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THURSDAY, MARCH 07, 2019

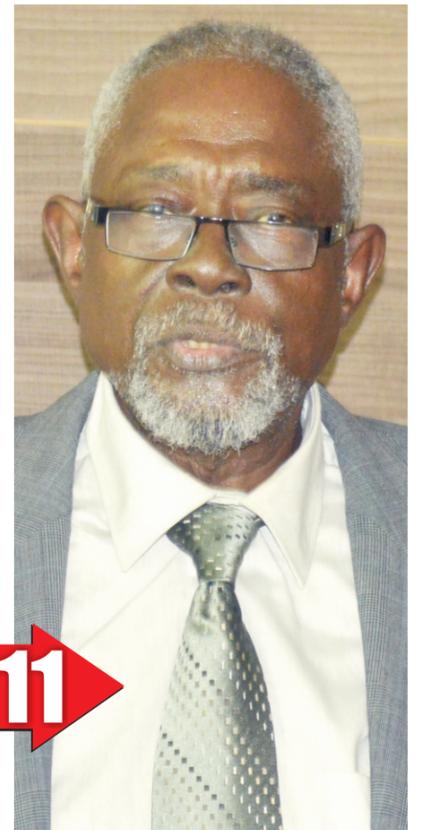
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# Arrest Tweah, Patray

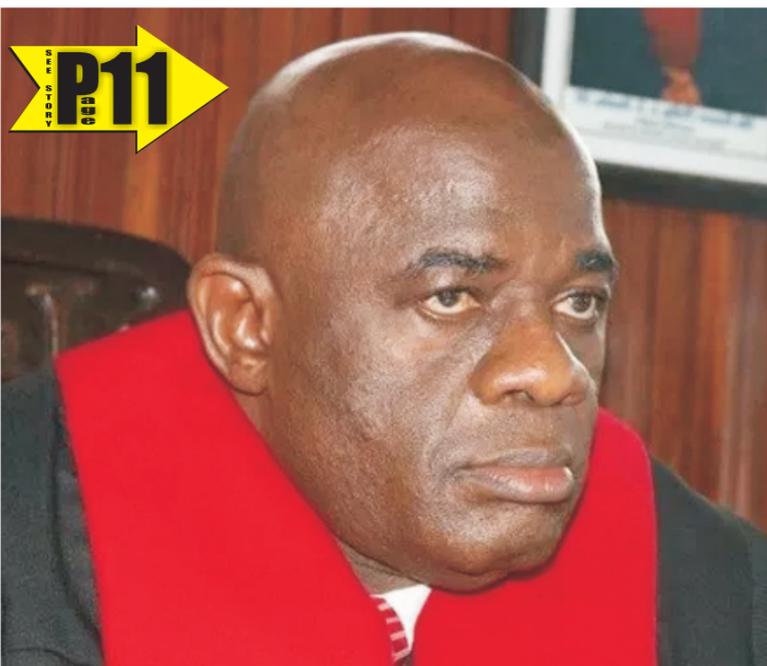
**-Weah urged**



Minister Samuel Tweah



Governor Nathaniel Patray



Associate Justice Kabineh M. Ja'neh

# Incomplete evidence



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# Continental News

## Kenya airport strike strands hundreds of passengers

**H**undreds of passengers were stranded at Kenya's main international airport after a strike caused major disruption to flights.

The military was deployed to try to overcome the industrial action at Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta airport.

By late afternoon, Kenya Airways said most of its affected departing flights had been rescheduled. However, some regional flights have been cancelled. Airports in Mombasa, Eldoret and Kisumu were affected.

Workers are unhappy about plans to merge the airport authority and the national airline.

The government condemned the strike as illegal, and Kenyan air force personnel were brought in to help screen passengers. Earlier, there were clashes at Nairobi airport between demonstrating workers and paramilitary riot police. Officers used batons and tear

gas to disperse strikers, some of whom were injured.

A number of stranded passengers needed medical treatment after inhaling tear gas, according to a reporter for the AFP news agency.

A key figure in organising the strike, Kenya Aviation Workers Union secretary-

general Moss Ndiema, was arrested. A report on the privately owned Daily Nation newspaper's website said he had been "roughed up".

How did people react?

Frustrated passengers complained of a lack of information and support from the authorities, with some

travellers waiting for hours with no update on their flights. What is the strike about?

It began at midnight local time (21:00 GMT on Tuesday). Fire engines were withdrawn from the runway, and security, check-in and baggage-handling staff also stopped working.

The unions are opposed to a plan that would see the loss-making Kenya Airways taking over the management of airports from the profit-making Kenya Airports

Authority (KAA).

The aviation workers complain of unfair staff hiring, poor remuneration and that the proposed take-over would put their jobs at risk.

Transport Minister James Macharia told journalists that jobs would not be lost in the merger, and branded the workers who had caused the disruption "criminals".

"We have identified those who were involved and action will follow shortly," he said. BBC



Riot police used batons and tear gas to disperse striking workers

## Zimbabwe MP charged with treason

**A**Zimbabwean legislator has been charged with treason after she invited her supporters to "dress in black" and join "a peaceful march" ahead of the violent January protests.

Ms Joana Mamombe, 25, the youngest MP in the current Zimbabwean parliament, was on Tuesday denied bail after she was arrested at the weekend for allegedly plotting to topple President Emmerson Mnangagwa's government. The charges are connected to a press conference she addressed on the eve of the January 14

"That a magistrate can agree that the words "invitation to a peaceful march" and "dress in black" constitute reasonable suspicion of commission of a crime, boggles the mind," the party said in a statement on Tuesday after Ms Mamombe was remanded in custody for two weeks.

"The arrest of Honourable Mamombe was clearly in violation of her rights and is illegal, there is no basis to formulate an opinion that she intended to subvert a constitutionally elected government," the MDC A

## South Africa 'sunflower murder' farmers jailed

**T**wo white farmers who accused a black teenager of stealing sunflowers and threw him out of a moving van have been sentenced in South Africa.

Pieter Doorewaard, 28, and Phillip Schutte, 35, were sentenced to 18 and 23 years in prison respectively for murder and other offences.

The pair had accused 16-year-old Matlhomola Mosweu of stealing sunflowers worth \$5 (£3).

The killing triggered tension in the town of Coligny, North West Province. Doorewaard and Schutte had said they caught Matlhomola stealing and that the 16-year-old jumped out of their van while they were taking him to the police station in April 2017.

They were convicted at a trial in October.

North West High Court Judge Ronnie Hendricks said that, although the murder was not premeditated, the men

must have foreseen that throwing the boy from a moving truck could result in death. The judge called the pair's actions disgraceful and appalling, the BBC's Nomsa Maseko reports. The killing sparked violence in Coligny, our reporter says. Black residents set fire to several businesses and homes that belonged to white people.

Police were deployed inside the court house for the sentencing. BBC



protests against a steep increase in fuel prices. Ms Mambombe joined at least five civil society leaders, who were already awaiting trial for treason arising from the deadly protests, including prominent cleric Evan Mawarire. Another opposition MP, Mr Charlton Hwende, was arrested at the Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo International Airport and was likely to face the same charges.

Zimbabwe's main opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (MDC A) led by Mr Nelson Chamisa, described Ms Mamombe's detention as illegal.

added. "Placing her on remand is shocking."

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Tolerate dissent

President Mnangagwa last month accused NGOs and the opposition of plotting to overthrow his government during the January protests.

He also revealed that he deployed soldiers to quell the unrest and the MDC A says 17 people were killed by the army and several women were raped during the clampdown. AFP

After taking over from long time ruler Robert Mugabe following a military coup in



Pieter Doorewaard (L) and Philip Schutte await sentencing in Mahikeng

# EDITORIAL

## Mathew J. Innis' death raises too many questions

CIRCUMSTANCES THAT LED to the death of the Central Bank of Liberia Deputy Director for Micro-finance, Matthew J. Innis, on Saturday, 2 March in an alleged hit and run accident along the Samuel Kanyon Doe Boulevard near his residence in 72nd community, barely three days after the release of findings into investigations of the alleged missing 16 billion Liberian banknotes and the US\$25 million infused in the economy to mop up excess liquidity raise more questions than answers.

THE LATE INNIS, who directly served in the Regulation and Supervision Department of the CBL, was poised to testify as a witness in ongoing investigation of several staff of the Central Bank, including former Executive Governor Milton Weeks, Deputy Governor for Operations, Charles Sirleaf, who is son of ex-President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, and Director of Banking, Dorbor Hagba, among others in perhaps the biggest scandal ever in Liberia.

ACCORDING TO INITIAL reports from family sources, he left home on Saturday, strangely for work, something that was viewed as uncommon and did not respond to calls from his family at home the entire day. Suddenly at about 2:00 early Sunday morning, the family was hit with news of his death in a hit and run car accident not too far from his residence.

THE BODY OF the late Innis was reportedly discovered near his car with bruises on his face and arm, dressed in a pair of shorts and a muscle t-shirt, without any damage to his vehicle. Police then turned over his personal effects such as a laptop, mobile phone and others to the family, reports detailed.

ACCORDING TO REPORT, the police had immediately taken the body to ELWA Hospital along the Robertsfield highway before the family was contacted by unidentified group of men believed to be community residents.

SUSPICIONS AROUND PARTICULARLY among members of the family how Matthew Innis died, with some suspecting he may have been murdered elsewhere and his body dumped by his car near his residence, indicating he was involved in an accident, purportedly a hit and run, as the alleged vehicle involved is reportedly on the run.

SOME QUESTIONS BEING raised in the public are: Why would Matthew, poised to testify in a major financial scandal involving his past and current senior bosses from his place of work, be reported killed in a hit and run accident, especially at an odd hour (2:00 A.M.) Sunday, having left for work a day earlier? Why he did not respond to phone calls the entire day before, even up to news of his death the next day? Why is own car not damaged or why would he had disembarked from his car at such hour, being alone to become victim of a hit and run accident? Is it that he knew more about the LRD16 billion and the US\$25 million saga and suspected culprits wanted him silenced before the actual trial starts? Did he in fact, report for work on Saturday, 2 March at the CBL, and when did he leave for home? Are files in his office at the CBL still intact? What was the last call he made or received, and who was involved? These are just but few of the questions in the public regarding Matthew Innis' death amid a major criminal investigation.

