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Continental News

Kenya upholds law criminalising gay sex

Kenya's High Court has ruled against campaigners seeking to overturn a law banning gay sex. The three judges rejected claims that the colonial-era law violated the new constitution, which guarantees equality, dignity and privacy.

The penal code criminalises "carnal knowledge against the order of nature" - widely understood to refer to anal intercourse between men.

Gay sex is punishable by up to 14 years in prison. It is not clear whether there have ever been any convictions for gay sex in Kenya.

But Kenya's National Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (NGLHRC) had pushed for the law to be scrapped, arguing that it gave rise to a climate of homophobia. The law is specific to men but activists say that lesbian, bi, trans and non-binary voices are also affected.

"The general public doesn't know that the law only applies to male relationships," says Njeri Gateru, a co-founder of the (NGLHRC).

"They include other sexual minorities in their prejudice." Many African countries still enforce strict laws governing homosexuality, in most cases a legacy of laws imposed by the colonial rulers. The case was initially filed by LGBT rights activists in 2016. They argued that the state had no business regulating matters of intimacy. It wasn't

heard until February 2018 and the verdict was initially expected in February 2019 - but it was delayed until Friday.

What did the judges say?

The judges dismissed the argument that a ban on gay sex contravened the 2010 constitution, which protects all citizens' privacy and dignity.

Presiding judge Roselyne Aburuli declared to a packed

courtroom: "We find the impugned sections [of the penal code] are not unconstitutional".

She also argued that allowing gay sex would "open the door for same-sex unions". In her commentary she added that there was "no conclusive scientific proof that LGBTQ people are born that way," she added.

The judges ruled that while they respected changes to laws banning gay sex in other countries, it was the court's duty to respect prevailing Kenyan values. One of the petitioners, Eric Gitari, has vowed to appeal against the decision which he called "very biased".

Human rights groups also criticised the ruling, with the Kenyan Human Rights Commission going as far as to say that it "legitimises homophobia by upholding a colonial culture of exclusion, discrimination and violence against minorities".

But, it is a divisive issue in Kenya and many welcomed the

judges' verdict. Catholic bishop Alfred Rotich told Reuters news agency outside the court: "We cannot be another Sodom and Gomorrah". Most Christian and Muslim groups support the current law, and the Kenyan attorney-general had argued against decriminalisation. There are unofficial gay clubs and advertised events in Kenya's cities.

"The LGBT community in Kenya have created an amazing tribe and culture for themselves," says Brian Macharia, an activist for the Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya. "There is a ballroom scene, a drag scene - vibrant bisexual community, a lesbian scene. Young people are driving the community forward through social media." Gay men also use dating apps - although visitors with international roaming do get a warning about the legal status when logging in while in Kenya. BBC



Some campaigners were outwardly distraught at the ruling

Rwanda rejects Uganda claims over border incident

The Government of Rwanda has said that the two men who died following an incident near the border with Uganda were on the Rwandan territory when they confronted Rwandan security forces on patrol. A Note Verbal by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation to their Ugandan counterparts, dated May 25, 2019, said the

"incident took place in Tabagwe Cell, Tabagwe Sector, Nyagatare District, Republic of Rwanda."

"The Ministry would like to inform that on the above named dates, Rwandan security forces intercepted a suspected smuggler on a motorcycle who had just crossed the border from Uganda at night through an un gazetted border point," it said, rejecting claims by the Ugandan government,

contained in a Note Verbal sent earlier Friday, that the incident took place over 50m inside Ugandan territory. Kigali says the security forces shot the two men - John Baptist Kyerengye, a Rwandan national and Alex Nyesiga, a Ugandan, after the former "resisted arrest and was immediately joined by others who attacked the officers with machetes." "The officers, in self defense, fired and struck two individuals, Kyerengye John Baptist a Rwandan, and Nyesiga Alex, who later died," the Ministry wrote to Uganda's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In their own Note Verbal to their Rwandan counterparts, which Kigali said was "first disseminated to the media and subsequently delivered to the Ministry", Uganda's Ministry of Foreign Affairs had indicated that the incident had occurred at Kiruhura Village, Kashekya Parish, Kamwezi sub-county, Rukiga District in Uganda on the night of May 24. But Rwanda says no member of its security forces crossed into Uganda, explaining that once the attacking group had crossed back into Uganda with their wounded associates,

Sudan rebel leader returns despite death sentence

A Sudanese rebel leader has returned to the country after years in exile despite having been sentenced to death in absentia.

Yasir Arman was convicted for involvement in an uprising that began in 2011 in Blue Nile State.

He is reported to have faced no problem from the authorities on his arrival.

He returns six weeks after President Omar al-Bashir was ousted from power and observers speculate that he could take part in peace talks.

Mr Arman joined the SPLM rebel group in the south of Sudan in the 1980s when it was fighting against the Khartoum

government.

After South Sudan seceded in 2011 he formed the SPLM-N rebel group which kept fighting President Omar al-Bashir's troops in Blue Nile State - forcing tens of thousands from their homes. Mr Bashir was ousted from power in April after mass protests and a military council took over.

The ruling military council and the opposition protest movement have been in talks about the future of the country.

The BBC's Africa Editor Will Ross says Mr Arman is expected to join the talks. BBC



Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs Richard Sezibera speaks during a press conference in Kigali

Rwandan security forces ceased pursuit. The smugglers left behind a motorcycle, registration number RE 736 G, and their contraband, the Ministry said in the Note Verbal, whose copy was seen by Sunday Times. The Ministry also noted that officials from both sides of the border had met on Saturday morning to examine the matter and determined that the incident had taken place on Rwandan soil. "The Ministry further reminds that on the 25th of May the incident was discussed in a meeting between Rwandan

local authorities led by Nyagatare District Mayor David Claudien Mushabe, and their Ugandan counterparts led by Rukiga District LC5, Alex Kampikaho.

"Security officials from both countries were part of the meeting. The meeting confirmed that the incident took place on Rwandan territory," it said. It added "The Government of the Republic of Rwanda regrets the loss of life of the citizens of both countries and is ready to receive the body of her national now in Uganda. AFP

EDITORIAL

Liberia and self-governance

NO ONE EVER thought that in this 21st Century a country of 171 years old such as Liberia would be seriously grappling with rights and governance issues.

BUT HERE IS the reality: Liberia is at the verge of coming to a standstill, because it just cannot properly govern itself as a sovereign State. The country is seriously plagued by weak institutions at all levels so much so that it cannot manage its own resources and deliver basic services to its 4 million citizens.

THE HEALTH SECTOR is challenged to an extent that hospitals across the country are on the verge of shutting down due to lack of drugs and other facilities, including fuel for generators and medical instruments, among others.

HOW COME THAT a nation of 43,000 square miles that gained independence in 1847 still lack paved roads and trained technocrats to efficiently man its institutions, even 15 years after it came from civil war. Rwanda was plunged into genocide in 1994 and managed to rescue itself from such an ugly situation and has transcended to a modern state in Africa with a new capital city that is enviable in the Continent.

WHAT IS THE magic? The latter (Liberia) went to sleep on December 24, 1989 and woke up in 2003, while the Rwandan genocide ended somewhere in the late 90s or early 2000s but the pace with which that country has rehabilitated is highly unprecedented. What happens to Liberia, the Mother of Africa?

LATEST REPORT BY the European Union on governance and human rights in Liberia notes that the country is still fragile, stressing that it is crucial that Liberia consolidates inclusive and accountable governance, social cohesion, women empowerment, national dialogue and reconciliation, rule of law, decentralization and land reform, among others.

BESIDES, CORRUPTION, NEPOTISM, lack of will, and other negative vices, we seem to lack self-confidence or self-esteem that we can do it by ourselves. We seem just not to believe in ourselves as a people. It is not just about government, but we the people - a people mentality or mindset mentality.

HOW CAN A 4 million people have a fragile country 15 years after they returned from civil war? Have we been sleeping, and are we still sleeping? It is the same mindset we bring in government, and then we blame it all on the President.

LIBERIA SHOULD BE guiding other countries in Africa by now because we gave birth to them, figuratively speaking. But here we are as a people, still not able to understand ourselves or understand one another.

WE ARE BECOMING a problematic child, specifically in the subregion and the entire Africa generally due to the haphazard way we conduct ourselves as a people. The world has again turned an eagle's eye and a standing ear on Liberia in the wake of prevailing situations in the country leading up to the 07 June protest in demand of reforms in the governing system.

The New Dawn
TRULY INDEPENDENT

COMMENTARY

By Alaa Murabit , Luca Bücken

The Myth of Climate Wars?

Rather than resisting the securitization of climate, advocates and policymakers should be promoting the climatization of security. This means highlighting the shortcomings of current security frameworks and promoting gender inclusiveness and local leadership as holistic and long-term solutions for peace and sustainability.

NEW YORK - In the years leading up to Syria's civil war, the country endured three consecutive record-breaking droughts. By forcing internal displacement, the droughts arguably contributed to the social tensions that erupted in popular protests in 2011. But that does not mean that the Syrian conflict is a "climate war."

As extreme weather events proliferate, it's becoming increasingly easy to find a link between climate change and violent confrontations. In Sudan, the ethnic cleansing carried out by former President Omar al-Bashir has been tied to the Sahara Desert's southward expansion, which fueled social unrest by exacerbating food insecurity. Territorial disputes in the South China Sea have also been connected to food-security concerns, rooted in competition over access to fishing areas. Some now warn of a "brewing water war" between Egypt and Ethiopia, triggered by the latter's construction of a dam on the Nile River.

