June, 2024 by the National Assembly; the loss of lives, maiming and loss of property that has been occasioned following these protests;

COGNIZANT THAT pursuant to Article 115(1)(b) of the Constitution His Excellency the President of the Republic of Kenya declined to assent to the Bill and referred it back to the National Assembly with recommendations to delete all clauses of the Bill;

ACKNOWLEDGING THAT the conversation on the Finance Bill has triggered the broader important public conversation on the question of the high cost of living juxtaposed against the wasteful expenditure in all public institutions including Parliament;

FURTHER ACKNOWLEDGING the issues raised by the youth and other members of the public to do with corruption, impunity, incompetence within state and public appointments, opulent lifestyles of public officers, unemployment and high cost of living amongst other issues bedeviling the economy;

NOW THEREFORE, the Senate–

1. calls upon-
 - i) the National Assembly to expeditiously consider the presidential memorandum pursuant to Article 115(2)(a);
 - ii) all government ministries, departments and agencies, and constitutional commissions, including Parliament, to put in place austerity measures in undertaking their respective functions;
 - iii) the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) and other government multi sector agencies in the governance, justice, law and order sector to upscale and make concerted efforts to fight corruption;

- iv) the National Police Service to cease abductions, unlawful arrests, extra judicial killings and exercise restraint in dealing with peaceful and unarmed demonstrators;
 - v) release of all persons arrested for planning and participating in peaceful demonstrations relating to the enactment of the Finance Bill;
 - vi) the government to waive hospital bills for persons who have been injured and defray funeral expenses for those who lost their lives, during the demonstrations; and
 - vii) the Judiciary to prioritize and expedite all court cases relating to the enactment of the Finance Bill and the resultant demonstrations.
2. considers all the challenges facing the country and makes necessary recommendations to address them.

(Sen. Cheruiyot on 3.7.2024A)

(Resumption of Debate interrupted on 3.7.2024A)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Hon. Senators, we should resume to the debate on the Motion that was moved in the morning.

Proceed, Sen. Veronica Maina.

Sen. Veronica Maina: Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you for this opportunity to speak to this very important Motion. On the very onset, I indicate that I fully support because of the nature and the importance of this Motion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have been thrown into this position where we are at by the demonstrations that were commenced by Gen Z. These are our children who have observed and seen how the governance is being carried out in the Republic of Kenya. They have found their gaps and issues that have been wanting.

It is very regrettable and I offer my deepest condolences to all the families who lost their children during this demonstration. It was uncalled for and maybe it could have been done in a much better way because no life needed to be lost. This nation has been in crisis in different times, but maybe the actors were different. One of the periods when this nation was in a crisis was when the new Constitution, the Constitution 2010, was being made and the way it was crafted by its drafters.

I look at Article 10 of the Constitution and ask myself if the public sector, the State officers, public officers, the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary had bound themselves to the national values and principles of governance in Kenya, would we still have been where we were last week on Tuesday?

In Article 10, we see the values and the principles that have been enunciated under the Constitution. These principles are supposed to apply and be interpreted in line with any person or any state organ, state officers, public officers who are entrusted with public responsibility of performing any public duty. These principles are supposed to apply across board and to any person who is given an opportunity to implement any public policy decision.

These national values and principles of governance; patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people are some of the principles that are supposed to guide the governance and the implementation of any public policy. Also respect to human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalised.

When I read Article 10(1)(C) about good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability and having regard to sustainable development; if only we had paid more attention as public officers or state officers, would we have been where we were last week on Tuesday?

I specifically looked at the role of the Senate as very well laid out in the Constitution on issues of good governance, transparency, accountability and the fact that we have a function of oversight over the counties. Is there anything we could have done better than how we did it? Yes, there are areas that we need to improve as a House. The storm we saw sweeping this nation and Parliament being at the eye of it, was also an indictment of the institution of Parliament.

I want to say and follow what the other speakers have said; today is not a day of competing on who gives a better speech or who does better debating than the other. I want to apologize. If we have failed as Senators, we are sorry. I am sorry.

Are there any tools that would have enhanced transparency and slowed down issues of corruption? I have served in other respects such as being the Secretary-General of the ruling party. Therefore, I know from my own experience that it is possible to run a system without collecting a bribe. First, I want as we debate we form a platform for us to have an introspection as the Senate.

That is our tool. When we do the County Public Investments and Special Funds Committee (CPISF) and the County Public Accounts Committee (CPAC), what do we do with the reports that emanate from counties where we can see that corruption is rampant? It is my view that we need a way of improving the system so that we inject public confidence once again in this institution.

The reports of those notorious counties should come back to the Floor of this House. As such, concerted and collective action agreed upon by all the Senators should be taken. What needs to be done by the Ethics and Anticorruption Commission (EACC) with counties that have had wanton corruption and misuse of public funds? Concrete action must also be taken.

We have also had a chance as a House to look at some of the impeachment proceedings. It has also given us time to reflect on what and how we have conducted those proceedings and whether they have met the legitimate expectations of the population or not.

The Gen Z have woken us up and called institutions to rethink how we are conducting our business. These are our children and they have done well and in a very bold way. Without any experience, without having any forms of arms, they came out to resoundingly say something must change. The Finance Bill was the trigger. They were not comfortable with how that Finance Bill was phrased. They also felt that they were not listened to.

Was this an expression of just the Gen Z? Maybe it was an expression of many more Kenyans who may not have had an opportunity to express themselves. These young people came out as true patriots, tribeless and without any boundaries. They defeated the class division and came out to speak resoundingly.

My only unfortunate moment was when the demonstration was infiltrated and turned violent leading to a standoff between the demonstrators and the law enforcement agencies, the security officers. The conflict ended up landing some of them in mortuaries. As Kenyans, we need to have a retrospection of all the officers, including the State officers who are seated in public offices.

If there was something that was happening that was off and had a tendency to have a corrupt tag, this means the storm now must stop on corrupt practices. Let everybody starting with us look at how they are conducting their affairs. Today we are talking about more of ourselves. How are we conducting our affairs? For those who are Christians like myself, the good Book will guide us into what is a godly order. For those who are Muslims, the Quran will guide them. However, for the nation, we have the Constitution that guides how governance must be done and how structures should be laid out.

Where we have gone wrong, does that Constitution offer us an avenue of ventilation? Mine is to call upon Gen Z to abandon demonstration because we have begun to listen to what they are saying. I call upon them to allow us to walk the order of the Constitution by accepting an olive branch extended by our President. That is the highest level of executive commitment that the President is willing to have a forum with them and discuss issues that need to be thrashed out. This must be taken as a sign of very good will.

There are those issues that have been laid out. Is it possible for a nation to change within a day? I see it has signaled an opportunity for us to begin the change. While all the demands may not be met overnight, some of the glaring issues like dealing with the corruption cases that are obvious and have evidence, the ball should begin rolling. Why? Because if we cannot face the change, then change will change us.

It is my view that if we can honestly face ourselves. Society should also face itself. The EACC should also come out of slumber, take up those files and where there is sufficient evidence, prosecute those that need to be prosecuted. Then the Gen Zs will begin to see that we are serious and committed to upholding the dignity of every Kenyan.

Regarding the jobs, it is true that the youths have faced a lot of unemployment. I can only imagine how distressing it is when a young person has gone through schooling and has nothing to do and yet we are supposed to give solutions as leaders. Those issues now need to be tackled differently.

Is there bias in the way public office employs young people? We need to straighten out the processes. We need to do things differently. I want to specifically look at the suggestion that has been made by SRC for raising the salary of the Senators and Members of the National Assembly.

That proposal is good because everybody needs a pay rise at any point when they are working. A worker needs to be motivated. However, the timing is very wrong and it is not needed. We are just repeating it to affirm the fact that none of these Legislators sitting here today had asked for that increment. We would call upon the SRC to be a little bit more serious with their tasks.

Their in-tray is full of claims by intern doctors and the teachers in JSS. Have those issues been handled yet? Are there opportunities where young people could be accommodated within the public sector? Is there available funding that can then be disbursed towards supporting them? We need to think outside the box and do things differently. If we do not do it differently, once again, the change will change us.

I want to commend Gen Z and also note their level of debate, even though there were quite some insults that came across the X Space. I have also equally noted that these are very young and intelligent Kenyans. Their level of debate is very different from the levels of debates that we are having. For a moment I asked myself, could this be the reason that maybe they do not watch the mainstream media? Their level of analysis of issues was different and much more refined. They have facts and figures. There is nothing you would tell them about who was given which tender.

They are able to analyze for you from county number one to 47, how many tenders have been awarded, who or which companies have been awarded and who owns those companies. All that information is with the Gen Z. I must commend the level of transparency. It is only when we are transparent and open with ourselves, systems and processes that change will begin to sweep across the whole nation.

I want to persuade the Gen Z and the people of Kenya that we have a nation. Many of us do not have an alternative to our nation and our statehood here. We belong to Kenya. We are Kenyan citizens. Some of us do not even have dual citizenship. We have no other home, except this home called Kenya.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Kenya has been like a labour ward for many nations in this region, especially in the Great Lakes Region. We must preserve our nationhood and we call for peace. We call for the end of the demonstrations. Let us allow dialogue to happen and an opportunity for us to sit together.

I am a mother to three Gen Z children. I say to them that they have a friend in Senate. We are open to receive every Petition, listen to them and see through the issues that they do not agree with us. We are ready to implement what we can legislatively do to ensure that their confidence in us is restored.

I have also noted that they had issues with the church. For some, they supported the church, but some of them had issues with the church and religious institutions. This has also called for change in the way in which the public offices conduct their business with religious bodies. If the fundraisers are causing so much trouble and drama, then it is time for us to rethink our position on how we handle that.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I speak this both as a believer and a very strong church member. It is important we preach this gospel in such a way that it is acceptable, not only to our age group, but also to our young children, young adults, students and the whole population.

This issue has been pending on our in-tray for a long time. A lot of pressure has come on the politicians also if we can be honest about the fundraisers issue. This is because when your competitor as a politician gives some money for fundraiser, which another politician cannot match, instantly there is a liking by the public towards the one who is giving and the one who is not giving is seen as though they are not working.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the definition of public work or public service now has to be separated from fundraiser. This is so that a legislator who is supposed to be in Parliament

doing oversight, legislation and representation, must not be seen as a money minting machine.

We need to slow down even as Kenyans on how we conduct our business with the public officers. For instance, when a Kenyan is paying a bribe to a police officer, is it a MP who asks them to pay that bribe, maybe not. It is a cultural change.

The Gen Zs have said that it is time for us to change our culture. We must be able to offer a governance environment where we can work 24 hours, day and night. Women and children will have the security to walk through the streets and conduct their businesses within a 24-hour economy. I know Kenyans are smart people.

We have seen the wanton destruction of property. My deepest apologies go to all the business people who have suffered heavy losses. As a result of which a number of young people may equally lose jobs. It is an unfortunate position that we should not have found ourselves in.

I walked through Mama Ngina Street yesterday and all those businesses have been broken into. Some criminals broke into those businesses and took away the stocks that were in the shops. The display windows are gone. They need to not only repair the premises, but restock their businesses before they can give anybody any job. That is not a position we would wish to be in. It is my very humble plea to Kenyans that we allow ourselves to go back to the normal days when there is a bursting activity in Mama Ngina Street, down town, up town and in our malls.

What we have seen happening to Quick Mart, must not happen to any other business in Republic of Kenya.

For a very long time, Kenya has been setting the trend for the East African region, the Great Lakes region and Africa. We must allow ourselves to bounce our nation back to a position of being a great example to be emulated in Africa.

I thank you.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed, Sen. Omogeni.

Sen. Omogeni: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to also contribute to this Motion. From the onset, I stand to support the bipartisan approach that has been adopted by the Majority side and the Minority side. I want to thank Sen. Cheruiyot who is our youthful leader from the Majority side and our elder Justice retired Stewart Madzayo, who under the leadership of Sen. Wambua, has brought us together to have a discourse as Kenyans. We thank you, our dear colleagues.

Secondly, I want to pass my message of condolences to the mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters of the 34 Kenyans who lost their lives during these demonstrations. As a father and as a son to a mother, it is a painful thing to lose a son or a daughter, especially one who has given himself or herself to fight for a just cause to make this country better.

These fallen heroes were motivated by one desire to improve the landscape of our governance. They wanted to make the lives of many of us better. There are many of us who have benefited from this very courageous Gen Z that has put the Government on toes by the demonstration.

As a lawyer, I know that the right to picket, demonstrate and withdraw support from a Government is enshrined in our Constitution as long as it is peaceful and geared to passing a message to the Government of the day. We cannot fail to acknowledge that the Gen Zs have a right to picket and to demonstrate.

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World over, we know that there are people who have led peaceful protests and they have changed the world. We know that in 1964, the celebrated Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King in the United States of America (USA) led the march to Washington, that led to the enactment of the Civil Rights Act in the USA that gave Americans their civil rights.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we regret that there are about eight Kenyans who lost their lives within the precincts of Parliament. This is regrettable. It is my prayer and wish that as we move forward, we also demand for accountability from our security forces.

We know that a well-trained police force that follows what Kenyans passed when we enacted the 2010 Constitution in Chapter 14 know that they are supposed to be guided by principles of human rights, rule of law and democracy.

The rule of law dictates that if you come across a demonstrator who has broken the law, what the country expects is to have that Kenyan arrested and presented before the court of law. That is the only way we can build a country that truly can pride itself as one that respects and operates within the tenets of the rule of law.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we watch international media and we see demonstrations every day. You see them in France, USA and Britain, but hardly will you see cases where police officers open fire on unarmed demonstrators. We expect that one of the resolutions the Committee will make is to hold the police officers who have used excessive force accountable.

I, therefore, mourn with those Kenyans and plead that part of the recommendations should be on how we extend assistance to the parents who have lost their children as they prepare for their burials. I applaud the Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Health for releasing a press release today, confirming that the Government has waived all the medical bills of those Kenyans.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we must move a step further and ensure that we extend assistance. We owe Gen Zs and we failed, I included, in stopping the passage of that very draconian Finance Bill. If it were not for the Gen Zs, that Finance Bill would be law today. So, we owe them. Without them, Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale, the Finance Bill 2024, would be law today and that is the reality.

Having said that, the country must accept that we are in extra-ordinary times which call for extra-ordinary measures from extra-ordinary leaders. We have seen a Gen Z that has demonstrated an extra-ordinary ability. How these young people are able to mobilize and be out in the streets without choosing their social status is amazing.

We have children who are in that generation whom we think as fairly privileged. However, they identified with the cause of the Gen Z that is on the streets. If you have a son, watch how they are hooked to the X Space conversations. It tells us that there is something right we have not done. I propose that as we go forward, we must accept that this country is facing a number of challenges and we must look for solutions.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first point I want to make is to speak to the President. The President needs to restore respectability because public trust on the Presidency is at the lowest. If you listened to the X Space even when the President was answering questions, the responses were that they could not trust him. The biggest challenge is to win back the public trust. Public trust in the President is at the lowest.

We urge the President to begin by respecting the Constitution. Let him begin there. He can go for low hanging fruits. We have seen what the Gen Zs have been posting on

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social media. The major attack is on how the President has exercised power. That is the problem. If we do not acknowledge that as a House, we will not be able to solve the challenges we are facing.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the feeling is that the President has not allowed Parliament - both the Senate and the National Assembly - to carry out its duties as an independent institution. Most of these unpopular legislations that triggered these demonstrations were pushed through the two Houses.

There is the Affordable Housing Bill that created the now Affordable Housing Act. It was pushed through. If we had adopted a bipartisan approach, we would have made that law less punitive to Kenyans. If you listen to young professionals – the doctors, lawyers and others, they are crying about an invasion on their payslip. Even those who work for Parliament, their cry is that they are facing a Government that is raiding their pockets day in, day out. Their pockets were raided in the first budget and in the second budget.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the issue of corruption, I will join my colleague Sen. Cheruiyot in saying that we will not fix it unless we have a radical surgery on the EACC. I will give an example on what happened in the County of Nyamira.

In the month of August, 2022, just in the runner-up to elections, the Governor of Nyamira, unilaterally paid himself to his account **Kshs6.573 million**. I am speaking here as a person who speaks the truth and I am tabling that payslip here in the House. He paid himself **Kshs6.573 million**. The payslip is here and I beg to table it.

(Sen. Omogeni laid the document on the Table)

When the EACC was summoned to Nyamira, instead of recording a statement and taking that Governor to court, they got money from him and told him that they can agree he refunds that money quietly. What a shame! How can that be from a body that is supposed to be fighting corruption. What stops another officer in the County Government of Nyamira to pay himself and when the EACC goes there, he will say but you did that to the Governor. We also want a settlement.

Governor Amos Nyaribo should have been arrested, arraigned before a court of law and a conviction given by the courts. That is the only way you can send a message that you are intent on fighting corruption.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me even shock you further because I have walked with documents. There was another case of officers within the County Government of Nyamira who hatched a scheme to siphon money from the public coffers. They came up with ghost names and no one knows those people to date. They paid them a total Kshs800,000.