REPORTS SAY POLICE are reluctant to speak on the situation since the alleged 'hit and run' accident occurred on the SKD Boulevard early Sunday. Family members are being prevented from taking possession of the body, pending an autopsy.

MATTHEW INNIS' DEATH reminds us of two suspicious deaths of high profile individuals during the administration of Ex-president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf - the late Harry A. Greaves, Jr. and the late Cllr. Michael Allison. Greaves, who suddenly became a bitter critic of Madam Sirleaf after having served in her administration as Managing Director of the Liberia Petroleum Refining Company, was found dead off the shores of Monrovia early Sunday, 31 January 2016 behind the former Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, while Cllr. Allison's body was "discovered on the beach on 4th Street on Thursday February 12, 2015", according to the Liberia National Police.

THE LATE CLLR. ALLISON reportedly blew the whistle that led to a corruption investigation by the Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission or LACC, involving former Speaker J. Alex Tyler and Montserrado County Representative Adolph Lawrence, among others about funds from the National Oil Company of Liberia or NOCAL.

AS INVESTIGATIONS ON the newly printed 16 billion Liberian Dollars and the US\$25 million kick off in Monrovia, we can but only hope the suspicious death of Matthew J. Innis, a staff of the Central Bank of Liberia, who was reportedly set to testify in court, has no connection whatsoever with the financial trial, as this could open a fresh can of worms.

# COMMENTARY

By Dhruva Jaishankar

## Afghanistan's Next Chapter

*The country is on the cusp of another transition, and the defining features of the new phase remain to be seen. In assessing the future, it will be important to reflect upon the recent past, in order to break the cycle of unlearned lessons that have brought Afghanistan and its interlocutors to this point.*

NEW DELHI - The recent geopolitical history of Afghanistan can be divided into five phases. But now it is at the cusp of another transition, and the defining features of the new phase remain to be seen.

During the first phase, from 1974 to 1979, Pakistan began to give refuge and training to Islamists who could be deployed against Mohammed Daoud Khan's government. Then, from 1979 to 1989, Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia financed, trained, and equipped the mujahideen who fought against Soviet troops. From 1989 to 1996, Afghanistan was in transition as regional warlords gained power, closed in on Kabul, and overthrew President Mohammad Najibullah. From 1996 to 2001, the Taliban government ushered in a period of wanton savagery and - with the exceptions of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates - diplomatic isolation.

The fifth phase began in 2001, following the 9/11 attacks. Since then, the US has been embroiled in a war supporting a patchwork Afghan government against a resurgent Pakistan-backed Taliban. The sixth phase raises two questions: Did the US lose the war in Afghanistan and, if so, why?

The answer to the first question is both yes and no. The US has failed to eliminate the Taliban from Afghanistan and entirely rule out the possibility of the country again becoming a haven for terrorists. The ongoing peace talks with the Taliban and the impending reduction of the US military presence in the country are a clear recognition of this. The American public is war-weary and President Donald Trump is keen to declare an end to the longest international conflict in US history before the 2020 presidential election.

At the same time, the US achieved many of its initial core objectives. The Taliban was expelled from Kabul and, despite the current peace talks, its uncontested return remains doubtful. Osama bin Laden was killed in neighboring Pakistan, Taliban leader Mullah Omar died in hiding, and his successor, Mullah Akhtar Mansour, was killed by a US drone strike in Pakistan in 2016. A semblance of a functioning state - including a national government and a military - is now a reality, however flawed. And Pakistan remains under pressure to clean up its act.

But, overall, things did not go according to plan for the US, for four main reasons. First, and most obviously, it made political mistakes, born largely of ignorance and hubris, although often apparent only in hindsight. After 2001, the US imposed on Afghanistan a presidential-style government with inadequate checks and balances. After 2003, policymakers became distracted by the initially more intense conflict in Iraq and withdrew resources and attention from Afghanistan. Moreover, they paid insufficient attention in the early years to building up the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). In addition, democratization efforts were mostly top-down rather than bottom-up, and elections often were scheduled before the

appropriate political institutions were in place.

The second set of mistakes were military in nature. After 2008, US war planners believed that a counter-insurgency approach would work. But a "surge" of the kind that initially reduced violence in Iraq failed in Afghanistan for a number of reasons.

For starters, the US was unable to co-opt key adversaries, as it had done with Sunni militias in Iraq following the "Anbar Awakening." Moreover, it had no solution to cross-border havens in Pakistan, from which Taliban forces could plot and launch continued attacks, and it underestimated the governance challenges in Afghanistan, which had much deeper roots than in Iraq and made development and state-building more difficult. Furthermore, when then-US President Barack Obama announced the surge in Afghanistan, he undermined the effort by also setting out a withdrawal timeframe. That was a mistake that even Trump was wise enough to avoid.

The US also failed to learn from past mistakes. Comprehensive US reviews of Afghan policy that produced unpalatable or ineffective recommendations gave way to comprehensive reviews that produced equally unpalatable or ineffective outcomes. In particular, successive US administrations, military commanders, and diplomats believed that buying Pakistan's tactical cooperation through threats, aid, or military support could prove sustainable. The unwillingness to address Pakistan's support for terrorism head-on was driven by US concerns - real or inflated - about that country's nuclear-weapons program. As a result, for years, many US policymakers persuaded themselves that the key to peace in Afghanistan lay in pressuring India to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute and thereby somehow allay Pakistani insecurities.

Finally, the US fell victim to its own propaganda. Consider, for example, the notion of Afghanistan as the "graveyard of empires," which reflected late-nineteenth-century Britain's effort to explain its failures in the First Afghan War and the emergence of Afghanistan as a buffer zone between the British and Russian empires. It was later propagated by the US, Pakistan, and others in the 1980s and went hand in hand with support for the anti-Soviet Afghan mujahideen. But the reality is that Afghanistan (or parts of it) had at various points been part of the Kushan, Hellenistic, Persian, Mughal, and Sikh empires, and was at the center of the Ghaznavid and Durrani empires.

Given its location at the crossroads of Asia, Afghanistan will remain of interest to Iran, Russia, China, Pakistan, and India. And as long as terrorist groups can train and operate internationally from Afghanistan and Pakistan, the US and Europe will also have a continued interest in the country's future. In assessing that future, it will be important to reflect upon the recent past, in order to break the cycle of unlearned lessons that have brought Afghanistan and its interlocutors to this point.

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## O-PED

By Barak Barfi

## The Pharaoh-Friendly West

WASHINGTON, DC - Last month, Egypt's parliament overwhelmingly approved draft constitutional changes that would allow President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi to remain in office until 2034. And the West - fixated on upholding political stability and maintaining access to lucrative weapons markets - is content to let it happen.

Amending Article 140 of the 2014 constitution - approved by 485 of 596 MPs - will extend the two allowed presidential terms from four to six years, and permit Sisi to run for two additional terms when his current one ends in 2022. Parliament will hold a second vote within 60 days. The decision would then need to be ratified by a public referendum.

Sisi's desire to remain president is unsurprising. To be sure, he displayed humility upon coming to power. In an interview in 2013, he claimed that he did not "aspire for authority." In 2017, he vowed, "I am not for any amendments to be made to the constitution ... the one who is in the president's seat will not be able to stay after the term allowed by law and the constitution." Likewise, in his first speech to parliament in 1981, former President Hosni Mubarak - ousted in the Arab Spring uprising in 2011 after clinging to his position for 30 years - said, "God knows I never dreamed of this job."

In the land of the pharaohs, presidents tend eventually to become enthralled by myths touting their longevity, infallibility, and even divine right to rule. Mubarak displayed that mindset in 2003, for example, when a writer asked him if it was true that Saudi Arabia had attempted to persuade Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein to step down, to prevent an American-led invasion. "Impossible!" Mubarak declared, "No president ever steps down!"

As for Sisi, his messianic pretensions were revealed in leaked recordings, in which he declared that former President Anwar Sadat informed him in a dream that he would be president. In another dream, Sisi reportedly heard a voice promising, "We will give you what we have given to no other."

Westerners may scoff at such claims, but Egyptians take them very seriously. In the Judeo-Islamic tradition, dreams are considered a low stage of prophecy. In the Book of Genesis, Joseph saved Egypt from famine and drought by divining the true meaning of the pharaoh's dreams.

The timing of Sisi's announcement, however, was determined not by a dream, but by political conditions. The socioeconomic turmoil unleashed by the 2011 revolt is finally subsiding. After several years of economic growth that barely kept up (if it all) with population increases, the economy grew by 5.3% in the fiscal year that ended last June.

Moreover, an International Monetary Fund-mandated austerity program - which required energy and food subsidies to be slashed, even as incomes fell - is reaching its denouement. As it winds down, so will the likelihood of economic protests. Already, labor and student demonstrations have abated, owing to a security-services clampdown and a lack of support from other segments of society. And though Egypt's power structure is opaque, frequent military and security-service purges suggest that Sisi has consolidated his position behind the scenes.

Sisi's foreign-policy credentials have also lately received a much-needed (though largely undeserved) boost from the pause in construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam on the Nile, Africa's longest river. Ethiopia initiated the project to alleviate domestic and regional energy shortfalls. But Egypt - which receives just 51 millimeters of precipitation per year, the lowest amount in the world - depends on the Nile for its water supply, which would be reduced by an expected 10% annually as the dam's reservoir is filled.

Though negotiations failed to assuage Egyptian concerns, recent political changes in Ethiopia have done so. The election of a new prime minister more focused on enacting widespread economic reforms and rooting out corruption than building a dam - together with funding shortages and faulty electromechanical work - have brought the project to a virtual halt. Egypt's pro-government media have spun this development as an example of Sisi's acumen.

