



# You Eat I Eat

1 Scratch card, 2 people can use it!

Dial \*125\*PIN# to recharge, and pass on your recharge card to your friend to recharge using \*129\*PIN#

T&Cs Apply

everywhere you go



# The New Dawn

**French Version Inside**

TRULY INDEPENDENT

#Revoke rock and sand mining licenses from Chinese and Lebanese#

VOL. 8 NO. 225

MONDAY, DECEMBER 17, 2018

PRICE LD\$40.00



Pres. Weah

Cllr. Koffa

# Cllr. Koffa backs Weah

**-Tenure position limits presidential powers**

# GW trial fever high



Sen. Sherman

Ex-Speaker Tyler

**Sherman, Tyler and others lineup**



# Continental News

## Protesting Ethiopian soldiers given jail terms

A military court in Ethiopia has sentenced 66 soldiers to between five and 14 years in prison for marching on the residence of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in October.

The government said the soldiers were asking for a pay rise but Mr Abiy later insisted they had wanted to kill him.

"These sentences delivered today will serve as lessons," prosecutor Cap Hailemariam Mamo told reporters.

The defendants' lawyer said he would lodge appeals for a few suspects.

One defendant was sentenced to 14 years in prison, while 65 others were given jail terms ranging from five to 13 years, for "violation of military ethics", Col Meshesha Areda, head of the military tribunals directorate, said quoted by Reuters news agency.

The 66 were among 200 soldiers in fatigues and red berets who marched to the

prime minister's office in the capital, Addis Ababa.

At the time, Mr Abiy defused the situation by ordering them to do press-ups and joining in but he later told parliament that he was very unhappy with the situation.

"The march of some

members of the army to the National Palace [the prime minister's office] was not only unlawful but very dangerous, because the intention was to abort the ongoing reforms," Mr Abiy told MPs during a question-and-answer session.

"Meanwhile, after the situation was brought under

control, some forces were heard saying: 'He escaped before we could kill him,'" he added.

There was no word about the other soldiers who took part in the protest but Cap Hailemariam told reporters on Saturday that the sentences would serve as a lesson. Since coming to power in April, Mr Abiy has made some dramatic changes - including freeing thousands of political prisoners,

unbanning some outlawed groups and making peace with long-time foe Eritrea.

In September, Ethiopian prosecutors charged five suspects with terrorism over an attempt to kill Mr Abiy in a grenade attack at a rally in June.

He escaped uninjured and described the attack at the time as an "unsuccessful attempt by forces who do not want to see Ethiopia united". - BBC



Image copyright WALTA TV: The prime minister ordered the protesting soldiers to do press-ups to defuse the tension

## At least 12 Nigerian soldiers killed in fighting with Islamists: sources

At least 12 Nigerian soldiers were killed and dozens of others are missing after fighting with Islamists in the northeastern state of Borno, three military sources said on Sunday, one of the largest known losses of life by the army in the last month.

The army said it repelled

the attack in which it said one soldier was killed and another injured.

The fighting followed an attack on Friday by insurgents in Gudumbali local government area - a part of Borno where Boko Haram breakaway group Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA) is

influential. The sources said the poor communication network in the remote area delayed details of the attack being relayed.

The attack, which the sources say was carried out on a military base and a nearby community in the Gudumbali local government area, comes as President Muhammadu Buhari's security record has become a campaign issue two months ahead of an election in which he is seeking a second term.

The three military sources, all of whom are soldiers and did not want to be named, said at least 12 troops were killed and dozens were missing after the fighting.

The army, in an emailed statement, said the insurgents opened fire on troops while aid materials were being distributed in Gudumbali.

"The troops, however, fought gallantly and outmanoeuvred the attackers inflicting heavy casualties on them. Unfortunately, a soldier paid the supreme price during the encounter, while another



## Cambodia makes record breaking ivory haul at port

Cambodia has seized more than 3.2 tonnes of African ivory hidden in a storage container from Mozambique, a customs official has said.

The discovery of 1,026 tusks at the Phnom Penh Autonomous Port on Thursday followed a tip off from the US embassy.

The shipment arrived in the country last year and its unknown recipient did not arrive at the port to pick it up.

Demand from China and Vietnam has meant Cambodia has become a key transit point for the illicit wildlife trade.

"The elephant tusks were hidden among marble in a container that was abandoned," Sun Chhay, director of the Customs and Excise Office at the port, told the AFP news agency.

Sun Chhay said he did not know whether the shipment was intended for other countries.

Cambodia has made a number of high-profile busts over the past five years.

The largest before this week took place in 2014, when customs officials seized about three tonnes of ivory hidden in a container of beans



Image copyright GETTY IMAGES

at the southwestern port of Sihanoukville.

In April of this year, 3.5 tonnes bound for Cambodia were seized at Maputo Port, Mozambique, reports the Phnom Penh Post.

In July 2017, authorities in Hong Kong said they had seized the world's biggest ever haul of ivory tusks - some 7.2 tonnes.

Wildlife campaigners believe 30,000 African elephants are killed by poachers every year.

The international trade in ivory was banned in 1990. - BBC

was wounded in action," said the army in the statement.

The biggest loss of military life in the last few months occurred in late November when around 100 soldiers were killed by ISWA militants who attacked an army base in Metele, Borno state.

One of the sources said 28 militants were killed.

Nigeria's northeast is home to two Islamist insurgencies:

Boko Haram and ISWA which broke away in 2016 and is now considered by security experts to be the stronger of the two.

The Nigerian government in June ordered thousands of people who fled the conflict with Boko Haram to return to Gudumbali, one of the most dangerous areas of northeast Nigeria. Officials cut off food and other aid to those who refused.

# EDITORIAL

## GOL must pay debts owed media institutions

THE GOVERNMENT OF Liberia is paying domestic debt arrears dating as far as the era of jailed ex-president Charles Ghankay Taylor. This is not just welcome news, but a great relief to the business community of Liberia, especially Liberian-owned businesses and local vendors.

**LOCAL VENDORS, INCLUDING** Liberian-owned businesses have endured unpaid arrears from government that continue to affect their smooth operation despite the fact that they have tax obligations to the state.

**BUT ONE SECTOR** of Liberian-owned businesses that had suffered and continue to suffer a great deal as a result of unpaid debts owned by government is the local media. The media in Liberia is part and parcel of the economy, but it has been overlooked and unfairly treated when it comes to payment of domestic debts.

**MEDIA INSTITUTIONS IN** the country are legitimately registered businesses that are required to meet all obligations to the state, including taxes, social security and other levies. But they have suffered the brunt of deliberate neglect when it comes to debt arrears owed by the government.

**THE RECORDS FROM** past administrations, especially, the government of former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf paint a very bleak future for the media. With debt arrears totaling over a million United States dollars, the former administration forced media managers here to a so-called "golden handshake" at the Ministry of Information, compelling them to waive their debts.

**NOTWITHSTANDING, MEDIA INSTITUTIONS** like all other businesses, have staff that they must pay monthly besides other overheads such rentals, bills, logistics and equipment to procure and maintain.

**THEY CANNOT MEET** these obligations when government is reluctant in paying legitimate debts owed media institutions. A financially weak and incapacitated media is a disservice not only to the state, but detrimental to the promotion of democratic tenets, peace and conducive environment.

**THIS IS WHY** we are calling on the government to consider the media in the ongoing payment of domestic debts to vendors. The media provides important services to government ministries and agencies, including public corporations for which they should be paid.

**HOWEVER, THIS HAS** not been the case. On the contrary, media institutions have been used and put aside. Just imagine being indebted to a media entity for services provided over two to three years and yet, expect that outlet to pay taxes.

**THE MEDIA IN** Liberia enjoys no capacity building or stimulus package from the state. Government would organize empowerment programs for Liberian-owned businesses and leave out the media. We challenge the Weah administration to cultivate the Liberian media not only as a faithful partner, but a business that is contributing to the economy thru job creation, payment of taxes and other legitimate obligations. We only ask for fair treatment in the payment of debt arrears.

**New Dawn**  
FULLY INDEPENDENT

Published by the Searchlight Communications Inc., Crown Hill-Broad Street,  
Adjacent Afriland Bank Monrovia-Liberia.

Tel: +231-0886484201, +231-0777007529, +231-0886551057

E-mail: info@thenewdawnliberia.com; www.thenewdawnliberia.com

# COMMENTARY

By Anne O. Krueger

## Trump's Anti-Service Economy

*Just as manufacturing companies comprised the most rapidly growing industries in an earlier era, services companies do today. But US President Donald Trump, with his fixation on old manufacturing industries, seems unable to grasp that.*

**W**ASHINGTON, DC - In the nineteenth century, more than 70% of American workers were farmers. By 2017, that figure was under 2%. In 1970, about 32% of private employment was in goods-producing industries. By 2018, that figure was 13.5%. The dynamic sectors of the American economy are in services, though US President Donald Trump, with his fixation on old manufacturing industries, doesn't seem to have grasped that.

