

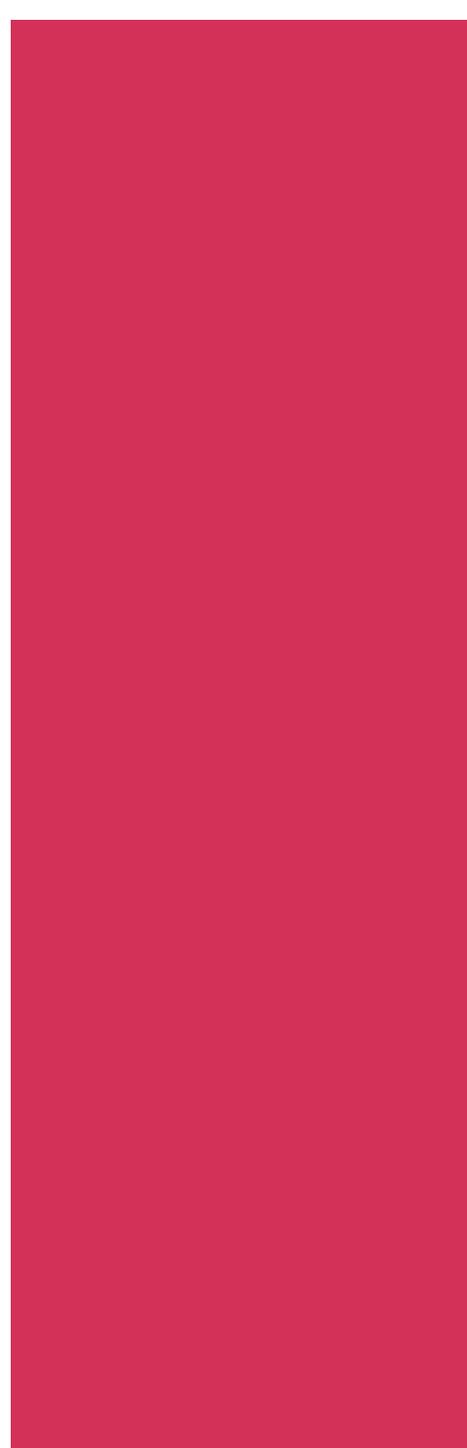
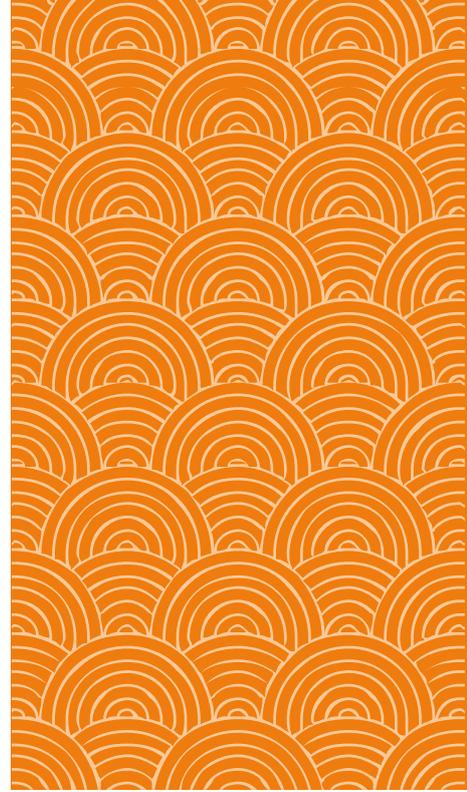
MIGUNA MIGUNA FOR NAIROBI

A VISION for A TRANSFORMED
NAIROBI COUNTY

A FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN BULLET POINTS
A Manifesto for Nairobi

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**THE TIME IS NOW
THE CHOICE IS CLEAR!
TURN ON THE LIGHT, VOTE MIGUNA!
VIVA NAIROBI!
VIVA!**

Committed to development and economic empowerment



Courage and bold leadership during the one party-dictatorship rule.
The candidate at the University of Nairobi, November 13, 1987.



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Salute

The Majestic People of Nairobi
Fellow Kenyans,

Our strategy should be not only to confront empire, but to lay siege to it. To deprive it of oxygen. To shame it. To mock it. With our art, our music, our literature, our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness – and our ability to tell our own stories. Stories that are different from the ones we're being brainwashed to believe.

Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing. - Arundhati Roy, War Talk

Arise, Nairobi! Arise!

The Majestic People of Nairobi: You pay taxes but you have no services. You pay high taxes, but your security is not guaranteed.