These guys were investigated for those offences, charged with abuse of office. One Godfrey Kiriago and Geoffrey Nyamwagwa. They were arrested and taken to court for that crime they committed. Once the case was registered as Criminal Case No. E510/2023 - and I have the charge sheet here, they had a secret meeting with officers from the ODPP. This case was withdrawn under Section 82(1) of the Criminal Procedure Code. What a shame!

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the County Government was summoned to appear in Nairobi, they had the audacity to tell the Committee of the Senate that they had the taken action of relieving Mr. Kiriago from the service of the County Government of Nyamira

and sent him back to the national Government. This is so that he could continue with his fraudulent activities.

If this is the kind of conduct we are going to have from the EACC and the ODPP, how will we ever fight corruption? I table this document before the House so that the conduct of the EACC can be on the Table.

(Sen. Omogeni laid the document on the Table)

I am of the view that if the Senate of the Republic of Kenya will find these documents to be genuine, then the commissioners at EACC and its Chief Executive Officer (CEO) should be the first one to face the chop. Sen. Cheruiyot, we cannot allow that kind of impunity.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, to tell you the kind of challenge this country is facing, if you read the Auditor-General's Report, it says that the County Government of Nyamira has exceeded the regulation on personnel emoluments by 22 per cent. It is at 57 per cent. I have the document. I assure the people of Nyamira County that if I have said a lie this afternoon, I will go to Tinga where I was born in West Mugirango Constituency and tender my resignation. The documents I am tabling before this House are authentic. They are from our Government offices. They give a snippet of the kind of rot that we have.

Once this report was prepared by the Auditor-General and we got a qualified audited accounts, saying that our personnel emoluments were at 57 per cent, the Governor had the audacity of proceeding again to advertise and employ a further 200 workers. Meaning the next time the auditors go to Nyamira County, it will be at 60-something per cent. What kind of impunity is this? I will table this report before the Senate.

This kind of rot is not just happening in the County Government of Nyamira; it is replicated at the national Government. We must have a conversation on this. The positions of Cabinet Administrative Secretaries (CASs) are unconstitutional. The Gen Z have told us that those positions should not even exist. However, I have information that the head of public service, Mr. Felix Kosgei, has already written to the Public Service Commission (PSC) trying to push them to appoint those positions. That statement was said on the Floor. What message are we sending? That is impunity.

I am urging both Members of National Assembly and the Senate, if the President cannot take action, we will be prescriptive. These times call for action from us, not yesterday, but today. If the President does not have the courage, I beseech us as Parliamentarians to come up with an amendment and repeal the National Government Coordination Act that created those positions. That is the only time we will be taken seriously.

If you read the Constitution in Article 152, it gives the Presidency the maximum number of CSs it can employ at 22 and a minimum of 14. We have 1,900 doctors, whom we are not able to take for internship because we are saying our budget cannot support. Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale, do you call it internship?

The President has so many corrupt Cabinet Secretaries who are giving the country a bad name. What I expect him to do is suck them and reduce the Cabinet to 14. The money you save can be used to employ those doctors for internship. Article 155 does not give the

number of Principal Secretaries that we should have as a country. It has been abused. Honestly, do we need 51 Principal Secretaries? We do not.

(Applause)

I am urging my colleagues, if we agree, we can marshal two-thirds, amend the Constitution, prescribe and put there a maximum of 14 Principal Secretaries. This is because the youths want to see action from us. Nobody can legislate other than us, as Senators.

(Applause)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, why do you create a Ministry and then create three departments? I have friends, but I do not have positions to employ all my friends. We urge the President to also talk to his friends and tell them the cake is too small. Not everybody will get a piece. Some will get and some will miss. They cannot put pressure on the President that they were the candidate in Muhaya and so he must appoint them either as an ambassador, cabinet secretary or principal secretary. It cannot work.

If the President does not act within the next seven days, let us move a constitutional amendment and be prescriptive. We put the number and cap it at a maximum of 22. However, we can operate with 14. These are extraordinary times. The money we save can be used to employ Junior Secondary School (JSS) teachers. These are the people who are in the streets demonstrating. Let us make them also have a bite of the national cake, instead of saying that the cake will only be for principal secretaries and cabinet secretaries. It cannot be that way. This is because we almost lost this country. We do not know, but maybe we are being given a second chance.

My brother, Sen. Cheruiyot, I compare you with Lyndon Johnson, the former President of the USA. He became the leader of the Senate while very youthful, but provided leadership. He was blessed by Almighty God because he ended up becoming a president of the USA. The fact that you have the majority does not mean that you exercise tyranny over Kenyans. I am telling you, my brother. You can have the numbers, but you can still give leadership and create a legacy for yourself.

In 1936, when Roosevelt Franklin was the President of the United States of America, his majority in House of Representatives was 333 members. The opposition had only 89. In the Senate, he had 83. The opposition, Republicans, had only 17.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when he came up with an unpopular legislation to amend the Supreme Court Act, to increase the number of judges from 9 to 15 so that he gets himself an opportunity to pick six, his own party, Democrats, rejected that move. Those were members of his party put the interest of the country ahead of the interest of the President, they rejected that move.

We also urge our colleagues---

(Hon. Omogeni's microphone was switched off)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Allow Sen. Omogeni two minutes to sum up.

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(Sen. Okenyuri stood in her place)

Sen. Okenyuri, just have your seat. Before we started this Motion, there were some ground rules that every Senator taking the microphone will be allowed to speak their heart uninterrupted.

Sen. Omogeni: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. The point I was making is that the leadership of the House is to put the interest of the country ahead of personal or party interest. We have a bloated Government. I conclude by urging my colleagues to reconsider an audit of the 2010 Constitution. We have so many constitutional commissions with people serving part-time, but doing nothing.

How can a body that reviews my salary once a year be working from Monday to Friday? That you sit to review the salary of Sen. Omogeni from January to December, Monday to Friday. How can that be? Then after you have reviewed that for the whole year, you tell me I have reviewed you with Kshs14,000, which I do not want. I am rejecting that offer. We must audit this Constitution. Some of jobs of these people who are earning huge amount of salary be converted them to part-time. That is what the Generation Z want us to do.

If you go to the Judiciary, we cannot afford employing judges, right, left and centre. It is not easy to maintain a judge. When you employ a judge, you must give them a car and pay them house allowance. We have a judge here and he will tell you that it is not easy.

The other day, a Motion was taken to the National Assembly. It never came to us. The number of judges of Court of Appeal was increased to 70. We have special courts on land and environment, which can employ up to 100.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you are a lawyer. A judge was posted to Kilgoris to deal with land matters, stayed there for three months and then left because there were no cases. Senator for Vihiga County, a judge was sent to your county. Her name is Esther and she is a Kisii. After six months she went away, there are no cases. Another one went to Malindi County and after staying there for seven months, there were no more cases. How can that be? They made a presentation before us and Sen. Cheruiyot was there. They proposed that we should--

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed Sen. Okenyuri.

Sen. Okenyuri: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for this opportunity. Let me just clarify that I was not interjecting my senior, Sen. Omogeni. I was bringing to your attention that in as much as we are pressing these gadgets, our names do not reflect where the clerks-at-the-table are. I want to appreciate because I have been literally on my knees since morning wanting to engage on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, first, I want to give my condolences to the families who lost their young people amid the ongoing protests, starting with one Rex Masai and several others whose names I might not mention on this Floor. If we have to strain to get a chance to speak and yet we represent young people in this House, what about the several young people who are depending on us to air their issues in this House?

Whatever issues that have been brought by the Gen Z are not new issues in this country. Look at the issue of restructuring the government. We had the Abdikadir report of 2015 that actually listed the parastatals in this country and how to deal with different

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policy issues that were affecting each. We do not need a repeat of the same. We have very intelligent Kenyans who have gone down and actually done this work and given recommendations, which are gathering dust in the name of reports which have never been implemented to date.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the issue of Gen Z is not going to be forgotten anytime soon. It will keep reoccurring. However, I want to urge that it should not be that we have to have protests for issues regarding young people or Kenyans to be heard. These are some of the reasons why generally people feel like we are not listening.

The Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI) needs to conclude the investigations on some of the people who were arrested. The Independent Policy Oversight Authority (IPOA) also needs to swing into action.

An organization like the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) should be disbanded with immediate effect because a lot of hate is going round all over and no one is doing anything about it. Those are some of the organizations which are siphoning public resources without nabbing people who are actually spreading hate and inciting the public.

Let me also talk about the matter where the SRC is recommending a pay raise for legislators. I want to turn down that one in particular and I hope that the newspaper headlines tomorrow will be reading that Members of Parliament protest pay rises.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it cannot be that when one issue is good for the other, it is bad for another. When corruption in the national Government is mentioned, let the county government also be mentioned. The money that SRC wants to add us should be put together so that JSS teachers can be employed and public health facilities can be equipped, so that Kenyans generally get the services they rightfully require.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I also want to indicate that social media is a very active tool. I salute the young people for agitating for change in this country. We did not have to wait for the young people to set direction. Sometimes, starting with this House, we are told of ranking Members, so we are borrowing from those who have come before us. However, in this case, the least expected in society are the ones who are now giving direction.

As a House, that is something we need to reflect about and not just leave it to the President to implement. The President has already invited the young people on X tomorrow and I want to encourage most of them to flood that space and raise whatever issues they have to do with how best we can change leadership in this country. As much as that is left to the President, we as politicians also need to play our role in fighting corruption.

I actually think that as Kenyans, generally we are born with an affinity towards wanting to do something in order to get something in return. We want a society where, for me to ascend to power, it should not be about my DNA or sexual orientation. That is the only way we can encourage young people who are watching me this afternoon from different rural villages to also be good in whatever they are doing and call a spade a spade.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I conclude on what I actually had to say this afternoon, we have had several recommendations from serious reports that have been written in this country. We need to revisit the recommendations by those reports. For example, the Abdikadir Mohamed report actually mentions most of these State corporations that should be wound up or how to better transform them so that services can be given to the people.

We cannot purely make those corporations avenues to give jobs to people who have already exceeded their usefulness. We have several young people who are looking for these jobs.

By the way, most of the young people who are demonstrating are able to work in the digital economy. Most of them are earning online. What they want to be implemented by the Government currently is to ensure that they have a conducive environment where they can smoothly make their money so that we are not making them poor and creating paradises for ourselves.

Let us not downplay the whole issue of agitation for change in this country. It is real. Most of my friends were actually on the streets and I could not actually tell them anything because then they would think I am here to praise and worship the government that has given me an appointment. Sometimes, it is also good to speak the truth as it is because it is one way of making our governance better.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today, I want to say something which I would not have in my few remaining years in this House. To the President, we need radical changes. People need to see heads rolling. We have had people who have been implicated in several scandals, which are well known in public domain. Politics should be separated from friendship. Mr. President, if you hold on to your friends, we might unfortunately sink down with them. So separate friendship from work. We are here to support your agenda. I believed in your agenda and I still do.

We need to separate politics from friendship for us to steer this nation forward so that we do not see the unnecessary issues we are seeing now. As we see now, the protesters have been infiltrated by anarchists who want to take us back to where we have been. This is not about Gen Z. It should be a general call by Kenyans and let it start with us MPs.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Osotsi, you have the Floor.

Sen. Osotsi: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Motion, hoping that we will bring amendments so that all the good things that Members are talking about here are also captured in that Motion.

I want to start by sending my condolences to the families and friends of those who lost their lives. There are over 30 people. We hope the exact number is going to be provided. I also want to express my sympathies to the families of those who lost their lives within the precincts of Parliament.

Parliament should be cleansed because the blood of innocent Kenyans is within the precincts of Parliament. I hope those of us who believe in prayers will have prayers to cleanse Parliament, so that we continue as a holy, sacred and respected institution.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank the Senate leadership led by you and the Senate Minority and Majority Leaders for this opportunity. As we reflect on what is happening in our nation, Members of the House that caused all these problems are hiding. Many of them are hiding from the people and do not want to be seen in public because they know what they did was not right.

The Senate has taken up the challenge of being a House of reason to discuss these issues freely. What we debate should not just end here. We should have a system of ensuring that whatever we talk about here is implemented. That should be the main challenge as we debate this particular Motion. What strategies are we going to employ to ensure that the many good things we have discussed are implemented?

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The protest by Gen Z is a reawakening call to the Government and the entire population of Kenya. This is a moment that we require to reflect and reset our nation. We need to reset this Senate, the National Assembly and all state organs, so that they comply with the wishes of many Kenyans.

I have listened to all speakers who had an opportunity to speak to this Motion, but I want to divert a bit. The problem of this nation is here. The problem of this nation is the Parliament of Kenya. Another institution that is responsible for our problems is the presidency, yet we have not talked eloquently about it. I want to take this chance to talk about it.

What happened to Parliament? Parliament used to be a holy institution that was always on the side of the people. I remember when I was a student at the university here long before I knew I would become a politician, I used to go to the Public Gallery to listen to Hon. (Dr.) Boni Khalwale and Hon. Onyonka who are now here.

I used to enjoy the debates because they used to debate openly. There was no fear and they were there for the people of Kenya. I am not accusing anyone, but we have descended. Parliamentary democracy has descended in this country.

When we talk about all the omissions that we have talked about, someone listening to us will ask; what have you people done? They will tell us that all this has happened under our watch, but what have we done? When we say that the Inspector General of Police (IG) should be removed from office, what has Parliament done? That is the National Assembly and the Senate. So, we stand to be blamed by Kenyans.

When we reflect, a lot of that reflection has to be focused on Parliament. We have allowed Parliament to be an appendage of the state. How do you explain that when a critical Bill is before the House, parliamentary group meetings are held at State House?

We need to change the Standing Orders so that all parliamentary group meetings are held within the precincts of Parliament. Even my party, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) should hold its meetings within the precincts of Parliament. Let our leader come here and chair our meetings.

Likewise, let President William Ruto come to this Parliament and chair parliamentary group meetings within the precincts of Parliament. The idea of us being taken to State House and given orders on how to operate in this House and how to vote should stop from today.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we always start on a wrong note when we have a new Parliament. Even the leadership of parliamentary committees, especially departmental committees, is decided in State House and our secretariat here in Parliament facilitate that. We need to ensure that parliamentary democracy comes back. Let Members of a committee freely elect their Chairpersons.

I served in the National Assembly and saw Chairpersons of committees behaving like Personal Assistants (PAs) to Cabinet Secretaries. How can you oversight a Cabinet Secretary when you as the Chairperson is very cosy with them? You go to his office to drink tea in the morning, eat lunch and seek favours, yet the person is supposed to appear before you to answer questions. How is it possible? Hon. Members, before we blame any other institution, we have to start here.

(Applause)

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We all remember what happened in 2008 when Hon. Kenneth Marende was the Speaker of the National Assembly. When everyone thought that the country was going to burn, Parliament stood and united the country through the Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have done well as the Speaker. I am sorry the Speaker of the National Assembly has let us down. You cannot be a Speaker of the National Assembly, but during the weekend, you put on party colours and go to political meetings and make political statements such as “I am the kingpin of the Luhya or I am the party leader of this party.”

(Applause)

We need to have Speakers who are impartial and independent so that they can lead us on the way.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Order, Sen. Osotsi.

Sen. Osotsi: Sen. Wakoli, my friend, we are reflecting. Allow us to reflect.

(Loud consultations)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Order, hon. Senators. Sen. Osotsi, please take your seat.

Hon. Senators, we have started so well.

(An hon. Senator spoke off record)

(Laughter)

Order, hon. Senators! Before the debate started on this particular Motion, we said that because of the sensitivity and where we are we allow ourselves to ventilate as much as we can with less interruption.

Many of the statements that are going to be made here may touch us not in a friendly way. However, they have to be said if we are to move forward. We need to face each other and speak the truth no matter the pain it may cause.

(Applause)

Hon. Wakoli, when I give you the opportunity, you will have a chance to correct facts that you feel were not put in the correct fashion. Kindly, allow Sen. Osotsi to complete his intervention. Thereafter when you rise, you will have that opportunity to put your case as you deem fit.

Proceed, Sen. Osotsi.

Sen. Osotsi: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not intend to hurt my good friend, the Speaker of the National Assembly. However, this is a moment of reflection and this is something I have thought about.

I have seen the Parliamentary norms even within the Commonwealth. It may not be in the Constitution that the Speaker has to be aligned in some manner, but we have the global norms. For us to ensure Parliament is respected, let us have the people who preside over the House who in this case are the Speakers, not be involved in politicking over the weekend.

That is the line that I was taking. If for any good reason, I have offended Sen. Wakoli and his Party Leader, I apologise. I am only reflecting on that.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, still talking about Parliamentary democracy, when you go to the National Assembly and even here, there are words printed on the door that say; 'For the Welfare of Society and the Just Government of the People.' Those words are not there for nothing; they mean something.

