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8th September, 2007

EXECUTIVE BRIEF ON THE POSITIONING AND MARKETING OF THE ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT & "THE PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT" – Hon. Raila A.Odinga

Core Strategy Team:

Prof. Peter A. Nyong'o, *Secretary General, ODM.*
Prof. Edward Oyugi Akongo
Prof. Patrick Wanyande
Prof. Larry Gumbe
Mr. Adams Oloo

1. Purpose

1.0 To ensure that the Orange Democratic Movement (hereinafter referred to as "ODM") remains united and focused throughout the national presidential campaigns period

2.0 To ensure that Hon. Raila Amolo Odinga is elected the fourth president of the Republic of Kenya in succession to the current President Mwai Kibaki

3.0 To ensure that post elections ODM secures an absolute majority of parliamentary seats in the tenth parliament to facilitate the ease of the intended constitutional reform.

2. Preamble

2.0 The just concluded ODM Presidential nominations have ended the speculation and competition within the ODM ranks with Hon. Raila Amolo Odinga (hereinafter referred to as "the Candidate") emerging as the party's presidential torch bearer. The enthusiasm and overarching support extended towards the Candidate have debunked the myth that:

a. As a member of the Luo community Hon. Raila Odinga is not electable to the presidency in Kenya

This document is intended to provide the conceptual guidelines and roadmap for the periods leading up to the presidential elections set for December 2007. This document notes the challenges and obstacles likely to confront the Candidate. These include:

- Hon. Kalonzo Musyoka's potential to play spoiler;
- The involvement/role of ex-President Daniel arap Moi, his financial resources, country-wide political network, experience and strong following in the Rift Valley;
- Kibaki's incumbency and track record
- The financial muscle of the Mt. Kenya elite and their potential to play rough and dirty;

The following pages outline a strategy for overcoming the odds and delivering the presidency to Hon. Raila Odinga and ODM in the December elections.

Strengths	Weaknesses
✓ Hon. Raila is charismatic and ambitious ✓ Kenyans appreciate him as a fearless crusader for truth, justice and democracy ✓ Has no publicly debated allegations of corruption ✓ Great crowd puller/mobiliser/entertainer ✓ Descends from a legendary family ✓ 100% devoted following of the Luo community ✓ Recognized as the individual best credited with the incumbent election to President in 2002 ✓ Won the 2005 Constitution Referendum ✓ Anchored by tribal chiefs with the potential to draw multi-regional support	▪ Limited understanding on economic matters ▪ Has been faulted as having exhibited a knack for political party relationship nomadism ▪ Association with the Communism ▪ Potential for linkage to under-development in Nyanza ▪ The 1982 coup ▪ Acrimonious parting of ways with Wamalwa (Luhya, Western), Moi (Kalenjin, Rift Valley), Kibaki (Gema, Mt Kenya region) and Kalonzo (Kamba, Eastern) ▪ Matters surrounding corruption allegations related to the Molasses plant, Kisumu and implications of corruption as alleged in the Ndungu Report
Opportunities	**Threats**
✓ Pin down Mwai Kibaki on his 2002 promise to be a one-term president ✓ Capitalize on matters related to the dishonoured MoU of 2002 ✓ Take advantage of Mwai Kibaki's laziness and laid-back attitude ✓ Exploit anti-Kikuyu sentiments ✓ Leverage the vulnerability of the Kibaki administration's response to corruption matters such as the Anglo-leasing and Goldenberg scandals. Seize this opportunity to confront him with a powerful anti-corruption campaign message. ✓ Ditto the £130b stashed away by Kanu leaders ✓ Artur brothers and their raid on the Standard Group.	▪ The Candidate's religion and perceived state of religiosity ▪ The public's perception of the Candidate's Communism ▪ Kibera in his Langata constituency is the least developed and most volatile area of Nairobi ▪ Damage incurred from Hon. Ruto's recorded statements on the Candidate's unelectability. ▪ The Candidate's potential for ad-hoc and impovised statements

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DEDUCTION

Based on the above SWOT:

a. The Candidate's **Strengths** and **Opportunities** significantly outweigh his **Weaknesses**.

b. The Candidate/Party's victory is imminent should we recreate and maintain the euphoria achieved during the 2005 Constitutional Referendum and in the last General Election.