Just as manufacturing companies comprised the most rapidly growing industries in an earlier era, services companies do today. Many people - possibly including Trump - think of services as consisting of housecleaners, maintenance staff, and restaurant workers. But services include transportation, IT, finance, professional and business services, education, entertainment, and more. In the United States, the largest numbers of service employees are in transportation and utilities, education and health care, and business services. And that does not even include the self-employed.

In 2017, there were 12.4 million workers in the entire US manufacturing sector, compared to 20.6 million in business and professional services alone. Most observers categorize the economy's most modern and dynamic activities - and many of its high-paying jobs - among the latter activities. Overall, service-producing employment constituted 70% of total private-sector employment.

The reasons for the shift from goods to services are much the same as the earlier reasons for the shift from agriculture to industry: as people grew richer, they spent a higher share of their income on nonagricultural goods and a smaller share on food. Simultaneously, agricultural productivity was increasing even more rapidly than demand, and capital and labor shifted to the then-modern goods-producing sectors.

The same trend continues, although now a higher share of incomes is spent on services. As per capita incomes and productivity grow, people devote more of their consumption budget to tourism and travel, entertainment, education, health care, and much else. Firms spend more on finance and business services.

The US is fortunate to lead the world in many services. America's exports of services in 2017 were \$798 billion, while imports were \$542 billion. Services exports have been growing rapidly, up 275% since 2000, outpacing the 192% increase in goods exports.

Given this trend, a major challenge for all advanced economies is to support those goods-producing workers whose jobs disappear and to facilitate their transition to employment in services. As technological change accelerates the decline in manufacturing employment, the appropriate policy response is to provide support for vulnerable workers and facilitate

the expansion of sunrise industries in which demand - and employment - will increase most rapidly.

After World War II, the successful economies were those where policymakers provided support to the real economy by investing in infrastructure, education and training, and health care, and by strengthening the ability of private markets to choose among prospective industries. The losers were those where policymakers fought the market and supported declining industries.

The Trump administration, no surprise, is following the losers' path. Trump bemoans the "trade balance," which measures trade in goods, without recognizing services, and has decried the closure of factories even when output has been stagnant or falling. His administration's tariffs on steel imports surely will cost more jobs in steel-using industries than will be "saved" by locking up resources in an old industry.

The current-account deficit reflects the excess of expenditures over output. But it is the excess of goods and services that matters. Foreigners' trips to Disney World, high foreign demand to attend US universities, and foreigners' expenditures for the services of Google, Amazon, and other services firms reflect America's leadership in the new industries. Imposing import tariffs to shore up the old goods-producing industries ignores the dynamics of growth and does nothing to help sunrise sectors. Indeed, protectionism undermines them. Clearly, fighting the forces of change is not the way to go.

The current-account deficit comes about partly because foreigners want to invest more in the US than Americans want to invest abroad. It is a symptom of American vitality. It may also partly reflect that Americans are spending beyond their means. If so, the appropriate policy response is to use monetary and fiscal policy, not to try to protect old industries, which will not reduce the external deficit anyway.

The Washington Post journalist Bob Woodward reports in *Fear*, his book about the Trump administration, that Gary Cohn, Trump's then-chief economic adviser, tried to persuade the president to focus on services by asking whether he thought workers would prefer to stand all day in a factory or sit behind a desk in an air-conditioned office. The same question can be put another way: Would Americans prefer slower growth and higher prices for "old industry" goods, or faster growth, falling goods prices, and additional income to spend on tourism, travel, health, IT, entertainment, and other services that hold so much promise for the future?

Woodward reports that Trump, who appears incapable of having a new idea, stuck to his old beliefs. The country will pay a heavy price if the president's obsessions prevail for long.

## O-PED

By Dag Detter

# Unlocking Public Wealth

**N**EW YORK - After World War I ended, Havana emerged as one of the world's most vibrant cities. During the first half of 1920, rising sugar prices and a favorable global environment meant that credit and finance were flowing into Cuba, fueling the so-called Dance of the Millions. But, as David Lubin recalls in his book *Dance of the Trillions*, the party ended abruptly before the year was over, owing largely to US interest-rate hikes, which drew liquidity back into the United States. The Cuban sugar industry never recovered.

With US credit to non-bank borrowers in developing countries having more than doubled since the 2008 global financial crisis - reaching \$3.7 trillion at the end of 2017 - Cuba's experience should serve as a warning. But, for developing countries today, there is an additional complication: global finance is increasingly governed not by the Washington Consensus, which encourages transparency and adherence to rules that apply to all, but rather by an opaque and biased "Beijing Consensus."

China is now the world's second-largest national economy and the leading supplier of credit to emerging markets globally, having filled the gap left by retreating Western creditors. The terms of this lending are so murky that only China has information about the volume, maturity, and cost of outstanding loans, which are issued on a bilateral basis, often for political or strategic reasons. As a result, assessing debt sustainability is more difficult than ever.

But there is good reason to believe that many countries face serious risks. According to the International Monetary Fund, more than 45% of low-income countries are either in or near debt distress. And the credit-ratings agency Moody's notes that many of the countries China has chosen to participate in its infrastructure-focused Belt and Road Initiative are among the world's financially insecure.

Countries do not need to be at the mercy of major lenders like China. According to the IMF, the world's public assets are worth at least twice global GDP. Instead of neglecting those assets, as most governments do today, countries should be using them to generate value.

Most governments own airports, harbors, metro systems, and utilities, not to mention far more real estate than people generally realize. For example, Boston's financial statements indicate that the city has a negative net worth. But Boston's total real-estate assets are actually worth almost 40 times their book value, because they are reported at their historic cost. In other words, the city has massive amounts of hidden wealth.

And Boston is hardly unique. Public real estate is often worth around 100% of the GDP of a given jurisdiction, the equivalent of a quarter of the total value of the real-estate market. Governments simply don't realize this, implying massive opportunity costs.

With professional and politically independent management, a city could, it can reasonably be assumed, earn a 3% yield on its commercial assets. This would amount to an income many times more than Boston's current capital plan. In fact, for many economies, professional management of public assets could generate more revenues annually than corporate taxes, drastically increasing the amount of funding available for infrastructure investment.

This approach is proven not least by Asian cities like Singapore and Hong Kong, which at one point were just as poor as many of the cities in developing Asia today, and certainly much less affluent than Havana in the past. It is worth remembering that when Singapore achieved independence in the late 1960s, it was hardly a very promising place. In fact, it was more dangerous and riskier than most cities today.

At the time, few expected Singapore to survive, let alone prosper. Singapore's first prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, is often quoted as having said (as early as 1957) that the idea of a potentially independent Singapore was a "political, economic, and geographical absurdity."

Yet it has managed to thrive, thanks partly to its unorthodox decision to unlock its public wealth by incorporating portfolios of assets into public-wealth funds, making professional managers responsible for public commercial assets.

Temasek and GIC, the holding companies set up by the government, have used appropriate governance tools borrowed from the private sector to fund Singapore's economic development. HDB, Singapore's housing fund, has provided almost 80% of the city-state's citizens with public housing.

Likewise, in the 1990s, economic malaise and high unemployment impelled Copenhagen's leaders to get creative, consolidating the city's old harbor area, as well as a former military garrison on the city outskirts, in a professionally managed public wealth fund. Beyond transforming the city's harbor district into a highly desirable area, the fund enabled the government to build a transit system, all without dipping into tax revenues.

Similarly, Hong Kong, acutely aware of its own fiscal limitations, found a way to build a subway and railway system the size of New York City's without using a single tax dollar: it developed the real estate adjacent to its stations.

There is no question that depending on outside capital carries serious risks, especially when that capital can quickly flee, as Cuba learned the hard way. Leveraging existing public assets, however, can strengthen government finances, boost debt sustainability, and enhance credit worthiness, bolstering economic development in the longer term. It shouldn't take a crisis to spur governments to pursue this course.

## OPINION

By Richard N. Haass

# Europe in Disarray

**N**EW YORK - It was not all that long ago - just a few years, as hard as that it is to believe - that Europe appeared to be the part of the world most closely resembling the end-of-history idyll depicted by Francis Fukuyama at the end of the Cold War. Democracy, prosperity, and peace all seemed firmly entrenched.

