

ODM document

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P.M.

INTERNAL MEMO

FROM: SHAKEEL SHABBIR

(CAMPAIGN RESOURCES ACCOUNTING SECTION)

TO: HON. O. MAGARA (NATIONAL TREASURER)

**SUBJECT: CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OFF CAMPAIGN
FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES**

DATE: 9TH NOVEMBER 2007

**INCOMING RESOURCES
(DONATION CONVERTED TO KSHS)**

FROM

AMOUNT

Mr C Njionjo	25,000,000
CMC Motors Grp	20,000,000
CFC Bank	5,000,000
Landrover 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 Service	350,000
Tata Motors	35,000,000
Dr Jane Konditi	350,000
Prof J Oduol	300,000
Mr AA Walji	7,000,000
Hon William Ole Ntimama	5,000,000

Mr Zackayo Cheruiyot	4,500,000	
Mr Charles Onyancha	300,000	
Brig (rtd) Alexandra 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 S S 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 Ted 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	
PK Pattni	13,500,000	
United Business Association	70,000,000	
Westlands Association	12,800,000	
Mr P Oriare		50,000
Premier Club	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
Hon Andrej Hermlin	100,000	
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	
HE O Obasanjo	25,000,000	
Mr S Mwaita	1,000,000	
SA Support Group (M Otieno)	25,000,000	
DRC Support Group	22,000,000	
Hon O Kajwang	50,000	Chq RTD
Hon J Nyagah	3,500,000	
Mr J Kaikai		500,000
SDP	1,800,000	
CHAPS	650,000	
GCP (America)	154,000,000	
Nganga 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)	
Dinner 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
Office Management & Overheads	98,567,450
Advertising	335,235,575
Merchandising	75,5625,700
Opinion Polls	7,300,000
Sewcurioty Operations and Personnel	22,500,000
Candidates Expenses (RO)	148,187,000
Pentagonm Allowances (Others)	89,000,000
Intelligenxce	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 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.

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 Nyongo, *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 through out 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 Hon Raila Amolo Odinga 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 conclude 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 overacting 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.
- ∑ Kibakis 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

- ⌚ 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

Weaknesses

- ← Limited understanding on economic matters
- ← Has been faulted as having exhibited a knack for political party relationship nomadism
- ← Association with Communism
- ← Potential for linkage to the underdevelopment in Nyanza
- ← The 1982 coup
- ← Acrimonious parting of ways with Wamalwa Kijana (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 by the Ndungu Report

Opportunities

- ⌚ 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 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
- ⌚ Ditto the £130b stashed away by Kanu leaders
- ⌚ Artur brothers and their raid to the Standard Group

Threats

- 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

DEDUCTION

Based on the above SWOT

- a the Candidate's **Strengths** and **Opportunities** significantly outweigh his **weaknesses**.
- b The Candidate's/Party popularity 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 campaigns commence with impact, it is necessary that he exit Kenya to lay foundation for a grand home coming similar to Matibas 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 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 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 ODM campaign has able 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 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 the emotions within all youth constituents who may it successful, be willing to vote for us in the protest. Visible signs of class disparity will provide important fodder for this theme.

Pro-West

It is absolutely essential that through out this campaign, Raila remain aligned to the 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 activi-

ties. Corruption in the Kibaki Government, the mess of Kibakis domestic situation and the soap opera of the Artur brothers provide ready material for this war.

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 insulate 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

Tap into pledged funding from external donors including Federal Republic of Nigeria, Germany, the United Arab Emirates, South Africa, Libya, The Democratic Republic of Congo as well as individual /institutional caucuses such as 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 theme 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

Through out the campaign period, heightened activities three weeks before elections

All members R.O. to lead the execution of this strategy

Uhuru Kenyatta as Kibakis Choice for 2012

1. 1. Accentuate the anti-Kikuyu sentiments.
2. Cause unease within PNU ranks
3. Attract 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 /opeds

1. Public pronouncements at all campaign rallies

1. Blogs/web forums

1. 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

5. 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 galvanising 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.
- 5.

Immediate heightened activities sin December

Ruto to lead campaign team.

Corruption

Branding the opponent as irredeemably corrupt will provide diversionary salvos and a campaign theme worth pursuing through out the electioneering period.

1. Press conferences, themed 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 Blogs, You tube and SmS

Through out the campaign period with heightened activities in NOV/DEC

All RO 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 killer blow

Release more incriminating recordings from his time in Government

10 days before elections

J Odindo to provide Nation forum.

R.O. to release material already in custody

The Artur Brothers

6. This Saga presents unending opportunities to embarrass the Kibaki team

Induce 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 ground for rejection of

1. Press conferences

Oct/Nov/ Dec

All

Unfavourable 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.

1. Op-Ed Columns

1. TV/FM radio call-in shows

1. Petitions to embassies and ODM- friendly NGOs

1. Public Rallies

Ethnic Tensions/Violence as a last
Resort

To discourage voter participation in hostile areas

1. Continue pro-Majimbo utterances
1. Use ODM agents on the ground to engineer ethnic tensions in target areas
1. Support Kapondiís forces in Mt. Elgon
1. Leaflets targeting the Kikuyus, Kisiis, etc

Mid-Dec

Bring Alexandra Sitienei

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