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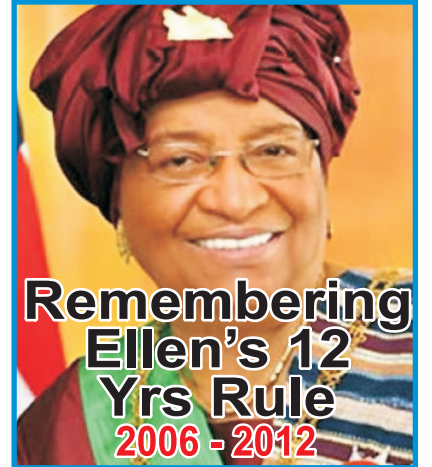
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The New Dawn

French Version Inside

TRULY INDEPENDENT



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PRICE LD\$40.00

China to construct US\$54m overpass bridges



President Weah and President Xi

-at SKD Boulevard, Ministerial Complex



Mr. Blamo Nelson

Impunity unacceptable

-Blamo Nelson



Continental News

Somalia's capital Mogadishu hit by huge explosion

A suicide bomber has attacked a government office in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, causing a nearby school to collapse, police say. The car bomb in Howlwadag district killed three soldiers and injured 14 people, including six children, local officials told BBC Somali.

The blast also damaged nearby houses and blew the roof off a mosque.

The militant group al-Shabab, which has waged an insurgency for more than 10 years, said it carried out the attack.

The three soldiers had died as they stopped the explosives-laden car from entering a government compound, local official Salah Hassan Omar said.

Raqiya Mahamed Ali, who was in the compound at the time, said: "We were in the middle of our usual work when the explosion

happened.

"I hid under the table. There was a lot of gunfire at our gate... when I came out, I saw many people injured on the ground and others dead," she told Reuters.

Somalia has faced instability and violence since 1991, when the military government was overthrown.

The ousting of Mohamed Siad Barre led to a decades-long civil war between rival

warlords, and two northern regions - Somaliland and Puntland - effectively broke away from Somalia.

Much of the country has effectively been a war zone.

A UN-backed unity government was formed in 2012. Al-Shabab has since been driven out of many urban areas but still controls territory in rural regions and carries out gun attacks and bombings on military and civilian targets.

The militant group has imposed a strict version of Sharia in areas under its control, including stoning to death women accused of adultery and amputating the hands of thieves.

A truck attack in Mogadishu in October last year killed at least 500 people in the deadliest bombing in Somalia.

A man accused of leading an al-Shabab unit that carried out the attack was sentenced to death in February. -BBC



Image copyright EPA: The blast killed three soldiers and injured several children

Uganda's pop star MP arrives in US for treatment

Ugandan pop star and MP Bobi Wine has arrived in the US for medical treatment following accusations he was tortured and beaten while in military custody.

The former rapper was initially prevented from leaving the country but was cleared to fly out on Friday.

He, and 32 opposition politicians, were charged with treason last week over the alleged stoning of President Yoweri Museveni's convoy.

Bobi Wine was later granted bail. The army denies allegations of torture.

On Friday, police confirmed that Bobi Wine had been cleared to fly out of the

country for specialised treatment after the government sent a team of nine doctors to examine him.

His lawyer, Robert Amsterdam, said the pop star had also been violently re-arrested at the airport on Thursday "even though the judge had let him have his passport because he needed to leave the country for medical reasons".

A police spokesman had confirmed on Twitter that Bobi Wine was being given a medical examination because of the allegations of torture.

Police said that another opposition MP, Francis Zaake, who was also trying to go abroad for treatment, had been "trying to flee the country and accordingly apprehended him".

On Friday, supporters of Bobi Wine held protests in the capital, Kampala.

Pictures shared on social media showed plumes of smoke rising in the streets, with local media reporting that the protests were confined to Kamwokya slum, where the MP grew up. -BBC

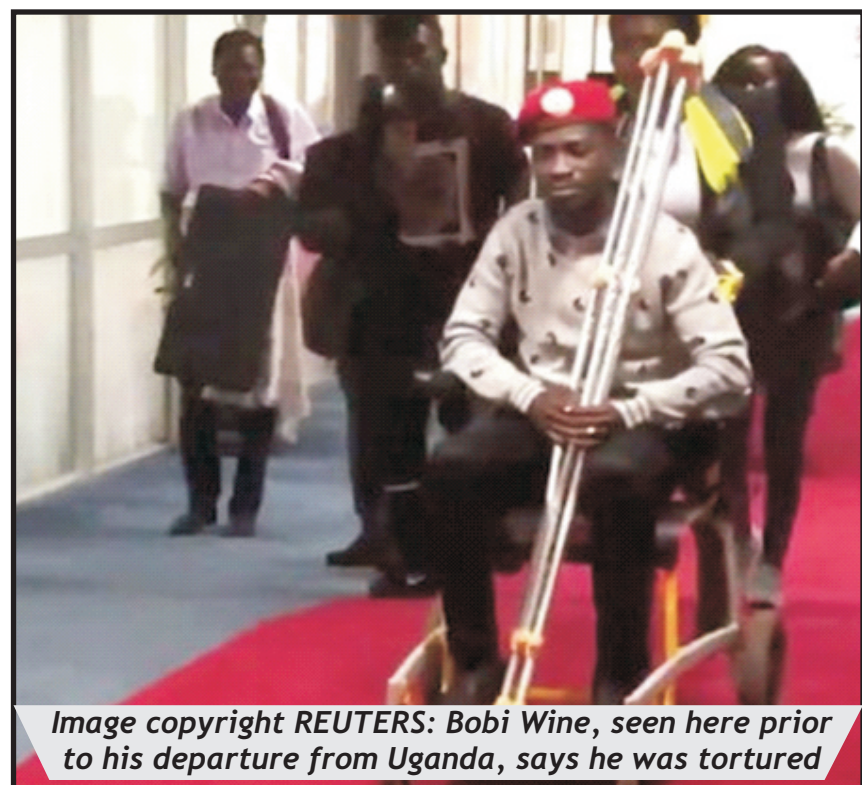


Image copyright REUTERS: Bobi Wine, seen here prior to his departure from Uganda, says he was tortured

SA white trade unionists to strike over 'racial exclusion'

A South African trade union with mainly white members is to begin strikes at a petrochemical firm over a share scheme available only to black workers, which it says is "blatant discrimination".

Businesses in South Africa are required to meet black ownership quotas under laws

The Solidarity Union has 6,300 members in Sasol's South African operations and says it is unfair that only black employees are eligible to receive the shares.

In a statement on its website, it described the planned three weeks of industrial action as "the first time in the history of South



Image copyright REUTERS: Workers at Sasol's South African operations are to strike over a new shares ownership scheme

intended to offset the impact of apartheid-era policies.

The Sasol firm said last year that it would increase black ownership in its local operations to at least 25%.

The strikes are due to start on Monday.

Sasol converts coal and gas to fuel.

Africa that white employees strike because of racial exclusion".

"We intend to switch off a different section of Sasol each day by means of well-laid and strategic plans," it added. -BBC

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EDITORIAL

Justice is on the way...

LIBERIA SEEMS TO be caught between the rock and high places as the post-war nation is being pushed to stem out impunity and deliver justice for victims of crimes against humanity.

AFTER 14 YEARS of bloody civil war that saw many of our young people drugged and armed with AK-47, RPGs and other deadly weapons to kill innocent civilians, mainly women, children and elderly people in the name of so-called liberation, calls for those who bear greatest responsibility for the heinous atrocities committed across this country is becoming louder and louder by the day.

CAMPAIGNERS WANT KEY actors during the darkest period of our nation's history to account for their inhumane deeds against fellow countrymen.

REGRETTABLY, HOWEVER, CULPRITS from this period hold the mantle of power today in Liberia, opposing and fighting the delivery of justice. In their thinking, peace is now more important than justice, but what is the foundation of genuine peace if people who slaughtered others in cold blood are not given their day in court?

JUSTICE, SURELY IS the platform on which lasting peace should be built rather than impunity. Those who believe heartless gun-toting rebels who murdered defenseless citizens and are now comfortably seated in government should be shielded need to think again, because the victims of their cruelty are weeping in their graves i.e., if they had one.

FORMER SOLICITOR GENERAL Cllr. Tiawon Gongloe says, justice is on the way for the scores of victims who lost their lives during the Liberian Civil War. Cllr. Gongloe notes when jailed former President Charles Taylor was arrested in Nigeria and brought back to Liberia in 2006, he (Gongloe) told the international press that the arrest of Mr. Taylor was the beginning of the end to impunity in Liberia.

SPEAKING AT A one-day workshop on transitional Justice last week in Monrovia organized by Geneva-based Civitas Maxima, he further notes the arrest and trial in the United States of America and Europe, of some of the notorious perpetrators of war crimes in Liberia clearly shows there are clear and cogent evidence on perpetrators of atrocities in Liberia.

"WE ESPECIALLY CALL upon our president, whom by all known accounts did not participate in the Liberian civil conflict to take the lead in the efforts to establish a war crimes tribunal in Liberia in order to bring to justice those who committed crimes against humanity during the Liberian civil conflict. We call upon the law-makers to take every step in the interest of the people whom they represent, to establish a war crimes tribunal in Liberia."