In his relations with the West, however, Sisi actually has shown acuity. Whereas Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan engaged in a war of words with his American counterpart, Donald Trump, before releasing the American pastor Andrew Brunson, Sisi quietly freed an American aid worker, Aya Hijazi, who had been held for three years on false charges. Add to that America's trade surplus with Egypt - which amounted to \$2.4 billion in 2017 - and Trump is more than pleased with Sisi. This has blunted the US State Department's influence, thereby mitigating any potential backlash against the proposed constitutional amendment.

As for Europe, despite paying lip service to democracy and human rights, its leaders are far more concerned with preventing migrants from landing on their shores, supporting a bulwark against terrorism, and selling their military wares abroad than they are with protesting repression in distant lands. When Sisi visited France in October 2017, French President Emmanuel Macron declared, "I believe in the sovereignty of states, and therefore, just as I don't accept being lectured on how to govern my country, I don't lecture others."

During a visit to Cairo in January, Macron expressed concern that Sisi's crackdown on opponents is undermining stability, but emphasized that he would not cut off dialogue. Egypt is, after all, an important strategic partner to France in the region, including in Libya. From 2014 to 2017, when Egypt was the world's third-largest arms purchaser, France was Cairo's main weapons supplier (\$2.4 billion), while Germany was fourth with \$389 million.

What Western countries fail to recognize adequately is that the jihadists and migrants they so fear are being incubated by the authoritarian regimes they prop up. Before 9/11, many of al-Qaeda's senior leaders were Egyptian. And while then-US President George W. Bush doted on his Yemeni counterpart, Ali Abdullah Saleh, a virulent al-Qaeda affiliate was taking root in that country.

The US and European response to Sisi's likely power grab suggests that the West has not abandoned its belief that tacitly supporting authoritarian Arab regimes will secure stability. Some illusions die very hard indeed.

## OPINION

By Lili Fuhr, Jane Patton

## A New Paradigm for Plastics

BERLIN - We have long known that the accumulation of plastic in the world's landfills and oceans represents a growing environmental risk. More recently, we have come to understand that plastic poses an urgent - even deadly - threat to public health, too. And yet, global efforts to address the plastic crisis remain consistently focused on the wrong end of the life cycle: waste management.

The debate that will resume this month at the United Nations Environment Assembly (UNEA-4) is a case in point, because it will focus on "marine litter and microplastics." These are important issues, but they constitute just one small part of a much larger problem.

To be sure, plastic has played an essential role in global economic growth for decades. Its seemingly countless applications include life-saving medical devices, clothes, toys, various industrial and agricultural uses, and so on. Some have even touted plastic as part of the solution to climate change, arguing incorrectly that it has a smaller carbon footprint than other materials. In fact, plastic releases significant greenhouse gases like methane and ethylene as it decomposes in the land and marine environments.

In fact, 99% of plastics are made from fossil fuels like coal, oil, and gas. And new research shows that plastic is harmful to our bodies at every stage of its life cycle, from its extraction as a fossil fuel to its widespread use as a packaging for food, and on through the waste-management process (which includes landfills, recycling centers, and incinerators).

One way or another, almost every organism on the planet is affected by the production, use, or disposal of plastic, the toxic effects of which linger and accumulate endlessly in the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the soil under our feet. Some of the leading impacts of plastic production include harm to the immune and reproductive systems, liver and kidney damage, and even cancer; as we move through the lifecycle of plastic products, the threats to reproductive systems and from cancer continue, with added harm to neurological development and other systems. Making matters worse, plastic production is increasing, and will continue to do so. The US plastics industry alone plans to boost production by 30% in the next few years.

Though the public associates plastic with life-saving wonder materials, an estimated 40% of global plastic production is for single-use packaging. By design, it is used temporarily for transport and storage, and then simply thrown away. As a result, nearly 80% of all the plastic ever produced has ended up either in a landfill or loose in the natural environment, despite years of industry messaging to encourage recycling. Not only do we lack the recycling capacity to manage the plastic already in circulation; recent innovations in recycling appear to be causing further damage to the environment and public health, through air pollution, toxic ash, and other externalities.

A debate that focuses solely on waste suits the plastics industry just fine. For years, producers have been investing in marketing and advertising campaigns to convince consumers that they themselves bear responsibility for the plastics crisis. And they and their lobbyists have been busy persuading governments - including those participating in the UNEA - that waste management should be their primary focus.

So far, these efforts have succeeded in preventing measures that would limit production, and therefore profits. When the industry spends \$1 billion to launch a high-profile "Alliance to End Plastic Waste," its real goal is to maintain the status quo, and to protect its \$200 billion investment in expanded production over the next five years.

Still, there is cause for hope. Break Free From Plastic, a growing global movement of nongovernmental organizations, has been working to inform governments and their representatives of the harms and risks associated with new plastic production. In the 15 months since UNEA-3, an Ad Hoc Open-Ended Expert Group has met twice to assess the options available for addressing the plastic crisis holistically. Their findings, bolstered by multiple UN-sponsored analyses and independent reports, point to major gaps and insufficient coordination in current governance structures.

The Expert Group's recommendations have given significant momentum to the push for a new global framework to reduce the production and consumption of plastic. At UNEA-4, a resolution proposed by Norway calls for stronger global-governance structures to address marine litter and microplastics. But the hope is that this will serve as a first step toward a legally binding treaty with a multi-layered approach to solving the problem.

A new global convention to confront the plastics crisis would improve coordination between governments and existing regulatory structures, and would also provide additional financial and technical support. More importantly, its central focus would be preventing both growth in plastics pollution and harm to human health at all phases of the production cycle.

We all have a right to live in a healthy environment. But that right will not be secure until we adopt legally binding measures to limit production of plastics, and to hold companies and governments accountable for the damage plastic does to our bodies, communities, and ecosystems. Educating people about the importance of recycling is not enough. We are optimistic that the UNEA will recognize this and join with those who are already leading a groundbreaking initiative to protect human and environmental health.

# LIBERIANS DEBATE



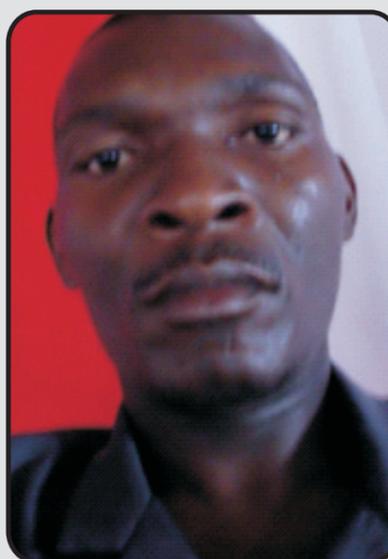
With Sally H. Gaye Cell#: 0886726282 Email:sh0770291004@gmail.com

**Final report of the Presidential Investigation Team (PIT) has revealed that there is no LDR16 billion missing, but exposed a trail of discrepancies leading to the printing, shipment and delivery of the nation's banknotes. The New Dawn has been getting views from some Liberians in Monrovia on the report and its implication on the country's economy.**



**Chris Toe**

“Even if the whole world investigates this LRD16bn issue and come out with a report, Liberians will not still be satisfied, as long President George Manneh Weah is not indicted; we know people like thoughts and intensions; shame on you. The American Embassy will not give credence to that. You're coming from America now to demonstrate, since demonstrating is your specialization. Do you understand my post? Investigation has been carried [out], report has been made, and the government is taking action, what more they want? Every times demonstration; we can't hear, just to bring instability and present our country ugly out there to other nations.”

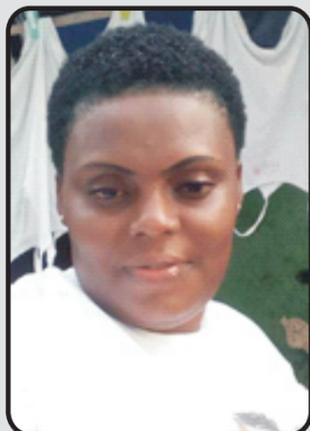


**Isaac Scott**

“At least you're seeing the light in the tunnels, right direction and more will be followed. This is a tip in the iceberg; I am possibly sure the head of the past government has information as well. What a cruelty to public service to your country; your fellow citizens and shame to the world. If these guys have chance to sell Liberia, they would have done so. Hope they spend the rest of their lives in jail, all accounts, domestic and worldwide seized along with properties. Let the laws of the land take its course and hope this will deter future dishonest officials or face the same disgraceful consequences for being too greedy. Remember this, “When ground squirrel wants to die, it wants to come to town in search of patched peanuts. LRD16billion container missing out of site! What were they thinking off? The land of the free, the love of liberty brought us here, after being oppressed by our masters and not the love of corruptions.”

**Edwina Twahn**

“It is with contentment they arrested those two CBL executives, while Finance Minister Samuel Tweah enjoys privilege! Samuel Tweah should have been languishing behind bars by this time! Samuel Tweh took taxpayers' US\$25 million to New Kru town in the name of infusing [the money] into the economy; let Samuel Tweah be arrested to answer public questions and provide tangible proofs how the \$25 million was infused into the Liberian economy.”



**Sandra Roberts**

“While we appreciate the initial arrest of those involved in the alleged financial malpractices during the printing of the money, we wish to call on our government to deal with the reports indiscriminately and decisively. The reports show that the \$25m for the mop up was done without documentation to proof that the money was infused to former governor Milton Weeks, deputy bank governor for operation Charles Sirleaf and director on banking Mr. Dorbor Hagba deserved the charges of economic sabotage, theft of property and criminal facilitation... Let these perpetrators be prosecuted and taken to jail when found guilty...President Weah should be circumspect to fight corruption. I hope Dr. Weah will not be a direct replica of our former President Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who took the blame for some workers at the National Oil Company of Liberia or NOCAL.”



