

PARLIAMENT OF KENYA

THE SENATE

THE HANSARD

Thursday 4th July, 2024

*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?

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

Proceed to call the first Order.

PETITION

NON-PAYMENT OF OUTSTANDING TERMINAL BENEFITS AND MAZIWA SACCO DUES

Defer that Order.

(Petition deferred)

Proceed, the Senate Majority Leader.

PAPERS LAID

REPORTS OF THE AUDITOR-GENERAL ON FINANCIAL STATEMENTS OF VARIOUS ENTITIES

Sen. Methu: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Senate Majority Leader, I beg to lay the following Papers on the Table of the Senate, today, Thursday, 4th July, 2024 -

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Report of the Auditor General on the Financial Statements of Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company Limited for the year ended 30th June, 2023.

Report of the Auditor-General on the Financial Statements of Bomet County Financing Locally Led Climate Actions (FLLOCA) Fund for the year ended 30th June, 2023.

Report of the Auditor General on the Financial Statements of Kisumu Lakefront Development Corporation for the year ended 30th June, 2023.

Report of the Auditor General on the Financial Statements of Kikuyu Water Company Limited for the year ended 30th June, 2023.

Report of the Auditor General on the Financial Statements of Kabarnet Municipality – County Government of Baringo, for the year ended 30th June, 2023.

(Sen. Methu laid the documents on the Table)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): The Chairperson Standing Committee on Health or the Senate Majority Leader can proceed to lay.

REPORT ON THE CANCER PREVENTION
AND CONTROL (AMENDMENT) (NO.2) BILL
(NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BILLS NO.45 OF 2022)

Sen. Methu: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Senate Majority Leader, I beg to lay the following Paper on the Table of the Senate, today, Thursday, 4th July, 2024 –

Report of the Standing Committee on Health on its consideration of the Cancer Prevention and Control (Amendment) (No.2) Bill (National Assembly Bills No.45 of 2022).

(Sen. Methu laid the document on the Table)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Next Order.

Hon. Senators, allow me to re-arrange today's Order Paper pursuant to Standing Order No.45(2) and instead allow Order Nos. 8, 9 and 10 to be called and thereafter, we move to Order No.11.

BILLS

First Reading

THE POLITICAL PARTIES (AMENDMENT) (NO.2) BILL
(SENATE BILLS NO.26 OF 2024)

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

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*First Reading*THE ELECTION OFFENCES (AMENDMENT) (NO.2) BILL
(SENATE BILLS NO.28 OF 2024)

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

*First Reading*THE ELECTIONS (AMENDMENT) (NO.2) BILL
(SENATE BILLS NO.29 OF 2024)

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

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Hon. Senators, we will resume debate on Order No.11 on the current state of the nation.

At the rise of the House yesterday, the dashboard was still full. The Chair then ruled that today, we are going to start with the hon. Senators whose names were reflected on the dashboard when we rose yesterday. Therefore, I will start with that list and thereafter, we will come back to the names that are now appearing on the dashboard.

Hon. Senators, in as much as we agreed that there should be no points of order called on Members who have the Floor, that calls upon each one of us on the microphone to be responsible for the statements they are making. Please be factual. This does not mean that we have suspended our Standing Orders.

They are still running and even if you will not be interrupted by way of points of order, please, take responsibility for your statements and try to be as factual as you can. I was watching debate yesterday and we were abusing that window we had given yesterday.

With that having been said, proceed to read the Order.

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;

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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 3.7.2024 – Morning Sitting)

(Resumption of debate interrupted on 3.7.2024 – Afternoon Sitting)

Sen. Beth Syengo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak to this Motion. I stand to support the Motion on the current state of the nation.

Allow me to pass my sincere condolences to the families of those who lost their loved ones and to wish quick recovery to those who are still in hospitals with gunshot wounds and other injuries.

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I also thank the leadership of this House; the Senate Majority Leader, the Senate Minority Leader and all the Senators who came together that it is important that we distinguish ourselves as a House.

(Several Senators consulted loudly)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Order, hon. Members! May the good Senator be heard in silence. Proceed, Sen. Beth.

Sen. Beth Syengo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. As the Women League President in this country, I am a mother and I feel the pain the mothers in this nation are feeling. I stand with all the families that were affected. Noting the situation in the country and how life is difficult, the cost of living is high. It is unbearable because of the problems and issues that bedevil our country.

As the women President, I assure all the women who lost their children that we are with them and we feel their pain. We share their grief and we are ready to walk with them to get solutions to the issues in this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my colleagues spoke yesterday and they alluded to the issues that are affecting our country. Taking our departments by department or our institutions by institution, in the education sector, our children are learned. Many are graduates from different universities, but they are jobless. They are tarmacking.

Looking at the education system in the country, there are many challenges. There is confusion among the Junior Secondary School (JSS) teachers who are unemployed. There is the Competency Based Curriculum (CBC) that is not properly defined and issues concerning how the new system is being implemented. Kenyans are looking at those issues.

I congratulate the Gen Zs who took the lead to open the eyes of many people and say that there are problems in this nation that need urgent attention. In the health sector, there is confusion in shifting from the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) to the Social Health Insurance Fund (SHIF). This is something Kenyans are unable to hold onto. They have been promised Universal Health Care (UHC). That is not happening. These are the problems. The Gen Zs have seen what many of us have been saying.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the economy is suffering. As Kenyans, we would wish for the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to grow by two digits if possible. However, where are we? Our economy is affected by corruption and many other issues.

The agriculture sector has many problems. I am a Member of the Committee on Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries and Irrigation in this Senate. As a committee when the issue of the fake fertilizer came up, we went to the ground and interacted with the farmers. We got samples of the fake fertilizer. Kenyans were given stones and donkey feaces.

We called the concerned stakeholders. They came to this Chamber and we took them through what we had found out. We have tried to write a report, but it is yet to be concluded. All indicators were showing that the Cabinet Secretary for Agriculture and Livestock Development was culpable. Why has he not been sacked up to date?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the police brutality is painful. On that fateful Tuesday, we got out as the Gen Z protesters invaded these premises. I remember we were with my colleague

Senators, the Senator for Nairobi and Sen. Mumma. We witnessed as the police officers shot our innocent and unarmed young men and women.

I remember I knelt down before one killer policeman. I confronted him and asked him why he was killing unarmed, innocent young man. It was so hurting as a mother. That policeman looked at me and told me to get behind him, that, those were crooks and criminals from Kibera.

The student who was being pursued removed his identification card. He was a student from a university, but the policeman could not hear anything of that. He shot the man dead. It was so painful. Why should we have police who should keep law and order in the country and protect citizens and property, killing our young men and women?

It has been said and many of my colleagues said it yesterday, on the wastage in this Government. Kenyans are suffering. They have no jobs and are tarmacking for over 10 years. They have nothing to put on the table in the evening. Yet they are seeing more than 20 vehicles in a convoy of our leaders in this nation. It pains to see how our resources are wasted, yet people are suffering.

Unemployment has already been mentioned. Our people suffer more when those in positions to employ are practising nepotism and tribalism. You get to an institution and find that someone in a position to employ has brought relatives or people from his community. I am also a Member of the Committee on National Cohesion, Equal Opportunities and Regional Integration. We have called so many heads of institutions to come before us. What is the repeated issue? That, we find out people employed in those institutions come from at least two tribal groups or communities. They take 73 to 80 per cent, leaving the rest of the Kenyans to struggle for 15 per cent or maybe 20 per cent. What are we telling our people in Kenya? It is so bad.

Concerning impunity, when people refuse to obey court orders, what are we communicating to those young people and all Kenyans looking at us?

On Corruption, we have new billionaires in town. Since the takeover of the current administration, I hear that even in this House, we have new billionaires. Where are the rest of Kenyans? We have new billionaires and yet Kenyans are suffering. They are billionaires courtesy of corruption. Tendering processes are so skewed for specific people to make money. When a few are making money and a majority are suffering, what are we telling Kenyans? That Kenya has become like what we call the animal farm.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I request that you intervene again and request the Senators to---

(Loud Consultations)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Order, Sen. Wambua and Sen. Omogeni, the Senator speaking---

Sen. Beth Syengo: Kindly allow me to give my submissions and then you can continue conversing and making your comments.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed, hon. Senator. It is my job to protect you.

Sen. Beth Syengo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I was saying that corruption is so rampant in this nation before I lose my point. Kenyans are looking at us and saying that people are getting into leadership so that they may take advantage of those positions and

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make money. It is wrong. Kenyans are hurting when they see very few people become billionaires while the majority or masses are suffering.

Lack of inclusivity is very serious. I have stated that I sit in the Committee on National Cohesion, Equal Opportunities and Regional Integration. We see Kenyans not being given equal chances on employment. When there are employment positions, they are given to people from specific ethnic communities.

My heart sank when I confronted one Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of a certain institution in this nation. I asked her why she has only two tribes getting the big chunk of positions in that institution. She told me that sometimes they are under instructions. They are told that when they do their recruitment, they should know where the Government belongs. That is very sad.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the Senate Majority Leader, who is now making noise with the Senator for Nyandarua County--- Yesterday you became an angel. I know you are born again. You are a new brother in Christ. I appreciate that. Kindly allow me to draw your attention. Yesterday, when we were conversing about this, you gave direction that as we speak of the problems and the issues affecting the country, we should also make proposals of what we think should be done to move Kenya forward.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, allow me to start by saying this, although many said it, that the President may be well meaning for this nation, but he has missed the mark by getting the wrong people to serve this country in good positions.

My first proposal is to request the President, in all due respect, to sack incompetent Cabinet Secretaries who have failed this nation. This includes those who are carrying letters to funerals and public rallies, dishing out employment letters as if the rest of Kenyans do not need employment. I urge him to sack those who have made us to get fake fertilisers and done other evils.

Secondly, I request that, if possible, we should not to have ghost workers in this nation. The position like that of the Prime Cabinet Minister is unconstitutional. I would declare that as a ghost worker drawing salaries from Kenyan taxes. Unconstitutional offices should not be funded by public funds.

My third proposal is to cap corruption. Let the Government and us be truthful and stop those who are corrupt. Let us see serious action taken by putting people into jail. When prominent people are put behind the bars, others will fear to practise corruption.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, is it possible to have designated areas for picketing in this country? I know we have lawyers in this House. Issues will be happening in this nation and the Constitution allows Kenyans to picket and demonstrate peacefully. Can we have designated areas where people can picket? It has been done elsewhere. Can it be done in Kenya?

I also request if possible, to have retraining of our police officers because of the police brutality. This will enable them to know how to handle demonstrators, especially peaceful people who are demonstrating peacefully like what the Gen Z were doing. They were only armed with a bottle of water, a flag and their phones. Why should they be killed? If we cannot retrain our officers, can we have a special unit to deal with *maandamano* in this nation so that we do not witness bloodshed?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the President is listening to me and what we are saying, let him sack the Inspector General (IG) of Police. If Mr. Koome is patriotic enough, let him resign now.

(Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale watched a video on his phone)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Beth Syengo, kindly hold on. Can you pause her time kindly? Is there a Senator listening to some video through their phone?

(Loud consultations)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale, you are totally out of order. I will give you caution for the day.

Proceed, Sen. Syengo.

Sen. Beth Syengo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Before I was interrupted by Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale, I was saying that if Mr. Koome is patriotic enough, he should resign today because he has failed this nation.

My other proposal would be respectfully asking the President to continue listening to Kenyans. It is important to listen and not display tendencies of dictatorship or arrogance. Kenyans are watching. He should be the unifying factor of this nation.

All Kenyans, those who voted for him and those who did not vote for him, like me, want to have him as the father figure of this nation. He should lead all of us and not dictate.

My other proposal would be to let independent institutions be independent. We do not want to witness State capture of the National Assembly, Judiciary or Legislature. Let us have independent institutions work and actualize their mandate in this nation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would also propose that if Kenyans are going to be taxed, we should see the work that money is doing. Why should people---

(Sen. Okiya Omtatah spoke off record)

Sen. Beth Syengo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can see and hear the voice of the Senator for Busia County competing with my voice. I do not know what is happening.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Omtatah, you are interfering with the flow of thought of the Senator.

Sen. Beth Syengo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for protecting me.

Let the rule of law be followed. When we give proposals and suggestions here, I will be among those who want to see the outcome of what we are doing. Today is the second day in a row that we are debating this Motion. We want to know whether the issues and proposals that we, as Kenyans, have raised will just be a show of public relations or whether something is going to be done to liberate this country and make sure that we have prosperity and peace moving forward.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we, as Kenyans and leaders in this country, must be responsible. We should take responsibility for our actions ways and---

(Sen. Beth Syengos' microphone switched off)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Beth Syengo, I will give you one minute to wind up your thoughts.

Sen. Beth Syengo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I know the Gen Z had demanded that President Ruto must go. I would urge them to give dialogue a chance to see if it will work. However, if the President does not listen, change or implement what we are proposing here, then he must go.

I thank you.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Munyi Mundigi proceed.

Sen. Munyi Mundigi: Asante, Bw. Spika. Naunga mkono mazungumzo yanayoendelea hapa katika Bunge kuu la Seneti. Nashukuru sana Kiongozi wa Walio Wengi, Sen. Cheruiyot, kwa kuleta Hoja hii jana ili tuweze kuzungumza kuhusu nchi yetu. Tukiwa hapa, sisi ni Maseneta 67 na wamewakilisha kaunti 47. Sen. Cheruiyot, naomba kuwa miaka inayokuja utakuwa unaonekana katika nafasi za juu za uongozi wa nchi hii.

Pili, ninatoa rambirambi zangu kwa familia ya wale vijana walioaga dunia. Walikufa wakati wa maandamano ya Gen Z. Kulikuwa na kilio kikubwa sana kwa sababu wengi walikuwa hawana familia, wazazi au mtu yoyote ambaye angeweza kuwasaidia. Vijana hawa wametoka kaunti mbalimbali. Kama Seneta wa kaunti ya Embu, natoa rambirambi zangu.

Tatu, ningependa kusema kwamba kaunti zote zilizokuwa zimefanya maandamano ya amani lakini baadaye vijana wengi wakapata majeraha, mikono na miguu ilivunjika. Walipata shida nyingi sana kwa sababu ilikuwa kisa cha vuta nikuvute. Maandamano ya amani yaligeuka na kuwa mambo ya wizi kwa sababu ya wale waliojiunga na kikundi hicho. Maandamano haya yaligeuka kuwa kati ya askari na vijana. Pia walikuwa wanataka kupora mali.

Mambo haya yalikumba kaunti za Mombasa, Migori, Kisumu, Nakuru, Nairobi na pia kaunti yangu. Kutoka siku hiyo, sikuweza kuenda Kaunti ya Embu. Ningependa kuwaambia watu wa Embu Kaunti pole kwa sababu ya yale yaliyotendeka. Hatujawahi kuona mambo kama hayo. Zile pesa za devolution tumekuwa tunapokea kwa miaka 10 zimekuwa na shida kwa sababu zililiwa na wale matapeli ambao walikuwa wanaongoza.

Katika hii Serikali ya Kenya Kwanza, mimi nilichaguliwa na wananchi ili nije kuwawakilisha. Nilileta amani ndio sababu wanasema kuwa watu wawili hawawezi kukosa kuelewana.

Sisi kama Maseneta, magavana na wale viongozi wengine tulisema tutatembea barabara moja. Jambo la ajabu ni kwamba wakati tulikuwa tunaendelea kufufua uchumi wa Embu, wale watu waliokuwa na nia mbaya walitoka kwenye kona zingine nje ya kaunti na wakachoma ofisi ya Gavana ambayo ilikuwa renovated na zile pesa.

Haya ni mambo ya ajabu. Wale watu hawakuwa na adabu wala heshima kwa Kaunti ya Embu kwa sababu hata magari ya wafanyikazi wa Serikali ya Kaunti ya Embu pia yalichomwa. Tulishindwa kwa sababu hao watu hawakuwa wakati wa kupitisha bajeti na wala hawakuikubali wala kuikataa. Hatukuona Gavana wetu akienda kusema 'yes' or 'no.' Hii ilikuwa ni shida. Nawaambia pole sana na tutarekebisha mambo.

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Jambo la ajabu ni kuwa zile pesa tulizotarajia zije tarehe moja, hazitatumika kufanya kazi katika kaunti; sasa zitaenda kurekebisha ofisi ya Gavana ambayo ilichomwa. Sisi kama watu wa Kaunti ya Embu, tumerudi nyuma sana. Wale matapeli waliokuwa wamepanga hayo mambo walifanya makosa. Walienda pia kwa KRA na kuwasha moto. Walifanya makosa kuchoma majengo ambayo maafisa wa KRA wanafanyia kazi. Huo ni ushuru wetu ambao utatumiwa kujenga mpya hayo.

Kuna kitendo walichofanya katika Kaunti ya Embu. Hayo ni mambo ya ajabu sana. Kuna Kenyatta School ambayo ni shule ya watoto walemavu. Walienda kule na kuwasha moto usiku wa manane. Nilishindwa kujua kama yalikuwa maandamano au wizi. Nawapa pole watu wa *sub county* hiyo katika Kaunti ya Embu.