WE HOPE THIS administration will listen to the many calls and act sooner than later in its own interest and interest of the victims who deserve justice.

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COMMENTARY

By Joschka Fischer

The Sick Man of Europe Returns

When the Republic of Turkey emerged from the wreckage of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, its national ambition was to join Europe as a modern, secular state. But after much progress, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has now all but squandered his country's chance of realizing its founders' vision.

BERLIN - One of the great geopolitical issues in nineteenth-century Europe was the so-called Eastern Question. The Ottoman Empire, then known as the "sick man of Europe," was rapidly disintegrating, and it remained to be seen which European power would succeed it. When the self-annihilation of World War I finally arrived, it was no coincidence that it emanated from the Balkans, the geopolitical playground for the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian Empires.

All three great empires met their demise after the war. During the Allied partition of the Ottoman Empire, General Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the defeated Turkish army withdrew to Anatolia, where they successfully repelled a Greek intervention, and then rejected the Treaty of Sèvres. In its place came the Treaty of Lausanne, which paved the way for the establishment of the Republic of Turkey.

Atatürk's ambition was to turn Turkey into a modern, secular country that would belong to Europe and the West, not to the Middle East. To achieve this goal, he ruled as an authoritarian, and created a hybrid state based on de facto military rule and multiparty democracy. Over the course of the twentieth century, this arrangement produced recurring crises in which Turkish democracy was repeatedly interrupted by temporary military dictatorships.¹

After 1947, Turkish politics was heavily influenced by the Cold War. In 1952, Turkey joined NATO and became one of the West's indispensable allies. For decades, it used its strategic position between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea to guard the alliance's southern flank against Soviet encroachments.

Still, Turkey remained an unstable political entity. The constant vacillation between democracy and military rule arrested most of its progress toward modernization. For Turkish proponents of democracy, the country's best hope rested with Europe. Formal accession to the European Union would signal the completion of the modernization process. Whereas the Ottomans had maintained hegemony over the Middle East for a century, Turkey would become a card-carrying member of the West.

In 1995, Turkey entered into a customs union with the EU. By the time the Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in 2002, the country seemed to have oriented itself toward Europe for good. In partnership with the Islamic cleric Fethullah Gülen's movement, AKP governments led by then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan pursued far-reaching institutional, economic, and judicial reforms, including the abolition of the death penalty, an essential precondition for EU membership.

Moreover, during the early years of Erdogan's premiership, Turkey experienced rapid modernization and strong economic growth,

bringing it ever closer to the EU. By 2011, when the Arab Spring arrived, Turkey was rightly heralded as a successful model of "Islamic democracy," in which free and fair elections were combined with the rule of law and a market economy.

Seven years later, we seem to be in a completely different world. Turkey is quickly reclaiming its title as "the sick man of Europe." Given its strategic location and economic and human potential, the country should be moving toward a brilliant twenty-first-century future. Instead, it is marching backward toward the nineteenth century, under the banner of nationalism and reorientalization. Rather than embrace Western modernity, it is throwing in its lot with the Middle East and that region's perpetual crises.

Erdogan, who assumed the presidency in 2014, has presided over Turkey's rapid modernization and equally rapid backsliding. He had the chance to follow in Atatürk's footsteps, and to complete the task of integrating Turkey into the West, but he failed.

What explains this tragedy? One possibility is that Erdogan grew overconfident during the boom that preceded the 2008 financial crisis. Another is that he came to resent the West, owing to the humiliation of the stalled EU accession process and his own authoritarian ambitions, which he finally pursued in earnest after the failed military coup in the summer of 2016.

In any event, Erdogan has squandered a unique opportunity for both Turkey and the Muslim world generally. His country is now beset by a currency crisis of his own making, and it could even face the prospect of national bankruptcy. As he increasingly divides his loyalties between East and West, he risks destabilizing the Middle East even further. Turkey's domestic ethnic conflicts - particularly with the Kurds - have once again erupted with full force, even though past experience shows that they cannot be resolved militarily. Thanks to Erdogan, Turkey has become part of the problem in the region, rather than the solution.

And yet Turkey's strategic importance to Europe remains. Millions of EU citizens are of Turkish origin, and the country will continue to bridge the gap between East and West, North and South. Under Erdogan's regime, Turkey is no longer a prospective candidate for EU membership. But, rather than break off the accession process, the EU should focus on stabilizing the country and salvaging its democracy.

After all, a destabilized Turkey is the last thing Europe needs. Regardless of one's sympathy for or antipathy to Erdogan, Europe's own security depends heavily on Turkey, which has absorbed millions of migrants and refugees fleeing conflicts in the Middle East in recent years. For the sake of both European stability and Turkish democracy, the EU must confront Turkey's crisis with patience and pragmatism, based on its own democratic principles.

O-PED

By Ricardo Hausmann

The Slavery Incentive

CAMBRIDGE - Have you ever wondered why business schools do not teach the proper way to whip a worker to obtain maximum effort without damaging the asset? Had business schools existed before the American Civil War, one can conceive of at least a lecture, if not a full course, on the subject. Instead, business schools teach about corporate culture and values, on the assumption that maximum effort can be obtained from workers if they identify with the firm's mission and goals.¹

So why have slavery and other forms of bonded labor declined so dramatically in so many places around the world, and what can be done to abolish them completely? It might be tempting to assume that the decline of slavery is the consequence of human moral progress. But in his masterful book *The Other Slavery*, Andrés Reséndez shows how inadequate this assumption is. The book addresses the history of slavery and other forms of bondage of indigenous peoples in the Americas, a topic that has received much less attention than African-American enslavement.¹

As the book shows, Indian slavery in the Americas was outlawed by Charles I of Spain in 1542 and abolished in Peninsular Spain even earlier. The legislation against Indian slavery was further strengthened during the regency of Mariana of Austria (1665-1675), the mother of Charles II.

The laws were based on Catholic values and pushed by an activist group that included Bartolomé de las Casas, who championed the rights of indigenous peoples as children of God and subjects of the King. But, despite legal prohibitions, slavery proved remarkably resilient, with colonists using subterfuges such as debt peonage, "just wars" (which sanctioned enslavement of captured enemies as a more moral outcome than justified slaughter), and other tricks.¹

The reason for this resilience is probably best understood not as the consequence of poor law enforcement but of the profitability of slavery, which generated incentives too strong for laws to contain. The implication is that the dwindling of slavery today and its potential further reduction may depend on market rather than legal incentives.

Slavery was widespread, including in Europe, when it developed in the Americas, where - from the perspective of the Spanish settlers - acute labor shortages prevailed. Mining and plantation agriculture were labor-intensive, but the population had collapsed precipitously upon contact with Europe, owing to some combination of war, disease, oppression, and the disruption of livelihoods. Moreover, those jobs were dirty, dangerous, and demeaning. Gold mining in particular was almost a death sentence: workers seldom survived more than three years before succumbing to mercury poisoning or accidents.¹

Slavery did not succeed in keeping labor costs down because the slaves themselves were expensive. In the sixteenth century, slavers invaded other Caribbean islands to abduct workers and sell them to gold miners on the island of Hispaniola (today's Dominican Republic and Haiti). In the seventeenth century, slavery was used in Bolivia to operate the silver mines in Potosí.

In the eighteenth century, Comanches would hunt Apaches to sell to Mexican silver miners. Even after the US Civil War, the Fourteenth Amendment did not protect Native Americans: in the 1880s, the Supreme Court ruled that it did not cover them, and they gained citizenship rights only in 1924.

After the end of the international slave trade in the 1830s, what developed in the Caribbean was not free labor but indentured labor, with East Asians making the journey in exchange for what could be thought of as fixed-term slavery, similar to debt bondage. In the US, after the end of the post-Civil War period known as Reconstruction, southern states enacted vagrancy laws, which permitted the authorities to imprison displaced former slaves and condemn them to forced labor if it could be argued that they were idle.¹

How is bondage different from free labor, and why did the latter displace the former? Part of the answer may be technological: technologies that require effort that is hard to observe, or that use expensive and fragile equipment, may be inappropriate for slavery. For example, entrusting valuable assets to disgruntled slaves may be unwise. But this logic should not be exaggerated. After all, Nazis enslaved millions of gentiles from occupied countries, transported them to labor camps, mostly in Germany, and forced them to produce, inter alia, war materiel.

One fundamental difference between free labor and slavery is that slaves must be bought, meaning that the gains from exploitation do not necessarily accrue to the current slave owner, but are anticipated in the purchase price of the slave. This also means that capital would have to be expended in owning the slave, an expense not required of free labor. In a world of less-than-perfect capital markets, this expense may have had a serious opportunity cost in terms of the forgone investments in equipment and other inputs.

The fundamental difference between the two institutions is the range of options given to the worker. Bondage means that the worker cannot leave if he finds the conditions disagreeable. If the alternative to slavery is starvation or death, people may well choose slavery.¹

Today, migrants often face limited options. If they are undocumented, as millions are in the US, they cannot turn to the authorities to protect their labor rights, making them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. If they are legal, they often get a visa that allows them to work only for the sponsoring firm. If they find the conditions disagreeable, they cannot just change employers: they must leave the country.¹

By restricting the workers' outside options, employers may get them to accept terms that freer individuals would reject. That may be a reason why there is so little urgency in solving the problem of undocumented immigrants in the US, and why many countries protect citizens differently than foreigners. It may also be the reason why countries have refused to empower refugees, whether Syrians or Venezuelans, with rights. So long as the incentives to enslave persist, the effort to end slavery - by whatever name - will have to continue.

