ROAD TO KENYAN DREAM
IMPLEMENTING OUR MANIFESTO
2017

NASA
MAMBO YABADILIKIA
# MABADILIKO NI SASA

**OUR 5 YEAR ROADMAP TO RESTORE KENYA**

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Kenya’s history is defined by the legacy of long, heroic and costly struggles to build a just society out of the ashes of one that colonialism tried to subdue and subvert. But soon after independence, new struggles were launched against single-party dictatorship and oppressive regimes based on ethnic divide and rule, politics of exclusion and exploitation dominated by pervasive and growing corruption, all of which led to the creation of a new super-rich elite while most of our people lost their humanity and dignity.

In a living testament to the success of these struggles and the resilience and determination of our people to achieve whatever was possible even in the darkest periods, these disasters co-existed with extraordinary transformations which made Kenya one of the most successful African nations whose people were able to make contributions on the pan-African and global stages.

In 2002, the decades of heroic and sometimes lonely struggles culminated in the first triumph of a genuinely inclusive national NARC movement which threw out the oppressive KANU regime. The euphoria, which made Kenyans the happiest people on earth at that time according to the Gallup Poll, was short-lived, and numerous new setbacks saw a tainted 2007 election lead to our first large scale violence on a national scale. Deeply chastened by a disaster which almost divided the country into two, Kenyans rallied to undertake a new programme of national reconciliation which would be built around addressing decades of divisive politics, impoverishment and exclusion and a new vision of an equitable nationhood which would propel rapid economic growth the country is so amply capable of.

The result was the promulgation of a new constitutional order, passed with overwhelming support, built first and foremost around inclusion and equality of all our people, and centred on human rights, democracy, social justice and the rule of law, and shared prosperity. Underpinning this grand vision was good governance in which the integrity of public officials was a paramount pre-requisite, which alone would guarantee sustainability and the nurturing, protection and economic well-being of the individual, the family, communities and nation.
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pre-requisite, which alone would guarantee sustainability and the nurturing,
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communities and nation.

However, the implementing the vision of that Constitution suffered a
setback under a government whose principals had opposed the
Constitution and its centrepiece of Devolution. So Kenya remains even
more divided than before, particularly because of the ruling class’ leveraging
of ethnicity, power and money. This is manifested in a weak national
identity, balkanisation of ethnic groups, negative ethnicity, and the
exploitation of ethnic numerical tyranny. Combined with misrule and
systematic exclusion and marginalisation of certain minority communities,
an unfortunate axis has emerged that Kenyans refer to, ashamedly, as
“Wananchi and Wenyenchi”.

We know and have always known what Kenyans need to lead productive
and fulfilling lives. But the needs of ordinary Kenyans have never been the
preeminent factor in government policy-making. The hunger currently
ravaging our people should never have taken place if people’s needs had
been the government’s paramount interest.

By far the most pressing challenge facing millions of our people today is
price inflation. From school fees to medical expenses to the most basic of
needs – the staple maize - millions of Kenyans can no longer afford so many
things that were taken for granted not long ago. In the urban areas, the vast
majority of our people live in abject conditions in the slums.

Rampant insecurity, including tribal clashes and armed robberies, not only
claim the lives of our people but undermine the capacity of communities
and even neighbourhoods to realise development.

There are challenges across the board – in Education, Jobs, Health,
Affordable Housing – that are crying out for attention. They have not
received it. NASA is determined to meeting these. But they cannot be met
in isolation, they must grow organically from a cohesive vision
encompassing numerous other areas.

We look below at each of these key areas that have to be revived to address
Kenyans’ needs.

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**NASA’S COMMITMENT**

**FIRST 90 DAYS**

- Officially reaffirm the status, nationality and citizenship of all minority ethnic groups in Kenya and their
equal status with other Kenyans.
- Establish a National Heroes Trust to immortalise our freedom fighters and the heroes of our current
struggles including our men and women in uniform who need our support.
- Immediately pay compensation awards made by courts to victims of injustices by the state.
- Allocate adequate resources to enhance the status of Kiswahili as the national and official language, and
work with internet companies to develop content for Kiswahili speakers and a comprehensive online
Kiswahili dictionary, which will help make it the paramount continental language. Establish the Kenya
National Languages Council to promote all other Kenyan indigenous languages and Kenyan sign
language.
- Establish the “Office of Victims of Extra Judicial Killing, Torture, Renditions and Enforced
Disappearances” to investigate all such cases and recommend appropriate measures.

**LONG-TERM COMMITMENT**

- Establish a Culture Day as a national holiday where Kenyans can celebrate their rich ethnic diversity.
- Review regulations adopted by the Kenya Film Classification Board which stifle the development of the
emerging cultural, creative and performing industries.
- Invest in public arts and culture infrastructure (theatres, museums, music halls, art galleries).
- Establish a National Endowment for Culture and Arts as a framework for public funding (incentives and
subsidies) for cultural production.
- Work closely with county governments and stakeholders to establish talent development centres in all
47 counties to support cultural, creative and performing arts.
- Resettle and/or compensate equally and fairly all internally displaced persons (IDPs) and all Kenyans who
were forced by state actions or inaction to seek refuge in foreign countries.
- Treat all Kenyan citizens equally in the application and acquiring identification cards, passports and other
national papers;
  - Avail a unified integrated digital system that captures every citizen’s information
    from birth and transits the data for national identification, passport issuance and voter
    registration.
  - Initiate inter-county youth exchange programs
  - Work with counties to enforce the 30% requirement quota for non-indigenous
    employees in the counties wherever applicable.
GENDER

- Undertake gender mainstreaming in all government processes and programmes particularly in resource allocation.
- Establish County Gender Development Funds under the Women Representatives in every county.
- Enact legislation to implement the two-third gender rule in governance as required by the constitution in order to address gender imbalance in all spheres of governance.
- Institute programmes such as grassroots Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) girls’ clubs to make girls and young women aware of their rights and opportunities in science and technology.
- Enact legislation requiring all government departments to establish day-care facilities at the workplace.
- Amend the Sexual Offences Act to establish a special investigative and monitoring unit under the Children’s Department focusing specifically on children in primary and secondary schools for purposes of protecting students.
- Implement all of Kenya’s international obligations on gender issues.