Not anymore. Parts of Paris are literally burning. The United Kingdom is consumed and divided by Brexit. Italy is led by an unwieldy left-right coalition that is resisting EU budget rules. Germany is contending with a political realignment and in the early phases of a transition to a new leader. Hungary and Poland have embraced the illiberalism seen across much of the world. Spain is confronting Catalan nationalism. And Russia is committing new acts of aggression against Ukraine.

In what by historical standards constitutes an instant, the future of democracy, prosperity, and peace in Europe has become uncertain. Much of what had been widely assumed to be settled is not. NATO's rapid demobilization after the Cold War looks premature and precipitous.

There is no single explanation for these developments. What we are seeing in France is populism of the left, the result of people having difficulty making ends meet and rejecting new taxes, whatever the justification for them. This is different from what has fueled the rise of the far right across Europe: cultural defensiveness amid local and global challenges, above all immigration.

The European Union, for its part, has gradually lost its hold on the public imagination. It has been too remote, too bureaucratic, and too elite-driven for too long. Meanwhile, renewed Russian aggression may simply reflect President Vladimir Putin's judgment that, having realized large political returns on his previous military "investments" in Ukraine and Syria, he had little to fear or lose from further actions.

Europe's political class deserves its share of responsibility for today's growing disarray. The EU introduced a common currency without a fiscal or banking union, making it all but impossible to conduct a coherent economic policy. The decision to put the UK's continued EU membership to a popular vote, while allowing a simple majority to decide the issue and failing to spell out the terms of departure, was misguided.

Likewise, opening Germany's borders to a flood of refugees, however pure Chancellor Angela Merkel's motives, was sure to trigger a backlash. Most recently, French President Emmanuel Macron did himself no favors by backing down to the "Yellow Vest" protesters and offering compromises more likely to fuel additional demonstrations and exacerbate his country's budget predicament.

We should not assume things will get better. It is only a matter of time before France's far-right National Rally (formerly the National Front) and political parties across Europe figure out how to combine economic and cultural populism and threaten the post-World War II political order. Italy's hybrid populist government is a version of just that.

The UK will remain torn over its relationship (or lack thereof) with the EU no matter what comes of Brexit; and it is entirely possible that a post-Brexit UK might come under serious strain itself, given renewed calls for Irish unity and Scottish independence. There is no formula for dividing power between Brussels and capitals that would be acceptable to both the EU and national governments. Meanwhile, it is far from certain that Putin is content or done with his aggression against Ukraine or conceivably others.

Moreover, in a world of increasing inequality, violence within and between countries, and climate change, the pressures posed by immigration are more likely to worsen than fade away. And economic dislocation is bound to intensify in a world of global competition and new technologies that will eliminate millions of existing jobs.

Why this matters should be obvious. Europe still represents a quarter of the world's economy. It is the largest constellation of democratic countries. The last century demonstrated more than once the cost of a breakdown of order on the continent.

Alas, just as there is no single cause that explains Europe's increasing disarray, there is no single solution either. To be precise, there is no solution of any sort. There is, however, a set of policies that, if adopted, would help leaders manage the challenges.

A comprehensive immigration strategy that balances security, human rights, and economic competitiveness is one such policy. A defense effort that focuses more on how money is spent than on how much is needed would go a considerable way in buttressing Europe's security. Moreover, deterrence should be strengthened by bolstering NATO and further arming Ukraine. Weaning Europe from Russian natural gas makes sense as well, which implies halting the Nord Stream II pipeline that is meant to bring gas directly from Russia to Germany, bypassing Ukraine. And additional retraining programs are needed for workers whose jobs will disappear as a result of globalization and automation.

Much of this agenda would benefit from American involvement and support. It would help if the United States stopped viewing the EU as an enemy and NATO allies as free-riders. Europe includes the countries most prepared to work with the US to deter Russian aggression; integrate China into global trade and investment frameworks on terms consistent with Western interests; mitigate and, where necessary, adapt to climate change; and set rules of the road for cyberspace.

Alas, such an approach is unlikely to be forthcoming from Donald Trump any time soon. That leaves Europe with no choice but to confront its disarray mostly on its own.

# ARTICLE

## What is LTA saying about the NEW GSM tariff

### Liberia Telecommunications Industry Price Floor – Key Talking Points

#### Background

- In 2012, a price war was ignited in the telecoms industry by the introduction of an extremely low-price call promotion. This led to counter offers from other telecoms operators which resulted in a vicious cycle that brought the price for calls far below cost.
- The price for calls dropped from 14 cents per minute in 2014 to less than 1 cent per minute today.
- The prices have become so low, that services are virtually free.

#### Impact of the price war on telecommunications in Liberia

- This has an impact on the quality of service for two key reasons:
  - Unlimited calls encourage a behavior of subscribers sitting on the phone far longer than necessary and clogging the network, making it difficult for others to place important phone calls and many people experience dropped calls in the middle of a call.
  - Telecom operators are not getting enough returns to re-invest in improving their networks.
- When the telecom companies lose money, they cannot build new towers and bring telephone and internet to rural Liberians.
- All along our major highways the telephone signal is weak or non-existent.
- The price war has led to telecom operators selling below their costs and the competition has become unhealthy for the industry and the country

#### Impact of the price war on the Liberian economy

- The telecommunications industry is one of the largest contributors to government revenue.
- When the telecom companies lose money, they pay less taxes to government for schools, hospitals, roads, and other developments.
- This does not support the pro-poor agenda. The government needs revenue to carry out its various development initiatives and the telecommunications sector is not currently pulling its weight.
- The war between telecoms operators caused the country to lose \$49 million between 2014 and 2017.
- This money could have done so much for



country: opened more farm to market roads, put medicine in the clinics and bought books for our schools.

- There is an urgent need to ensure that telecoms industry can contribute to the pro-poor agenda

#### **The LTA wants to stabilize prices in the telecoms industry and end the price war**

- The Telecommunications Law of 2012 forbids telecom companies from selling below their cost.
- To end the war, the LTA wants to enforce this law and ensure that telecom companies are not selling telephone calls and internet data below their cost price.
- The LTA has consulted with telecoms operators and other stakeholders on how to stabilize the market using a minimum price for calls and internet data. This is where the price floor comes in.

#### **Price Stabilization: the price floor and the future for telecommunications**

- This minimum price of 0.0156 cents for calls and 0.00218 cents for internet data will still allow telecoms operators to provide affordable and reasonable telephone and internet bundles. But these promotional packages can no longer be unlimited or free.

telecoms operators and for the government. This has an impact on other users of the services. Putting in the price floor addresses this imbalance and ensures that usage can be fair for all. It's not saying you shouldn't call, everyone should still be able to spend reasonable lengths



of time on the phone without the current abuse.

- This is not the first market where a price floor has been implemented to improve the quality of service for consumers. This is an action that should have been taken a long time ago. However, better late than never. This is a step in the right direction for all stakeholders. After all, we now know that 'free' and 'unlimited' is very costly and unsustainable in the long run.



- Eliminating unlimited 3 days free calls is not denying Liberians the right to call, but rather ensuring that consumers can have reasonable and fair usage of services across the board.

- We all know people who just sit on the phone for hours, taking up bandwidth which is costing a loss for

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

ECOWAS foreign ministers meet ahead of Heads of State Summit

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has held both its 41st Ordinary Session of Mediation and Security Council (MSC) at the Ministerial Level and 81st Ordinary Session of Council of Ministers.

Both meetings which held at the ECOWAS Commission in Abuja took place on the 13th and 14th of December, 2018 respectively.

A release from the Liberian Embassy in Abuja says Ministers of Defense and Security as well Foreign Affairs, heads of ECOWAS institutions, members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of international organizations attended the end-of-year meetings which are precursors to the ECOWAS Summit of Heads of State and Government scheduled for December 22, 2018 in Abuja.

According to the release, Foreign Minister Gbezohngar M. Findley represented Liberia during the Council of Ministers' meeting, accompanied by Liberia's Ambassador to Nigeria and Permanent Representative to ECOWAS,



Above: Foreign Minister Findley and Amb. Conteh

Professor Al-Hassan Conteh.

In his opening remarks during the Council of Ministers, the President of the ECOWAS Commission, Mr. Jean-Claude Kassi Brou, reaffirmed the Managements' commitment to execute its mandate.

Promising to present the annual report of ECOWAS, President Brou also assured the ministers, ambassadors and delegates from Member States to give an overview of the trends in the region's main

political, social, economic and human indicators with emphasis on issues affecting the region's trade liberalization scheme which he said is the basis of the region's common market.

For his part, the Chair of the ECOWAS Council of Ministers, Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Minister, Honorable Geoffrey Onyeama, noted that the path to the full integration of the region is still marked by obstacles in the areas of free movement of people, goods

and services.