**Amos Bah**

“Let me firstly commend the investigative team for the finding around the ‘missing money’. Kudos to the national security for those arrested so far. It is time now for ‘the driver to beat it.’ I am watching and looking forward to more arrests. Secondly, I strongly agreed with the EFFL. The Impeachment proceeding should be halted because the impeachment is politically motivated and meant to witch-hunt Associate Justice Ja'neh. Let me firstly appreciate the government and Liberia National Police for given a democratic space provided to the Economic Freedom Fighters of Liberia. The issue of the alleged sixteenth billion dollars missing is now a finished case and must be buried in its natural death in totality.”



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**AccessBank, IFC strengthen SME clients**

AccessBank Liberia in partnership with the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a subsidiary of the World Bank Group has held its second event in a series of cooperate governance awareness sessions with SME clients aimed at helping the bank and SME network to identify and better articulate the benefits of corporate governance to enhance performance.

The long-day training took place at a local hotel in Monrovia, with partners from other operational countries in Africa.

The event is aimed at giving voice to the private sector to highlight its challenges and opportunities as well as provide strategies to enhance performance and governance in the business sector.

The training seeks to enhance best practice, sustainability and provide the atmosphere to access finance and other opportunities in the country.

Speaking Wednesday,



February 27, at a local hotel in Monrovia, the Managing Director of AccessBank informed participants and partners of the need for improvement in small, medium enterprise governance that would position businesses for finance opportunities and enhancing sustainability.

Jonas Nyaye said the aim of

the conference is to support SME's customers and other business owners and managers to share and exchange views and perspectives on general corporate governance issues, and how these issues affect one's ability to position many interesting dimensions.

The CEO said the bank believes that its success depends on individual's

successes of customers, saying that AccessBank will eventually be successful if customers' businesses are successful too.

Mr. Nyaye further indicated that it is against the understanding that the bank always looks for ways to improving support to the business sector at large.

He noted that last year, the bank conducted a review of its value prepositions to the SMEs and corporate clients and came to a simple realization that provisions of loans and banking services are important, but may not be enough to support customers to transform their businesses at a faster pace, highlighting that they needed something else in addition like the conference.

The AccessBank boss reiterated that the conference presents yet another opportunity for them to discuss and reflect on some important issues that will transform businesses that aspire to grow.

He expressed gratitude to partners and business officials, and stressed that it is always good to stay together to achieve one common business goal.

In her remark, IFC Liberia, CASA coordinator said IFC is an equity shareholder in ABL and remains committed to the bank and its clients, noting AccessBank is one of the largest banks in the country's financial sector, employing over 500 Liberians, with over 2,000 micro clients, and well over 300 SMEs and corporate clients, respectively.

Rahila Danjuma described the conference as a step forward, as they focus on the third component of capacity building, realizing that access to finance is not the only factor necessary for business growth in a country.

Danjuma said the IFC has begun to support ABL's new objective of providing non-financial services to clients through series of workshops, including this training.

The financial expert used the occasion to call on all to make use of the opportunity to bring change to their respective businesses. - *Editing by Jonathan Browne*

**Donors, CSOs adopt messages on Land Rights Law**

Several international partners and national implementing Civil Society Organizations, including the Liberia Land Authority (LLA), CAFOD, Weit hunger hilife conclude a week-long retreat to adopt special messages in the implementation of the Land Rights Law.

Landesa's Country Director, Dr. Emmanuel Urey, assures his organization's commitment to supporting implementation of the new Land Rights law.

Dr. Urey calls on Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to rally around their Legislators for support in executing the law.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization's Representative, Kolly Allison, promises that his organization is willing to help identify bottlenecks that are hindering the Law's implementation and to devise strategies to resolving them.

For its part, USAID-Land Governance Support Activity (LGSA) Media Specialist, Richlue Burphy, reaffirms the entity's continued support for full implementation of the Land Right Law and the Land Rights Policy.

Opening the week-long retreat, the Executive Director of Liberia Reform Movement (LRM), Alphonso

Henneries, says, "The workshop is intended to prepare county representatives and 30 working Civil Society Groups on Land Rights to begin public awareness on the initiative."

Henneries also notes the objective of the CSOs retreat is to create a space for learning and dialogue that provides opportunity for the various stakeholders in tenure governance at various levels to discuss and identify relevant messages to pass onto communities in carrying out awareness on the Land Right Law.

"The retreat will also take stock of the progress made, discuss potential solution to identify challenges, as well as highlight priority areas for

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



Participants with Landesa Country Director, Dr. Emmanuel Urey



training for protecting and defending communities' land rights and improving governance in relation to the land and forest of communities", said the LRM boss.

He made call recently in Gbarnga, Bong County at the retreat of CSOs.

Other participants include the National Civic Society Council of Liberia, the Sustainable Development Institute (SDI) and Rights and Rice Foundation (RRF) among others.

The Liberia Land Authority (LLA) Acting Chairman,

Attorney Adams Manuba, for his part, says the entity has challenges in implementing the new law but calls on government for financial support for the full implementation of the Land Rights Law.

Attorney Manuba lauds donor organizations for supporting government's efforts to sponsor more than 30 Civil Society Land Rights Working Groups to adopt the messages on the theme, "One Message, One Law" to ensure the Law's full implementation.

- *Editing by Jonathan Browne*

**MORE HEADLINE NEWS**

**MORE HEADLINE NEWS**

**Unidentified corpse at Popo Beach**

By Lewis S. Teh

Residents of Popo Beach Community in New Kru Town, Electoral District#16 woke up in shock when an unidentified man believed to be in his early twenties was found dead, lying in a pool of blood.

The lifeless body was discovered on the beach early Wednesday, March 6, leaving community residents, including market women and passers-by pondering over the cause of death.

An eyewitness told this paper the man might have been killed by angry mob for suspected theft. The deceased was found lying in a pool of blood with no clothing to cover his lifeless body in the Popo Beach Community.

Several eyewitnesses observed the deceased sustained severe wounds on his head with bruises all over his body, apparently due to prolonged dragging.

Reactions were mixed with some residents saying the deceased suffered from a

prolonged and severe sickness, and had frequented in the community recently prior to the discovery of his corpse.

They said to their dismay, they discovered the unidentified deceased on the beach with no one coming out to recognize him or to

establish where he may had resided prior to his death.

One resident, Jerry Kollie, narrates news of the unknown man began to spread across the district as early as 5:30 A.M. Wednesday, causing hundreds of bemused inhabitants to rush on the

scene to catch a glimpse and shoot photos of the corpse on their mobile phones before officers of the Liberia National Police arrived and quarantined the scene.

Last November, a man believed to be in his 50s was found dead at a National Transit Authority (NTA's) Bus Stop near Caldwell intersection on Bushrod Island, outside Monrovia.

Dozens of people at the NTA's Bus Stop appeared amazed when they saw the unidentified body, already in a

discomposed state.

Eyewitnesses Roosevelt Walker and Ms. Patricia Philip Koon, who spoke to this paper, blamed the unpleasant smell that had engulfed the area on alleged refusal of authorities at the Monrovia City Corporation (MCC) to remove the corpse.

They also claimed to have informed some MCC workers assigned in the vicinity about the apparent health danger posed to residents and people using the road. **-Editing by Jonathan Browne**



**2nd round of business**

Starts from back page

processes and constraints, expansion of port operations, among others.

Speakers from the National Port Authority, AMP Terminals, the Liberia Revenue Authority, Customs Brokers, BIVAC, Central Bank of Liberia and the Ministry of Commerce will make presentations.

An international trade and port specialist from the World Bank Group, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) will also present its perspectives on port operations and international best practices. Members of the Liberia Chamber of Commerce, the Liberia Business Association, PATEL, and the Cross Borders Women Association will also share their experiences and lessons learned in cross borders trade. Donor and bilateral partners including EU, USAID, SIDA, World Bank, UNDP and DFID, among other dignitaries will be in attendance as well.

Last October, President George M. Weah constituted the Business Climate Working Group with the mandate to,

among other things, explore evolving challenges and prospects of the Liberian business environment and workout helpful plans and strategies towards improvement. The President further directed the Working Group to identify quick 'low hanging fruits' in the business climate and deliver them in the shortest possible time.

Doing a recent Business Climate meeting focusing on Getting Credit, Resolving Insolvency and Enforcing Contracts, participants representing both the public and private sectors including judges, lawmakers, donor partners and members of the business community agreed that there was a need to resolve some of the challenges to a business friendly environment.

This second phase is expected to shed light on the importance of trading across borders and how it can help improve the economy through economic growth and jobs creation. **-Editing by Jonathan Browne**

**Foreign Ministry rubbishes fake Facebook account**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs says it has been drawn to a fake Facebook account in the name of Foreign Minister Gbehzohngar Findley with the pattern of posting false information on social media.

Through a press release issued in Monrovia, the Ministry says it wishes to inform the general public that the Facebook account "Gbehzohngar Findley" is a fake account and does not belong to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Liberia.

The Ministry in the strongest term, condemns the action of those connected to

what is termed a low diatribe that is being politically influenced.

It categorically distances Foreign Minister Findley from such account on Facebook, and warns those purporting to be the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Facebook to refrain from such act as it does not only undermine the social values of the society, but also violates Facebook's terms that frown at fake accounts.

According to a Foreign Ministry release, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Findley does not have a Facebook account or accounts.

One of the users of these fake accounts recently uploaded a post with the

caption 'CEC/UNICEF CANNAD SECRETARIATE', something the Ministry describes as devilish and misleading.

The Ministry has termed the action of those involved in creating this fake Facebook account in the name of the Minister as a malicious scheme intended not to only besmear the character of the Minister of Foreign Affairs but to also bring him to public disrepute.

The Ministry laments that during this crucial time in Liberia as the Minister exerts frantic efforts in promoting the economic diplomacy of the country, it is saddened to see people involving themselves with a low level politics.

The Ministry is however warning those behind the smear social media campaign to discontinue as efforts are being mobilized with Facebook to deactivate such accounts and to establish the actual identity of those involved.

The Ministry notes that legal action is being initiated.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs calls on the general public not to consider any Facebook account in the name of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Gbehzohngar Milton Findley.

