

[The United Nations has dispatched a record number of peacekeepers in Africa in recent years, deploying soldiers to trouble spots such as the Central African Republic and South Sudan. Yet the "blue helmets" and thousands of other soldiers sent by African regional groups have failed to prevent fresh spasms of violence. The peacekeeping forces have cost billions of dollars, largely paid by the US and European nations. But they have been hobbled by weak mandates and a shortage of manpower and equipment. Some critics also say Washington, its allies and UN officials are at fault in the peacekeeping failures, for not following through with enough political pressure to prevent crises.]

BURUNDI:

RWANDA:

Fake SA passport allegations surround 'killer' of Rwanda's ex-spy boss 06 Jan 2014/ Sarah Evans/mg.co.za

Patrick Karegeya's alleged killer entered South Africa on a fake passport, according to close friends of the slain former Rwandan spy chief.

Did Patrick Karegeya's alleged killer enter South Africa on a fake passport? And had he done so before?

Yes, according to close friends of the former Rwandan spy boss, whose body was found in a Sandton hotel room on New Year's Day.

If Karegeya's friends and colleagues are correct, it would indicate an intelligence failure on the part of South African authorities. Political asylum seekers such as Karegeya claim the South African

authorities had offered them protection. Meanwhile, an alleged agent of the Paul Kagame regime was frequently in their midst, evading airport security checks with false documents, and courting their inner circle with a view to commit murder.

Rwanda's ambassador to South Africa Vincent Karega, in an interview with the Wall Street Journal, distanced Kigali from Karageya's death.

"Even though he [Karageya] declared himself an enemy of Rwanda, we didn't see any threat. Rwanda wasn't involved," he said.

One clear suspect

A department of home affairs's spokesperson referred queries about the false passport claims to that department's director general, who could not be reached on Sunday.

Hawks spokesperson Captain Paul Ramaloko was unable to confirm whether the police were working with home affairs or Interpol on the case. However, Ramaloko confirmed that no arrests had been made by Sunday evening, and said "all possible avenues" were being explored in the investigation.

"We are doing our best to bring the culprit to book," Ramaloko said.

In the Rwandan political-refugee community living in South Africa, there is one clear suspect involved in Karegeya's crime: a man called Apollo Gafaranga.

The Rwandan Sunday Times profiled the "entrepreneur", Gafaranga, in 2009.

The Rwandan press called him a "business mogul"; he opened a cinema worth \$1-million in 2009. His brother, Amini Gafaranga, appears close to the Kagame regime, speaking at Rwanda Day celebrations in London in May 2013, an event endorsed by Paul Kagame.

Travelling with fake documents

Two close friends of Karegeya, who spoke to the Mail & Guardian, claimed Gafaranga had spent years earning the former spy chief's trust, travelling to South Africa on at least four occasions, where he would be Kareyega's house guest.

And he always travelled with fake documents, they claim.

But on his final and fatal visit, Gafaranga asked to be put up in a hotel, instead of staying at Kareyega's house. This was because he was increasingly fearful of the Kagame regime, Gafaranga claimed, and he told Kareyega he did not want to jeopardise his friend's security.

Kareyega then booked the hotel room at the Michelangelo Towers in Sandton and went to visit Gafaranga on New Year's Eve. When Kareyega did not respond to text messages or phone calls, his nephew became suspicious and went to the hotel.

Karegeya was found dead. Curtain tie-backs and a pillow case were found in the safe. Garafanga was gone, taking only his cellphone and wallet, and leaving his suitcase behind.

Informal network of informants

Frank Ntwali, Africa regional chairperson of the Rwanda National Congress (RNC) – the opposition party that Karegeya helped to form – believes Gafaranga entered South Africa from a different African country on every visit, to avoid detection.

Ntwali last saw Karegeya on December 28, when the two had dinner and discussed their political plans for the new year. Karegeya was upbeat. At this point, the former intelligence chief was well aware that Gafaranga was en route.

Said Ntwali: "About four months ago, he [Gafaranga] made contact with Patrick and claimed Kagame's government was harassing him and had closed his business. He asked Karegeya to help him set up a new life in South Africa, and help him start a business here."

Karegeye had no reason to be suspicious of Gafaranga; the latter had been part of Karegeya's informal network of informants during his tenure as foreign minister of intelligence in Kagame's government.

And now, it's likely Karegeya believed he was helping a fellow-oppositionist escape Kigali.

"It's not unreasonable to help those escaping Rwanda," Ntwali said.

The RNC issued a statement on Friday, also naming Gafaranga as the suspect.

Attempted hits

According to another friend of Karegeya and fellow-exile, who asked not to be named for security reasons, Kareyega had protection from the South African government but asked the authorities to back off, about a year ago, because he felt his movements were too restricted.

Ntwali confirmed this. Kareyega, according to sources, had grown complacent. This, despite a keen sense of persecution by Rwandan opposition leaders living in South Africa.

Fellow exiled opposition leader Lieutenant General Faustin Nyamwasa survived a shooting in June 2010.

Ntwali was stabbed nine times in 2012, in what he claims was an attempted hit.

And in October this year, a Burundian man, Emmanuel Habiyambere, was convicted in Sweden of aggravated espionage, for collecting information about Rwandan exiles on behalf of Kagame regime.

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UGANDA:

Uganda: BoU Fears South Sudan War Could Hurt Uganda's Economy By Alon Mwesigwa/The Observer (Kampala)/5 January 2014

Uganda's economy could slow down if the political turmoil in South Sudan continues, Bank of Uganda (BoU) has warned.