Katika Isaya 1:18, maandiko yanasema kuwa watu wawili hawawezi kutembea pamoja bila kuelewana. Kuna pahali pia wanasema: Njoo tusemezane. Ningependa kuwaambia Maseneta, Wabunge, Gen Z, makanisa na watu wote kwa jumla, kuwa tunafaa kuombea nchi yetu ya Kenya kwa sababu ya mambo ambayo yamefanyika.

Naomba viongozi wote. Unaweza kuwa uliteuliwa na Mhe. Rais ama ulipewa kazi na mtu mwingine. Unafaa kujua kuwa una bahati kwa sababu kuna watu wengine wengi ambao wanaweza kufanya kazi hiyo. Kwa hivyo, unafaa kumshukuru Mungu.

Nataka kuwaambia Gen Z na watu wengine kwamba tumesikia kilio chao. Ni muhimu kuelewana ili tuweze kukuza uchumi wa Kaunti ya Embu.

Ninataka kuzungumza kuhusu vijana wetu ambao walikuwa wanagoma. Baadhi yao wako katika vyuo vikuu na wengine katika shule za sekondari. Tunajua kwamba wana elimu ya kutosha ya kuwawezesha kufanya kazi yoyote katika nchi yetu ya Kenya.

Ninaomba mguzwe na Mungu wa Ibrahimu, Isaka na Yakobo. Tunaamini Mungu mmoja. Msikubali tena kufanya maandamano. Tumesikia Mhe. Rais wetu akizungumza. Alisema anataka kufanya mazungumzo na watu wote ikiwemo vijana. Kuna mambo yaliyokuwa kule Nyahururu. Hata nyuki akitoka nje, lazima atarudi kwenye mzinga.

Naunga mkono kwamba Mhe. Rais William Samoei Ruto na Naibu wake, Mhe. Rigathi Gachagua, wanafaa kuketi chini na kuzungumza. Pia, wanafaa kuongea na viongozi wote ili tuone jinsi ya kuimarisha uchumi wa nchi yetu.

Kuna mambo mengi ambayo yamesemwa. Tumeongea kuhusu mambo ya kuketi pamoja na kutafuta nafasi za kazi. Kabla sijayazungumzia, ningependa kuongea kuhusu mambo ya kazi.

Sisi kama Maseneta lazima tufanye kazi inayofaa. Wakati mwingine tunapigana hapa kwa midomo. Ningependa kuwaambia Wakenya kwamba tuko Maseneta 67 na tunaongea lugha moja. Hakuna mambo ya Azimio la Umoja-One Kenya Coalition wala Kenya Kwanza Alliance. Sisi sote tunasema Mungu mbele. Kuna mambo lazima tuyafikirie kama Maseneta. Tusipochunga, tunaweza kuanza kupigana.

Kuna ajenda mbili muhimu za Gen Z. Wengine wakiulizwa kwa nini wanafanya hivyo, wanasema kuwa hawataki kuoja wala kuolewa kwa sababu wanapitia shida nyingi. Wengine wanasema kuwa wamesoma na wana digrii tano au hata 10 na wamekaa miaka mingi bila kupata kazi. Kwa hivyo, wamepoteza matumaini.

Nataka kuwaambia Wakenya kwamba vijana wetu wengi ndio wameaga dunia. Hilo ni jambo la kuhuzunisha. Katika Biblia, kuna wakati watoto wote wa kwanza wa kiume walikuwa wanauawa kule Misri.

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Mambo ambayo yalifanyika hapa ni ya kuhuzunisha. Watoto wetu wa kiume wakifa, wasichana wetu wataolewa na nani? Vijana wetu wanajimaliza au kumalizwa na dawa za kulevya na vitu vingine. Itakuwaje kukitokea vita kati ya Kenya na nchi nyingine? Huenda Kenya ikashindwa kwenye vita.

Tunahitaji maombi. Tunafaa kuanza harakati za kufanya maelewano au *dialogue*. Hii inafaa kuhusisha watu wote kwa sababu hakuna mtu asiyemjua Mungu. Tunafaa kuketi pamoja ili tusemezane.

Tunafaa kutafuta mbinu za kusaidia vijana wetu. Kuna suala la kuoa.

Jambo la pili ni ukosefu wa kazi. Mhe. Rais pamoja na watu wengine wamekubali kuketi chini na vijana wetu. Mhe. Rais alisema kuwa yuko tayari kusikiza watu. Kwa hivyo, nawaomba Gen Z. Msikubali kwenda barabarani tena. Kilio chenu kimesikika mbinguni na duniani, hasa hapa Kenya.

Jambo lingine ni kujua jinsi Gen Z watakavyopata kazi. Tumesema mambo mengi sana katika Seneti hii. Hata hivyo, hatujatoa suluhisho kwa mambo mengi. Wengine wamesema kuwa watu wafutwe kazi. Siungi mkono mapendekezo hayo. Unaweza kufuta mtu kazi na ukibaki na watano lakini bado utabaki na watu wabaya. Tunasoma katika Bibilia kuwa walikuweco watu watu wabaya kama Judas Iscariot. Aliharibu mambo mengi mpaka akaleta shida ulimwenguni.

Kila eneo bunge hupata mgao wa the National Government-Constituencies Development Fund (NC-CDF). Pesa hizi ni nyingi. Kuna vijana wanaotaka kufanya kazi mashinani kama vile ujenzi lakini hawana pesa zinazohitajika. Wabunge wote wanafaa kuhakikisha kuwa sheria inafuatwa kuhusu NC-CDF. Sheria hiyo husema kuwa asilimia 30 za kazi zinafaa kupewa vijana ambao ni Gen Z, walemavu na wanawake. Wengi wa wabunge hawajakuwa wakifanya hivyo. Sheria hii inapaswa kuzingatiwa kwa makini ili Gen Z wapata nafasi za kazi mashinani.

Kuna njia nyingine ya kusaidia vijana wetu. Tuna kaunti 47 ambapo kila mojawapo ina wizara karibu 10. Naomba magavana wote waangalie jinsi wamekuwa wakifanya kazi. Kuna watu wanaozembea kazini na wanaoiba pesa. Watu kama hao wapelekwe kortini na wale wengine wafutwe kazi ili vijana wetu wapate kazi. Vijana wetu ni washupavu na wanaelewa jinsi ya kufanya kazi.

Vile vile tunaweza kutafuta nafasi za kazi katika Serikali ya Kitaifa. Mhe. Rais amekubali kunyenyekea. Kuna the National Employment Authority (NEA). Tunaomba aendelee kutilia mkazo ili vijana wetu wapate kazi.

Mimi ni mwanakamati wa Kamati ya Leba na Ustawi wa Jamii. Miaka miwili iliyopita, vijana wetu walikuwa na shida nyingi. Wakati huu Serikali yetu ina idara inayotilia maanani mambo ya vijana wetu.

Hili ni ombi langu kwa Mhe. Rais asaidie vijana wetu kupata pasipoti. Vijana wengi hawana pasipoti na vitambulisho kwa sababu ya kukosa pesa. Tunaweza kutenga kiasi fulani cha pesa za NG-CDF ili vijana wetu waweze kupata pasipoti na kugharamia mahitaji mengine kama vile kupimwa hali zao za afya kabla ya kwenda kule nje.

Tunafaa kutafutia vijana wetu kazi. Tuna Wizara 21 za Serikali. Uchunguzi ufanywe ili kujua ni nani wameajiriwa katika wizara hizi. Iwapo kuna mtu ambaye amezembea kazini, anafaa kutimuliwa. Wale ambao wamepora mali ya umma wapelekwe kortini ili kuwe na nafasi za kazi kwa Gen Z.

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Ninataka kusema ukweli. Huwezi kusafisha kikombe ndani ilhali nje ni kichafu. Hapa tuko Maseneta 67. Hatufai kuwanyoshea kidole Wabunge wa Bunge la Kitaifa, Mawaziri, Mhe. Rais au Mhe. Naibu wa Rais. Ningeomba tuanzie katika Seneti ya Kenya ambayo iko na Maseneta 67 na Kaunti 47. Tulipochaguliwa kama Maseneta, tuliletwa hapa tuangalie kazi za kaunti. Tuna kamati zaidi ya kumi katika Bunge hili la Seneti. Baadhi ya kamati hizo zina wanachama tisa. Ni jambo la aibu kuwa wanachama wengine hawajawahi kuonekana katika kamati zao. Unafaa ujiulize uliletwa hapa kufanya nini.

Gen Z nawajulisha ya kwamba Maseneta wote wanafaa kuwa kazi Jumanne, Jumatano na Alhamisi. Ulizeni hao Maseneta hufanya kazi kiviipi. Ni lazima tuanzie hapa kuangalia kaunti zinafanya kazi vipi kabla ya kuwanyoshea kidole watu wengine. Katika Bunge la Kitaifa, Wabunge wengi huhudhuria viko wakati wa kupiga kura tu. Inafaa muwaulize hao watu huwa wanafanya kazi gani.

Tukimuweka Mungu mbele, mambo ya Kenya yataenda mbele. Uchumi wetu utakuwa sawa na nafasi za kazi zitapatikana katika serikali za kaunti na national Government. Tatalipa madeni na Serikali ya Kenya itakaa vizuri kwa kipindi hiki. Kwa hivyo, tuungane pamoja na tusiwe watu wa kunyosheana vidole bali tusemezane.

Bw. Spika, nikimalizia, nakumbusha Serikali ya Kenya Kwanza na wale wengine wote katika Kenya mzima kwamba, kutimua CSs na Principal Secretaries (PSs) haitasaidia. Kitu cha kwanza ni kuangalia yule mtu ambaye hafanyi kazi ndio atimuliwe. Tunaweza wacha watu wawili na kama hawataangaliwa, basi hakuna kazi watafanya.

Nakumbusha watu wa Kenya tena kwamba wakati watoto wa Israeli walitoka Misri, walifika mahali na wakaanza kupigana hadi Nabii Isaya alipowaambia, “njooni nyote tusemezane.” Huu ni wakati wa Kenya kusemezana. Makanisa, Senate, Gen Z na groups zote tuungane pamoja kama watu wa Kenya ili tuweze kusaidiana.

Nawaambia Gen Z kwamba Kenya ni yetu sisi sote; wazee kwa vijana. Sisi kulingana na miaka yetu, tunaondoka. Tunataka mtushikilie na mfanye kazi kwa bidi ili uchumi wa kaunti zetu na Kenya nzima uimarike.

Kwa mambo ya agriculture, CS afanye kazi pamoja na departments zingine kama vile *trade* na *cooperatives*. Pia kaunti governments zichimbe mabwawa ya maji ili wazee wasiende mbali kutafuta maji ya mashamba yao.

Gen Z ambao wako na fikira za kulima pia waweze kulima wakitumia maji hayo. Wapewe pesa kutoka cooperatives. Department ya trade itafute soko kule nchi za ng’ambo.

Nawahakikishia Gen Z kwamba kilio chenu kimesikika kwa Mungu na Kenya. Mambo haya yakifanyika vizuri, *economy* ya kaunti zetu zote 47 na Kenya nzima itaimarika na Kenya kama taifa itasimama imara.

Bw. Spika, nikiwa Seneta wa Embu Kaunti, naunga mkono haya mazungumzo ili tuweze kutembea pamoja. Ni mimi wenu Seneta wa Embu Kaunti, Daktari Alexander Munyi Mundigi. Pia mimi ni Deputy Party Leader wa Democratic Party katika Serikali ya Kenya Kwanza.

Naunga mkono.

Sen. Dullo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I wish to join my colleagues in supporting this Motion. I believe it is long overdue, but I think we are there.

I must take this opportunity to give my condolences to the families that have lost their dear ones. We have lost great leaders. Some people say that youth are the future

leaders. From what happened last week, they are not future leaders, but leaders of today. I must accept that.

Secondly, I wish those who are in hospitals quick recovery.

I remember when we had a brief meeting yesterday, I asked about the result of this particular debate. I remember that having been around for a while, we normally debate day-in, day-out, with zero results. I hope this one is not going to be zero.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, what we have seen must have taught us lessons. We need to learn from the happenings in this country; both at the national and the county levels.

I wish to congratulate the young boys and girls who have actually volunteered, sacrificed their lives and time to put things right. According to me, they are great leaders.

I remember there were several challenges on that particular Tuesday, where people were running for their lives. Last evening, I watched a very serious young girl on *YouTube* confronting a police officer and telling him to do whatever he wants to do, but she was there for her rights and those of Kenyans. She must be a hero. I think her name is Shakila. She is a great leader and a hero in this country. Congratulations, Shakila, even though I do not know you.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must also congratulate the President of this country for having listened to these young boys and girls. If he actually did not return back that particular Bill to the National Assembly, we would have been in a different situation in this country today.

I think we need to look at our neighbours in South Sudan, North Sudan and Somalia. These are the countries with very few tribes. In Kenya, we have 45 tribes. If for any reason, we turn against each other, we will finish each other within a week or even less. May God forbid that.

That is the why we should congratulate and be happy for whatever has happened when the Head of State agreed to listen to us and the youths of this country.

From the happenings, I believe we must do a lot of consultation whenever we make a decision. If we make decisions unilaterally without consulting each other, then from what happened on Tuesday, we can see what will happen in the years to come.

Those youths were actually on the road because of frustration and depression. They are our children and you will see most of them into drugs, especially in our counties.

In Kenya today, there are youths with even Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), masters' and first degrees. However, if you look for a job, unless you pay a certain token, you will not get a job in Government offices. I think those Ministries need to be overhauled. We need to tell each other the truth. There is no merit in one getting a job, which is why those youths were frustrated and annoyed with us, leaders.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you look at the budget of this country, it is brought to both the National Assembly and the Senate. We pass those budgets and you do not know how the 85 per cent that is left at the national level is spent. You do not know how it is implemented and not even the projects that are there. You are either politically-correct or not, either influential or not. You either have a population or not. Everything is looking at the future of the politics of this country. Where are we heading as a country? I will automatically not get development because I do not support the government of the day. That is the position in this country and we need to correct that.

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When the current Government leadership or the Executive came into office, I visited several offices to find out the kind of projects that would be implemented in my county. I went to a certain office and I was told that the project in this area is 100 per cent complete. I asked the Principal Secretaries (PSs) or the Cabinet Secretary whether they were serious when saying that this project is 100 per cent complete. I was there the other day. Imagine a project that is 40 per cent done is 100 per cent complete at a Government office. In certain instances, the projects are not even there.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we need to look at the way we are carrying out ourselves and even on sharing the national cake. Those at the national level need to go down and see what is happening or how those projects are being implemented and how they are benefiting the communities that are intended to be supported.

Let me come back to this House. I have been around for a while. I was in the first and the second Senate. However, with the current happenings, we must call a spade a spade. You can bring a statement to this House and it will take six months for a committee to look at it and give you feedback.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you can imagine that I am even confronted in certain committees. Is it relevant for you to bring this statement to this committee? I am being challenged in the committee when the Speaker on the Floor of the House has referred a statement to them. A Member of a committee or secretariat calls my county to ask the governor, “what is wrong with your Senator, she is always bringing statements to our committee?” When we correct others, we should also correct ourselves. There are many problems within our committees. Things are not done properly. I can enumerate committees where I have challenges in my counties. Up to now, nobody has responded to those statements.

I do not want to embarrass the committees that have statements before them. Imagine sometimes you are sent the response and nobody bothers on how to deal with that particular statement. I wish we could go back to where we started in the first Senate where responses for those statements were brought back to the House so that everybody could listen and understand them and even asked further questions.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as we point fingers at other individuals or institutions, we also have challenges here and we must correct ourselves. Going back to the counties, I have sat in the committees of the House since 2013.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when talking of the national Government, we should also talk about county governments. When the budget we fight for here goes to the county, nobody wants you to talk about it. Nobody says that Senators fought for this budget, so we should listen to them.

Nobody understands that the role of Senators is not to carry out development, but to oversight. That has to be made clear because we are bashed by governors and Members of National Assembly. I have brought this road. I have done ABCD. What has a Senator done for you? Those are the issues we need to ask ourselves. How will we be felt as Senators? I have seen people from yesterday's debate bashing the Senate, that it should be scrapped. We have had those debates, but we must make a reality why we exist as a Senate.

I sit in the County Public Accounts Committee (CPAC) where you would see that all the counties have gone above the 30 per cent ceiling of employment. Every governor comes in and recruits 200, 300 or 1,000 employees and nobody is questioning.

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Mr. Speaker, Sir, development is not taking place. For example, in my county, 50 per cent of the budget in this finished financial year has not been spent yet you have pending bills in the counties with people suffering. They have supplied to counties. You go to the Controller of Budget (CoB) and requisitions are made with the name of Fatuma Dullo. When it goes to the County Revenue Fund (CRF), it is another person, let us say Sen. Kajwang', getting paid. These things are happening.

(Loud consultations)

Do you want to challenge me?

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed, Senator.

Sen. Dullo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is happening in the eyes of the CoB and the National Treasury and nobody is bothered. Those who have supplied are suffering. Those who are owed pending bills have not yet been paid. I remember there was a decision made by this House in 2019 to stop the budget from going to the counties until they clear pending bills. They all rushed to clear those pending bills. That decision has to be made, maybe in the next financial year, so that Kenyans can get their money and service delivered to Kenyans.

If I may look at my county, I moved a Motion yesterday to stop the budget from going to Isiolo County. I was not a fool when I drafted that Motion. We have instances when governors refused to appear before CPAC. Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale also tried one time in 2015 or 2019.