But the "climate war" narrative is deeply flawed. From Syria to Sudan, today's conflicts are the result of multiple complicated and interrelated factors, from ethno-religious tensions to protracted political repression. While the effects of climate change can exacerbate social and political instability, climate change did not cause these wars. This nuance is important, not least for the sake of accountability: climate change must not be used to duck responsibility for resolving or averting violent confrontations.

Still, military and climate experts argue, climate change is a "threat multiplier," and thus remains an important national security issue. Climate advocates and academics, however, have long avoided or rejected discussions of "climate security" - not to diminish the risks that climate change poses, but because they fear that framing climate change as a security issue will undermine efforts to mitigate those risks, by enabling the incremental securitization of climate action.

Securitization is often a political tactic, in which leaders construct a security threat to justify deploying extraordinary, even illegal measures, that infringe on people's rights. If the fight against climate change is securitized, it could, for example, be used to rationalize new restrictions on the movement of people, enabled by and reinforcing anti-migrant sentiment.

Framing climate as a security issue can also challenge already-strained international cooperation on climate governance, while driving investment away from necessary interventions - such as the shift to a low-carbon economy - toward advancing military preparedness. The accompanying apocalyptic discourse, moreover, could well lead to public disengagement, further weakening democratic accountability.

Yet, even as some United Nations member states express concern about linking climate change more closely to security, most countries are moving in precisely that direction. In 2013, the American Security Project reported that 70% of countries view climate change as a threat to their security, and at least 70 national militaries

already have clear plans in place to address this threat.

The UN Security Council is also becoming more active in the climate security field. After recognizing the role of climate change in the Lake Chad conflict (Resolution 2349), the Council held its first debates on the relationship between climate change and security, with the participation of a large and diverse group of member states.

Given the impact of climate change on issues like migration and health, decoupling discussions of climate action from national security considerations may never have been feasible. On the other hand, linking climate change to security can positively contribute to mobilizing climate action. The key to avoiding the pitfalls of securitization is to move beyond paradigms - which overemphasize military-focused "hard security" narratives - that continue to shape security policy and public discourse. One way to achieve that is to take a more gender-inclusive approach to conflict prevention and resolution.

Research shows that women are more likely to pursue a collaborative approach to peacemaking, with actors organizing across ethnic, cultural, and sectarian divides. Such an approach "increases the prospects of long-term stability and reduces the likelihood of state failure, conflict onset, and poverty." When women participate in peace negotiations, the resulting agreements are 35% more likely to last at least 15 years.

Sustainable peace is possible only by recognizing the necessity of local women's leadership, who have relevant expertise and yet are currently excluded from national and multilateral frameworks. After all, if policy decisions are to meet the needs of the affected communities, members of those communities must have a seat at the table.

For example, in Indonesia, Farwiza Farhan has acquired unique insights from years of facilitating community-inclusive forest conversation that respects local stakeholders. In Somalia, Ilwad Elman has proved her ability to navigate intersectional peace-building efforts through her organization, Elman Peace.

Of course, there is also an imperative to give more women the tools they need to join in this process. The interconnections identified in the UN Sustainable Development Goals provide a functional roadmap for delivering the needed equity. In particular, improving reproductive health (SDG 3) and education (SDG 4) of girls and women is one of the most cost-effective ways both to mitigate climate change (SDG 13) and to empower them as community leaders (SDG 5).

Rather than resisting the securitization of climate, advocates and policymakers should be advancing what the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute calls "the climatization of security." This is best done by using security to increase the salience of climate action, highlighting the shortcomings of current security frameworks, and promoting gender inclusiveness and local leadership as holistic and long-term solutions for fostering local, regional, and international peace.

O-PED

By Javier Solana

The Europe of Tomorrow

MADRID - Every five years, the European Union engages in an exercise of self-awareness. The European Parliament elections allow us to look at ourselves in the mirror and take stock of the passage of time. The upcoming elections, however, are special: they will be the first since the refugee crisis, the Brexit referendum, and the election of US President Donald Trump. In these tumultuous years, our gaze has been perennially focused on the mirror. After this vote, our reflection will finally acquire the clarity for which we have been yearning.

European Parliament elections are usually labeled “second-order elections.” Low voter turnout, which has been falling steadily since the first election in 1979, seems to indicate that Europeans do not attach enough importance to them. Three months before this year’s election, only 33% of European citizens knew that it would be held in May, and only 5% knew the exact dates. A month ago, just 26% of Germans were familiar with their countryman Manfred Weber - the European People’s Party’s candidate for the European Commission presidency.

And yet opinion polls paint a much brighter picture. The latest Eurobarometer survey shows that almost seven out of ten Europeans, excluding the British, believe that their country has benefited from integration - the highest share since 1983. Most British people, incidentally, now hold the same view.

Yet a certain political estrangement has set in across Europe, and it is affecting all levels of governance. The problem is particularly pronounced in the countries that joined the EU after the turn of the century. Eastern Europeans tend to trust the political system less than Western Europeans; thus, it is not surprising that they turn out to vote in smaller numbers, both in European and national elections. Institutional disaffection and low turnout are also pervasive among young Europeans in general, despite the fact that they are more pro-European than the average.

In addition, for the generations who watched hopefully as the European project evolved during the second half of the twentieth century, the honeymoon is over. The Bulgarian political scientist Ivan Krastev has argued that, instead of reaching the “end of history” that Francis Fukuyama first described in 1989, we seem to have reached the end of most people’s interest in history. As Krastev, together with Mark Leonard and Susi Dennison of the European Council on Foreign Relations, put it, “The EU was created by societies that feared their past. Now Europeans fear the future.”

Although it is still essential to stress the role of European integration as a guarantor of peace following World War II, the EU needs additional sources of legitimacy. Unfortunately, the economic and migration-related challenges of recent years - managed rather poorly by the EU and its member states - had the opposite effect. This created an opening for nationalist-populist parties to win support by promising to confront current and future challenges, like the growing demographic crisis, with strategies from an idealized past, such as national seclusion.

The chaos of Brexit, however, has sent the powerful message that the winds are very cold outside the EU. The United Kingdom is already shivering, and it has only just opened the door. Geographical distances, tight economic bonds, and the relatively small economic weight of European countries are all inescapable realities. European citizens have taken note of that, and it is no wonder that nationalist-populist parties on the continent have apparently ceased to contemplate an exit from the EU.

These parties disagree on many issues, but they find common ground in their xenophobic anti-immigration discourse. In this regard, it must be emphasized that the right to asylum is internationally recognized, that migration in general can help counter our demographic decline, and that there are far fewer immigrants in the industrialized world than is generally believed. Opposing uncontrolled migration is reasonable; turning our back on our neighbors is not. Here, we are not only speaking of a humanitarian imperative: external and internal security, after all, are inextricably linked.

In any case, the issue that most concerns Europeans today is not immigration, but the economy. One of today’s greatest challenges is inequality, which has been rising in almost all OECD countries. Meanwhile, the European north-south divide has also widened as a result of the economic crisis. Although member states cannot evade their responsibilities, European institutions must do more to promote cohesion through a new social contract, which should cover everything from technology-driven labor-market disruptions to environmental sustainability.

However paradoxical it may be, the fact is that even as faith in the EU has been severely shaken, European integration has continued without pause over the last decade. There is, of course, a long road ahead. But the EU has never before had more effective tools for addressing the economic and financial challenges that may arise. If the union is to continue down this path after the elections, and if it is to preserve its role as a multilateral actor in a world increasingly marked by great-power competition, the relatively silent pro-integration majority will have to become vocal and mobilized.

Through the introspection of recent years, Europeans have at least - and at last - managed to create a common political space. Rather than allowing nationalist-populists to use it against them, pro-EU parties must forge a transformative narrative focused on the future. Like the Austrian writer Stefan Zweig, we may occasionally delight in nostalgia for the “world of yesterday.” But, also like Zweig, we must remain engaged in forward-looking projects, like the peaceful, integrated Europe he did not live to see. The best homage to the apostles of Europe’s unity would be to avoid being paralyzed by nostalgia, and to commit ourselves to building the Europe of tomorrow.

OPINION

By Lauren Hendricks

Central America’s Besieged Women

WASHINGTON, DC - Across Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala, women who seek to escape poverty by launching small businesses often find that success brings more suffering - and not just for them, but also for their children. Beyond having to contend with a culture of machismo, weak protection by the state leaves successful women entrepreneurs vulnerable to armed gangs and militias. As the owner of a small cosmetics company put it, “I feel like it’s better that my business doesn’t progress, because if it grows, I’ll suffer extortion.”

Recent research confirms these fears. Women and Girls Empowered (WAGE), a United States-based initiative to reduce legal, economic, and policy barriers to female entrepreneurship in poor countries, recently held 27 focus groups across Honduras and El Salvador. Many of the barriers to women’s economic empowerment that were identified - such as limited access to credit, lack of business and financial education, unequal property rights, and lack of connection to social networks and markets - are globally pervasive.

But women in Central America face added threats from gang violence and organized criminal activity. Rates of femicide - the murder of a woman or girl for gender-related reasons - have reached epidemic levels. In Honduras, there were 5.8 femicides per 100,000 women in 2016. In El Salvador, the rate is an appalling 10.2 per 100,000. Gangs also force children to join and subject girls to sexual abuse.