RECOMMENDED ACTION PLAN

I. The Grand Entrance

As earlier agreed, in order that our candidate's campaigns commence with impact, it is necessary that he exit Kenya to lay foundation for a grand home-coming similar to Matiba's in 1992 and Kibaki's in 2002. Whereas the party has identified areas such as Nigeria and the Middle East as regions of interest, it is recommended that the Candidate focus on Europe and the United States (where the Diaspora is active) for this purpose. A lengthy absence will starve the country of Hon. Raila and stimulate an outpouring of adoration that will take us to victory.

II Kikuyu Alienation

Owing to this strategy's success during the 2005 referendum, it is the party's position it should be utilized once more for the General Election. There is an overwhelming feeling among the non-Gema communities that the Kikuyu are selfish bigots dedicated to a tribal hegemony who will never share the spoils of government with other communities. Underpinning this strategy is the blessing that the ODM campaign has able regional pointmen in Mudavadi, Ruto, Balala, and Ntimama who can efficiently galvanize their respective communities around the anti-Kikuyu initiative. Concurrently, every effort must be made to undermine Kalonzo in order to prevent him from emerging as an alternative avenue for anti-Kikuyu sentiment. In this regard, particular caution should be placed on regions such as the RVP where Kalonzo has the potential of attracting some of our votes. Anti-Kikuyuism must be reinforced with promises of jobs and economic gains to key players from every community supporting this initiative.

The Class Issue

It is possible to trigger a class war by painting the Kibaki Government as an insensitive, uncaring group of Muthaiga Golf clubbers. Available research also suggests that this strategy could also resonate with poor Kikuyu youth who feel economically marginalized by their own government. As part of this strategy, the party should seek to elevate emotions within all youth constituents who may, if successful, be willing to vote for us in protest. Visible signs of class disparity will provide important fodder for this theme.

Pro-West

It is absolutely essential that throughout this campaign, Raila remain aligned to Western countries (such as the United States) in order to take advantage of the deteriorating relationship between them and Kibaki. ODM can expect both financial and political support particularly from the United States.

Pull All Plugs

This being the contest of a lifetime, the party should employ all available means to ensure a victory. Subterranean campaigns will therefore form a critical component of our activities. Corruption in the Kibaki Government, the mess of Kibaki's domestic situation and the soap opera of the Artur brothers provide ready material for this war.

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The Media

Since 2005, the Orange team has maintained intimate contacts across all media. Even though a number of senior media managers are active in our campaigns, we should establish the strongest Media Centre possible, manned by local and international experts. Indeed, we must approach this issue with the understanding that victory in the media war could very well mean victory at the polls.

Identify the Fixers

There is no doubt that the key regional point men are invaluable to this campaign as without them the whole thing could tumble. In order to insulate the Candidate from attacks on his person, not all advertising and campaign efforts should be focused don him. At the same time, all possible efforts should be used to retain discipline among the party leadership, including reminding them of their vulnerability.

Funding

Tap into pledged funding from external donors including the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Germany, the United Arab Emirates, South Africa, Venezuela, Libya, the Democratic Republic of Congo as well as individual/institutional caucuses such as the GTZ Network, Cyril Ramaphosa, the Deya Ministries and US Republicans, among others.

Below is the schedule of activities that will lead to the implementation of our strategy.

Strategy	Rationale	How to Activate	When to Activate	Action by:
The anti-Kikuyu crusade	1. This is an important wedge issue. It will help galvanise the rest of the country against a common enemy and set the overall tone of our campaign.	1. Mass media (allusion to predominance of Kikuyus in public service and business). 2. Public rallies 3. Leaflets 4. Viral e-mail and SMS	Throughout the campaign period, heightened activities three weeks before elections	All members R.O to lead the execution of this strategy
Uhuru Kenyatta as Kibaki's choice for 2012	1. Accentuate the anti-Kikuyu sentiments 2. Cause unease within the PNU ranks. 3. Attract the Luhya vote by eliminating the belief that there will be a Luhya successor. 4. Communicate the intention to retain power within a select group of prominent political families (Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki)	1. Speculative newspaper articles/op-eds 2. Public pronouncements at campaign rallies. 3. Blogs/web forums 4. Leaflets, with special focus on Western Kenya and RVP.	Immediately, with heightened media activities end of November.	1. Kipkoech Tanui & Okech Kendo 2. R.O