Dr Adam Mugume, the executive director Research at BoU, said on Friday that the conflict was likely to reduce the exportation of Ugandan food and construction materials to South Sudan.

"When there is a conflict, people will not build and they will not demand for food. This is likely to reduce on the in-flows [to Uganda]," Mugume said during the release of THthe monthly monetary policy statement at BOU.

The Democratic Republic of Congo, which remains volatile as a result of fighting there too, and South Sudan are among the major trading partners for Uganda, Mugume said.

"For now, we are not sure of what is likely to happen in [South] Sudan and DRC," he said.

The conflict in South Sudan started in mid-December, after President Salva Kiir accused his former deputy, Riek Machar, of attempting a coup. It has since morphed into what is looking like a full-scale civil war, complete with peace talks in another country - Ethiopia. Many Ugandans who dominate the informal trade in the capital Juba have suffered heavy losses and many have returned home.

Mugume said Uganda's exports to South Sudan were valued at \$220m per month. In 2012, Uganda earned an estimated \$1.3bn from exports to South Sudan, according to figures from BoU. The figure is an improvement from the \$630m Uganda earned in 2010.

Meanwhile, inflation continued to drop in December. Core inflation, which measures the changes in prices of goods and services minus utilities, dropped from seven per cent in November to 5.7 per cent. With inflation declining, BoU kept the central bank rate at 11.5 per cent for the second month running.

"BoU forecasts suggest that inflation will edge down further in the near term driven by improved food crop harvests but rise to 6.5 and 7.5 per cent during the latter part of 2014," said Governor Tumusiime Mutebile, while presenting the policy statement.

Not so much is expected to change in terms of the private sector credit growth. Mugume said very few people were applying for loans. Banks have also recorded an increase in their non-performing loans; they are now cautious on who they lend to. Interest rates have remained high - averaging 22 per cent.

The key monetary rate is likely to impact on the foreign exchange market, where for the last week, the shilling slightly depreciated against the dollar due to increased demand for imports.

But foreign investors looking to place funds in Uganda's securities market will look to the yields on instruments like the treasury bills and treasury bonds, which remain lucrative as a result of the unchanged Central Bank Rate. BoU expects the economy to grow between 6.2 and 6.5 per cent this year.

Mugume says if the situation in South Sudan and the DRC is not resolved quickly, the economy's growth could be affected by about 0.5 per cent. Growth in the first quarter of the financial year 2013/14, however, declined compared to the previous quarter.

BoU says the economy is likely to pick up in the remaining part of 2013/14, driven by the recovery in agriculture production and public investment in infrastructure.

Tanzania: Mwinyi Meets Uganda Muslim Clerics

By Jeff Andrew Lule/Tanzania Daily News (Dar es Salaam)/5 January 2014

Kampala — FORMER President of Tanzania, Mr Ali Hassan Mwinyi visited Muslim clerics at Kibuli in Kampala and called for unity.

Mr Mwinyi was hosted in Uganda, by Prince Kassim Kakungulu Nakibinge a cousin to the Kabaka of the Buganda Kingdom, Ronald Mutebi at his residence in Kibuli. Supreme Mufti Zubir Kayongo and other Muslim clerics were in attendance.

During their meeting, Prince Kakungulu called for unity among Muslims in Uganda and the entire East African region. He said the regional cooperation could easily help Muslims tap economic opportunities and strengthen their faith in the region once they are united.

Prince Kakungulu said the visit by former President Mwinyi's aims at harmonising the Muslims in the two countries - Uganda and Tanzania.

"He wants to see unity among the Muslims in the entire region to benefit from the fruits of the integration. We cannot benefit anything from the integration if we remain divided.

Mr Mwinyi also plans to visit other countries for this cause," the Prince said. During the meeting, the leaders agreed to strengthen the relationship with Muslims in Tanzania and promote development among believers in the two countries.

Mr Mwinyi who is on an official three day visit to Uganda toured the Islamic University and other Muslim education institutes.

He also visited Kibuli Hospital and Kibuli Mosque, from where prayers were held. Mr Mwinyi was scheduled to meet President Yoweri Museveni at his residence in Rwakitura on Friday.

SOUTH AFRICA:

South Africa: In the footsteps of a giant

By: Nick Boulos/express.co.uk/Sun, January 5, 2014

With the film Mandela: Long Walk To Freedom, starring Idris Elba, in our cinemas last week, NICK BOULOS highlights the places in South Africa most associated with the iconic figure

THE EARLY YEARS

Born in 1918 on the banks of the Mbashe River on South Africa's Eastern Cape, Mandela enjoyed a happy childhood gathering wild honey and herding sheep across maize fields.

Qunu, where he was recently laid to rest, living in a beehive-shaped mud hut surrounded by scenery he described as "beautiful rolling hills, fertile valleys and a thousand rivers."

Don't miss: Museum (nelsonmandelamuseum.org.za).

Where to stay: The Ocean View Hotel (oceanview.co.za), on the rugged Wild Coast, is well placed to enjoy the region's cultural villages. Doubles from £32 per night (two sharing), half board.

THE SHAPING OF AN ICON

Johannesburg, where he spent his final days, had a profound effect on Mandela. Fleeing rural life to escape an arranged marriage at the age of 23 he settled here working as a night watchman at a gold mine and studying law. It was, he said, "a city of dreams where one could transform oneself."

Many years later he would find himself on the cusp of another new chapter but this time one behind bars.