OPINION

By Simon Johnson

Saving Capitalism from Economics 101

WASHINGTON, DC - All across the United States, students are settling into college - and coming to grips with "Econ 101." This introductory course is typically taught with a broadly reassuring message: if markets are allowed to work, good outcomes - such as productivity growth, increasing wages, and generally shared prosperity - will surely follow.

Unfortunately, as my co-author James Kwak points out in his recent book, *Economism: Bad Economics and the Rise of Inequality*, Econ 101 is so far from being the whole story that it could actually be considered misleading - at least as a guide to sensible policymaking. Markets can be good, but they are also profoundly susceptible to abusive practices, including by prominent private-sector people. This is not a theoretical concern; it is central to our current policy debates, including important new US legislation that has just been put forward.

One core problem is that market incentives reward self-interested private behavior, without accounting for social benefits or costs. We generally overlook our actions' spillover effects on others, or "externalities." To be fair, Econ 101 textbooks do discuss this issue in some contexts, such as pollution, and it is widely accepted that environmental damage needs to be regulated if we are to have clean air, clean water, and limits on other pollutants.

Unfortunately, "widely accepted" does not include by President Donald Trump's administration, which is busy rolling back environmental protections across a broad range of activities. The New York Times counts 76 rollbacks in progress. The thinking behind this policy is straight out of the first few weeks of Econ 101: get out of the way of the market. As a result, there is a lot more pollution - including more emission of greenhouse gases - in America's future.

There is also an even deeper problem. There is a general presumption in Econ 101 that firms should maximize profits, and that this is best for their shareholders and for society. But this notion of "firms" is just a shorthand for people organized in a particular form. People, not firms, make decisions. To understand the nature and impact of these decisions, we need to look closely at the incentives of firms' senior managers and board members.

Since the 1970s, the people who run firms have become much more focused on increasing their compensation, through bonuses, stock options, and the like. There has been a significant rise in the value of shares, most of which are owned by the wealthiest 10% of Americans. At the same time, median wages have barely increased - a dramatic change from the immediate post-World War II period, when productivity increases led to steady wage gains.

Today, it is top managers and members of boards of directors in whose interest firms are run. Investors sometimes get a good ride, though there are plenty of instances where insiders take excessive advantage by awarding themselves overly generous compensation, taking on excessive risk, or engaging in other, more devious practices. The idea that compensation committees insist on genuinely impressive performance, relative to relevant benchmarks, has become risible.

This is the context in which Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts is proposing a new Accountable Capitalism Act. Very large companies would need to acquire a federal charter (as opposed to the current state charter arrangements), which would come with specific obligations - in particular, the need to consider the interests of all corporate stakeholders, including workers. To make this more meaningful and generally improve transparency, ordinary (non-management) employees should get some representation on the board of directors. This type of arrangement works well in Germany, a country where workers continue to be treated with respect.⁴

Warren also supports a proposal that originated from John Bogle, founder of Vanguard (a mutual fund company), that would require super-majority support from shareholders and directors before a large company could engage in political expenditures.

The underlying legal theory behind these proposals is sound, and it is well articulated in a letter signed by Robert Hockett of Cornell Law School and other distinguished figures. Large corporations are granted significant rights, including limited liability for individual executives, and facilitate the pooling of large amounts of capital from people who do not necessarily know one another (or the promoters of the company). Originally, the purpose was to enable the private sector to carry out large-scale risky investments that had broader potential impact, such as building canals and railroads.

The US supposedly constrains the activities of large corporations, with the Department of Justice taking action if companies acquire monopoly power or otherwise behave in an anti-competitive manner. Realistically, the enforcement of antitrust law has slipped a long way in recent years, under both Republican and Democratic administrations.

Warren is proposing a much broader rethink. Large corporations can still do well, but they need to be held accountable in a much more transparent way. Incentives for executives would be adjusted, and running these companies would no longer be so much about lining their own pockets. Workers would no longer be treated so badly, and more people might even start to believe again in the American Dream of prosperity for all.

The legitimacy of capitalism - private ownership and reliance on market mechanisms - would be greatly strengthened under the Accountable Capitalism Act. So, yes, like it or not, this will be on the final exam.

FROM WHERE I SEE PRESIDENT WEAH'S GOVERNMENT

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Justice Min. Dean, where is Your Legal Forbearance?

The Liberian Presidency is a sacred, inscribed and intricately democratic institution. However, the presidency can easily be ruined at the mercy of some opportunistic presidential appointees who may be potentially and indirectly antagonistic to President Weah, purposely to advance the concept of a rule of law, efficiency, effectiveness, pragmatism and or political stopgap, since President Weah is a proportionately a pubescent political actor in the Executive Mansion.

President Weah has not been fortunate to fully comprehend the dynamics and the political sophistication of the Liberian presidency that would enforce his political might in the direction of him making a critical independent assessments and informed judgement taking into consideration all the enormous technical facts that are directly embedded within the ambit of the Liberian presidency since the cradle of Liberia's second democratic dispensations in sequence. But pieces of political experiences have unearthed that the Liberian presidency is virtually a symbol of perpetual African prestige, enormous wealth accumulation vehicle, a well-calculated affluence festivity, and the crafting of a rich developmental resume in pursuant of a presidential aggrandizement as means of suppressing perpetual poverty throughout the president's lifespan.

Since President Weah is still adventuring around the inner workings and the ramifications of the Liberian presidency, he will for the next three years be vulnerable to political thieves, betrayers, falsehood, detractors, pretenders, pathological liars and doubled standard personalities among and between his political appointees' orbit. President Weah will be duped and hoodwinked a thousand times during his presidency to even affix his signatures on many papers. He will welcome multiple unwise economic and security decisions unknowingly to himself that could eventually plunge his presidency into perpetual political crises beyond his control.

One such political hoaxed come from the deceptive decision made by President Weah's Justice Minister Dean when he placed a ban on authorized public assembly in any manner and form quoting an Act Requiring the "Obtaining of Permits for Public Marches and Demonstrations, approved February 10, 1975, and Section 22 of the Liberia National Police Act of 2015, any person or group of persons wishing to stage a march or demonstration must first obtain a permit from the Ministry of Justice before staging such a demonstration."

Justice Minister Dean's decision is a dangerous game intended to betray President Weah, especially where the minister willfully kept his silence on the Liberian constitution which clearly stipulated in Article 17 "All persons at all times, in an orderly and peaceful manner, shall have the right to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct their representatives to petition the Government or other functionaries for the redress of grievances and to associate fully with others or refuse to associate in political parties, trade unions and other organizations"

Minister Dean is vehemently aware that the Liberian constitution takes precedence over the Justice Ministry and the LNP's versions on demonstration. The Minister however by his false and advanced intentions to fool President Weah that the Liberian constitution doesn't count in this particular scenario. It is the Justice Ministry and the LNP versions that counts, contrary to the interpretations provided for by the Justice Ministry and of the LNP which betrays President Weah.

To prove further that Minister Dean wants to destroy the Weah's Presidency, he has prompted Weah to believe that Section 10.1 of the Code of Conduct, entitled, "Declaration of Assets and Performance Bonds" is not compulsory for President Weah. This is a clear indication of how President Weah is being thrown under the bus by Minister Dean. Minister Dean has also ignored the fact that Liberia is highly fragile with 16000 ex-rebels' fighters and their warlords living side-by-side in Liberia waiting for the least crisis to happen for them to be in motion once again. The Justice Minister is aware of this type of fragility is affecting Liberia's security network, yet he is making a crisis decision to put the Weah's government into perpetual crisis thus betraying the very government he is working for.

Sources closed to the Justice Ministry revealed that foreigners are smuggling arms and ammunition into the country and nothing is done about that, yet the minister is making a terrible crisis decision to mess President Weah's government. It has also been revealed in security circles in Liberia that 9 out of 10 LNP recruits are former ex-rebel fighters and 50% of the so-called 4000 Liberian soldiers are former rebels who are pretending to be loyal to President Weah when they are not, yet in the midst of these fragilities, the Justice Minister is making dangerous decisions for a potential crisis that would jeopardize the Weah's government.

Ironically, the Justice Minister once lived in the U.S. and in England for many years. The Minister is in acknowledgment that citizens of those countries assembled freely, expressed their opinions freely, conduct peaceful demonstration without any permit, not even one from Jesus Christ the son of God. Cllr. Dean once served as Deputy Minister of Justice and Deputy Attorney General from July 1996 to February 1997 and knows that Liberia is highly fragile since the 16-years civil wars were not persecuted yet he is making crisis decision to destroy the Weah's government.

Mister Dean where were you when on September 7, 1984, the late Doe's Justice and Defense Ministers Jenkins Z.B. Scott and Gray D. Allison ordered the flogging, stripping, raping and the killing of over 60 University students on UL campuses because they violated the so-called Justice Ministry and LNP permit to freely assembled against the fundamental principle provided for under Liberia constitution? Which was basically wrong. Do you know the aftermath of such a crisis decision like the one you have just signed? The late Doe's regime fell. Minister Scott died like a pet on garbage site and Allison died dishonorably? Where were you when those events unfolded in 1984? You need to ask your former boss President Sirleaf and Dr. Amos Sawyer who lived with those bad memories—Put on your thinking cap Minister Dean.