IMPACT

Building stronger nationhood and national identity will result in a new, just, equal, and united nation where all Kenyans can celebrate their diversity; appreciate and collectively work towards their common aspirations and values; and develop a strong sense of patriotism and belonging.
Despite economic growth peaking at over 7% during the economic recovery period that began in 2003 under the Kibaki administration, this growth was dramatically interrupted in 2007/8 but a good recovery was quickly achieved. But macro-economic vulnerabilities have emerged due to sustained near double-digit fiscal deficits that have driven public debt to worrying levels.

MACRO-ECONOMIC STABILITY AND PUBLIC DEBT MANAGEMENT

NASA’S COMMITMENT

- Transform Kenya into a democratic and cohesive middle income country providing a high quality of life for its citizenry by the year 2030 in line with Vision 2030.
- Target a real GDP growth rate of 10% p.a and above for the next 5 years with the private sector as the main source of growth and employment creation.
- Achieve and sustain macro-economic stability characterized by single digit inflation, low and stable interest rates and floating exchange rate regime.
- Achieve prudent management of public debt to lower its cost and risk by:
  - Fiscal consolidation to reduce the large fiscal deficit (the driver of rapid accumulation of debt) to lower single digit levels;
  - Strengthening the institutional arrangement of public debt management by operationalising the Public Debt Management Office in accordance with the Public Finance Management Act.
- Implement structural reforms to support and improve tax collection.
- Strengthen financial sector reforms to widen access to financial services, lower cost of credit and sustain financial stability.

IMPACT

These economic policies will restore credible public financial management and to return the country to the path of sustainable borrowing, that is, a budget deficit not exceeding 3% of GDP.
HEALTHCARE

NASA’S COMMITMENT

NO BILLS

The target from the start must be:
1. Implement universal health service scheme within a mandatory and government subsidized insurance scheme
2. Ensure all Kenyans can access a defined package of quality health services across all levels of health provision.

MIDTERM COMMITMENT

- Formulate a coherent devolution policy on health to govern the relationship between national and county governments, provide for regulation of doctors and for standardisation.
- Resolve the current industrial disputes between Govt and health personal and and establish a framework for harmonious industrial relations
- Collaborate with county governments to ensure there are fully-equipped laboratories at health centres in every Ward.
- Provide universal health coverage by establishing a National Universal Health Fund funded mainly by government contributions and to which citizens make minimal contributions. Hospitals will treat patients and instead of billing them, the hospitals will directly bill the Fund.
- Strengthen primary healthcare with a focus on promotive and preventive healthcare services that every 100 households are under the everyday care of a primary health care worker employed by the county government.

Bring down the cost of drugs by promoting importation and use of generic drugs and negotiating the acquisition of licences to foreign patents for local manufacturers.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Despite the Constitution’s entrenching the right to the highest attainable standard of health, Kenya’s healthcare system still falls very far short of universal health coverage. Out of pocket expenditure contributes to 32% of total health spending, while the government only contributes 24%. As a result, many households suffer from the burdens of chronic diseases because of inability to afford basic healthcare. The current doctor: patient ratio of 1:17,000 is unacceptable; the World Health Organisation’s recommended ratio is 1:1,000.
Bring down the cost of drugs by promoting importation and use of generic drugs and negotiating the acquisition of licences to foreign patents for local manufacturers.

Collaborate with the Council of Governors to establish a Health Service Authority to assist both levels of government in managing the human resource for health.

Establish a Medical Research Fund (2% of the health budget) for health professionals to promote research for professional development to promote doctor retention.

In order to encourage doctors to provide services to public hospitals, require NHIF to pay the same fees to doctors in public and private hospitals.

Explore Public Private Partnerships to provide affordable housing for doctors with reasonable proximity to health facilities.

Promote college-based training (residency programmes) to enable doctors easily acquire specialisation.

Collaborate with county governments to facilitate the employment of more doctors so as to achieve the target of 1:6,000 doctor: patient ratio in ten years.

Establish a national organ donation programme that will facilitate the donation of kidneys form willing donors to fellow Kenyan and where donors will be placed under free and lifelong NHIF cover.

IMPACT

Ultimately, NASA’s health strategy will deliver accessible and quality healthcare to all Kenyans. The strategy will also ensure that the earnings of most households are freed up and with more disposable income, these households can provide more than just basic needs for their members. This is an ultimate step towards development and alleviation of poverty.
**SITUATION ANALYSIS**

Devolution is at the heart of the constitution as it is identified as one of the national values of governance which promises the most fundamental transformation of the country and the building of the new Kenyan state. There has, however, been national government reluctance to fully implement both the constitution and the devolved system of government, characterised by active and deliberate efforts by the government to undermine devolution, with an accompanying frosty relationship between the National Assembly and the Senate. Despite these challenges, the Kenyan people have embraced and still long for the fruits of the constitution and devolution.

**DEVOLUTION**

**NASA’S COMMITMENT**

**FIRST 90 DAYS**

- Initiate constitutional amendments to provide for a hybrid executive system based on the Bomas Draft as a mechanism for enhancing cohesion and to not only allow individuals from smaller communities to rise to the highest office in the land, but also encourage a participatory system of government. Increase the percentage of national revenue allocated to the counties upto 45% to ensure that funds follow and match functions and absorption.

- Convene a national conference to set out the tenets of cooperation between national and county governments in running the affairs of government in the next five years.

- Restructure and realign the State Department of Devolution and Planning to focus more on intergovernmental relations and coordination of inter-ministerial functions relevant to devolution rather than supervision of county governments.

- Restructure and realign the National Treasury to enable it effectively and harmoniously serve the interest of both levels of government.

- As the chairperson of the National and County Governments Co-ordinating Summit, the president will revamp the Summit by convening regular meetings to address emerging issues of cooperative government and intergovernmental relations.

- Collaborate with the Council of Governors to review the transition process and identify all the challenges on full transition and transfer of specific functions.

- Work with the Council of Governors to clarify the constitutional distribution of functions and initiate legislation to:
  - clarify the functions of each level of government;
  - provide a framework for assignment of additional functions to county governments; and
  - provide for a framework for the transfer of functions and powers from one level of government to another.

- Immediately transfer to county governments all those functions and resources that have been identified as immediately transferrable.

- Provide a roadmap on full transition and transfer of those functions that have been identified as not being immediately transferrable.