The Nigerian Foreign Minister said the Ministers would use this opportunity to review the report of the task force on the implementation of the region's free trade protocol.

"It is therefore our collective responsibility to ensure that at the national level, relevant regional protocols are domesticated and effectively implemented", the release quotes Minister Onyeama as stating.

In line with the established practice, the session went into closed discussions to examine the draft budget of ECOWAS' institutions for the year 2019, as well as to deliberate on various issues and information tabled before them ahead of the Summit of the Heads of State and Government slated in a week's time in Abuja.

Meanwhile, the release also adds that a day earlier during the 41st Ordinary Session of the Mediation and Security

Council (MSC), President Brou lauded the collective approach to peace and regional security as well as the strong sense of belonging to ECOWAS demonstrated by Member States.

This, he said, was in line with the needed solidarity which guides the interventions of ECOWAS particularly in the field of peace, security and stability.

"This willingness and solidarity is particularly evident in countries facing political crises, particularly in Guinea Bissau, The Gambia and Togo, where the Community spares no effort to find a lasting solution" President Brou added.

For his opening remarks, the chair of the MSC and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, Honorable Geoffrey Onyeama, disclosed that the findings from the previous meetings of the MSC revealed that peace and security sustainability can only be achieved through the promotion of good governance and viable democracy.

Drawing attention also to the impending presidential and legislative elections in some Member States, Minister Onyeama said the scheduled exercises provide the opportunity for the region to once again "demonstrate its agility, as a pioneer in the continent to enthrone full democratic governance in all member countries"

The MSC then retired into closed door discussions where the political and security situation in the region was discussed, the release concludes.

AEL ends hygiene tournament in Bong

By Joseph Titus Yekeryan in Bong

In an effort to promote hygiene activities, the Association of Evangelicals of Liberia (AEL) has ended a hygiene football and kickball tournament among schools in Zota District, Bong County.

Some of the participating schools of the tournament included the Warta Public School, Yorwee Public School, Immanuel Lutheran Global Village School, and Kollieta Public School, among others.

Prior to the start of the

tournament, AEL Program Director Francis Maxwell told residents of the area to keep their surroundings clean in an effort to live safe and healthier lives.

Mr. Maxwell stated that his passion to ensure the improvement of the Zota citizens cannot be downplayed on grounds that he is passionate about working to ensure that residents of the area live healthier lives.

Being a Christianity organization, AEL organized the tournament under a very

peaceful atmosphere that led some of the spectators calling on the organization to extend such activity to other parts of the County.

Immanuel Lutheran Global Village became victorious in the kickball games and at the same time collected the football trophy in a penalty shootout at the GorpuDolo Boi elementary and Junior High School football field in Belifina, Zota District.

After the final, some citizens of the region extended commendations to AEL for the conduct of the tournament.

AEL is the largest network of churches and agencies of Evangelical persuasion in Liberia responding to human needs with spiritual guidance, compassion and practical care.

Its vision is a Liberian Church that is faithful to God's calling to love as Christ loves - evidenced by its practical, holistic and compassionate response to human need.

AEL's ministry is guided by four organizational core values which includes Godly compassion, Biblical integrity, sacrificial stewardship, and servant leadership.

The Christian organization is being supported by Mission Alliance, a Norwegian based organization.--Edited by Winston W. Parley



GET ACCESS TO THE

**The New Dawn**  
TRULY INDEPENDENT

www.thenewdawnliberia.com

LOCAL NEWS CONTENT VIA YOUR

Lonestar MTN Newtwork

DIAL \*858#

Welcome To The New World

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

**LIPO launches website and newsletter for artists**

By Lewis S. Teh

The Liberia Intellectual Property Office (LIPO) has launched a website and newsletter for artists, inventors and others that are involved in creative arts.

The website launched at the Liberia Chambers of Commerce on Capitol Hill Friday, 14 December, will create easy access to registration for artists and other individuals who want to protect their work, LIPO says.

It will also generate revenues for government and the people of Liberia.

LIPO Deputy Director General for Industrial Property Madam Theresa S. Thomas says they perform services that also generate revenue in the form of fees for central government.

"This website and its additional features including a portal to facilitate online registration is the first in the

series of activities that will lead to LIPO's full automation of its business process," she says.

Part of LIPO's work is to ensure that all invented and innovative works are

registered and protected at the advantage of the owners, and ensure that the owners of such works benefit justly from their sales.

Madam Thomas indicates that the purpose of the

gathering was to show respect to [intellectual property] IP recognition, and love for properties that come from the human mind.

Deputy Commerce Minister for Administration Wilfred Bangura expressed delight over the launching of the new IP website and newsletter.

According to him, intellectual property is a make-up of the mind, and it's

also the knowledge of economy.

"Today we have a website for the first time in the country's history, this means that the onus is upon us creative artists, and those who write to take advantage of the opportunity and register their works so you have a decent living by what we have invented," he says.--

Edited by Winston W. Parley



Director General, Atty. P. Adelyn Cooper

**Citizens frown at Ambassador Gibson's reappointment**

By Ben P. Wesee

Liberians are frowning on President George M. Weah's recent reappointment and subsequent commission of Madam Gurly Teta Gibson, as Liberia's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Saint James, the United Kingdom after she was previously appointed as Ambassador to the United States of America but rejected by the U.S. government on the basis of being an American citizen.

The Alien and Nationality Law of Liberia Section 22.1 states that "A person who is a citizen of Liberia whether by birth or naturalization, shall lose his citizenship..." by deliberately or consciously

performing certain acts like naturalizing in a foreign country; pledging allegiance to a foreign country or a part of a foreign country; joining the armed services of a foreign country without the prior approval of the President of Liberia; voting in a political or sovereignty election in a foreign state or territory; and making a formal renunciation of Liberian nationality.

Subsection 22.2 goes on to explain that no one can lose his or her citizenship by government action. Someone can lose his Liberian citizenship solely from the performance of one or more of the acts listed in section 22.1. It states that "The loss of citizenship under section 22.1 of this title shall result solely from the performance by a

citizen of the acts or fulfillment of the conditions specified in such section and without the institution by the Government of any proceedings to nullify or cancel such citizenship."

President Weah again on December 7, 2018 commissioned Madam Gurly Teta Gibson as plenipotentiary to the Court of Saint James in the U.K., prompting Liberians to express their disenchantments on local Prime FM, a local radio station in Monrovia.

A caller from Montserrado County District#5 Abraham Cooper, who refused to blame President Weah for the appointment, notes that the President is being misled by some of his confidants in government in making such appointment that is causing serious embarrassment for the country. He argues that in order for President Weah and the Coalition-led government to succeed, he should get away with bad apples around him, cautioning that President Weah should learn from mistakes of former Liberian leaders.

Another caller also phoned in from Matadi outside Monrovia in an angry tune expressing, "So there is no other Liberian that is qualified for this job that President Weah will keep appointing someone who has denied the her original nationality for another and place her into government position in order to use taxpayers' money to

**Over 100 patients' fate in limbo**

-As E & J Hospital only doctor resigns

By Thomas Domah / Nimba

The fate of more than 100 patients seeking medication at the Esther and Jereline Medical Hospital in Ganta, Nimba County is in limbo as the head doctor at the privately-owned hospital resigns.

The decision surrounding Doctor Peter George's resignation is being attributed to alleged corrupt practices at the hospital, coupled with unfair treatment meted against him by the management.

Doctor George names extortion of money from

medication.

This paper gathers in the past, several doctors from outside of the country had provided free medical treatments to less privileged people in the county.

When contacted, the administrator of the hospital, Victor Kpaiseh, declines to comment, rather demanding this reporter to produce recording attributed to Doctor George as reason for his resignation.

Meanwhile, the proprietor of the Esther and Jereline Hospital, Nimba County

**#Stop prioritizing foreign businesses over Liberian businesses!#**

patients despite free services being offered at the hospital, and management's alleged failure to underwrite his medical bill while he was undergoing treatment in Monrovia, as among reasons for resignation.

The Esther and Jereline Medical Hospital has been providing free medications to patients, but this time around, the administration headed by Mr. Victor Kpaiseh, is allegedly collecting 3,000 Liberian Dollars from each patient before administrating

Representative Jeremiah Kpan Koung, says he has not received an official letter of resignation from Doctor George, the only medical doctor at the hospital.

However, Representative Koung notes that despite report of Doctor George quitting the institution, there are four doctors currently being sent from Monrovia by the Government of Liberia to take up assignment at the hospital. -Editing by Jonathan Browne



# Français

## Les USA se disent prêts à publier les conclusions de l'enquête sur les 16 milliards et annonce une aide de 112 millions USD

L'enquête qui visait à faire la lumière sur la disparition présumée des 16 milliards de dollars libériens de la Banque Centrale du Libéria est maintenant terminée et les conclusions seront rendues publiques très prochainement, a révélé l'ambassadrice des États-Unis au Libéria, S.E Christine Elder.