Charged with high treason he awaited trial in the hilltop Old Fort, a fearsome prison built in 1893 that also counted Gandhi as an inmate.

Fascinating guided tours of the site, now known as Constitution Hill (constitutionhill.org.za) are hourly. Don't miss: Johannesburg's Apartheid Museum (apartheidmuseum.org) featuring first-hand accounts of South Africa's grim past. Entrance £4. Where to stay: The Ginnegaap Guesthouse (ginnegaap.co.za) offers cottage-style accommodation. Doubles from £25 per night (two sharing), B&B.

FREEDOM FIGHTER

For 18 years until 1962, a simple house in the sprawling township of Soweto south west of Johannesburg was home to Mandela during his most politically active period.

His modest address, at 8115 Orlando West, now open to visitors (mandelahouse.co.za), was tiny with a tin roof and cement floor. Domestic bliss with his then wife Evelyn and their newborn son was not to last.

His rising political prominence saw him campaigning across the country, drumming up support and delivering key speeches, including one to a crowd of 10,000 in Durban. Things came to a head in 1964 when he stood in the dock at the Palace Of Justice in Pretoria, another location featured in the movie, and was sentenced to life in prison.

Soweto was one of the first places he returned to after his release, declaring: "I have come home."

Cycling tours (sowetobicycletours.com) offer a good opportunity learn about Soweto's origins as a segregated settlement for black workers in the early 1900s. From £23.

Don't miss: An African feast at Sakhumzi (sakhumzi.co.za), a restaurant near Mandela's former home. Try Mala Mogodu, a hearty stew. Where to stay: The Soweto Hotel (sowetohotel.co.za) has modern rooms and a lively jazz bar. Doubles from £71 per night (two sharing), B&B.

DARK DAYS AND A BRIGHT FUTURE

Perhaps more than any other, Robben Island is a place most associated with Mandela. Of his 27 years behind bars, 18 were spent on this rocky outcrop overlooking Table Mountain and the lights of Cape Town.

First used as a prison in the mid-1600s and now a Unesco World Heritage Site, maximum security Robben Island (robben-island.org.za) was once a hospital for the mentally ill.

Tours of the complex include Mandela's tiny concrete cell, so small that three paces was all he had.

As a free man Mandela's immediate port of call was Cape Town. At dusk on 11 February 1990, aged 71, he emerged on the balcony of the Edwardian-style City Hall to thunderous roars of the assembled crowd.

Don't miss: A behind the scenes look at the Parliament building (parliament.gov.za) where Mandela spent five years running the country as its first black president.

Where to stay: Villa Zest (villazest.co.za) is a boutique hotel near the waterfront. Doubles from £87 per night (two sharing), B&B.

GETTING THERE

Rainbow Tours (020 7666 1250/rainbowtours.co.uk) offers a 10-night Footsteps of a Legend tour of South Africa from £2,725pp (two sharing), B&B. Price includes return flights from the UK, internal flights and accommodation. Highlights include the Nelson Mandela Museum, Apartheid Museum, Soweto, the Mandela homestead in Qunu, Robben Island, and Klein Drakenstein, the final prison in which Mandela was held and from where he began his Long Walk To Freedom.

TANZANIA:

KENYA:

Kenya: Why South Sudan Needs Kenya and Africa By Collins Mabinda/allafrica.com/4 January 2014

South Sudanese in traditional regalia participate in a dance after casting their vote in a polling station in Juba. South Sudan is facing a precipice, and it's true that there are several mediation efforts that are underway to bring the situation to normalcy. Thousands of Kenyans have already been evacuated, and unfortunately, there were a number of Kenyan fatalities.

This is not to count the over 1,000 South Sudanese natives that have already lost their lives. Kenya is obviously staring at a region that is very unstable. To the East, Somalia is yet to be a fully fledged nation-state. Many security experts lament that the insecurity in northern Kenya is due to a proliferation of arms from the neighbouring Somalia.

Yet, no one should think that the crisis does not affect Kenya. Any investor that was looking at investing in the region may put their investments off. Let's not forget the already huge losses that indigenous Kenyan companies- especially banks, have had to incur.

The many small businesses that were run by Kenyans, plus the thousands of Kenyans that were employed in South Sudan all represent a huge economic loss for the country. And yet, the loss is not just in monetary terms. Now, Kenya gets lumped into a region that is very unstable, a factor that many investors would likely be looking at before committing their money. Not far off, we have the Central Africa republic- CAR, where executions by militants has continued for days. The problems in Eastern DR Congo are also well documented.

Without a doubt, Kenyan authorities must do more to ensure that the situation in South Sudan does not degenerate. The United States is already wielding the big stick, although one does not know whether it is doing so because of the guilt it felt as a result of the Rwandan genocide, or for economic reasons.

The African Union standby army should also have been in place already, and give the Africa Union some teeth.

In hindsight, for Africa to be taken seriously by the rest of the world, it must prove that it can solve its own problems amicably, and not to relish in butchering each other aimlessly- a mark of people who are unable to govern themselves.

Kenya: Will Ruto's Fate Vindicate Rift Valley Elite?

By Joe Adama/allafrica.com/4 January 2014

In 2014 two dynamics of Ruto's career and fate will be worked out: The true nature of his political union with President Kenyatta and the culmination of his trial on crimes against humanity charges at The Hague.

Deputy President William Samoei Ruto enters 2014 on a political and judicial knife edge.

This is the year that will be the culmination, for better or otherwise, of a number of crucial factors in his public career.