They talk about the welfare of the society and the just Government of the people. In this case, the society is a country. That should be the phrases that is supposed to guide us in this House. The moment we divert from that and start engaging as political parties or an appendage of the State, we lose it completely. For me, that would be an important thing.

That House has done public participation, but public participation means nothing in this country. They did public participation over the Housing Bill, the first Finance Bill 2023 and even the recent Finance Bill 2024. However, the views of Kenyans were not factored in the final report that was presented to the National Assembly.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, these are the things that annoy the people and make us look bad. Even as we are reflecting, I hope that we will have a Committee or some people sitting down and discussing how to reset Parliament to be what it was; not what we have now.

I started by saying that the problem is here which is why I am addressing Parliament. Now, let me go to the presidency, which is the second problem. The presidency must understand that they are in power and no longer campaigning. We know they gave us promises, some of which have not been implemented. Kenyans are patiently waiting, but do not continue giving promises after another. That every day you wake up, a new promise has come and sometimes, those promises are not consistent.

When Kenyans start having doubts in their leader, that when their leader speaks they say that they know he is not going to say the truth, then we have a problem. As Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale said, my view is that the presidency needs to understand that there are many institutions in Government that can talk on behalf of the President. He does not have to talk on everything and appear all over.

President Kibaki led this country from his home. I have met three people who were ministers in President Kibaki's Government who tell me that in the 10 years that Kibaki was the President, he only called them twice. He only engaged ministers when they went to the Cabinet or when they were presenting a memo. Outside that, he would not call you easily. So, we have a problem.

I hope the President is listening to me. Mr. President, you need to change and the earlier you change, the better. Talk less, appear less in public and manage your promises. That way, we will not have this problem in Kenya.

Court orders must be obeyed. I mean when you threaten people and tell us that *mambo ni matatu*, and then you do not obey court orders, then we have a problem as a country.

When you engage the country at an international level in agreements that hurt the people of Kenya, we have a problem. The Constitution is very clear that treaties must go through Parliament. That is not what is happening now.

Mr. President, wherever you are if you are listening to me as a leader elected by the people of Vihiga, even as we reflect as a Senate, we also want you to reflect.

Hon. Members have talked about changing the Government. Mr. President, the first thing that you need to do is assent to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Bill that is before you. The National Assembly and the Senate has processed the Bill and the Speaker has now given a report from the National Assembly. The next thing is that you sign the IEBC Bill into law this evening so that we start having an IEBC in place.

On overhaul of the Cabinet, most of the Cabinet Secretaries are incompetent. Today, you will hear a Cabinet Secretary making a pronouncement on a matter that is touching on another ministry. You wonder, is this Government not coordinating? I think the matter of reduction of Government ministries is logical. The number of principal secretaries is bloated. I think it is important for the numbers to be reduced.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on another topic of budget making, we know the President has written back to the National Assembly referring back the Finance Bill. However, if you read Article 115, it talks about Parliament. As a Senate, we have been unconstitutionally kicked out of the budget making process and Sen. Omtatah has this matter in court. If you read the Constitution, it is very clear that Parliament includes both the Senate and the National Assembly.

Mr. President, as a demonstration of good faith, retract your referral to the National Assembly and send it to both Houses; the Senate and the National Assembly because that is what the Constitution says.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was impressed by what the Constitution says. Even in budget making process, Article 249(3) states that Parliament shall allocate adequate funds to enable each Commission and Independent Offices to operate. Why have we overlooked this when you insist on Article 109(5) that talks about introduction of the Bill in the National Assembly? That is just introducing.

Article 109(3) talks about “considered” which appears in many parts of the Constitution. Part of the problem is that the process of budget making, including the Finance Bill must involve the Senate so that if the National Assembly does not do the right thing, the Senate, a House of reason, will tell them no and in a big way.

Let me also talk about public debt. It is important that we audit the public debt. Let us know the exact debt that we have. Let people not be telling us we have this debt yet we do not have any statement of debt or audit report. This should be one of the major proposals to come from this.

As we audit our debt, let us think about institutions which are consuming public funds and are unconstitutional; First ladies, second ladies, Prime Cabinet Secretary's wife. We all have wives and we were elected. If you were elected and earning a salary, let your wife use your salary to do the things she is doing.

(Hon. Senators spoke off record)

Husband?

(Laughter)

Let that money come from your salary. Let us not be told that we elected a leader--governors are doing the same. They have started doing first wife whatever. *Tuwache maneno hayo*. In fact, the President said it in an interview on Monday. We want to see it communicated officially because he has not done it yet. Those offices are bloated.

In the last two weeks, when this matter had started, the First Lady came near my home; a place called Mungoma and met about a thousand widows. She talked to them and left them without anything. Did she just come to play politics? We must relook at these offices and scrap them because they are consuming a lot of resources.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me talk about corruption. It is a cancer in this country.

(Loud consultation)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Order, Hon. Senators. Sen. Osotsi is to be heard in silence.

Sen. Osotsi: If we want to do justice to this country, let us revisit Chapter 6 of the Constitution on Leadership and Integrity. Can we have this chapter fully implemented? We need to move forward.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): You have two minutes to wind up, Sen. Osotsi.

Sen. Osotsi: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the issue of reforms in the police, the Constitution had good intention creating the IPOA and the Office of National Police Service Commission (NPSC). However, we have allowed these two offices to be muzzled by the IG. This is where we need to start.

If we are talking about recommendations, this is one area that we need to recommend. However, I agree with the colleagues who have said that the IG has failed and he must leave the office through either resignation or removal from office. We have seen deaths under him during the Azimio protest and now during this protest.

I support, but with amendments.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed, Sen. Wafula.

Sen. Wafula: Asante, Bw. Spika, kwa nafasi hii ili nitoe rambirambi na pole kwa familia ziliopoteza wapenzi wao katika purkushani iliyokuwa katika mji mkuu wa Kenya na viunga vyake na pembe mbalimbali za nchi ya Kenya.

Vile vile, nashukuru kwa kujaribu kudhibiti mawimbi katika Seneti. Licha ya kupeana mwelekeo, lazima sisi kama Seneti tujadili kwa kinaga ubaga yale ambayo yanawahusu Wakenya katika awamu hii ya Seneti. Katika Seneti, kuna vitengo na kamati mbalimbali za uongozi. Mara tena na tena, kumekuwa na ripoti zinazoletwa hapa Seneti kuhusiana na ubadhirifu wa pesa za umma, ukabila na mambo mengine ambayo hayaendi sambamba na matarajio ya Wakenya.

Sasa tumekuwa hapa karibu miaka miwili na kile najaribu kuwaomba viongozi wa kamati hizi ni kuwa Kaunti ya Garisa imekuwa na changamoto ya ufisadi, kuajiriwa kwa watu pasipo kufuata misingi ya Katiba na kadhalika. Ila Seneti haijachukua msimamo au

kutoa mwelekeo na makataa ya siku ngapi zinazotarajiwa majibu yatekelezwe na nyenzo mbalimbali za nchi ya Kenya.

Naomba Seneti na Bunge la Kitaifa yasipige miayo na kulia pasipo kutekeleza kwa mujibu wa Katiba. Kaunti ya Migori, Trans Nzoia na kaunti zingine mbalimbali zina changamoto ambazo taasisi na kamati hapa Bunge zinajua kuna shida na twajua suluhisho ziko wapi. Naomba kutoka leo, kando na kujieleza na kupeana madawa kama *Panadol* kwa Wakenya, lazima tupeane matibabu ya kweli kwa wakati unaostahili.

Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) imekuwa ikiajiri watu. Kamati husika ina takwimu za kudhibitishwa lakini bado hatujachukua hatua ya kuwaita waliohusika kuwaajiri watu kinyume cha Katiba ili wang'atuke ofisi zao na taratibu zinazotakikana kufuatwa zifuatwe. Wizara ya Kawi vile vile imewaajiri watu. Hatujaona kamati hizi zikileta ripoti ili viongozi hawa waweze kuajibika.

Bw. Spika, naomba kwa sababu Mhe. Rais - kitengo cha walio wengi katika Bunge sasa tunazungumza lugha ya Wakenya, tuweze sasa kuonyesha kwa vitendo kutoka sasa kwenda mbele.

Niliposimama hapa ili kujaribu kumwambia Mhe. Osotsi yale yaliyo moyoni mwangu, kile nimegundua vile vile ni kwamba kumekuwa na falsafa ya muungano au *handshake* ambayo imeonekana hapa Kenya. Katika awamu iliyopita, kulikuwa na lawama. Katika awamu hii, tumeona kana kwamba kuna mahaba fulani. Wakati unaostahili, watu wananyamaza. Watu wanapoongea, huenda wako njaa.

Wakenya wanauliza haya maswali. Wakati mambo yanafaa kuzungumziwa, watu wananyamaza ndio maana vijana wameamka sasa katika kaunti. Angalia wizara ya vijana katika kaunti zote katika nchi ya Kenya, asilimia 99 sio vijana. Ni mawaziri wanaosimamia vijana katika kaunti zetu. Angalia kazi zinapotangazwa katika kaunti zetu, vijana hawapewi nafasi. Wao ni kuangalia kwenye video na simu za rununu. Kandarasi zinazopewa kitaifa na katika kaunti, vijana hawapewi huku Nairobi wala kule mashinani. Lazima tuonekane tukisema na kutenda.

Naomba tuwache kwenda mikutano Mombasa na kadhalika kuandika ripoti za kamati mbalimbali. Tupewe fedha za kutosha tuende mashinani tuchunge pesa tunazopeleka kule.

(Applause)

Tumekuwa na Kamati ya Ugatuzi kule Bungoma tukiangalia soko. Tumekuwa na Mhe. Osotsi kule Vihiga na Wajir. Tumejionea kwa macho pesa zetu. Wakenya wanapigana kwa sababu hali ya maisha imepanda, wanashtumu Bunge la Kitaifa lakini hapa mashinani katika kaunti, wanakamuliwa pole pole pasipo wao kujua. Sasa sisi tuna mjadala wa *public participation*. Mahusiano ya Wakenya na viongozi. Tupeleke mchakato huu pale mashinani, wajue bajeti za kauti zinatengenezwa vipi na takwimu za kaunti ziko vipi.

Na wao watanufaika vipi kutokana na jasho lao ambalo kwao tunapeleka pesa mashinani? Sasa mimi naungana na Wakenya wote. Juzi, tumeona Waziri wa Elimu na baadhi ya Wabunge katika nchi ya Kenya wakipeana barua za kazi kana kwamba ni barua za watoto kwenda kuleta karo kutoka nyumbani.

Sehemu zingine, watoto wetu wamepiga foleni kutafuta kazi za ualimu. Kwingine, watoto wanapiga magoti. Wanaponyoosha mikono juu, inawapiga pa kifuani. Tutamkimbilia nani na hawa watoto watamkimbilia nani? Watawalilia nani iwapo baadhi ya wale wanaopeana barua hizi tunawajua? Ni majirani zetu. Ni ndugu zetu. Lakini hatujaona viongozi wakisimama kidete kuwakataza Mawaziri wawache kutumia mbinu za mkato kuwapa watoto wetu kazi ilhali wetu wa mashinani wanajionea kwa macho. Lazima tuseme ukweli. Haijalishi wewe unatoka kabila gani. Cha muhimu tenda wema, nenda zako.

Mimi ni miongoni mwa wale vijana chipukizi katika Seneti. Yale ninayoona hapa, wengine wanapiga kelele na kutoa machozi ya mamba. Lakini nyuma ya *tent*, yale wanayosema na kufanya ni kinyume na yale wanasema katika vipasa sauti. Kutoka sasa kwenda mbele, wacha fisi adhihirike kuwa fisi na kondoo kuwa kondoo ili Wakenya wapate manufaa ya Seneti.

Tumekuwa na Kamati ya Kudumu ya Ukulima. Bunge la Kitaifa wameandika ripoti wakatangaza. Sisi Seneti tumetembea pembe mbali tukajionea kwa macho. Mbolea gushi ilitumiwa mfumo upi na wale waliohusika. Leo hii tuko hapa Seneti, ripoti iko wapi? Ripoti iko wapi? Waliotajwa wako Serikalini. Waliohusika, marafiki zao wako hapa. Tuseme ukweli.

Tuwache mzaha na Wakenya. Sitaki kupita hapa. Ninataka kuwaambia vijana wa nchi hii, wengi wasifikirie kunyamaza kwetu hatujui. Tunajua. Na sasa vidonda vitafinywa. Ukweli utasemwa. Iwapo uko na kazi yoyote katika kamati yoyote hapa Seneti, fanya kazi yako.

Bw. Spika, kuna kamati ambazo zinajadili takwimu na pesa za kaunti na Serikali Kuu. Kila mara tunapokaa hapa, unagundua pale palipo minofu na palipo magavana ambao wako na uzito kidogo. Baadhi yao hawaji hapa. Wako kwingine; wanapanga na kupangua. Ukweli usemwe. Hili donda ndugu lazima tutatue.

Wanakandarasi na wafanyibiashara wa kaunti mbalimbali hawajalipwa. Wengine zaidi ya miaka kumi. Magavana hawalipi. Tunapodai hapa walipwe, kuna utepetevu wa kuthibiti na kuhakikisha sheria zinafuatwa na wafanyibiashara walipwe. Kwa nini? Ni kwa sababu baadhi ya viongozi wana mahaba ya kisiasa na magavana na viongozi ili kuwafinya wanyonge hao wapate peremende na waishi maisha yao.

Sasa nataka kuona mabadiliko kando na kuzungumza Kizungu ama Kiswahili kizuri. Tunataka kuona mabadiliko kwa vitendo. Kuna sehemu za nchi hii ambazo miundo mbinu ya barabara ni nzuri. Hata barabara zingine, ngo'ombe wanalala wakiota jua. Lakini zingine, wengine wanashangaa wako Kenya gani? Ilhali Mawaziri wa miundo mbinu na barabara wanatembea kwa ndege za kitaifa, simu za bei ya juu, kizungu sijui wamekitoa wapi, ilhali Wakenya wanauliza hata sisi tunatoa ushuru, mbona hatushughulikiwi?

Lakini tukiuliza, tunaambiwa nini? Asilimia yako ni ngapi katika Serikali? Kama ni asilimia, siyo utuambie asilimia ya watu wa Mkoa wa Magharibi ni ngapi tulipe. Kama ni asilimia mia moja tulipe ushuru asilimia mia moja.

Na jambo la ukabila, tusilifiche hapa. Ukabila ni donda sugu katika Kenya. Watu wawache kusema eti sisi ni nchi moja. Kama wanataka tujadili ukabila, tuweke Hoja Bunge tujadili ukabila. Kama ni uwezo wa kuzaa au kuoa tujadili ili tutatue hili jambo la ukabila.

Tumeona juzi kila mtu anasema watu wangu. Kwani nani hana watu? Hata Yesu wa Tongareni ana watu, *my friend*. Na iwapo Kenya hii lazima isonge mbele, lazima

tuonane jicho kwa jicho, tuitane ndugu na dada kwa upendo wa Mungu, tutende haki na vizazi vijavyo vitushukuru kwa wema ambao tunafanya sasa.

Kwa hayo mengi, kwa sababu nchi nzima inanitazama, mimi niko tayari kupambana kuhakikisha nchi ni moja, Wakenya ni wamoja, kila mtu apate haki yake na tusonge mbele.

Kwa hayo mengi, Mungu awabariki. Mungu aibariki Serikali ya nchi ya Kenya.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Faki, I am informed that Sen. Kavindu needs to--

Sen. Faki: Yes, she indicated that she is unwell.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Absolutely. So, just indulge---

Sen. Faki: Thank you.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Kavindu Muthama?

Sen. Kavindu Muthama: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Thank you, Sen. Faki, for allowing me to speak before you.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for allowing me to speak on this Motion of the State of the nation today. I congratulate every Senator who was here yesterday. Due to the lack of a quorum yesterday, we sat and we came up with this. I thank each one of them for coming up with this. It is a crucial moment. It is a very timely moment for us to be in the House today to debate this Motion.

I want to start by sending my condolences to the families of those Gen Zs who died because of the brutality by the police. Our Constitution in Article 37 says-

“Every person has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket, and to present petitions to public authorities.”

I am so saddened by the six or eight Gen Zs who were killed while coming to Parliament to bring their petitions yet they were exercising their right. The police through their leader, the IG, have no right to shoot with live bullets. They would have used blank bullets and teargas to disperse our young people.

As a mother, I was in this Senate that day. Every time I heard a bullet shot, it felt like my stomach was leaving my body. As a mother, I knew that it was a bullet which has hit a child. I did not know what to do. However, they would have been allowed just to come. We have had very many people in the Public and Speaker’s Gallery listening and bringing their petitions here, which we have dealt with.

I condole with the families of Gen Z of Kenya. I also congratulate them because we are here today discussing this Motion because they came out. They are fed up with the state of the nation and how they are living as young people.