Millions of you have no clean running water.

Millions of you live in hovels not houses.

More than 90% of hard-working but poorly paid or jobless Nairobians live in slums; not houses.

Millions of us are surrounding with rotting, filthy and disease carrying garbage.

Nairobi has no solid waste management system.

Nairobi roads and streets are few, narrow, decaying and falling apart. These are services you pay for and which devolution was supposed to bring.

I shall bring these services to all Nairobi residents; not just to the few rich people in Muthaiga, Karen, Lavington, Runda, Kiuna, Ridgeways, Roselyn, Kitusuru and Lower Kabete estates.

DEMAND dignity, gainful employment, humane and habitable living conditions.

As the late Comrade Samora Machel (God Bless his soul forever), used to quip, "The struggle continues against what?"

What must the struggle continue against?

Comrade Machel constantly reminded Mozambicans that the struggle must continue against poverty, ignorance, backwardness, homelessness, unemployment, exploitation and abuse.

"These are CONCRETE things!" he would thunder.

I agree with him.

Our struggle for the liberation of Nairobi City County is for very concrete things; not abstractions.

My fellow Majestic People of Nairobi!

The Transformation Team is bringing real positive change to Nairobi.

I lead The Nairobi Liberation Movement; a movement made up of everyone: the industrious youth and hard-working women and men.

The middle class plays a central role as much as the homeless, the unemployed, the student, the hawker and the *mama mboga*. They may be economically deprived; but they are not stupid.

The brave and patriotic people of Nairobi come from all regions, ethnic groups, races and religions, faiths and beliefs in our beautiful Republic. They are united in their suffering, exploitation and deprivation. The Majestic People of Nairobi! You are also united in your dislike for the theft and pillage of your resources - public land and taxes - by the greedy,



deceptive and hypocritical “leaders”.

Nairobi City County deserves a governor with a progressive vision and a focused agenda for all its residents in all its splendor, cultural and religious diversity, richness and vibrancy.

Nairobi deserves a governor that works as hard as Nairobians do; one who is fully committed every minute of every day on growing the economy, creating jobs, building high quality infrastructure such as housing, roads, light rail, bicycle lanes, walk-paths and strengthening the middle class.

These are CONCRETE THINGS! They are not abstractions.

Unlike our visionless opponents who thrive on fake, hypocritical humility and cynical handouts; I am a pragmatic, practical and realistic revolutionary.

I understand that transformative change will meet resistance from those thriving in chaos, neglect and corruption rackets that have invaded and occupied all corridors of power at City Hall.

But the Majestic People of Nairobi also know that for the City to be prosperous, we must uproot the cartels with all their surrogates, messengers and sympathizers.

I only commit and undertake to do what I know I shall deliver on.

Unlike my competitors who have a horrible history and record of ineptitude, looting, theft, mismanagement of public resources – my record and history is untainted.

I am the only candidate for the position of Governor of Nairobi who is incorruptible.

Yes, Nairobi deserves a governor who is fully devoted to helping less fortunate residents work their way into the middle class and become economically stable and prosperous.

Nairobi deserves a governor who understands that governance must be fully transparent and accountable.

In other words, Nairobi deserves a governor who makes better, smarter, fairer, transparent and effective decisions than they have known before.

I undertake to lead and manage that government efficiently and ethically.

Starting on the day of my inauguration, there shall be – as an official government policy starting from the very top – ZERO TOLERANCE to corruption, ineptitude, waste and inefficiency.

To get here, we must beat fear with hope. We beat cynicism with hard work. And we beat negative, divisive politics, partisan, tribal politics with a positive vision that brings Nairobians together.

This is a defining election. It is between the Merchants of Impunity - thieves, crooks and drug peddlers - versus an honest man.

I will make this VISION a reality.



Miguna Miguna
**An Independent Candidate
For Governor of Nairobi City County**

High quality service delivery

I, MIGUNA MIGUNA, SOLEMNLY COMMIT TO

1. **SELFLESSLY** serve Nairobi City County where all citizens, regardless of their origins or social class, receive high quality services they are entitled to.
 - Starting from the Governor's Office downwards, we are committed to the provision of high quality, efficient and effective essential services to all county residents as of right 24/7.
 - Employment and promotion by the Nairobi County Public Service will be based on relevant qualifications, competence and integrity.