L'Ambassadrice Américaine a fait cette révélation jeudi dernier à Monrovia, et profité de l'occasion pour annoncer que le Gouvernement des États-Unis a fait part de son intention de soutenir le Programme pour les pauvres du Libéria en apportant une aide budgétaire d'environ 112 millions de dollars américains pour l'exercice fiscal 2018-2019.

La promesse du gouvernement des États-Unis semble indiquer fortement que les conclusions de l'enquête sont positives pour l'administration Weah.

Le gouvernement libérien, par le biais du ministère de la Justice, avait confirmé il y a quelques mois que l'enquête

en cours avait « pour objet de faire la lumière sur l'arrivée des conteneurs et des sacs d'argent dans le pays, par le biais du port de Monrovia et de l'aéroport international Roberts, et les premiers résultats indiquent que les conteneurs et les sacs d'argent

seraient arrivés entre novembre 2017, avant l'investiture du gouvernement actuel, et août 2018 après la mise en place du gouvernement Weah ».

Les autorités ont mis en place une équipe d'investigation présidentielle

et en plus sollicité l'aide du gouvernement des États-Unis pour faire rejaillir la vérité.

Toutefois, Nathaniel Patray, gouverneur exécutif de la Banque centrale du Libéria, a affirmé qu'il ne manquait pas d'argent.

« La Banque centrale du Libéria tient à préciser au grand public et à ses partenaires qu'il ne manque pas 16 milliards de dollars libériens, comme cela a été rapporté à tort dans les médias. La CBL ne possède d'aucun dossier montrant que les fonds imprimés sous son autorité n'ont pas encore été livrés dans ses coffres forts. Les dossiers de Crane Currency, en Suède, qui a été chargé par contrat d'imprimer l'argent, montrent que Crane a livré 15,5 milliards de dollars libériens par l'intermédiaire du port de Monrovia et de l'aéroport international Roberts entre 2016 et 2018, et tous ces montants ont été enregistrés par la CBL et livrés dans les réserves de la CBL », a déclaré le gouverneur Patray.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'ambassade américaine, dans un communiqué de presse rendu public à Monrovia le jeudi 13 décembre, a indiqué que le soutien prévu avait été annoncé dans une déclaration conjointe entre les gouvernements du Libéria et des États-Unis.

Selon la déclaration signée à Monrovia par le président George Manneh Weah et l'ambassadrice des États-Unis au Libéria, Christine Elder, chacun des deux pays continuera à s'employer à jouer son rôle dans le cadre de la coopération bilatérale qui les lie.

Les deux pays ont ainsi exprimé leur intention "de collaborer activement à l'exploration des moyens les plus durables pour atteindre les objectifs de croissance inclusive du programme pour les pauvres initié par le gouvernement du Libéria", selon le communiqué de presse.

En effet, les États-Unis, par l'intermédiaire de l'Agence pour le développement international (USAID), chercheront à aider le Libéria à gérer de manière efficace et transparente son processus d'autosuffisance.

À cet égard, l'USAID donnera la priorité au développement économique inclusif en tant que moteur fondamental du changement au Libéria. Elle a également l'intention de poursuivre ses interventions dans les domaines de la santé, de l'éducation, de l'agriculture, de la démocratie et de la gouvernance.

Pour sa part, le Gouvernement libérien a exprimé son intention d'utiliser l'aide au développement en tant qu'instrument permettant de transformer le Libéria à mesure qu'il progressera sur la voie de l'autosuffisance.

Le gouvernement libérien s'est en outre engagé à mettre en place les réformes politiques nécessaires pour encourager une croissance généralisée tirée par le secteur privé, pour une gouvernance plus efficace et plus responsable et pour l'amélioration des services de santé et du système éducatif, ce pour le bien être des Libériens.



## Une ancienne lauréate du prix Nobel de la paix dénonce un « pouvoir sous-estimé » des femmes en Afrique

La co-lauréate du prix Nobel de la paix en 2011, la Libérienne Leymah Roberta Gbowee, a dénoncé mardi à Abidjan à la tribune des « Eminents conférenciers » de la Banque africaine de développement (BAD), « un pouvoir sous-estimé » des femmes en Afrique. « Les femmes ont un pouvoir sous-estimé en Afrique. Or elles ont

beaucoup de pouvoirs au sein des communautés. L'Afrique actuellement regarde d'un seul œil qui représente les hommes et l'autre représentant les femmes est couvert. Il faudra pourtant regarder des deux yeux », a dénoncé Mme Leymah estimant que « le développement sera inutile s'il n'y a pas l'inclusion des

femmes ».

La tribune des « éminents conférenciers », est une plateforme d'échanges instituée par la BAD où « d'éminents intellectuels », éclairent l'opinion sur certaines questions. Pour cette activiste qui dit revendiquer le féminisme comme identité politique, l'impact des femmes est énorme au sein des communautés africaines.

Poursuivant, « l'éminente conférencière » de la BAD qui est par ailleurs, la présidente de la Fondation « Gbowee », a partagé avec l'auditoire son engagement pendant la guerre civile dans son pays avec le « mouvement des femmes libériennes pour l'action des masses ».

« Nous étions des femmes sans mandat, sous-estimées, mais qui avons fini par imposer la paix aux belligérants pendant la guerre au Libéria », s'est-elle félicitée. Dans la foulée, elle a invité les jeunes filles africaines « à ne pas croire à

ce mythe qui dit que les africaines sont faibles ».

« Vous êtes l'avenir de notre continent. Prenez votre éducation au sérieux. Le sexe, ça peut attendre », a-t-elle conseillé aux jeunes africaines. Dans le même élan, elle a plaidé auprès de la BAD pour qu'elle oeuvre à l'autonomisation des femmes africaines.

« Si vous voulez autonomiser les femmes africaines, autonomisez-les dans ce qu'elles font déjà,

c'est-à-dire l'agriculture », a suggéré Mme Leymah pour qui une femme africaine autonomisée, « c'est une femme qui sait ce qu'elle veut, où elle veut aller et comment y aller ».

« Nous (les femmes) avons Beaucoup de force sur notre continent. Je crois fermement que l'avenir est féminin », a conclu la conférencière qui s'exprimait sur le thème, « Militante de base : le pouvoir sous-estimé ».



Articles traduits

Par Valéry G. Guhéna

E-mail: [valeryghn10@yahoo.com](mailto:valeryghn10@yahoo.com)

Tel: 076 589 44 0881483394

# Français

## Éditorial

### Déclaration des avoirs : Ils ne font qu'amuser la galerie.

La plupart des fonctionnaires libériens semblent réticents ou refusent carrément de déclarer leurs avoirs avant d'entrer au gouvernement, comme l'exige la loi. Même en dépit de l'ultimatum qu'a lancé le Président le jeudi 6 décembre dernier, beaucoup de ministres, de dirigeants d'entreprises et d'agences publiques traînent encore les pieds en violation flagrante de la section 10.1 du code de conduite.

Le Code exige que chaque fonctionnaire et employé du gouvernement impliqué dans la prise de décision en matière de passation de marché, de signature de contrat et dans l'octroi de permis ou d'agrément signe des cautionnements d'exécution et en plus déclare ses avoirs avant son entrée en fonction.

Les fonctionnaires sont également tenus de déclarer leurs avoirs tous les trois ans, selon qu'ils sont promus à une position supérieure ou appelés à d'autres fonctions publiques, en cas de départ à la retraite ou encore de démission.

Il y a onze mois que le gouvernement dirigé par la Coalition pour le changement démocratique a pris les rênes du pouvoir, mais cet important règlement public est violé sans le moindre remords.

Dans son ultimatum la semaine dernière, le président George Manneh Weah disait : « Pendant la campagne, nous avons dit à la population du Libéria et rassuré la communauté internationale que notre gouvernement adopterait une attitude de tolérance zéro à l'égard de la corruption et ferait preuve de plus grande transparence et de plus grande reddition des comptes. Il est donc important et crucial que chacun de vous, membre de mon gouvernement, déclare ses avoirs à la Commission anti-corruption du Libéria dans une semaine. »

Le président a menacé de prendre des mesures drastiques contre tout fonctionnaire qui ne se conformerait pas à cette décision. Mais nous ne sommes pas surpris qu'après que la semaine est écoulée, beaucoup n'ont pas encore déclaré leurs avoirs. Il est évident que lorsqu'un dirigeant envoie un mauvais signal à ses lieutenants, il ne dispose plus d'aucun moyen moral pour exiger d'eux un respect scrupuleux des lois.