For entrepreneurs, the threat of physical harm is compounded by gangs’ demands for bribes or “taxes.” To avoid attracting the attention of these groups, women forego storefronts or signage, operating quietly from inside their homes and delivering products directly to clients. They travel to faraway cities - often in the dead of night - to sell their wares, which increases business risk and transportation costs. All of this limits their businesses’ growth potential.

But simply giving up on one’s business is not a good option, either. Small entrepreneurship remains one of the few available paths out of poverty in Central America, especially for women, who face unemployment rates that are 50% higher than those of men, owing partly to cultural norms that impede working outside the home. As one Salvadoran woman told WAGE, “My husband doesn’t like that I work. If I don’t obey him, I run the risk that he will abuse me.”

When your only option for escaping poverty means placing a target on you and your family’s backs, the future looks bleak. Unsurprisingly, many desperate Central American women have fled their homes - often on foot, children in tow - seeking safety and opportunity in the United States. But for every woman who leaves, many more stay behind, either in their hometown or in new towns within their country, where they can only hope that their newfound anonymity will offer some security.

The ability to earn a decent income and live safely within one’s own community is vital not just for one’s own wellbeing, but also for economic development and political stability. That is why initiatives that seek to promote economic growth in Central America - or anywhere, for that matter - must address head-on the needs of women entrepreneurs.

While there are no simple solutions, promising steps can be taken. At the center of any strategy for improving conditions for women entrepreneurs in Central America should be local microfinance institutions.

Women rely on MFIs for much more than start-up business funding. According to WAGE research, they also seek financial education and help with emergency planning, to facilitate a quick departure if needed - all delivered discretely.

MFIs should pay attention to the needs of women entrepreneurs and tailor their services accordingly. For example, they should provide financial products that enable women to save in secret, hidden from the prying eyes of their husbands, their spouses’ associates, or gang members. Loan products that offer lower interest rates or advance specific goals, such as savings for health emergencies, including physical attacks, would also help.

Global consumers also have a role to play in improving the economic prospects of women in Central America. Some 300 international companies operate in Honduras alone, in sectors ranging from textiles to electronics. Buyers of their products, in the US and elsewhere, should be leveraging their wallets to persuade those companies to drive change in the communities where they operate.

Whether pressured by their customers or not, international companies operating in Central America should use their clout to demand that local and national governments root out impunity-enabling corruption and enforce laws that protect women and children. At the same time, they should establish partnerships with MFIs and civil-society organizations to develop and carry out corporate social responsibility initiatives that directly support local communities, especially women.

Foreign governments, beginning with the US, should support progress in the region, including through continued aid delivery. Researchers have shown that, amid severe economic shocks, foreign aid can contribute significantly to conflict prevention. Given the powerful effect this would have on migrant flows, the US should be motivated to strengthen its efforts to help reduce poverty and violence in Central America.

As it stands now, women in the region face an impossible choice between escaping poverty and staying safe; in many cases, they achieve neither. They have the drive to build small businesses, improve their families’ wellbeing, fuel local economic growth, and strengthen regional stability. But they need support. We must give it to them.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE

Rwanda and Liberia: How Patriotism, Focused Leadership and “Culture of It's Our Time” Shaping Progress and Retrogression.

By James S. Shilue

Attitudes, values, and beliefs that are sometimes collectively referred to as “culture” play an unquestionable role in human behaviour and progress. Liberia experienced a catastrophic shift in its body politics in 1980 with the violent removal of the settlers oligarchy described by one Pan Africanist as “Black imperialism.” One hundred and thirty three years of one party rule was violently replaced on April 12, 1980 by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, an indigenous Liberian, who ascended to the Nation’s highest office, accusing his predecessor of bad governance characterised by corruption, oppression, suppression, nepotism, etc. At the onset of the military takeover, Doe received overwhelming support from Liberians promising to be people centred as was evident in the famous slogan of the erstwhile PRC era “In the cause of the people, the struggle continues”. Despite the initial support received from majority of Liberians, Doe’s ten-year rule was also characterised by bad governance and failure to unite the country. Liberia was ignited and on a “time bomb”. Just as Liberians were preparing to celebrate Christmas, the country was invaded by Charles McArthur Taylor on December 24 1989. Taylor described Doe as ‘authoritarian’ and accused him of the same vice that Doe accused Tolbert of, thus justifying Taylor’s use of ‘freedom fighters’ to liberate the country. However, Taylor went beyond liberating the country but institutionalised bad governance and turned Liberia into a ‘pariah state’-preying on the natural resources of the nation and neighbouring countries to sustain his despotic regime. Taylor’s greed and quest to control the region saw the birth of a plethora of criminal and rebel groups- all plundering, looting, raping women and amassing wealth illegally.

Liberia eventually tuned into a theatre of wars and after fourteen years of wanton destruction, the conflict finally ended in 2003. With human and material resource supports from regional and international actors, an interim government was formed to oversee and manage Liberia’s post war reconstruction and recovery processes. A Democratic election was held in 2005 and Madam Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was elected as president of Liberia. Madam Sirleaf, who ruled the country for two terms (2006-2011 and 2012-2017) was the first democratically elected female president in Africa. She inherited a totally broken country but was determined to restore Liberia’s image as well as rebuild damaged infrastructure.

The years 1980’s to 90’s saw many African countries transitioned from an era of de-colonisation to that of globalisation. Rwanda, an East African country, descended into bloodbath on April 6, 1994 at the time the world’s media were all focused on the election of Nelson Mandela. A plane carrying Rwanda’s President, Juvénal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira, the Hutu president of Burundi, was shot down in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. The double assassination of these two presidents triggered what some described as state-sponsored genocide of approximately eight hundred thousand Rwandans, mostly folks from the minority Tutsi population and moderate Hutus. The mass slaughter was carried out in 100 days.

Rwanda and Liberia experienced bloody wars that killed so many people in the two countries. Whilst former President Juvénal Habyarimana’s death sparked the war in Rwanda, in Liberia, Doe was captured and killed on September 9, 1990 by a splinter faction of Taylor NPFL within eight months after Monrovia was captured yet the Liberian war did not end. Instead, Liberia witnessed the proliferation of several fighting groups. Unlike Taylor and surrogate fighters, Paul Kagame as a rebel commander, had a well thought plan and once he contained real and potential threats after capturing Kigali, Kagame ended the bloodbath and shifted his strategy towards reconciliation than revenge.

As part of his strategy to move his country forward, Kagame articulated his country post war recovery plan in a document called ‘Vision 2020’, which he published

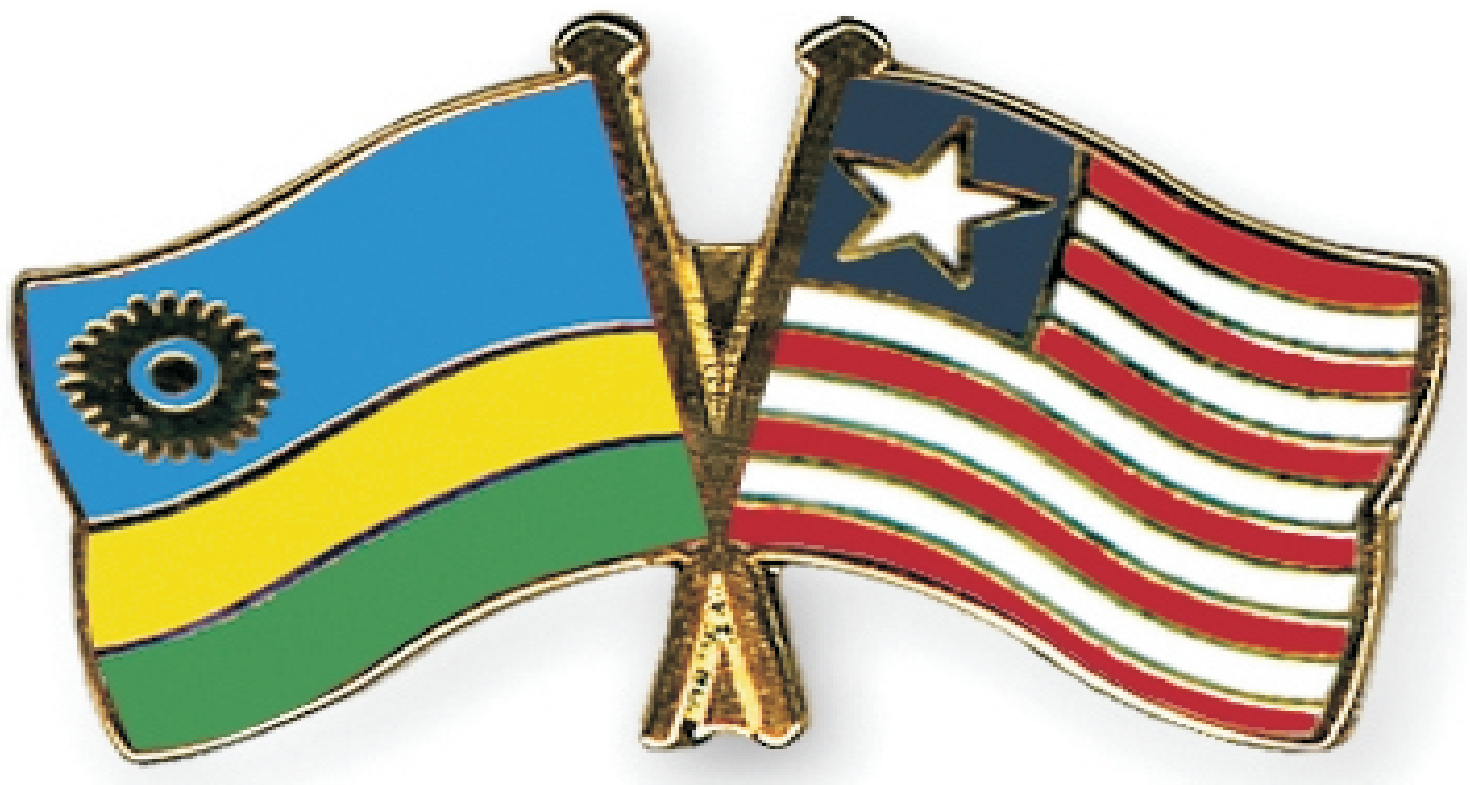
when he was first sworn in office. Although seen as too ambitious owing to its aspiration of turning Rwanda into a middle-income country by raising average earnings from \$237 per year to \$900 and halving the number of people below the poverty line, his dream is gradually becoming a reality. Also, President Sirleaf upon her ascendancy to power, launched her development aspiration through PRS I, PRS II, AfT, and Vision 2030. The latter development agenda, focused on creating more jobs, building infrastructure, generating energy, making Liberia a middle income country, prioritizing national healing and reconciliation without much emphasis on Agriculture and education. Two post war countries with clear recovery plans but one is succeeding while the other is retrogressing. Does it have to do with the countries or the leaderships and ‘cultures of the two countries? The problem lies with leadership and what kind of ‘Vision’ the leadership aspires to achieve.