(Sen. Cheruiyot and Sen. Methu consulted loudly)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Majority Leader, you may consult, but keep it on low tones.

Proceed, Senator.

Sen. Dullo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we push the Government to allocate more resources to counties, but when you summon a governor to the committee of the Senate, he will tell you "I am not obligated to respond to anybody." It is in the public domain. We went as a Senate committee to Isiolo and the result is that we were all abused in public. All of us. I remember Sen. M. Kajwang' being asked why not oversight Homa Bay instead of Isiolo. We, as Senators, have a right to go to any county---

(Sen. Dullo's microphone went off)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thought I have 20 minutes. I brought a statement on the Floor of the House regarding a morgue. Up to date, the morgue is not operational. The governor refused to appear before the Committee on Health. After the Committee issued a warrant of arrest to order the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) and Inspector General (IG), the Governor rushed to get a court order to stop a committee of the House from operating.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we need a ruling from you. I have never seen a governor stop the decision of a committee. We had a meeting of the CPAC where Sen. Olekina was abused and tables were banged. What kind of respect do we have?

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There are no structures in those counties. I am not talking about Isiolo only. If you look at the budget, budget forums are not working. Supplementary budgets are carried and members of the public do not know. We need to have a serious discussion regarding the counties.

If you allow me, the law allows 50 per cent stoppage of the budget. We must have a lesson learnt by certain counties that are disrespecting this House. There must be consequences or else some guys in Isiolo will say, where will the Senate take us? We will come, listen to them, take photos with them, see them outside the tent and that will be the end of it. That is the story that is there in the counties. We must be held accountable.

For example, a county that is getting a budget of Kshs5.2 billion is recruiting 32 Chief Officers (COs) and the governor says nobody will ask me. He has over 20 advisors when the law allows for only three advisors. Every department has an advisor. So, what is the use of having laws in this country? It has no meaning. I can see the kind of frustrations that these young boys and girls are going through.

The demonstrations we had here were similar in my county, Isiolo. We lost some young boys and girls. *Poleni sana*. After the demonstrations, some youths were hired to confront the peaceful demonstrators that was done by the Gen Zs. Can you imagine a governor rushing to tweet that “Fatuma wanted to burn the county office?” Why would I burn the county office? Can I assist him in burning evidence where he has misappropriated funding? Why would I? We have a lot of challenges.

If today’s debate will solve the kind of problems we have both nationally and at the county level, then we have something to smile. I want to advise the Gen Zs. Yes, you have made noise and you have been heard. However, put your structures in place to hold everybody accountable. I must congratulate you today for not having demonstrations. However, come together and make sure that whatever you have listed down is implemented.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have a lot of challenges. I do not see why we should even allocate money to counties. Our mothers today are carrying drums of water on their backs when we have budgets.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. Sen. Dullo, two minutes to wind up your thoughts.

Sen. Dullo: Most of the children in my county are learning under trees. What happens when it rains? They do not go to school. Hospitals and dispensaries are not operating. There are no drugs and ambulances. Our mothers are dying on those rough roads trying to get service delivery as far as health is concerned.

I urge this House, whatever discussions we have here, we must have a solution to it. Until the Governor of Isiolo and any other county accepts and respects the role of the Senate, we should not release more than 50 per cent of the budget for the benefit of staff. We deserve that respect as a Senate and also hold those governors accountable because what we are sending to them is not realized.

Imagine the County Treasury of Isiolo is operated in Nairobi. Procurement is also operated in Nairobi and nobody is bothered. People here in this House are saying, why is Sen. Dullo so annoyed with Isiolo County? I have a reason. I feel the pain of my people. That is why they have elected me to this House. Let us put our act together.

We all belong to this country. So many people are yearning to come and settle in Kenya. We do not have another country. Can we sit down, do a proper consultation and ensure that our country moves forward?

I thank you.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Senator Mo Fire?

Sen. Gataya Mo Fire: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Let me start by thanking the Mover of this Motion, the leadership of this House from both divides, including Sen. Wambua. You came up with this idea of addressing the affairs of this nation after having a few instances in the last two weeks or so.

Before I give my speech, I dedicate my soul and spirit to the young ones who lost their lives, their parents, their relatives and their entire family. It is on record that this country lost lives in the last few days out of the protests that were brought by our sons and daughters. I also want to convey my gratitude and regards from Tharaka-Nithi to the Senate Majority Leader of this House, Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale, Sen. Sifuna and to you, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

I have received several messages and calls from the people of Tharaka-Nithi congratulating each one of you for finding it very necessary to ensure that we have the State of the Nation Address. As such, the Senate is now a celeb in this country. We have been celebrated across the board and people are saying this is the Senate that we voted for as per the Constitution. We have redeemed ourselves and restored our sanity as a House.

I belong to Kenya Kwanza Government having been elected as the Senator for Tharaka-Nithi by majority votes in the last election. I am happy that this House has disregarded party affiliations and decided to confront issues regardless of whether you come from Kenya Kwanza or Azimio La Umoja Coalition. That is patriotism. Just as several Senators have said, we do not have any other country other than Kenya.

(Sen. Methu consulted loudly and Sen. Kinyua stood in his place)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, can you protect me? I can see Sen. Methu is making a lot of noise from some quarters.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi) Order, Senator for Laikipia! Resume your seat.

(Sen. Kinyua sat in his place)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed, Sen. Mo Fire.

Sen. Gataya Mo Fire: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for that. This Government came into being through some very common phrases. I remember we went around the country and our common phrase was bottom-up; the hustlers. That captured the likes of *mama mbogas*, the *boda bodas*, the *mkokoteni* pushers, the wheelbarrow pushers and any other common person for that matter. We rode on that spirit and we were enormously voted to positions.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I remember the vows and promises that we made that within 100 days or three months, we should have done this and that. However, a person watching me

from Tharaka-Nithi, Lamu or any part of this country, will agree with me that we have not been very faithful to those vows and promises.

We might have been distracted by some economic issues or policies, but that is not the expectation of the nation. It could be too early, but the promises made were that in the next 100 days, we shall have done this or that.

We made some promises that this Government would be comprised of *mama mbogas*, the young people and *boda bodas*. It was a common phrase not only for the President; that was the talk of Kenya Kwanza. What we have seen in return is a total contrast to the promises made.

The boys that are rioting today in the streets, during the campaigns, we expected them to be given jobs. Nonetheless, we have witnessed some recycled corrupt faces in this Government. The people with tainted history of corruption and serious malpractices are the ones running the Government.

We have seen people carrying sacks of money in functions such as the harambees' at the expense of the poor who are not getting any employment. If there are any opportunities there, they are carried out through nepotism, clanism and tribalism.

I serve in the Committee of National Cohesion and Equal Opportunity, where my senior, Sen. Chute, chairs. It is very saddening to find that in this country, two tribes carry three-quarters of the entire public service or the workforce at the expense of other tribes. Therefore, one would ask, why are other Kenyans taking their children to school?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, those are some of the lamentations that we are seeing in the streets. I am happy that the President was able to listen to some of those grievances. It is also important to note that even the budget is skewed to favour some cronies and loyalists. You find some Members of Parliament (MPs) allocating themselves billions of shillings in their constituencies for development. This one is segregated and it has made some parts of this country look like they are not part of this country. I come from the Tharaka-Nithi and Tharaka Constituency for that matter. I exactly know what I am saying.

Kenyans put this Government in power with great expectations, so that lives could become better. The intentions could have been very good. However, those of us who frequent their localities every weekend will bear me witness that we face a lot of problems with our mothers, fathers and our common rural folk seeking for school fees, medication and any sort of assistance from those who are elected.

This is not something that we can manage. This one displays some serious levels of inequality in the society. This is not what Kenyans really expected when they went into elections.

After forming the Government, we chose to reward the friends and loyalties instead of competence, in some cases. That is why we have had some confessions here from some prosecutors of this Motion that the Committee on Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries sat down, prosecuted a case and up to now, some of those known culprits are still in office.

This is seriously eroding the confidence of the people of Kenya. There is no way Kenyans would want to be shepherd by a person who is tainted and corrupt for that matter.

This is not only in the agricultural case. We have seen so many cases in this country where we do not have a serious resolve maybe to fight corruption. We have created two levels of living in this country. We have people with a lot of money. They do not even

know where to take that money. They have bought so many things such as the choppers and are going around the country with so much money.

I would like to recite what Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale said that they are the sky team. They are all over. They can take a chopper from Nairobi to Thika which is a 20 minutes' drive because money is there. I am very sure this money belongs to Kenyans whom we saw the other day demonstrating in the streets.

So, this anger has been building in this country for the last many years. I am happy that our young people woke up from those levels of sycophancy, hypocrisy and fallacy; that we are supposed to do exactly what the people sent us here to do.

The Government overlooked quite a number of cancerous aspects in our nation such as corruption, tribalism and impunity. In Kenya today, you can do anything as far as you are politically-correct. You can even commit crimes like murder. We have seen some of us shooting people dead and go scot-free because we belong to this section of the Government.

It is time we restore, install and make sure that we are all equal before the law. Some of those things is the reason why we are having our youth going to the streets and making some serious demonstrations.

The budget is also made in favour of some people who are connected to the system. We have every right to thank our young generation for awakening us from the deep shame of hypocrisy, sycophancy and fallacy. I am happy that this Government found it necessary to halt the signing of the Finance Bill, which in the Kenyan understanding was not favourable to the voters.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to wind up by saying that the Senate has reclaimed its glory. I am very sure this is the trend we are supposed to embrace as a House. Possibly in the future, this is the hope of this country. Kenyans are looking upon us to give solutions and directions.

I strongly support the Motion. I hope that the recommendations that we are going to make will not die, just like many other things that we have prosecuted and have never seen the light of the day. Therefore, I request the leadership of this House and the entire House to make sure that we implement what we agree.

I am very sure, as a House and as the Senate, we are going to be the symbol of unity for this country.

I support.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed, Sen. M. Kajwang'.

Sen. M. Kajwang': Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Motion and to congratulate the Senate Majority and Minority Leaders, for bringing a bipartisan Motion of this nature. Indeed, this is the right time to discuss the state of the nation.

Let me first start by sending my condolences and that of the delegation that I lead to the 39 families whose children died in the last one week. The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) has told us that 36 were injured, 627 young people were arrested and 32 have disappeared.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, disappearances and extrajudicial killings have returned to this country despite the promises that were made during the campaigns. I also wish to sympathize with the traders who have lost their properties across the nation.

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Even though not related, allow me to take this opportunity to send my condolences to the family of the late Joseph Barrage Wanjui. Those who know Joe Wanjui, he was the Chancellor of University of Nairobi (UON). He was a foremost businessman in this country. I send condolences because Joe Wanjui gave me an opportunity to join the financial services world.

When I left the University, he never cared about my last name, but my ability to serve. May his soul rest in peace. We shall remember his sophisticated humility, which I have struggled to emulate.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, last week when I was in church, the young people told me that when I come to this House, I must read out Ephesians 6:12. It says:

“For we fight not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers---”

The Gen Zs are not fighting against flesh and blood. Theirs is a fight against principalities and powers, rulers of darkness and wickedness in high places.

(Applause)

Gen Zs do not want to kill anyone even though we are killing them. We have snipers on this building to kill our young people. They are not fighting flesh and blood, but it is about wickedness in high places; Parliament, State House, City Hall and Governors' premises across the nation. It is wickedness in high places that the Gen Zs are fighting against.

It was not the Finance Bill that was the problem. The Finance Bill was a catalyst. All these started when we decided to force on Kenyans a housing law. It is a good thing that those young people came to Parliament because we are the ones who passed the housing law and told the young people that they can go to hell if they want.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are the ones who passed a health law, which no one understands today. Those people who work for NHIF have no certainty. They do not know whether they have jobs or even a health cover, and yet, they work for the NHIF. It was this Parliament that brought about this kind of wickedness that many of our people today do not have health cover. Today, children in schools do not have health cover, something that we thought would be a constitutional guarantee. That was taken away and this Parliament kept quiet about it.

The Gen Zs are fighting about the neocolonialism we are seeing today. When Kenyans are complaining about their Government, the first person to respond to us is the American Ambassador, in power-point presentations, telling us how our elections are free and fair. Telling us how our President has been sent from God and telling us that we are making the right decisions and that we should persevere.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Gen Zs are tired with that neocolonialism and double standards. Someone told me that if those protests were about the rights of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) community and 39 people were dead, the western world would have frozen aid and external assistance to Kenya. Are the lives of gay people and lesbians more important than the lives of the 39 we have talked about?

We saw what happened in our neighbouring country, Uganda. They came up with laws that limited the rights and freedoms of persons of that orientation. Uganda has now been denied funding. The Speaker of the Assembly in Uganda is being hounded out of office. She cannot even travel. We do not want the double standards of neocolonialists and we pray that the Gen Zs in America will do the right thing.

The arrogance that we have displayed as a leadership and the tribalism that we have been expressing and calling it shareholding, shareholding is nothing when it comes to national politics. It is pure tribalism. It is ethnic jingoism. It is ethnic chauvinism.

We were talking here with Sen. Omtatah, asking ourselves why do you need a voter's card when you already have a national Identification Card (ID). That has been the system in this country to disenfranchise certain parts of this country. We have been around through electoral processes and we know that the registration of voters is the step for rigging of elections.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I ask the Senate Majority Leader and Senate Minority Leader that in that Motion, we should push to ensure that in this country, once you have a national ID card, you automatically become a voter. This is because I have heard the arrogant politicians, the ones who voted 'yes' to the Finance Bill, say that Gen Zs will not take them anywhere because they are not registered as voters.

Once you are a citizen, you have a right to vote. We should not introduce additional bureaucracies in the name of registration of voters. The last time we did that exercise, this country spent Kshs7 billion on biometric voter registration equipment. Those are the areas where we could make savings. If we could take that Kshs7 billion that I am sure the IEBC is going to ask for another round of voter registration, that amount of money can take care of doctors and the JSS teachers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have annoyed the Gen Zs by our fake religious fab. There religious fundamentalism in this country where we go to churches and then say that the persons we vanquished are children of a lesser God, that the victors are the ones who pray to the true God. However, today the Gen Zs have told us that the voice of the youth is the voice of God.

(Applause)

I have reflected and looked at what Chinua Achebe wrote – The Trouble with Nigeria. He said that there is no problem with the Nigerian land, Nigerian soil, Nigerian air, Nigerian water, Nigerian seas and lakes. The trouble of Nigeria as is the trouble with Kenya is the failure of leadership. It is the cult of mediocrity. It is indiscipline and corruption.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, ever since Chinua Achebe made those very interesting remarks, more than 30 years ago, Kenya has never learnt a lesson. I am happy about this revolution that our young people have brought upon us. This is because it will change the architecture of our politics. Before, the people who mattered were the leaders and owners of parties. Today, the true bosses are the youngsters, the Gen Zs, our brothers and sisters, our sons and daughters.

I heard the President say that he wants to set up certain committees to go round the country to find out what the youth want. Why do you ask for a job when you do not know what the people who elected you want? Sometimes, we can propose a lot of things, and yet, the solutions lie in this Constitution.

We have Article 55 of the Constitution, which talks about specific applications of rights with respect to youth. Instead of the President wasting taxpayers' money with another BBI like circus, I invite him to read Article 55, which says-

“The State shall take measures, including affirmative action programmes, to ensure that the youth—

- (a) access relevant education and training;
- (b) have opportunities to associate, be represented and participate in political, social, economic and other spheres of life;
- (c) access employment; and
- (d) are protected from harmful cultural practices and exploitation.”

You do not need a committee to go round the country to come and tell you that because the framers of our Constitution already put it there.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, what do the Gen Zs want? They want us to be faithful to this Constitution, especially on the Bill of Rights. The rights and fundamental freedoms in this Constitution which belong to each individual and are not granted by the state; and the responsibility of the state as far as the rights are concerned is to conserve, respect, protect, promote and fulfil the realization of those rights.

Why do you have to set up committees and dialogue teams, and yet, the Constitution says that every Kenyan has got a right to life. That right to life is not abortion. Those boys who were felled by snipers outside this Parliament had their right to life violated. The young people want equality and freedom from discrimination that is an obligation of the state in this Constitution. It should not matter whether you are Cheruiyot or Kariuki for you to access jobs.

The other day, I watched on television as the leadership of the Kenya Plant Health Inspectorate Services (KEPHIS) were talking about a new system they had launched. The first person to speak sounds like he comes from Meru. The second person to speak also sounded like he came from Meru. The third one too sounded like they came from Meru. The Cabinet Secretary for Agriculture and Livestock Development is the former Senator for Meru.

It should not matter where you come from. This is because I do not think that the expertise of plant health inspectorate services only resides in a certain part of the country. However, that has been duplicated in each and every Ministry. If you go to the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology, perhaps everyone is Otieno, Onyango or Odongo. If you go to the Ministry of Roads, Transport and Public Works, everyone is Cheruiyot---

Sen. Kathuri: On a point of Order, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. M. Kajwang', just yield.

Senator for Meru County, we agreed before--- Just take a seat.

(Sen. Kathuri spoke off record)

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I am talking, Sen. Kathuri. We agreed as a ground rule that there shall be no points of order. There was a reason for that.