- Eliminate delays in the transfer of funds to county governments.
LONG-TERM COMMITMENT

- NASA will establish a functional system of harmonious working relations between the Senate and the National Assembly.
- Consult widely with stakeholders with a view to proposing legislation to structure and improve the relations between Senators and the County Governors/county governments.
- Collaborate with county governments to establish the Senators’ Liaison Office in the county government funded by the Parliamentary Service Commission as a channel of information-sharing and consultation.
- Reorganise old order institutions that straddle national and devolved functions so that they become joint entities of both the national government and all or groups of county governments (notably roads boards - KURA, KENHA- water boards, and regional development authorities).
- Review all other national government institutions and state corporations and restructure them to align them to the devolved system.
- Enact the requisite legislation to implement the constitutional requirements on the sharing of the benefits accruing from resources located in certain communities and counties among those local communities, the host counties and the national government.

IMPACT

NASA is “a coalition of the Constitution and of the devolved system of government” and it firmly believes in the revolutionary effect of devolution. NASA’s agenda on devolution will deliver to the Kenyan people the fruits of the constitution namely political rights and civil liberties, good governance, empowerment of the Kenyan people and communities through devolution, and equitable sharing of resources. This agenda will result in harmonious cooperative governance between national and county governments; strengthen county governments through transfer of all functions, delegation and sharing of other functions and the resources commensurate with the functions; resolve the tensions between national and county governments organs, the National Assembly and the Senate, and the Senate and County Governments; ensure gender parity requirement in governance as required by the constitution; and ensure equal access to leadership and governance positions for all groups of Kenyans.
There are also large disparities in productivity within smallholder agriculture even within the same localities. Smallholder milk production varies by a factor of 10 between low productivity and high productivity smallholder farmers. Our average maize yield has stagnated at 8.5 bags per acre, against a potential of 30 bags per acre, this reflects the very low yields among smallholders who produce 80% of our maize. Increasing maize yields by only four bags per acre on current acreage would increase our production by 16 million bags per year, enough to keep up with consumption growth for another decade. Coffee production fell from 130,000 tons in the 1980s to 40,000 tons today thanks to botched liberalisation policies and cartelism.

Despite a massive livestock wealth of an estimated 60 million head of cattle, sheep, goats and camels worth an estimated one trillion shillings and generating an income stream of at least Ksh. 100bn a year, 80% of the owners (pastoralist communities) remain the most economically insecure members of our society. NASA intends to fully devolve the agriculture function to the counties as required by the constitution. Currently, a lot of funds for agriculture are still held by the national government.

FOOD SECURITY & AGRICULTURE

Collaborate with county governments to construct food storage silos and fresh produce banks and abattoirs at every ward to ensure food security.

Organise communities to pool together their small farms and carry out mechanised farming to produce large quantities of food.

Ensure efficiency in the distribution process.

Maize

Ensure quality and affordable farm inputs, seeds and fertilisers are available closer to the farmers.
MAIZE

- Ensure quality and affordable farm inputs, seeds and fertilisers are available closer to the farmers.
- Cap AFC loan interest rates at single digit to ensure that loans are available and affordable.
- Introduce maize buying centres during harvest seasons.
- Collaborate with counties to employ mobile service to distribute farm subsidies - so farmers will receive confirmation of vouchers on their phones.
- Introduce maize buying centres during harvest seasons.
- Collaborate with county governments to build incubation centres for agricultural training and innovation.
- Introduce training and support to cooperative societies by public private collaboration models to do such services as distribution of seeds and fertilisers.
- Collaborate with county governments to reintroduce agricultural extension officers offering best services to farmers.

LIVESTOCK, MEAT AND FISH PRODUCTION

- Introduce electronic chip monitoring for livestock.
- Collaborate with county governments to build beef and meat factories in pastoralist areas through PPPs.
- Introduce insurance cover for all livestock and subsequent underwriting.
- Collaborate with county governments to invest in the improvement of indigenous genetic stock of livestock. Establish abattoirs in every pastoralist area. Develop standards for producer organisations, infrastructure, abattoirs, cold-rooms, cattle trucks, value addition of hides and skins and market development.
- Revive dormant fish processing plants and establish new ones in strategic locations across Kenya.

SUGAR

- NASA shall seek to increase cane production from the current total area from the current 28,000 ha to over 130,000 ha.
- Shall increase credit facilities particularly to farmers
- Promote bagasse
- Promote diversification programmes such as cow feed and industrial ethanol

COFFEE, TEA AND HORTICULTURE

- Finalise liberalisation in the coffee industry.
- Explore strict methods of promoting more value addition local processing of coffee targeting from Farm to Supermarket.
- Support the Tea Directorate within the Agriculture, Fisheries and Food Authority (AFFA) in unveiling new guidelines which will help in increasing the availability of planting materials and manufacturing facilities which are required to enable farmers embrace new tea varieties such as white, purple and orthodox tea which have a higher value as compared to Kenya’s Black Tea.
- Develop minimum staff housing standards especially for tea pluckers and other low calibre staff with the support of National Construction Authority (NCA).

KENYA’S BLACK TEA.

- Build and expand countrywide horticulture distribution network through the Horticulture Directorate under the Agriculture, Fisheries and Food Authority (AFFA) in partnership with development partners to provide a year-round supply of high-quality, nutritious products grown by Kenyan farmers.
- Engage youth in horticulture value chains by training them on marketing and business skills which will be useful in supporting and creating agropreneur initiatives.
- Implement the National Horticultural Policy.

AGRO-PROCESSING

- Establish a Cooperative Enterprise Development Fund (CEDF) to invest in agro-processing enterprises jointly with farmers organised under the cooperative movement.

GENERAL

- Progressively expand income transfers to the critically food poor.
- Establish a National Food Security Council to continuously advise government and keep the public appraised of the state of food security in order to ensure constant preparedness and ensure that in future, no government will get away with passing the buck if it has caused a national food crisis.
- Share the strategic food reserve function between the national and county governments in the spirit of cooperative governance to harness the county governments’ on-the-ground capability for quick response and the national government’s capacity to coordinate importation and movement of food from surplus to deficit areas.
- Introduce agricultural studies as a compulsory subject in both primary and secondary schools.