Majimbo	Majimbo presents the promise to the electorate that they will retain their resources at the exclusion of foreigners particularly the Kikuyu, Akamba and the Indians. It is particularly important for galvanizing the Coastal vote.	1. Public rallies in RVP, Western and Coast 2. Op-Ed columns in the mainstream media 3. TV/FM radio call-in shows 4. Public forums such as workshops with high profile personalities such as Ghai.	Immediate, heightened activities in December.	Ruto to lead the campaign
Corruption	Branding the opponent as irredeemably corrupt will provide diversionary salvos and a campaign theme worth pursuing throughout the electioneering period.	1. Press conferences, themed under specific premises such as Telkom and Safaricom sale. 2. TV, radio and billboard advertising 3. Newspaper articles, radio and TV talk shows 4. Campaign rallies 5. Viral e-Mail, Mashada Blogs, You Tube and SMS	Throughout the campaign period with heightened activities in Nov/Dec	All. R.O. to provide core leadership
The Githongo dossier	Githongo has so far provided the most important ammunition in branding the opponent as irredeemably corrupt. He still is capable of the killer blow.	Release more incriminating recordings from his time in Government	10 days before the elections	J. Odinde to provide Nation forum. R.O. to release material already in his custody
The Artur Brothers	This saga presents unending opportunities to embarrass the Kikaki team.	Induce the brothers to release their long-awaited book at the right moment. Our media partners are waiting to serialize the contents	Two weeks before the elections	R.O.
The Age issue	Our core supporters are essentially young people who are angry about the domination of Kibaki politics by frail Septuagenarians.	Billboards and leaflets ridiculing the old people in the Kibaki team; contrast this with billboards of Hon. Raila with young people – the promise of a buoyant future.	Immediately.	Communication team.
Rigging	1. Prepare the ground for rejection of	1. Press conferences	Oct/Nov/Dec	All.

	unfavorable results 2. Increase interest in monitoring activities to ensure no rigging happens. 3. Deflect attention from ourselves should opportunities be available to manipulate voter turnout in our green areas.	2. Op-Ed columns 3. TV/FM radio call-in shows 4. Petitions to embassies and ODM-friendly NGOs 5. Public rallies		
Ethnic Tensions/Violence as a Last Resort	To discourage voter participation in hostile areas.	1. Continue pro-Majimbo utterances 2. Use ODM agents on the ground to engineer ethnic tensions in target areas 3. Support Kapondi's forces in Mt Elgon 3. Leaflets targeting Kikuyus, Kisiis, etc	Mid-Dec	Bring Alexanda Sitienei

INTERNAL MEMO

FROM: SHAKEEL SHABBIR (CAMPAIGN RESOURCES ACCOUNTING SECTION)
TO: HON. O. MAGARA (NATIONAL TREASURER)
SUBJECT: CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF CAMPAIGN FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES
DATE: 9TH NOVEMBER 2007

INCOMING RESOURCES
(DONATIONS CONVERTED TO KSH)