Integrity at the core of governance

2. **ENTRENCH** integrity in all spheres of public affairs; inculcate ethical, responsible, accountable and dependable leadership in the management of county affairs; and bring discipline, order and efficiency in public service delivery and preservation of resources.
 - All county offices will be open and functioning between 8:30 a.m. and 6 p.m. from Monday to Friday.
 - Essential and emergency services (ambulatory, fire and security) will be operational 24 hours, seven days a week.
 - City security officers ("Askaris") will be vetted and retrained professionally. Existing redeemable ones will be retrained and redeployed. Irredeemable ones will be fired and rehabilitated.
 - No person or entity with a criminal record, pending and/or outstanding criminal case(s) and/or who/which has been banned or whose credibility has been credibly questioned by any public audit (Parliamentary

Committee or the Office of the Auditor General) system will be employed or permitted to serve in or work for the County Government.

- The Governor, Deputy Governor, County Executive Officers and other senior County officials will be subjected to forensic life audits annually and anyone found to have acquired illicit wealth shall resign or be fired and prosecuted to the full extent of the law. My Government shall fully cooperate with and avail all relevant records and evidence to the investigating and prosecutorial authorities.
- There will be 24-hour emergency telephone numbers for reporting crime, insecurity, health emergencies and suspicious cases of corruption or economic crimes.

Scholarships for bright needy children

3. **SEEK, OBTAIN** and **GIVE** high-value University Scholarships for at least twenty thousand (20,000) top needy students from every ward to local and foreign institutions of higher learning in the fields of science, technology, business, entrepreneurship, arts, social sciences and the humanities, annually.
- We emphasize and focus on building a knowledge-based economy.
 - We encourage creativity, originality and industry.
 - We shall empower the youth through education, training and gainful employment.
 - In addition to the groundbreaking initiatives contained in this Manifesto, we shall partner with the private sector to create more productive opportunities for the youth, many of them beneficiaries of the scholarship programs.
 - We shall concentrate on building socio-economic independence and/or financial security for residents; not dependency.

- We shall inculcate the culture of education, creativity, industry and entrepreneurship as the best pathways out of poverty and stigmatize and banish the culture of handouts, which has stunted our growth and pride.

Modern Infrastructure

4. **CONSTRUCT** more, wider and proper roads and streets in the county.
 - SOLVE the traffic gridlock through the construction of more and wider roads, the eradication of roundabouts and the installation and utilization of traffic lights.
 - All Kenyan roads including those in the Nairobi City County are narrow, few, poorly constructed and rarely maintained.
 - All Kenyan roads have no draining system, especially storm sewers and catchment areas.
 - We shall also construct numerous by-passes and over-passes along major streets and roads to ease traffic congestion and for safety of pedestrians.
 - We shall use the international best practices in roads construction. Roads must have beneath each one of them storm drainage and sewer systems for waste and excess water disposal.
 - As well, power, ICT and clean water supply must also be beneath roads.
 - Currently, roads in Nairobi are constructed without these essential infrastructures, hence they wash away quickly.
 - Commuters driving through red lights shall be ticketed, charged and fined heavily.
 - We will expand the width of all existing roads and streets in order to reduce accidents, provide space for commuters, cyclists and pedestrians.

- We will construct dedicated lanes for emergency vehicles (police, ambulances and fire trucks). Only police and emergency vehicles will use these lanes.

- 5. **REHABILITATE** the decaying, collapsed and collapsing Nairobi County infrastructure.
 - We shall overhaul and revitalize the planning department and hire professional, well-trained, competent, vibrant and ethical staff.
 - We shall retrain, transfer or retrench ineffective personnel.
 - We shall institute an ongoing comprehensive inspection of all county infrastructures to identify defects, maintenance needs, et cetera.
 - We shall audit of all the buildings in the city before and after construction.
 - We shall set strict standards on the issuance of building permits including but not limited to establishing a robust quality control and international best practices in the construction, management, safety and maintenance of all structures in the county.
 - We shall set up a functioning and efficient Maintenance Department which shall:
 - (i) Construct and maintain a modern sewerage system;
 - (ii) Build and maintain modern storm drainage systems;
 - (iii) Construct and maintain modern water reservoirs, cleaning and recycling system;
 - (iv) Maintain and repair wide county roads;
 - (v) Construct functioning and well-resourced fire stations in all residential estates.
 - (vi) Repair all county buildings; and
 - (vii) Paint all county properties.