IMPACT

- Investment in agriculture represents the best value for money of any economic strategy options as it addresses poverty, food security, inequality, employment and growth. No other sector can hit so many birds with one stone. This strategy will help Kenya build efficient and sustainable climate change mitigation and adaptation measures.
NASA'S COMMITMENT

FIRST 90 DAYS

- Ensure the strict implementation of police reforms as envisaged in the new constitution
- Begin a phased pull-out of the Kenya Defence Forces from Somalia beginning the first 90 days and secure the Kenya-Somalia border from the inside. The invasion of Somalia saw insecurity rise to unprecedented levels, costing over 1,000 lives.
- Assign one officer to every police station who is trained and equipped to handle police-youth relations in order to transform the relationship between the force and the Kenyan youth and rid the force of discriminatory practices targeting the youth.
- Collaborate with county governments and community leaders to develop mechanisms for inter-community dialogue aimed at peaceful resolution of conflicts among communities.
- Institute a pay rise for police officers serving between the ranks of Constable to Chief Inspector.
- Improve pay and terms conditions of service for KDF service personnel.

LONG-TERM COMMITMENT

- Roll out a comprehensive nationwide police housing programme through Public Private Partnerships.
- Grant fee discounts to children of all service personnel (police and KDF) for tertiary education.
- Legislate minimum lump sum pay for families of officers killed in service of the nation.
- Establish a Metropolitan Police Unit under the Inspector-General of Police for major urban areas.
- Establish police posts in every sub-location in the country.
- Address the root causes of inter-ethnic / inter-clan conflict by investing in interventions that alleviate economic marginalisation, scarcity of resources and lack of employment.
- Identify high risk counties in terms of child abuse, drug abuse, abduction and defilement and establish safe spaces (child rescue centres) for children in these counties.
- Create a Child Protection Services department within the police force.
- Redirect the almost Ksh. 43 bn currently being spent on purchasing surveillance aircrafts to purchasing High Definition drone technology for general surveillance along borders, in wildlife reserves, national parks, conflict areas and urban areas. Explore Public Private Partnerships in constructing housing units for police officers.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Kenya currently faces serious security challenges that include terrorism, organised crime, inter-community conflicts and rivalries and general lawlessness and impunity. This compromised security architecture is as a result of numerous factors that include bad governance and leadership, poor remuneration and benefits for security personnel, deplorable welfare and working conditions of security personnel, poor equipment for the security sector and instability in neighbouring countries.
SITUATION ANALYSIS

Despite the right to education being constitutionally recognised as essential to achieving all the other rights, Kenya today remains a society where quality education is the preserve of the rich thereby undermining economic growth and guaranteeing national inequality. Free primary education introduced by the NARC administration in 2003 has enabled Kenya to maintain close to 100% primary school enrollment. However, many infrastructural and quality challenges remain.

EDUCATION

Transition to secondary schools also remains low as only half the children who complete primary school proceed to secondary school, and close to a quarter of those do not complete secondary school. This has been largely due to infrastructural capacity in secondary schools which has necessitated the use of primary school examinations (KCPE) to eliminate those who the system does not have the infrastructural capacity to absorb. Considerable progress has been made in expanding access to higher education, particularly university education. However, quality higher education in Kenya still reflects the system of privilege for the better-off in society due to its financial costs.

NASA'S COMMITMENT:
Primary and secondary education

FIRST 90 DAYS

- Immediately implement free secondary education.
- Devolve primary school and secondary school infrastructure development as a function to the county governments to enable the national government to concentrate on quality.
- Collaborate with county governments to expand secondary school infrastructure to accommodate the anticipated higher numbers of students.
- Scrap the school laptop project and redirect the money towards building computer laboratories and libraries in schools.
NASA'S COMMITMENT: HIGHER EDUCATION

FIRST 90 DAYS

- Waive the requirement for compliance certificate for unemployed graduates.
- Review the HELB repayment commencement period to 18 months after graduation.
- Waive interest payments on HELB loans for graduates who join the civil service.
- Provide tax reliefs for employers who employ interns from Kenyan tertiary education.
- Set a pay caveat for internships and eliminate PAYE for allowances/stipends paid to interns.

LONG-TERM COMMITMENT

- Collaborate with universities to explore the introduction of work-study programmes for students.
- Progressively expand tertiary education facilities (KMTC, teacher training colleges) to cope with the anticipated demand associated with many students completing secondary school.
- Establish at least one public university in every county and these universities should be hubs of Science and Technology Parks to generate knowledge for youth, local entrepreneurs and farmers.
- Increase research funding for universities and strengthening the linkages between university research and the socio-economic development of the counties where they are located.
- Introduce a global "Comrades Card" to serve as a currency card for use at university shops, diners and university restaurant; inter-campus transport; access to university premises and university accommodation; printing services; parking and renting university laptops.
- Establish mechanisms for linking education to industry in order to induct students into their areas of specialisation.
- Establish a technical education system including curriculum for boys and girls right from primary school to the university by establishing at least one technical school per constituency to ensure that technical education and arts are accorded the seriousness they deserve just like the conventional education and provide a launch-pad for Kenya's industrialisation.

LONG TERM COMMITMENT

- Expand teacher training capacity to meet the demands associated with the free primary and secondary school programmes.
- Increase the number of Special Needs Schools in Kenya and ensure that there is at least one such school per county.
- Collaborate with county governments to expand the school feeding programme.
- Employ at least 20,000 teachers annually to meet the target of 90,000 in five years.
**SITUATION ANALYSIS**

A good infrastructural network for transport and communication is an enabler of national life by making it possible for people to interact and to trade and also facilitate integration, inclusion, mobility and security. Kenya’s infrastructure is characterised by uneven distribution of infrastructure networks and poor connectivity. This is partially attributable to Kenya’s legacy of exclusion and marginalization and inequitable distribution of infrastructure development in different parts of Kenya.