Experiences throughout the world have shown that broad-based, productivity-driven agricultural growth can serve as the motor for increasing incomes, improving livelihoods, capitalising the rural economy, and providing the basis for sustainable economic growth. Unfortunately, since the war ended in 2003 various Liberian governments’ development agenda have not

Rwanda Vision 2020, focuses on long-term goals to grow from an agricultural and subsistence economy to a diversified economy less dependent on foreign aid. For Liberia, there is a dependency syndrome with a mentality that donors will help us to even clean our neighbourhood.

The Liberian war ended in 2003 and the genocide in Rwanda came to an end on July 18, 1994. Optimism abounded with the cessation of hostilities in both countries as these countries embarked on post-war recovery trajectory. However, despite suffering more human casualties than Liberia, Rwanda post war reconstruction process is evidently succeeding than Africa’s oldest republic. There are different hypotheses why some of Africa’s bloodiest and most brutal wars do not easily end and as we have seen in the two scenarios, the Liberian crisis was not underpinned by any ideological principle but underpinned by quest for political power, culture of dependency and personal wealth accumulation.

Unlike Liberian leaders, Kagame who is described by Tony Blair as a “visionary leader”, by Bill Clinton as “one of the greatest leaders of our time”, by Clare Short as “such a sweetie”, wanted to end colonial bigotry, culture of dependency and the systematic elimination of ethnic Tutsi and moderate Hutu’s in Rwanda. The crisis in the



properly aligned to what Liberia has greater comparative advantage in and certainly aspirations have not been backed by appropriate policy and budgetary allotments. The draft national budget for the 2018/2019 fiscal year is US\$488.8 million, with US\$8.3 million being appropriated for agriculture. Rwanda has consistently prioritised education and agriculture, since its war ended. Liberia has been spending very minimal on agriculture around one to two per cent of its budget on agriculture, despite Africa-wide consensus since 2003 that spending must be raised to ten per cent. We see a striking contrast to what the leadership of Rwanda has done in terms of agriculture. For example, Rwanda has increased its budget allocation to agriculture sector edging closer to meeting the Maputo and Malabo declarations which require member states of the African Union to allocate at least 10% of their annual budgets to agriculture. Rwanda’s budget allocation to agriculture in the FY 2018/19 is at 7% from 5%. This makes Rwanda one of the few states in Africa to have achieved this level of agriculture funding.

Putting resources in areas where countries have comparative advantages can boost productivity, stimulate growth, increase incomes and attract external funding and support. Because Rwanda has got its act right, foreign assistance continues to expand Rwanda’s economy by investing in programs such as education, youth workforce development and the coffee sector. Rwanda benefited from foreign assistance since the genocide, with 30 to 40 percent of the nation’s budget coming from aid. The Rwandan government’s initiative,

two countries has proceeded at an uneven pace but taken various contradictory forms. Whilst the leaders and combatants in Liberia did not have any fundamental ideology and clear goals but to capture cities, plunder resources, dismember innocent people, rape and engage into all forms of human rights violations, the “rebel” leader in Rwanda was not interested in plundering and stealing but to stop ethnic cleansing and unite Rwandans. These contradictions and realities beg the following questions: What are the underlying factors for Rwanda success? What role does effective leadership plays in post-war reconstruction? Would political governance in Liberia ever improve so that Liberia takes prime and central place than indulging in the practice of seeking the interest of political patrons and partisans?

Responding to a moderator who asked President Kagame at a conference what was the secret of his country’s impressive recovery, President Kagame responded in three words: “determination, focus and stubbornness”. These three words make me to conclude that Liberia’s underdevelopment is due to the lack of a visionary leader and our state of mind as a people. Let accept Kagame’s theory for the sake of argument that a nation’s success and productivity is dependent on the leadership’s ‘determination, focus and stubbornness’ or being able to persevere.

President Kagame has managed to cultivate a sense of real patriotism in the minds of his people while our leaders have only been concerned about personal wealth, patronage politics, power and authority.

TO BE CONTINUE

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

EJA speaks against SGBV in Liberia

By Ethel A Tweh

The Elite June Association (EJA) over the weekend held a one - day workshop on rape and sexual harassment for students. The workshop was held on Saturday, May 25, 2019 at the Joseph Jenkins Roberts (J.J. Roberts) High School on 12th Street, Sinkor, Monrovia Liberia. It was graced by several students, guests and members of EJA. One of the facilitators from the Peace Corps, Mandy Mcleary said SGBV usually happens because women are weak minded people and they do not have much strength as a men. But she notes that the world is changing and women are not set aside like they were in the old days. According to Mcleary, though women are the ones that cook, however they are now in school and are helping to change the world. She warns men to stop the violence against women. For her part, Deborah Strother of the Elite June Association

explains that one can be violated physically, emotionally and sexually. Deborah who is also a classroom teacher, narrates that a child can be violated in their homes, schools and from other places. She says sitting on opposite sex lap is also a form of sex violence. Able Sneh

of the June Care Foundation urges students to stay away from sex until they reach 18 years. He says sexual encounters with children below 18 constitute rape, cautioning men in Liberia of the need to desist from rape or gang rape. Mr. Sneh explains that rape or sexual harassment

is the act of forceful penetration of any hole on a person's body, or the act of illegally touching, talking to a person of the same sex or opposite sex. The workshop brought together over seven high schools within Monrovia and its environs to include J.J. Roberts High School, St. Peter Lutheran High School, Tubman High School and the N.V. Massaquoi High School. Giving the overview of the workshop, Essana Menssah, says the workshop is aimed at creating awareness among students so as to avoid rape and sexual harassment. She indicates that it is the group's own way of giving back to society by impacting the younger generation of the Liberian population. "This workshop is

to create awareness about rape and sexual harassment among our young generation," she says. She encourages students and participants of the workshop to take it very seriously because the issues of rape and sexual harassment are dangerous for the society.

For his part, EJA president Henry Carter stresses the importance of the workshop urging students to use the knowledge acquired for its intended purpose. Elite June Association is a legally registered non - for - profit group in Liberia consisting of talented, potential and vibrant individuals from diverse background. It has been in existence for a little over two years and it has been giving to orphanages, disabled and the underprivileged within society. --Edited by Winston W. Parley



BWI ex-board chair dissents Principal Tarnue's suspension

Former Board Chairman and member of the Board of Governors of the Booker Washington Institute (BWI) in Kakata, Margibi County Jackson J. Paye, distances himself from the recent suspension of the Principal of BWI, Harry Fomba Tarnue, terming it as preconceived, non-transparent, and strong-arm tactics by some members of the Board.

The Board through a resolution on Friday May 17, suspended and subsequently replaced Mr. Tarnue with one James W. Walker as Officer-In-Charge of the institute. But

Mr. Tarnue himself terms his suspension as preconceived and political witch-hunt by the Board.

Mr. Paye describes the Board's decision as an act of injustice, saying, "In the instant case, it is my opinion, that the Board of Governors, BWI, did not do justice in the manner it approached the suspension of Principal Tarnue".

He argues that though his stance on the matter may not make a difference, it would be good for the public to know where he stands as a member of the Board, adding that his interest in his Alma Matter is

second to none.

According to him, he was constrained to publically speak out because of many telephone and email queries he has received from friends and fellow alumni both in Liberia and from abroad about the Board's decision.

"I am constrained to make my position public due to the many calls and email queries I received since the decision was announced on Friday, May 17, 2019", he emphasizes.

The former Nimba County Superintendent reiterates that while his dissenting view may not matter nor reverse the course of action taken, it will dispel the notion that the decision to suspend Principal Tarnue was unanimously taken, as was reported in the local media.

He argues that the Resolution, expressing a "Vote of No Confidence" in the Principal was shrouded in secrecy, and circulated among select members of the Board, while being kept away from Statutory Members, including him as the immediate past chairman and a prominent alumnus.