As the Dean of the President's Cabinet, Minister Findley focuses on promoting the Pro - Poor Agenda of the Government of Liberia as enunciated by President George Manneh Weah. **--Press release**



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# Français

## Laurent Gbagbo à la CPI, ou le procès fait à l'Afrique: Une tribune proposée en vain par Michel Galy au "Monde" et au "Figaro"

Transformer un homme politique ivoirien en une icône pan-africaine ! L'intervention française en Côte d'Ivoire en 2011 et la déportation de Laurent Gbagbo à La Haye a réussi ce tour de force inattendu. Et certes la perception africaine -dont je ferai état ici- de la CPI et du procès qui va s'ouvrir est bien différente de la version officielle de la Cour et de ceux qui la soutiennent. Le lieu, le rituel, l'homme jugé lui-même : tout choque l'opinion au Sud du Sahara, qui en a une vision très politique et remet ce procès dans le contexte de la domination et de l'humiliation de l'Occident juge l'Afrique. Mais, comme on se le demandait déjà à Rome, « qui jugera les juges ? ». Qui remettra en question la légitimité même de l'Europe, puisque c'est d'elle dont il s'agit (les USA, la Russie ni la Chine n'étant membres de la CPI) - de juger des hommes politiques africains, mais aussi d'exploiter, intervenir militairement, diplomatiquement, économiquement. De manière accélérée pour la France, et

dans la dernière décennie dans un vertige d'escalade militaire et de recolonisation rampante dont on ne voit pas la fin: Libye, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Centrafrique...et bientôt Libye à nouveau?

A travers le contrôle des cinq pays sahéliens de l'opération Barkhane, à travers ses bases militaires et ses coopérants d'un autre âge, le complexe militaro-colonial engage notre pays dans une épreuve des forces de longue

durée contre les djihadistes mais aussi les jeunes démocraties africaines, sans plus de régulation démocratique ni de contre-pouvoirs.

Il s'agit en fait d'une sorte de décolonisation manquée dont il suffit de passer les frontières pour comprendre qu'elle est propre à notre pays. Quoiqu'elle en ait dans certains épisodes récents, notamment lors des crises post-électorales, on n'imagine pas

la Grande Bretagne, par exemple, intervenir militairement au Zimbabwe ou au Kenya. C'est pourtant ce que la France a fait en 2011 en Côte d'Ivoire, et c'est dans le cadre du « coup d'Etat franco-ousien » que s'inscrit le procès de La Haye : il s'agissait, ainsi qu'a avoué récemment Sarkozy, de « sortir Gbagbo pour installer Ouattara »!

Les anciens chefs d'Etat africains ne s'y sont pas trompés, qui viennent la semaine dernière de provoquer un séisme diplomatique en demandant unanimement la libération du président Laurent Gbagbo.

Initiée par Jerry Rawlings et Thabo Mbeki ils demandent purement et simplement l'annulation des procédures judiciaires inéquitables, qui selon eux accroissent tellement les tensions en Côte d'Ivoire qu'elles risquent d'amener à une reprise de la guerre civile. Sous l'égide du groupe de l'African Forum, cette quarantaine d'anciens chefs d'Etat démocrates et légalistes, refont l'historique du régime de Laurent Gbagbo, des tentatives de déstabilisation menées depuis 2000 par l'ancienne puissance coloniale et par une rébellion téléguidée depuis la dictature de Compaoré du Burkina, relais bien connu connu des manœuvres de Paris.

Ils sont essentiellement anglo-saxons, ces leaders africains, pour une bonne raison : quoiqu'ils en pensent les chefs d'Etat africains francophones sont tellement dépendants de Paris, en plein XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, que s'opposer directement à la version officielle et au procès équivaldrait pour eux à un suicide politique. Mais ils n'en pensent pas moins.

Bien plus, sous l'inspiration de chefs d'Etat particulièrement remontés par cette curieuse « Cour » soit disant internationale, mais qui n'est que l'outil judiciaire d'une domination multiforme, l'Union africaine se montre de plus en plus critique envers ce tribunal des vainqueurs, menaçant de s'en retirer.

La version officielle de la crise ivoirienne, qui vient d'être encore mise à mal par plusieurs ouvrages concordants, parle de 3000 morts pendant la « crise post-électorale » ; mais la commission Dialogue, vérité et réconciliation dirigée par l'ancien premier ministre Konan Banny, fait elle état de plus de 16000 morts, dus aux trois quarts aux forces pro Ouattara. La seule prise d'Abidjan par les milices de mercenaires de Guillaume Soro - qui ont déjà massacré fin mars 2011 selon Amnesty international 800 Guérés (hommes, femmes et enfants, et selon d'autres sources un millier) dans l'Ouest du pays - a causé des milliers de morts, ainsi qu'en brousse se multipliaient les massacres à base ethnique chez les Bété, Dida, Attié ou Dida, peuples soutenant majoritairement Laurent Gbagbo.

De tels faits - des crimes de guerre en fait - sont restés impunis et même sont volontairement ignorés par la CPI. Selon mes propres investigations, si on considère aussi la zone Nord du pays, contrôlée par la sanglante rébellion dirigée par les fameux « com-zones » de Soro, c'est d'environ 20000 victimes civiles dont il faudrait parler de 2002 à nos jours, aux 9/10<sup>èmes</sup> exécutés par les forces se réclamant d'Alassane Ouattara!



## Affaire 16 milliards disparus : deux autres responsables arrêtés

Les arrestations des responsables de la banque centrale dans le cadre de l'enquête sur la disparition présumée de 16 milliards de dollars libériens continuent.

En effet, deux autres responsables de la Banque

centrale du Libéria ont été arrêtés, inculpés et incarcérés à la prison centrale de Monrovia, 24 heures après que trois hauts responsables, dont le fils de l'ex-présidente, Charles E. Sirleaf, ont été incarcérés pour sabotage

économique.

Le mardi 5 mars, l'accusé Richard H. Walker, directeur des opérations de la Banque centrale du Libéria et le directeur adjoint de l'audit interne, Joseph Dennis, ont été incarcérés à la prison centrale de Monrovia pour sabotage économique, complot criminel et facilitation de la criminalité, ce qui porte à cinq le nombre de fonctionnaires détenus jusqu'à présent depuis la publication des conclusions des enquêtes sur la disparition présumée des 16 milliards de dollars libériens.

Charles E. Sirleaf, Milton A. Weeks et Dorbor Hagba ont été déférés à la prison centrale de Monrovia, après n'avoir pas pu payer des cautions pour leur libération sous caution lors de leur première comparution au tribunal. Arrêtés la semaine dernière pour avoir joué un rôle dans l'affaire de l'impression des billets de banque, les responsables ont comparu devant le tribunal de la ville de Monrovia le lundi 4



Articles traduits  
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mars, sous escorte policière.

Leur arrestation fait suite à la publication des rapports d'enquête de l'ambassade des États-Unis et de la commission présidentielle d'enquête.

Ils font face à plusieurs charges dont sabotage économique, utilisation abusive des fonds publics, versement illégal de fonds publics à une association de malfaiteurs et facilitation de la procédure pénale.

C'est dans un tribunal plein à claquer qu'ont comparu les responsables de la banque centrale pour la première fois

dans le cadre de la disparition présumée des sacs d'argent.

Menottes à la main, ils ont été conduits à la prison centrale de Monrovia, où ils resteront jusqu'à ce que leurs cautions pour leur libération sous caution aient été payées.

Sirleaf et Hagba ont été arrêtés le jeudi 28 février, quelques

heures après que l'ambassade des États-Unis et l'équipe d'enquête présidentielle (PIT) ont publié leurs conclusions. Quant à M. Weeks, il a été arrêté le vendredi.

# Français

## Éditorial

### Une mort bien plus suspecte

Le décès dans des circonstances mystérieuses du directeur adjoint de la Banque centrale du Libéria pour la microfinance, le samedi 2 mars dans un présumé accident survenu le long du boulevard Samuel Kanyon Doe, près de sa résidence, soulève plus de questions.

Les nouvelles du décès de Mathew J. Innis sont tombées samedi dernier, à peine deux jours après la publication des rapports des enquêtes sur la présumée disparition des billets de banque du dollar libérien (16 milliards) et sur la gestion des 25 millions de dollars US injectés dans l'économie pour éponger l'excès de liquidité.

Le regretté Innis, qui servait directement au service de la réglementation et de la surveillance de la CBL, était sur le point de témoigner dans le cadre de l'enquête en cours qui met en cause plusieurs membres du personnel de la Banque centrale, dont l'ancien gouverneur exécutif, Milton Weeks, le sous-gouverneur pour les opérations, Charles Sirleaf, qui est le fils de l'ex-présidente Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, et le directeur des opérations bancaires, Dorbor Hagba, entre autres, dans le plus grand scandale jamais enregistré au Libéria.

Selon les premières informations de sources familiales, il aurait quitté la maison samedi pour se rendre au travail et n'a pas répondu aux appels de sa famille toute la journée. C'est vers 2 heures du matin dans la nuit de samedi et dimanche que la famille a appris la triste nouvelle de sa mort dans un accident de circulation, non loin de chez lui.

Le corps de feu Innis aurait été découvert près de sa voiture avec des ecchymoses au visage et au bras, vêtu d'un short et d'un t-shirt sans manches. Son véhicule par contre n'a subi aucun dommage. Ce qui est incompréhensible.

La police a remis ses effets personnels, tels qu'un ordinateur portable, un téléphone portable et d'autres, à la famille, selon des rapports détaillés.

Selon les informations rapportées, la police a immédiatement transporté le corps à l'hôpital ELWA, le long de la route Robertsfield, avant que la famille ne soit contactée par un groupe d'hommes non identifiés qui seraient des habitants de la communauté.

Les membres de la famille ne croient pas à la thèse de mort par accident. Ils pensent que leur proche a été assassiné ailleurs et son corps jeté dans sa voiture près de sa résidence, afin de donner l'impression qu'il a eu un accident.