**INFRASTRUCTURE**

**NASA’S COMMITMENT**

**ROADS**

- Ensure all new roads being constructed in Kenya have dedicated bodaboda lanes and pedestrian walks, and collaborate with county governments on the same.
- Shift focus of infrastructural development to county and rural roads which have been neglected over the last four years.
- Introduce high-speed commuter rail within Nairobi city.
- Invest in inland water transport (L. Victoria, L. Nakuru, L. Turkana etc) through the Kenya Ferry Services to promote reliable and safe water transport, trade and tourism.
- Construct the Moyale - Mandera - Wajir - Garissa Road to connect North Eastern Kenya to the rest of Kenya and eradicate the North Eastern’s historical isolation.
- Pursue the construction of the Likoni Bridge through Public Private Partnership Likoni Bridge.
- Collaborate with the county government to fast-track the implementation of the Nairobi Mass Transit Project.
- Complete the construction of the Lake Victoria Ring Road project.
- 4 lane mombasa to malab

**AVIATION**

- Establish domestic air travel network by upgrading airstrips to ensure every county headquarters is accessible by commercial flight.
- Invest in the training of aeronautical technical personnel to restore Kenya’s status as the leading aviation hub in East and Central Africa.
- Pursue implementation of open skies policies to make flying in Africa cheaper

**IMPACT**

Transport and communication facilitate integration and inclusion. This approach will integrate Kenya socially and economically by pursuing people-centered infrastructure development aligned to our economic strategy of uplifting all Kenyans.
**SITUATION ANALYSIS**

Kenya’s main energy sources are biomass (firewood and charcoal), petroleum (transportation, electricity generation) hydroelectric, geothermal and increasingly wind and solar-generated electricity. Commercial energy, particularly electricity remains expensive relative to our competitors, thus undermining Kenya’s competitiveness. The cost in terms of prices is compounded by unreliability, which adds indirect costs of self-provision through generators and disruption of production. NASA reaffirms its commitment to the Paris Climate Accord (2015) which lays emphasis on clean energy.

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**NASA’S COMMITMENT**

**FIRST 90 DAYS**

Enable competition in electricity distribution, transmission and distribution, that is, opening up supply to other private players in order to break the monopoly of Kenya Power and KenGen.

Restructure the composition of the Energy Regulatory Commission to enhance its independence (change mode of appointment; introduce term limits; and include more stakeholder representation).

Remove import taxes on renewable energy prospecting equipment.

Remove red tape in the renewable energy investment process.

**LONG-TERM COMMITMENT**

Replace diesel power plants with natural gas and renewable power plants; NASA intends to retire thermal plants.

Identify and address all drivers of high electricity prices with a view to achieving lowest possible tariffs.

Construct a 1000 megawatt gas plant in Lungalunga for energy generation.

Improve framework for private sector participation in electricity sector including geothermal power development and investment in transmission.

**IMPACT**

Adequate and reliable energy provides an economic opportunity that has the potential for creating many jobs and diversifying Kenya’s economy.
SITUATION ANALYSIS

It has been said that future wars will be fought over water. Water is a basic need not only for domestic use, but for industrial use and for agricultural purposes. However, Kenya is the most water-poor country in the region with only 460 cubic metres per person compared to Uganda (1000 cubic metres) Tanzania (1460) and even Somalia (570). Water abstraction from Mt. Kenya and the Aberdares is no longer sustainable.

NASA'S COMMITMENT

- Jealously protect Kenya’s water towers and aggressively increase afforestation in order to achieve 20% national forest cover.
- Strengthen the management of National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) and Water Resource Management Authority (WARMA) to ensure that they exhibit independence and resolve in their work.
- Develop a policy and legislation for water conservation, harvesting and recycling.
- Quantify the domestic and agricultural water use requirements per household and develop an investment plan to meet the requirement within 5 years.
- Explore alternative water sources including how to exploit Turkana aquifer, searching for similar sources and feasibility of desalination at the coast and distribute it using the national water pipeline.

WATER

Water available per person in the Tana basin, the country’s highest water potential for large-scale irrigation, has reduced by more than half from 720 cubic metres per person to less than 350 cubic metres per person today due to rapid population growth. We can, therefore, no longer depend on rain-fed agriculture. We are looking at a stark choice between urban consumption of water today and food security a decade down the road. Despite these worrying realities, Kenya is still digging water tunnels (e.g. in Muranga) whose ecological and socio-economic impact, now and in the future, has not been evaluated and debated.
SITUATION ANALYSIS

ICT service exports have the transformational role that labour-intensive export processing played in the early stages of the Asian tigers' industrialisation. For example, at more than $15b per year, the Philippines BPO services exports exceed Kenya's total foreign exchange earnings. Over the last decade, Kenya has invested heavily in ICT infrastructure, notably the undersea fibre optic cables as well as a national fibre backbone that now extends to all county headquarters. We had high expectations that this infrastructure would bring business process outsourcing (BPO) and IT-enabled services sector jobs to the country. These expectations were predicated on assessments that rated our workforce at par with the Philippines and higher than India in terms of BPO industry potential. More than a decade later, the BPO industry is still in its infancy. The failure of our BPO industry to take off is because we have continued to put our resources and efforts in the physical infrastructure (i.e. “hardware”) at the expense of “soft infrastructure.” Experience has shown that organic growth which includes quality of the workforce is the most critical factor.

INFORMATION COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY

NASA'S COMMITMENT

FIRST 90 DAYS

Lower the cost of data bundles in Kenya.
Work with counties to identify suitable locations for the establishment of Science and Technology Parks (smart cities) as hubs of innovations in all counties.
Fast-track the implementation of a digital platform for all essential government services.

LONG-TERM COMMITMENT

- Lower the cost of internet connectivity in Kenya.
- Establish an enabling policy and legal framework for IT-enabled services, in particular data protection and information security legal infrastructure.
- Partner with private sector and training institutions to develop a world-class ICT services workforce.
- Work with investors and county governments to create enabling environments for Business Process Outsourcing services outside Nairobi.
- Creating 50,000 BPO and IT-enabled services jobs by 2022.
Urbanisation is an inevitable and desirable consequence of development. Cities are engines of productivity, growth, creativity and integration. If well run, cities can most easily provide the range of social services people aspire to receiving. The choice is not whether to urbanise, but rather what kind of urbanisation we will have, that is, planned livable cities or urban jungles. Our cities, Nairobi in particular, are already developing in the direction of urban jungles. Nairobi is now regularly ranked among the five worst cities in the world in terms of traffic congestion, and Mombasa is no better. Buildings are collapsing every other day, killing and maiming innocent Kenyans. This slide into urban anarchy must be arrested in order to steer the country towards guided urbanisation.