As Deputy President, he occupies the second highest public office created by the Kenyan constitution and is first in line in the presidential succession. Unlike the 10 Vice Presidents who occupied the old constitution's second highest position (with the exception of Daniel arap Moi in 1978), Deputy President Ruto would ascend to the presidency upon the death, resignation, or removal of the President and complete his term without having to go through an election.

In his crimes against humanity case at the International Criminal Court, Ruto is referred to, in all seriousness, as "exercising extraordinary public duties at the highest national level". It is on this basis that he now awaits the judges' ruling on his request to be excused from being present in court throughout the hearings and be represented by counsel only.

Preeminence and predicament:

He did not arrive at his present preeminence and predicament easily. The man who sometimes styles himself, only half in jest, as a "hustler" in 2012 and 2013 pulled off one of the most remarkable feats of Kenya politics - the coming together behind one presidential ticket of the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin.

It was such a shocker that it had the element of total surprise, including inside the Mt Kenya and the Rift Valley communities themselves. And it caught the rivals of both Ruto and Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta completely flatfooted.

In 2014, two dynamics of Ruto's career and fate will be worked out: The true nature of his political union with President Kenyatta and the culmination of his trial on crimes against humanity charges at The Hague.

Although both men strenuously deny it, the power pact between Kenyatta's The National Party (TNA) and Ruto's United Republican Party (URP) is not really a 50-50 arrangement. Perhaps it is time that the political fiction of equitable power-sharing was retired in Kenya and all players entering such cohabitations begun to do so with clear eyes and no illusions: More about this shortly.

Among Ruto's achievements on his way to Kenya's first deputy presidency was his orchestration of a huge generational change in Rift Valley politics, the biggest such shift in Kenyan electoral politics at the grassroots. But also remarkable was the resistance to Ruto by the older-generation Rift Valley power elite. Ruto took the Rift by storm, yes, but not the Daniel arap Moi era elite.

Operatives like Nicholas Biwott, Gideon Moi, Franklin Bett, Henry Kosgey, Sally Kosgei, Hosea Kiplagat, Mark Too and many others remained studiously outside Ruto's URP orbit, even when it was clear that this spelt the end of being electable in Rift Valley. It was almost as if they knew something that Ruto did not. It was also almost as if they are biding their time to reenter the scene decisively with we-told-you-so vindication.

And although Moi, the patriarch of Rift Valley power politics and the second President of Kenya, viewed the coming to power of Kenyatta as Fourth President with unalloyed pride, having preferred him as a successor 11 years ago, the same cannot be said of him and the rise of Ruto.

Ruto took the Rift Valley grassroots with him as the patriarch looked on, not once but in two consecutive presidential polls and in diametrically opposed directions - in the 2007 poll behind Raila Amolo Odinga and in 2013 behind Uhuru.

Unlike Ruto, Uhuru had multiple-generation support throughout his own political backyard, including the then outgoing Kibaki's power elite. Key political power players and financiers who had risen to prominence during the first presidency like Njenga Karume and John Michuki went to their graves endorsing Uhuru as Kibaki's successor and political monarch of the Mt Kenyans and all their diasporas. Uhuru's advent as fourth president was a revival of the Kenyatta political brand.

The Deputy President has risen at the expense of Moi's own immediate family and old inner circle in a process that begun as long ago as 2007, when Ruto led the Kalenjin into the most concentrated effort yet in Kenyan electoral history to shut the Kikuyu out of the presidency. That fateful contest, between Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga, ended in the national catastrophe of the post-election violence of December 2007 and January 2008, Kenya's most acute post-Independence political crisis.

The Rift Valley was on fire in the crisis in which 1,400 people perished and 650,000 were displaced. Ruto spent a lot of 2013 seated patiently in court at the ICC listening to gruesome testimony regarding some of the worst atrocities perpetrated during the period.

The question of Ruto's 'fixers'

In fact, it was in the theatre of the ICC's Chamber V (b) that the first chinks in the TNA/URP armor that produced the political miracle of the Kikuyu-Kalenjin Jubilee machine and "Tyranny of Numbers" factor became evident. The evidence piling up in court against Ruto and radio broadcaster Joshua arap Sang regarding post-election violence atrocities in Rift Valley was collected by experts, including Intelligence officers. And it was first gathered long before it became apparent that Ruto and Uhuru would unite, and unite their large communities behind them, for the purposes of the Kibaki succession.

When Ruto's British lawyer Karim Khan declared in court that his client had been fixed by national

security bureaucrats, at least 10 of whom were not only in government but in and around the presidency, he detonated the first phase of a multistage political time bomb.

Later, Kericho Senator Charles Keter, a Ruto confidant, confirmed Khan's courtroom comments and named names, among them those of Internal Security Principal Secretary Mutea Iringo and Presidential Political Adviser Nancy Gitau.

Keter even went as far as to call for the immediate resignation of all 10 operatives, saying URP were finding it increasingly intolerable to coexist in the same ruling coalition with the Deputy President's "fixers".

And then Ruto's side let slip one of the clinchers of 2013: the National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS) has yet to show the Deputy President their full file on him as collected during the post-election violence. This was a remarkable piece of news, particularly considering that Ruto is now faced with the court battle of his life and is second in command to the President and Commander-in-Chief himself.