I saw one of them admitted at the Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH). He said that he was shot on the back, but thanks to God, he survived. He was shot together with Eric Kyalo Mutisya who lost his life. He said that he was demonstrating because he has been looking for a job for the last 10 years since he graduated. Many of them were demonstrating because they have been tarmarcing more than 10 years. They do not have jobs.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have all the right to demonstrate and ask the Government to provide jobs for them. There are ways of providing these young people with jobs because 30 per cent of all jobs in the 47 counties belong to the youth, women and People Living with Disability (PWDs).

These jobs together with those in the national Government should be given to them rightfully without partiality. Others will do online jobs through the internet.

It has become so difficult for our young people to get police and army jobs. I have heard many of them say that they have been asked to give bribes amounting to Kshs300,000. I have had cases where parents have approached me saying that they have sold their parcels of land to bribe in order for their children to get jobs and they have not been employed.

I call upon the President of Kenya because I know he listens, to provide jobs for these young people.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I looked at the President the other day as he was being interviewed and I saw a king without a covering; a naked king. This is because he was being asked questions about people he gave jobs, but they are not doing their jobs as they should. They were nowhere to be seen; it is a shame.

I call upon the Cabinet Secretaries to take their mandate as required and cover the President. They should do their jobs the way they are mandated to do it. If they do their jobs properly without corruption, nobody will go to the streets to demonstrate.

All of us as a country, as a nation and as leaders, we have failed because many other times even here in the Senate, we take sides and do what our parties are guiding us to do. We forget that we have been sent here by Kenyans who elected us to come and represent them. Many times, we have even passed laws that are against them.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as we reflect from the President to the least in this country, we must now think of how we will work to bring sanity to our country, Parliament and every organization in this country.

Many of these issues are happening because the people are given directions on how to vote. Even when a law is hurting because of the directions given, they still go ahead and vote. A good example is the Finance Bill 2024. The Members of the National Assembly voted yes and it passed. However, the President failed to sign because the people were not happy with it. It is a shame even to the Parliament. We should stand and do what is right for the people who sent us.

I am calling upon the Attorney General (AG) and the IPOA to do what is right and bring justice. For instance, like many of the Senators who have spoken ahead of me have said, cases of corruption are there and are very clear, but they disappear somewhere. Cases are taken to courts, but justice is never served.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, very few people get justice in Kenya, especially the poor. They stay at home knowing that they cannot go to court, but their rightful land has been grabbed or sold to someone who has money. They know even if they go to court, this person will go and bribe the court and they will never get justice.

I am dealing with so many land cases in Machakos. I know what I am talking about. It is time every institution reflects so that we come back to normalcy and do what is right for our people if we do not want Kenya to go into the ruins.

We are talking here, but I pray and request that all the discussions and debate that we are having here today, will go into this Motion and be implemented.

The young people have said it all through the media and social media, but I want to call upon the young people; the Gen Zs. You are free to bring your Petitions to this Senate. We will discuss and implement them. If there is nowhere else you can be heard at the

Senate, you will be heard. Sit down, communicate and send your Petitions to the Senate. We will deal with them and even before then, we will continue talking and presenting what you are saying.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, these children are crying for jobs and seek to see that everything is being done in a proper manner.

I want to speak to all of us through a scripture in the Bible, in Isaiah 1:18. It says, "Come now, let us reason together." It is a time for Kenyans to come together and reason together. Mr. President, reason together with your people. We are here to work for the goodness of this country. We do not want bloodshed.

We are demanding for those who have been arrested for demonstrating without violence, to be released with immediate effect. Those who have died should be assisted in burial because some of them come from very poor families. For example, Rex comes from a family of a single mother. He has no father and lives with his grandmother. The mother is suffering trying to see how she can bury her son.

I am calling upon the President and all the organizations, even this Senate, to intervene and contribute, so that some of these people can be buried honourably like some of the Senators have said, especially those who were killed within the precincts of Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have nullified the Social Health Insurance Fund (SHIF), in the delegated legislation. We want to see statutes and laws that are favourable to the people of Kenya. If we do that, it will be well and our people will settle. They will be happy and we will live in a peaceful country.

Kenya is a country where every other country runs to as refugees and they stay here peacefully.

They are wondering when they see the country being run the way it is runs. I am calling each of one of us to reflect and even as we reflect, we should do the right thing for our people.

I thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I support.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Miraj.

Sen. Miraj: Asante, Bw. Spika, kwa kunipa fursa hii ili niweze kutoa changizo zangu kwenya masuala ya kijamii yanayoendelea katika taifa letu.

[The Speaker (Hon. Kingi) left the Chair]

[The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina) in the Chair]

Natangulia kwa kushukuru Mwenyezi Mungu kwa kuwa na amani kwa taifa letu hadi sisi tukaweza kukaa katika kikao hiki.

Pili, ninatuma rambirambi zangu kwa wale waliondokewa na wapenzi wao, watoto wao, waume wao na hata watoto wanaokwenda shule. Kwa hakika, majuma haya mawili ambayo yametupa kisogo hivi sasa, yametutingiza sisi kama jamii na taifa.

Bw. Spika, gumzo linaloendelea hivi sasa ni kana kwamba, ugatuzi umeondoka humu nchini. Kwa sababu, anayenyooshewa kidole cha lawama ni Mhe. Rais wa taifa la Kenya peke yake. Itakuwa ni unafiki mkubwa, nisipoangazia suala hili kwa sababu tuko na magatuzi 47 yanayoendeshwa na magavana.

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Sisi haswa kama Maseneta ni wasimamizi wa magatuzi haya 47. Lakini, kwa sababu tumeitwa, ni lazima tuitike na tuonyeshe uongozi kwa taifa la Kenya. Sisi kama Maseneta tuko tayari kuziba pengo ambalo limekuwa likiendelea kwa muda mrefu.

Bw. Spika, nitaanza na suala la ukabila humu nchini. Nitaendelea na suala la ardhi katika taifa la Kenya. Tunazungumzia maandamano ambayo yameibuka kwa sababu ya suala la *Finance Bill*. Mimi kama Mhe. Rais William Ruto, nitasema ya kwamba tusiyazungumzie matukio ya majuma haya mawili kana kwamba taifa la Kenya limeanza kupata uhuru wake.

Nitazungumzia suala la ufisadi. Kwa sababu, baada ya mengi tuliyoyazungumzia, ya kwamba, hatutaki mapendekezo ya kutosha ushuru yaliyopelekwa katika Bunge la Taifa---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Miraj, just to bring to your attention, there is a statement you have said, “*mimi kama Rais William Ruto.*” *Fafanua tafadhali.*

Sen. Miraj: Bi. Spika wa Muda, nimepeana mfano kwa wale hawakuelewa Kiswahili. Mimi kama alivyotangulia kusema Mhe. Rais ya kwamba hatutachukua suluhu ya tatizo ya haya majuma mawili kana kwamba tumepata uhuru juzi. Tukubaliane kama taifa na sisi, Bunge la Seneti---

(The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina) spoke off record)

Asante, Bi. Spika wa Muda. Kumekuwa na malimbikizi ya matatizo ambayo yamesonga mawazo yetu humu nchini. Kule Mombasani, Gatuzi 001, na sitaongea hapa kama kiongozi wa kitaifa ikiwa nitajitoa kama kiongozi ambaye ametoka nyanjani.

Ninamshukuru Mhe. Rais kwa kunipa fursa hii kwa sababu chama cha UDA kilitafuta vijana wakakamavu. Tunapozungumzia Gen Z, hata sisi kina Miraj ni Gen Z wa kutoka kule 001. Kwa sababu tumesema tutazungumza bila unafiki, niruhusu kusema haya, kule Mombasa, tumekuwa na tatizo la ardhi.

Familia zetu zimepewa barua na naomba nitaje vitongoji, pale Bondeni, Mwembe Kuku, Likoni Visangalaweni, Tudor, Kisauni na maeneo yote. Haya yote yanakuja kwa sababu taasisi zinapopeana *recommendations*, hakuna kitu kinafanyika.

Sisi kama Serikali ya UDA, tulizunguka katika taifa la Kenya na tukawaambia Wakenya ya kwamba, kuna makosa yaliyotendeka wakati wa Serikali iliyopita. Lakini, tangu tuingie mamlakani, hakuna hata mtu mmoja amewekwa pingu katika mikono yake kuashiria yale tuliyokuwa tunazungumzia wakati wa kampeni tumekuwa kuwafanyia wananchi wa Kenya haki.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, nikibaki katika nukuu yangu ya maswala ya mashamba, jambo la kusikitisha ni kwamba, mawakili wanaowasimamia wale wanaotunyanyasa sisi, ni miongoni mwa viongozi wanaokwenda kuzima nyota ya jamii zetu waliopokonywa mashamba yale.

Nikisimama katika nukuu ya ufisadi, ningependa kuzungumzia taasisi kama ya EACC, ni jambo la kusikitisha. Tungependa taasisi hizi ziweke wazi. Je, wale wanaoondolewa mashtaka hivi sasa, walikuwa wameshitakiwa kwa uonevu ama ni kwa sababu, saa hizi wako sawa kisiasa ndio maana taasisi hii inakunja mkia na kuwaachilia huru bila haki kupatiwa wananchi wa Kenya?

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Bi. Spika wa Muda, nimezungumzia mambo ya malimbikizi ya hasira yaliyowafanya vijana wetu kwenda barabarani. Nilizungumza katika Bunge hili kuhusu kufunguliwa kwa anga ya Moi International Airport. Cha kusikitisha ni kwamba, Waziri alifungulia ndege moja ya Kenya Airways kutua na kwenda Dubai. Lakini, niliposimama hapa, niliomba Bunge hili la Seneti liweze kufungua anga kwa ajili ya ndege zote ili utalii uweze kushamiri katika majimbo yetu.

Hakuna mtu mwenye njaa aliye na furaha. Watoto waliokuwa katika barabara zetu wa Gen Z walikuwa wameumia kwa muda mrefu sana. Hii ni kwa sababu hawapati fursa sawia. Ninazungumza kwa nukuu ya mtoto wa Pwani ambaye anasikia kuna walimu 50,000 walioajiriwa na Serikali ya Kenya. Lakini akiulizwa ni mwalimu gani amejiriwa, hawezi kusema ni nani amejiriwa.

Haya ndio miongoni mwa masuala tata yaliyofanya vijana wetu kwenda katika barabara. Baada ya Jiji la Nairobi, jiji au gatuji iliyofuatilia kwa wingi wa watu waliojitokeza ilikuwa Gatuji 001. Nazungumza kwa uchungu kwa sababu, hata wale vijana wetu tunaowapeleka kwenda kusoma pale Bandari Maritime Academy, zile shahada wanazopewa haziwaruhusu wao kuingia meli za kitaifa.

Hii ina maana kwamba hizo shahada hazifikii viwango vya kitaifa. Mtoto anasoma pale, anarudi anaingia kwenye meli na anawaambia aende South Africa aende akasome tena. Nilikuwa nimepata chemchemi ya furaha lakini naona ndoto yangu ilizimwa kwa sababu *Finance Bill* haikupita.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, kama walivyotangulia kusema viongozi wenzangu, ninamwomba Mhe. Rais wangu kipenzi, aweze kulivunja Baraza la Mawaziri haraka iwezekanavyo. Haiwezekani yale mazuri ambayo mtoto wa Pwani alikuwa anaenda kuyapata katika hii *Finance Bill* ameyakosa kwa sababu kuna mtu hakutoka akajieleza vizuri.

Ningependa kuwapongeza Wabunge wenzangu tuliokuwa nao kule Ikulu ya Rais. Nimeambiwa mimi, Miraj, msimamo wako mkali kusimama nyuma ya Rais utakufanya usichaguliwe. Nitatumia fursa hii kuwaeleza vijana wa Kenya ya kwamba ile *Finance Bill* walioikataa na wakaamua haitakuwa sababu ya wao kupasua kile kilichoko ndani, wamepoteza mambo mengi mazuri sana.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, ninawapigia saluti Wabunge wenzangu nikianza na Mhe. Ruweda aliyekajeliwa na kukashifiwa kwa sababu hawakufanya makosa. Ilikuwa muhimu kwa taifa na kwa Mhe. Rais kukataa kutia sahihi Mswada wa Fedha. Siyo Mswada ulikuwa mbaya, bali tuna mazungumzo mengi kama taifa ambayo tulipaswa kuyazungumzia.

Nafurahi kwamba leo nimeweza kusimama hapa watu wanapozungumzia uporaji wa raslimali. Nashangaa jinsi viongozi wanavyoongea. Kinachoniumiza ni kwamba, pale Mombasa, ni miaka kumi tangu ugatuzi uanze, lakini hatuna uwanja wa kucheza kabumbu ambapo wa pwani walikuwa wanasifika kwa kuweza kuisakata.

Uwanja huu wa Mombasa mpaka leo umebaki kuwa ndoto kwa sababu ya uufisadi. Mamilioni ya pesa yalielekwa lakini Mombasa Stadium imekuwa shamba la wanyama. Ukingia pale, unapatana hata na simba ilhali mamilioni ya pesa yalitengwa.

Nashangaa wanaposema kuwa Mhe. Rais ni wakutenga. Watu wa Mombasa, nawaomba mniangalie kwenye macho yangu na mnieleze na tukubaliane ni mamilioni mangapi yametengewa Mombasa na yameibiwa. Ikiwa tunataka kuinyorosha nchi hii na

kuwa wa kweli na uongozi wa taifa la Kenya, tuwe wa kweli kuanzia pale tulipo. Tuliampa na tukapigia kura sita lakini kidole cha lawama kimebaki kwenye kura moja.

Namwambia Mhe. Rais William Samoei Ruto kwamba ukubwa ni jaa. Kubali kila kitu unachotupiwa. Kwa kauli yako katika maswali uliyokuwa unatupiwa na waandishi wa habari, ulisema umefurahi kuwa vijana wametufikisha hapa. Huu ndio wakati tuache kujificha nyuma ya *microphone*. Kila mtu katika Bunge hili yuko na jukumu la kuweza kulinda raslimali ya Mkenya. Sisi sote tuko na jukumu la kuhakikisha kwamba yale mapendekezo tunayopeana kama Bunge yanasikilizwa.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, hii Seneti ilihamia ya kwamba wanaoishi Pakstani Point warejeshwe katika nyumba zilizojengwa za *Affordable Housing*. Lakini mpaka leo, baada ya ripoti kuandikwa na kuidhinishwa na Seneti, hakuna mtu yoyote aliyekuwa mkazi wa Pakstani Point aliyerejeshwa kukaa katika nyumba hizo.

Ni jambo la kusikitisha kwamba tume ya Inte-Governmental Relations Technical Commission (IGTRC) ilitengezwa katika taifa la Kenya, ripoti ikaandikwa na mapendekezwo kutolewa. Lakini mpaka sasa, ripoti hizi ama madaftari haya yamebaki katika *shelves* za Bunge hili. Hakuna hata moja iliyotekelezwa. Ikiwa kweli tuko tayari kubadilisha mienendo yetu, tuache unafiki wa uongozi wa kunyosheana vidole vya lawama. Nilisikia Seneta mmoja akisema kwamba watu wataresign. Chakushangaza sijiaona Seneta yeyote ameresign.

Katika Bunge hili, tuna kamati zinazosimamia raslimali hizi. Nimezungumzia baadhi ya mipango iliyopangwa na magavana ambao leo hawako mamlakani na miradi haikufanyika. Je, lawama hii pia tutamtika Mhe. Rais? Nakumbuka wakati wa *campaign* tukisema ya kwamba Ksh2 bilioni zilikuwa zinapotea kila siku. Lakini mpaka sasa, hakuna mtu hata mmoja aliyevishwa pingu na tukaambiwa huyu ndiye aliyekuwa sababu ya kupotea kwa mabilioni yale ya pesa. Je, sisi kama viongozi tunawaambia nini wale walioko nje?

Bi. Spika wa Muda, nashukuru kwamba leo Kiongozi wa Waliowengi, ametupa fursa tuyatoe yaliyomo mioyoni mwetu. Tunasikitika kwa sababu Mhe. Rais alizunguka na akatutafuta sisi tuliokuwa kule mashinani tukizungumzia masuala ya mashinani lakini tunashindwa kuona tatizo liko wapi. Nimesikia Mhe. Rais kwa kauli yake akituambia ya kwamba, alipoingia katika uongozi, aliweka sahihi na akapeana *independency* kwenye polisi. Leo hii, bado kuna mtu anamuuliza Mhe. Rais kwa nini watoto wameuliwa. Ndiyo maana narudia kusema, ukubwa ni jaa.

Taasisi zote zifanye kazi zilizowekewa kufanya. Sio kama viongozi, kila saa kunyosheana vidole kwa sababu tunataka ufuasi wa wakisiasa.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, ni miaka 12 tangu ugatuzi. Watu wa pwani wamekuwa wakipewa mabilioni ya pesa lakini mpaka sasa, sisi watu wa pwani tunasema, “*we are marginalized*”. Nataka kujua fedha zile zinaenda wapi. Mbona hatuikii nduru katika magatuzi ambayo yamekuwa yakisema yako *marginalized*. Ni shida gani tuko nazo kama wananchi?