A modern solid waste management system

6. **LAUNCH** and operate major solid waste management systems that will permanently rid Nairobi of its perennial garbage problem.
 - Nairobi City County is currently choking with garbage.
 - Uncollected and untreated garbage is everywhere and it is a major health hazard.
 - Garbage will be collected twice each week for recycling, treatment, incineration and processing from all Nairobi residential areas by public utility vehicles and employees.
 - This and other infrastructural developments will create training opportunities and at least 100,000 well-paying jobs for the youth and engineers per year starting 2018.

Hawkers and small businesses

7. **CONSTRUCT** affordable modern markets for hawkers, *mama mbogas* and entrepreneurs so that they can market and sell their goods in clean and safe environments without harassment and indignities.
 - Hawkers and *mama mbogas* are legitimate and hard-working entrepreneurs who need support and an enabling environment to prosper. My administration is committed to providing these and to ensure that these vibrant business men and women thrive and prosper and are not subjected to cruel, inhumane and humiliating treatment.

A clean, sustainable environment

8. **STRENGTHEN** sustainable utilization of the environment.

- We will ban the use of all plastic products in the City like they have done in Kigali, Rwanda.
- The Nairobi River and other water sources such as Ruaka River shall be cleaned and safeguarded.
- Public parks, gardens and recreational resources shall be rehabilitated.
- Tree planting and care will become a daily ceremony for Nairobi residents. We will ensure that one million seedlings are planted, cared for and celebrated annually. Those cutting down trees will be prosecuted or fined.
- Within two months of taking office, we intend to pass a by-law banning littering, use of plastic and cutting down trees regardless of whether it happens on public or private property.
- We will establish a major recycling plant in all residential areas to be identified for both degradable and non-degradable products.
- As part of the solid-waste management system referred to above, there will be no discrimination on the collection, disposal, treatment and recycling of garbage based on social status as is happening presently
- Public toilets will be constructed and operated in all public places within the City.

Clean piped water

9. **PROVIDE** adequate, clean and safe water for all residents.
 - Running or piped clean water is a vital basic necessity and right. It will be available to everyone in all residential areas/estates.
 - There will be no discrimination on the supply of clean water based on social class or status.

Efficient public transport system

10. **PROVIDE** an affordable efficient public transport system (light rail, street cars/trams and buses).
 - We will introduce an affordable public transit system consisting of buses, trains, street cars and light rail.
 - We intend to transport commuters between the CBD and Eastlands, Westlands and all Nairobi environs.
 - These will be funded from our revenue sources such as property and business taxes, parking, licensing, lease renewals and transfer payments from the national treasury.
 - We shall ensure that the Nairobi City County receives its fair share of funds based on allocated constitutional functions. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 provides that “money follows functions.”

Adequate, humane and affordable housing

11. **UPGRADE** and construct environmentally friendly, affordable and hygienic Nairobi City County Public Housing with indoor plumbing and clean running water for the economically under-privileged residents.
 - We shall unveil a major construction program to resettle all slum dwellers to the new homes/houses. The intention is to eventually eliminate slums from Nairobi.
 - Funds will be sourced from well-wishers both locally and from abroad. Full details of this progressive program will be unveiled in due course.
 - We estimate that the construction projects will create more than 500,000 well-paying jobs for residents each year. This will provide training, employment and economic stimulus and growth for the people.
 - The upgrade and construction shall target Kibera/Kibra, Mathare, Kawangware, Huruma, Kangemi, Korogocho, Majengo, Mukuru wa Njenga, Baba Ndogo, Kayole, Githogoro, Fuata Nyayo, Eastleigh, Kariobangi, Nyalenda and Ziwa la Ng'ombe.

Recreational facilities for everyone

12. **ACQUIRE**, build and manage public recreational facilities and parks in all areas of Nairobi, especially in Kibera, Mathare, Lang'ata, Dagoreti, Dandora, Umoja, Kawangware, Huruma, Kangemi, Korogocho, Majengo, Mukuru wa Njenga, Baba Ndogo, Kayole, Roysambu, Fuata Nyayo, Eastleigh, Kariobangi, Buru Buru, Embakasi, Nyalenda, Ziwa la Ng'ombe, Greenfields, Donholm, Kasarani, and Kahawa from public land that has been unlawfully grabbed by the cartels.