Le président Weah lui-même n'a déclaré ses avoirs que trois ou quatre mois après son entrée en fonction, malgré la pression et les critiques du public. Même si cela a été fait, le document n'a jamais été publié, contrairement à son prédécesseur, l'expresidente Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

Ce faux pas du chef de l'Etat a envoyé un message très erroné à ses fonctionnaires : ils avaient toute la latitude d'ignorer le code de conduite et poursuivre leurs activités comme d'habitude.

La vérité est donc la suivante : du président à la plupart de ses fonctionnaires, ils ont acquis des propriétés et des biens qui sont bien supérieurs aux avoirs dont ils disposaient avant leur entrée au gouvernement. Ils semblent confus donc quant aux actifs à déclarer maintenant car les biens qu'ils ont accumulés au cours des derniers 11 mois sont loin de correspondre à leurs salaires mensuels.

En moins d'un an, la plupart des fonctionnaires - membres du Cabinet et d'autres bureaux relevant de l'exécutif - ont acheté des maisons, des véhicules de luxe et créé des sociétés qu'ils n'avaient jamais eues avant d'arriver aux affaires.

Cela nous donne l'impression que l'administration Weah se moque du code de conduite et du processus de déclaration de patrimoine. Les fonctionnaires de ce gouvernement n'ont aucun intérêt à dire honnêtement au public les avoirs dont ils disposaient avant de prendre fonction au sein du gouvernement.

## COMMENTAIRE

Par Anne O. Krueger

### L'économie selon Trump ne rend pas service aux services

WASHINGTON - Au XIXe siècle, 70 % des actifs américains travaillaient dans le secteur agricole. En 2017, le chiffre était inférieur à 2 %. En 1970, les industries productrices de biens représentaient environ 32 % de l'emploi privé. En 2018, le chiffre était de 13,5 %. Les secteurs dynamiques de l'économie américaine se trouvent dans les services, quoique le président des États-Unis Donald Trump, avec son obsession de la vieille industrie manufacturière, semble ne pas s'en être aperçu.

Et tout comme à l'ère précédente dans les entreprises productrices de biens, c'est aujourd'hui dans les entreprises de services que la croissance est la plus rapide. Beaucoup de gens - et Trump compte probablement parmi eux - assimilent les services aux personnels de ménage, aux équipes de maintenance et aux employés de la restauration. Mais les services comprennent les transports, les technologies de l'information, les professions libérales et les services à l'entreprise, l'enseignement, l'industrie du spectacle, et bien d'autres activités encore. Sans même parler de l'auto-entreprenariat.

En 2017, on dénombrait 12,4 millions de personnes travaillant pour l'ensemble du secteur manufacturier, qu'on peut comparer aux 20,6 millions qu'emploient à eux seuls les professions libérales et les services à l'entreprise. Et c'est dans ces dernières branches que la plupart des observateurs recensent les activités les plus innovantes et dynamiques - et nombre des emplois les mieux payés. L'emploi dans le secteur des services représente 70 % de l'emploi total du secteur privé.

Les raisons de ce déplacement de la production des biens vers les services sont à peu près les mêmes que celles qui ont présidé jadis à celui de l'agriculture vers l'industrie : à mesure que les gens devenaient plus riches, ils dépensaient une part plus importante de leurs revenus dans des biens qui ne provenaient pas du travail de la terre et une part plus faible dans leur alimentation.

Comme la productivité agricole croissait plus rapidement encore que la demande, le capital et la main-d'œuvre se déplacèrent vers les secteurs, novateurs pour l'époque, de production des biens.

Le même mouvement est aujourd'hui à l'œuvre, à ceci près que ce sont les services qui captent une part plus importante des revenus. À mesure que le revenu par habitant augmente et que la productivité croît, les gens consacrent une part plus grande de leur budget de consommation au tourisme et aux voyages, à leurs loisirs, à leur éducation, leurs soins de santé, et ainsi de suite. Les entreprises, quant à elles, dépensent plus dans les conseils et les services financiers.

Les États-Unis ont la chance d'être au premier rang mondial dans nombre de services. Les exportations américaines de services se soldaient en 2017 à 798 milliards de dollars, pour des importations d'une valeur de 542 milliards. Les exportations de services ont connu une croissance rapide, de 275 % depuis 2000, dépassant celle des biens, qui n'a été, sur la même période, que de 192 %.

Étant donné cette tendance, l'un des grands enjeux de toutes les économies avancées est d'aider les personnes qui travaillent dans la production de biens, dont les emplois disparaissent, et de leur faciliter la transition vers un emploi dans les services. À mesure que le changement technologique précipite le déclin de l'emploi

manufacturier, la réponse politique doit être de soutenir la main-d'œuvre vulnérable et de faciliter le développement des industries d'avenir, pour lesquelles la demande - et l'emploi - vont augmenter le plus rapidement.

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les économies qui réussirent furent celles dont les responsables politiques appuyèrent l'économie réelle en investissant dans les infrastructures, l'éducation, la formation et les soins de santé, tout en renforçant les capacités des marchés à arbitrer en faveur des industries du futur.

L'administration Trump suit sans surprise la piste des perdants. Trump se plaint de la « balance commerciale », qui mesure des échanges de biens sans prendre en compte les services, et dénonce les fermetures d'usines, même lorsque leur production stagne ou chute. Les droits de douane imposés par son administration sur les importations d'acier coûteront certainement plus d'emplois aux industries qui ont besoin de cet acier qu'elles n'en « sauveront » en mettant sous clé les ressources d'une vieille industrie.

Le déficit des paiements courants traduit l'excédent de dépenses par rapport à la production. Mais c'est l'excédent de biens et de services qui importe. Les voyages d'étrangers à Disney World, la demande étrangère pour suivre les cours des universités américaines et les dépenses des habitants des pays étrangers pour obtenir les services fournis par Google, par Amazon ou par d'autres entreprises de services traduisent l'avance de l'Amérique dans les industries nouvelles. Imposer des droits de douane sur les importations pour soutenir les vieilles industries manufacturières, c'est ignorer la dynamique de la croissance et cela n'aide nullement les secteurs d'avenir. À la vérité, le protectionnisme les handicape. À l'évidence, combattre les forces du changement ne mène nulle part.

Le déficit des paiements courants s'explique pour partie par un plus grand désir des étrangers d'investir aux États-Unis que des Américains d'engager des fonds à l'étranger. C'est un symptôme de la vitalité américaine. Cela peut aussi vouloir dire, en contrepartie, que les Américains vivent au-dessus de leurs moyens. Si tel est le cas, la réponse politique adéquate est dans l'utilisation d'instruments monétaires et budgétaires, elle n'est pas dans une tentative de protection de vieilles industries, qui ne réduira pas, de toute façon, le déficit extérieur.

Dans son dernier ouvrage, *Peur*, consacré à l'administration Trump, Bob Woodward, journaliste au Washington Post, rapporte que Gary Cohn, lorsqu'il était conseiller économique en chef de la Maison Blanche, a tenté de persuader le président de concentrer son action sur les services, en lui demandant s'il pensait que les employés préféreraient rester debout toute la journée dans une usine ou bien être assis derrière un bureau avec l'air conditionné. On peut aussi poser la question d'une autre façon : les Américains préfèrent-ils une croissance plus lente et des prix plus élevés pour les biens produits par la « vieille industrie » ou bien une croissance plus rapide, une baisse du prix des marchandises et un surplus de revenus susceptible d'être dépensé dans le tourisme, les voyages, la santé, les technologies de l'information, les spectacles et les loisirs ou dans d'autres services dont l'avenir est si prometteur ?

Woodward écrit que Trump, qui semble incapable d'avoir une idée nouvelle, s'en est tenu à ses vieilles croyances. Si les obsessions du président doivent encore prévaloir, le prix à payer pour le pays sera lourd.

## ARTICLES



# Analysis of the Tale of Liberian Media: The High Price Journalists Paid For Press Freedom in Liberia

By: Josephus Moses Gray  
Email: graymoses@yahoo.com

CONT'D FROM LAST EDITION

The major challenge facing journalism in contemporary Liberia is that of surviving the unfavorable media policy still on the book and persistent attacks against journalists directly or indirectly by individuals with a strong connections to successive governments which have rode on the leverages of the media to get to state power through democratic or indisputable elections.

At present, it would be unimaginable for any Liberian security officers or officials operating under the orders of their bosses to lawlessly close down or burn newspaper offices or radio station, as was the case under previous regimes. While 2016 was a throbbing year for Liberia media in general, the year saw the unprecedented death toll of journalists in the country, as the casualties of journalists in the hand of death cannot be matched with other years.