Bi. Spika wa Muda, hatua kali zichukuliwe kwa maafisa waliotumia nguvu katika maandamano haya. Naomba maafisa wote waliotumia nguvu hadi kuangamiza maisha ya watoto wetu wachukuliwe hatua bila kusaza wale wananchi walioonekana bayana wakiwapiga maaskari wetu.

Kama wenzangu waliotangulia kuzungumza, hizo nyongeza tulizowekewa kama Maseneta, mimi kama mwana wa Abdilahi, siko tayari kwa nyongeza hiyo. Ningependa ipelekwe pale ambapo itasaidia watu wengine wanaohitaji zaidi.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, kwa hayo mengi, nashukuru. Mungu abariki taifa letu.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Thank you Senator. Sen. Faki, you had given your opportunity to Sen. Kavindu. You may now take the opportunity to debate.

Sen. Faki: Asante, Bi. Spika wa Muda. Sen. M. Kajwang', unafaa urudi kwa kiti chako.

(Sen. M. Kajwang' resumed his seat)

Naomba kusahihisha kwamba Mombasa hakuna simba. Huwezi kupata simba kwa Municipal Children ama mahali popote Mombasa. Kwa hiyo, msiwe na hofu kuja.

Pili, nachukua fursa hii kwa niaba yangu binafsi na waakazi wa Mombasa, kupeleka rambirambi kwa jamaa, marafiki na ndugu wote ambao waliuliwa wakati wa maandamano ya jana, tarehe 25 na siku nyingine zilizokuwa na maandamano.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Nyamu, you cannot use your phone during the proceeding, please.

Sen. Faki: Bi. Spika wa Muda, vifo vyao vitakumbukwa kwa muda mrefu katika historia ya nchi yetu ya Kenya. Vile vile, natoa salamu kwa wale waliojeruhiwa na kupoteza mali zao kutokana na vurugu zinazoendelea katika nchi yetu kutokana na maandamano yaliyoongozwa na Gen Z.

Pia, natambua udhamini wa Hoja hii iliyofanywa na viongozi wa walio wengi na wachache wa Bunge hili. Imeweza kuleta shwari katika nchi yetu na Bunge hili kwa sababu watu wamepewa fursa ya kuzungumza yote yaliyomo mioyoni mwao. Kenya ni moja na ndio nchi ambayo sote tunaipenda. Hatuna mahali pengine pa kuenda.

Ni masikitiko makubwa kwa nchi yetu kwamba maandamano yalikandamizwa kwa matumizi ya nguvu za kupita kiasi. Tumeona maandamano ya juzi yalivyozimwa pamoja na yale ya mwaka jana yaliyofanywa na wafuasi wa Azimio la Umoja. Kuna muelekeo ambao siyo sawa kwa polisi wetu. Hii imetokana na kwamba polisi wetu hawajaweza kusoma Katiba inavyoamrisha. Katiba inatupa fursa ya kuandamana kwa amani. Tuliona wale vijana waliojitokeza waliandamana kwa amani, isipokuwa maandamano yale yalifurushwa na polisi kwa njia isiyokuwa ya sawa.

Nachukua fursa hii pia kuwapongeza vijana wetu wa Gen Z kwa kuweza kuidhibitishia nchi kwamba wanaweza kuwa na umoja, kupambana na ukabila na pia kuleta siasa za maoni ama *issues* kuliko zile siasa za kikabila na kimbari.

(Loud consultations)

Bi Spika wa Muda, naomba niskizwe kwa makini.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Order.

(Loud consultations)

Sen. Faki: Ningeomba niskizwe in silence na kama haiwezekani ninyamaze.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Hon. Members, can the Senator be heard in silence?

Proceed, Sen. Faki.

Sen. Faki: Bi Spika wa Muda, naona kuna watu wengi wamesimama kando yako na hatupati *attention* ambayo tunataka.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Kindly proceed, Sen. Faki. That is duly noted.

Sen. Faki: Bi Spika wa Muda, matatizo ambayo yametukumba ni malumbukizi ya matatizo yaliyoanza wakati wa uhuru. Wakoloni walipoondoka, waliingia wakoloni mamboleo ambao wameendelea kutugandamiza mpaka hivi sasa. Ugandamizi huu uko katika hali ya kudhibiti rasilmali za nchi. Tunaona ya kwamba rasilmali za nchi zinadhitiwa na wachache na wengi wetu wako katika ligi ya umaskini na uchochole kwa muda wote huu.

Tulielezwa kwamba Kenya ni kampuni ambayo ina wanahisa. Wengine kama Sen. Cherarkey hapa ni wenyehisa ndio sababu anazungumuza wakati mimi ninazungumza.

Gen Z wametuonyesha kwamba hao ndio wenyehisa katika nchi hii ya Kenya. Wao ndio walisema kwamba watakuja Bunge na walikuja Bunge. Ni jambo la kusikitisha kwamba Bunge pia halina uongozi. Hatuna uongozi katika Bunge hili na pia kwenye Bunge la Kitaifa. Tuna wenyevidi ambao wanasimamia mijadala katika Bunge hizi.

Ilikuwa vipi Mwenyekiti ama Spika wa Bunge la Kitaifa kukosa kuwasiliana na wale waliokuwa wanaleta maandamano na akapokea *memorandum* yao hapa nje? Tulikosa vipi sisi viongozi wa Bunge hili la Seneti kujitolea kuenda kusimama pale nje na kuweza kupokea *memorandum* ambayo iliyokuwa inaletwa na Gen Z?

(Sen. Mumma spoke off record)

Sen. Faki: Dada yangu, Sen. Mumma, anasema kuwa alienda.

Mara nyingi tumeweza kupokea memorandum kutoka kwa watu mbalimbali ambao wamezileta katika Bunge hili. Matokeo ya juzi, Jumanne, yalikuwa ni doa katika Bunge hili. Bunge hili huwakilisha wananchi. Wananchi walikuwa wanakuja hapa kuonana na viongozi wao. Lakini sisi viongozi tulikimbia na kuwaacha wapigwe risasi. Ni makosa wananchi kuuliwa mbele ya Bunge lao.

Hata katika zile nchi ambazo maandamano yanaendelea, kwa mfano, Israeli, yameendelea kwa muda zaidi ya miezi sita lakini hakuna watu wameuliwa nje ya Bunge lao.

Bi Spika wa Muda, tukizungumzia mambo ambayo yako hapa, ufisadi ni kidonda sugu katika taifa letu. Tume ya ufisadi imekuwa kwa zaidi ya miaka 10 lakini hakujakuwa na mafanikio yoyote katika kupambana na ufisadi.

Vita dhidi ya ufisadi vinapigwa kisiasa. Kama hauko katika mrembo wa Serikali ambayo iko mamlakani huwezi kuepuka kupelekwa mahakamani. Unapata kuwa wengi wanaohutumwa na Tume ya ufisadi wanajisongesha karibu na Serikali iliyoko mamlakani ili waondolewe mashtaka na lawama ya mambo ya ufisadi.

Ufisadi umeingia pia katika Bunge hili letu. Ndio maana kama alivyozungumza Sen. Osotsi, kabla ya kupiga kura ya Mswada muhimu huwa tunaitwa Ikulu kuenda

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kuzungumza juu ya huo Mswada. Tunatoka pale na bahasha kama zile zinazotoka kwa viongozi wa kanisa. Ufisadi huu ndio umetufanya sisi kudharauliwa mpaka na watoto wetu ndio sababu waliandamana hivi juzi.

Mahakama pia zimelemewa. Wiki mbili zilizopita hakimu mmoja alipigwa risasi ndani ya mahakama hapa Nairobi, upande wa Makadara. Ijapokuwa tulisema tukio hilo lilikuwa jambo la kipekee, lakini ilikuwa shutuma kubwa kwa taasisi zetu za kitaifa. Itakuwaje hakimu anapigwa risasi ndani ya mahakama? Huyo alikuwa hakimu ambaye anatekeleza majukumu yake kama sheria inavyomuamuru lakini anapigwa risasi ndani ya mahakama na afisa mkubwa wa polisi.

Bi Spika wa Muda, tukio hilo halikuangaziwa kikamilifu. Tuliipitisha hivi na vile kienyeji lakini ilikuwa doa kuu kwa taasisi zetu za kitaifa. Wale walipokuja hapa Bungeni walikuwa wanaendeleza zile shutuma ambazo wako nazo kwa taasisi za kitaifa ikiwemo pia Bunge ambayo iliingia katikati.

Tumeona jela zetu zimejaa na vijana wadogo ambao wamewekwa pale labda kwa sababu ya kushindwa kufadhili *bond* za kuwatoa nje. Tukitembea jela zote utapata zaidi ya asilimia kubwa ya walio huko ndani ni wale ambao wameshindwa kutoa *bond*.

(Sen. Cherarkey consulted loudly)

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Cherarkey, you know that you are out of order. You cannot disrupt debate in that manner.

Sen. Faki: Bi Spika Wa Muda, mahakama zetu zimejaa vijana wengi ambao wameshindwa kudhibiti masharti ya *bond* ambayo inatolewa na mahakama zetu. *Bond* zinazowekwa na mahakama zetu ziko juu kiasi ambacho yule anayetakikana kulipa anashindwa kwa sababu hata labda kwake hana chakula cha kula.

Jana, kuna mshatikwa mmoja kule Eldoret ambaye alipewa *bond* ya shilingi 10 milioni kwa kosa la kuiba kilo 181 za nyama. Tukiangalia *bond* hizo na za wale ambao wanashtakiwa makosa makubwa, hazifanani kabisa. Juzi, yule mtumwa wa ile scandal ya Triton ambaye alitumiwa kuiba zaidi ya shilingi 10 trillions alipewa *bond* ya shilingi milioni moja, akatoweka na mpaka sasa hajapatikana.

Mahakama zetu zimeingia katika ligi ya ufiisadi na utepetevu kiasi ambacho kupata haki katika mahakama hizi imekuwa shida. Wananchi wanatafuta njia mbadala za kutatua matatizo yao.

Kutoka mzozo huu kuanza, Serikali ya Kenya Kwanza imekuwa na vichwa viwili. Juzi tulimwona Mhe. Rais William Ruto akitoa taarifa yake 4.00 p.m. na baadaye Naibu wa Rais akatoa taarifa yake 5.00 p.m. Katika hali kama hii sio sawa viongozi wawili wakuu katika Serikali kuonyesha sura mbili tofauti. Sisi tunajua Serikali ni moja na kichwa ni kimoja. Mambo yaliyotokea juzi yalionyesha kuwa kuna vichwa viwili katika Serikali hii.

Tunaona pia kuwa Baraza la Mawaziri limekuwa kimya. Hakuna Waziri ambaye anazungumza chochote kuhusiana na michafuko inayoendelea katika nchi yetu hivi sasa.

Bi Spika wa Muda, tunataka Serikali izungumze na sauti moja kwa sababu Serikali ni moja na kiongozi wake ni mmoja. Kama wanataka kuwa na Serikali mbili, basi wakafanye vile nchi nyingine hufanya. Lakini hapa kwetu tunapendelea Serikali iwe moja.

Tumeona pia masuala ya *extrajudicial killings* bado yanaendelea ijapokuwa Serikali hii ilipochaguliwa, walisema jambo hili litawekwa katika kaburi la sahu.

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Tumeona juzi hapa nje ya Bunge zaidi ya watu wanane walipigwa risasi na kupoteza maisha yao. Kuna baadhi ya wale wanaofuatwa usiku majumbani mwao na kutekwaa nyara bila ya kujulikana wanaenda wapi. Hii sio Serikali ambayo ilichaguliwa na Wakenya. Hata kukamata mtu inakuwa ni vita.

Juzi, tuliona mbunge wa zamani, Mhe. Alfred Keter, akitoka kanisani na kutekwa nyara kama mhalifu. Hio sio nchi ya kistaarabu. Kama ni kweli, tume hiyo inafaa ichunguze. Wanafaa kumwita na akikosa kwenda, wachukue *warrant* ya kumtaka ili aende ajibu mashtaka.

Tukiangazia suala la ukosefu wa kazi, Serikali inasema kwamba inapeleka watu Saudi Arabia, Dubai, Qatar na Marekani lakini kupata pasipoti ni shida kwa sababu inachukua miezi sita au zaidi. Watu wetu wanaambiwa kwamba watapatiwa kazi katika nchi za nje. Wanaambiwa kuwa watapewa kazi kule Marekani, Uchina, Ujerumani na kwingineko lakini kupata pasipoti ni shida katika nchi yetu ya Kenya. Vijana ambao tunaahidi kazi za nje watakwenda vipi.

Zamani katika Halmashauri ya Bandari, kulikuwa na vibarua waliokuwa wanachukuliwa kwa kile kilichojulikana kama “*White Card*”. Baada ya muda, walikuwa wanafuzu na kupewa kazi za kudumu. Mpango huo wa “*White Card*” uliondolewa na sasa zabuni zinatolewa kwa watu binafsi kupeleka watu kufanya kazi bandarini. Watu hao wakipewa kazi zile, watanyanyasa wafanyakazi ambao hawatapata haki zao kikamilifu. Vile vile, utendakazi utazidi kudorora katika bandari ile.

Tunashutumiwa na mashirika ya kimataifa kama International Monetary Fund (IMF) kwamba tunafaa kupunguza *wage bill* na wafanyikazi lakini ukiangalia, nchi yetu inaendelea. Iliyokuwa Bandari ya Mombasa miaka 20 iliyopita sio ilivyo sasa lakini wafanyikazi wanazidi kupungua.

Ukekezaji katika mashirika yetu hautusaidii sisi kama Wakenya kwa sababu watoto wetu hawawezi kuajiriwa kazi ilhali tunatoa ardhi na kodi kufadhili mashirika yale. Ikiwa hawawezi kupata kazi, vijana wetu wataajiriwa wapi? Tunataka waende waajiriwe katika bandari za Dubai au Rotterdam wakati tuna Bandari ya Mombasa? Mambo hayo lazima yaangaliwe. Hatuwezi kupambana na ukosefu wa kazi ikiwa hatutakuwa wabunifu.

Leo hii, kuajiri watu Mombasa kutumia “*White Card*” ni rahisi kuliko kuwapeleka Dubai kwa kazi ambazo hazijulikani halafu tunalalamika kuwa wafanyikazi wetu wananyanyaswa katika nchi za nje wakati mila na desturi zetu ni tofauti na kule ugenini ambako wanaenda kufanya kazi.

Tumesema kwamba tutoe mapendekezo. Nakubaliana na wenzangu waliosema kuwa Inspekta Jenerali wa Polisi anafaa kujiuzulu. Jana kulikuwa na maandamano kule Mombasa na ofisi zetu zililengwa mawe na waandamanaji. Ofisi yangu kule Mombasa ililengwa mawe na gari la mtoto wangu likachomwa. Polisi walikuwa wamekaa tu wakiangalia. Polisi walikuwa wakati magari yalikuwa yanachomwa.

Hayo ni baadhi ya mambo ambayo hatungependa kushuhudia tena katika nchi yetu ya Kenya kwa sababu hakuna kosa ambalo tulikuwa tumefanya katika ofisi ile wala hakuna shinikizo lolote ambalo tuliambiwa tufanye tukakataa. Tunaposema kuwa Bw. Koome ambaye ni Inspekta Jenerali wa Polisi amepoteza mwelekeo, tunamaanisha kuwa hajawaeleza kikamilifu mambo ambayo polisi ambao anawasimamia wanafaa kufanya.

Wanaposema kuwa mahakama iliwazuia, huo siyo ukweli. Mahakama ilisema kuwa wasitumie silaha wakati mali na maisha ya watu yamo hatarini. Iliwazuia kutumia

silaha bila mpango. Wakati mwingine unapata kuwa wananchi wanaandamana kwa amani ilhali wao wanatumia vitoa machozi au kufyatua risasi ili kuwadhuru wandamanaji.

Mwisho, kuna wale ambao wameshtakiwa kwa makosa madogo madogo kama vile kushiriki maandamano au kusema “*Ruto must go.*” Hayo siyo mashtaka ya kupeleka mtu mahakamani. Serikali inafaa kuondoa mashtaka hayo na kuhukumu wale ambao wametuhumiwa kwa ufisadi ili turejeshe pesa walizochukuwa ili kusaidia Wakenya kupata ajira, huduma za afya na kusomesha watoto wao.

Kuna pendekezo la kuwaita Wabunge kutoka likizo ili kujadili upya mapendekezo ya kuondoa Mswada wa Fedha wa 2024. Naunga mkono pendekezo hilo kwamba lazima Wabunge waitwe. Mswada huo ukitoka katika Bunge la Taifa, lazima pia uletwe katika Seneti kwa sababu unahusu masuala ya fedha ambayo yanaathiri tume huru. Kwa hiyo, unafaa kuletwa katika Seneti kulingana na Katiba.