Safe pedestrian walk-ways and bicycle lanes

13. **BUILD** and managing safe pedestrian walk-ways and bicycle lanes in all Nairobi estates.
 - Sadly, nearly all residential areas don't have pedestrian walkways. This endangers innocent residents walking, jogging, bicycling or going about their normal business or activities.
 - Currently, there are no walkways in Eastlands and other so-called "informal settlements" or places pejoratively called "dwellings" which are the homes of more than three quarters of Nairobi residents.
 - There are hardly any bicycle lanes in the entire county. The construction and maintenance of public bicycle lanes, walkways, over-passes, under-passes, gardens and recreational facilities will create thousands of well-paying jobs.
 - In addition to bicycle lanes, we shall construct secure bicycle storage facilities at affordable rates throughout the county.

A secure and prosperous city

14. **FACILITATE** private sector investment and an enabling environment that attracts domestic and increased foreign investment.
15. **INTRODUCE** a minimum livable wage for all Nairobi residents based upon a structured and legal framework spearheaded by the County Government working together with the National Government and Organized Labour and in consultation with the Private Sector.
 - My government will prioritize the quality of life for all residents of the Great City of Nairobi.

16. **INTEGRATE ICT** in government and private sector business processes.
 - We shall ensure that an effective, efficient and transparent e-payment module is implemented featuring online rents, liquor licensing, land rates, market stalls, single business permit applications and parking tickets.
 - The e-payment module will include an interactive web portal that is transformational and provides unified communication and email for both efficient and effective service delivery.
17. **MAINTAIN** efficient and effective security systems for the improvement of public safety and the protection of property.
18. **IMPROVE** access to infrastructure and services in order to enhance overall county productivity.
19. **STRENGTHEN** the principles of universal access to education and quality health care by ensuring that Nairobi has well-constructed, equipped and staffed and free elementary learning and health centres.
20. **RADICALLY** minimize youth unemployment through creative and innovative expansion of employment opportunities. We are committed to the introduction of a massive “Marshall Plan” that will create at least 1,000,000 well-paying jobs for Nairobi residents in two years.
 - The peasants, the working poor, the mama mbogas, the boda bodas, the hustlers and the unemployed will receive enhanced government support and empowerment through government and private sector partnerships and targeted skill-retraining programs. These are hard-working Kenyans. They deserve respect, support and empowerment. Namibia, for example, is largely a desert that only obtained her independence on 21 March 1990 but it has a universal well-resourced pension plan for all its citizens.
 - The construction of a modern solid waste management system alone will create more than 200,000 well-paying jobs for engineers in all fields, technicians, garbage collectors, garbage truck drivers, recyclists, et cetera.

- More than 500,000 well-paying jobs will be created in the slum construction. All slums in Nairobi will be targeted. Clean and affordable housing with in-door toilets and running water will be constructed for all low-income and unemployed residents at substantial discounted rates. My government shall partner with international and local charities, foundations, businesses, philanthropists and foreign governments in order to realize this dream.
- The construction and maintenance of an efficient public rapid transit system comprising light rail, trams or streetcars and buses transporting commuters from and to their destinations within Nairobi and its immediate environs. This initiative will create tens of thousands of well-paying jobs in all sectors of the economy.

A corruption free and an accountable government

21. **ERADICATE** incompetence, all forms of corruption, theft and misuse of public resources; ensuring high quality service delivery for all Nairobi residents.
 - Working collaboratively with the Office of the Auditor General, the Department of Criminal Investigations (DCI) and an independent forensic audit firm, we shall carry out monthly and ongoing audits in all departments to ensure ethical compliance and fiscal responsibility.
 - We shall entrench a scientific performance appraisal system to determine efficiency and effectiveness among all county employees and offices.