The rest of Kenya, however, can best be described as a collection of market centres. This is despite the fact that the constitution provides a robust transformative framework (e.g. through the devolved system of governance) which if effectively exploited can transform Kenya into a country of urban centres and cities. The constitutional framework is supported by policy documents such as the Medium-Term Plan 3 (2018 - 2022) which is as national budgeting framework, the National Urban Development Policy and the National Spatial Plan. However, these constitutional and policy frameworks are at risk of not being fully implemented due to lack of political goodwill and deliberate government action and inaction.

**Situation Analysis**

**NASA’s Commitment**

**First 90 Days**

- Convene a national conference to bring national government and county governments together to identify their counties’ potential and to develop a master-plan for branding their counties.
- Host a national consultative forum to seek ways of providing avenues and incentives for private sector involvement in the provision of affordable quality houses.
- Collaborate with counties to replicate the National Spatial Plan into County Spatial Plans in order to identify the potential of counties for urban functions and to identify priority areas.
- Consolidate and harmonise the relevant laws and policies necessary for implementation of the urbanization project.
- Implement the National Urban Development Policy by linking it to sectoral areas and to the Medium-Term Plan and Vision 2030.
- Mount a public-private partnership to scale up affordable housing developments targeting eradication of informal settlements, with a target of delivering 500,000 affordable housing units over the next five years. Enact the Landlord and Tenants bill (merger of Rent Restriction and Business Rent Tribunal laws) and strengthen the capacity for enforcement.

**Long-Term Commitment**

- Collaborate with counties to build up capacity of urban areas to accommodate at least 100,000 residents.
- Formulate Special Planning Zones for targeted border counties due to their unique location in relation to neighbouring countries.
- Revitalise the Urban Development Department (UDD) under the national government to be responsible for the overall coordination and implementation of the 47 Urban Development Projects.
- Collaborate with counties to establish Forward Planning Departments to do land banking for potential future development.
- Achieve strategic management of urban disasters through implementation of Disaster Policy to manage urban disasters.
- Implement the Integrated Strategic Urban Development Programme (ISUDP) prepared through World Bank’s Kenya Municipal programme to upgrade Nyeri, Nakuru, Naivasha, Machakos, Kitui, Garissa, Kericho, Kitale.
- Collaborate with other counties to commence preparations necessary to develop other potential areas into cities in Phase II.
- Link the 47 Cities Project with Vision 2030, the East Africa Community Vision 2050, the African Union Vision 2063 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
SITUATION ANALYSIS

Next to ethnic exclusion and extreme poverty that gnaw at nationhood, no element is as corrosive and destructive to good governance and a monumental national security threat. It kills, stifles and cripples social, political and economic development and destroys citizens’ morale, aspirations and patriotism. Yet successive administrations have thrived on corruption to enrich themselves and buy political support. The high numbers of unpunished corruption cases tell it all, even though such crimes are pushing the country to the edge of economic collapse. Even as we put maximum effort into plugging the deliberately created loopholes, we must take dramatic legal steps to subdue this scourge. Among these must be legal reforms, which will include life imprisonment for grand theft/corruption.

COMBATING CORRUPTION

NASA’S COMMITMENT

FIRST 90 DAYS

- All NASA members, appointed and elected, shall sign a specific anti-corruption performance contract which, among others, shall require that:
  - The appointees and elected members introduce and monitor standard anti-corruption initiatives in their sectors
  - The appointees and elected members shall not do business with the government directly or indirectly;
  - The appointees and elected members shall take moral and political responsibility for any misconduct in their dockets arising out of their non-performance on their anti-corruption performance contracts or other managerial failures;
  - The appointees and elected members shall avoid and eliminate any conflict of interest between public and private affairs; and
  - The appointees and elected members will disclose their financial interests on appointment so that we ensure that there is no potential for personal benefit.

Introduce payment of all public invoices within 30 days so as to remove the current power of accounting officers to blackmail suppliers into giving bribes. NASA will initiate debate on the Prompt Payment Bill (PPB) which ensures that all public invoices are paid within 30 days.

- Declare corruption a threat to national security and establish a specialised department in the National Intelligence Service dedicated to corruption surveillance.

LONG-TERM COMMITMENT

- Increase budgetary allocations to the office of the Auditor General to enable it have fully competent offices in each county and to monitor all public expenditure in real time.
- Establish an independent ethics and anti-corruption desk in every government institution that will receive complaints from the public on corrupt activities within the institution.

IMPACT

A strong commitment to fighting corruption will facilitate the reconstruction of the national psyche and bring about a shift to servant leadership at all levels of governance, for the well-being and benefit of all citizens as enshrined in the constitution. This will also rejuvenate investor confidence and create an environment where development partners can trust that the assistance they provide us will be in safe and responsible hands.
SITUATION ANALYSIS

Industrialisation is the engine of economic transformation. Kenya’s industrialisation engine has stalled as a consequence of the historical bias for large-scale capital-intensive industrial development. Despite this, the jua kali manufacturing sector employs five times more people than the large-scale manufacturing sector, with little, if any support from government. The focus on transformational agenda on micro and small enterprise focus should not, however, be at the expense of the large manufacturing sector. The manufacturing sector accounts for 12% of Kenya’s economy and close to half of Kenya’s total goods exports, and is a major contributor to the exchequer in terms of taxes. More fundamentally, the reason why our manufacturing sector has stagnated in terms of contribution to GDP is because of inability of small manufacturing enterprises to grow into large ones. Shattering the glass ceiling is therefore the surest way of expanding our industrial sector. An enabling environment and synergies between the small, medium and large enterprises, as well as backward linkages to agriculture are necessary.

INDUSTRIALISATION / MANUFACTURING

NASA’S COMMITMENT

- Collaborate with counties to establish industrial parks for micro and small enterprises in every county.
- Collaborate with counties to establish county workshops where jua kali entrepreneurs can lease machine time at affordable rates.
- Provide technical support services to help entrepreneurs with design and product improvement.
- Establish incubators to help SMEs to develop competitive products and break into the continental export markets.
The Kenyan economy relies heavily on natural resources to support people’s livelihoods and to contribute to national income. Kenya has vast resources mainly forests, wetlands, dry-land, aquatic and marine resources. The most significant is the oil deposits in Turkana presently estimated at one billion barrels. Other notable ones include titanium, rare earths recently discovered in Mlima Hills, coal in Kitui, gold, precious stones, iron ore among others. Most of these natural resources, however, remain largely unexploited and under-exploited despite their potential to contribute significantly to local and national economic development. This huge potential is also threatened by environmental degradation.