Furthermore, be educated that constitutional laws are a fundamental bear rock of any society that believes in the tenets of democracy. President Weah cannot claim to be a law-abiding democrat but vehemently and willfully undermines the laws of Liberia and at the peril of presidential power and are the same time ignoring all those blatant violations of the laws by President Weah and at the same time compelled Liberians to abide by a demonstration laws of Liberia that is wrongly being interpreted. This is a doubled standard and a lip-service to Mama-Liberia, especially at the time when Liberia is at a severe security risk from within.

PERSPECTIVES POLI-TRICKS

Cont'd from page 10

dollars). Moreover, creations of "cities" in rural Liberia provide new opportunities for officially-protected encroachments upon customary lands by elite, wealthy city slickers from urban, coastal Liberia.

This new condition of cities in rural Liberia with Customary Land sale in rural Liberia prompted a Voinjama, Lofa County Elder to ask, "uh, and how I will buy this land, then, we must buy from who?" In other words, no one has the right to sell the land in the first place, because it was their forefathers who "had settled the land, cleared the bush, made it arable, usable and valuable". According to their "traditional" notions of making claims, what right has the government to ask for money for the land that was already, and is, theirs (Lomax, 2008).

Political Sovereignty versus Indigenous Ownership

It is necessary, indeed mandatory, to provide international interpretations of political (colonial) sovereignty versus Indigenous Ownership. On land ownership based on "Political sovereignty" versus "Indigenous Ownership", Wiley observed that it was only during the 1970s that positive and favorable, Supreme Court rulings on many continents began to take root regarding land laws - accepted possession of rural lands to be clearly and concretely re-interpreted and asserted (Wiley, 2007):

First, the New Zealand Supreme Court ruled, in 1847, that "it cannot be too solemnly asserted that indigenous 'native title' is to be respected that it cannot be extinguished other than by the free and informed consent of the occupiers".

Second, other courts, including the British Privy Council held, but ignored that "a mere change in Sovereignty is not to be presumed to disturb (the) rights of private owners".

Third, the Canadian Supreme Court concluded in 1973 that "pre-sovereignty, property rights of indigenous peoples cannot, forever, fail to be acknowledged; continued and current occupation today should be acknowledged as proof of possession and, possession to be proof of ownership".

And Fourth, to this, the Tanzanian Supreme Court observed, in 1994, that "to do otherwise (deny indigenous right to title and ownership) is to condemn Tanzanian citizens to being squatters on their own land - a very serious preposition".

Accordingly and back home in Liberia, it is extremely necessary that the National Decentralization & Local Governance Policy in Liberia take due note and include Land Rights administration/enforcement in the light of the following that:

1. The foregoing contradictions are the major sources of impediments to Boundary Demarcations, local, democratic governance and national reconciliation and peace;
2. Social, economic and political analysts and observers of recent Liberian history predict and conclude that failure of policy makers to address land disputes and the resulting conflicts through re-recognition of traditional, Customary Land Tenure, with application of fair and definitive boundary demarcations, could provide the incentive for another, devastating, national tragedy;
3. Denial of legitimate, property rights of indigenous populations is, in effect, colonialism, a practice against which the Immigrant-Settlers stood firmly by recognizing, accepting Customary Land Tenure and protecting indigenous, hinterland populations and their laws. However, they changed years later in the effort to capture and hold on to valuable assets (land and forest thereon, legally-held by the hinterland, local communities) through the concept of "Hinterland as occupied Territory", which had now become the "colony" of Urban, Coastal Liberia with Hinterland populations, the colonized. This issue has become abusive and violation of human rights.

Nation-wide Land Disputes

Nationwide, as indicated earlier - North, South, East and West - throughout the length and breadth of this troubled land, there has been, and are, conflicts, confusions and land disputes often leading to armed, deadly violence among and between farmers, private landowners in the cities, towns, villages, and county authorities.

President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf referred to this condition in her Annual Message (January 28, 2013) as ". . . as if these statistics were not daunting enough, the boundaries of all these localities overlap, leading to confusion over jurisdiction and administrative authority . . .".

This alarming condition is due to illegal actions of the land-grabbers, encroachers/squatters of land not their own, exacerbated and compounded by rebels of the civil war.

The example is right here in our Capital City of Monrovia. We are sitting on potential time bomb which is likely to explode at any time, in the event that nothing is done about the illegal encroachers at the Cooper Beach Estate. Some of the illegal encroachers/squatters built shops, churches, homes and mansions on land which they do not own, refuse to vacate and render possession to lawful owners, even upon the nation's Supreme decision, with all necessary legal mandates in favor of the Cooper Beach Estate and the land owners who acquired their properties lawfully from the Estate.

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

Journalist's killer delays trial

-Court fines defense US\$100.00

By Winston W. Parley

The Criminal Court "B" handling the murder trial of late journalist Tyron Browne appears to be unhappy over the repeated delays by murder suspect Jonathan Williams, fining his counsel US\$100.00 in response to the defense's latest "delay strategies."

"... [This] Court believes that the people on the defense counsel are testing the [resolve] of this court which cannot be tolerated any longer," presiding Judge Roosevelt Z. Willie stated Friday, 31 August.

Judge Willie cites the defense counsel Cllr. Jallah Barbu's inability to either convince his client about the processes he will take in his representation so that he can proceed, but rather "employ delay strategies."

The judge warns the defense counsel that it is not a good sign as arm of the court, and fines the counsel an amount of US\$100.00 or its equivalent at the Central Bank rate to be paid in the Judiciary account on or before Wednesday, 5 September.

The Court, however, grants the continuance requested by the defense because prosecution has consented, and thus schedules the case for Monday, 3 September.

When the case began on 15 August, the Court granted

defendant Williams two weeks to secure a lawyer which ended on 29 August.

At the end of the two weeks, defendant Williams told the Court that he had begun preliminary discussions with Cllr. Jallah Barbu.

The lawyer informed the

return on Friday, 31 August to further ask for change of venue and separate trial.,

Judge Willie denied the motion for severance (separate trial) and ruled that the trial will continue jointly on Monday.

The defense team says it wanted separate trial for defendant Williams because the murder charge he faces is

interest, among others, in contravention of their statutory and constitutional rights.

In resisting the defense's request, the prosecution raises contention that the action of the co-defendants was intended to [divert] the state machinery of relevant information that could have led to the successful

defendant Williams' two nieces Alice Youtey and Edwina Promise Youtey did not report the crime to the police.

The victim's body was said to have been dumped along the Kingdom Care Road in Duport Road on the night of Sunday, 15 April.

Prosecutors on Wednesday, 15 August nolle prosequi (abandoned trial against) defendants Bill Caesar Kennedy, Massa Kenedy and Juana Bracewell to have them testify for government against defendant Williams in return.

Prior to his murder, police say journalist Browne was a friend to Edwina Youtey and he had visited her several times both day and night at her house in Du-port Road which later became the crime scene.

Victim Browne was working with businessman Atty. George Kailondo's private - owned Super FM/TV when he met his untimely demise following some exchanges with defendant Williams who is said to have been at Alice and Edwina's residence before the victim's visit there.

Police say defendant Williams allegedly admitted to killing victim Browne by stabbing him with a knife after the deceased allegedly knocked his (suspect's) head on the wall.

The defendant is alleged to have narrated that he thought the deceased was an armed robber.

But investigators said journalist Browne was not an armed robber and did not possess any weapon when he visited the defendant's compound in Du-port Road where he got killed.



court that he had consented to represent defendant Williams' interest, but then requested for time so that he could study the case.

His request was granted and he was given three days to allow him study the case.

But the court appears unhappy by the defense team's

distinct and has no relationship with the charge of hindering law enforcement brought against co - defendants Edwina Youtey and Alice Youtey.

The defense claims that a joint trial of the defendants will work to prejudice their

prosecution of the murder case.

Prosecution says the co-defendants' motive once achieved, would have allowed the cold blooded murder of journalist Tyron Browne not to be brought to the attention of the criminal justice machinery.

Police say all of those that witnessed journalist Browne's murder including Massa Kennedy, Bill Caesar Kennedy, Juana Bracewell and

Container shops in Gardnerville risk removal

By Emmanuel Mondaye

Dozens of intransigent owners of container shops at the intersections of Chicken Soup Factory and LPRC risk being removed by the Ministry of Public Works (MPW).

The Government of Liberia (GOL) through the MPW in 2016 reportedly gave money to owners of business establishments operating along the Somalia Drive in Gardnersville Township to relocate.

The purpose of the reported payment for businesses' relocation by government was to give way for the pavement of the Somalia Drive Road.

However, months after receiving the reported money from government, the evicted business entities resurfaced on the sidewalks and continue to operate there today, ignoring government's 175 feet stopping point.

An official of the Ministry of Public Works (MPW) who begged for anonymity is

wondering as to who authorize the placement of 20 and 40 feet containers on the sidewalks.

The anonymous official says most of the evicted businesses claim they have paid US\$75.00 to an unnamed person in Gardnersville for the spot their containers are occupying.