Ruto's predicament despite his elevated circumstances resonated all the more when considered alongside former Prime Minister Raila's own disclosure earlier in the year when he was launching his autobiography, entitled Flame of Freedom, written with veteran editor Sarah Elderkin. Raila told a Daily Nation interviewer that the intelligence service had taken him on an elaborate runaround regarding the manuscript of a book he had written in detention and other key details of his three stints in detention without trial adding up to a total of nine years behind bars. And this despite his having risen to Prime Minister and Co-Principal of the Grand Coalition Government, another 50-50 political cohabitation in which some partners were ultimately more equal than others.

Although no love whatever is now lost between them, Ruto and Raila separately bear powerful testimony to the grip the Kikuyu power elite exert on the key levers of Kenya's national-security State.

Another Keter, Nandi Hills MP Alfred Keter, a first-termer in Parliament, came out with his dramatic allegations that the URP grassroots in the Rift Valley were unhappy with the manner the Jubilee regime was sharing power. Claiming to speak for the Deputy President and the Kalenjin community, the young Keter, who is still in his 30s, sparked off a mini crisis that saw Kenyatta and Ruto camp in Rift Valley for two consecutive days trying to calm the grassroots.

Realities of power politics

Ruto ended 2013 furiously fighting a rearguard political battle, insisting that he is happy in the Jubilee Alliance and in the power pact on which it is grounded. But the truth of the matter remains that presidential power is indivisible and Ruto, like the 10 VPs from December 1964 to February 2013, is effectively the President's errand boy in terms of power politics.

Like the old VPs, Ruto finds himself in the awkward position of defending his President even when the issue in question is patently indefensible - for instance the state corporation chairmanships that Uhuru gazetted during the Christmas break that elicited cries of pain and protest even from within Jubilee itself. The old posture of unity at the top is still in use in the new era and the latest presidency and still as unconvincing and politically ritualistic as ever.

The choicest positions will still go to the Mt Kenyans, however restive Ruto's grassroots get, just as they did through two Presidential administrations across a total of 25 years (Jomo Kenyatta's 1964-1978 tenure and Kibaki's decade, 2003-2013).

Power play and its impacts on policy in Kenya and access to the national pie of the economy and its opportunities have a template that not even the UhuRuto administration can easily alter, however fine their rhetoric. This was amply demonstrated by Moi's 24 consecutive years at the helm, a period during which the Rift Valley power elite bestrode Kenya like there was no tomorrow.

The fate of the Jubilee Alliance, and particularly Ruto's own fate, will determine where political power pacts and alliances created for the purpose of capturing the State go next. A variety of outcomes is on the cards, among them the fall of Ruto and a reconsideration of the Rift Valley grassroots' stake in Jubilee. This would be no big deal, provided that the Kikuyu power elite can partner with other large ethnic vote bloc battalions and maintain its "Tyranny of Numbers" factor.

However, how Mt Kenya and Rift Valley part ways, if it ever happens, would matter very greatly indeed for the future of the Kikuyu factor in the presidency. If a falling out takes the shape of demonstrable complaints and grievances from the Rift to the effect that partnering with the Mountain is a lost cause because the Kikuyu power elite will simply not share the spoils of office meaningfully, there would be hell to pay for the Mountain in future presidential contests.

Other complex scenarios could emerge in the course of 2014 that might result in not dissimilar dire consequences. For instance, what happens at the ICC is crucial to what happens inside Jubilee. Say, for instance, that the case against President Kenyatta collapses completely, as it ended 2013 showing every sign of doing, but the case against Ruto drags on. The scenario will change drastically from one in which both members of the Kenyan Presidency were crimes-against-humanity ICC indictees to one where only the Deputy President is still in court. Kenyans will watch their Presidency with hawk eyes for any sign that Uhuru is not treating Ruto right, including taking some responsibilities from him as the case races towards a judgment climax.

SIDE BAR 1:

IF RUTO WINS IN COURT

One of two things could happen and either has far-reaching consequences. Ruto could win his case in court. And Ruto could lose his case in court. The prospect of the Ruto case collapsing under the weight of its own contradictions in the manner that the Uhuru case is doing does not seem to exist just now. In fact, the peremptory manner in which the Trial Chamber has summoned him to be present in court on January 9 speaks volumes about their determination to take the case all the way to a ruling and sentencing. And this is happening despite the fact that the ICC Assembly of Parties' new rule of procedure (the so-called Rule 134quarter), adopted in November, allows persons of Ruto's national preeminence to be absent for long periods of their trials. If the Trial Chamber begins 2014 by denying Ruto this device, the year will start with a truly portentous thunderclap.

Nonetheless, an ultimate win in court would produce such a resurgent Ruto that his hardest hard-core supporters would urge him to press for more room in the power-sharing stakes. The UhuRuto Presidential duo has taken to talking of itself in terms of ruling Kenya for the next 19 years, a rhetorical posture that greatly upsets the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (Cord) of Raila, former Vice President Kalonzo Musyoka and Senate Minority Leader Moses Wetang'ula. Uhuru is particularly fond of saying that he wants a full two terms in office of five years each as Ruto stands, by for a decade, to make his own bid for another full two-term stint.

This tag team Presidency would be in office until 2032, when Uhuru would be aged 71 and Ruto 66.

Cord goes into a paroxysm of protest every time UhuRuto presses the two-consecutive-full-terms-at

State-House propaganda button. However, on Saturday December 28, 2013, the Kiminini MP, Dr Chris Wamalwa, shifted these ambitious goalposts somewhat. Wamalwa, a Cord member, asked his audience at a political rally why Ruto should wait for 10 years to stake his claim on State House. Instead, Wamalwa opined, Ruto should exercise his perfectly democratic right to do so and go for the Presidency in 2017, at which point Uhuru should also wait five years before making another bid.