(Applause)

Hon. Senators, to get a boil to heal, you do not caress it. If you need the boil to heal, you must squeeze and squeeze it really hard. That process of squeezing is pretty painful. However, if we need to get out of this place we are, we just have to squeeze this boil.

Sen. Kathuri, I will give you an opportunity, where you will lay your case and nobody will raise a point of order on you.

Conclude, Sen. M. Kajwang’.

(Applause)

Sen. M. Kajwang’: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when dry bones are mentioned in a proverb, some people feel jittery.

I am talking about the rights and fundamental freedoms that are in the Constitution. Every Kenyan deserves a right to work in public. That is what the young people are asking for. They are asking for human dignity to be observed. Our people want to be treated properly like human beings. They do not want to be treated like animals, as we have seen out there in the streets. Our young people want freedom of conscience, religion, belief and opinion. They want freedom of expression and association. They want freedom to assemble, demonstrate, picket and petition and not to be greeted by bullets.

When we talk about 39 people dead, it is as if we are counting heaps of logs of firewood. These are children of people. There is a mother somewhere shedding tears today. There is a father somewhere talking about the lost opportunities because of a young person doing what he was told he can do comfortably under this Constitution.

When we talk about the 39, we are talking about Ibrahim Kamau, who had just left high school. He was felled by a sniper outside this Parliament. He was killed within the precincts of Parliament. We are talking about David Chege, a computer science graduate from Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, felled by a sniper's bullet outside this Parliament. The blood has not dried in the grass of Parliament. We are talking about Eric Sheini, a university student. We are talking about Evans Kiratu, who was killed by a tear gas canister when it exploded on him. We are talking about Rex Kanyike and Brian Kasaine.

Gen Z are saying, ‘grant us the rights that are due to us in the Constitution.’ More importantly, they are demanding for the economic and social rights that are granted unto them in this Constitution, which belong to them. It is not granted by the State. The duty of the state is to fulfil it. These rights belong to the people of Kenya and Gen Z. You do not need a committee of rocket scientists or experts or people from the United Nations to come and interpret for you this Constitution. The answers to the problems are all here.

Gen Z are saying, ‘let us ensure that Chapter 6 of this Constitution is observed and fulfilled. This is because we have made leadership, particularly political office, an

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opportunity to lord over other people and not to serve them.’ I believe that if the Government sat back and reflected, they would realise that all the answers and all the solutions are here.

As we craft this Motion and as the Senate Majority Leader brings further amendments, I have further proposals. I am particularly disturbed when I see the military walking around the streets of Nairobi. We have seen what has happened in neighbouring countries. Let us not tempt our military. Let us keep them in the barracks. Let them do the spectacular job they have always done of defending and protecting this nation from external aggression. When you bring the military to the streets, it is like exposing a child to sugar or honey. We have seen what has happened before.

Sudan was a big economy. It was booming. The agricultural, petroleum and mining sector was booming. It is now in shambles. Ethiopia was an economy that was competing with Kenya. It was poised to overtake Kenya. Safaricom went into Ethiopia. Kenyan banks and insurance companies wanted to go into Ethiopia. It was messed up by the military. Our resolution is despite what the High Court has done and what the National Assembly did, let the military take the tanks back to the barracks. That should be a resolution of this House.

Secondly, I have heard some instances of sibling rivalry. Since the Senate is sitting and the National Assembly is in hiding, there are people who are saying, ‘scrap the Senate.’ I want to tell those who say ‘scrap the Senate’ that we have got a good record as a Senate. We have referred 146 cases to the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC).

Out of the 146 cases, very few of them have been investigated or prosecuted to conclusion. We have told the EACC we are going to bring them here before the Committee of the Whole. I want to tell Gen Z, please, pay the EACC a visit. There is a problem there. You need to go and visit and say hello to the EACC because we have a problem.

This House, in terms of accountability, has impeached at least five governors. That is 10 per cent of the counties. Can our brothers tell us how many Cabinet Secretaries they have impeached? This House has gone to the Supreme Court to seek opinions that have developed jurisprudence in this nation. This House, in unison, marched to Milimani Law Courts. In our march to Milimani Law Courts, the late Sen. Haji, Sen. Gideon Moi and the Senators that you could not imagine, were the ones leading our march to Milimani Law Courts on the concurrence matter.

This Senate has taken its services and sittings out of Nairobi. We have gone to four counties. This Senate has organized legislative conferences and devolution conferences. They should tell us the last time the National Assembly sat outside Nairobi. However, it does not matter because in the end, the difference between us and them is like the difference between a cheetah and a leopard. In my community, we have one name for both. It does not matter whether we voted ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ We are all collectively in this.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the SRC matter has been dealt with. Perhaps what we should have said is what should have gone to MPs as a salary increment, be redirected to a certain cause; doctors or the JSS teachers.

I would like the Senate Majority Leader to include another action on this Motion; that, the Cabinet Secretary to the National Treasury, Prof. Njuguna Ndung’u, who has the habit of snubbing the Senate every time we invite him, to invoke Article 225 on any County

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Executive that gets an adverse opinion. Article 225 talks about 50 per cent of funds to be withheld until the county comes up with a recovery action plan. About 10 per cent of the money we send to counties is wasted. It is not stolen, but wasted. It is utilised on things that are not necessary. Also 10 per cent of all our budgets at the national level is wasted.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want the Motion to direct that we go towards a digital Government. There are so many meetings that we hold that do not require people to be in the same room. We can do *Zoom* and virtual technologies. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the PSC told us that we were procuring a system to facilitate a virtual Parliament. Why are we still using *Zoom*, which cannot work properly and can be hacked? We must drive towards a digital Government.

On constitutional commissions, Sen. Okiya Omtatah has made a strong case. We must demand that we are part of Parliament. We must be involved in allocation of budgets to constitutional commissions. The KNCHR is being overshadowed by the Law Society of Kenya (LSK).

I want to congratulate the leadership of the LSK. They have stood up for the rights of persons who are involved in this protest. They have done better than the constitutional commission that is supposed to guarantee observance of human rights in this Republic. They have done better than the Commission on Administration of Justice.

The last time I heard my friend and sister, the Ombudsman, speak, she was speaking about Muguka. She was not talking about the rights of people and maladministration in this country, which is supposed to be her duty. I hope Gen Zs can also pay her a visit.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the National Gender and Equalization Commission (NGEC) is not doing what they should be doing. I hope they can also be paid a visit. I want to---

(Sen. M. Kajwang's microphone went off)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Sen. M. Kajwang' you have two minutes to wind up your thoughts.

Sen. M. Kajwang': Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I was about to suggest that they pay you a visit, but you have---

(Laughter)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed, Kajwang'.

Sen. M. Kajwang': Mr. Speaker, Sir, we shall protect you and I conclude by supporting and thanking Sen. Cheruiyot and Sen. Madzayo for this Motion.

Let us stand for this country and do the right thing. If this country burns, we have nowhere to go. You have seen the frustration and the problems our brothers and sisters from South Sudan face. Sudan is on fire. Ethiopia is burning. Our neighbouring countries are in problems. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is on the precipice; even Rwanda is on the precipice.

We cannot afford to go that route. The person who takes us to that route will not be the Gen Z. It will be us in office. It will be the wickedness in high places. It will be the principalities and powers that reside in State House, this Senate and the National

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Assembly, that will take us there. If we are the problem, then the Gen Zs have all legitimate rights to kick us out. However, let us smell the coffee and wake up before it gets too late. I believe that Kenya can be redeemed.

I support.

(Applause)

The Speaker (Hon. Kingi): Proceed, Sen. Ali Roba.

Sen. Ali Roba: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Allow me to start by sharing my condolences with the entire country, the families and friends of the 34 souls that were lost in this exercise. I have just heard from my colleague that the number has gone to 39. At the same time, I would like to also share my sympathies with the innocent Kenyans whose properties were either looted or vandalized.

I also stand here because often little problems that happen tend to overshadow the bigger picture of what our security forces have been able to do. While there are rogue security officers that have caused a lot of pain to Kenyans, there are those that have stood very firm to protect this country from going into anarchy by making sure that they abided to keeping law and order without also violating the rights of our protesters as enshrined in the Constitution.

I say this because I watched a very emotional video, where an armed police officer with a gun was chased down the street - he could have opted to use the gun to protect himself, but accepted to be clobbered by the mob for the sake of making sure that extrajudicial killings do not happen. We have to applaud and share our sympathies with such security officers for doing an excellent job.

Allow me to also congratulate Gen Z for their unprecedented success in this country. What they have achieved over a few days will go down the democratic space of this country as an indelible mark in the nation of Kenya, for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, for many people, understanding the plight of Gen Z was a very difficult issue. I have a daughter in Form 2 who was on her mid-term break. I was away, but I called to tell her bye because she was going back to school.

The only question she asked me was, “Baba, are you supporting the Finance Bill?” She is in a boarding school. I told her, “No, I am not supporting.” She said, “had you answered that you were supporting, baba, I would never have been able to raise my head up in school because everybody knows my father is a Member of Parliament.” These are the unfortunate scenarios we have, whereas maybe the adults do not understand. Our Gen Z have really understood what is bedeviling them.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is worth reflecting on what is the true frustration of Gen Z. If you look at the public service advertisement in Kenya, only those that are able and have money will have access to opportunities in the public service, whether it is at the national level or at the county level.

Now, we have children going to school and passing through most levels of higher education, but with zero hope of getting employed. When they try to comb through the budget of the nation to see if there is any hope contained in it that will help them and they

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see nothing, but an opportunity that oppresses them more in the Finance Bill; this has boiled into a situation where they have taken matters in their hands.

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

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

Madam Temporary Speaker, I apologize; I did not notice the seat has changed.

While I congratulate Gen Z for exercising their right to demonstrate and share their concerns, I also wish to point out that the exercise of freedom of picketing should be practiced in moderation and with a lot of control, so that it does not infringe on the rights of others as it is.

Madam Temporary Speaker, true wisdom lies in recognizing that smart people do not invite anarchy upon themselves, but rather find every little opportunity for them to fight anarchy.

I was fortunate or unfortunate enough to have had experience in my past life as a pilot. I worked with the United Nations (UN) agencies in more than 10 devastated countries such as South Sudan, under Operation Lifeline Sudan, North Sudan, Darfur section, Central African Republic, Chad, Somalia, Afghanistan, Congo and Liberia, among others.

(Loud consultations)

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Hon. Senators, can you please consult in low tones? Can the Senator be heard in silence?

Sen. Ali Roba: I have seen in real life what anarchy means in terms of the level of devastation and human suffering that mothers, women and children undergo for you to imagine that this country can easily be allowed to go into anarchy.

I want to take this opportunity at this juncture to immensely appreciate the efforts of the House leadership, particularly the Senate Majority Leader and Senate Minority Leader, for this bipartisan approach that has enabled us to conduct moments of sincere self-reflection as leaders in this country. The moment has really awoken the true humbleness in the leadership as it is.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I want to take this opportunity as the Chairperson of the Standing Committee on Finance and Budget because I have seen the memorandum that the President has sent back to National Assembly. I strongly believe that memorandum ought to have also come to the Senate.

Nevertheless, I want to take this opportunity to advise the Cabinet Secretary for National Treasury to understand, first, that Government Ministries, whether at the county level or national level, tend to use different words to mean the same thing; to generate budget lines to be allocated money.

If the Cabinet Secretary sits on the budget of the Government of Kenya, I am 100 per cent sure he can comb through and reduce the deficit as a result of the Finance Bill having been rejected by the President. Issues to do with recurrent expenditure and feel good allocations to politically correct individuals in the form of development are unnecessary.

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There are also issues to do with renovations, refreshments, training and development and many other issues, including foreign and domestic travel. I would like to urge the National Treasury to comb the numbers to get a rational budget that can capture the aspirations of Kenyans as well as Gen Z in terms of living within our means.

Now, let me come to the realities of the Government of President William Samoei Ruto. Before the last General Elections, I was in the Azimio la Umoja-One Kenya Coalition. After elections, through an invitation, I managed to join the Kenya Kwanza Government. By joining, we happened to have the majority both in the Senate and the National Assembly.

Perhaps the President was wise enough to have considered those who supported him and gave them Cabinet positions. In August, which is next month, two years would have lapsed in the first term of his Government. It is time the President considered whether or not political reward has helped him to manage the political Government into delivering results that are required.

I say this because I have first-hand experience on many issues. I am a co-principal in the Kenya Kwanza Administration, but I have Cabinet Secretaries in this Government who I have tried to look for or make phone calls to, not for personal issues, but on issues affecting members of the public who elected us into office to represent them. Phone calls and messages are not responded to. When you walk to the office that is supposed to provide services, the occupants are not there.

A period of six months passed. It reached a point when I decided to take my frustrations to the President of the Republic of Kenya to share with him trivial issues that could have been managed at the Cabinet Secretary's office, which is their mandate. Political leaders have a responsibility of representation, which is a critical role that they need to undertake on behalf of the people who elected them into office.

It took the effort of the President to call and share the same issues I would have shared with the respective Cabinet Secretary. I was then asked to go and see the Cabinet Secretary. Six months down the line, I am unable to see that Cabinet Secretary.

I ask myself questions. My issues are minor. I can overlook and forget about them, but the question is; who is managing the political Government of President William Ruto if Cabinet Secretaries do not understand their role? It is a pity that everything must be done by the President of the Republic of Kenya. Some are trivial issues that the President should not even speak to. They are issues that Cabinet Secretaries need to attend to.

What we have are Cabinet Secretaries who are working---

(Sen. Tabitha Keroche consulted Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale loudly)

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Tabitha Keroche, please consult in low tones.

Sen. Ali Roba: Madam Temporary Speaker, what we have are Cabinet Secretaries who are working like CEOs of private entities. They talk to who they want and they are in the office when they want. They make “feel good” appointments that are picture smart.

Since this is an excellent moment of reflection, another issue that I observed is that they have duped our President into launching projects when procurement processes have

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not even been finished. In this age of information, you will find there is a project that the President goes to do ground-breaking, but nothing happens six months later. Who is responsible for that? It is Cabinet Secretaries because they look for picture smart opportunities to be seen that they are working.

We have a situation where unless the President speaks, you do not see any Cabinet Secretary speaking in defence of the Government. You do not see them moving. You find them flying only for them to get opportunities that will make them feel good.

The President is faced with a huge challenge when it comes to most Members of his Cabinet. A few of them are diligent and deliver. However, most Cabinet Secretaries do not deliver. The President cannot run the country and, at the same time, the political Government. It requires Cabinet Members to perform their responsibilities with minimal supervision.

At some point, I shared some unfortunate advice even to our President. He does not have to go to a new church every other Sunday because he will be bombarded with requests. Therefore, he will be forced to make promises that are impossible to fulfil.

It makes the President look bad. Perhaps he should do it the way the late President Moi and the late President Kibaki were doing. He can just go to churches within the Central Business District (CBD). That way, you can have a lot of time to supervise your Ministries as required.

Our President does not have to fly every other day when invited to small events. When an MP tells you there is some small event, you go. You lose the time required to sit down and supervise your Ministries in State House and reflect on their performance as required. Our President should not respond to every little issue.

I was pained as a leader in the Kenya Kwanza Government when media personalities who are also fighting for fame and space were invited in the middle of chaos for an interview at State House. If the media is fighting for space, why do you invite them? If you want to inform the country, do a press briefing. For some of them, it is an opportunity to make you look bad as they fight for fame. It is an unfortunate scenario that took shape.

Our President does not have to speak every time to every little issue that comes up. He needs to reflect more and use his Cabinet and other structures of Government to speak on the Government position as required.

I would like to end by talking about two issues. I would like to urge His Excellency the President to understand that it is very easy for Kenya to accomplish free secondary education in this country. We only need to restructure the NG-CDF, so that you do not have parents going to the doors of MPs to beg for school fees. School fees is being dished out as a favour to the parents. If you are not politically-correct, you do not get it.

Why should Kenya of the 21st Century subject itself to that, yet there is a lot of money in the name of NG-CDF, where MPs are using it as a privilege to say what they can do? If you did not support them, you are told to forget about it. The Government can provide free secondary education. That is something that will be popular and will make the President look good. That is something that will identify with Gen Z. They will be able to understand that their plight has been looked into by the Government of the day. It is not impossible.

My Governor has tried to provide free secondary education. It is a little bit challenging, but it is taking shape in Mandera. Why can it not be replicated in the whole nation? All we need is to restructure the NG-CDF, so that the amounts being used can be redirected and free secondary school be provided to our younger generations and those that are unable to pay their fees.

Madam Temporary Speaker, in the interest of time, I beg to support.

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

Sen. Mwaruma, proceed.

Sen. Mwaruma: Asante, Bi. Spika wa Muda, kwa hii fursa umenipa ili kuchangia huu mchakato wa kutathmini hali halisi ya nchi hii yetu ya Kenya.

Kwanza kabisa, namshukuru Kiongozi wa Walio Wengi, Seneta wa Kericho, Sen. Aaron Cheruiyot na Kiongozi wa Walio Wachache, Seneta wa Kilifi, Hakimu Mstaafu, Sen. Steward Madzayo, kwa kuleta Hoja hii ya kuangalia hali halisi ya Kenya.

Jambo la pili, nawashukuru Masenta kwa kukubali kubakia ili kuangalia vile Kenya ilivyo kwa sababu saa hii, Kenya iko katika njia panda. Bunge la Kitaifa liliamua kukimbia na kwenda nyumbani wakati Kenya inawahitaji.