Certaines questions soulevées dans le public sont les suivantes: pourquoi Matthew, qui était sur le point de témoigner dans le cadre du scandale financier impliquant ses supérieurs aurait pu être tué dans un accident de circulation, particulièrement à une heure tardive (02h00), alors qu'il était allé au travail plus tôt? Pourquoi n'a-t-il pas répondu aux appels téléphoniques à la veille? Pourquoi sa propre voiture n'est-elle pas endommagée ou pourquoi aurait-il débarqué de sa voiture à cette heure-là, étant la seule victime de l'accident? Est-ce qu'il en savait trop sur les 16 milliards de LRD et sur la saga des 25 millions de dollars US et que les coupables présumés voulaient le faire taire avant le début du procès?

En fait, est-il rentré au travail le samedi 2 mars à la CBL et quand est-il rentré chez lui? Les dossiers de son bureau à la CBL sont-ils encore intacts? Quel a été son dernier appel et qui a été impliqué? Ce ne sont là que quelques-unes des questions que se pose le public sur la mort de Matthew Innis qui fait maintenant l'objet d'une importante enquête criminelle.

Selon certaines informations, la police veut s'abstenir de tout commentaire sur ce dossier. La famille a été empêchée de prendre possession du corps en attendant une autopsie.

La mort de Matthew Innis nous rappelle deux morts suspectes de personnalités importantes sous l'administration de l'ex-présidente Ellen Johnson Sirleaf - le regretté Harry A. Greaves et le regretté Me Michael Allison. Le premier était soudainement devenu un critique acerbe de Mme Sirleaf après avoir servi dans son administration en tant que directeur général de la Liberia Petroleum Refining Company. Il a été retrouvé mort au large des côtes de Monrovia tôt le matin le 31 janvier 2016, derrière l'ancien ministère du Plan et des Affaires économiques. Le corps d'Allison a quant à lui été "découvert sur la plage de la 4ème rue le jeudi 12 février 2015", selon la police nationale du Libéria.

Feu Me Allison aurait fait des révélations accablantes au sujet des fonds de la National Oil Company of Liberia, lesquelles révélations, qui impliquaient l'ancien président de la chambre des représentants, J. Alex Tyler, et le représentant du comté de Montserrado, Adolph Lawrence, avaient donné lieu à une enquête menée par la Commission anti-corruption du Libéria (LACC).

Pendant que les enquêtes sur les 16 milliards de dollars libériens nouvellement imprimés et les 25 millions de dollars continuent, nous ne pouvons qu'espérer que la mort suspecte de Matthew J. Innis n'a rien à voir avec le procès en cours, car cela pourrait ouvrir une nouvelle boîte de Pandore.

## COMMENTAIRE

Par Dhruva Jaishankar

### Géopolitique et incertitudes en Afghanistan

**N**EW DELHI - On peut diviser l'Histoire géopolitique récente de l'Afghanistan en 5 phases. Première phase : 1974-1979. Les islamistes hostiles au gouvernement de Mohammed Daoud Khan trouvent refuge au Pakistan qui les soutient et les entraîne.

Deuxième phase : 1979-1989. Le Pakistan, les USA et l'Arabie saoudite financent, équipent et entraînent les moudjahidins qui combattent les troupes soviétiques.

Troisième phase : 1989-1996. L'Afghanistan traverse une période de transition, avec la montée en puissance des seigneurs de la guerre qui encerclent Kaboul et renversent le président Mohammad Najibullah.

Quatrième phase : 1996-2001. Le régime des talibans se traduit par une période de cruauté gratuite et d'isolation diplomatique du pays - si ce n'est ses liens avec le Pakistan, l'Arabie saoudite et les Emirats arabes unis.

La cinquième phase a commencé en 2001 après le 11 septembre. Depuis, les USA se sont enlisés dans une guerre de soutien à un gouvernement afghan hétéroclite contre les talibans dont les attaques se font de plus en plus meurtrières et qui disposent du soutien du Pakistan. Mais l'Afghanistan se trouve maintenant sur le point de basculer dans une sixième phase dont les caractéristiques nous échappent encore. Elle soulève néanmoins deux questions : les USA ont-ils perdu la guerre en Afghanistan ; et si c'est le cas, pourquoi?

La réponse à la première question est à la fois Oui et Non. Les USA n'ont pas réussi à éliminer les talibans d'Afghanistan et à s'assurer qu'en aucun cas le pays ne redeviendra un abri pour les terroristes. Les pourparlers de paix en cours avec les talibans et la réduction imminente de la présence militaire américaine en sont l'illustration. L'opinion publique américaine est lasse de la guerre et le président Trump tient à déclarer avant l'élection présidentielle de 2020 qu'il a mis fin au plus long conflit international de l'Histoire américaine.

Néanmoins les USA ont atteint plusieurs de leurs objectifs initiaux. Ils ont chassé les talibans de Kaboul, et leur retour se heurterait à une opposition résolue - quel que soit le résultat des pourparlers en cours. Ben Laden a été tué au Pakistan voisin, le mollah Omar, le dirigeant taliban est mort dans la clandestinité, et son successeur, le mollah Akhtar Mansour, a été tué par un tir de drone américain au Pakistan en 2016. Bien que bancal, un semblant d'Etat, avec un gouvernement et une armée, est devenu une réalité en Afghanistan et le Pakistan reste sommé de mettre fin à son soutien aux talibans. Mais la situation n'a pas évolué conformément au plan américain, et ce pour quatre raisons :

1) La plus évidente, les USA ont commis des erreurs politiques. Avec du recul, on voit qu'elles tiennent largement à leur ignorance et à leur orgueil démesuré. Après 2001, ils ont imposé à l'Afghanistan un système de gouvernement présidentiel, mais sans véritable équilibre des pouvoirs. Après 2003, l'attention des dirigeants américains s'est tournée en priorité vers le conflit en Irak qui dépassait alors en intensité celui qui se déroulait en Afghanistan et ils ont diminué les fonds consacrés à ce dernier. Par

ailleurs, au début de leur intervention dans le pays, ils n'ont pas porté une attention suffisante à la constitution des Forces de sécurité nationale afghanes (armée et police). Et le processus de démocratisation s'est fait essentiellement du haut vers le bas, tandis que les élections ont souvent eu lieu avant que les institutions politiques appropriées ne soient en place.

2) Les erreurs militaires. Après 2008, les décideurs américains croyaient qu'ils pourraient remporter le combat contre les insurgés. Mais plusieurs facteurs ont fait que la hausse des moyens qui avait permis initialement une diminution de la violence en Irak a échoué en Afghanistan. Tout d'abord les USA n'ont pas réussi à nouer une alliance, comme ils l'avaient fait avec les milices sunnites, ce que l'on a appelé le Réveil d'Anbar. Et ils n'avaient pas de solution concernant la base arrière des talibans au Pakistan d'où ils pouvaient préparer leurs attaques en Afghanistan. Ils ont également sous-estimé les problèmes de gouvernance en Afghanistan dont les racines étaient plus profondes qu'en Irak, ce qui rendait plus difficile la construction d'un Etat. Enfin, lorsque le président Obama avait décidé d'augmenter les moyens en Afghanistan, il avait fragilisé cette stratégie en l'accompagnant d'un calendrier de retrait. C'est une erreur que même Trump a su éviter.

3) Les USA n'ont pas retenu les leçons de leurs échecs précédents et ils sont allés de revers en revers. Les gouvernements, les commandants militaires et les diplomates américains qui se sont succédés croyaient qu'ils pourraient obtenir la coopération tactique du Pakistan par la menace, l'aide ou le soutien militaire. Leur réticence à faire face au défi du soutien pakistanais au terrorisme tenait à leur préoccupation (exagérée ou pas) au sujet du programme d'armement nucléaire du Pakistan. C'est ainsi que depuis des années, beaucoup de politiciens américains se sont persuadés que pour rétablir la paix en Afghanistan, il fallait résoudre le conflit du Cachemire entre l'Inde et le Pakistan pour diminuer le sentiment d'insécurité de ce dernier.

4) Les USA ont été victimes de leur propre propagande. Il en est ainsi de l'idée que l'Afghanistan constitue le "cimetière des empires". Avec le Pakistan et d'autres, ils ont propagé cette idée qui s'accordait avec leur soutien aux moudjahidins afghans qui combattaient les Soviétiques dans les années 1980. Son origine date de la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, lorsque les Britanniques l'ont exploitée pour expliquer leur défaite lors de la première guerre anglo-afghane et l'émergence de l'Afghanistan en tant que zone tampon entre les empires britannique et russe. En réalité l'Afghanistan (ou une partie de ce pays) a appartenu à différents moments de l'Histoire aux empires kushan, hellénistique, perse, moghol et sikh et il se trouvait au centre des empires ghaznévide et durani.

Etant donné sa position, au carrefour de l'Asie, l'Afghanistan est d'importance stratégique pour l'Iran, la Russie, la Chine, le Pakistan et l'Inde. Aussi longtemps que des groupes terroristes pourront s'entraîner et agir depuis l'Afghanistan et le Pakistan, les USA et l'Europe porteront la plus grande attention à l'évolution de la région. Il faut retenir les leçons du passé récent pour mettre fin au cycle qui a conduit l'Afghanistan et ses interlocuteurs au point où ils en sont.

# PERSPECTIVES

With Bai M. Gbala, Sr.  
July 18, 2018

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

## Democratic Governance and National Development in Post-war Liberia: A Lesson for Nigeria

By: Josephus Moses Gray  
Assistant Professor of International Relations

CONT'D FROM LAST EDITION

### The Elections of 1871

After the forceful removal of Roye from Office, elections were planned in 1871 with former President Joseph Jenkins Roberts who and Roye have often been at loggerheads was the opposition candidate; Robert was named the victor of the election.

