

Sandline International	10,000,000
Hon N'Belala Family	8,000,000
Kon William Ruto	10,000,000
Mr D Beng	1,500,000
Hon Henry Kosgey & Friends	20,000,000
HIE O Obesanya	25,000,000
Mr S Mwelwa	1,000,000
SA Support Group (M'Gikeno)	25,000,000
DRC Support Group	22,000,000
Hon G Kaywang	50,000,000 Chq RTD
Hon J Nyagah	3,500,000
Mr J Kikai	500,000
SDP	1,800,000
CHAPS	850,000
GCP (America)	154,000,000
Nganga Petroleum	1,500,000
Hon Eng Nyerumuga	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)**

Dinner launches Presentations	13,000,000
Merchandise sales	4,300,000

TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES 1,772,580,000

RESOURCES EXPENDED

Fund raising costs	26,813,060
Pre-Nomination Rallies	165,355,300
Nominations (Personnel, Logistics, comm.)	180,500,000
Manifestos	76,304,100
Presidential Nominations	54,000,420
Equipment (Choppers, vehicles, etc)	320,208,000
Media Facilitation (Journalists)	29,300,000
Office Management & Overheads	98,567,450
Advertising	335,235,575
Merchandising	75,5625,700
Opinion Polls	7,300,000
Security Operations and Personnel	22,500,000
Candidates Expenses (RC)	148,187,000
Parliamentary Allowances (Others)	89,000,000
Intelligence	39,775,450
General ICT	29,350,000
Propaganda	68,546,000
Training (Seminars & Conferences)	23,020,000

TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED 1,785,880,745

BALANCE TO BE CARRIED FORWARD 8,679,255

Notes

I have taken into account all the subscription/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.

Sh 9,435,200 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.

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

- Hon Kaslonzo Muisyoka'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.

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

- a As a member of the Luo community Hon Ralla Odiga is not electable to the presidency in Kenya
- 2.0 The just conclude ODM Presidential nominations have ended the speculation and competition within the ODM ranks with Hon. Ralla Amalo Odiga (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

2. Feasible

- 1.0 To ensure that the Orange Democratic Movement (hereinafter referred to as "ODM") remains united and focused through out the national presidential campaigns period.
- 2.0 To ensure that Hon Ralla Amalo Odiga is elected the fourth president of the Republic of Kenya in succession to the current President Mwai Kibaki
- 3.0 To ensure that Hon Ralla Amalo Odiga secures an absolute majority of parliamentary seats in the tenth parliament to facilitate the ease of the intended constitutional reform.

1. Purpose

- Prof Peter A Nyong'o, Secretary General ODM
- Prof Edward Oyugi Akongo
- Prof Patrick Wanyande
- Prof Lenny Gambe
- Mr Adams Oloo

Core Strategy Team:

EXECUTIVE BRIEF ON THE POSITIONING AND MARKETING OF THE ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT & THE PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT Hon Ralla A Odiga

<p>Threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Candidates 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 Candidates unelectability • The Candidates potential for ad-hoc and improvised statements 	<p>Opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Pin down Mwai Kibaki on his 2002 promise to be a one term president ✓ Capitalize on matters related to the dishonoured MBO of 2002 ✓ Take advantage of Mwai Kibaki's Laziness and laidback attitude • Exploit anti-Kikuyu sentiments ✓ Leverage the vulnerability of the Kibaki administration responses to corruption matters as the Anglo-leasing and Goldenberg scandal. Seize this opportunity to confront him with a powerful anti-corruption campaign message ✓ Dito the \$130b stashed away by Kanu leaders ✓ Artur brothers and their aid to the Standard Group
<p>Weaknesses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited understanding on economic matters • Has been faulted as having exhibited a knack for political party relationship nominalism • Association with Communism • Potential for linkage to the underdevelopment in Nyanza • The 1982 coup • Actonious parting of ways with Wamaiwa Kijana (Luhya Western) Mal (Kalenjin, Rift Valley) Kibaki (Geno, Mt Kenya region) and Kalonzo (Kamba, Eastern) • Matters surrounding corruption allegations related to the molasses plant, Kisumu and implications of Ndungu Report 	<p>Strengths</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Hon Ralla is charismatic and ambitious ✓ Kenyan appreciate him as a fearless crusader for truth, justice and democracy ✓ Has no publicly debated allegations of corruption ✓ Great crowd puller/mobilizer/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

This being the context of a lifetime, the party should employ all available means to ensure a victory. Subsequent 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 Allur brothers provide ready material for this war.

Pull All Plugs

It is absolutely essential that through out this campaign, Ralla remain aligned to the Western Counties (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.

Pro-Vote!

It is possible to trigger a class war by painting the Kibaki Government as an insensitive, uncaring group of Multinational 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 the emotions within all youth constituents who may be successful, be willing to vote for us in the protest. Visible signs of class disparity will provide important fodder for this theme.

The Class Issue

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 overwhelming feeling among the non-Gemta 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 ODM campaign has able partners in Muidavadi, Ruto, Batela and Njirima 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 RVP where Kalonzo has the potential of attracting some of our votes. Anti-Kikuyidism must be reinforced with promises of jobs and economic gains to key players from every community supporting this initiative.

KIKUYU Alienation

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

The Grand Entrance

RECOMMENDED ACTION PLAN

- a. the Candidate's Strengths and Opportunities significantly outweigh his weaknesses.
- b. The Candidates/Party popularity is imminent should we recreate and maintain the euphoria achieved during the 2005 Constitutional Referendum and in the last General Election.