According to him, his name was attached to the Resolution without his signature, and that some of the issues raised in the Resolution as ground for the Principal's removal were not carefully adjudicated by the Board in keeping with due

Margibi Supt. warns car owners, drivers, motorcyclists

By Stone Siakor/Margibi

Margibi County Superintendent Jerry Varnie warns residents of the county, especially car owners, drivers, and various unions of motorcyclists, not to present themselves as attraction for campaign against the Government of Liberia.

Superintendent Varnie says the people of Margibi should not allow themselves to be used by unsuccessful, greedy and selfish politicians to accomplish their ugly political agenda. He urges his kinsmen and all Liberians to embrace peaceful co-existence and dialogue as alternatives to seeking redress to their disenchantments despite of their political alignment.

He says if Liberia and its people should continue the fragile peace and encourage foreign investors in the country, rule of law and

roundtable negotiation should be the way forward instead of violent protestation.

Superintendent Varnie made the call when he hosted separate meetings with driver and motorcycle unions in the county recently at the county administrative office in Kakata City, Margibi County.

In response, the various unions unanimously lauded Superintendent Varnie for his farsightedness and promised to act in accordance with the laws of Liberia. The warning from the Superintendent is in response to ongoing mobilization across the country by organizers of the 07 June protest to recruit more followers. The government of President George Manneh Weah is against the protest, citing among others, security concerns. *Editing by Jonathan Browne*



Mr. Jackson Paye

process.

He notes that since the re-constitution of the Board of Governors by President George Manneh Weah, it current Chairman, John S. Youboty has consistently violated the Charter of BWI specifically, Article III, Sections 4 and 5 by allowing a non-proxy in keeping with the Charter, to continue to act as such. In a press statement released in Monrovia on May 21, 2019, Mr. Paye says on numerous occasions he had raised concern about the constant violation of the institute's charter in the presence of the Minister of Education, who is Ex-officio of

the Board.

He says the Powers and Duties of the Board, and those of the Principal are clearly spelt out in Articles IV and V of the Charter with the Chair Ex-Officio (President of the Republic) and Member Ex-Officio (Minister of Education) playing overarching roles.

Therefore, Mr. Paye explains that while it is the prerogative of the President of Liberia and the Minister of Education to make decisions, including hiring and firing, this privilege can be better utilized with advice from the Board of Governors of BWI. *Editing by Jonathan Browne*

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

UNDP Awards Start-up capital to winners of Business competition

UNDP through its Business Opportunities Support Services (BOSS) project has awarded start-up capital to 4 of 5 companies that won a business competition.

Under a new Entrepreneurship Challenge (Business Plan Competition) launched in partnership with the Booker Washington Institute (BWI) among graduating senior students and recent graduates of the Institute, 5 companies were declared winners of the competition with the best business plans, by a panel of judges last year.

The grants are between USD\$8,000-USD\$12,400, depending on the type of business. The 4 winners received 40% of the amount to be awarded.

Presenting the checks on behalf of UNDP Resident Representative Pa Lamin Beyai, the Deputy for Operations Mulugeta Abebe, encouraged recipients to use the initial start-up capital to



grow businesses that will be models of success and attract more investment opportunities.

"Every business needs innovative skills and ideas that will help you create your own jobs. You are the epitome of entrepreneurship," said Abebe.

Mr. Abebe informed the grantees that award of the

60% will depend on how well the first trench is utilized.

"We will be watching you in your endeavors to meet or reach the milestones needed to facilitate award of the rest of the grant. Don't fail us," emphasized Mulugeta.

Speaking earlier, UNDP Pillar Head for its Sustainable Economic Transformation Programme Dorsla Farcathy

said UNDP is keen on building a network of young entrepreneurs to work for themselves.

"Capacity Development is the heartbeat of UNDP. Government is unable to employ everyone. You can benefit from your own life skills," said Farcathy.

The Acting President of BWI, James Walker urged beneficiaries to be models of accountability and integrity in their quest to be job creators rather than job seekers.

"Millionaires are not made in one day," Walker stressed.

Members of the 4 companies expressed appreciation to UNDP and partners for the opportunity to be their won bosses, adding that they will grow investments that will positively transform their

lives.

The 5th company is yet to complete the required documentations and processes in order to secure their grant.

As part of the competition, 24 business ideas were received from over 120 students. 12 ideas were selected and training was conducted in business development plan.

Out of the 12 business plans submitted and pitched, the best 5 were selected by the panel of judges following a rigorous process.

The companies set up are in the areas of hospitality, construction, food processing, car wash, and agri-business

The aim of the initiative is to promote entrepreneurship development among young people. -Press release

Senate urged to pass bill to establish Commission on disability

By Bridgett Milton

The National Commission on Disability (NCD) and the National Union of Organizations of the Disabled (NUOD) with support from OSIWA are calling on the Liberian Senate to concur with the House of Representatives on the passage of the Amended Act of 2018 establishing the National Commission on Disability.

Speaking over the weekend in Paynesville, Union of Disabled in Liberia president Naomi D. Harris said the Union strongly believes that the passing into law of this Act will address the many challenges that persons with disabilities face.

She adds that it will ensure that their rights are fully restored and protected. According to Madam Harris, though they do not have the ability to see, hear and walk,

they however have the right to basic social services including working for their country, quality and affordable education, good health, access to public and business facilities and livelihood. She notes that the Partnership Against Inequalities and Discrimination in Liberia (PAID) in collaboration with NCD and NUOD has been on a lobbying advocacy with the Legislature mainly the House of Representatives for over one year. She says in the lobbying advocacy, PAID has been fighting to ensure that the 2005 Disability Act that protects and promotes the welfare and wellbeing of people with disabilities is well strengthened. Meanwhile, the coalition members have extended their deepest gratitude to the House of Representatives for taking the bold step in seeing reasons for the Disability Act of 2005 to be strengthened. They most especially paid exceptional homage to Representative Richard Nagbe Koon of Montserrado County District #11 for his role in the process. Additionally, the Union of Disabled persons is calling on all well meaning Liberians to join it in supporting this cause. --Edited by Winston W. Parley

Pres. Weah congratulates Georgia

President George Manneh Weah has sent a congratulatory message to the Government and people of the Republic of Georgia on the occasion commemorating the National Day of that country.

In the Message to President Salome Zurbashvili, of the Republic of Georgia, President George Manneh Weah, extended heartfelt congratulations and best wishes to the Government and people of Georgia as they

unwavering desires to consolidate deeper bilateral relations with the Republic of Georgia as it celebrates this historic milestone.

He further noted that both Liberia and Georgia have huge potentials to do exceptionally more in terms of trade and man power development. The president expressed confidence that the bonds of amity being forged will continue to grow with new areas of mutually beneficial



celebrate this historic event.

"I am excited to express heartfelt congratulations to you, and through you, to the great people of the Republic of Georgia, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Liberia, and in my own name," the Liberian President declared with great excitement.

According to a Foreign Ministry release, President Weah assured his Georgian counterpart of Liberia's

cooperation between the two governments and peoples.

The Liberian leader looks forward to earnestly collaborating on tourism, a sector identified as potential engine of the GOL's Pro-Poor Agenda for Development and Prosperity. President George Manneh Weah then wished for his Georgian counterpart continued well-being and for the Government and people of Georgia sustained peace and renewed economic progress.



Français

La police demande une loi plus sévère contre la drogue

La police nationale du Libéria (LNP) exhorte les législateurs à voter des lois plus sévères contre le trafic et la consommation de drogues dans le pays. Elle prévient que le pays risque de faire face à une augmentation considérable de la toxicomanie et de la criminalité si l'Etat ne prend pas des dispositions dès maintenant.

Le colonel Robert Budy, inspecteur général sortant de police nationale du Libéria chargé des opérations, a déclaré lors d'un rassemblement de la police communautaire à Clara Town que des trafiquants de drogue utilisent le Libéria "comme un point de transit" pour leur trafic de drogue en raison de la faiblesse des lois sur les infractions liées à la drogue.

« Le Libéria est donc utilisé comme point de transit, et quand ces

drogues arrivent ici, nos citoyens les consomment. Ils sont touchés et au bout du compte, ils sont dans la rue en train de mendier pour avoir quelque chose à manger. Ils se retrouvent souvent au cimetière pour assouvir leur besoin », a-t-il dit.

Le colonel Budy a fait observer que c'est pour cette raison que dans certains pays du monde, les trafiquants de drogue sont exécutés « parce que la drogue tue la jeunesse ».

« Mais au Libéria », a-t-il fait observer « quand un

trafiquant de drogue est interpellé en possession d'un conteneur de drogue, il est légalement en droit de payer un cautionnement pour obtenir sa libération ».

Le colonel Budy, qui a été nommé à la tête du Service d'Immigration du Libéria (LIS), prévient en outre que, dans les cinq à dix prochaines années, « certains d'entre nous pourraient ne pas être en mesure de marcher sur Broad Street si le gouvernement libérien ne prend pas ses responsabilités dès maintenant ».

Selon lui, le nombre des délinquants et des enfants de la rue risque d'augmenter de manière exponentielle dans les prochaines années si l'on n'y prend pas garde. Actuellement, déjà des milliers de jeunes Libériens se droguent, volent et dorment dans la rue et dans les cimetières.

Le colonel Budy a ajouté que bon nombre de ces drogués

viennent des familles aisées, mais ils ne réfléchissent plus comme tout le monde « parce qu'ils sont toxicomanes ou habitués à consommer de la drogue et leur cerveau a été touché ». « Ces gars-là dorment avec les morts dans les cimetières, mais ils ne s'en rendent pas compte », a-t-il déploré.