But the official warns that those who gave money to people to be allowed to sell on the sidewalks along Somalia Drive are doing so at their own risk. He notes that containers along the Somalia Drive risk being confiscated and sold by government.

The MPW official says that he sees no reason why people who received money from government to relocate will intentionally go to remain at the same place they have already been paid for.

In addition to plans to confiscate containers, the source warns that there are plans for the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) to prosecute container owners for violating

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the mandate of government.

When contacted, some container shops owners including Fatu Mulbah Yassah, confirmed to this paper that an unnamed staff of Gardnership Township had encouraged container shops owners to replace their shops that are on the sidewalks.

They claim that they were asked to operate their container shops on the sidewalks since government has completed construction on one side of the road.

Most of the container shops operating there sell spare parts, clothes, rubber materials among others.

When the office of the Township Commissioner of Gardnersville was contacted over the weekend, a staff who refused to be identified said that his bosses had no knowledge about the situation. The staff however promised to notify the relevant authorities for quick action.--Edited by Winston W. Parley



MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

8 flogged to death in Nimba

By Thomas Domah/Nimba

At least eight people have been reportedly flogged to death in Nimba County in acts of mob violence.

The victims were flogged to death in several parts of the county.

The New Dawn Nimba County Correspondent says most of the victims were suspected criminals, while

districts# 8 and 9, while the rest lost their lives in districts# 3 and 4, respectively.

Some of the victims have been identified as 29-year-old Eric Dahn, whose lifeless body was abandoned in front of the Ganta United Methodist Hospital in Ganta, Nimba County.

According to sources, the late Eric Dahn was arrested by

continue with his act when he met his demise while attempting to steal from the Public Works Yard community.

Others mobbed to death in Ganta include Duck Saigah, in Palm Farm Community, Emmanuel Johnson was found dead near the Liberia Bank for Development and Investment (LBDI) sub-office in Ganta, including Samuel Paye, P 4 CKA



Victims of mob violence

others were attacked by friends.

From July to August 30, 2018 the county had suffered eight deaths, all of them men.

Three of the incidents transpired in Ganta City, while two other victims were flogged to death by country devil in

officers of the Liberia National Police in Ganta for theft and forwarded to the Ganta Magisterial Court, but was released last week Tuesday.

The deceased, who was allegedly a resident of Karnplay, in electoral district# 3, migrated to Ganta to

Johnson, Eric Paye, Junior Johnson and Bob Saye, among others.

Meanwhile, police in Nimba County along with Ganta City Mayor Amos N.G. Suah announce of increase criminal activities in the provincial city. **-Editing by Jonathan Browne**

Nimba delegates voice frustrations

By Thomas Domah/Nimba

Several delegates, including citizens from a three-day county sitting in Sanniquellie, Nimba County are frustrated over relegation of important development programs including Education, Agriculture, Community Watch Forum, Youths and Women Empowerment at this year's sitting.

Some of them explain to the New Dawn that in the past, money had been placed in the

budget for development but they are yet to see impacts of such appropriation.

At the 2018 County Sitting, the delegates say they were informed that national government had allotted over US\$3 Million for the county.

Huge portion of the amount is being reportedly spent on hiring private security firm to protect the administrative compound in Sanniquellie and the county scraps in Yekepa, respectively.

This year's sitting focuses

on roads construction, community development, scholarships, and institutional support, among others.

Superintendent Dorr Cooper was unable to give prepared account of funds he received during his administration.

In a PowerPoint presentation at the gathering, he narrates that he met US\$1,000 in the county's account.

After his presentation, delegates expressed disappointment in the report and declare vote of no confidence in Superintendent Cooper.

Mr. Darius Dan-Wehyee, head for a civil society organization, Ear for the Massive describes superintendent cooper's report as fake on grounds that Nimba has not been able to go for sitting in the past three years, and the superintendent, who has been on community radio stations, calling for a sitting would give such a very poor report.

Superintendent Cooper's



Delegates at the County Sitting

SyndiGate launches new digital content marketplace

Leading content marketing agency, SyndiGate, has launched DISCO (marketplace.disco.info), a revolutionary digital content marketplace where buyers can access, search for, and acquire an instant license to use or republish content, all of which is fully rights-cleared.

DISCO combines proprietary technology with world-class journalism and is an essential tool for publishers, broadcasters, and brands in the Middle East who are looking for trustworthy, multilingual content that generates and engages audiences, and drives revenue.

Named after the Latin verb of the same name, DISCO opens up content buyers to a vast array of content formats including; articles, broadcast news, editorial videos, features, illustrations, interviews, images and infographics, among many others. The unique platform offers flexible payment models that put the needs of the content buyer at the forefront, including Pay-Per-Use (PPU), monthly license fees, or content credit packages.

"Most news and press publishers, broadcasters and now even brands, rely on using third party, syndicated

content, which is generally sourced from a limited number of news agencies and image libraries," said Mark Gatty Saunt, Co-Founder and Director of Content Sales and Licensing at SyndiGate. "DISCO offers content buyers a more diverse range of super-premium, multilingual content, all from a single, trusted platform. We don't believe in locking our clients into annual license fees - a legacy model that favours the content provider, and one DISCO intends to disrupt."

Initially targeting content buyers in the MENA region, DISCO is available world-wide and supports content - and searching for content - in multiple languages. To help clients optimise their syndicated content usage, DISCO offers a team of experienced content analysts who can assist users in identifying the topics, authors, formats, and channels that their audiences care about most.

The DISCO content marketplace is suitable for those in the following roles: Art Directors, Content Marketing, Creative Directors, Editors, Deputy Editors, Freelance Photo Researchers, Online Editors, Photo Editors, Photo Researchers, Producers, and Production Associates. **- Press release**

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Welcome To The New World

report mentions several projects, including Karn Bridge, schools and roads, among others, but these projects were not captured in the county projects implementation committee report.

The most talked about Karn Bridge that the

Superintendent has been boasting of was rejected by the citizens.

Delegates and citizens left the annual gathering very downhearted because they have not seen impacts of social and county development funds allotted. **-Editing by Jonathan Browne**

Français

Tribunal des crimes de guerre : Le Président Chambers retourne sa veste

Le président de la Chambre des Représentants Bhofal Chambers, qui, autrefois, était un farouche militant de l'établissement d'un tribunal des crimes de guerre pour le Libéria pour poursuivre tous les criminels de guerre, semble maintenant être passé de l'autre côté, rejetant catégoriquement la création d'un tel tribunal dans le pays.

Son revirement soudain a été rendu public lors de la séance d'ouverture de la réunion délocalisée du parlement de la CEDEAO à Monrovia, la semaine dernière, disant préférer plutôt une justice de compensation des victimes qui mettra un accent sur la réconciliation, la stabilité et la concorde.

Il a fait valoir que le Libéria ne peut parvenir à la paix sans une véritable réconciliation et que la



justice de compensation des victimes est la seule voie qui mène à la paix et la stabilité durables.

Avant son dernier appel, M. Chambers était connu comme étant l'un des nombreux Libériens qui plaidaient en

faveur de la création non seulement d'un tribunal des crimes de guerre pour poursuivre les auteurs des atrocités commises pendant la crise armée, mais aussi d'un tribunal économique pour punir ceux qui se sont

rendus coupables de détournement des fonds publics.

Mais, maintenant, il appelle les Libériens à ne pas s'écarter de l'accord de paix d'Accra qui ne préconisait que la création d'une Commission vérité et réconciliation.

Il faut dire que presque tous les fonctionnaires de cette administration, y compris le président de la république, s'opposent plus ou moins à ce tribunal, remuant le spectre d'un chaos dans le pays.

Le sénateur du comté de Nimba, Prince Yormie Johnson, ancien seigneur de guerre, chef de la faction rebelle Front national patriotique indépendant du Libéria (INPFL), qui a capturé et dépecé à mort le président

Doe, sous le regard complice des forces d'interposition d'ECOMOG en 1990, est naturellement opposé à la création d'un tribunal de guerre. Les forces sous son commandement sont soupçonnées d'avoir commis des crimes odieux pendant la crise, dont des viols, des assassinats sommaires, des mutilations et l'usage d'enfant soldat, pour ne citer que ceux-là.

Mais les principaux militants du tribunal de la Diaspora et ceux vivant au Libéria ne démordent pas. Ils croient que ce tribunal pourrait s'établir ici plus tôt que prévu.

A rappeler qu'une pétition présentée à la Chambre des représentants par un groupe de citoyens, en vue de la création d'un tribunal des crimes de guerre, a été qualifiée d'ambigüe par le président de l'Assemblée nationale.

Le 9 mai, cette année, vêtus de noir, des Libériens ont organisé une marche pacifique au Capitole, exhortant les législateurs à mettre en place un tribunal des crimes économiques et de guerre pour mettre fin à des années d'impunité.

Ils ont exigé la poursuite de ceux qui portent les plus grandes responsabilités pour les atrocités de la guerre civile qui a officiellement pris fin en 2003 et ceux qui auraient pillé les ressources économiques du pays au fil des ans.