### The Elections of 1927

The 1927 general elections in Liberia made history as the most fraudulent election ever held. With only about 15,000 registered voters, the incumbent Charles D. B. King garnered 243,000 votes against his opponent who received 9,000 valued votes (GC, 2017). The 1927 election result is recorded in the pages of the Guinness Book of Records as one of the most fraudulent elections in human history.

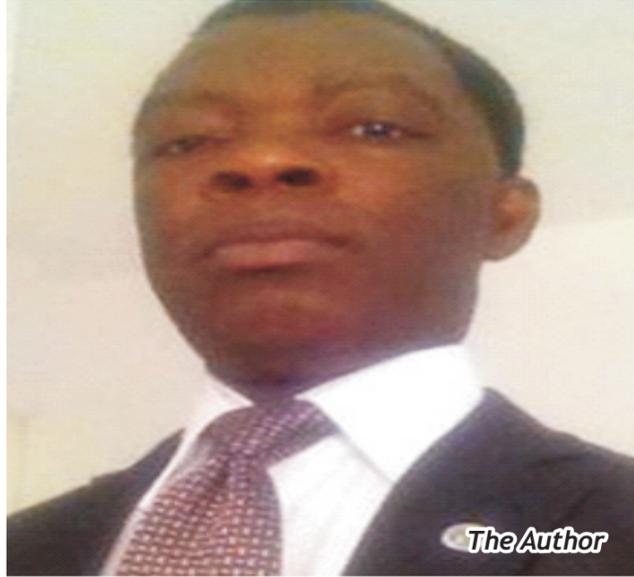
### The Elections of 1951

The 1951 elections in the country is one of the historical democratic elections to be held in Liberia. It was during this exercise that women were allowed to vote and the indigenous people were granted right to own property and also vote. This decision, according to Governance Commission (2017), took effect through a referendum in 1946.

### The Elections of 1955

The elections of 1955 were the showdown between the TWP, the Tubman group and Edwin Barclay of the newly formed Independent TWP (GC, 2017). Tubman's response was to crack down on civil liberties; he used state resources as carrots and sticks to expand his political base and punish his detractors. Just before elections took place, there was an assassination attempt on Tubman's life. His administration brought treason charges against the Chairman of Independent TWP Didwo Twe, forcing him to flee the country (Kieh, 2008).

### The 1975 Election



The Author

### 1985 Elections

Another interested case of a democratic election in Liberia was the 1985 election which was marred by allegations of vote fraud and rigging. The 1985 General elections were invented as a path of the much awaited evolution from military rule to democracy (GC, 2017). The post-election era witnessed rampant abused of state's resources and gross human rights violations. Perhaps, the violence was major causes for the Liberia's senseless bloodbath which claimed about two hundred and fifty (250,000) thousand lives.

### 1997 Elections

In an effort to return the nation to democracy, something which has not happened since 1985 general elections, ECOWAS with support from the United Nations organized a special election which was won by former president Charles Ghnkay Taylor with 75.3% valid votes

of the candidates obtain a threshold of 50 plus one vote. In the run-off poll, Sirleaf obtained 90 % valid vote cast against Cllr. Winston Tubman's CDC which pull from the exercise (NEC, 2005).

### 2017 Elections

Interestingly a poverty-stricken state of Liberia is noted for history making and never in the 170-year of the nation's existence that stakes in the past presidential races had captivated deep national and global interests with observers as being experienced in the recent October 10, 2017 presidential election. The presidential race was reduced to crowd race among the main political parties, the Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC), Unity Party (UP), Liberty Party (LP), Alternative National Congress (ANC) and All Liberian Party (ALP).

Instead of maneuvering in order to undercut the other parties to win more votes, the various parties were preoccupied with pulling huge crowds in the various streets as a means of displaying their political authority over the others to prove that they have the numbers to win on the first ballot. The various streets were overwhelmed by mammoth crowds and displayed of numbers in Monrovia and other cities across the country, unfortunately, these gigantic crowds apparently driven by monetary gains or allegiance, failed to translate into actual votes on October 10 as evidenced of the official results of the presidential election released by NEC. The 2017 elections were highly challenged by 20 candidates with one female presidential candidate and six female vice presidential candidates (2017).

### Candidates Breakdown

The total candidates were 1024 candidates registered to contest the poll; Male candidates registered 861; Female candidates registered 163; Out of 984 candidates for Representative slots; 96 were independent aspirants and; 928 political parties' aspirants. While registered voters as concerns, out of 2,183,629 registered voters; 1,119,355 representing 51% were male;

While 1,064,274 accounts for 49%. Youth age between 18-22 accounts for 11 and; other age of 23 to 27 carried 9%; While Liberian age 18(first time voters) were 15% (NEC, 2005).

### Why governance matter in post-conflict Liberia?

Governance matters in several ways: Governance plays an important role in implementing successful economic policies and sustaining inclusive growth; it provides transparency and predictability in policymaking, efficiency and equity in access to government services and resources, governance also leads to better and more efficient decisions and gives the local community confidence in its council, but improves the faith that elected members have in their own council and its decision making processes (World bank, 2008).

### CONCLUSION

Dr. Ophelia Inez Weeks, President of the University of Liberia and the university family, I am honored so dearly for the courtesies that you have accorded me to share with you some of my thoughts concerning the practices of democratic governance and national development in the country. Many of you covered long distances and left your busy schedules. This reminds us of the significance that you all have attached to this occasion.

This is always a unique opportunity to share a few convictions and understanding of the topic as previously discussed. Finally, let me conclude with these words: We must collectively with determinations in the spirit of African solidarity and Pan Africanism to protect the democratic gains, values, and norms; and give due respect to governance processes and institutions.



Following President Tubman's death on July 23, 1971 his successor, William Tolbert, had been Vice President for nineteen (19) of Tubman's 27-year rule. Much of the Tubman's regime was characterized by suppression of opposition. But the Tolbert's regime provided the opportunity for opening up political space. (GC, 2017). But Tolbert was to get caught between two forces: the old order (old guards) of the TWP of which he was a part and which he sought to reform, on the one hand, and consortiums of youth, intellectuals, workers and others. The progressive and pro-democracy movements, especially the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) and the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) were the torchbearers of the change enhancers of multi-Party Democracy. The Tolbert's regime was toppled on April 12, 1980 through a blooded military coup.

(NEC, 2005). The election was also marred by allegations of voters' intimidation while the issue of fear factor played a major part to the advantage of Mr. Taylor. He defeated former President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf who came second with 10% of the valid vote (NEC, 2005).

### 2005 Elections

After twenty years, the Liberian nation in 2005 held an international acclaimed democratic elections with 22 Liberians vying the for the presidency. At the end of the highly contested democratic exercise, Mrs. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected. She won with 59% of the vote in the run-off poll (NEC, 2005). The election result was rejected by the current ruling CDC, once an opposition political party.

### 2011 Elections

he 2011 general election went into a run-off since none

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# Arrest Tweah, Patray

By E. J. Nathaniel Daygbor

Four collaborating opposition political parties here are requesting President George Manneh Weah to immediately order the arrests of Finance Minister Samuel Tweah and Central Bank of Liberia (CBL) Executive Governor Nathaniel Patray in relations to a US\$25m mop-up exercise and some alleged missing billions.

The call by the former ruling Unity Party, Liberty Party, the Alternative National Congress and the All Liberian Party on Wednesday, 6 March comes as prosecutors here have indicted and jailed five top officials inclusive of Mr. Charles E. Sirleaf, son of former President Ellen Johnson - Sirleaf.

The four collaborating opposition parties are seeking Minister Tweah and CBL Chief Patray's arrests because President Weah's Presidential Investigative Team (PIT) has reported that the infusion of US\$25m into the Liberian economy to mop-up excess liquidity was full of many discrepancies.

Between Monday and Tuesday, 4 to 5 March,



prosecutors here incarcerated CBL's Deputy Governor Mr. Sirleaf, former Executive Governor Milton Weeks, CBL Director of Banking Dorbor Hagba, Director for Operations Richard H. Walker and the Deputy Director for Internal Audit Joseph Dennis upon their failures to secure criminal appearance bonds in billions of Liberian Dollars.

They have been indicted for

multiple charges including economic sabotage, criminal conspiracy and criminal facilitation following their arrests for their alleged roles in the "missing 16 billion" Liberian banknotes case.

The indicted officials are expected to give account of an excess amount of 2,645,000,000 which is yet to be fully accounted for.

Reading a joint statement

Wednesday morning, 6 March at the ALP headquarters on the Old Road, Sinkor, ALP national chairman Mr. Theodore Momoh says the four collaborating political parties demand that in addition to the arrests already made, government should move quickly to arrest Mr. Tweah, Mr. Patray and other ranking members of the Technical Economic Management Team (TEMT).

"This is in consideration of the investigations' findings pointing to the conspicuously criminal way the Minister of Finance and Development Planning and the Central Bank Governor, as Chair and Co-Chair of the Technical Economic Management Team (TEMT) respectively, managed the US\$25m ... so-called mop-up exercise of 2018," Chairman Momoh says.

Momoh says both Minister Tweah and Governor Patray misled Liberians in 2018 by telling the public that "no money was missing".

The collaborating opposition parties say this action by the two officials created confusion last year and it may have been a calculated ploy to conceal the fact that billions of Liberian dollars printed and shipped between January 2016 and August 2018 had either disappeared from the CBL or may not have been delivered to the Bank.

According to Mr. Momoh, they appreciate that the government has moved to arrest Mr. Weeks, Mr. Sirleaf and Hagba.

"We welcome this move. But because of the gravity of this matter and the extent to which some senior members of this administration were involved in what is undoubtedly the biggest financial scandal in Liberia, this action is still grossly inadequate," Mr. Momoh adds.

They collaborating parties urge President Weah to avoid the temptation to shield officials of his administration mentioned in the reports as having contributed to the messy monetary situation in the country while at the same time pursuing former officials for criminal prosecution.

The parties maintain that the two reports are unambiguous about the roles played by the current CBL administration which did not

fully cooperate with both Kroll Associates, Inc. and the Government-commissioned Presidential Investigative Team.