Wamalwa's remarks did not come from thin air. There has been such speculative talk deep inside Ruto's URP. A Ruto who finds himself victorious in court through the grueling ICC process would be so resurgent that he could be emboldened to rewrite the 'tyranny of numbers' factor on his own terms. A brand-new narrative would insinuate itself into the Mt Kenya-Rift Valley scenario: A world court, using world-class investigators, prosecutors and judges and relying on evidence collected by, among others, the Kenyan secret police under Mt Kenyan direction, command and control, would have absolved the Rift's political kingpin of the post-election violence, an event that in that region targeted mostly Kikuyu in terms of sheer numbers and scales of atrocity.

In other words, the single most compelling factor that fused the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin into the Jubilee political machine and victory would have been adjudged by experts at the world level to have been organized by unknown others who are, as the phrase goes in Kenya itself, "not before the court".

There would be many voices, both from within URP and without, urging a Ruto who was victorious and resurgent through the ICC process to drive a much harder bargain with the Mt Kenya power elite. And the subtext of remarks like Dr Wamalwa's would increasingly be that it will never be easier to take the prize of the Presidency from the Kikuyu for a number of electoral cycles than at the precise point at which the UhuRuto pact is perceived to begin to unravel.

A not dissimilar dilemma could well befall Cord, particularly if either of the second-tier principals - Kalonzo and Wetang'ula - were to insist that Raila has had too many bids for President (three; 1997, 2007 and 2013) and it is high time he tried backing someone from another of the big ethnic vote blocs.

However, the big unspoken serial strategy of the multiparty era Presidential elections is that, with the exception of the 2002 event that saw Kibaki succeed Moi by beating Uhuru, all these contests have involved trying to prevent the ascendancy of the Kikuyu. Moi did it in the first two restoration-of-multiparty contests (1992 and 1997) and Raila tried mightily in the latest two (2007 and 2013). On all four occasions, there were widespread allegations of a stolen poll, with the 2007 event producing the post-election violence..

If TNA and URP fell out just in time for the 2017 race, there would most likely be no implosion inside Cord, which in Raila has the country's second-highest collector of presidential vote tallies ever.

SIDEBAR 2:

IF RUTO LOSES IN COURT

On the other hand, if the ICC finds Ruto guilty even on the merest technicality and hands him the lightest sentence that it can under the circumstances, Uhuru still has a massive problem on his hands and Kenya would enter truly uncharted territory. The UhuRuto pair would enter a phase whereby the President is freed of all ICC accusations but the Deputy President graduates from indictee to convictee. Even assuming that there is a decent interval for an appeal process and that the ICC still allows Ruto to be at large several hard questions arise - among the most pressing of them being

whether Ruto could continue to be in office and representing Kenya on the global stage with an ICC conviction pending appeal.

In the Rift Valley and inside both URP and Cord, the Keters, Wamalwas and allied voices would kick up a political storm about Ruto's "crucifixion" and virtual "martyrdom". President Kenyatta would be scrutinized with politically-tinted binoculars for how shabbily he and the power elite were treating Ruto in his hour of need. In a state of such heightened tensions and sensitivities, anything would seem like a slight, even the most routine delegation of responsibilities, for instance the choice between sending the Deputy President or Chief of Staff Joseph Kinyua to a Western capital on official business).

But the real test for UhuRuto would come in the form of whether the grip Ruto has on the Rift Valley grassroots can be effectively transferred, or whether he goes down alone. Power abhors a vacuum. Where would Ruto's power go - elsewhere within URP or back, even if in fragmented form, to elements of the Moi era power elite? Above all, how cohesive would the Rift Valley vote bloc remain in a scenario without Ruto and where would this leave the "Tyranny of Numbers" factor?

No Kenyan Presidential campaign and poll repeats the exact patterns of another, including consecutive events. There will be other dynamics at play during the next presidential poll campaign, even if UhuRuto remains intact through every challenge between now and then and grows from strength to strength. This Presidential pair could still deliver a first term like none other and take everyone's breath away, both friend and foe.

On the other hand, they could come under so much pressure, both from within and without, that they put in a far less-than-salubrious first term. As 2013 amply demonstrated, certain old habits die hard, particularly bad habits. It was historian and biographer Isaac Deutscher who noted, in his classic study Russia after Stalin (1953):

"In later years, when economic reconstruction was under way and the ruling group might have met with more popular support, its members were already fixed in undemocratic habits of government and had a stake in persisting in those habits. It is as a rule easier for any government or party to move away from a democratic principle a thousand miles than to go back to it a single yard".

That single yard is already evident in Kenya today in the matter of the Kenyatta regime's recent head-on collisions with the multimedia journalism sector, and this administration is not yet a year old.

ANGOLA:

AU/AFRICA:

News analysis: 2014: Three challenges put Africa to the test

01-05-2014 /Editor:Bai Yang/Source: Xinhua

BEIJING, Jan. 5 (Xinhua) -- Sub-Saharan Africa has opened the New Year with woes and weals.

From Nigeria to South Africa and from Senegal to Uganda, most African countries greet the New Year in peace and serenity and are working in concert toward common prosperity.

On the other side, however, countries like Somalia, Central Africa, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo are still rife with uncertainties and complexity, fueling worries about their security and stability.