Kwa kumalizia, masuala ya ukabila yamekithiri katika kaunti zetu zote. Isipokuwa katika kaunti za Nairobi na Mombasa, ukienda katika kaunti zingine katika Jamhuri ya Kenya, utapata kwamba asilimia 98 ya wafanyikazi wanatoka katika kaunti hizo.

Tuna Kamati ya Mshikamano wa Kitaifa, Fursa Sawa na Utangamano wa Kikanda lakini haijakwenda katika kila kaunti kuangalia masuala hayo. Hatuwezi kuzungumzia umoja wa kitaifa ikiwa tunazungumzia mambo ya ukabila au mbari katika kaunti zetu. Utapata watu wanasema kuwa anayefaa kupata kazi katika kaunti zetu anafaa kutoka mbari hii au ile.

Kama tunataka umoja wa kitaifa, ni lazima tukubaliane kwamba kuajiri watu katika sekta za umma lazima kuwe sawa katika kila sehemu. Kila mwaka, vijana wanachukuliwa kujiunga na vikosi vya majeshi.

(Sen. Faki's microphone was switched off)

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Please, allow him one more minute to finish that statement.

Sen. Faki: Hata hivyo, kaunti zingine hupata nafasi zaidi kuliko zingine. Katika kila eneo bunge, vijana huchukuliwa kujiunga na vikosi vya askari na majeshi. Ukiangalia kwa makini, maeneo bunge mengine hupewa nafasi ya watu 10. Mengine hupewa nafasi ya watu 20 na mengine mtu mmoja tu. Inakuwa vipi ilhali kila eneo bunge linafaa kuajiri watu sawa?

Ni muhimu kubuni kamati katika Seneti kujadili mambo haya. Inatakikana tutoe mwelekeo kwa haraka zaidi kuliko jinsi ambavyo mambo yameweza kufanywa. Hiyo ndio sababu wengine tulikataa Maseneta kwenda likizo ili tujadili maswala haya kikamilifu na kutoa mwelekeo.

Leo wananchi wengi wamepiga simu kutuunga mkono kwa hatua ambayo tumechukua ili kuweka mambo wazi bila ya usumbufu wowote---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Thank you, Sen. Faki. Sen. Mariam Omar, you have the Floor.

Sen. Mariam Omar: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker, for giving me this opportunity.

I also rise to support this Motion on the current state of the nation created by our youth outside there. I admire and appreciate their actions because on one hand, they know their role that they can oversight the Government.

When it comes to campaigning during elections, we misuse the youth because we, normally, give them Kshs200 for political purposes, so that we come in as Senators or Members of the National Assembly. However, when it comes to legislation, we do not involve them.

Perhaps the youth are also corrupt. They have not been taking action. However, this time around, they know their space. To the youth, thank you very much for that.

Madam Temporary Speaker, regarding the issue of corruption, it is everywhere, from Gen Z to the President. One major form of creating corruption are the Semi-Autonomous Government Agencies (SAGAS) in the Government Ministries and Departments (MDAs). So, end the corruption. It is better for the President to put measures or demolish these SAGAS in the MDAs who are doing the function of the county government.

The corruption investigating agency, that is the EACC, conducted a survey that flagged out a bureaucratic system in our Government. It is the bureaucratic system that promotes corruption in our country. So, take note the EACC did their part.

Corruption affects the economic growth and the living standards in our country. It also increases the cost of living, unemployment and poverty. Let us say, somebody stole from your house or your business and you were able to identify them via Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV), you can take them to court and lead to imprisonment.

Madam Temporary Speaker, when it comes to the Government institutions such as the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF), for example, there are fraudulent activities that have been identified. However, this bureaucracy where investigation has to be done by the DCI and then the EACC makes it take as long as five years for these culprits to be jailed. All those loopholes will lead to corruptions. Until we fill that gap of bureaucracy, there will be no change.

When it comes to cutting down on the budget, I have seen in the social media that the major cut is more in education and health. Most of those Gen Zs are teachers, our intern doctors and clinical officers who are on strike for almost 90 days now. To solve that, it is a high time that we go back to our office and cut down on travelling expenditures in national and county governments.

If we are honest to ourselves, we have to reflect and look at the things that touch on our youth. One of them is university fees. I hear university fees for a year is over Kshs100,000 now, before subsidy which is Kshs24,000 or Kshs30,000 before. Now the Gen Zs are asking themselves; if they are paying almost Kshs500,000 to get a degree, what if they did business? So, we have to take note of the university fees so that at least when they come back from the university, they are given a job.

There must be accountability and transparency in all institutions. That is exactly what the Gen Z is doing while overlooking the national Government. I wanted them to cascade it down to the county governments and participate in their budget issues. They also have to fight for their space at the county level.

Madam Temporary Speaker, the State corporations are doing redundant work in the county and they are supposed to be abolished. The money in that MDAs can be taken to recruit the current medical interns and JSS teachers.

One of the things that touches on the youth is employment. The President said that he created jobs for them internationally. However, as one of the Senators has concluded, it is very difficult for them to get passports until maybe MPs or Senators intervene.

Getting a passport is their right and when the President promised them jobs overseas, it means that the systems at the Immigration Department must be simple and transparency for our youth.

I support.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Thank you, Senator.

Sen. (Dr.) Oburu, proceed.

Sen. (Dr.) Oburu: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. I rise to support this Motion at this time of reflection when our country is going through a lot of stress.

This thing has not started today with this regime or the previous one. It is something that has been going on for years and years. Regime after regime has been coming in without listening to the people. This is happening because our people have not seen the independence they fought for. People thought they had gained independence, but when the leaders came in, they started with greedy by land grabbing, nepotism, tribalism and open corruption. This is what has been bubbling beneath and it has finally accumulated and burst out.

I remember the previous President, Uhuru Kenyatta, told us there was a force coming from underneath, which is the youth. They have issues, which if not addressed, will one day burst and tear all of us into pieces.

Madam Temporary Speaker, this morning, I was impressed by what our Senate Majority Leader said. In fact, I failed to recognise him. I did not think it was Sen. Cheruiyot speaking. I thought it was somebody who was born again and reincarnated.

For Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale, I know, since I have been with him, he sometimes changes just to please the bosses, but I know he knows exactly what should be done.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I am so happy that Parliament, specifically the Senate, is waking up to its role. Our role as Parliament and as the Senate is not to go into bed with the Executive. Even though you were elected on parties, which are either ruling or in the opposition, our role is to oversight.

Here people are talking of Government as if they are part of the Executive. Government is not the Executive. The Government has three arms; the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary.

Our role is not just to oversight the Executive here, but the executive down up to the counties - the governors. I have seen people who are angry with us. They are saying that even we, the Senators, are not properly oversighting the governors. This is not an empty accusation. We should reflect on this and think exactly what we should do about it.

Madam Temporary Speaker, we are looking at corruption as a cancer. It is a cancer in our country because it has brought down many institutions. Many institutions cannot work or are not effective because of corruption. People are blaming the EACC saying that it is not effective. This is because people, including governors, go there with their briefcases to corrupt Government officials.

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When you talk of raising taxes, this institution called KRA is supposed to raise taxes from Kenyans, but the Government has missed it. I use to work with some of these people who are advising that raising levels of taxes and introducing new taxes is the way to go in raising money for the Government. I am sure that there are ways in which this Government can raise sufficient money, not only through the Finance Bill and all the requirements in the recurrent, but also all the requirements in development. We do not have to jump up and down begging money from people.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I know from experience - I used to be an Assistant Minister for Finance. I can tell you that when we came into office, the economy was growing at a negative per cent in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Within less than 10 years, the economy was growing at 7.5 per cent, almost 9 per cent. This is because of sealing the loopholes for corruption. I can tell you that this thing called *harambee* is one of the conduits of corruption.

The way it was dealt with at that time by the President was to first give instructions to all public officers; that to participate in *harambees*, you can contribute money, but do not go there as a guest of honour. Do not also go there with the monies saying, 'I have been given this, I have been sent by so-and-so.'

The so-and-so, you are giving money are the ones who have corrupted you because they came for you for free service. Instead of giving them free service, you ask them for bribes in order to get those services. I can also tell you that corruption starts from the top.

The fish rots from the head. If you are the head of an institution and you are corrupt, there is no way you will deal with people beneath you and instruct them not to be involved in corruption. If you are the head of a ministry, there is no way you will instruct people below you not to be corrupt when you are corrupt.

Madam Temporary Speaker, there is no way if you are the President of the country that people would think and have the perception that you will tell them not to do the same. This thing called corruption starts with supplies. When you go to supplies, the issuing of contracts, you will find contractors lining up in big offices with briefcases. If those briefcases are stopped, those contractors will do a good job. They will do quality work and the people will get value for the taxes they pay.

Madam Temporary Speaker, you cannot be asking people to pay taxes, yet they do not see the result of the taxes that they pay. I know that I was living in a country where the President said that there will be no briefcases to his office. Any contractor who went to his office, would be told please go and do your work. I do not want you to come to my office for anything. You go and do proper tendering. If you win, it is because you deserve it, get the job and do it as you should.

Within a very short time, that country was raising sufficient money to pay for their recurrent expenditures fully, to service their debts fully, without any stress. They were paying for their development budget of almost 95 per cent. When I was in Government here, we managed to raise sufficient money to service our debts comfortably.

We managed to raise sufficient money to pay salaries and recurrent expenditures comfortably. The development budget was being financed at 90 per cent from our own budget. What happened? Any Minister who was mentioned in the case of corruption was asked by the President himself to step aside until investigations were complete. You had to

step aside until investigations are completed; if you are cleared, you could come back. If not cleared, you do not come back to the office.

Madam Temporary Speaker, there was a time when my own Minister, Amos Kimunya, declared that he will not resign even though he was being mentioned in some cases of corruption. He said he would resign over his dead body. The President insisted that he must step aside and Amb. Muthaura was in our office from morning to evening telling him, 'if you do not step aside, the President will sack you.' I can tell you, he did it.

He called me to join him in the press. We sat there and he told me not to answer questions from the press. We just bowed. It is doable if we can clean ourselves and be very strict that if you have been mentioned in corruption, do not wait to be sacked, but step aside and allow for investigations.

If the investigations are done and you are clean, you can come back. Not a system where people accused in court whose cases are going on, somehow behind the doors are cleared and given public offices. This is unheard of.

When you are in court and witnesses have already given evidence up to a certain level, and the case is almost coming to an end, how can the DPP come to clear you and give you a clean bill of health when witnesses have already pinned you down? Why not let the judges do their job and say whether you are innocent or not because evidence has already been presented?

I also want to talk about our public institutions. Our public institutions are not doing what they should be doing. In our days, everybody wanted to go to a public hospital because public hospitals were offering better services than private hospitals. What happened? The public schools were offering better quality education than private schools. Everybody wanted to join public schools. However, nowadays, everybody wants to go to a private school if they have money. They only go to public schools if their parents cannot afford private schools.

This is because the way of appointing and training teachers is not proper. I cannot speak more on this vice called corruption. It has deeply embedded our society and it is almost everywhere. You go to education, it is the same thing. You go to health and even roads, it is the same thing.

I was asking a contractor in my constituency why he was doing a shoddy job in constructing a road that was wearing out and almost creating such big potholes that you could even bury a small child in them. This contractor told me, "Dr. Oburu, you are my friend. I have to give so much money to many people. Where do I get it from?" We agree that I remove one layer of the contract from it. We agree that we do something about what they call the Erection All Risk (EAR) policy. We do something about the drainage. So that is why these roads get depleted and destroyed very fast. I know that this happens not only with roads, but also with health and all the other departments.

I do not want to continue to speak much more than this. However, I want to say this. I can see my friend, Sen. Cheruiyot, has come back. I wanted to talk to him straight and tell him that what he said today impressed me so much. I would like you to continue like that. If this thing could be sustained, so that we can continue in this line being together.

Today, when you spoke, I thought I was not going to say anything. You spoke what we thought should be spoken by a leader from our side. I hope that when an issue arises, we are not going to be held at ransom with the people who are leading our parties and the

Government. If we strongly feel that there is something that they are not doing right, we must come up and advise them. If they do not listen, let us not wait for the people to teach us lessons. Let us do it ourselves. Let us advise and even come to the Floor of the House and say we have tried to advise, but we are not getting our advice through.

This is correct and I did not even know that Sen. Cheruiyot knows some of the things he said here. I thought the way you, particularly Sen. Cherarkey, sometimes interrupts us from saying anything, perhaps you did not know. I did not know he knew all these things that he was speaking about here.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I want to end there by strongly supporting this Motion. To the people who are up there, sometimes people speak here; instead of speaking to us, they are speaking to the authorities up there.

Some of them like Sen. Tabitha are nominated, so they want not to be heard that they are defending. However, at least, you are not nominated to come and defend. You are nominated to come and defend the people of Kenya and the interests for which you are nominated. Do not come here to defend the system, because what you do here will go on record. That is what will make you either catapult higher or go down into the drains.

Madam Temporary Speaker, thank you. I support.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Thank you, Sen. (Dr.) Oburu.

Sen. Aaron Cheruiyot, you sound like a new convert before Sen. (Dr.) Oburu.

Sen. Tabitha Mutinda?

Sen. Tabitha Mutinda: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. Let me start by supporting this Motion. I also thank all the leaders of the House for the good leadership that they have also shown and the steps that they have taken. Leadership is action. It has also been shown and we appreciate as a House.

Let me remove the worries from Dr. Oburu. I did not know if you knew I was the next to pick the microphone. I will tell him that it is an opportunity for every leader in this country to speak and guide the Executive correctly for the betterment of our country. We are in this House and we are going to do what is right and correct.

Let me also give my sincere condolences to the fallen souls, not only here in Parliament, but in the different parts of this country. It has been a sad moment and it is a big lesson to learn.

Issues have come from right, left and centre. However, let me start with my young brothers and sisters; the Gen Z. It is a 'wow' how they have done things. I want to tell their parents that school fees was not lost. We can see the kind of children that we have; a generation that is educationally equipped and well-versed with matters at national and even international levels. We have seen them articulate issues and it is something to pride in. We are very proud of our children.

I want to further guide them not to let their bar go down. You have set a standard. When you set a standard, let it be up high, as you proceed to make it go higher. What do I mean by this? Last week on Tuesday when we had demonstrations, you noticed that by 5.00 p.m., the Gen Zs were exiting. This was part of their well-organized peaceful demonstrations. It was a good strategy. However, that evening, sadly, some of the goons that had joined, turned to them, as innocent as Gen Zs were, and started looting from them. As they organized yesterday, it became evident that the demonstrations were already infiltrated by goons engaging in hooliganism and looting.

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Nairobi has been highly affected. People have lost businesses and jobs. The strategy that Gen Z had is different from what we saw. However, we all remember the case of Kevin, a 12-year-old student, who was hit by a stray bullet.

Yesterday, as I went back home, I witnessed young uniformed school children running away from the teargas and it was sad. I want to ask the school institutions, the Parent Teachers Association (PTAs) and board members to make decisions as we have seen some private schools have done and ask the students to stay at home. Not going to school a day or two is not a big deal because all of you are not attending the class.

We had COVID-19 pandemic where people stayed home for one year. The security and the safety of our young children comes first. I want to urge the learning institutions, the lower learning institution and the high schools, especially the day scholars, to make some of these quick decisions to ensure there is safety.

Back to what has brought us to this point. I have heard and thank the President for saying that he is willing to have dialogue with the Gen Z. We appreciate even as that process takes place, charity begins at home.

His Excellency the President has Gen Z within State House; the young boys and girls who are within your surroundings. Do not even go far because they are speaking one language and the same thing. Start with them. They will tell you everything. Give them an opportunity. It just starts there within your institution because they are there.

I am saying that because I have also seen them. Give them a chance of about 30 minutes of conversation. They will bring light to you and you will connect with them. For Gen Z, it is not just about talking, it is also about vibing. You listen to them more when they articulate their issues because what they want done is to be listened to more. We not only have the Gen Z, but also Gen Alpha who are our children at the age of 10, nine and 11. The Gen Alpha have been watching what Gen Zs are doing.

I want to take the leaders back a few years ago, some of these children were in high school and we witnessed quite a number of schools being burnt at a particular moment. Now, the same students are able to articulate their issues at the national level. The young ones are also able to see that. I saw a few of them coming out and carrying the placards of 'reject the Finance Bill'. This is because they have seen what their elder ones are doing.

What I am trying to say this evening is this is the opportunity to correct what is already out here, so that the younger group does not undergo what the Gen Z are undergoing right now. Let us correct this not only for the Gen Z, but also for the Gen Alpha and Gen Beta, because these are our children and we have them. They are smart. It is the opportunity to correct this as far as the whole narrative of Gen Z is concerned.

What are Gen Zs asking? They have said they need action for some of the things that I have heard my colleagues mention, especially on the issue of Chapter Six of the Constitution, on integrity issues, as far as how you conduct yourself as a leader.