Une société immobilière burkinabè obtient la construction de 50 000 logements au Libéria

C'est une grosse affaire pour GELPAZ IMMO-SA, qui a obtenu un contrat de construction 50 000 logements sociaux et économiques au Libéria. La signature du contrat est intervenue le 20 août 2018 entre les premiers responsables de la société et les autorités libériennes.

GELPAZ IMMO SA exporte son savoir-faire dans le domaine des bâtiments et travaux publics au pays de Georges Weah. Cette société immobilière burkinabè a été

retenue par l'Autorité nationale de l'Habitat du Libéria (NHA) pour la construction de 50 000 logements sociaux et économiques dans ce pays. Et cela s'est matérialisé par une signature de contrat intervenue le 20 août 2018 à Monrovia, capitale libérienne. Ces engagements ont été paraphés par le Président-directeur général (PDG) de GELPAZ IMMO SA, Alain Z. Zoungrana et le ministre de l'Habitat représentant le

gouvernement libérien, Duannah Siryon.

Ce projet de construction, qui va concerner la ville de Monrovia et quatorze aux provinces, se veut une réponse au faible taux d'urbanisation du Libéria qui tourne autour de 3%.

Forte de la confiance à elle accordée par les autorités libériennes, la société burkinabè GELPAZ IMMO SA s'engage à être à la hauteur du défi. Et pour ses premiers responsables qui ont fait le



Articles traduits

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déplacement de Monrovia, cela passe par le respect des cahiers de charges. Pour son premier responsable, c'est plus qu'un challenge que de décrocher des marchés dans des pays anglophones. Pour lui, c'est l'expertise burkinabè qui s'exporte dans le domaine immobilier.

Première du genre, l'obtention de ce marché est, selon le président-directeur général de GELPAZ IMMO SA, le

fruit d'un long processus mené par le service communication de sa société.

Créée en 2009, GELPAZ-IMMO SA est une société burkinabè de promotion immobilière et foncière intervenant principalement dans l'achat et la viabilisation de terrains urbains et ruraux, la construction de logements au Burkina Faso, la gestion de logement et de patrimoines immobiliers.

Français

Éditorial

Les médias locaux absents à la réunion du parlement de la CEDEAO

Une réunion délocalisée du parlement de la CEDEAO est en cours à Monrovia. Les médias libériens n'y ont pas été conviés, pas même l'Union de la presse du Libéria, l'organe qui dirige les journalistes en exercice dans le pays, encore moins l'Association des rédacteurs en chef du Libéria.

Le comité mixte sur les communications et les technologies de l'information, l'éducation, la science et la technologie, le travail, l'emploi, la jeunesse, les sports et la culture est chargé de cette réunion.

L'organisation régionale met en place une radio et une télévision de la CEDEAO au Libéria, qui diffuseront à travers l'Afrique de l'Ouest et au-delà des programmes en anglais, en français, en hausa et en portugais, entre autres.

La réunion délocalisée se déroule sous le thème "Contribution des TIC au processus d'intégration régionale - état de la mise en œuvre, défis et perspectives pour les stations de radio et de télévision communautaires de la CEDEAO".

Quoique nous applaudissons sans réserve l'idéal de créer des stations de radio et de télévision de la CEDEAO et le choix du Libéria comme pays hôte, ce qui renforcera l'intégration régionale grâce aux technologies de la communication de l'information, à l'éducation, à la science et à la technologie, au travail, à la jeunesse, aux sports, il aurait été mieux d'associer les médias libériens, en particulier l'union de la presse du Libéria, et d'autres organisations axées sur les médias, ne serait-ce pour servir d'observateurs.

Nous pensons que cela est important car les efforts de délocalisation des activités de la CEDEAO, en utilisant les médias comme instruments clés, ne pourront être efficaces que si les médias locaux sont amenés à y participer en tant que partenaires.

C'est peut-être un oubli, et nous ne blâmons pas les autorités du Parlement de la CEDEAO, qui sont dans le pays en tant qu'invités, mais les membres du parlement libérien qui accueillent cette étape importante pour discuter de notre marche en avant comme région sans frontières.

Que les autorités libériennes sachent que ce forum, au stade embryonnaire, doit impliquer toutes les parties prenantes, y compris les médias, pour décrire une perspective plus large. Nous devons nous asseoir avec nos frères ou collègues des médias du Ghana, du Nigéria, de la Guinée, de la Sierra Leone, de la Côte d'Ivoire, du Niger, du Bénin, du Togo et d'autres pays de la sous-région pour définir notre plateforme de promotion de notre diversité culturelle, politique, économique et sociale, c'est-à-dire un bloc régional.

Que nous ne soyons mal compris, nous ne prenons pas le public en témoin par motif égoïste. Il s'agit plutôt de favoriser un partenariat solide avec nos parlementaires régionaux afin de sortir l'Afrique de l'Ouest des mystères économiques et politiques et promouvoir la paix, l'unité, le commerce et la diversité sociale et culturelle.

Comme nous le savons tous, les médias constituent un canal de communication solide pour promouvoir chaque programme de développement. Et c'est pourquoi la CEDEAO juge opportun d'établir des stations de radio et de télévision au Libéria pour faire avancer son intérêt commun. N'aurait-il pas été approprié, par conséquent, d'avoir au moins la direction de l'Union de la presse du Libéria et d'autres organes de presse connexes lors de ces réunions en tant qu'observateurs?

COMMENTAIRE

Par Joschka Fischer

Le retour de l'homme malade de l'Europe

BERLIN - L'une des problématiques géopolitiques majeures de l'Europe du XIXe siècle a résidé dans la fameuse question orientale. L'Empire ottoman, alors décrit comme « l'homme malade de l'Europe », s'est rapidement désintégré. Il restait à observer quelle puissance européenne allait lui succéder. Lorsque l'autodestruction de la Première Guerre mondiale est finalement survenue, elle a sans grande coïncidence émané des Balkans, terrain de jeu géopolitique des empires ottoman, austro-hongrois et russe.

Ces trois grands empires ont fini par disparaître après la guerre. Lors de la partition de l'Empire ottoman, le général Mustafa Kemal Atatürk et l'armée turque vaincue se sont retirés vers l'Anatolie, où ils sont parvenus à repousser l'intervention grecque, puis à rejeter le traité de Sèvres. Celui-ci a été remplacé par le traité de Lausanne, qui a posé les bases de l'établissement de la République de Turquie.

À l'époque, Atatürk a pour ambition de transformer la Turquie en un pays moderne et laïque, appartenant à l'Europe et à l'Occident, plutôt qu'au Moyen-Orient. Pour atteindre cet objectif, il exerce un pouvoir autoritaire, tout en créant un État hybride fondé sur un règne militaire de facto et sur une démocratie multipartite. Au cours du XXe siècle, cette approche engendrera des crises récurrentes, qui verront la démocratie turque à plusieurs reprises interrompue par des dictatures militaires sans lendemain.

Après 1947, les politiques turques sont largement influencées par la guerre froide. En 1952, la Turquie rejoint l'OTAN, et devient l'un des alliés indispensables de l'Occident. Pendant des décennies, elle usera de sa position stratégique entre l'Est méditerranéen et la mer Noire pour protéger le front sud de l'alliance contre les empiètements soviétiques.

La Turquie demeure alors cependant une entité politique instable. Le vacillement constant entre démocratie et règne militaire entrave considérablement ses progrès vers la modernité. Pour les Turcs partisans de la démocratie, le plus grand espoir du pays réside dans l'Europe. L'accession officielle à l'Union européenne marquerait l'achèvement du processus de modernisation. Là où les Ottomans avaient maintenu leur hégémonie sur le Moyen-Orient pendant un siècle, la Turquie deviendrait un membre actif de l'Occident.

En 1995, la Turquie conclut une union douanière avec l'UE. Lorsque le parti musulman Justice et Développement (AKP) arrive au pouvoir en 2002, le pays semble s'être définitivement tourné vers l'Europe. En collaboration avec le mouvement de l'ecclésiastique musulman Fethullah Gülen, les gouvernements AKP conduits par le Premier ministre de l'époque Recep Tayyip Erdogan vont mener d'importantes réformes au niveau institutionnel, économique et judiciaire, notamment l'abolition de la peine de mort, prérequis essentiel à l'entrée dans l'UE.

Par ailleurs, au cours des premières années de mandat d'Erdogan au poste de Premier ministre, la Turquie connaîtra une modernisation rapide et une solide croissance économique, ce qui la rapprochera un peu plus de l'UE. En 2011, avec

l'apparition du Printemps arabe, la Turquie est à juste titre annoncée comme un modèle réussi de « démocratie islamique », dans laquelle des élections libres et équitables sont combinées à la primauté du droit ainsi qu'à l'économie de marché.

Sept ans plus tard, nous sommes confrontés à un monde totalement différent. La Turquie renoue bon train avec son statut d'« homme malade de l'Europe ». Compte tenu de sa localisation géographique ainsi que de son potentiel économique et humain, le pays devrait s'orienter vers un avenir radieux au XXIe siècle. Au lieu de cela, la Turquie opère une marche arrière vers le XIXe siècle, sous la bannière du nationalisme et de la réorientation. Plutôt que d'embrasser la modernité occidentale, le pays lie son destin à celui du Moyen-Orient, et aux crises perpétuelles de la région.