Based on the above SWOT

DEDUCTION

CONFIDENTIAL

8th September 2007

Strategy	Rationale	How to Activate	When to Activate	Action By:
<p>The Anti-Kikuyu crusade</p> <p>1. This is an important wedge issue. It will help galvanise the rest of the country against a common enemy and set the overall theme of our campaign</p> <p>2. Leatets</p> <p>3. Leatets, with special focus on Western Kenya and RVP</p>	<p>1. This is an important wedge issue. It will help galvanise the rest of the country against a common enemy and set the overall theme of our campaign</p> <p>2. Public rallies</p> <p>3. Leatets</p> <p>4. Viral e-mail and SMS</p>	<p>1. Mass media (allusion to predominance of Kikuyus in public service and business)</p> <p>2. Public rallies</p> <p>3. Leatets</p> <p>4. Viral e-mail and SMS</p>	<p>Through out the campaign R.O. to lead the execution of this strategy</p> <p>heightened activities three weeks before elections</p>	<p>All members R.O. to lead</p> <p>1. Kipkoeh</p> <p>2. R.O</p> <p>3. Kendo</p> <p>4. Okech</p> <p>5. Tani &</p>
<p>Uthuru Kenyatta as Kibaki's Choice for 2012</p> <p>1. Accentuate the anti-Kikuyu sentiments, PNU tanks that there will be a Luthya successor</p> <p>2. Cause unease within political families (Kenya, Mol, Kibaki)</p> <p>3. Attack Luthya vote by eliminating the bullet</p> <p>4. Communicate the intention to retain power within a select group of prominent political families</p>	<p>1. Accentuate the anti-Kikuyu sentiments, PNU tanks that there will be a Luthya successor</p> <p>2. Cause unease within political families (Kenya, Mol, Kibaki)</p> <p>3. Attack Luthya vote by eliminating the bullet</p> <p>4. Communicate the intention to retain power within a select group of prominent political families</p>	<p>1. Public rallies in the Western and Coast</p> <p>2. Op-Ed columns in the mainstream media</p> <p>3. TV/RM radio call in shows</p> <p>4. Public forums such as workshops with high profile personalities such as Githai</p>	<p>Immediately with heightened media activities end of November</p>	<p>1. Kipkoeh</p> <p>2. R.O</p> <p>3. Kendo</p> <p>4. Okech</p> <p>5. Tani &</p>
<p>Majimbo present 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 in devising the Coastal</p>	<p>1. Public rallies in RVP Western and Coast</p> <p>2. Op-Ed columns in the mainstream media</p> <p>3. TV/RM radio call in shows</p> <p>4. Public forums such as workshops with high profile personalities such as Githai</p>	<p>1. Public rallies in RVP Western and Coast</p> <p>2. Op-Ed columns in the mainstream media</p> <p>3. TV/RM radio call in shows</p> <p>4. Public forums such as workshops with high profile personalities such as Githai</p>	<p>Immediately with heightened media activities end of November</p>	<p>1. Kipkoeh</p> <p>2. R.O</p> <p>3. Kendo</p> <p>4. Okech</p> <p>5. Tani &</p>

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

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 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 insure the candidate from attacks on his person, not all advertising and campaign efforts should be focused on 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

Tapping pledged funding from external donors including Federal Republic of Nigeria, Germany, United Arab Emirates, South Africa, Libya, The Democratic Republic of Congo as well as individual institutional caucuses such as GIZ network, Cyril Ramaphosa, the Deyo Ministries and US Republicans among others.

<p>All</p>	<p>OC/Ndv/Dec</p>	<p>1. Press conferences a. buoyant future.</p>	<p>1. Prepare ground for separations.</p>	<p>Rigging</p>
<p>Communicational on team</p>	<p>Immediately</p>	<p>Billboards and leaflets ridiculing the old people in the Kibaki team; contrast this with billboards of Hon Ralla with young people- the promise of</p>	<p>Our core supporters are essentially young people who are angry about the domination of Kibaki politics by the separations.</p>	<p>The age issue</p>
<p>R.O</p>	<p>Two weeks before the elections</p>	<p>Induce brothers to release their long awaited book at the right moment. Our media partners are waiting to serialize the contents.</p>	<p>This saga presents unending opportunities to embarrass the Kibaki team</p>	<p>Brothers</p>
<p>R.O. to release material already in custody</p>	<p>10 days before elections</p>	<p>Release more incriminating recordings from his time in Government</p>	<p>Githongo has so far provided the most important ammunition in branding the opponent as indefeatably corrupt. He still is capable of killer blow</p>	<p>The Githongo Dossier</p>
<p>All FO to provide core leadership. the campaign period with heightened activities in NOV/DEC</p>	<p>Through out</p>	<p>1. Press conferences, themes under specific premises such as Telkom and Safaricom sale. 2. TV, Radio, Billboard advertising. 3. Newspaper articles, radio and TV talkshows. 4. Campaign rallies 5. Viral email, Mashada Elogs, YouTube and SMS</p>	<p>1. Press conferences, themes under specific premises such as Telkom and Safaricom sale. 2. TV, Radio, Billboard advertising. 3. Newspaper articles, radio and TV talkshows. 4. Campaign rallies 5. Viral email, Mashada Elogs, YouTube and SMS</p>	<p>Corruption</p>

Bring Alexander Grinzel	Mid-Dec	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Op-Ed columns 3. TV/RM radio call-in shows 4. Petitions to embassies and ODM-friendly NGOs 5. Public rallies 	<p>Unfavorable results</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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. 	<p>Ethnic Tensions/Violence e BS 3 last Resort</p>
Bring Alexander Grinzel	Mid-Dec	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Continue pro-Majority references 2. Use ODM agents on the ground to engineer ethnic tensions in target areas 3. Support Kapondi's forces in Mt. Elgon 4. Leath's targeting the Kikuyus, Kisii, etc 	<p>To discourage voter participation in hostile areas</p>	<p>Ethnic Tensions/Violence e BS 3 last Resort</p>