Nachukua hii fursa kwa niaba yangu na wananchi wa Taita-Taveta kutoa risala za rambirambi kwa ndugu, jamaa na marafiki ambao walipoteza watu wao wakati wa maandamano.

Haya maandamano yalikuwa ni ya kupinga Mswada wa Fedha na yaliongozwa na vijana wanaojiita Gen Z ama kizazi cha zuma. Kwa hekima ya Mhe. Rais, aliona kwamba auondoe huo Mswada na urudi kwa Bunge la Kitaifa.

Kwa sababu tuko mahali ambapo hatuaminiani, hekima nyingine ni vyema Bunge la Kitaifa, lirudi na liangalie mapendekezo ya Mhe. Rais ili tuwe na uhakika ya kwamba huo Mswada umeondolewa kikamilifu. Hii ni kwa sababu sheria inasema ya kwamba, baada ya siku 14, hata kama Mhe. Rais hajatia saini, basi ule Mswada utanza kutekelezwa.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, wakati tumekuwa katika njia panda, wakati mwingi kama Wakenya tumesimama na kuongea. Hii sio mara ya kwanza ambayo tumeanza kuongea kwa sababu ya nchi yetu. Mwaka wa 1997 tuliongea katika ule Ufungamano Iniative na mwaka wa 2019 pia tuliongea na kuja na mapendekezo yaliyoitwa Building Bridges Initiative (BBI), ingawaje ilienda vile ilienda.

Sasa hivi pia, tukiona watu wanaandamana, hiki ni kiini tu cha juu ya kwamba Wakenya hawana furaha na yale yanayoendelea katika nchi yao. Ukiangalia, watafiti wengi ambao wanafanya utafiti Kenya, tayari washasema kwamba Wakenya hawana imani na uongozi na hawafurahii pale Kenya inapoelekea.

Hawa vijana wa Kizazi cha Zuma walipigana na kuandamana kwa sababu ya huu Mswada wa Fedha lakini, hio sio shida pekee yake. Hicho kilikuwa ni chanzo tu---

(Loud consultations)

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Kinyua, can you ---

Sen. Mwaruma: Bi. Spika wa Muda, kuuwawa kwa Bw. Franz Ferdinand kulisababisha vita vya kwanza vya dunia kuanza. Leo hii, wananchi umepinga Mswada wa

Fedha na kufanya maandamano. Watu wakazinduka wakasema ni vyema tukae chini, tuongee na tuangalie kwa kina kwa sababu kuna shida nchini Kenya.

Jambo la kwanza katika mchango wangu ni kuwa kila mtu afanye kazi yake. Tuko na Katiba ambayo imetupatia majukumu katika Serikali na iko na miguu mitatu. Mguu wa kwanza ni watendakazi ama Executive. Wa pili ni Bunge na wa tatu ni mahakama. Ukiangalia kwa sasa, hujui tofauti ya watendakazi ama Executive na Bunge kwa sababu Bunge limemezwa na Executive.

Bunge haifanyi kazi yake ya uangalizi, kutunga sheria na uwakilishi. Kama Bunge ingekuwa inafanya kazi yake na wao ni wawakilishi wa wananchi, basi Mswada wa Fedha haungepita vile ulipita, ukapelekea maandamano na watu zaidi ya 40 kupoteza maisha yao.

Wabunge wa Bunge la Kitaifa, wamekuwa kama watendakazi kwa sasa. Saa hizi wako na NG-CDF. Kazi yao ni kusema kwamba wamejenga manyumba, wamenunulia shule fulani basi na wamepea wazazi NG-CDF. Halafu, wanapiga mapicha na wanasema wamefanya kazi. Hio sio kazi ya Bunge; hiyo ni kazi ya watendakazi ama Executive. Wabunge wameacha kazi yao na huwezi kutofautisha kati ya Bunge na Executive.

Bi spika wa Muda, kwa sasa, kazi za Executive zinafanywa na Wabunge. Utasikia Mbunge yuko na shilingi 160 milioni ya NG-CDF, amepewa pesa ya stima au ya barabara na hao Wabunge ni wakandarasi wao wenyewe. Kazi ya Mbunge ni kuangalia kama mkandarasi afanye kazi yake vizuri. Kama ni barabara imejengwa, imejengwa namna gani.

Swali langu la kila siku ni kuwa kama ni wewe umetafuta mkandarasi na ameweka *murram* kwa barabara vibaya, utamuuliza namna gani na ni wewe mwenyewe ambaye ulimtafuta mkandarasi wako mwenyewe na unapokea asilimia 10?

Vile Mhe. Kajwang' amesema, kuna ukabila katika uajiri wa wafanyakazi. Juzi, watu walikuwa wanaajiriwa katika Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA). Kati ya watu 600 ambao walifanyiwa *interview* ama mahojiano, watu 500 wanatoka katika kabila mbili. Kama Bunge ingefanya kazi yake vizuri, basi wangeweza kutegua hicho kitendawili cha ukabila katika Public Service.

Ukiangalia katika kaunti zetu, zaidi ya asilimia 10 ya pesa ambayo inaenda kwa serikali za kaunti zinaibiwa. Hii ni kwa sababu wale Wabunge wa kaunti wanafanya kazi kana kwamba wao ni watendakazi. Wanatoa zabuni kwa wanakandarasi wao. Kazi inafaywa ambayo haifai ama *shoddy job* kwa kizungu, na hawawezi uliza maanake wale wakandarasi ni wao.

Kila mtu angefanya kazi yake, basi hawa vijana wetu hawangelalamika wakisema kwamba wamefinyika na uchumi wetu umeharibika.

Wale waliozungumza hapa wamesema kwamba kuna asilimia 30 ambayo imetengwa kwa vijana, kina mama na walemavu. Kama Mbunge na MCA atafanya kandarasi zake mwenyewe, je, wale kina mama, vijana na walemavu watapata lini nafasi ya kufanya kandarasi na kujitengenezea pesa? Kwa hivyo, kama kila mtu angefanya kazi yake mwenyewe, basi Kenya yetu ingekuwa nzuri.

Ufisadi umekidhiri. Magavana na mawaziri wanaitwa katika Bunge la Senate ama la Kitaifa na wanakimbia mahakamani. Mfano mzuri ni Gavana wa Isiolo. Ameitwa kwa Seneti akakimbia mahakamani kusimamisha kuitwa kwake. Sasa huyu Gavana atawajibika namna gani na atasema ametumia pesa namna gani? Mahakama wangesema tu, enda kwa Seneti, hatutakupatia *order* zozote za kutoenda huko, Kenya ingekuwa nzuri.

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Sheria inasema kwamba mtu ambaye amekataa kuja Bunge, Inspekta wa Polisi amshike, ikiwa ni gavana au waziri, aje Bunge. Ila Inspekta Mkuu wetu wa polisi ameshindwa kuwaleta wafisadi katika Bunge letu. Sasa ikiwa kila mtu hafanyi kazi yake, inaonyesha kwamba ufisadi utakithiri na hatutapata maendeleo. Hao watu wanaoitwa Gen Z hawatawacha kupigania haki zao.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, ningependa kusema kwamba vijana walifanya maandamano na ni haki yao kulingana na Ibara ya 37. Walifanya maandamano ya amani ila wakora waliingia na kuharibu. Naona wengine wao waliletwa na Serikali ili kuonyesha kwamba wale waandamanaji hawajui wanachofanya.

Jambo la pili ningependa kulisema ni kulingana na Ibara ya Kwanza. Inasema kwamba nguvu za uongozi zinatoka kwa mwananchi. Zile nguvu anaweza kuzitekeleza mwenyewe moja kwa moja au kupitia yule aliyemchagua. Kama nguvu za uongozi zinatoka kwa mwananchi, basi itakuwaje mwananchi asikizwi anavyosema?

Tumekuwa na gharama. Mwaka uliopita, kulikuwa na Mswada wa Fedha ambao ulileta Housing Levy na tax nyingi sana. Wakati wa kupigania uhuru, tulipigania kwa sababu tatu. Ya kwanza ni kutozwa ushuru kupita kiasi. Ya pili ilikuwa mambo ya mashamba na ya tatu ni *slavery*. Sasa hivi pia watu wameona wametozwa ushuru sana na hawana njia ya kujikwamua. Wanapigania uhuru wa tatu.

Kwa hivyo, kama tungekubali kwamba nguvu za uongozi ziko kwa mwananchi na sisi tumechaguliwa na kukopeshwa zile njia, basi Mhe. Rais angesikiliza vile wananchi wanasema. Sisi Wabunge tungsikiliza wananchi wanavyosema kwamba hatutaki huo Mswada wa Fedha kwa sababu inatufinya. Unatuibia pesa kwa kuchukua kutoka mifuko yetu.

Bi Spika wa Muda, katika Chuo Kikuu cha Harvard, wasomi walikuja na nadharia inaoitwa *principal agent theorem*. Katika ile nadharia ambayo inatumika kwa mambo ya kiuchumi na tutaitumia pia kwa mambo ya uongozi. Walisema kwamba katika uongozi, mkuu ni mwananchi, kisha mjumbe ni yule amechaguliwa. Kwa hivyo, haiwezekani kwamba wewe mjumbe umechaguliwa kama Mbunge, Seneta, Mhe. Rais au gavana unajiamulia mambo yako mwenyewe bila kuhusisha mwananchi. Mwananchi akitoa sauti yake unamuuliza, unasema nipige 'la' kwa Mswada, uliisoma?

Mwananchi akisema piga 'la' kwa huu Mswada kwa sababu unanifinya na wewe ni mjumbe wala sio mkuu, tusikize. Tulisikia kwamba kuna Wabunge waliohongwa kwa shilingi 2 milioni. Unahongwa kwa shilingi 2 milioni kutopigia Mswada vile mwananchi wako anataka?

Katika hii nadharia ya mkuu na mjumbe, huko ni kukosa heshima na ni dharau na kuonyesha kiburi kwa aliyekuchagua. Mwananchi aliyekuchagua lazima aje mbele na wewe na mapenzi yako na matumbo yako yaje nyuma.

Tuwe na heshima na tujue kuwa mwananchi yuko mbele na ndiye mwajiri wetu. Sisi tunaitwa wajumbe kwa sababu wewe sio mkuu. Nguvu za uongozi ziko na wananchi. Wakati tumesimama kuwa na kiburi kwa sababu tumepata pesa kidogo na kuonyesha kwamba ni wewe unayekalia mwananchi, atafanya tulivyoonyesha katika hiki kizazi cha Gen Z.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, Wabunge wamepewa kazi ya kutengeneza Bajeti. Nilikuwa nazungumza na Mbunge wangu ambaye yuko kwa Kamati ya Bajeti. Anasema Treasury

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wanaleta bajeti katika Bunge ila hakuna njia ya kubadilisha bajeti kwa sababu Treasury na Serikali imeleta ile bajeti. Ikiwa kazi ya Bunge ni kutunga bajeti, kwa nini hakuna ugavi wa kisawa sawa ya rasilimali za nchi?

Maeneo mengine kama Taita-Taveta yameachwa nyuma sana. Hakuna miradi tunayopata zaidi ya shilingi 500 milioni au shilingi 1 bilioni. Tuko na barabara ya Bura-Mgange na Wundanyi-Mtomogoti. Hiyo barabara ilianza mwaka wa 2020 na hadi leo imewekewa kama shilingi 200 milioni pekee. Tumepitisha bajeti nne ya zaidi ya shilingi 3 trilioni na tunakosa shilingi 2 bilioni pekee kumaliza zile barabara. Hii ni kwa sababu gani? Hatuna Mhe. Rais na kura zenu ni chache.

Tusipoyangalia haya mambo, maeneo mengi wanakosa maendeleo kwa sababu hawawezi kuwa na Mhe. Rais na hawako karibu nae. Kuwekewa pesa ya maendeleo inakuwa shida sana. Ni jukumu la Serikali na Bunge kuangalia kwamba ugavi wa rasilimali uwe sawa.

Bi. Spika wa Muda, kwa sababu Mswada wa Finance haukupita, basi Division of Revenue Act (DORA) itarudi na Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA) pia itabadilika. Naomba Maseneta wenzangu kwamba ule Mswada wa DORA ukirudi, tusijaribu kupunguza pesa yetu iwe chini ya shilingi 400.1 bilioni tulivyopitisha kwa DORA.

Ni kwa sababu gani? Pesa zinazooenda kwa magatuzi ni chache muno. Afya na kilimo ambayo ni muhimu sana imegatuliwa ilhali pesa ambayo tunapeleka kule ni finyu sana. Kwa hivyo, nitashangaa mradi ikirudi hapa na tuseme tunapunguza pesa za magatuzi ilhali tumeona kiburi na majivuno ya wale watu wanaofanya kazi katika Serikali ya Kitaifa ambao wananunua saa ya mkono ya shilingi 3 milioni, viatu vya shilingi 500,000 na magari ya kifahari kama vile *Lexus* ilhali wengi wao walikuwa maskini tukiwa hapa nao kama Maseneta.

Sisi kama watu waofanya kazi ya kulinda magatuzi, kama nilivyosema katika mada yangu, tutakuwa tumeshindwa kutekeleza majukumu yetu kama Maseneta kama tutakubali pesa ipungue chini ya shilingi 400.1 bilioni.

Jambo la mwisho ni kuhusu taasisi ambaza zimepewa jukumu ya kuangalia mambo ya ufisadi, ikiwamo DCI na EACC. Ikiwezekana EACC itupiliwe mbali kwa sababu hakuna kazi wanayoifanya.

Kuna watu pale kwetu walishikwa na sakata ya pilau. Kwamba walinunua pilau ya shilingi milioni mbili. Tulipofuatilia tulipata kwamba hawakununua kwenye hiyo hoteli. Tumepeleka sakata hiyo kwa DCI na EACC, hakuna hatua ilichukuliwa dhidi ya watu hao. Wanatembea kila mahali wakijigamba kuwa hawajapelekwa mahali. Nilienda kwa DCI nikaambiwa niwe *witness*, nisimame katika mahakama. Tume ya EACC wameshindwa kufanya kazi yao kwa sababu wao pia ni wafisadi. Haiwezekani kupeleka mbuzi kwa mahakama ya fisi.

Maseneta wengi wamezunguza juu ya hili suala la kuongezwa mshahara ya Wabunge. Tumekataa huo mshahara. Huo mshahara na zile pesa zitakazokusanywa tukipigana na ufisadi, walimu wa JSS na clinical officers wataajiriwa. Itawezekanaje kuna shida kule kwa watoto wa JSS ya kufunzwa na walimu wawili ama watatu halafu tuambiwe ya kwamba tunaongezewa pesa? Hizo pesa tumezikataa. Zipelekwe kuajiri walimu wa JSS

Ninauliza hili kwa sababu nilikuwa katika taaluma ya ualimu miaka iliyopita. Kama *syllabus* yetu---

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The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): It is time up for you, Sen. Mwaruma. However, I will give you one minute to finish that last sentence.

Sen. Mwaruma: Asante. *Curriculum* yetu iko *spiral*. Ukifunzwa kitu kimoja leo, inafuatilia baada ya miaka miwili unaipata huko mbele inajengwa. Kama leo hii haujafunzwa vizuri, je, ukienda huko mbele, utaelewa masomo?

Kwa hivyo, katika huu mtaala wa JSS, watoto wetu hawafundishwi vizuri. Hivyo basi, tunamaliza kizazi chote kwa sababu ya kukataa kuajiri walimu. Vile vile, Serikali ilisema ya kwamba ikifikia Septemba, itaajiri walimu wote 46,000 ambao wako katika kandarasi.

Serikali itafute pesa na iajiri hawa walimu ili watoto wetu wapate elimu iliyo bora na si bora elimu.

Kwa hayo mengi, ninaunga mkono Hoja hii.

Asante Bi. Spika wa Muda.

Sen. Joe Nyutu: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker, for this opportunity to also ventilate on this Motion. From the onset, I support it. This is our country. If it sinks, it sinks with all of us.

Allow me to pass my condolences to the families of those who lost their loved ones during the skirmishes that were there last week and this week. We know how it feels to lose a loved one, especially when that death is abrupt.

I maintain that our police officers should only open fire when they are facing an armed enemy. It should not be somebody who is just demonstrating. I think that the police are well-trained to deal with, immobilize and arrest wrongdoers. Therefore, opening fire should be the last resort. Everybody who has been given power should exercise it with restraint and responsibility.

Gen Zs have spoken. They have a right under Article 37 of our Constitution, which guarantees any citizen the right to demonstrate and express themselves as long as they are unarmed. Gen Z was perfectly within their right under the Constitution. We also know they were not armed. We must also separate the wheat from the chaff. We know that these demonstrations were infiltrated by criminals. Police officers should take action against criminals who infiltrate genuine demonstrations.

This is a time to reflect and ask ourselves how exactly we found ourselves here. I may say things that may have been said here. However, we need to repeat them, especially those which have not been done right, consequently, leading us to the problems that we find ourselves in. People have talked about opulence, the display of money and living in largesse by politicians. People carrying bundles of notes is something that must be condemned by all and sundry.

Some of us have been ridiculed for not having loads of cash. We attend harambees. Some of us contribute something from our salary that may not be as big as that of some colleagues who carry hundreds of thousands or even millions. Sadly, even some church leaders have ridiculed some of us that we contribute amounts that cannot even buy some tobacco.