Devenu président en 2014, Erdogan aura participé tant à la modernisation rapide du pays qu'à sa rechute tout aussi fulgurante. L'opportunité lui a été donnée de suivre les pas d'Atatürk, et d'achever la démarche d'intégration de la Turquie à l'Occident, mais il en fin de compte a échoué.

Comment expliquer cette tragédie ? Il est tout d'abord possible qu'Erdogan soit devenu trop confiant pendant le boom ayant précédé la crise financière de 2008. Peut-être a-t-il également fini par en vouloir à l'Occident à force d'humiliation dans un processus d'adhésion à l'UE au point mort, ou en raison de ses propres ambitions autoritaristes, qu'il a finalement pu laisser s'exprimer après le coup d'État militaire avorté de l'été 2016.

Quoi qu'il en soit, Erdogan a manqué une opportunité unique pour la Turquie, et pour le monde musulman en général. Son pays est désormais en proie à une crise monétaire dont il est lui-même responsable, la Turquie risquant même une faillite nationale. Le président partageant ses loyautés entre l'Orient et l'Occident, il risque de déstabiliser encore davantage le Moyen-Orient. Les conflits ethniques intérieurs à la Turquie - notamment avec les Kurdes - resurgissent avec force, alors même que l'expérience passée démontre l'impossibilité de les résoudre militairement. À cause d'Erdogan, la Turquie est devenue une partie du problème dans la région, plutôt que de la solution.

L'importance stratégique de la Turquie pour l'Europe demeure néanmoins. Plusieurs millions de citoyens de l'UE sont d'origine turque, et le pays est voué à demeurer une passerelle entre l'Orient et l'Occident, le nord et le sud. Sous le règne d'Erdogan, la Turquie n'est plus un candidat potentiel à l'entrée dans l'UE. Mais plutôt que de rompre définitivement le processus d'adhésion, l'UE doit œuvrer pour stabiliser le pays et préserver sa démocratie.

En effet, une Turquie instable constitue bien la dernière chose dont l'Europe ait besoin. Quelles que soient les affinités ou les antipathies des uns et des autres à l'égard d'Erdogan, la propre sécurité de l'Europe dépend en grande partie de la Turquie, qui a absorbé plusieurs millions de migrants et réfugiés des conflits du Moyen-Orient ces dernières années. Pour le bien de la stabilité européenne et de la démocratie en Turquie, l'UE doit affronter la crise turque avec patience et pragmatisme, sur la base de ses propres principes démocratiques.

PERSPECTIVES

With Bai M. Gbala, Sr.
August 29, 2018

Public Policy . Economics . Democratic Politics . Political/Economic Decentralization . Public Dishonesty . Dual Citizenship

POLI-TRICKS

THE ADULTERATION OF POLITICS HAS CAPTURED THE ADMIRATION EFFECTIVE INDULGENCE IN AND COMMITMENT BY LIBERIA'S YOUNG GENERATION OF LEADERS:

ALTHOUGH POLITICS IS THE HIGHEST VIRTUOUS CALLING/VOCATION BECAUSE OF ITS DEDICATION TO ACHIEVEMENT OF THE HIGHEST GOAL IN LIFE BY HUMAN ACTION – HAPPINESS.

ALTHOUGH *POLITICS* IS THE HIGHEST VIRTUOUS CALLING/VOCATION BECAUSE OF ITS DEDICATION TO ACHIEVEMENT OF THE HIGHEST GOAL IN LIFE BY HUMAN ACTION - *HAPPINESS*.

Introduction

The first, ancient Greek Philosopher to write on a wide range of subjects, including *Ethics and Politics* and to whom western Learning and academic Thought owe its greatness, Aristotle (384-322 BCE) argued that the proper, correct approach for study of what is just, beautiful and higher understanding is to begin with people of good up-bringing and experience in life to gain higher understanding.

Based upon this approach, Aristotle held and argued that the highest good for humans, the highest aim of all human practical thinking and endeavor are socio-economic and political "*well-being and happiness*" and that *Politics* is the highest, virtuous calling/profession because it is ordained, dedicated and committed to the achievement of the highest, greatest goal of good well-being or happiness in life by human action (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*).

Almost all later thinker-philosophers on *Politics, Economics, Theology, History, etc.*, particularly, such authors as John Locke, John Stuart Mill, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Emmanuel Kant, Thomas Aquinas, David Ricardo, John Kenneth Galbraith, Milton Freidman, etc. were influenced by Aristotle although they improved upon (explained) and perfected the virtuous qualities/theory of *Nicomachean Ethics*. But . . .

What do we mean by "adulteration of *Politics*"?

We define this phrase by the following: *Debase virtuous politics by introducing inferior, counterfeit arguments to falsify, corrupt, spoil, water down, weaken, dilute, bastardize, contaminate and pollute politics as an honest, truthful moral calling and the public standing of just and honorable personalities to achieve evil deeds in an effort to gain economic, personal and public benefits against the interests of the majority.*

We Argue

In the following pages, we flirt with the virtuous qualities of *politics* as the highest vocation in life and Politicians as the virtuous individuals that are committed to achievement of the highest goal by human action in the following manner, that:

- *Politics* is the highest vocation because it is dedicated to achievement of the highest goal in life by human action - *Happiness*;
- Politicians possess excellent, enviable character of truth, honesty, caring for others, self-less and committed to the welfare of state and its citizens, the people;
- Politicians are courageous, determined, open, free, fair, reachable, loyal and patriotic; they are *leaders*, not *followers*; *teachers*, not *leaners*;
- Politicians are not con men & women; they are not crooks, liars, thieves, bandits or rascals;
- Politicians are not *politically-connected lawyers* or *wheeler-dealers* who accept corrupt "brown envelopes" for "conflict of interest" services;
- Politicians do not buy votes, nor use *bags of*

imported rice, Party T-shirts, lappa suits and minimum of Liberian dollars for votes in the ghetto-slums of the City of Monrovia and elsewhere populated by hungry, un-employed and un-educated young Liberians who cannot read nor write their own names;

- Politicians who are members of the National Legislature are *Lawmakers and law-abiding*; *as such, they are not citizens of foreign countries and that they do not demand and receive bribes to change the nation's laws to please foreign companies*;
- Politicians who are Law-Lawmakers do not demand "*cold water*" or "*kola*" for confirmation of political nominees; *for, such a demand is a bribe and unlawful*;
- Politicians who are Law-Lawmakers do not demand payment labelled "*Lobbying fees*", or under any name, for ratification of treaties, agreements, etc., because lawmakers are paid for this kind of their work. *This demand and receipt thereof, are unlawful; and*
- "*Politics*", the vocation of virtuous qualities dedicated to the achievement of the highest objective in life, is not "*Poli-tricks*".

Liberian Political Enterprise

The Liberian Political enterprise of a century and half history since 1847 had been, and still is, morally decadent. Graft, Greed and public/private dishonesty rose to new exponential heights with a Culture of Impunity.

The Economic/Financial Position of the administration of retired President Mrs. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf inherited by the current President George Weah and dominated by loyalist/appointees of the retired President is ranked as the most corrupt and dishonest government/nation in world comparative analysis by International Economic/Financial Experts and world-wide watch-dog Specialists.

Moreover, the 12-year reign of Mrs. Sirleaf supported by the "International Community" as its *Puppet President had been, and is, overwhelmingly condemned by the Liberian People for her alleged war crimes and historic acts of massive economic/financial corruption, second to none in the history of Liberia.*

Now the Case in Point

One of the prevailing, critical issues at hand in Liberia is the denial of Traditional, Customary Land Tenure Rights. *Historically, there had been, and still is, massive conflicts, confusions and disputes throughout the nation which arose and continue to arise between and among individuals, farmers, communities and Counties (regional, political/administrative sub-divisions) due to denial of Traditional, Customary Land Tenure Rights and deficient boundary demarcations, exacerbated by elements of the recent civil war tragedy (Kaba, 2010).*

This Land, its People, Government and the Immigrant/Settlers

When the Settlers, arrived on this land mass, now known as Liberia, they met, recognized and accepted a People, their people, and a Polity or a system of government of Tribal Chiefs and Kings - *Chiefdoms &*

Kingdoms - with laws and socio-cultural, traditional practices that regulated and governed their activities in peace and security, although with some level of differences from tribe to tribe. However, according to these laws and traditional norms and practices, land was owned and held in common by all citizens of the Chiefdoms/Kingdoms living in villages and towns, without personal rights of land possession/ownership. This approach was mutually agreed, accepted and binding, based on what the Settlers, our Forefathers, termed as "*building upon what existed*", known then and now, as "*Customary Land Tenure*".

Origin of Land Ownership Conflicts, Confusions & Disputes

The challenge to Liberian Aboriginal Title was discovered and disclosed later, that out of the eighty-three (83) Articles prepared by and originated from the Immigrant-settlers, only two (2) articles addressed the issue of Customary Land Tenure out of the 1923-1936 Conferences of the Settlers and the Tribal Chiefs/Kings, at Suehn-Mecca Chiefdom.

Although this was an attempt by the Immigrant-Settlers to "*order their own colonial relationship*" with native lands", but the prescriptions laid down and agreed upon by both the indigenous "native chiefs" and immigrant-settlers were based upon customary practice and that the deceptive attempt was clearly in violation of the Immigrant-Settlers' own "*building upon what existed*", an expressed recognition of the existing, tribal customs and traditions, as expressed, also, by the Hinterland Law of 1949.