To do justice to this article, this research analysis presents a description of callousness journalists have suffered in the hands of ex-rebel fighters during the 14-year civil war and under successive regimes including the NDPL, NPP and UP led-governments. Besides, gross violations against journalists were perpetrated by disbanded rebel groups including LURD, LDF, ULIMO-K/J, MODEL and LPC, while in some instances violations against journalists were carried out by soldiers of West Africa bloc-ECOMOG. This article is based on dozen of reports published by both local and international newspapers, journals, human rights institutions and TRC witnesses, amongst others publications; however, some of these publications are subject to further inquiries for accuracy.

The Liberian media has a daunting and challenging history dating back from its formation to present, with journalists paying a high price from the brutal hands of successive authoritarians. During the heat of the civil war, journalists were divided into two groups as the belligerent forces through fierce battles succeeded splitting the country, set-up defacto governments, without reference to the Liberian constitution. These forces were tussling to reach the vulnerable and traumatized population and the only way to do so was to engage into media propaganda, something which ex-president Taylor used effectively to prosecute the 14-year bloody war.

Liberia now enjoys a high level of freedom in this young democracy, the status of the media in the country has significantly improved, and the issues of press freedom and free speech are undoubtedly unrestricted but more are expected from the central government in enhancing government-media relations to turn 2017 into a cooling period.

While in 2012, President Johnson-Sirleaf became the Second African Head of State to endorse the Table Mountain Declaration, which amongst others calls on African governments to abolish criminal defamation laws. Moreover, in 2010 Liberia became the first to enact Freedom of Information Law in West Africa and has established the Independent Information Commission (IIC), headed by a veteran Liberian journalist; an ex-feature writer of the Inquirer Newspaper, Cllr. Beddoe Wla Freeman.

The purpose of the FOI law was to afford both journalists and the general public the rights to equal access to public documents, except the ones that are national security related. Regretfully, Liberian journalists either the general public or student groups have been unable to take advantage of the Freedom of Information Law.

In this era, the media is considered as "mirror" of the modern society, in unarguably it is the media which shape our lives and served as a conduit between the government and the people. The role of media is complex and varied, sometimes, media is viewed positively by society, although it is considered overbearing and obnoxious other times. The word media" comes from the Latin word medium, and it is used as a collective noun to refer to newspapers, television, radio, magazines, films, and internet, playing a very important role in national development.

Persistently, media has played several roles in the society, including serving as a means to distribute news and convey information regarding politics, economic, social and development. For Liberia which enjoys unlimited media prospect, media emerged as a dominant social figure and it enables dialogue to take place and make government more

accountable as well as bridging the gap between government officials and the citizens. The media set the public agenda and act as the gatekeeper of public issues and perform the watchdog role, especially in political situation and fight against bad governance, including corruption, abuse of state wealth, human rights and constitutional violations, and autocratic activities of some corrupt public bureaucrats.

In one of his vivid publications on free press in contemporary Liberia, the author of this article, Josephus Moses Gray revealed that the presence of free press brings public corruption cases to the voting population while voters in an election, in turn severely punish corrupt bureaucrats and unproductive politicians by ousting them from public offices; this was manifested in the 2011 General Elections and 2014 Mid-term Senatorial Election whereby only eleven out of seventy-four Representatives were re-elected and two senators out of 15 were re-elected. The media provides information to actors throughout society allowing them to participate in the decisions and debates that shape their lives.

In the words of the late James Wolo, "the media also play in important monitoring role in a democracy that enables citizens to hold their governments and elected officials accountable—leading to better policies and service implementation", while a former University of Liberia Professor, Zogbo. Norman accentuated that: The media set the public agenda and act as the gatekeeper of public issues and provides information to the actors throughout society allowing them to participate in the decisions and debates that shape their lives.

## The Tale of Violations against Journalists

The tale of gross human rights violations against journalists during the war remained difficult to mention. Every crime perpetrated against journalist by soldiers loyal to former president Doe and fighters of Taylor's NPFL as well as rebel fighters of LURD, LDF, ULIMO-K/J, MODEL and the LPC. The arbitrary detention of journalists and attacked against media institutions were also a common practice under Doe and Taylor regime. This was also practiced behind areas controlled by ECOMOG, LURD, LDF, ULIMO-K/J and MODEL. Presently, the situation has steadily reduced but there are several cases of violations against journalists and media institutions.

To begin with, while all eyes were anxiously glued to the mayhem and other dangerous treatments inflicted on local journalists by Mr. Taylor's disbanded NPFL, there were even much more gruesome and dreadful acts carried out by the ex LPC, INPFL, ULIMO-J and K, MODEL and LURD. The violence and brutalities against the Liberian media dated back from the regime of ex-president William V.S. Tubman but for the purpose of this article, this research analysis squally focuses on the ordeals of the Liberian media from 1990 to 2003, and 2005 to 2016, respectively.

The ordeals of Liberian journalists and their foreign colleagues can be told from different experiences, but the similarities are much closed. Liberian journalists or media houses were no exception as they all suffered different forms of brutalities, leaving the unlucky ones dead while others are faced with life time injuries while others fled the country to seek sanctuary in America and Western Europe. Media practitioners and journalists operated under risky circumstances since journalists were accused of being biased to any of the former belligerent forces or the peacekeepers. Like anyone else, Liberian journalists had safety concerns and found it difficult to operate freely for fear of being hit by stray or intentional bullets as lawlessness became very high.

But now a days the situation have improved, the fear of being hit by stray bullets is no more the case, but the hustling of journalists and indirect attacks on media institutions are still visible. The administration is not media friendly, the government through the Ministry of Information has ordered all ministries and agencies of government not to directly advertise or give any media institution advertisement or business without the approval of the Ministry of Information.

This action by the government is gradually killing the existing of dozens of Newspapers and radio stations while the pro-government ones are enjoying the benefits of the

indirect free press restriction. Despite of these restrictions, about fifty newspapers are on the newsstand in Monrovia while FM radio stations are about forty-seven in the capital only.

The 14-year war started on the eve of Christmas in 1989 between former president Doe's regime and the NPFL, with Prince Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia coming into the picture. Several media institutions including printing presses were destroyed. This compelled most media institutions to stop operation. Several newspapers reappeared on the newsstand after the peacekeepers took control of Greater Monrovia.

The Torch-light, THE INQUIRER, the Footprints and Today Newspapers were among print media institutions that resumed operations while LBS, funded by ECOMOG was the first radio station to resume operation. However, all these institutions were restricted to Monrovia and its surroundings, under the security control of ECOMOG while the Patriot and Scorpion Newspapers were being published as propaganda mechanisms for both the disbanded NPFL and INPFL of Mr. Taylor and Senator Johnson.

## The Analysis: ECOMOG and the Media

In Monrovia, a journalist writing for the BBC was assaulted by ECOMOG troops in 1993 because he had apparently written an article criticizing ECOMOG. Later, in 1995, James Momoh, formerly of the Inquirer was beaten by ECOMOG troops after he tried to photograph Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) troops. Moreover, John Vambo, a stringer for the BBC, died after being flogged by ECOMOG troops.

He was reportedly being punished for asking an interviewee on air how far away from the executive mansion a rocket barrage had landed. ECOMOG apparently had the fear that such information could be used by the rebels to stage future attacks. The author, Josephus Moses Gray then a senior reporter of the INQUIRER Newspaper was manhandled by an ECOMOG soldier in Vai Town on November 7, 1997. Also on January 1, 1993 a BBC journalist was beaten by ECOMOG troops after he published an article criticizing ECOMOG, while on April 1, 1995 Benjamin

In 1994 several members of the editorial staffers of the Inquirer Newspaper including Bana Sackie, Wantu Major and D. Emmanuel Nah were arrested from the paper's Gurley Street office to Star Base where ECOMOG was headquarters over a story which was published by the paper. In 1995 the author of this article, Josephus Moses Gray, then reporter of The INQUIRER Newspaper was severely beaten by ECOMOG soldier in Vai Town although Gray was identified a journalist for publishing stories against the interests of the peacekeepers.

Wilson was beaten by police after he refused to turn over photographs. On September 1, 1995 James Momoh of The Inquirer was beaten by ECOMOG troops while trying to photograph AFL soldiers while in 1996 ECOMOG soldiers arrested the entire staff of The INQUIRER and briefly detained them. On January 11, 1992 Isaac D.E. Bantu and Dan Browne were detained for three days by Prince Johnson of the INPFL at Caldwell where they were tortured and made to drink dirty water on order of Johnson.