This is something that Kenyans have been watching slowly, but surely and have not been happy about. This is something that we should all condemn. If people have to contribute, let them do so from their hard-earned cash because this points to corruption.

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Otherwise, we know how much people are paid and how much they contribute in these *harambees*. This is something that we need to talk about.

Many things have been happening in our society. I have a background in education. There are things that we have done in this country that should not be done. Some public institutions of learning have somewhat been privatised. Allow me to mention one or two. We have a school called Hospital Hill Primary School. This is a public school, but it has been privatised. We also have Nairobi Primary School and Tigoni Primary School in Kiambu.

These are public schools, but the middle class and well-to-do people have taken and introduced some rules and arrangements through the Parents Teachers Association (PTA). By privatising these schools, it is very hard for ordinary mortals to get admittance to those schools for their children. All this time our people have been watching. They are unable to take their children to Nairobi Primary School because there are illegal charges, which have been building up.

Corruption is also something that has led people to build up anger and dissatisfaction against the Government and leadership. Recently, there was a young man and I know this is the subject of a court case. However, I am not going to discuss the merits or demerits of the same. Sadly, a young man allegedly could not raise a bribe that a police officer was asking for.

Consequently, the young man ended up beating up that police officer. I do not want to stand here and say that, that was right. However, you can imagine the frustration of a young man whom a police was demanding an amount of money that he could not afford.

Some police stations have even up-scaled corruption. I want to cite Kasarani police station. This is a police station where you will find tens of police officers along the road. What do they do? They do not want to take their usual Kshs50, 10 or 100. They will just order you to drive your vehicle into the police station, where they will demand for a big amount of money as a bribe before you are released.

We must call this out. We are where we are because those who cannot afford these amounts of money are always at a disadvantage. What does our Judiciary do in helping to resolve these matters of corruption? The processes are lengthy.

Madam Temporary Speaker, somebody who has been accused of corruption will take ages before their cases are heard and determined. Of course, they are going to buy their way. They are going to compromise even the investigations because the kind of bail they get is very friendly.

Somebody stealing Kshs100 million is given a bail term of about Kshs2 million. People are more than happy to steal, pay bail and buy whoever they want. This is what has caused frustration to our people, leading to the events of the last two weeks.

Our laws are also weak. On Tuesday, we hosted the Cabinet Secretary for Health in the Committee on Health, where I am a Member. We wanted to know what the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) is doing to see to it that there are no fraudulent claims and what they do to recover the lost funds. We were very frustrated that the law does not allow NHIF, for example, even after they have discovered that a claim was fraudulent, to take such a fraudster to court. They leave it to investigative agencies to look at it and take this matter to court.

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This is frustrating because if I catch you stealing some bananas from my *shamba*, I should report you to the police station and then you defend your case. It is only the burden of proof that should be laid on me. However, NHIF is said that they cannot take a medical facility that is placing a fraudulent claim to court. They have to rely on another investigative institution. These are the things that have frustrated Kenyans. That is why we find ourselves where we are today.

The other thing is waste of public funds. I have been asking myself, what happened to the Volkswagen Passat that was introduced by former President Uhuru Kenyatta when he was a Cabinet Secretary for Finance and decided that those were the vehicles to be used by the public officers? How did we get back to V8 and Prados for public officers? We must go back to living by what we tell Kenyans. Let us see the Cabinet Secretaries in the Volkswagen Passat as was done at that time, in order for us to save on public funds.

The other day I was listening to the Cabinet Secretary, Hon. Kuria, and he was saying that he was very frustrated and very concerned. He went to Mombasa and found some staff that he did not need had travelled from Nairobi to Mombasa to receive him. When he asked why, he was told that somebody had not had an opportunity to get per diem for quite some time and that is why they had been sent there.

Is that what we all care about? That we see to it that some staffers get per diem even when we do not need their services? These are things that we need to look into and make corrections where we need to.

Many colleagues here have talked about the Chief Administrative Secretaries (CASs). I know that we do not have any one of them serving, but there are rumors that there are plans to reinstate them. Do we need CASs? What can they do? What do we need them for? What are they supposed to do that the Principal Secretaries (PSs) cannot do? These are some of the things that we need to forget completely. There should not be anything like that because it has been determined as an illegal position, so that we save on public funds.

Many people have mentioned the Office of the First Lady, Second Lady, Prime Cabinet Secretary and his spouse. I am happy that His Excellency the President has pronounced himself on the closure of these offices. I say this because in Kiswahili they say, *ya Mungu ni mengi na hayajulikani*, knowing very well that I can also be a President tomorrow and my wife will be a First Lady. Nevertheless, I do not want my wife, even if I become President, to have an office funded by the Exchequer because we need to save on expenditure.

I am happy that the President has since dealt with that matter and pronounced himself. We may need to discuss on whether we need a Prime Cabinet Secretary and an office for this particular position.

Recently, after the floods, there were profiled demolitions. They only happened in low-income areas. This was under the guise of clearing riparian land. If you go to places like Lavington, you will even see some river courses being interfered with for somebody to create room to erect buildings next to the river and not just on riparian land. There was no demolition happening there, while we were demolishing the settlement for the poor. This is what has caused dissatisfaction.

The law must be seen to be applied equally to those that have and those that do not have. I am surprised by how fast time moves. This is something that has caused a lot of problems with our people.

Madam Temporary Speaker, the Cabinet Secretaries have abandoned the President. Very few of them are helping the President in this crisis. We do not know what is happening. I have been wondering as a person, is it because maybe they did not appreciate that time when they went for a Cabinet meeting late and they were locked outside the gate? Perhaps, that cost them some demotivation and demoralized them.

The President must rein in these Cabinet Secretaries, but I would want to ask him to do it in a way that does not see them being ridiculed or look like school children who came to school late. Therefore, we do not know whether they have the right morale. This should be looked into. Needless to say, of how they pretend; 'big' people cannot answer calls from us. Some of them do not even honour our committee meetings. These are things that we need to think about.

Madam Temporary Speaker, do we need all these PSs? Those are questions that we need to ask ourselves. What is it that they do that cannot be done without them?

Since my time is running out, we need to rethink about the NG-CDF, especially the bursaries given by Members of the National Assembly. Somebody raised a very pertinent question; why do we need to give Members of the National Assembly money to give to parents to pay to public schools? Why not channel those funds directly to these public schools?

(Applause)

Perhaps, we can talk about NG-CDF as far as development is concerned. That is something we can discuss. However, why do we give the MPs money to give back to the Government? What logic is there?

We can use what we are calling means-testing. Let us use means-testing in order for us to assess the needs of every other student, so that we send these funds directly to the institutions of learning.

We have done very well with the new funding model at the university level. We can cascade these downwards to secondary schools. We should not just do things the way they have been done all this time.

Finally, Madam Temporary Speaker, I dare to say that this nation could be under a curse. I say this and this is how somehow spiritual. This is because a father can curse a child. In the same breath, a president can curse a country and a mother can curse a child. What am I trying to say?

Sometime last year, Northlands, owned by the Kenyattas was attacked, sheep were stolen and bad things happened. The police never did anything. That was associated with some leaders. President Jomo Kenyatta may not have been a saint, but he was the first President of this country. He can curse this country from his grave. This is something we should take very seriously. There have been claims even though we do not know how true they are---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Nyutu, there were some ground rules laid before and you should abide by them if you were well advised by the Senate Majority Leader.

Sen. Joe Nyutu: Madam Temporary Speaker, we said that are just reflecting and we want to know how we can heal this nation.

These are things that we need to look into. When the former President Uhuru Kenyatta claims, rightly or wrongly that he is not getting his benefits, that is another curse that can befall us. When we are told that security has been withdrawn from the former First Lady, Mama Ngina Kenyatta, this can also cause a curse.

Madam Temporary Speaker, what do I suggest that we do? Let us---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Nyutu, the guidance I have given you is that we were to avoid names in the debate so that you do not personalize. That was the ground rule that was given.

Sen. Joe Nyutu: Madam Temporary Speaker, then I am well guided.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): One minute for you to finish.

Sen. Joe Nyutu: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. I am suggesting because I love this country and I cry for this country, can we approach that I have mentioned? Can we apologize to them? Can we seek them to lift any curse that they may be having against this nation?

Let us approach these people and tell them that we are sorry if we wronged them. If they have spelt any curse on this nation, we persuade and beseech them to denounce it. We want our nation to heal. We must do everything in whatever we do and whoever we talk to, our nation must heal.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I support and I thank you for the extension of time.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Catherine Mumma is not here. Yes, Sen. Asige.

Sen. Crystal Asige: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker, as I rise to support this Motion, I want also to stand on the submission I made last week because, I meant everything that I said.

I also wish to appreciate our substantive Speaker---

(Loud consultations)

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Hon. Senators, can you consult in low tones? The Senate Majority Leader, please guide the team to consult in low tones.

Proceed, Sen. Asige.

Sen. Crystal Asige: Madam Temporary Speaker, I begin by appreciating our substantive Speaker for steering us so well through this sensitive subject matter. He has done a good job and we thank him.

The emperor has no clothes. I wish to lay the foundation of my contribution in the famous play titled King Lear by William Shakespeare, widely regarded as Shakespeare's finest work. King Lear is an allegory that illustrates a sharp fall from grace of a king who is drunk with pride, ego and the desperate need for control and praise. He makes a series

of mistakes by listening to his immoral eldest two daughters and bad advisors, who exist only to praise him for their own personal gain.

Though caring for him greatly and always wanting the best for him, King Lear chooses to reject his youngest daughter Cordelia because she refused to flatter or feed his ego like the others by telling him the truth even at the risk of her losing her inheritance.

Shakespeare's motif revolved around King Lear's fall into error and Machiavellian ways which we see when he arrogantly declares that he has ultimate power and contuse to ignore his subjects whenever he is pleased with them. His inability to see the truth leads him to lose power, wealth, his senses, his truest daughter Cordelia and ultimately, his own life.

Madam Temporary Speaker, the entire internet was screaming during Sunday night's interview with the President. I do not mean to anthropomorphize, but TV screens across the country would have turned themselves off if they could, after what is said to have been a train wreck of a conversation from start to finish and which left the emperor naked.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I must acknowledge the decision by the President to have a two-hour unscripted sit-down because, seldom do African heads of state risk putting themselves in unpredictable and uncontrolled environments like that.

With our Senate Majority Leader setting the tone through this Motion, let the Senate be your Cordelia, Mr. President. You are a leader in the service industry and just last night, I was told that the two most vital pillars in the service industry are perception and experience. For such a delicate subject matter, you, at the very least, need a stellar crisis communications team because your words kept fueling the fire last week.

I also want to remind the President that it is not about him and it is not personal. We did not name it Kenya Kwanza. That was not us. Kenya Kwanza, not Kwanza the noun, but Kwanza the adjective. Instead of putting Kenya first, your presidency has put Machiavellianism first, like King Lear. When all of us, the young people wanted was for you to put Kenya first.

Madam Temporary Speaker, like a performance of review of sorts, we expected that on his third attempt to address us on Sunday night, he would come with details, data and definitive or strategies. However, it was still vague, so non-committal and so non-informed. It felt dismissive and disconnected.

The President went on national television without a clue of what has been happening in the country that he believes he governs. Was the Deputy President right in his address last week, that his boss may not know what is going on in the country?

He was asked how many people are in custody. He replied that, I have a ball park figure from the police that they have enough people. What do you say to the youth who say that yours is not a listening Government, he was asked? He said I have four things, housing jobs, digital jobs, export of labour and manufacturing.

You believed that barely one-and-half years ago that you could run the country on Kshs2.9 trillion. In a few months, you went to Parliament and requested for Kshs3.6 trillion. This year you went to Parliament and requested for Kshs4.2 trillion. What do they see in return, they see extravagance in Government, he was told? He replied, let me tell you the following, today, universities were almost closed because of debts of Kshs60

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billion. I have enhanced their budget by Kshs40 billion because education to me is the greatest equalizer.

Madam Temporary Speaker, this went on and on and on. Tone-deaf and not answering what Kenyans really wanted to hear from the President. Not only were shots fired at innocent young protesters last week, but it seems that in this interview we also saw shots fired at his Cabinet, his Deputy President and even his communications team caught a stray.

What are some of the solutions? In response to austerity measures as directed by this Motion, the President has on record made pronouncements of what he plans to do. Young people do not want more dialogue or multi-sectoral groups before he actions what he has already committed to do.

On Wednesday, 26th June at press conference, the President committed to do the following: -

(1) Reduce expenditure, starting with the Executive Office of the President and extending it to the entire executive arm of the Government.

(2) Operational expenditure in the presidency be reduced to remove all allocations for the confidential vote, reduce travel budgets, hospitality, purchase of motor vehicles and renovations, as well as other expenditures.

(3) Parliament, the Judiciary and county governments working with the National Treasury, also undertake budget cuts.

Madam Temporary Speaker, this clearly shows that the President knows exactly what he needs to do, and precisely, what he needs to focus on. He needs to get rid of corruption, wastage, breaching court orders, misdirected and duplicative pots of money like NG-CDF, which completely usurp the true function of a legislator.

Members of Parliament are supposed to legislate and ministries are supposed to implement. No parliamentarian should have a NG-CDF allocation because our role is simple to represent, oversight and legislate. We have no business building markets and roads and hospitals. Get rid of NG-CDF that bastardizes the role of an MP.

We also want a repeal of other unconstitutional legislations since this Government came into power. We want leaders to be leaders and not dealers. However, to achieve all this, we also want to hear definitive and strategies, not broad pie-in-the-sky pronouncements. By now, we should already have heard how much he will reduce expenditure in his office. How much will he cut from his travel, hospitality, purchasing of motor vehicles and renovations budget?

The President has economic advisors who work for him around the clock and should have crunched preliminary numbers for us to see by now. On Sunday, 30th June, 2024, he was asked on the national television again, if he will reduce his ministers and ministries, to which he replied. I quote:

“That is an area that we will have to look into because that is a reality that we will face.”

It clearly shows what the President needs to do.

Madam Temporary Speaker, for my second proposal, let us go to Article 152 (1) of our Constitution. It states that-

“The Cabinet consists of—
(a) the President;
(b) the Deputy President;
(c) the Attorney-General; and,
(d) not fewer than fourteen and not more than twenty-two Cabinet Secretaries.”

This means that our Constitution provides that the President can cut the number of ministries to 14 from the current 21, saving the country billions of shillings.

The Constitution goes further in Article 152 (5) to say that-

“The President—
(a) may re-assign a Cabinet Secretary;
(b) may dismiss a Cabinet Secretary; and
(c) shall dismiss a Cabinet Secretary if required to do so by a resolution adopted under clauses (6) to (10).”

Sorry, not sorry, Mr. President, but wake up your Cabinet Secretary for Youth Affairs and Sports because the youth are telling you that they are desperately underserved. Wake up your Cabinet Secretary for Interior and National Administration because too many poorly trained, trigger-happy police officers exist under his watch. Wake up your Cabinet Secretary for Labour and Social Protection because young people are protesting in the streets due to a lack of equal opportunities. Wake up your Cabinet Secretary for Roads, Transport and Public Works because we are seeing the worst levels of carnage and needless deaths of young people than in any tenure preceding his. Wake up your Cabinet Secretary for Investment, Trade and Industries, because from small innovators to entrepreneurs to industries, the ecosystem she is leading has become terribly unforgiving.

Mr. President, if you already know what needs to be done and the Constitution gives you the power to take action, Cabinet Secretaries must be sacked.

My third proposal in reaction to point number one in this Motion revolves around exercise of legislative powers. Why is it that the Finance Bill never makes its way to the Senate for consideration? Our Constitution does not bar this House from jointly considering legislation, especially those with as much gravitas as a Finance Bill. To illustrate this, I want to go to Article 109(5), that says-

“A Bill may be introduced by any Member or Committee of the relevant House of Parliament, but a Money Bill may be introduced only in the National Assembly in accordance with Article 114.”

It simply says that a Money Bill may be introduced only in the National Assembly, but nowhere does it say that a money Bill cannot also be considered in the Senate.

Our Constitution only bars this House from introducing Money Bills, not from considering them. This must be corrected to avoid future constitutional misinterpretations that lead us to continue allowing the National Assembly to monopolize such crucial functions.

I am just reading the law. While we are at it, the Senate Majority Leader and the entire country knows that our committees here are chaired and vice-chaired by your side, the Government. That does not give balance and an opportunity for real unbiased and impartial looks at Bills, proposals and legislation in this House. If you hold the chairmanship and also the vice-chairmanship in all committees, how are we telling the rest of the country that we are transparent and we are going to move forward in a new way? That also needs to change.

Madam Temporary Speaker, life is in the power of the tongue. If we get this mandate, we cannot afford to mess around and continue to play politricks.

My fourth proposal focuses on the Presidential assent of the Finance Bill 2024. For that, let us go to Article 115 (1) of the Constitution. It says-

“Within fourteen days after receipt of a Bill, the President shall—

(a) assent to the Bill; or

(b) refer the Bill back to Parliament for reconsideration by Parliament, noting any reservations that the President has concerning the Bill.”

It is not National Assembly. It says that it will go back to Parliament to be considered by Parliament. The last time I checked the definition of Parliament, both Houses were included.