In line with the Paris Climate Accord NASA will ensure enhanced resilience towards achieving climate change adaptation by mainstreaming the attainment of the Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) pledged in 2015, Vision 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Kenya’s economy is highly reliant on climate sensitive sectors such as the likes of agriculture, which relies mainly on rain, tourism, health, water and energy. Vulnerabilities associated with climate change have directly impacted economic losses estimated at 3% of Kenya’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) annually.
**SITUATION ANALYSIS**

After five years of financial recklessness, our public finances are precarious and our national debt has doubled as we have eschewed the long-term soft loans from development finance institutions we have relied on in the past, in favor of expensive short-term commercial bank loans, resulting in the cost of servicing the debt rising faster than the debt itself. While the foreign debt has grown by 115% percent, increasing two-fold from Ksh. 880bn in 2013 to Ksh. 1890bn this year, the cost of servicing it has increased by 220% from Ksh. 34bn to Ksh. 108bn. Equally worrisome is the nature of the repayments of these short-term syndicated bank loans which are structured to be paid off in one payment at the end of the term, typically two years. It is not possible to finance these “bullet” payments, so the only way to pay them off when they mature is to refinance with a similar loan. We are now living in permanent debt refinancing mode, that is, a debt treadmill. Far from the stated intention of reducing domestic borrowing so as to bring down domestic interest rates and stop crowding out the private sector from domestic market, sovereign bonds have instead doubled both foreign and domestic debt. This has made the capping of interest rates counterproductive by making lending to government even more attractive than lending to the private sector.

**PROMOTING BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT**

NASA’S COMMITMENT

- Fast-tracking automation of land registries.
- Make entrepreneurship training a key component of the education system.
- Pursuing responsible external and domestic borrowing to get Kenya off the debt treadmill.
- Surcharging officers who procure at above market prices; and blacklisting suppliers who charge the government more than other customers.
- Adopting a fair and taxpayer friendly tax system, coupled with uncompromising revenue protection.
- Reviewing taxes imposed on SMEs with a view to reducing them.
- Empowering the Auditor-General’s office and providing it with resources to build capacity to conduct value-for-money audits on a continuous basis.
- Set up supplier portals so that suppliers can electronically track status of orders, delivery schedules, potential product shortages and payments receive.
- Curb cheap imports, unfair competition, sub-standard goods and dumping from foreign countries.
SITUATION ANALYSIS

The youth make up the majority of Kenya's population. The youth also constitute the bulk of Kenya's unemployed population.

NASA'S COMMITMENT

Collaborate with county governments to devolve the Youth Enterprise Fund to the Ward level.

Infuse Information Communication Technology as an integral part of the teaching of agriculture in schools/universities to make agriculture studies attractive to the youth.

Develop the scope in the education sector that particularly targets older youth who left formal education at a young age to work in agriculture. These will include adult literacy and skill-building to ensure that no Kenyan is left behind especially if their reason for stopping formal education was due to hardship.

Negotiate leaseholds with landowners for commercial user purposes (agricultural) by the young.

THE YOUTH

- Establish mechanisms for youth to access finance and technical support for farming and agribusiness enterprises
- Establish a National Afforestation Program under the Kenya Forest Service in partnership with international environmental organisations that will employ young environmentalists on a full time basis to plant trees and nurture them to maturity.
- Establish county-based information centres (help centre) on the economic opportunities available e.g. in agriculture and establish specialised learning centres in each county that offer evening classes on value-addition agricultural produce.
- Task the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a specialized bureau to be created within the presidency with the task of deliberately and strategically positioning young Kenyan graduates in inter-governmental organisations.
- Negotiate with counties to establish designated car wash areas in towns/cities and then grant loans to young persons from the Youth Enterprise Fund to buy the necessary equipped for a proper cash wash. Negotiate with county governments to establish properly equipped environmental management programs for urban centres funded by loans from the Youth Enterprise Fund run by young people.
- Remove red tape and streamline the process of registering youth businesses. Fund and develop our emerging cultural, creative and performing industries (largely spearheaded by the youth) to make Kenya an African hub for theatre, cuisine, music, fashion, cultural sports, radio and television, film, video games and other forms of publishing and entertainment.
- Create and maintain full-time sports departments in all government ministries, department and agencies that will not only provide employment for sportsmen but also interest public officers in sports.
- Employ all sports persons who achieve a pre-determined minimum level of excellence in their sport in these ministries, departments and agencies on permanent and pensionable employment.
- Introduce a bursary scheme in public primary and secondary schools and a scholarship scheme to public universities for persons who have an aptitude for sports.
- Re-name the Children Court to the Children and Young Persons Court and empower them to deal with all delinquent conduct so as to avoid the criminalisation of juvenile delinquency and in order to make sure young people are not condemned for the rest of their lives for their mistakes.

Impact
SPORTS

NASA'S COMMITMENT

- Collaborate with county governments to establish sports talent development academies in every county.
- Increase the number of sports and recreational facilities in all campuses of public universities.
- Start mainstreaming and supporting the growth of other sports apart from athletics and football by identifying those sporting activities where Kenya previously excelled in but were later neglected (e.g. football, sprint athletics, boxing, safari rally, basketball, volleyball, cricket) with the intention of instituting targeted interventions to revive them.
- Require all government ministries, departments and agencies to maintain full time sports departments that will not only provide employment for sportsmen but also interest public officers in sports.
- Employ all sports persons who achieve a pre-determined minimum level of excellence in their sport in these ministries, departments and agencies on permanent and pensionable employment and use these employees to provide training and mentorship to students in schools and colleges who aspire to become professional sportsmen.
- Provide that all at least 25% of grants, scholarships and bursaries in primary and secondary schools shall be reserved for sporting students.
- Create scholarships to public universities for talented sports persons who have an aptitude in academics.
- Develop a private-partnership framework for development of sports facilities.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Kenya’s success story in athletics is of global acclaim. Kenya also excels in other sporting activities such as rugby. However, these success stories and respected international image are at risk of declining and facing the same fate as football, cricket, boxing, swimming, hockey and other sporting activities Kenya previously excelled in. This is largely due to lack of government support and direct government failures in the form of crippling corruption, mismanagement and doping scandals.
Seek harmonisation of the EAC policies, objectives and operations of the community with the view to expediting the realisation of the overarching objective of a political and economic union.