We have seen corruption taking place where people are carrying money in sacks up and down. Nonetheless, I am happy because we are accepting that it is not correct.

We have seen *harambees* taking place. I can attest that most of the Senators here, before the end of week, they have already shared their *harambee* cards for the different institutions. We try our best to support even if we are not attending. If we are going to reduce that, then let us also reduce the issue of giving handouts and people lining up to receive them.

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I have listened to Gen Z and they are saying, ‘do you have to do a scandal to be famous, so that you can be elected in politics? Why can we not just elect leaders who are able to articulate their issues and show their competence, instead of how much person X has given you versus how much the other person has given you?’

If we equate leadership with monetary value, then we lose it. Let it be a win-win situation for both sides. Let us also scrap the issue of lining up to say, ‘this is the handout that I have received from person X, so I will vote for person X because they have given me more money.’

We also need to come out of this by cleaning these particular systems. We will be giving opportunities for any Kenyan from every corner of this country, not because of the name that they hold or the money they have in their pocket, but because of the responsibility of leadership that they can offer as that is what is needed.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I support the issue of the change or reshuffle for our Cabinet Secretaries. There has to be a change. In this country, we have a Cabinet Secretary for Youth Affairs, Sports and the Arts. The Gen Z have been demonstrating from all corners of this country. Where is our Cabinet Secretary for matters youth, for Christ's sake? Where has he been, for Christ's sake? No matter how hot it has been, you come and also sit with the President and give him that shoulder, so that you can listen to these issues.

One time I traveled to Dubai and met one of the Ministers who told me she was the Minister for Happiness and I was surprised. I asked what a Minister for Happiness does or whether they make people happy. She said, ‘no, she evaluates the feedback that they get from the citizens on how happy or unhappy they are over the services that we offer as a Government. If they are unhappy, what are the issues, so that they can be addressed? If they are happy, then they maintain and even better them.

In our case or scenario where the youth came out, where was the Cabinet Secretary for Youth Affairs, Sports and Arts, for Christ's sake? Up to date, he has not spoken. He has not even said a word and you want to sit back and say, we are going to continue.

Mr. President, this is our country and because of the respect that we have for you, the best is to say it as it is; that you need a change. They say if you keep on doing things the same way you have always done, then you will always get the same results. It is until you change the way you do things that you will get different result. This is the time for the change.

Mr. President, you took a stand and refused to sign the Bill, not because you are a coward, but because you are wise. You looked at the fate of the 48 million Kenyans. That is wisdom. Since Kenyans still believe in you, they have hope and trust because you requested to be given time to jog your mind. We believe and know that you will do the necessary. It is for the betterment of us, as a country.

The issue of *harambees* has been mentioned. I have said that we should desist from that. Understand us now.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I have also seen and want to be part of the SRC issue. We cannot have revenue whose budget is for wages and salaries is more than 35 per cent, for Christ's sake! How do you go ahead and gazette when we are where we are?

I am also in line refusing the additional Kshs14,000. I do not need it and I am happy that colleagues have also joined in the same. Divert those funds to pay for the wages and salaries of people in other institutions, especially the JSS. Let budgets be cut for our JSS.

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We have seen how Gen Z came out and that means our education system is working. Let us invest more in the education system. Let us empower the learning institutions and support them by doing the cut-off budgets and being able to meet those deficits in place.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I appreciate the President when he was doing his interview last week, when he confirmed that he agreed on the issue of CASs and that he would deal with that. That was within his prerogative and he can make that decision. Further to that, he agreed to scrap the budgets off for the First Lady, the Second Lady and the spouse of the Prime Cabinet Secretary.

This is something positive and this is leadership. He has taken action on what is within his purview. However, matters that need constitutional amendments or referendum will need time. We should appreciate what can be done within the shortest time.

I have one citizenship. This is my country and this is my motherland. I want to urge every Kenyan, especially the youth that we should forge forward with solutions and by ticking off the issues that have been addressed. We should also give a timeline to the other issues that require referendum. We understand that they require referendum and there is a procedure to that.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I request the Gen Z to reject hooliganism and looting. They should also reject their own parents being toned down when these hooligans and goons are stealing money from them. We saw that yesterday in Nairobi, where items were being snatched from people. They should also post in those same social platforms and reject.

There is the picture that Gen Z have shown us on being party-less, tribe-less and indicating that they are one Kenya. It is good and positive. Let it not die, but let it be something that also takes care and moves to the other generations and generations to come.

With those remarks, I fully support. I thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Richard Onyonka.

Sen. Onyonka: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. I have been here since morning and I appreciate being given this opportunity.

(Sen. Beth Syengo spoke off record)

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Beth Syengo, I inform you that it would be in order for you to follow the right procedure when you need our attention, instead of shouting from the bench.

Sen. Beth, I have a whole list of the way the sequence was printed.

(Sen. Beth Syengo spoke off record)

I have a sequence of a list that was handed over by the previous Chair. I am trying as much as possible to use that sequence because that sequence was taken when the system was starting to go down. It had sequentially the Members who intended to give their contribution. It is the one I have used so far, with the exception of the few special requests that were there.

After Sen. Onyonka, we have Sen. Hamida and we have Sen. Peris on the other side.

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Proceed, Sen. Onyonka.

Sen. Onyonka: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. I stand here a very sad person and yet, I am deeply happy because it has been something I have been dealing with on a personal level. This is in terms of my responsibility as a legislator.

Before I proceed with saying any other thing, I would like to mention a few names. Just like my colleagues have said, I knew my brother, Sen. Aaron Cheruiyot, was worthy, but I now know that he is much more worthy than I thought he was. He has surprised me.

I remember I once made a phone call to him asking how to manage the issue of Madam Nyakang'o. He told me to tell her that they were trying to figure out on what to do. I took the message and that is when I knew that he was a serious person. I am proud of him and he should keep it up.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I would like to mention the name of Madam Nyakang'o, who is also the Controller of Budget (CoB) and Madam Nancy, the Auditor General. Those are the two incredible women of this Republic. If I had my own reward, I would give them.

This is because when everything else seems to be failing, some of us have been talking to them and all the time, we have feared for their lives. It is not because anything would happen, but the costs were too high and the expectation was much higher. They have done their jobs. I am happy that this House, which is known as the oversighting House, has seen the light.

My colleagues in this House – sorry, I have lost my voice. I am lucky because I have the institutional memory. I have been in politics for the last 30 years. In those years, I have been in elective politics for 22 years. The problems in Kenya, as Sen. (Dr.) Oburu said, have not been started by President William Ruto.

The other day, people were asking me how I could tell that the young Gen Z would come to the streets after one year. I told them that I look at the trend. If you look at the Independence era, 1962 and 1963, that was the 20 years beyond where the liberation movement took place. After that, we got Independence.

It took us another 20 years for us to have a military coup. The people who were guarding and within that military coup were not old men like hon. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga or Hon. Charles Njonjo. It was young people; children of the University of Nairobi and the young people who believed in the ideal of what Kenya should have been.

Madam Temporary Speaker, the second issue was in 2002, another 20 years later when President Kibaki was elected and when we had a referendum. We also got a new Constitution and then we said that Kenya was now in the right path. After that, we did not follow the letter of the Constitution.

What many of us have never understood is that your democracy is as valid, reasonable and verifiable and is implementable as the people who are willing to follow and implement the Constitution. We have completely failed our people.

That is why when the elections took over and we had challenges, when you look at our country and the crisis that has come up, and the issues which are bedevilling our country, you realize that we are on quicksand. Unless you have old men and women, people of dignity and decency, who have wisdom and are not greedy to fix this country, we will not have a country very soon.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I have served as an Assistant Minister. I went to Cote d'Ivoire, sent by the late President Kibaki, to visit President Gbagbo. I got into his house, he was wearing a vest. At that time, the military was around him, he was being deposed. Two weeks later, he went home with his wife half-naked. Those are not sins that Africa should be proud of.

Our country has broken down and has challenges. However, before I go to what we can do in a short notice, I would like to ask the President, and I asked him the other day, to please remove the children who died and those in the prisons. I ask the Senate to make sure that those children get a state funeral; those who are not criminals. They are children who had reached a dead-end.

Madam Temporary Speaker, what is wrong with our country? We call it a company, with shareholders. Our country is not a company. Our company is Kenya, which is a State with 50 million people who all expect and demand certain services from the State.

I heard my colleagues, the politicians in this House, speak. I am so happy that we are now telling each other the truth. We are the ones who carry militias, cattle rustlers who have companies that are doing business in Government departments and stealing the money.

Let us look at the national Government, call it down and bring it down to the National Assembly. We must begin to look at issues like the National Government Constituencies Development Fund (NG-CDF) and National Government Affirmative Action Fund (NGAAF). We must look at their structures. Do we need all the people who have been given offices?

I have been asking this publicly. Why are governors running county governments as if they are private companies where they are stealing money, buying properties abroad and driving such big vehicles? This includes ourselves. When did we decide that we must drive a car that is 4800 CC? That, a 3000 CC is not good enough, when our children do not have medicines, our women are not giving birth and we cannot feed our children.

When we buy fertilizer, we sell some of it and sell *mchanga*. We are bringing in maize, when we are supposed to be planting maize and giving farmers fertilizers and funds, so that we can get production increased, and we create jobs for our people. It is us, politicians, who buy two million metric tons of maize and come and sell.

We bring three million metric tons of sugarcane, and Mumias, Chemelil and Sony Sugar Companies are dying. Those are factories that used to employ people. Who are the biggest dealers of investment companies in Kenya? It is us, the political class.

What happened to Kenya Airways? Look at it now; it is smelling filthy. It was the pride of Africa. Who runs Kenya Power Company? Why are we not told the owners of the Independent Power Suppliers of this country? Why are we not being told who owns our national parks? However, we hear money being stolen by none other than the elite and the political class. These people out here are tired.

I was crying this morning because we are messing up a good thing. We are messing up this country. Who wants to be a refugee? There is enough for you people to eat, so long as you eat with manners. The revenue we collect is enough to run eight African countries; Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Congo, South Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia. That is what our goddamn budget is. Just manage it, do not steal it. A few people are stealing too much. The children out here know everything. They know your houses, where your

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children go to school and which properties of land you have. Why must somebody have four million acres of land to his name? What happened to our mentality that we pretend and run to churches talking about Christianity and how Jesus--- Do you understand what you are dealing with?

The people out here do not even believe in God anymore. They are tired of the lies and the religious organizations. I have to say this because I am a Catholic. I was so happy I saw the Pope talk about the issues of a country. Let us forget that we can run this country as tribes. Let us accept that there is a new sheriff in town, which is the Gen Z. They are party-less, tribeless and do not have money. They just have bundles and a phone and they will stop this country from moving.

I plead with the Members of this House when it comes to looking at what role our committees are playing, look at what happens. I thank my brothers, Sen. Sifuna, Sen. Cherarkey and Sen. Dullo. Many of you may not know the many times we have been threatened that we are raising issues about county governments losing billions because we have never discussed it here. Who does not know how many governors own apartments and houses in Kilimani Road? Each one of them own an apartment costing Kshs1.5 billion.

Why did the fool not go and build a hospital where he comes from? How I wish we stole the money and put it at home. Some of them are going to Dubai and America. You will see it on social media. I just saw somebody commenting saying that the Senators have nothing to do. I want him to tell me how he bought a Bentley Car, and he is a Member of Parliament. Explain to me, how does somebody---

The truth is I was born with advantage and privilege. That is the truth. I saw my father driving a big car when I was a small boy. That is not what drives me. What drives me is how do you get an MP driving a Mercedes that costs Kshs49 million and yet we are watching and that is normal and okay? Shame on us!

Then we make sure this money does not go to the schools and hospitals have no money. We start building hospitals and want the poor people to come to those hospitals. Poor people cannot come to Nairobi Hospital or Aga Khan Hospital. Some of them cannot afford Kenyatta National Hospital. You saw the other day, it has a debt of Kshs6.6 billion.

The Eldoret Hospital has a debt of Kshs3.9 billion. When you ask why, they tell you they do not know where the money went. Are we fools? Do we need to buy houses which have 15 bedrooms, drive 19 cars and put them in your parking lot and you want 10,000 acres of land and a ranch? You fools, go and buy a ranch in Australia.

This is where we are. We keep blaming the police. The policeman cannot do anything. Have we ever gone, as a Senate, to see where a police officer lives, how he takes his children to school and his salary is Kshs19,000?

This House has to start thinking about those things. The ladies and gentlemen in this House must begin to agree that we can reduce our salaries, drive smaller cars and wear Kaunda Suits. In fact, I am very annoyed about the President. I am the one who started wearing Kaunda suits. Now he has given Kaunda a bad name. I want Kenyans to love Kaunda suits the way I love them.

Kenyans, let us wake up. We cannot play football and money comes from FIFA and World Rally Championship, and it is eaten. You hold Kenya Lawn Tennis Association, they only want Kshs50,000 to hold an international tennis tournament, and not even a Cabinet Secretary appears there.

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When the Cabinet Secretary is traveling out of the country and he has how many people accompanying him. He has a private jet, goes to Dubai, books one of those luxury hotels and comes back to Nairobi with the nine people he took in a private jet. You assume that the Gen Z do not know. These days they track you. They can know which private jet you took, where it went and how it came back.

Many of us are worried either because of history or what has happened. We have a lot of money and own so much land. Please, allow us to have spatial planning. We can have an implemented law in this House to protect even your identity. However, please stop stealing public land. Let us have mercy on our people. You saw people from Eldoret and Kakamega talking about their *shambas*, which their grandfathers left for them; that people, who are MPs and Senators, chase them away, and then throw them into court and bribe the courts.

I want to talk about the Judiciary. We respect you. We know that most of the time you are under pressure. We know there are certain things that you can even be blackmailed on, but we want to hold you at a higher standard. We must hold the Judiciary, the legislature and the President at a higher standard. That is how we can move as a country and stop this nonsense. We are behaving like monkeys running through a forest looking for bananas without knowing whether it is bananas they want or it is oranges.

Madam Temporary Speaker, finally I really want to say that I was nearly giving up on my country, but I have changed my mind because of today. The young men who are fighting for this country have done us proud. Let us treat them with dignity. Let us make sure we engage them. Let us stop doing the things that make them angry, desperate and upset with the ruling class.

The truth is that if this country breaks down, it takes all of us down. I was in South Sudan when we were doing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. I visited as a young Minister, to go and do what was called a referendum.

I have been to Khartoum and Mali. If you look at how the political class has treated their people; everybody looks destitute and everybody is desperate. Let us change our ways. We can run the country peacefully and make sure that everybody is a person of dignity. Let us treat our people kindly.

A country that never takes care of its most vulnerable is a country that is not worth talking about. I want to tell the Members of the County Assembly, the Members of Parliament and the Senators, your job is to oversight. Let the governors run the county. If they bribe you, you will not get development. Let us agree that those are the rules that we will have to operate with.

Let us share the cake of this country equitably and fairly. Let us not have one region getting Kshs50 billion, while another has got only Kshs1.2 billion. Why should we have three scholarship funds in this country? Those are some of the things, without speaking too much, I want to vent about. I thank all my colleagues for having shown our country the love that it deserves.

I thank you.

Sen. Tobiko: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. Let me begin by mentioning the positive thing that has come out of the demonstrations by our young people. Let me congratulate the Gen Z, the millennials and all the young people who are involved in the demonstrations.

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I congratulate them because they showed us that it is possible to have a tribeless Kenya. They have shown us that it is possible to have a partyless country. They have shown us that they can unite beyond greed and religion.

Madam Temporary Speaker, they have actually shown us that we can come out peacefully and demand for our rights. These are some of the things that we never thought possible.

The cancer of tribalism that has affected this country almost took us to civil strife in 2007 and 2008, in the post-election violence. When these young Kenyans showed us that they can come together for a common cause, a unity of purpose; let me say that as a mother of those young people, I am very proud of them. They paid the price and we mourn today. Our young people lost lives and they should not have lost their lives. We have become brutal even to our own children.

Let me offer an apology on behalf of all the other leaders who may not enjoy this kind of platform. I apologize to the demonstrators and the families of those who lost their loved ones. They were treated in an inhumane manner and they were handled badly. This House must lead in trying to check the excesses of the police. The good thing is that all Kenyans are watching this House today, including the Gen Zs, millennials and the young people.

In fact, when this debate was going on, one of them forwarded to me a list of their demands and I want to read it. They said it is deeper and bigger. They also said, ‘you guys are saying a lot of things, but we will give you in summary. Pay all the doctors, hire the medical interns, pay the teachers, fund the schools, cut public expenditure, fire all corrupt civil servants, bring back Linda Mama, reform the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF), recover all stolen money, remove unconstitutional offices. *Jenga nchi usibomoe.*’

Madam Temporary Speaker, I wanted to first make sure I have delivered that one before I put it in my own words because I think they captured what they wanted better.