(Applause)

What about the conversation on salaries? Well, the SRC did not read the room. Today, in order to pay all public servants, figures show that we are spending Kshs1.1 trillion, which is 46 per cent of our budget. I want to be frank. I propose our current salaries, for those in the national level, be cut by 50 per cent and our allowances be reviewed downwards.

That is right. I want us to put our money where our mouth is. We should not pussyfoot around that. Let us be honest. Today's salary and allowances are the only reason why people kill, steal and destroy anything in their way in order to work in the national Government. That needs to end.

Madam Temporary Speaker, there used to be a time, not long ago, when being a public servant was very unattractive. I am sure Sen. (Dr.) Khalwale will remember that if you had a good degree, good studies and accreditation behind you, you would rather go into the private sector because it was much more lucrative than the public sector. However, that has gone upside down.

We also heard the President tell us all that we are set to lose by having rejected the Finance Bill, 2024 on Sunday. He said and I quote: “So, what is the alternative? Help me with that, Linus, because there are only two things we can do. Either you raise money from taxes or you borrow, period. There is no magic here.”

Well, Mr. President, you are right, there is no panacea, but all you had to do was ask. This is because the Finance Act of 2023 provides clear examples to learn from. First, we witnessed reduced consumption of petroleum products, a slowdown in construction due to high cost of materials and a significant overall increase in construction costs largely attributed to the imposition of the export investment levy on raw materials.

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Notably, imports of clinker, crucial for cement production, dropped by 77.5 per cent. Also, remember that in the first half of the 2023/2024---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Crystal Asige, I want to inform you that you have four more minutes left.

Sen. Crystal Asige: Also, remember that in the first half of the 2022/2023 fiscal year, the KRA missed its revenue target by a substantial Kshs186 billion, which underscores the point that overly ambitious tax measures do not always lead to increased tax collections.

These figures are solid data we can trust. Why impose more taxes, levies and charges when we have not fully recovered from the negative effects of the previous legislation? Many businesses were forced to close and some relocated to neighbouring countries with more favourable tax conditions.

Madam Temporary Speaker, what is the real solution? What are the Gen Zs and many Kenyans protesting for? We are exhausted just seeing the President on these trips every single week as if he is Beyonce on a world tour. The President is not on a world tour.

The President should stay in the country and do his job like the rest of us do in this country. Yes, he may have had many plans, but Mr. President, exporting our brightest minds to work abroad is not the solution. This brain drain is crippling us and cannot be quantified at all.

Did you know that these countries who call for Kenyan workers, ask for when they are calling for us? They want people aged under 45 years only, highly skilled, well-educated, in good health even and they must undergo rigorous vetting because they have a particular criterion of who they are looking for. That means that we are moving our best minds, best workers, best labourers and shipping them off to Australia, Germany and England, but do they ever bring the people here? They do not.

In my conclusion, I would like to speak directly to young people. Everything was impossible until somebody found a way to make it possible and today that was you. You have been steadfast in demanding that this Government stop and listen to you. Before this moment, everyone thought it was impossible. Now, though I remain a bit skeptical of the presidency to some degree, I still stand 10 toes down in believing that Kenya will never be the same again because of you; young people.

I also want to be real with you. We must stop glorifying money, praising those with flashy cars, big houses, expensive holidays, eccentric lifestyles and filtered lives.

It is us that keep applauding that behaviour. We follow their social media accounts. We like and repost their displays of opulence every day. This exacerbates the problem of these people wanting to keep up their public images. However, not all that glitters is gold. Why do we not go back to exalting excellence, character, conscientiousness, all that is good and all that endures? There is a reason why Paul says the love of money is the root of all evil. We really must change.

Madam Temporary Speaker let me land by circling back to King Lear by William Shakespeare. Anna Kamaraly writes that the tragedy of King Lear's lack of understanding of the consequences of his demands and actions is often observed to be like that of a spoiled

child. However, it has also been noted that his behaviour is equally likely to be seen in parents who have never adjusted to their children having grown up.

Kenya's democracy has grown up and matured. It is maturing into a faceless, fearless, tribeless legion of---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Your time is up. Senator, you have one minute to finish that sentence.

Sen. Crystal Asige: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. Kenya's democracy has grown up. It is maturing into a faceless, fearless and tribeless legion of the majority of our population who have a good Constitution, but unfortunately, in the wrong hands. I stand by them and speak for them in this House. When they name 25th June, 2024, Z-Day, they will know that you did that.

I thank you.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Proceed, Sen. Mumma.

Sen. Mumma: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker, for the opportunity to speak to this very important Motion; The State of the Nation. Since we have some time, allow me to begin by sending my sincere condolences to all families that were affected by the loss of their loved ones. Allow me to name them. I will use my time to name the young people who lost their lives.

We lost the life of Brian Lemayian Kasaine from Narok; Austin Makokha – Nakuru; Mike Kihunga – Nakuru; Kelvin Madanga - Nakuru; Chris Gitonga - Nanyuki; Kennedy Onyango - whose mother's image has not left my mind, from Rongai.

We lost Rex Masai from Machakos; Matthew Njoroge, Kevin Mawasi, Beasley Kogi, David Chege, Ericsson Kyalo Mutisya, Ibrahim Kamau Wanjiru, Kennedy Odhiambo Maina, Wilson Sitati, Kennedy Njeru, Eric Kayoni Kieni, Eric Karatu, Brian Kimathi, Cariton Mwangi, Ernest Kanyi, Caroline Shiramba from Kakamega, Brayo from Kisumu, Mbithi Alias Scott from Kisumu, Emmanuel Tata from Mombasa, Joshua Ombati from Mombasa, Clinton Mwavali - Kapsabet, Kevin Odhiambo - Siaya, Brian - Rongo, Bernard Mungai Nduati and we have another nearly 10 whose bodies are lying in the mortuary unidentified.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I believe we have many more whose names have not reached the KNCHR. I felt it is important to name them because what has happened is a revolution for the third liberation of this country. The Gen Zs are simply trying to get this country back on track.

(Loud consultations)

Madam Temporary Speaker, I wish people would not speak. People are consulting so loudly that I cannot even listen to what I am doing.

The Gen Z are telling us a very simple thing; that in 2010 we put in place a Constitution to guide how this country should be governed, but this country is not being governed in that manner.

They are telling us that there is a very important provision in the Constitution that we have chosen as a country, particularly the leadership, to ignore. They are bringing us back to the implementation of Article 10 of the Constitution.

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Madam Temporary Speaker, they are bringing back the conscience of this nation. They are telling us that we must go back to what Article 10 says about respect for the rule of law, respect for human rights, governance in a manner that respects equity, equality and the most important one, that we must now start governing this country, applying the principles of transparency and accountability.

A lot has been said, but I want us to immediately look at how best we can actually speak to the issue of transparency and accountability.

The Finance Bill was a trigger and the President has returned it to the people of Kenya. What we are forgetting is that the Finance Bill is usually passed to finance an Appropriation Act that had already been assented to. It is usually passed to speak to budget items that were in the Budget Policy Statement (BPS).

The mistake number one that we make in this country is that we do not publicly discuss the budget items and the appropriations that are put in the Appropriation Act.

Members of the Budget and Appropriations Committee of the National Assembly have failed us because they did not scrutinize the BPS and the Appropriation Bill properly in order to advise the President that some of these things could not fly.

Part of those items includes the following: Confidential budget in the Deputy President's Office of Kshs800 million; confidential budget of State House of Kshs1.4 billion; Kshs863 million for hospitality in the Deputy President's Office; Kshs400 million for dealing with drugs and the National Authority for the Campaign Against Alcohol and Drug Abuse (NACADA) will be given more money; Kshs320 million for renovation of the Deputy President's Office and Kshs1.5 billion for renovation of State Lodges.

In the meantime, we have Kshs600 billion only for education and Kshs126 billion only for health. I can go on and on. This is a public document. Please go and look at it.

Madam Temporary Speaker, what the Gen Z were telling the President is that we must go back to the drawing board. We must reorganize the budget items. We must revisit the Appropriation Act that he signed. The President assented to the Appropriation Bill.

Today we have a circular from the National Treasury guiding all accounting officers to rework their budgets so that we can raise Kshs326 billion that we will not be able to raise in taxes.

Madam Temporary Speaker, this is my view. It is the same Cabinet Secretary who put this bullshit in this budget. So, he cannot be trusted to do this---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Catherine Mumma, that is not parliamentary language. Please, withdraw the word "bullshit".

Sen. Mumma: Madam Temporary Speaker, I withdraw, but I think it was agreed that we can speak with emotions. I think those items---

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Mumma, not using unparliamentary language.

Sen. Mumma: Madam Temporary Speaker, I withdraw.

What I have just read and I can read more, is despicable as budget items for this country. Trusting the same person who put them and brought it to Parliament to reorganize will be lying to the Gen Z.

What the Gen Z are telling the President is that we need public participation and a participatory approach to reorganize our budgets for financial year 2024/2025 in order to

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come up with a saving. I believe if we relook at the budgets at all levels, we will probably save more than Kshs300 billion that they wanted to raise from the taxes.

What the National Assembly and the Senate should be doing is the big job of allowing our experts, whether in civil society among the Gen Z, to openly and transparently audit the budget items one by one for the Executive, Parliament and the Judiciary. We must put money where we need essential services. Where we are wasting money, we must remove it because that is budgeted corruption.

The President said that he will borrow to cater for the deficit. I recommend that we do not allow one more shilling to be borrowed until we put in place a system that can ensure accountability and transparency of our debt. I suggest not borrowing even one shilling for financial year 2024/2025.

Secondly, I propose that we rationalize the expenditure. We need to find out how much hospitality of Kshs863 million looks like in one office. Clearly, that is budgeted corruption and the money must be moved aside.

We need to start asking questions about the confidential budget and what it normally does. When doing an audit, I would like to find out how much was set aside for hospitality and how much was the confidential budget in the previous year and what the money did. We need to start doing that.

As we reduce our expenditure, another thing we need to do is to find out how to identify duplicated jobs. I have just given one example. We have the NACADA dealing with drugs, but you give the Deputy President Kshs400 million to deal with drugs. We have county governments doing county roads, but you have NG-CDF being given money to do county roads.

We have the national Government giving bursaries, but you have the President and governors giving bursaries, yet education is a national Government function. We will save a lot by looking at duplicated items to save that money and send it to essential services.

As we do so, we must not reduce the budgets for social spending that keeps the dignity of the human beings in this country. Our development strategy must be people-centred. We must provide education. We can only keep increasing our budget for education.

We must provide better health services. We must keep increasing the budgets for health. We cannot say we are not going to pay interns or doctors, yet we have millions for *maandazi*. It is not acceptable.

We also need to look at the issue of political employments. The Public Service Commission must be summoned to the Senate to tell us. It appears they have set up a parallel public service that is not provided for in the Constitution or the law.

How many advisors do we have in the presidency? How many do we have around the Cabinet Secretaries? Even County Public Service Boards (CPSBs) should tell us how many advisors we have in the counties. That is a parallel and silent public service.

As they do that, the SRC must join them to tell us how they have cleared payments of salaries for non-statutory and unconstitutional offices. Who is going to be held accountable for that? Those two bodies must tell us what we need to do.

We also need to find out why our employment laws are not being followed. Why are constitutional commissions, which are supposed to be independent, not doing this?

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Why are the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) letters being peddled by politicians? How does the TSC issue employment letters?

The TSC has been employing those who have been waiting for long before the ones who qualified recently. Could we have a public audit to find out how many people were politically-employed because they know politicians and those who are waiting because they are sons and daughters of poor people?

We also need to audit our debt. All documents and agreements relating to our debt need to be made available to Parliament, so that Parliament can audit this. We also need to audit our debt expenditure. If we borrowed because of this, have we been doing it? I am suggesting that we get a special team to do this.

I think the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) and the Parliamentary Budget Office (PBO) needs to be facilitated and revamped to help us to do debt auditing. If we do this transparently so that it is made public and not hidden, then, the Kenyan people will be able to know what we are doing.

Madam Temporary Speaker, we must audit all funds. We have so many funds that include the Youth Fund, the Women Fund and the NG-CDF. How are they being implemented? I think the idea behind the funds is good noble, but are they being used for purposes that they were intended for?

We need to do an audit so that the ones that are being used for right purposes be retained while the others that are not being used for the right purposes are looked at.

In 2020, the World Bank reported that we have dead infrastructure. They said that 50 per cent of NG-CDF projects are dead because when a new MP comes in, they do not want to touch what the other one had done. That is public money. We need to find out whether we need to put in place better structures for the management of CDF.

When we come to *Bunge*. It must do its bit just like every other institution. The National Assembly together with the Senate have passed laws that are unconstitutional. I want us to do an audit of the cost that unconstitutional laws being challenged in court have cost the taxpayer because we did not do our job as Parliament.

For instance, taking only 30 minutes to pass a law that allows the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) be set against our children with no public participation and adequate time for MPs to discuss it.

Madam Temporary Speaker, as *Bunge*, we must take responsibility for passing laws that have violated and circumvented the Constitution.

I will speak to the people of Kenya as well. As we are speaking and everybody is taking responsibility, I would like for our people to also take responsibility. We queue to receive Kshs200 from politicians in funerals and elsewhere. We should start asking ourselves where we think this person got the money from and yet, they do not have even one industry or factory in your county where they employ anybody.

He moves around in very sleek vehicles, dressed up well dishing out money and you just take it. Ask yourself; who in their right mind, can start dishing out money that they have worked hard for to build a business? What are we doing? That is the money that should be building your schools and making it possible for you to access health care being dished out to you.

We need to speak to our people and tell them not to encourage thieves and elect them. Let us do what is right and ensure that this country moves forward. So, it is a moment of reckoning, not just for MPs, the President, the CSs and even the church leaders and other leaders, but everyone.

Where do you think Catherine Mumma, who does not have any factory anywhere, get Kshs 20 million to give you all of a sudden? Why do you not ask yourself; *na hii Kshs20 milion alitoa wapi?*

I think as a country, the Gen Zs are calling all of us to recheck our conscience.

The Temporary Chairperson (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Catherine, your time is up. Just one minute only to finish the sentence.

Sen. Mumma: Madam Temporary Speaker, I will finalise. I have spoken to every sector of society.

All I am saying is that all of us need to introspect and do the right thing for this nation.

Thank you.

The Temporary Chairperson (Sen. Veronica Maina): Sen. Karungo Thangw'a, proceed.

Sen. Thangw'a: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. I am also really happy to weigh in to this Motion and support it.

On 26th of June, I wrote to your office requesting us to have a Motion to discuss what we are discussing today. Though I did not get a reply, I am happy it has come through the channels that it has come from.

This is the time for the people of Kenya to know that Senate is the 'Upper' House. It is what it was meant to be by the drafters of the Constitution. They wanted this House to be a House that will bring appeal mechanism where Kenyans who are not happy with what is happening with the Executive or the National Assembly, will always have a channel to come, weigh in and give their contribution.

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

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

Madam Temporary Speaker, if the Finance Bill would have come to the Senate, what happened to this country could not have happened. Those *maandamanos* that were here could not have happened. This is because at the Senate, we relook and scrutinize proposals afresh by listening to the people.

I can give a very good example. There was the Affordable Housing Bill that was brought here, passed by over 400 MPs. However, when it came to this House, we relooked into it and gave it 49 amendments, new things that were not there.

We should fight for that space so that anything that is passed by the National Assembly, should always be coming to this House so that we can discuss it again and again. This country could not have been burned.

On the issue of Gen Zs, I take this time to condole with all those mothers and fathers who lost their children. That is why we are here discussing that every stone must be turned and whoever acted contrary to the law, face the law.

I said that I will not be part of sensational comments. I will be level headed, talk without exaggeration and from a point of facts. That is why I want to tell the people what Gen Z means because many people do not even know what it is. I saw an old former politician talking of when he was a Gen Z.

My friend, you have never been a Gen Z. This is because “Gen Z” refers to the period when one was born, that is; between 1997 and 2010. Those who were born between 1981 to 1996 like Sen. Methu are Millennials. Those who were born before 1965 to 1980 are Generation X. If I was to go to our senior youth, Sen. (Dr.) Oburu Odinga who was born I think in 1943, they are called the Silent Generation.

These labels are created by American researchers. You identify with that particular generation depending on what time you were born and what was happening at that particular time.

Madam Temporary Speaker, the coming generation will be ‘fire.’ It will be more than this Gen Zs that we are seeing. It is called Gen Alpha. They are those who are born between 2011 to 2025. Why are they categorized like that? It is because of what was happening at that particular time when they were born.

The Gen Z were born when we have social media and internet. They have access to information. So, they understand things as they happen. My daughter who is in primary school, came to me after the Finance Bill was passed by the National Assembly and told me that in school, the classmates were asking her if her dad voted ‘yes’ or ‘no.’

Then I asked her what did you tell them? She already knows that Senators were not passing the Bill, so she said Senators were not voting for this Finance Bill. This means that even those children in school, those we are calling Gen Alpha or the Gen Z understand everything that happens.

Madam Temporary Speaker, we said we need to talk to Gen Z. The reason I have given that definition is because the President must make sure he is talking to Gen Z. I advise him to shy away from the X space on Twitter and I will explain why.