The Law (*Hinterland Law of 1949*) provides "*right and title*" to tribal lands and, thus, *absolute ownership rights to indigenous Liberians*. But the *Aborigine Law of 1956*, an apparent revision of 1949, made fundamental changes by providing only "rights of use and possession", rather than "ownership" without consultation of or input by the indigenous, land owners.

In this way, the legal status of rural, indigenous Liberians and their communities was, and is, *landless tenants of the Liberian state or squatters on land that they own and held, based upon traditional, customary law, for more than the-then 109-year history of the Republic of Liberia.*

Now the Objective Case in Point - "Poli-Tricks"- of Nation-wide disputes

This contradiction was an apparent design to introduce and apply the notion of "*territorial sovereignty*" held by European, colonial states over and from real, "*collective ownership*" of land owned by African, indigenous peoples and their communities.

One of the examples and primary results of "*territorial sovereignty*" in Liberia is the creation of "*cities*" in rural Liberia, decreed to be an eight-mile radius from imaginary "city center" and new jurisdictional areas over which Customary Land Leaders have no official authority by law, because acquiring land in the "city" no longer requires Tribal Certificate as required by Customary Land Tenure, but a "city" certificate. Accordingly, all lands, including villages and towns near the "city" that, inevitably, fall within the eight-mile radius of an ill-defined, extended boundary, are now under the mayor's jurisdiction with increased price of an acre of land in the "city" areas from \$0.50 (fifty US cents) to \$120.00 (US one hundred twenty

China to construct US\$54m overpass bridges

The Chinese government has signed a US\$4 million grant with the government of Liberia to construct two overpass bridges at the newly constructed Ministerial Complex in Oldest Congo Town and the SKD Boulevard junction to help ease traffic congestions.

China recently turned over the annexes the Capitol Building on Capitol Hill, and is ahead of schedule to complete the construction of the Ministerial Complex and the new Terminal at the Roberts International Airport by November this year.

President George Manneh Weah and Chinese President Xi Jinping witnessed the signing of the cooperation agreements which include emergency food aid as the two leaders pledged to build strong ties.

The Executive Mansion says in a dispatch issued Saturday, 1 September that the two agreements were signed during President Weah's visit to the People's Republic of China.

It says Liberia and China have pledged to strengthen ties between the two countries when President Weah met Chinese President Xi Jinping during bilateral discussions ahead of the 2018

Beijing Summit of the Forum on China -Africa Cooperation at the Great Hall of the People on Saturday, 1 September.

President Weah reiterated his country's firm adherence to the One-China Policy and expressed heartfelt gratitude for China's valuable support, especially the selfless help in Liberia's fight against the Ebola epidemic.

President Weah noted that the mutually beneficial cooperation between both countries has brought perceptible benefits to the

Liberian people.

"Liberia supports and is willing to take part in the Belt and Road cooperation," he stressed.

He indicated that Liberia supports China hosting the Beijing Summit of the FOCAC, and is willing to make whatever contributions to enhance friendship between the two countries and peoples.

Earlier, welcoming President Weah, President Xi stressed that the friendship between China and Liberia continues to serve the

fundamental interests of both countries and people.

He reflected on his country's support to Liberia's peace process and promised to continue to stand up and support Liberia in multilateral institutions.

President Xi highlighted the Liberian Government's firm position on the One-China Policy and is willing to increase exchanges at all levels.

President Xi emphasized that the two countries should continue to show mutual understanding and support each other on issues involving their respective core interests and major concerns.

The Chinese President promised to strengthen bilateral cooperation across various fields especially those outlined in the Liberian Government's National Development Agenda focused on infrastructure development, poverty-reduction, health, agriculture, and education, among others.

President Xi hoped that as a former world football star, deeply admired by his compatriots, President Weah will use his special influence to promote sports and youth exchanges between the two countries.--Dispatch



GT - Bank manager

Starts from back page

that defendant Ayodeji was being held by police beyond statutory time of 48 hours.

But defendant Ayodeji was later arrested outside Criminal Court "B" on Friday on the order of the Monrovia Magisterial Court and placed on prisoner's bench.

Monrovia City Court Stipendiary Magistrate Kennedy Peabody says the defendant filed a US\$50,000 criminal appearance bond and his lawyer Cllr. Abraham B. Sillah was made to sign for his release.

The Magistrate says the Court took defendant Ayodeji's two passports, and made Cllr. Sillah to sign and assure his submission to the Court for a conference due Tuesday at 10 a.m.

Outside the Monrovia City Court, Cllr. Sillah claims that there was no intent on the part of prosecution to have brought his client to court, which made him to petition Court "B" for habeas corpus to compel the state to submit the defendant to court.

Cllr. Sillah claims that "people have committed murder in this country, they have been admitted to bail" and their rights have not been violated like keeping them in detention for those number of days.

He says he doesn't know what really is so special about the aggravated assault case brought against defendant Ayojedi.

"Sir, Hans Williams was accused of murdering Angel ... in this country; at the police investigation at each point of the investigation he was turned over to his lawyer," Cllr. Sillah argues.

He says if Hans Williams was turned over to his counsel at each point of the investigation until police concluded that there was need to charge him, then what's about somebody who is accused of "aggravated assault or simple assault?"

Both parties are due to appear before the City Court on Tuesday at 10:00 a.m. at the Temple of Justice.-Edited by Othello B. Garblah

Impunity unacceptable

By Lewis S. Teh

Ex-Senator Blamo Nelson wants an end to the culture of impunity in Liberia, saying the act of committing hideous crimes and going with impunity is unacceptable in every society, and no one should go with impunity here.

"Impunity is unacceptable; right now no one will want to allow people that once hurt them or their relatives to go with impunity."

Speaking with state radio ELCB in Paynesville outside Monrovia last Friday, he says

no one will harm another person and go with impunity any more in Liberia.

"There is only one person that I know that allowed people to go with impunity, and that person is Jesus Christ, and no one wants to be like him."

The former Grand Kru County senator and executive of the United People's Party says it wasn't possible to put the establishment of war crimes court in the peace accord brokered in Accra, Ghana as the warring parties and civil society thought the

war-based issues should be addressed through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which mandate was to seek the truth by bringing perpetrators to book.

He continues that the TRC should have gone to phase two by bringing victims, and perpetrators to face one another but the TRC did not do that.

He says the current debate about the establishment of a war crimes court for Liberia should be addressed either by palava hut conversation or thru other means to bring the situation to an end.

According to him, President George Weah should be thinking about making periodic reports on implementation of the TRC recommendations, recalling that former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf reported about four times on the implementation of the TRC Report.

He says there are ways to healing the country, and Liberians should try by engaging those ways to save the state, because this is gradually becoming intense and such has the propensity to undermine peace.

Calls for the establishment of war crimes court here is heating up on a daily basis with



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several citizens, including prominent individuals being supportive, something they say will create an opportunity for perpetrators to appear in court.

Recently, rights campaigner Hassan Bility joined the conversation on a local radio station by calling for the establishment of a war crimes court, something which he says is a must.

He notes that if those who

committed hideous crimes against ordinary citizens including likes of Senator Prince Y. Johnson, Representative George Boley, and ex-rebel leader Sekou Conneh think the calls by citizens for the establishment of the war crimes court will end as mere calls then they're getting it all wrong, because one day, they will face the law.-Editing by Jonathan Browne

GT - Bank manager submits US\$50,000 bond, two passports



Defendant Ajodeji Bejide



By **Winston W. Parley**

Guaranty Trust (GT) Bank Manager defendant Ayodeji Bejide's lawyer has filed a US\$50,000 bond with the Monrovia City Court to secure his release, and surrendered the defendant's two passports

to the court to ensure his submission for hearing Tuesday, 4 September.

The Nigerian national is charged with aggravated assault for allegedly hitting his Liberian staff Edward Freeman's face with a calculator and wounding the

victim's lip on 28 August during staff meeting.

He was taken to Court Friday, 31 August under a writ of habeas corpus from Criminal Court "B" based on his lawyer's complaint



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OFFICIAL: Yaya Toure rejoins Olympiakos after having left the club in 2006

The former Monaco, Barcelona and Manchester City midfielder says he is as hungry for success as ever and wants to let his football do the talking again.

Yaya Toure has rejoined Olympiakos after having left the club in 2006.

In the meantime, he played for Monaco, Barcelona and Manchester City but finished his contract

with Pep Guardiola's side this summer and was looking for a new club.

The four time African footballer of the year had a number of offers over the summer, from all corners of the globe, but decided on a move to Greece and is determined to win more trophies with his new club," an official statement by the player read.

His agent, Dimitry Seluk,

announced on his Twitter account almost a week ago that Toure had passed a medical in London and was close to signing with a new club.

"It is an honour to be back at Olympiakos! When I left in 2006 I said I would come back and I am delighted to keep my word.

I had offers from lots of clubs across Europe, Asia and the USA. Ultimately, I made

my decision based on the special relationship I have with this incredible club," Toure said in his statement.

"I am as hungry for success now as I was when I first arrived here many years ago and I cannot wait to help the club win the trophies the great fans of Olympiakos deserve.

"It is now time to let my football do the talking once again. Let's do this!"



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