Promote Swahili as an official language of the East African Community.


Contribute to the advancement of the interests of the African continent and its peoples within the global system in accordance with AU Agenda 2063.

Work closely with fellow African states to spur intercontinental trade, communication, travel and transport.

Cooperate fully with the UN to ensure regional and international peace and security particularly by continuing to contribute to UN peace-keeping missions.

Instruct all Kenyan missions abroad to get access to business communities for investment at home and relate to and encourage Kenyans in the Diaspora to invest at home. The missions shall also rely on their local knowledge of the respective countries.

Establish a specialised international trade team within the Ministry of Foreign Relations and International Trade to be deployed to Kenyan missions abroad to negotiate the elimination of trade barriers.

Create a bureau for Diaspora Affairs at the Presidency working together with Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Diaspora issues.

Constitute a consultative forum between the government and the Diaspora whose representatives shall meet with government at least once a year on issues of mutual interest.

Remove tax on diaspora remittances.

IMPACT

The aim of NASA’s foreign policy is to show leadership in international matters (regional, continental and global); deepen the diplomatic relations with other world nations; have very good and friendly relations with other countries; and promote Pan-Africanism, principles of international law and adherence to democratic practices.

EMPOWERING THE VULNERABLE

A successful nation is defined by how it treats its vulnerable members. Despite constitutional provisions assuring all Kenyans of social justice, the most vulnerable members (persons with disabilities, children and senior citizens) remain a largely unprotected and side-lined to the fringes of Kenya's development agenda.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

A successful nation is defined by how it treats its vulnerable members. Despite constitutional provisions assuring all Kenyans of social justice, the most vulnerable members (persons with disabilities, children and senior citizens) remain a largely unprotected and side-lined to the fringes of Kenya’s development agenda.

NASA’S COMMITMENT

FIRST 90 DAYS

- Provide tax reliefs to persons with disabilities (eliminate income tax).
- Establish an affirmative action framework for economic empowerment of persons with disabilities.
- Increase the number of Special Needs Schools to target at least one per county.
- Introduce various equipment in schools for young people with developmental and intellectual challenges which include special seats, rollers, standing and walking frames, therapeutic balls and speech therapy.
- Expand scholarship schemes for youth with disability to access education and skills development.
- Ensure that all senior citizens above the age of 70 years receive livable social security funds.
- Institute a programme to ensure retirees access their pensions within the period provided in law.
- Introduce Sub-County Integrated Social Services programme for children, families and vulnerable adults to consolidate the relevant health, education and justice systems as well as social protection.
There are also large disparities in productivity within smallholder agriculture even within the same localities. Smallholder milk production varies by a factor of 10 between low productivity and high productivity smallholder farmers. Our average maize yield has stagnated at 8.5 bags per acre, against a potential of 30 bags per acre, this reflects the very low yields among smallholders who produce 80% of our maize. Increasing maize yields by only four bags per acre on current acreage would increase our production by 16 million bags per year, enough to keep up with consumption growth for another decade. Coffee production fell from 130,000 tons in the 1980s to 40,000 tons today thanks to botched liberalisation policies and cartelism.

Despite a massive livestock wealth of an estimated 60 million head of cattle, sheep, goats and camels worth an estimated one trillion shillings and generating an income stream of at least Ksh. 100bn a year, 80% of the owners (pastoralist communities) remain the most economically insecure members of our society. NASA intends to fully devolve the agriculture function to the counties as required by the constitution. Currently, a lot of funds for agriculture are still held by the national government.

**FOOD SECURITY**

Collaborate with county governments to construct food storage silos and fresh produce banks and abattoirs at every ward to ensure food security.

Organise communities to pool together their small farms and carry out mechanised farming to produce large quantities of food.

Ensure efficiency in the distribution process.

Maize

Ensure quality and affordable farm inputs, seeds and fertilisers are available closer to the farmers.

**CIVIL SOCIETY**

**NASA’S COMMITMENT**

**FIRST 90 DAYS**

Review all policies and regulations adopted in the last four years that have created a hostile environment for civil society.

Reconstitute the Non-Governmental Organisations Coordination Board.

Convene a multi-stakeholder conference with civil society organisation aimed at identifying areas and modes of collaboration.

**LONG-TERM COMMITMENT**

Establish a government agency that will partner with civil society organisations in areas where civil society organisations currently have better capacity such as slum sanitation, protection of women from harmful practices; child abuse, environmental conservation, consumer rights and disaster management.

Kenya is renowned throughout Africa for its vibrant Civil Society, which has played a critical role in democratization and in complementing the government’s development agenda. But the last four years have seen deliberate and hostile actions, as evidenced by repressive laws that have created a hostile environment for civil society. As a result, many programs run by non-profit organisations have stalled thereby leaving many Kenyans who were beneficiaries of these programmes vulnerable.
Tourism is a job-creating sector which also has strong linkages with agriculture and manufacturing. Although the tourism industry has suffered from terrorism, its performance is way below potential. Our holiday tourist arrivals have declined five years in a row from 1.1 million visitors a year in 2012 to 930,000 visitors in 2016. Our share of international visitors coming into the EAC has declined from two thirds in the mid-90s to one-third today. The stagnation of our tourism industry reflects over-dependence on beach and safari tourism. In addition, Kenya is overly reliant on package tours, which are highly vulnerable. NASA’s top priority is to diversify our product portfolio in order to attract more, and also different kinds of visitors.

NASA’S COMMITMENT

- Develop financial support for the digitalisation of the tourism sector.
- Encourage price caps on data roaming charges.
- Improve transport infrastructure including in remote, rural, mountain, forest and coastal areas.
- Promote residential tourism by developing long-stay resorts which incorporate many leisure activities, world class medical facilities through investment incentives for large-scale residential resorts and designate these areas as Special Economic Zones.
- Create infrastructure and an enabling environment for independent travelers by setting up and maintaining high standards of hospitality facilities throughout the country. Develop a domestic commercial aviation network to unlock the tourism potential of the whole country.
Seek harmonisation of the EAC policies, objectives and operations of the community with the view to expediting the realisation of the overarching objective of a political and economic union.


Contribute to the advancement of the interests of the African continent and its peoples within the global system in accordance with AU Agenda 2063.

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