The complicated circumstances ahead could be a prelude to the security situation on the continent throughout 2014: most of the countries would press ahead in a peaceful way, a minority would be trapped in prolonged instability and only a few would face massive bloodshed.

For sub-Saharan, three major barriers are staring it right in the face.

First, terrorism may turn into ingrained cancer of the region. Since turbulence flared up in 2011 in West Asia and North Africa, terrorist forces have accelerated penetration southward. Mali's AQMI and Nigeria's Boko Haram, which still pose risks to WANA, have increasingly built connections with anti-government forces such as al-Shabaab in East Africa.

In September 2013, an upscale Westgate shopping mall in Kenya's capital Nairobi was attacked by terrorists, leaving 67 dead and hundreds injured. The Royal United Services Institute cautioned that an "arc of instability" is stretching across West, North and East Africa.

And by the time various terrorist forces unite in evil, not only peace and stability of Africa will have been threatened.

Second, the long-term unrest in several sub-Saharan countries has brought about growing spillovers.

The outbreak of refugee flows resulting from social turmoil in South Sudan and Central Africa has imposed huge pressure on their neighboring nations.

According to the UN statistics, up to 190,000 people have been displaced since deadly clashes erupted between warring parties in South Sudan in mid-December; since March last year, deteriorating situation in Central African Republic has forced 75,000 refugees to flee to neighboring countries like Republic of Congo, which brought a lot of pressure on border management and security.

In addition, some places in Central Africa are likely to became new drug transshipment points for the "Golden Crescent" countries such as Afghanistan.

According to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, seizures of heroin since 2009 are up tenfold in East Africa. The African Union officials also warned there is accumulative evidence of collusion between drug crimes and terrorism.

Third, there are growing chances of economic volatility in sub-Saharan Africa. For many countries in the region, to construct financial firewalls and speed up economic restructuring has been put high on the agenda.

In recent years, the sub-Saharan economies have picked up steam as their growing ranks of middle class acted like pivotal "ballast" for peace and stability in the region.

Yet there is lack of significant improvement on the undiversified economies and heavy reliance on foreign investment and resources export.

According to African media forecasts, the U.S. Federal Reserve's tapering will possibly result in a shift of international capital from inflows into to outflows from sub-Saharan Africa in 2014.

And new changes in supply and demand of oil and gas, combined with easing situations in the Middle East, will lead to a drop in oil and gas prices, media outlets estimated.

All of these factors may get Africa's "star economies" like South Africa and Angola in trouble, as they are facing currency depreciation and decreasing values of foreign exchange reserves.

Despite the challenges, there is good reason to build up confidence in safeguarding peace in sub-Saharan Africa. Sound development momentum has been gathered and maintained on the whole, after this region overcame all kinds of hardships in the past few years.

"The Renaissance of Africa" is coming to reality step by step and the African people's resolve and wisdom should never be overlooked or underrated. With that in mind, the world is ready to see a united and promising Africa in the new year.

South Sudan: The African Union Welcomes the Opening of Talks On the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan

4 January 2014/allafrica.com

document

Addis Ababa — The Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union (AU), Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, welcomes the beginning of talks between the Government of the Republic of South Sudan and a delegation representing former Vice-President Riek Machar, today, in Addis Ababa.

These talks, which had been called for by the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), notably at its Banjul meeting of 30 December 2013, as well as by the Summit of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) held in Nairobi, on 27 December 2013, come not a moment too soon.

Not a single day can be lost in the search for peace in South Sudan. Stopping the fighting in South Sudan is not only a humanitarian imperative but also a strategic necessity, in order to halt the rapid descent of Africa's newest nation into collapse. The Chairperson of the Commission notes that the region and the continent as a whole cannot afford the devastating implications of a failed state.

An immediate end to hostilities and the beginning of political dialogue, in line with the relevant provisions of the PSC Communiqué of 30 December 2013, is not only Africa's demand and that of the international community, but is also the plea of the people of South Sudan. Accordingly, the Chairperson of the Commission calls upon the leaders of South Sudan to abandon any attempt to seek military advantage prior to entering negotiations, and instead to declare a cessation of hostilities and engage in unconditional, inclusive and holistic political talks in good faith.

The Chairperson of the Commission expresses AU's full support for, and confidence in, the IGAD Special Envoys, Ambassador Seyoum Mesfin of Ethiopia and General Lazarus Sumbeiywo of Kenya, and its commitment to take all steps required to facilitate a successful conclusion of the negotiations. She calls upon the South Sudanese parties to cooperate fully with the IGAD Special Envoys.

UN/AFRICA:

UN peacekeepers fail to stop African wars

Sudarsan Raghavan/dawn.com/2014-01-06

NAIROBI: The United Nations has dispatched a record number of peacekeepers in Africa in recent years, deploying soldiers to trouble spots such as the Central African Republic and South Sudan. Yet the "blue helmets" and thousands of other soldiers sent by African regional groups have failed to prevent fresh spasms of violence.

The peacekeeping forces have cost billions of dollars, largely paid by the US and European nations. But they have been hobbled by weak mandates and a shortage of manpower and equipment. Some critics also say Washington, its allies and UN officials are at fault in the peacekeeping failures, for not following through with enough political pressure to prevent crises.

"The political and diplomatic elements of the international response to most Africa conflicts have been slow and ineffective," said John Prendergast, a longtime Sudan and South Sudan activist. That, he said, "has put more pressure on peacekeeping missions to fulfill objectives for which they are totally unprepared."

In South Sudan, a power struggle that US and UN officials were aware of for more than a year has now sparked an ethnic and political conflict that has killed hundreds, raising fears of a potential civil war.