Le colonel Budy a en outre demandé aux étudiants, aux jeunes, aux dirigeants communautaires et aux partenaires du groupe de travail du syndicat des motards de continuer à travailler avec la police dans la lutte contre le viol, la violence sexuelle et d'autres crimes. Il met en garde les étudiants et les jeunes contre le viol, soulignant qu'avoir un rapport sexuel avec une adolescente 17 ans constitue un viol et un crime de premier degré passible de peine de prison et le prévenu ne peut bénéficier d'aucune libération sous caution.



Cherté de la vie : le peuple de Nimba se retourne contre PYJ

Le sénateur Prince Yormie Johnson, considéré étant comme le parrain politique de tous les temps du comté de Nimba, semble être en train de perdre son emprise sur cette grande localité, certains l'accusant de les avoir induits en erreur en leur demandant de voter pour la Coalition pour un changement démocratique

(CDC) dirigée par le Président George Weah.

Les fils et filles du comté de Nimba expriment quotidiennement leurs frustrations sur les stations de radio communautaires, déplorant qu'ils aient été induits en erreur lors des élections de 2017 en donnant leur vote au porte-drapeau de la CDC, George Manneh Weah,

maintenant président du Libéria.

Ils accusent l'administration Weah d'avoir relégué le peuple de Nimba en arrière-plan en dépit des promesses selon lesquelles il leur donnerait une bonne part du gâteau national après son ascension au pouvoir. Ils dénoncent le fait que le comté ne jouisse que d'un

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poste ministériel dans l'ensemble du gouvernement.

Ils rappellent que, contrairement au gouvernement dirigé par Weah, sous le régime de l'ancienne présidente Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Nimba a bénéficié de plusieurs postes élevés dans le secteur public.

Ils exhortent ainsi l'administration actuelle à faire des efforts pour améliorer les conditions de vie des populations de ce comté en y déployant le développement.

Madame Pauline Dahn et Madame Yini, deux femmes bien écoutées du comté de Nimba, ont accusé l'ancien chef de guerre de les avoir convaincus lors des élections d'élire ce gouvernement, mais aujourd'hui les difficultés augmentent tous les jours.

Tout récemment, Prince Johnson, qui avait appelé ses parents à se rallier

derrière lui et son parti, le Mouvement pour la démocratie et la reconstruction (MDR), pour soutenir George Weah et la CDC au second tour de l'élection présidentielle de 2017, a déclaré au cours d'une émission en direct sur l'une des radios communautaires de Nimba, qu'il a donné des conseils au président Weah sur la situation économique qui prévaut au Libéria, mais le Chef de l'Etat ne semble pas écouter ses conseils ni lui prêter attention.

En début de semaine, plus de 200 commerçants lésés à Ganta, dans le comté de Nimba, ont exprimé leur déception face à la hausse incontrôlable des prix des produits de base.

Madame Tawah Saah, responsable des commerçants lésés, déplore que les prix des biens augmentent chaque jour, rendant la vie insupportable aux simples citoyens.



Français

8 mois d'arriérés de salaires dus à des fonctionnaires libériens

L'assemblée plénière du Sénat libérien, lors de la séance du jeudi 23 mai, a mandaté le comité sénatorial sur les affaires intérieures d'interroger le ministre des Affaires intérieures, Varney Sirleaf, sur les allégations selon lesquelles des responsables locaux des comtés de Grand Bassa et de Lofa n'auraient pas reçu de salaire depuis près de huit mois.

Le sénateur Jonathan Kaipay du comté de Grand Bassa, a dit à la séance plénière que les responsables des gouvernements locaux, principalement du comté de Grand Bassa, se sont plaints de ne pas avoir touché de salaire depuis leur entrée en fonction il y a 8 mois, en dépit du fait qu'ils aient été nommés par le président George

des responsables concernés n'ont pas été placés sur la liste de paye du gouvernement depuis qu'ils ont reçu leur lettre de nomination de la part de la présidence.

Il demande au Sénat d'agir avec une certaine urgence pour porter secours aux fonctionnaires concernés.

À la suite de la lecture de la communication, le sénateur du comté de Lofa, George Tengbeh, a déclaré à la plénière que les responsables locaux de Lofa sont dans la même situation depuis leur nomination par le président de la république, il y a près d'un an.

"Comme l'a si bien dit le sénateur Kaipay, cette question ne concerne pas seulement le comté de Grand Bassa, elle concerne également le comté de



KEEPING OUR ROADS SAFE

MannehWeah et confirmés par le Sénat libérien.

« Ces responsables locaux ont indiqué qu'ils avaient été informés par les ministres de l'Intérieur et des Finances qu'ils ne figurent pas dans le budget 2018/2019 », a dit Kaipay.

"Je souhaite faire référence à la norme de « à travail égal, salaire égal » telle que [recommandée] dans la Constitution de la République.

Par cette reconnaissance, j'exprime de l'aversion qu'il n'y ait jusque-là aucune procédure pour que ces derniers reçoivent leurs salaires légitimes », a déclaré le sénateur Kaipay au Sénat par le biais d'une communication.

Pour le sénateur Kaipay, les ministres de l'Intérieur et des Finances devaient dire au Sénat pourquoi les noms

Lofa", a expliqué le sénateur Tengbeh.

Selon lui, le surintendant du comté de Lofa s'est récemment plaint à son bureau de ce que les fonctionnaires n'ont touché aucun salaire depuis leur nomination par le président George Weah.

"L'année budgétaire est terminée.

Il faut que cela aille au-delà de la simple découverte de ce qui s'est passé.

Car dans mon esprit, je pense que les salaires sont régulièrement versés. Nous devrions savoir qui reçoit ces salaires parce que ceux qui ont été remplacés ne reçoivent pas leurs salaires.

Alors que s'est-il passé avec le salaire en cours ? c'est à cette questions qu'ils doivent répondre", a dit le sénateur Tengbeh.

COMMENTAIRE

Par Alaa Murabit, Luca Bücken

Le mythe des guerres climatiques ?

NEW YORK - Dans les années qui ont précédé la guerre civile en Syrie, le pays a connu trois années consécutives de sécheresse record. En obligeant à des déplacements internes, la sécheresse a sans doute contribué aux tensions sociales qui ont éclaté dans des manifestations populaires en 2011. Mais cela ne signifie pas que le conflit syrien soit une « guerre climatique. »

Alors que les événements météorologiques extrêmes se multiplient, il devient de plus en plus facile de trouver un lien entre le changement climatique et les affrontements violents. Au Soudan, l'épuration ethnique menée par l'ancien Président Omar el-Bechir a été mise en relation avec l'expansion vers le Sud du Sahara, qui a provoqué l'agitation sociale en aggravant l'insécurité alimentaire. Les différends territoriaux en mer de Chine du Sud ont également été mis en rapport avec des inquiétudes quant à la sécurité alimentaire, qui ont leur origine dans la concurrence pour l'accès aux zones de pêche. À présent, certaines personnes mettent en garde contre une « guerre de l'eau de brassage » entre l'Égypte et l'Éthiopie, déclenchée par la construction d'un barrage sur le Nil.

Mais le récit de « guerre climatique » est profondément erroné. De la Syrie au Soudan, les conflits actuels sont le résultat de plusieurs facteurs interdépendants et complexes, allant des tensions ethnoreligieuses à la répression politique prolongée. Bien que les effets du changement climatique puissent exacerber l'instabilité sociale et politique, le changement climatique n'a pas été la cause de ces guerres. Cette nuance est importante, notamment pour des raisons de responsabilité : le changement climatique ne doit pas être utilisé pour fuir les responsabilités quand il s'agit de résoudre ou d'éviter des affrontements violents.

Pourtant, les militaires et les experts soutiennent que le changement climatique est un « multiplicateur de risques » et qu'il demeure un important problème de sécurité nationale. Cependant, certains défenseurs du climat et universitaires évitent ou rejettent depuis longtemps les débats sur la « sécurité climatique » - non pas pour minimiser les risques que pose le changement climatique, mais parce qu'ils craignent que le cadrage du changement climatique sous forme de problème de sécurité ne vienne saper les efforts visant à atténuer ces risques, en permettant l'augmentation de la titrisation de l'action climatique.

La titrisation est souvent une tactique politique dans laquelle les dirigeants construisent une menace envers la sécurité pour justifier le déploiement de mesures extraordinaires, voire illégales, qui empiètent sur les droits des citoyens. Si la lutte contre le changement climatique est titrisée, elle pourrait, par exemple, être utilisée pour justifier de nouvelles restrictions sur la circulation des personnes, rendue possibles et renforcées par une opinion anti-migrants.

Le cadrage du climat comme question de sécurité peut également poser des problèmes à une coopération internationale déjà tendue sur la gouvernance climatique et éloigner les investissements des interventions nécessaires - comme par exemple la transition vers une économie faible en carbone - en faveur de la promotion de la préparation militaire. En outre, les discours apocalyptiques qui suivent cette tendance pourraient bien conduire à un désengagement public, ce qui viendrait affaiblir encore plus la responsabilité démocratique.

Cependant, même si certains États membres des Nations Unies expriment leurs inquiétudes quant à l'établissement d'un lien plus étroit entre les changements climatiques et la sécurité, la plupart des pays évoluent précisément dans ce sens. En 2013,

American Security Project a signalé que 70 % des pays considèrent le changement climatique comme une menace envers leur sécurité et qu'au moins 70 armées nationales ont déjà clairement des plans vigoureux pour faire face à cette menace.