He accuses President Weah's government of being liable for the US\$25m intended to mop-up excess liquidity, which they estimate to be about LD\$4,000,000,000, as clearly accentuated in the report.

The parties deem it a gross misrepresentation and a deliberate attempt to undermine justice and misinform the people of Liberia, when the President declared upon his return from Israel, that his government has been vindicated by the PIT and the Kroll Inc. reports.

"How can President Weah tell the world that his government is vindicated when the current Deputy Governor and other current executives of the Central Bank of Liberia are being prosecuted for misuse of public funds and economic sabotage and when the two investigative reports speak to gross inadequacy of internal controls and systems at the CBL?" the opposition alarm.

They further argue that the reports clearly point to fraudulent and suspicious actions and inactions of current fiscal and monetary authorities.

Mr. Momoh laments that it is provocative for President Weah and his administration to ignore the fact that US\$25m ordered from the national reserve to facilitate a so-called "mop-up" exercise last year was handled in a bizarre and criminal manner.

The opposition parties believe strongly that the senior members of President Weah's Economic Management Team, as revealed in the reports, designed, directed and must have exploited last year's monetary situation to commit the crime of money laundering.

Citing the PIT report, Mr. Momoh concludes that the Technical Economic Management Team (TEMT) and CBL under the leadership and direction of both Tweah and Patray failed to set standard criteria for the participation of businesses in terms of their legitimacy.--*Edited by Winston W. Parley*

## Incomplete evidence

By Ethel A. Tweh

Lawyers representing embattled Associate Justice Kabineh M. Ja'neh say evidences being brought against their client are incomplete.

The lawyers say they are not in possession of all the discoveries that should be filed against Justice Ja'neh by prosecutors representing, the House of Representatives to prepare their client's defense.

This revelation comes as the case finally took off on Wednesday following weeks of delays cause by recusal and dismissal motions, with Montserrado County Rep. Acarous Gray testifying as the first witness against Justice

Ja'neh.

During his testimony, Justice Ja'neh's lawyers raised an objection that lawyers for the House were introducing evidence that the defense team did not have in their possession.

Justice Ja'neh is standing impeachment trial at the Liberian Senate for alleged proved misconduct, abuse of public office, wanton abuse of judicial discretion, frauds, misuse of power and corruption.

One of the cases which triggered his impeachment trial relates to a land dispute involving the embattled justice and a private citizen, one Madam Annie Yancy

Constance.

Associate Justice Ja'neh has been accused by lawmakers for abuse of power, using his influence as Associate Justice to secure a ruling in his favor at the Supreme Court to take possession of the land.

Informing Chief Justice Francis Korkpor on Wednesday, 6 March, Justice Ja'neh's lawyer Cllr. Arthur T. Johnson says the defense team did not have the rules of the House of Representatives that should have been part of the discoveries.

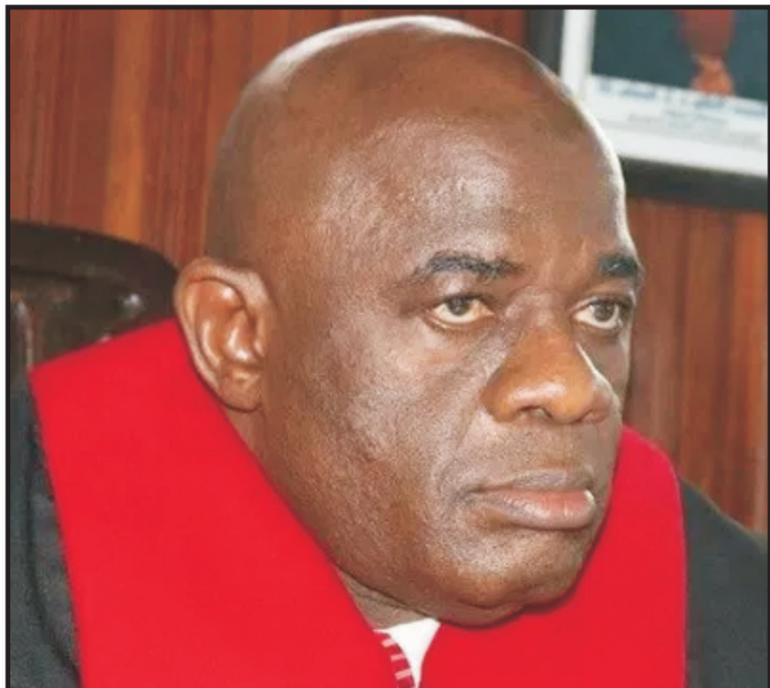
In response, Cllr. Syrenius Cephus argues that all the documents were sent, including the rules of the House of Representatives that led to the impeachment of Associate Justice Ja'neh.

Decision in the arguments from the both sides has been tabled for the next hearing day.

Taking the witness stand, Montserrado County District #8 Rep. and a key engineer to Justice Ja'neh's impeachment Moses Acarous Gray testifies that a lady in his District called Annie Y. Constance carried a complaint to him, accusing Associate Justice Ja'neh of illegally taking her land.

According to Rep. Gray, he took the issue to plenary and a committee was set up to investigate the matter.

He testifies that amendments and recommendations were made



that brought about the impeachment against Justice Ja'neh.

Rep. Gray narrates that Madam Constance's husband is a former general in the Liberian Army and also a former legislator.

The witness testifies further that Madam Constance's Husband went missing for some years and in 1996 Associate Justice Ja'neh

allegedly took their property illegally at the time when Liberians were running helter-skelter.

Additionally, Rep. Gray accuses Justice Ja'neh of using his office power to stop the Government from having access to the road funds that was saved at the rate of 50 cent from every petroleum brought into the country.--*Edited by Winston W. Parley*

## 2nd round of business forum goes to Ganta



The second round of the Business Climate Working Group has been slated for 8th and 9th of March this week in Gompa City, Nimba County.

Theme of the two-day forum is "Trading across Borders", one of the indicators of the World Bank Doing Business Report. According to

the Report, Liberia ranks lower than more than 75 percent of all the countries in trading across borders. The Report cited the delay in processing import and export documents as well as the time it takes to transship goods across borders.

The forum will focus on import and export as well as

transshipment of goods and services across borders.

Consultant and Technical Economic Advisor to the Minister of Finance and Development Planning, P. Emmanuel Munyeneh, says the exercise will bring together all actors involved in land and sea port related activities.

Speakers will include officials of government, members from the private sector as well as from the donor community and embassies near Monrovia. Delegates from ECOWAS and the Mano River Union will also be present to share their experiences on the importance of trading across borders.

Mr. Munyeneh notes that some of the thematic topics to be discussed include the relevance of import and export permits, border patrol and anti-smuggling, the role of digital economy in cross borders trade, government revenue, payments,



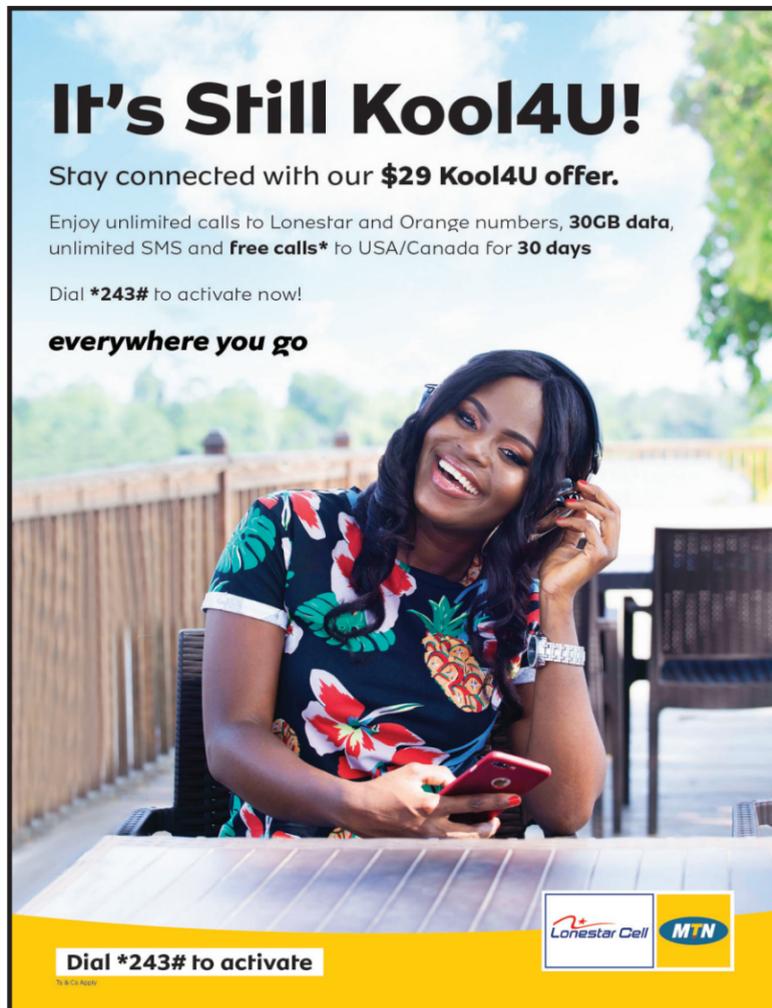
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## Vinicius shin injury heaps more pain on Madrid

Still reeling from their painful Champions League elimination by Ajax Amsterdam, Real Madrid said on Wednesday that Brazilian forward Vinicius Jr had suffered ligament damage in his right shin, potentially ruling him out for eight weeks.

"After tests on our player Vinicius Jr, he has been diagnosed with damaged ligaments in the tibioperoneal joint. Pending evolution," said a medical report from Real.

Vinicius, 18, was reduced to tears when forced off in the first half of Madrid's 4-1 defeat at home to Ajax on Tuesday, which sealed a 5-3 aggregate

defeat for the triple European champions.

As ever, Madrid did not state how long the player would be out for, but Spanish media reports said he would be sidelined for up to two months, meaning he will miss most of the remainder of the domestic La Liga campaign.



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