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22. **ENSURE** the efficient utilization of county resources to facilitate growth and prosperity.
- Every penny allocated for public service or service delivery shall be spent for what it has been allocated for in a timely and efficient manner.
 - The Auditor General, the DCI, forensic investigators and other law enforcement agencies shall have the full cooperation of my administration to ensure that no public funds are lost or misused.
 - The procurement system, processes, procedures and personnel shall be transparent and open to scrutiny 24 hours a day. No person shall serve in the procurement department for more than one year.
 - We will ensure that there are no collusions between the county departments and officers on the one hand and suppliers, contractors and corruption cartels on the other.
 - We shall dismantle all cartels and their networks through forensic detection, prosecution, asset recovery and stiff punishment.
23. **IDENTIFY**, expose and prosecute EVERYONE implicated in the theft, looting and/or misappropriation of public resources.
- We shall seek and obtain the assistance of independent professionals including foreign forensic investigators for purposes of identifying and blocking loopholes in our systems; identifying, arresting and prosecuting culprits; creating or establishing modern theft-proofing systems; training forensic investigators; and building and maintaining capacity.
 - Working collaboratively with law enforcement agencies and institutions, we shall ensure that anyone suspected of misappropriation of public resources face the full force of the law without equivocation or protection.
 - We shall set up modern systems of control and detection of misuse of public funds.
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- There will be no sacred cows in my administration.
24. **TRACE**, locate, seize, repatriate and restore stolen public resources and assets including but not limited to the recovery of the former Official Nairobi City Mayor's Residence.
- Working collaboratively with the DCI, an independent forensic audit firm/body to be identified and a reputable external investigative authority, we shall institute modern mechanisms of preventing, detecting and dealing with misfeasance in public office.
 - We ensure that stolen Nairobi County assets such as the Mayor's Golden Chain, the Mayor's Official Residence, the Chief Justice's Residence and other prime properties in and around Nairobi are located, repatriated and restored back to their rightful owners: The Majestic People of Nairobi.
25. **CONDUCT** thorough forensic audits of all county and/or Nairobi City resources and assets including that of present and former public servants.
- This shall be accomplished through the hiring or commissioning of independent forensic firms and external investigators; not through the discredited commissions of inquiry.
26. **FORTIFY** the principles of democracy, constitutionalism, the rule of law and social justice so as to fortify individual freedom and popular sovereignty.
- I shall have monthly extraordinary, unrestricted and televised live Town Hall meetings with residents from various estates, groups and interests so that my Government can listen to, receive feedback from, provide update to, and dialogue with all the residents of Nairobi.
 - I take public accountability and transparent governance very seriously and shall ensure that my government will belong to the people in spirit, fact and daily operation.

- I shall govern for the benefit of all Nairobi residents except for the cartels.
- I shall ensure that the services itemized in the Constitution of Kenya 2010 as being the responsibility of the county government are delivered efficiently and in a timely fashion without equivocation.
- I shall implement the Constitution and make devolution a reality.
- There will be no tricks. No games. No false promises.

A final commitment

ATTENTION NAIROBI: You pay taxes in hundreds of billions of shillings every year but the thieves and drug lords you call “leaders” steal all of it. I shall utilize your tax money to provide residents with basic services. Nairobi City County shall be built for its residents, businesses and visitors.

27. I'll make Nairobi safe again: Our children will play, learn and thrive in a clean environment free of illicit drugs, thugs and garbage.
28. I'll make Nairobi great again: Our children will embrace the culture of diversity and success through learning and hard work.
29. I'll make Nairobi prosperous again: Where the youth, women and men work in solidarity and patriotism; where nationhood won't be a survival façade.
30. I'll make Nairobi self-sufficient again: Where residents won't scavenge and beg for survival from those who have impoverished them.
31. I'll make Nairobi proud again: Where residents, visitors and entrepreneurs shall flourish in a culture of creativity, ingenuity and regeneration.
32. I'll make Nairobi fun again: Where all residents will be free, safe, secure, confident, financially independent and happy.
33. I'll lead and serve Nairobi democratically: Transparency, accountability and integrity shall be my and my government's badge of honour.
34. I'll transform Nairobi from a filthy, run-down, over-crowded, mismanaged and decaying one to a clean, modern and integrated world-class city.

ALUTA CONTINUA!
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

Babatunde Fashola (2007-2015) did it for Lagos.
I undertake to do it for Nairobi – with your support.

Chant with me our clarion call:

MY VOTE, MY POWER!
YOUR VOTE, YOUR POWER!

OUR VOTE, OUR POWER!

THIS IS THE TIME, TO GET RID OF THIEVES AND THUGS;
WAKATI NI SASA, WA KUMALIZA UFISADI!

THIS IS THE TIME, TO CLEAN UP CITY HALL;
WAKATI NI SASA, KUWEKA WEZI WA MALI YA UMMA KOROKORONI!

THIS IS THE TIME!
THIS IS THE TIME!

THIS IS THE TIME. TIK TOK, TIK TOK.

VOTE for MIGUNA MIGUNA
NAIROBI GOVERNOR in 2017!
Twitter: @MigunaMiguna
Face Book: Governor Miguna Miguna
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NOTE: A running mate and detailed blueprint will be unveiled in due course or as prescribed. It is imperative to underscore the fact that I'm the only gubernatorial candidate in the entire country who has published both his vision and manifesto to date. The current governor of Nairobi has never released a vision and/or manifesto more than four years after the 2013 elections. In other words, the Transformation Team leads while others are stuck looting public resources and peddling drugs.