FROM	AMOUNT
Mr. C. Njonjo	25,000,000
CMC Motors Grp	20,000,000
CFC Bank	5,000,000
Land Rover Group Limited (UK)	55,000,000
JIAM	25,000,000
Pastor Gilbert Deya	20,000,000
Gilbert Deya Congregation (UK)	10,500,000
Mr. James Ongwae	3,500,000
Mr. Bosco Gichana	12,000,000
Mr. S. Osamba (Dallas, Tx)	6,100,000
Tata Tea	50,000,000
Tata Consultancy Services	350,000
Tata Motors	35,000,000
Dr. Jane Konditi	250,000
Prof. J. Oduol	300,000
Mr. AA Walji	7,000,000
Hon. William ole Ntimama	5,000,000
Mr. Zachayo Cheruiyot	4,500,000
Mr. Charles Onyancha	300,000
Brig (rtd) Alexanda Sitienei	225,000
Dick Morris Associates (pro bono services)	21,335,000
Dr. S. Kosgey	2,500,000
Kisumu Simba League	21,750,000
Dr. P. Otuoma	250,000
Mr. S. Murunga (Kimilili)	8,500,000
Tony Texeira	21,500,000
Mr. SS Sodi	150,000
Zubedi Group	20,000,000
Colourprint (posters/caps)	8,000,000
Anura Pereira	107,000,000
J. Okungu	350,000
Tony Buckingham	6,000,000
Col Tony Spicer	17,000,000
Mr. J. Kulei	39,000,000
Kamani Family	45,000,000
GOSS	12,500,000
Friends of Senator BO	66,000,000
P.K. Patni	13,500,000
United Business Association	70,000,000
Westlands Association	12,800,000
Mr. P. Oriare	50,000
Premier Club Group	5,250,000
Gymkhana Group	5,150,000
Ms Esther Passaris	1,000,000
Adopt-a Light (advertising support)	20,000,000
Seif al-Islam Gaddafi	53,450,000
Visa Oshwal Group	10,200,000
Nakumatt H	26,000,000
Herr. Andrej Hermlin	100,000
Die Linkspartei (PDS)	35,000,000
Hon. Mudavadi family	12,500,000
Spectre International & Associates	90,000,000
Energem Resources Inc	52,500,000
Sandline International	10,000,000
Hon. N. Balala family	8,000,000
Hon. William Ruto	10,000,000

Mr. D. Berg	1,500,000	
Hon. Henry Kosgey & friends	20,000,000	
H.E. O. Obasanjo	25,000,000	
Mr. S. Mvaita	1,000,000	
S A. Support Group (M. Olieno)	25,000,000	
DRC Support Group	22,000,000	
Hon. O. Kajwang'	(50,000)	Chq RTD
Hon. J. Nyagah	3,500,000	
Mr. L. Kaikai	500,000	
SDP	1,800,000	
NARC	650,000	
GOD (America)	154,000,000	
Nyanza Petroleum	1,500,000	
Hon. Eng. Nyamunga	100,000	
GM	2,000,000	
KASS FM	400,000	
INCOMING RESOURCES (NOMINATION FEES)		
Parliamentary application fees	295,000,000	
Civic application fees	86,000,000	
INCOMING RESOURCES (VARIOUS SOURCES)		
Dinners, Launches, Presentations	13,000,000	
Merchandise sales	4,300,000	
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	1,772,560,000	
RESOURCES EXPENDED		
Fund-Raising Costs	25,813,050	
Pre-Nomination Rallies	165,355,300	
Nominations (personnel, logistics, comm.)	160,500,000	
Manifesto	76,304,100	
Presidential nominations	54,000,120	
Equipment (choppers, vehicles, etc)	320,208,000	
Media facilitation (Journalists)	29,300,000	
Offices, Management & overheads	98,567,450	
Advertising	335,235,575	
Merchandising	75,925,700	
Opinion polls	7,300,000	
Security operations & personnel	22,500,000	
Candidate's expenses (R.O)	148,187,000	
Pentagon Allowances (others)	89,000,000	
Intelligence	39,775,450	
General ICT	26,350,000	
Propaganda	68,545,000	
Training (seminars & conferences)	23,020,000	
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	1,765,886,745	
BALANCE TO BE CARRIED FORWARD	6,673,255	

Notes

I have taken into account all the subscriptions/donations/expenditure notes surrendered to my section by the various arms of the 2007 ODM presidential campaign system.

Obviously, the money currently available cannot cover the campaign work still pending, and there is an urgent need for the Directorate of Resource Mobilization to do more.

Sh9,435,200 is owed to various media houses which are now demanding upfront payment for all our advertising.

We recommend that the Candidate brings forward proposed trips to DRC, Dubai/Kuwait and Venezuela to ease current pressure.

Also expedite fund-raising at Coast, Kisumu, UK, and Sweden.