It is a Damascus moment in our country. Some moment for us to restore our country, the dignity of our systems, make sure that systems are working and that each one of us is accountable. These young people actually spoke about things that we should have been speaking about in the two Houses, but we did not.

The issue of public debt and reconstituting the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). We have more interest in reconstituting of the IEBC than the demonstrators because we know when our position falls vacant by whichever cause or even natural causes, there is a way for an MP to be replaced and it must be through IEBC. These young people said, ‘remove the punitive taxes, remove the budgeted corruption and wastage.’

I thank the President for turning down the Finance Bill. However, the Finance Bill was just a trigger. The issue is unemployment, the desperation that is out there and the unbearable taxation. These are the real issues that are affecting us today. People are demanding our faithfulness to the law. We must pause, think and act in a way that is acceptable in the eyes of Kenyans and the law. I also want to use this platform to ask my President some questions. When I watched the President in the interview with the media houses, I was sad.

I wanted to ask the President why he had allowed himself to become the sacrificial lamb of his friends and public servants who are living large and displaying opulence.

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Madam Temporary Speaker, allow me to use an example. I have even seen it trending on X. When Sen. Sifuna was speaking, they wrote that in Kajiado County, one public servant who is right under the President spends Kshs20 million per weekend. You can tell that the money does not come from selling his cows or payslip.

Today, in every appointment that happens in Kajiado County, you will hear one individual being congratulated. What happened to the Public Service Commission that should interview and employ people on merit? That single individual can alienate the President from a whole county.

The rest feel that they do not belong. So, they must worship one small individual because of the office he is holding. The year 2027 is coming and all of you know that is the time of reckoning. That is the time we are all going to answer.

We need to rein in independent commissions like the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and make sure that Kenyans get equal opportunities. We need to ensure that electoral reforms are there. As a House, we should legislate on matters of devolution and make sure that our counties receive their fair share.

Madam Temporary Speaker, allow me to deviate from what has been the talk by a number of Members here today; that the NG-CDF should be removed. I know the importance of the NG-CDF at the grassroots level. So, I will not advocate for it to be removed. What we need to do is to enhance the oversight function of all the Houses, which include the Senate, the National Assembly, and county assemblies.

The EACC should rein in our counties because of mismanagement of resources at the county level. As we do a clean-up at the national level, let us also make sure that we do the same at the county level.

We are now hearing about the Kshs20 million weekend financial signature. There are those who belong to that club of Kshs20 million per weekend and they are known. We have MPs and public servants who are giving the Kenya Kwanza Government a bad image. We should not allow them to take us down because when the Kenya Kwanza Government goes down, it will go with many of us, but we will not allow that.

To conclude, we must meet the demands of the Gen Z, the millennials and all the young demonstrators. The trigger-happy police should be brought to book. They must pay for every bullet they shot at our children. Even as we sympathize with the police and their living conditions and working environment, for every life they took with a bullet, they must answer for it.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I can see you looking at me. Perhaps my time is up. Let me join other Members by saying that it was ill-informed for the SRC to talk about a salary increment right now. It was ill-informed and we do not accept it. If they were going to use these Houses of Parliament as a scapegoat, then they do not get it.

The President should also ask himself why some commissions like the SRC and the Public Service Commission would come out at this moment when the country is burning to announce salary increments or gazettement of CAS' positions. They do not mean well for this country and the presidency.

Those are the people that need to go home. Commissioners of the SRC should serve for only term and go home because they only do salary reviews once. Those finances should be used elsewhere.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I thank you for this opportunity.

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The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Thank you, Senator, for being sensitive on matters of time.

Sen. Hamida, you have the Floor.

Sen. Kibwana: Bi. Spika wa Muda, ukiwa miongoni mwa watu wa mwisho kuzungumza, mara nyingi unapata kuwa mambo yote yamesemwa. Hata hivyo, sisi waliokula chumvi nyingi hatukosi maneno ya kuongezea.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, nashukuru kwa kupewa nafasi hii. Kwanza kabisa, ningependa kutoa rambirambi zangu kwa wale waliofiwa na wazazi ambao watoto wao wako hospitalini. Tunawaomba Mungu awape subira kwa kupoteza watoto wao. Hakuna kitu kibaya kama mzazi kumpoteza mtoto. Hakuna uchungu mkubwa kuliko mtoto kutangulia kuaga.

Nachukua nafasi hii pia kushukuru kwa mambo mazuri ambayo tumesikia kutoka kwa the Senate Majority Leader, Sen. Cheruiyot, the Senate Minority Leader ambaye ni mkubwa wangu, Sen. Madzayo, pamoja na Secretary General (SG) wa chama changu. Kusema kweli yale ambayo mmesema ni mazito sana na singetaka kufanya yawe mepesi. Mmesema na Wakenya wamesikia.

Wazazi haswa sisi kina mama tunahisi uchungu sana kuona watoto wetu wakiuawa huku tukiangalia wakati wao hawana silaha zozote. Watoto wetu wametekwa nyara. Hiyo inatufanya kuendelea kulia. Kusema kweli, nitaongoza wanawake wajitokeze kuunga mkono watoto wetu, ili nasi pia tuuawe kwa kuwa wanatendewa unyama.

(Applause)

Tulimwona Waziri akitoa kauli kuwa wanajeshi watashirikiana na polisi ili kukabiliana na watoto wetu. Ikiwa polisi wameshindwa na vijana wetu, je, watafaulu kule Haiti? Mambo yaliyotokea yanasikitisha sana.

Naunga mkono wenzangu waliosema kuwa hatutaki---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Hon. Senator, resume your seat for a moment.

(Sen. Kibwana resumed her seat)

Hon. Senators, under Standing Order No.34 (4)(a), I want to exercise my discretion to add another 10 minutes for the hon. Senator to finish her contribution towards this Motion.

(Applause)

Sen. Kibwana: Tumeona mambo ya Mhe. Rais hadi sasa Sen. Cheruiyot amekubali tuko uchi. Kwa hivyo, hii nguo tutajifunika vipi? Naomba pia haya mambo yote yanaenda kwa Mhe. Rais na akubali kuwa pia yeye aweze kufunikwa. Ili afunikwe, atafute wale watu wanaoweza kumsaidia, sio wale wanamharibia.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, tumeona Mhe. Rais mwenyewe, kwa mfano, akisafiri kwenda USA kwa kifahari ilhali amewacha watu Kenya na njaa. Kusema kweli, hiyo ni pigo kubwa na watu wanaangalia na kuona.

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Kwa mambo ya kazi, vijana wanaomba wapewe kazi. Kulikuwa na shida KRA ambapo tuliona *application* ya makabila mawili, hadi watu wakaenda kortini. Huko kwenda kortini, korti imesema kwamba haina nguvu lakini inakubali kwamba kabila zilikuwa mbili.

Kusema kweli, hiyo ingekuwa ni pigo kubwa kwa Mhe. Rais na papo hapo, angechukua hiyo nafasi ya kuweza kubadilisha mambo mengine, lakini alinyamaza. Hata alipoambiwa kwamba alisafiri kifahari, bado alishindana hadi Wakenya wakatoa ukweli kuwa Kenya Airways (KQ) ilikuwa ni nauli ya chini kuliko vile yeye alisafiri.

Kwa hivyo, mambo mengi yamejitokeza lakini uzuri ni kuwa, tumeanza kukubaliana kwa sasa. Watu wazima huzima, hawawashi. Kwa hivyo, Seneti ni watu wazima, tujaribu kuzima. Kusema kweli, haitatusaidia na chochote tukiwasha.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, nimefanya kazi na Umoja wa Mataifa na nimekuwa Sierra Leone, Afghanistan na nchi zingine. Kusema ukweli, nimeona maisha ya Sierra Leona watu wakiulizwa wachague kama wakatwe mkono *short or long sleeve* ama mguu kwa sababu lazima watakatwa. Kusema kweli, nimeona vile maisha ya huko yalivyokuwa na mpaka leo hayajarudi kawaida.

Leo, hatuwezi nchi yetu iwe hivyo. Katika mwaka wa 2007, tuliona kidogo tu na hadi leo, tuko na Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) ambao hawajarudi kwao kwa sababu ya maafa kama hayo.

Kwa hivyo, tunaomba wale wako karibu na Mhe. Rais waweze kumwambia kuwa huku nje ni kubaya, kwa hivyo asikize. Mhe. Rais mwenyewe alikuwa anaambiwa mtoto amepigwa risasi nane na bado anauliza kama huyo mtoto alifariki. Kusema kweli, inaonekana kuwa hamna mtu yuko karibu na Mhe. Rais.

Bi Spika wa Muda, jana niliona uchungu sana. Kijana alikuwa amebeba bango linasema-

“Mama Rachel, mtilie Rais sumu afe, Kenya iwe huru”.

Nafikiria wengine wenu wote mliona. Sen. Madzayo, nilikuonyesha. Jamani, imefika hapo? Wazazi wanalaani nakusema kwamba wamemlaani Mhe. Rais akiwa kwenye ndege nayo ndege ianguke afe. Huo ni uchungu wa mzazi. Na leo, mimi nazungumza kama mzazi na mama. Labda hivi Karibuni, pia nitakuwa na wajukuu.

You can imagine leo mtoto wangu awache wajukuu wangu ambao ni watoto wake bila baba wala mama, maanake wote wamehusika. Hii haikuwa ni mtoto wa tajiri wala maskini, mtoto wako na wangu waliweza kutoka.

Watoto waliuliwa kinyama walikuwa na simu zao tu na bendera ya Kenya wakisema sisi ni Wakenya. *Imagine* unyama wale wale polisi ambao walikuwa wanawatetea, wanawauwa watoto kinyama?

Halafu jana, vijina wanaotetewa hawawezi kuwadhulumu. Wamesingiziwa kuwadhulumu. Kusema ukweli, leo tunakubali Mhe. Rais, kesho mambo ni mengine. Kutaka kujua bado nchi haiko sawa, Mhe. Rais na Makamu wake wameanza kushambuliana. Mhe. Rais anazungumza hivi, Makamu wake anazungumza vile.

Mhe. Rais anasema, *Majority Leader* wangu au *Secretary General* wangu akishazungumza siwezi kuzungumza bila kupewa nafasi. Lakini, itakuwaje Mhe. Rais anazungumza mengine na Makamu wake mengine? Inaonekana tofauti zimeanza. Nyumba ikiwa haijaka sawa kwa hao wawili, mume na mke, kwa mfano, watoto watakaa vipi? Hapa mambo ni mengi sana.

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Nawaomba Mama Rachel na Mama Pastor Riggy G waweze kutoka ofisini ili zile fedha zao walizotengewa ziwafidie familia za wale watu wote waliofariki. Zigharamie huduma za *mortuary* na kufidia wazazi wao. Pia ziwali pie ada za hospitali wote walio hospitalini. Pesa walizotengewa zifanye kazi hiyo.

Hata kama wao hawataenda, mimi kama mwenyekiti wa Kenya Women Senators Association (KEWOSA), naomba sisi Seneti tutoke sote tuwashughulikie walioathirika. Tumesimama kwa umoja siku zote tukiwa na shida. Hata Maseneta wetu wanatusaidia kuchanga, tuchukue hilo jukumu ikiwa Mhe. Rais au akina mama Rachel hawawezi kufanya.

Nakumbuka wakati Mama Aida - wakati Prime Minister, Hon. Raila Odinga, alipopewa wadhifa, alisema hataki mshahara, kwamba huo mshahara ufanyiwe kazi zingine. Leo tunasubiri Mama Rachel na Pastor wajitokeze kusema hizo fedha zifanye kazi zingine.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, vijana wanasema *job creation* ndio wanayotaka. Kwa hivyo, tutawafanya vipi? Jana Catholic University waliniita kuwasaidia vijana kwa mambo ya *job creation*. Ilinibidi niunge kama *alumni* ila nilishindwa niwaeleze nini, kazi itatoka wapi. Nakumbuka *Bill* yangu ilichukuliwa kumaanisha wale mawaziri hawafikirii. Walichukuwa *Bill* yangu wakacopy-paste na kusema ni *Bill* ya Serikali. Mhe. Rais alipelekewa na kuambiwa hii *Bill* tumetengeneza, ilhali niliifanyia kazi ila ikarudi ikachukuliwa.

Hawa mawaziri kazi yao ni nini? Tunaomba kuundwe tovuti pana ya utawala ya digitali ili isaidie vijana kuangalia vitu imepeanwa vipi. Tujue nani amepewa na ni nani hajapewa. Kuwe na nafasi ya vijana kuzungumza bila kuumizwa. Tumeona kwa vifaa vya hospitali kama *Kenyatta Hospital* mashine kama *dialysis* 20 au 30 haifanyi kazi. Inayofanya kazi ni kama tano pekee. Hiyo ni kusema nini? Na kuna mtu amelipwa kwa hiyo kazi aliyopewa. Tukipeleka wagonjwa pale tunaambiwa wamewekwa kwenye *Oxygen Plant* ila ukiifungua hakuna kitu, ni hewa ilhali kuna watu wanalipwa.

Watoto wetu wale wanasomea utabibu na udaktari, juzi walisema, ‘jameni, tusaidieni, tunaomba tu kitu kidogo.’ Lakini leo, Katibu Mkuu wetu amesema kuwa kwenye gari lake tu, ameekewa fedha ngapi ya kupita Nairobi Expressway?

Kusema kweli, Kenya kuna vitu vingi sana vimeanguka. Mhe. Rais umeambiwa hicho kikoi chako kiko wazi. Utafanya nini? Kubali useme ni hivi na vile na mimi niko tayari. Tumeona kwa runinga Mhe. Rais unaambiwa shida iko hapa, lakini bado kuna utatanishi fulani.

Mimi naomba tuwe na vikao kutoka Seneti na Bunge la Kitaifa. Sote tukae chini tuone ni njia gani tutaweza kuwasaidia hawa vijana wakubwa. Tunaambiwa ukubwa ni jaa. Jaa ni kuwa na shida zote. Kuna zile ambazo Seneti hii inapaswa kuzibeba.

Hizo dakika kumi naona zilikuwa kidogo. Mambo ni mengi na pia mazito. Lakini mimi nitalia tu.

Jambo la mwisho, kama mama, tuangalie vijana wetu. Na jambo hili la vifo likome. Hili jambo la kuuwa vijana wetu likome. Kama kesho wanataka kutoka nje kwenda kuzungumza na watu, wacha waende.

Wapewe nafasi. Msiweke wezi tena wadhulumu watoto wetu. Wanaodhulumiwa zaidi ni wasichana wetu. Hivyo basi, hii ni nafasi kubwa ambayo tumepewa kama Seneti

ya kukubali makosa yetu. Tunaomba msamaha kwa Kenya kama kwa njia yoyote ile tumewakwaza Wakenya na vijana wetu.

Lakini Mhe. Rais ndiye anafaa kutoka nje na yeye kwa kuwa kurudisha ule Mswada sio kukubali. Ahakikishe kila kitu kimerudishwa na Bunge la Kitaifa limekaa chini na kurekebisha kila kitu.

Naona muda wangu ni mdogo. Nikianzisha chochote kile, hatutaweza kumaliza. Mwisho basi namuelezea Mhe. Rais ya kwamba mkuki kwa nguruwe, kwa mwanadamu mchungu. Ujue hii damu ya wale watoto itakudhuru wewe na watoto wako na vizazi vyako.

Kama leo huwezi kutoka nje na kukubali kila na kuomba msamaha wale watu wamefiwa, leo ujue machozi ya Wakenya yatakuumiza. Kama sio wewe, vizazi vyako. Na hii nafasi ya Mhe. Rais ujue ni ya miaka mitano au kumi. Ujue utarudi kwa maisha ya kawaida na familia yako pia. Mkirudi kwa maisha ya kawaida, utakaa wapi? Ni Kenya utakaa ama kwingine kwa sababu unaelewa vile mambo yatakuwa.

Kwa hivyo, leo usifanye mambo ukijisahau. Na sisi pia kama Seneti tusijisahau kuwa hata sisi kesho tutatoka na wengine watachukua hii nafasi. Sisi tuko tayari kama Seneti. Mimi najitolea kwa dhati iwapo kutakuwa na maridhiano kusaidia. Tujaribu kuzungumza ile lugha inayofaa isiyo na utatanishi. Kwa sisi watu wazima, tunazima, hatuwashi.

Asante sana, Bi. Spika wa Muda.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Thank you, Hon. Senator. We have had a heavy discussion today on this Motion. We continue to pray for our nation, speak positively, greatness and leadership.

Hon. Senators, before we adjourn, I direct that tomorrow we continue using the list that we were using today because of the nature of the importance of this debate. So, I will request the Secretariat to print the second list that is on the dashboard, so that you can combine it with the one that we were using and hand it over to the next Chair, when the session resumes tomorrow.

ADJOURNMENT

Hon. Senators, it is now 6.45 p.m., time to adjourn the House. The Senate stands adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, 4th July, 2024, at 2.30 p.m.

The Senate rose at 6.45 p.m.