On Friday, the warring sides held their first round of peace talks in neighboring Ethiopia, but the conflict showed no signs of abating. Already, nearly 200,000 people have been displaced by the fighting.

Frustration with the peacekeepers is rife. Ibrahim Muhammed, 30, fled the volatile Sudanese region of Darfur a year ago and arrived in South Sudan searching for a better future. Today, he languishes inside a UN peacekeeping base in the war-ravaged South Sudanese town of Malakal, living in a tent made of blankets.

"The UN peacekeepers have not been able to stop the violence in Darfur, and so I came here," said Muhammed, a shopkeeper. "But in South Sudan now, the situation is similar to Darfur. The peacekeepers won't be able to stop the attacks."

Toby Lanzer, a senior UN official in South Sudan, conceded there are limitations to what peacekeeping forces can accomplish in trouble spots. In many situations, including South Sudan and the Central African Republic (CAR), UN and African forces lack resources and a sufficient number of soldiers, he added.

There are now more UN peacekeepers in Africa than at any time in history — roughly twice as many as in the early 1990s. As of the end of November, more than 70 per cent of the 98,267 UN peacekeepers deployed globally were in sub-Saharan Africa, according to Peter Pham, executive director of the Atlantic Council's Africa Centre.

UN forces have often been limited by mandates that only allow them to fight in self-defence. Shortly before genocidal attacks erupted in Rwanda in 1994, for example, UN peacekeepers learned

that arms were being imported illegally by an ethnic Hutu militia.

But senior UN officials ordered the peacekeepers not to seize the weapons because it was outside the scope of their mandate, their commander, Brig. Romeo Dallaire, later recounted in a book.

More than two years ago, the UN mission in South Sudan was authorised to have up to 7,500 military personnel and police. But it was unable to stop the ethnic and political bloodletting that had been occurring since the country won independence from Sudan in 2011.

In Jan 2012, the UN mission was heavily criticised by victims and community leaders for doing little to stop a wave of tribal killings in Jonglei State, the same region that is now a battle zone.

African peacekeeping troops not under the UN banner often have even less equipment, training and resources. Yet, they are increasingly being called upon to help contain crises around the continent.

In CAR, African Union peacekeepers have been unable to stop the brutalities committed by Muslim Seleka rebels and Christian militias in the sectarian conflict. Soldiers from Chad, a Muslim nation that is part of the peacekeeping force, have been accused of supporting the Muslim rebels.

"Even with increased engagement in peace operations, questions remain about the quality and capability of African troops," Comfort Ero, the Africa director for the International Crisis Group, wrote in a blog on the group's website last month.

In CAR, hundreds of soldiers from France, the former colonial power, were sent to defuse the crisis after African peacekeeping forces failed to do so.

Still, when resources, training and a strong mandate are provided to African peacekeepers, there have been some successes

nave been some successes.
In the Democratic Republic of Congo, where the UN mission has been widely criticised as unable to protect civilians, the recent deployment of a rapid reaction UN combat brigade with a strong mandate helped defeat the M23 rebels.—By arrangement with the Washington Post
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CHINA/AFRICA:

China: Africa Remains An Important Pillar Of Diplomacy

Posted by: : Paul Ebeling/livetradingnews.com/ January 6, 2014

China's top diplomat has chosen 4 African countries to visit on his 1st trip abroad in the new year, a move that highlights the continent's importance in Beijing's diplomatic blueprint.

Foreign Minister Wang Yi begins his 6-day tour of Ethiopia, Djibouti, Ghana and Senegal Monday.

Wang will arrive in Ethiopia at a time when bi-lateral trade between China and Africa reached \$172.83-B between January and October in Y 2013

Africa is a major source of China's Crude Oil, rare metals and wood, has seen its status rise in China's development strategy. China is playing a constructive role in Africa's development, and the continent needs more investment and funding.

Every year, China provides training for 300 management personnel and technicians from Africa. China plans to provide \$20-B in loans for infrastructure construction.

Wang's visit has dismissed widespread skepticism that "China now focuses on diplomacy with other major powers rather than those with developing nations".

"Beijing has sent the signal that the African continent is still a supporting pillar of China's diplomatic strategy and the African countries still share a great common ground when China has become the second-largest economy in the world," He said.

President Xi Jinping visited three African nations during his first trip abroad after assuming office last March.

Experts said security co-operation should be given priority as economic co-operation has gained unprecedented momentum.

"The turbulence in parts of the continent has placed Chinese investment there in risky hands ... the cooperation in military and defense fields should be in line with the fast-growing economic field," Zhang said.

Chinese enterprises completed construction contracts worth \$40.83 billion in Africa in 2012, an increase of 45 percent from 2009, according to a white paper titled China-Africa Economic and Trade Co-operation, published by the Information Office of the State Council.

Security is now a weak link of China-Africa co-operation, and the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation last year underscored "peace and security" as a new field of co-operation.

China and African countries should enhance their cooperation in sharing anti-terrorism information. The 2 sides have taken a major step forward, and China has started training peacekeeping staff for Africa and provided facilities and funding.

Sino-Africa co-operation has developed so fast that it greatly exceeded the expectation of both sides and followup measures in some areas lag.

For example: some Chinese companies did not fully perform their corporate social responsibility when making investments in Africa, and , the laws and regulations in African countries are not sound enough and might risk some business interests.

INDIA/AFRICA:

BRAZIL/AFRICA:

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