Le Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU est également de plus en plus actif dans le domaine de la sécurité climatique. Après avoir reconnu le rôle du changement climatique dans la résolution des conflits du Lac Tchad (Résolution 2349), le Conseil a tenu ses premiers débats sur la relation entre changement climatique et sécurité, avec la participation d'un groupe vaste et diversifié d'États membres.

Compte tenu de l'impact du changement climatique sur des questions telles que les migrations et la santé, le découplage des discussions sur l'action climatique vis à vis des considérations de sécurité nationale risque de ne jamais être possible. D'autre part, établir un lien entre changements climatiques et sécurité peut contribuer positivement à la mobilisation de l'action climatique. La clé pour éviter les écueils de la titrisation consiste à aller au-delà des paradigmes qui insistent trop sur les récits militaires « durs » de sécurité - qui continuent de façonner la politique de sécurité et le discours public. Une façon d'y parvenir consiste à adopter une approche plus inclusive de la prévention et de la résolution des conflits.

La recherche montre que les femmes sont plus susceptibles de poursuivre une approche de collaboration à l'œuvre de paix, avec une organisation des acteurs au-delà des clivages ethniques, culturels et sectaires. Une telle approche « augmente les perspectives de stabilité à long terme et réduit la probabilité de faillite de l'État, de l'apparition de conflits et de la pauvreté. » Lorsque les femmes participent aux négociations de paix, les accords qui en résultent ont 35 % plus de chances de durer au moins 15 ans.

La paix durable n'est possible qu'en reconnaissant la nécessité d'un leadership local des femmes, qui ont une expertise pertinente mais qui sont pourtant actuellement exclues des cadres nationaux et multilatéraux. Après tout, si les décisions politiques doivent répondre aux besoins des communautés affectées, les membres de ces collectivités doivent participer aux négociations.

En Indonésie, par exemple, Farwiza Farhan a acquis des connaissances uniques après plusieurs années d'animation de débats inclusifs de la communauté sur la forêt, respectueuse des acteurs locaux. En Somalie, Ilwad Elman a démontré sa capacité à guider les efforts de consolidation de la paix intersectionnelle, grâce au travail de son organisation, Elman Peace.

Bien sûr, il existe également un impératif de donner aux femmes davantage d'outils dont elles ont besoin pour participer à ce processus. Les interconnexions identifiées dans les objectifs de développement durable de l'ONU fournissent une feuille de route fonctionnelle pour fournir l'équité requise. En particulier, l'amélioration de la santé génésique (ODD 3) et de l'éducation (ODD 4) pour les filles et les femmes est l'un des moyens les plus rentables d'atténuer les effets du changement climatique (SDG 13) et de leur donner des moyens en tant que leaders communautaires (ODD 5).

Plutôt que de résister à la titrisation des changements climatiques, les défenseurs et les décideurs devraient promouvoir ce que le Stockholm International Peace Research Institute appelle « la climatisation de la sécurité. » La meilleure façon de procéder consiste à utiliser la sécurité pour augmenter la visibilité de l'action climatique, en mettant en évidence les lacunes des cadres de sécurité existants et en encourageant l'égalité des sexes et le leadership local comme approche globale et comme solutions à long terme pour favoriser la paix à l'échelon local, régional et international.

ARTICLE ARTICLES

JUSTICE AT LAST!

THE NANCY DOE STORY

By Dagbayonoh Kiah Nyanfore II

Cont'd from last edition

In 1990, however, Sirleaf and other Americo-Liberians/Congos plotted and financed the civil war, which removed Doe and paved the way for Charles Taylor and eventually Sirleaf to the presidency. Hence, this indeed gives the political reason for Sirleaf anti-Doe action depriving Nancy Doe's right. Some analysts suggest that Sirleaf feared that Doe widow could use part of her award to destabilize the Sirleaf government. Others say that she was in competition with Mrs. Doe for President Doe's attention during the Doe rule, but Doe passed over her for her younger sister, according to an article by Doe's son, Samuel K. Doe, Jr. The son stated that his father and Sirleaf's sister have a boy son, meaning that Doe's son is Sirleaf's nephew. Yet Sirleaf denied Mrs. Doe to Doe's wealth. Thus, by doing so, Sirleaf also deprived her blood from having a better life.

President Weah is a native; the second president of full native-born. Like Doe, he was born poor. It was said that President Doe helped him while the icon was a local soccer player. Doe was like a father to him. Doe's assistance to Weah continued to his early years trying out for international clubs. "I remembered Weah, he used to come to see daddy on most Saturdays", said Doe's oldest daughter Mammie. "He was like a family", she added. Weah was a star player for the Mighty Barrolle soccer club, of which the president was a loyal and supportive fan. The year was 1985, Weah was 19 years old.

Unfortunately, as president, Weah did not seem to help resolve the matter nationally. It was alleged that last year his administration tried to bribe Mrs. Doe's lawyer to leave the case or to withdraw it from ECOWAS without a committed settlement. Allegedly also, some officials wanted a share of the award for help for reduced settlement, according to a source. The source also stated that Mrs. Doe unsuccessfully tried many times for a private audience with Weah. Mrs. Doe and her lawyer refused the request and vowed to keep the case with the Court. But why did not the Weah administration settle the case knowing that the Supreme Court had ruled on the matter and since he knew President Doe personally? Some observers blamed Madam Sirleaf, arguing that she influenced him, and he was following her order because of his admiration of her. Others questioned this view, saying that even if Sirleaf made him, why about his conscience and his sense of justice as a person and mostly as a president? They maintained that the problem is Weah's personality, that he likes his enemies and easily forgives them, but is harder on and does not forgive readily friends who mistakenly wrong him. George Solo, his former friend and ex-chairman of Weah political party, the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC), remarked that the president is vindictive.

In the 2014 Senatorial Election for Monserrado County, Solo was forced out of his post for an accusation of arranging bribe to discourage Weah from the race for Robert Sirleaf, President Sirleaf's son who was also a candidate. Weah won that election by a landslide, becoming senior senator of the largest county in Liberia. Solo and other former CDCians tried unsuccessfully to make peace with Weah after winning the presidency.

The view of Weah's behaviors regarding his enemies appears to be true. For instance, in the 2005 presidential election, candidate Sirleaf camp, with her apparent knowledge and approval, engaged in a false and misleading campaign stating that Weah married Doe's daughter, and Weah had told the people of Grand Gedeh, Doe's birthplace, that as president he would dry their tears in avenging the death of Samuel Doe, who was killed by a Nimbanian who is considered a hero. That propaganda helped deprive Weah the presidency, as it drove votes away from him from Nimba, the second largest county in the country. Weah forgave Sirleaf for that act. He also embraced and vowed to protect her from possible prosecution for war crime in Liberia. Weah had advocated the establishment of a war crime court as a presidential candidate, but now he has turned around as head of state. The marriage propaganda was a lie. The daughter was already married and was residing in

Europe with her husband. While Weah pardoned Sirleaf, he blamed Mrs. Doe for the falsehood and for not defending him. Sources say that he still holds Mrs. Doe responsible. According to a source, prior to the 2005 election, Weah and Mrs. Doe had an unfortunate encounter. While Madam Doe was residing in the US during the Taylor government and Weah was playing in Europe, she called Weah, but the conversation did not go well. Mrs. Doe was disappointed. The phone call created a relative conflict between the two.

Another example, Weah, after the 2017 Election, quickly embraced a talk show host who had consistently criticized and insulted him during the campaign, specifically during the runoff. After benefiting from Weah friendship and praising the president for about 11 months, he re-joined the opposition championing a planned June 7 protest to eventually remove Weah from power. On May 16, he returned to Liberia from the US with a hero's welcome. A crowd of jobless youths paraded him in the streets of Monrovia shouting and chanting his name as their hero and leader, an act resembled of War Lord Charles Taylor entering Monrovia after the first civil war. That crowd called him, "Charles Taylor is our hero"; "Charles Taylor is our leader". Taylor went to become one of the worst presidents of Liberia. He is now serving a jail sentence in Great Britain for war crime. But the Monrovia welcoming crowd, mostly males, seemed not to care of the evidence indicating that the talk show commentator had engaged in blackmailing activity, which particularly in America is criminal. Some see him as a Messiah able to solve the Liberian multiple- economic problem and everyone would be happy. Interestingly, moreover, the protestgroup founded by him is called the "Council of Patriots". Charles Taylor rebel group which toppled Doe was named National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL).

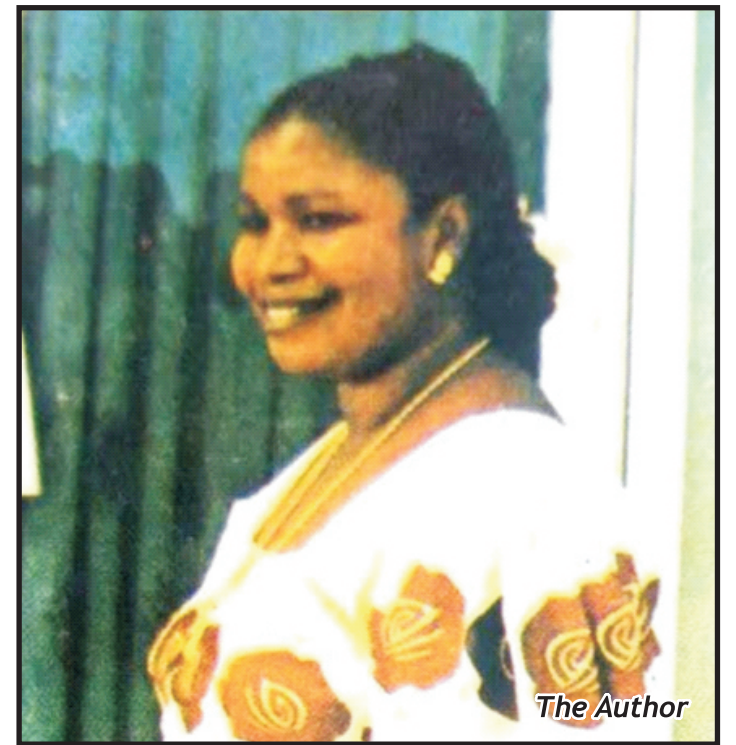
However, the talk show host has advocated for the rights of disadvantaged Liberians and has given them a voice on his popular radio show, which he runs from his residence in the US. Meanwhile, majority of the opposition leadership is of the Congo stock, largely associates of former President Charles Taylor. They became rich and politicians by affiliation with Taylor and are referred to as TTB, The Taylor Boys.