When you go to X space, you only hear voices, but do not see anybody. We do not know who is in there. We might be speaking to those who have always been there and not listen to the real Gen Z. That is why I am advising him to kindly go to *TikTok* if he wants to talk to Gen Z because he will be able to see them. They will see your face and you will see theirs. They will even tell you that this is not a Gen Z, but a grown man. If you go to X space, *kuna matusi mingi sana* because they do not come from Gen Z who are not afraid to be seen.

That is why they came to the streets in broad daylight. They want to be seen and identified. They are fighting for their people. I ask the President and the Deputy President to go *TikTok*, learn how to say “Tap tap the screen, guys. I want you to see me and talk to each other.”

Madam Temporary Speaker, I want you to take a pen because we have to do some Math. This is the time that we, as a nation, should now start taking stock of what has been happening. We say enough is enough to what has been wrong. That is the NG-CDF.

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When the former Member of Parliament (MP), Eng. Karue from a constituency in Nyandarua, came with CDF, it was the beginning of devolution. He was trying to devolve services to the people. So, when devolution came, CDF should have died a natural death. Like has been said here, can you imagine that the Government gives you money to go pay Government? That is bursary. It gives you money to go pay a Government school.

I want us to do the Maths. Every constituency in their NG-CDF have over Kshs50 million for bursary. If you multiply Kshs50 million by 290 constituencies, you will get over Kshs20 billion. Every governor has an education bursary fund which they put between Kshs200 million to Kshs300 million. If you do an average of Kshs300 million multiplied by 47 counties, you get over Kshs20 billion. That is Kshs40 billion to Kshs60 billion. We will get almost 80 billion.

If we add the National Government Affirmative Action Fund (NGAAF), the Women Representatives, and the President also have bursary. Why not give this money to schools and make education free? Why not take it directly to the schools? I do not have to give an MP money to bring it to the village. We have Mpesa and other channels of sending that money to schools.

There is an issue of the Kenya Rural Roads Authority (KeRRA). I am speaking as the Chairman of the Committee on Roads and Transportation in the Senate; that we should disband KeRRA and make sure this money goes to the counties. It is better to deal with one thief than 290 of them.

Let this money go to the governors. We are saying that governors are stealing, but we are here as Senate to make sure that they do not. I heard the Senator for Isiolo and the same cases here that the governors are not respecting the Senate. The governors are ferrying money within a day and have tried to find them, but the Inspector-General cannot arrest them when we ask him to do so.

We are even asking ourselves if the governors are not respecting the Senate, why not change the rules and laws that we can also emanate with a Motion to impeach the governor from this House. What we do is wait for the Members of County Assembly (MCAs) to bring them. If they do not, this House is mandated to check the interest of a county should also come with a Motion to impeach a certain governor who does not respect this House and taking money home.

Madam Temporary Speaker, as I conclude since I am a man of few words, I would urge the Executive and the Cabinet Secretaries who are going to survive from the sacking because it must happen, focus on creating jobs. It is better to go on a muddy road when you have money in the pocket. It is better to fetch water from the river when you have money in the pocket. What I am trying to say is that when it comes to development, it must be people-centred.

Go with the money to where they are and ask them, "I have Kshs20 million here, do you want me to make this road? Do you want me to bring water? Do you want me to create an industry here so that everybody will have something in their pocket?" They will say create an industry and we get money. Then we will discuss that when it comes to roads.

The picketing that we saw for the first time here was very peaceful at the beginning. The reason was that only Gen Z were on the road. They were picketing while taking selfies and recording themselves on camera. That is to show it can be done. That is why I am

supporting those saying we should bring a law and have picketing corners and picketing roads.

We should even have a picketing authority that receives every petition. When they come to a picketing corner, there is an office and people to receive it and you follow it through. Sometimes people do not even know what happens when it comes to this because we do things very quietly. That is why people are worried. They were saying Senators have just become clever overnight.

No, we have been like this. It is only that they show Members of the National Assembly on Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) every day. We do not share equal platform. That is why we say anybody speaking here should be given 20 minutes if National Assembly is given 20 minutes. Otherwise, they just show the National Assembly and not what we do here. People have to go to *YouTube*.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I would want to talk to the public service, especially the Cabinet Secretary, if he survives. It is good to advise if he still retains his position. Dubai has a ministry called the Ministry of Happiness with a Cabinet Secretary. People thought the Ministry of Happiness was to have somebody coming to your house to crack jokes and make you happy. That is why I am suggesting to the Cabinet Secretary, Moses Kuria: In your public service, create a department called Happiness Department. Why am I saying that? That is to check whether everybody is happy with the services they are getting through the public service.

By the time you go to get your passport, before you leave that office, there must be somewhere you press to say I was served well or was not served well. This officer is very rude and so on. Then it goes directly to the Ministry. If you go to get your driving license, before you leave that office, you will be asked if you were served well.

You click somewhere and it goes to the department and not to that office. That office would not even know. They will only know when the Principal Secretaries or the Cabinet Secretary will come to your office knocking, saying, my friend, so many people are complaining about your performance, so we get rid of you.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I have gone to Israel. At the gate of their Parliament, there is a very big screen that says who is in Parliament and who is not. So, when you get in there, you will know whether the person who you sent to Parliament to represent you is in or not. It is shown every day. This is so that we can be here and fight for our people.

Sometimes we come in and go, we are seen in the village and trying to balance things. I want to tell Gen Z when you are done with the national Government; I believe so far so good because you have been listened to, go to the counties and join your Senator.

Pick their hands. Why am I saying that? The governors there, are using the public money that was deducted from you through the previous Finance Bill. That money was taken and given to your counties. Kiambu has been given Kshs15 billion this financial year.

Madam Temporary Speaker, what the governors are doing in those counties is giving your mothers and your fathers handouts. I am talking to Gen Z. They are giving your mother sweet potato vines to go plant, handouts; two chicken here, handouts; a fish there, handouts. Your fathers and mothers will think these governors are working. They

do not look at it as though these governors are eating into Gen Z's future. So, that is why I am saying we should also join hands and ask for accountability at the county level.

My last point will be on the issue of employment. We have the National Employment Authority (NEA). We should enhance its mandate by fighting the wage bill. We need to know who is employed where. It should also be somehow devolved. In Kiambu County, we pay over Kshs6 billion per year as a wage bill. A governor gets in and employs all his people. In Kiambu, we have had four governors.

Every governor has employed everyone. The next governor will probably do the same. So, this is the reason I am asking the NEA to have a record of everybody. Every person employed by a governor should submit his Curriculum Vitae (CVs), certificates and a letter of appointment indicating when he was employed. It played very well when we were having an impeachment.

We asked the governor; did you employ this person? The governor said I have not employed him or her. How can this House know? You have no way of knowing because the governor is the employer and the custodian of those documents. They only need to withdraw them. They only need to remove them. They only need to readjust. If you said he was employed as a Personal Assistant (PA) and maybe he was wrong. Employing him as a PA, they readjust. They say he was an advisor.

The best thing is to have an agency whereby anybody who is employed by a county, has those documents submitted there. If I want to know how many people are employed by the Governor of Kiambu, I do not have to go and ask him. I have written to him a letter, reminders and reminders and he has not given the list of those he calls the liaison officers.

If there was this authority, I do not have to write to him. I just write to the authority and it gives me that information. So, I call upon everybody, either Gen Z, Millennials, Generation X or the Silent Generation, which is also in this House, not to fight for simplicity. All we need to do is fight for the future of this country. We are lucky to have almost every generation in this House and that is good for democracy. Therefore, we should make sure that the decisions that we make have consequences that are useful to the coming generations

Thank you very much, Madam Temporary Speaker.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Mumma): Sen. Montet?

Sen. Montet Betty: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker.

At last, I get to talk because I have waited for two days. I also want to thank the leadership of this House, just like other Senators have said, for giving us this opportunity to speak to this matter which is so important for this nation.

I would sincerely, first, want to pass my condolences to the families of our sons and daughters who died in this struggle of trying to be listened to by their leaders. To those who are sick in hospitals, my prayers are with you.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Mumma): Sen. Montet, just hold on.

Hon. Senators, pursuant to Section 34(2)(a) of the Standing Orders, I wish to invoke the powers to extend the period of this sitting by 15 minutes to enable Sen. Montet to be done at the end of the day.

Sen. Montet Betty: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. As I was saying to those who are in hospitals and those who are at home, sick and injured, my prayers are with you and may you get well soon.

To the business community, those who lost their properties, most of them even lost their livelihoods, I am sorry as a leader in this country. I pray and hope we will not get to this again since the Gen Zs are telling us and showing us the way of doing things.

The country had gone south. The biggest question today in this House and the minds of all the leaders in this country is how and when we got there. However, the signs of times were there. Kenya spoke. It was loud and clear. Things were not right, but what did we do as leaders? We never listened to them.

All these Bills that have brought all these issues in this country have passed through the two Houses. As usual, we never got time to listen to our people. We never took time also to look at these Bills and reflect on how they will affect our people.

What is it that Kenya is looking at? What is it that we want with our nation? That is how we have come to be where we are today. It is sad indeed. Gen Zs, you have done well. Indeed, we should congratulate you. You have done what we have never been able to do for a long time or since Independence. You have come out clear and loud that things cannot be the same.

Things have to change. Things started going bad about two years ago. Kenyans spoke first when poisonous sugar was imported into this country. It was so sad that later the same sugar was sold to poor Kenyans and was consumed. Sadly, to date, the importers of that sugar are leaders in this country. They are people working for this country. They are people who are supposed to be servants of the people.

They are not supposed to be finishing their people. They have never been brought to book. As other Senator said, there is the issue of edible oil. It was a big issue. Kenyans talked and complained. The people who imported it are known. That oil was eventually declared poisonous too. What happened? They have never been brought to book to date.

Not that this House did not speak. Not that this House has not tried to even bring to book the people who imported that oil. However, what happened? As usual, we got silent. It is us, Kenyans, who are killing our country.

I sit in a committee where we look at cohesion in this country. It is sad. As much as I want to agree, most of these things are historical. However, what I want to tell our President today, Mr. President, you can be the person to bring change in this country. If you keenly look at what is happening, why are these Gen Zs complaining? They cannot get jobs.

People are still getting employed from very few communities. To be precise, two communities only in this Republic. Mr. President, you can be the person to bring change. If you want to bring change in this country, you have the means, capacity and I believe the will to do so. Please look at those issues. Please look at the Gen Zs outside there.

Those who do not have people who can speak for them are there, outside. The Gen Zs who are protesting outside there, are our young people who are well learned, tarmacked for more than five years and with very good degrees. Nowadays, it is not impossible to hear somebody who had First-Class honours tarmacking or outside there holding a placard saying please give me a job. Why, and people are getting employed? This cake is enough

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for all of us to share. If only leaders can be fair. If only leaders can look at Kenya and say this Kenya is ours, all of us. What we have is enough for us to share.

There are so many other issues which have made us reach where we are today. If you look at the issue of budget, you do not have to be an expert in budget making to see that you only have to slash quite a number of things. These things have been said here. I want to thank Senators because they have come up with figures and facts. You have told the nation what can change and how it can change.

We have seen some allocations in this budget, which can easily be slashed and forgotten. We do not need to renovate homes, buy cars and get entertainment allowances in this country and at this time.

Globally, things are bad. Why are we not following that? Why are we not looking at it? Why are we not hearing the cries of our people? I do not want to say these things are easy because I am sure as a nation, we need to look into these issues.

Madam Temporary Speaker, many of the Bills and laws that we have passed in this House without looking at the repercussions or the effect they will have on our people, is what has brought us to where we are today. For instance, the Housing Bill.

This has been done elsewhere. For example, in Egypt, this law was passed. Once young people get married, they are housed and people are not overtaxed. However, when the Cabinet Secretary went out for public participation, Kenyans spoke and they had good ideas. What happened? They decided to go their way and that is where we are today.

We are overburdening Kenyans. Their payslips have been slashed to nothing and that is why Kenyans are crying. Gen Z have led the way, but Kenyans are crying wherever they are.

So, I urge this Government that Kenya is crying and bleeding. Mr. President, you can do it. You just have to tighten your belt. You have to tell your people and friends that the game will not be the same again and things have to work in this country.

Madam Temporary Speaker, there are so many issues that this House always want to discuss with the Cabinet Secretaries, but most of them do not listen to us. They do not even come when we call them. This is because most of them are clueless about what they are doing in their ministries. It is a very sad situation.

We also have to appreciate that there are a few of them who have at least worked very hard. I believe they have supported the President in his agenda. However, for those who are clueless, why is the President keeping them? Kenyans have told you and it has been out there that some Cabinet Secretaries are not working or competent. The repayment period is over. Listen to what the Kenyans Gen Zs are saying and change this nation.

We do not have to go the way we are going. We do not have to go south. If we all reflect and look at the way things are, where we can change, what we can give in and what we can allow to go on, then I am sure Kenya will be a changed nation. We will continue being a great nation just as we all wish to be.

Gen Zs were crying to the parliamentarians to listen to them. I believe when they came here, they were harmless and did not have guns. It is so sad that they were shot around the precincts of Parliament. It is so sad that we lost our sons and daughters as they tried to reach us, to cry to us to give them an ear, so that they tell us what they feel and what they

know. Instead, the IG and his team came in, killing them one by one, not one and not two. The number has been said. Many are in hospitals nursing gun wounds.

As the President said, it is an independent institution. The IG should take full responsibility and tell Kenyans, how many you have killed or injured and how many you have adopted. The IG, can you release our children that you are holding?

It was so sad to see an armed officer crying that he had witnessed his brother being shot outside Parliament. I think that should have been a wake-up call for the uniformed police that the children who are outside there are their brothers and children.

Let us stop killing them. Let us talk to them. Let us embrace a listening society where we can listen to each other and to those who put us into leadership positions.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I know time has gone and I appreciate that you have given me a minute or so to speak. I will say that corruption has to be eliminated completely in this country. Corruption is killing us.

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Mumma): Sen. Montet, you have another 10 minutes.

Sen. Betty Montet: Thank you, Madam Temporary Speaker. As I was saying that corruption is killing this country. We have taken corruption to the church of Christ. We want talk and campaign at the altars. Can these habits stop? Can we respect the church of God? Can we be a prayerful nation because that is why these things are following us?

This is because we have decided to take our bad habits to church, show off that we can afford to donated Kshs1, Kshs2 million or Kshs20 million to the church. Can we stop these bad habits? Corruption is killing us and the Gen Zs have told us that it is there in the open and they are talking about it. They have posted everything.

There is nothing to hide. The Gen Zs are lucky to be in this era of internet. Everything is in the open. They have even informed the Gen Alpha and now, the young Gen Alpha are even becoming more aggressive. Therefore, what kind of a community are we bringing up?

Madam Temporary Speaker, on the issue of corruption, people who have supplied in counties are not getting paid. When the governors come in, they do not want to touch what the previous governors did while the people who supplied rightfully did supply. However, as the governors leave office, they leave pending bills and they have made people poor.

There was a time when counties came up, doing business with counties was the in-thing. Right now, no one wants to touch them. What happened? Whatever they get, they make money for themselves and give jobs to their own people. They have refused to clear pending bills. This House has spoken to that. Not once or twice, but many times that the governors should clear the pending bills.

Madam Temporary Speaker, I believe that every governor has done an audit of everything they have. If every governor took a portion every year, in five years, they would clear the pending bills. However, what happens is that no one wants to touch what they did not do. What are we doing in return? We have killed our people. We have killed our young people.

What happened to the businesses, which were to go to the young people and women? They were 30 per cent. Today, if we did a proper audit, I do not think they get

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these jobs or the county businesses. That would have helped this country a great deal. It would have taken us far because the people who came up with that formula for the 30 per cent to women, the marginalized and youth knew they that they did not have the muscle to fight for those jobs.

Madam Temporary Speaker, they mostly look for small jobs. They do not have millions to do those jobs and yet, they are not paid. This is a very sad situation. Most people are crying. People who have done businesses with counties have gone broke and have become sick. We have people who from 2010 to date have never been paid. What are we doing to our nation?

We are not addressing that as leaders. We should all come together from National Assembly and the Senate to address the issue of pending bills because it is a big animal in this country.

I will now speak about the Gen Zs. Gen Z, you have made it. You have done what we were not able to do. You came out clear, tribeless, together and spoke in one language, the language of Kenya. You walked together and outsmarted everybody. That is why you were able to do what you have done. You have been heard and we have listened to you. Indeed, you have made us hear you.

Gen Z, may you desire that we have a governable country, which is ruled by the rule of law. You are leaders. I do not want to call you leaders of tomorrow because you are leaders today. You have shown us you are leaders because you have shown us the way. Desire to have a better Kenya. We do not have another country.

This is our nation and our motherland. You can do it best by waking up and taking Identification Card (ID) and voting cards. Come out in large numbers in 2027 to vote for the correct people. Do not vote by what you have been given or what somebody is offering. However, vote good leaders who can govern this Kenya and steer it ahead to be a great nation as it was before.

Thank you. May God bless you all. God bless Kenya.

ADJOURNMENT

The Temporary Speaker (Sen. Mumma): Hon. Senators, it is now 6.41 p.m. Having concluded the business for which I extended the sitting hours pursuant to Standing Order No. 34 (2)(a), the Senate stands adjourned until Tuesday, 9th July, 2024 at 2.30 p.m.

The Senate rose at 6.42 p.m.