Reports showed that inhumane treatments against journalists took place in all the areas that were under either factions or ECOMOG but the greatest of these crimes were carried out by Taylor's NPFL fighters who carry out summary executions of journalists. The ECOMOG peacekeepers also manhandled journalists and attempted to impose censorship on newspaper institutions that were operating in Monrovia during the heat of the war.

There were times when ECOMOG soldiers arrested and detained editors and reporters apparently for publishing stories against the interests of the peacekeepers. The international standard and ethics of the practice of journalism were grossly violated and abused as journalists allowed themselves to be used by heads of warring factions to propaganda hate messages.

## The Analysis: Doe and the Media

Unlike Mr. Taylor, ex-president Doe saw journalists as his enemies, isolating himself from them and deliberately failed to discipline his soldiers (TRC final report, 2009).

TO BE CONT'D

# Cllr. Koffa backs Weah

By E. J. Nathaniel Daygbor

Grand Kru County Representative Cllr. Jonathan Fonati Koffa says tenure positions created by Acts of the Legislature somehow limit presidential appointing powers in accordance with Article 56 of the 1986 Constitution.

Addressing Legislative reporters Friday, 14 December in Monrovia, Cllr. Koffa who chairs the Judiciary Committee at the House of Representatives claimed that every legal argument happening now under this government is being carried out legally.

His comments appear to lend support to President George Manneh Weah's quest to scrap tenure positions which the House of Representatives has already accepted by removing tenures from several entities while they review the status of the integrity institutions LACC and PPCC.

Article 56 (a) of the 1986 Constitution gives the president appointing power for all cabinet ministers and their deputies, assistants,



ambassadors, ministers and consuls, county superintendents and other government officials.

It includes military and civilian positions and the provision says they shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the president.

Rep. Koffa says democracy is an interdependent struggle between branches of

government and in the case of Liberia, it is proceeding well under the Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) led government within its first year.

He argues that President Weah has not used the military to force anything, but is rather proceeding under constitutional powers.

He did not however address

the use of police force early this year to dethrone a sitting LEITI boss Mr. Konah Karmo who was forcefully thrown out of office by President Weah's appointee Mr. Gabriel Nyenkan who had just failed a re-election bid for a Montserrado County District seat.

Under Cllr. Koffa's supervision as chair of the Judiciary Committee, the House passed the bill submitted by President Weah to remove tenure positions.

According to Mr. Koffa, the action was legal, opposed to public outcry against the removal of tenures especially at integrity institutions that are supposed to have some protection without fear of dismissals for carrying out their mandates.

According to Koffa, presidents are different in view of how they want to use their constitutional powers that are legally given them in Article 56(a).

But he continues that it

does not mean another president is under obligation to follow suit.

He recalls that those independent positions were created by former presidents, particularly immediate past President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, [with the approval of the Legislature].

But Koffa insists that those tenures were created by Mrs. Sirleaf perhaps for reason known to her.

According to Koffa, any president could look at them inversely.

He says he hasn't seen any move by President Weah that is unconstitutional, saying "We are proceeding the way we should under the law."

Rep. Koffa says no one should criticize President Weah on this legal argument because of disliking the president or his administration.

In continuation of his claims that nothing illegal has been done, Koffa also alleges that the impeachment of Associate Justice Kabineh M. Ja'neh is quite legal.

"The President did not wake up one morning to say he wants to disgrace Kabineh Ja'neh. This bill of impeachment originated from the Legislature through a petition by legislators and it was done as it should be by law," he continues.

Meanwhile, Koffa says he does not want to be Speaker of the House, in response to concerns of power struggle for the leadership of the House.

"I don't have a problem with leadership generally. If there is specific issue we can discuss it but I don't think we have an issue at this point," he says.--*Edited by Winston W. Parley*

## GW trial fever high

By Winston W. Parley

Former and current top Liberian officials have been lineup to resume trial into an economic sabotage case that results from allegation of corruption levied by U.K.-based watchdog group Global Witness.

The case is a fall out from Global Witness' claims that Sable Mining, also a U.K.-based mining firm, had bribed Liberian officials over US\$950,000 to influence change in a concession law that would have favor them to be awarded Mount Wologizi for a mining concession in Lofa County.

Following a Supreme Court

mandate in August 2018 instructing the Criminal Court "C" to resume the case, the trial was due to commence on Friday, 14 December but it is not clear why the case did not start.

However, judicial workers had their convention on Friday and all courts were said to be closed, which may have been a possible reason.

Prosecutors took the case to the Supreme Court due to Criminal Court "C" presiding Judge Yamie Quiqui Gbeisaye's decision to place temporary marks on some of their documentary evidence that the defendants claimed were hacked.

Former House Speaker J. Alex Tyler, former ruling Unity Party Chair, now Sen. H. Varney G. Sherman and former National Investment Commission Boss Richard Tolbert objected to the evidence, claiming that prosecution obtained them illegally by allegedly "hacking the emails line of Sherman or Sable Mining Africa".

The case commenced during the last stages of former President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf's second six years term, but the trial was further delayed in 2017 to allow the conduct of the presidential elections that ushered in President George Manneh Weah's administration.

The Global Witness case remains a landmark case here that bitterly split the hierarchy of the past regime of Mrs. Sirleaf, as some of her top elected officials including Tyler, Sherman, and many more senior presidential appointees were indicted especially nearing election time.

Judge Gbeisaye had complained in 2017 that the introduction of internet and internet crimes had brought in challenges "for Court", not only in Liberia but around the world.

"The Court says that the introduction of internet and internet crimes has introduced challenges for Court not only in

Liberia but around the world, especially with respect to obtaining witnesses and documentary evidence from other jurisdiction to [another] jurisdiction," Judge Gbeisaye said in April 2017.

The aspect of internet emerged after prosecution claimed to have secured evidence from witnesses that include emails and spreadsheets in addition to the Global Witness report that

accused several Liberian officials and a Nigerian national, Christopher Onanuga.

Prosecutors insist that the emails and spreadsheets were "voluntarily given to the Government of Liberia's investigating team by Heine Van Niekerk, Sable Mining Executive for West Africa with whom Cllr. H. Varney G. Sherman had the series of email exchanges".



**#Revoke rock and sand mining licenses from Chinese and Lebanese#**

# Klopp refuses to criticize Man Utd's playing style



Liverpool manager Jurgen Klopp insisted he was not "the pope of football tactics" as he refused to criticise Manchester United's playing style.

Klopp's side are preparing to host Manchester United in

the Premier League on Sunday, as they aim to stay top of the table.

United are unbeaten at Anfield in the league since 2013 and Jose Mourinho's inconsistent team may again take what is perceived to be a

negative approach to leaders Liverpool.

But Klopp was unwilling to criticise United's style, saying that Mourinho's side do not always play negative football.

"I don't see it that they play like that much. They have not only one style, long-ball football or deep sitting," the German told UK newspapers.

"Maybe last year a little bit in the game [at Anfield], but they didn't do it at Old Trafford, no.

"It's just difficult. That's football tactics. I'm not the pope of football tactics and tell people what they have to do. It is just football tactics.

"We need to find a solution. Is it nice if you have to play that? That is what makes it smart if they would do it."

Liverpool are the only unbeaten team remaining in the Premier League, holding a one-point lead at the top.

United have endured an inconsistent campaign and sit sixth, 16 points behind Liverpool.

**My MTN App gives me 20GB of data for 30 days at just \$10**

**myMTN App**

With **myMTN App**, you have a one stop shop to access your account. You can easily purchase Voice and Data Bundles, subscribe to VAS services, share your feedback, access the self-care portal and do so much more through your MTN App.

Buy data with **myMTN App** and get **20GB** for just **\$10**.

Send **myMTNApp** to **7626** to download the app.

Scan me

**everywhere you go**

TS & Cs apply

## Public Service Announcement

The New Dawn will take its usual annual break beginning December 24, 2018 to return on the newsstand immediately January 4, 2019. We thank our many loyal readers and subscribers for standing by us in 2018 despite a rather tough business climate. We look forward to a very peaceful and prosperous New Year. Merry Christmas.

The Management

**The NewDawn Press**

**2 colors Heidelberg printing machines**

**We Offer The Following Printing Services:**

- Newspapers, Magazines
- Flyers, Posters, Calendars
- Brochures, Letterhead
- Receipts, Invoices
- Souvenirs, Gifts
- Designs, etc...

**#Revoke rock and sand mining licenses from Chinese and Lebanese#**

**#To empower Liberians, enforce the exclusive Liberians business act. #**

**#It's shame that only in Liberia foreigners are siphoning billions thru sand and rock mining.#**

**#For the Pro-Poor Agenda to succeed undo the errors by your predecessors. #**

**#Stop prioritizing foreign businesses over Liberian businesses!#**