The opposite side of the behavior discussed in the last two paragraphs is totalitarianism (Hannah Arendt, 1951), an attitude that does not compromise or negotiate with enemies or opposition. It crushes its enemies and rule by dictatorship. The Tubman regime could be an example. Interestingly, some citizens prefer the later behavior and consider the former to be weak. Many leaders, like Weah, fall in a similar situation of not knowing or knowing their real enemies, admiring and befriending them while keeping a distance from some good friends.

Specifically, in the Liberian reality, the Congo-native factor discussed earlier has some bearing on this issue. To follow this assertion and to understand this behavioral contradiction, you need to read Paulo Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed", which explains that the oppressed sometimes see their existence in persons of their oppressors; that inside, some admire those who suppress and do not like them. Liberian studies guru the late J. Gus Liebenow wrote in "Liberia: The Evolution of Privilege" that some Liberian natives engage in an aristocratic embrace, acting and admiring Congos. Native lackeys believe that only Congos have the pedigrees for leadership and their footsteps should be followed. Descendants of the settlers feel that the presidency of the country is their birthright, an inheritance passed on by their forefathers. This thinking is the direct result of years of subjugation and mental slavery caused by the Congo hierarchal and promoted by the descendants.

While there are those who negatively view President Weah for possible reasons for not settling the case, there are those in the majority who view him positively. They argue that he is a kind and a good man, a man of peace who cares about Liberia and will succeed. They say that the situation with the president and Madam Doe is a misunderstanding between a son and his mother, that Weah would have settled the matter earlier had he not been busy with other pressing state issues after the election. Nevertheless, they acknowledge that the president is surrounded by some sycophants who are trying quietly to tarnish his legacy and arrest the Pro-Poor Agenda for transformation and development.

The ECOWAS ruling came at a time of extreme economic hardship in Liberia. Prices for common



commodities have increased, and the exchange rate for the US dollar has gone up. It is currently 185LD to a US dollar; a cup of rice is 50LD from 40; a half bag of rice is 2500LD from 2300; a pack of peppers is 20LD from 10 or 15 depending on size; and a plastic bag of cold water is 10LD from 5. During President Sirleaf's, the US rate was increasing regularly, though lower. Prices were high and the condition was also hard. This economic problem has been around since the Charles Taylor administration. Weah is not really to be blamed. The reality is that though Liberia is rich in natural resources and has good soil, the country produces what she does not consume and consumes what she does not produce. For instance, the prices for rubbers and iron ores, the country's chief export commodities, have fallen on the world market. At the same time, Liberia imports most of her basic consumer goods, including rice and peppers. This has created a negative balance of payment, which results in the need for and the increase of the US dollar, as wholesale buyers of foreign goods pay in US currency.

Further, the withdrawal of the UN Mission in Liberia at the close of the Sirleaf government has also created the scarcity of the dollar in the Liberian market. The mission was spending millions of US dollars monthly in Liberia for the upkeep of the peace keeping effort. However, the opposition faults Weah for the problem, though concretely none of its leaders or any other person would have solved the problem in one year and five months in office if president. But that is politics. In reality, it would take more than three years to tangle the situation. A government document says that the Weah administration plans to engage in more consumer agriculture activities and road connectivity for increasing production. Such agenda would be in the right direction: an increased agriculture production would help improve the balance of payment, while road and bridge construction would bring production to the market place and at the same time would create public work opportunity and employment.

Regardless, economic sentiment or financial sympathy plays little role in meeting a court order. The Weah led government should implement the court ruling.

CONCLUSION

The Nancy Doe case is a story of justice. Born in the village, she and her husband suddenly became the first lady and head of state respectively. They lost that power and she became an ordinary citizen. His and her political friends abandoned her. As a human and a citizen, her right was violated by a society which historically and fundamentally believes that certain group should be denied of just right and justice; that the poor and powerless should be subjects of unfairness and should not have and enjoy a better living. Her victorious fight for justice and against vindictiveness is an inspiration. Her courage should encourage all those whose human right has been denied never to give up but to continue to fight to the end.

The ECOWAS court should be applauded for exercising justice without favor and fear. It serves as an alternative for every citizen and entity of the community for justice for violation of human rights. The Weah administration is urged and should comply with the court verdict.

EU wants accountable governance

By Jonathan Browne

The European Union says although Liberia has gone far in the last 15 years since the end of civil war here, but the country is still fragile, stressing a need for inclusiveness and accountable leadership.

An EU report giving an overview of the country's human rights and democracy stresses a crucial need to consolidate inclusive and accountable governance, social cohesion, women empowerment, national dialogue and reconciliation, rule of law, decentralization and land reform.

The report however notes, that the 2017 peaceful elections and the successful handover of power in 2018 represents a major milestone for Liberia's democracy, and that two by-elections were organized in 2018 in a generally peaceful atmosphere.

"President Weah committed himself to maintaining the relatively



positive environment for civil and political rights. Nevertheless, lack of resources hampers the enforcement of legislation intended to protect human rights while in other areas there is a reluctance to challenge traditional practices and attitudes that violate human rights", the EU

further notes.

The report released here over the weekend also calls for strengthening of democracy and support for civil society to ensure both demand for accountability and good governance and the capacity to deliver it.

It observes that concerns remain in the areas of death

penalty, enforcement of legislation against child labour and exploitation, as well as access to justice, health and education, including lengthy pre-trial detention, poor prison conditions and questions regarding the sound management of Liberia's significant natural resources.

"Sexual and gender based violence", it says; "Continues to be a major challenge, and impunity."

The report continues that "Good governance", including support for the electoral process, is a focal sector for EU's "National Indicative Programme" which is the basis of cooperation agreed with the Government of Liberia until 2020.

It specifically points out that practical support to address human rights concerns is provided through specific projects in areas including women's rights, children's rights and the justice sector.

At the same time European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) projects in Liberia in 2018 work with local CSOs to promote inclusive participation of people in defending their rights, community based protection mechanisms for reducing sexual violence affecting women, girls and sexual minorities across 8 communities, work with key security and justice institutions to increase their awareness of Freedom of Information and transparency obligations, adoption and application of Freedom of Information curricula in key training institutes of the public sector, and enhancing the rule of law and the respect of the fundamental human rights of the most vulnerable prisoners in Liberia.

The EU analysis on Liberia details that in the framework of programmes in favour of non-state actors, three projects in 2018 supported access to land and land rights. In partnership with Sweden, the EU provided support to improving electoral institutions and processes. Other projects provided support to the decentralisation process as well as to the General Auditing Commission.

According to the report, Liberia issued its first report on its implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 11 years overdue, and that the Review Session of the ICCPR by the UN Human Rights Committee was followed in August 2018 by concluding observations raising concerns about the lack of implementation of recommendations issued by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, de facto discrimination of individuals belonging to certain vulnerable groups and of LGBTI persons, underrepresentation of women in public affairs, lack of legal prohibition of FGM/C as well as gender-based violence against women, failure to abolish the death penalty, arbitrary arrests and detentions beyond 48 hours, trafficking in human beings, child labour, detention conditions, backlog of court cases, as well as the existence of defamation and libel provisions in the penal code. The report comes at a time Liberia is beset by political and economic tension, greeted with a pending mass street protest on 07 June by civil society and opposition politicians here, to demand reforms in the governance process.

Lawyers split on June 7 protest

By Winston W. Parley

Liberian lawyer Atty. Kunkunyon Wleh-teh questions Cllr. Arthur T. Johnson's reliance to sue both Government and organizers of the June 7 protest for fear he (Johnson) might suffer personal injury if the protest were held as planned.

Cllr. Johnson is reportedly considering to the government and the Council of Patriots (COP) organizers of the impending protest on grounds that he is a taxpayer, who has his family and properties that he does not want to suffer any injury through protest.

He bases his qualms against the pending protest to outcome of past protests here that had painful

consequences on the country.

But Atty. Wleh-teh argues that Cllr. Johnson must first establish that he has suffered a perceptible and recognized harm or injury before going to court.

On the basis of few points provided, Atty. Wleh-teh believes that requesting a court to enjoin a mass protest is another tasteless way to inviting said court into an inescapable embarrassment, warning that such claim is inherently frivolous!

He wonders how would the court compel people to dialogue, saying, Cllr. Johnson's claim that he will file petition for Mandamus is legally unfounded.

"Mandamus is to compel public official [to] do what a law requires them to do. The

Executive ... cannot be compelled to dialogue. It is a policy choice; thus, a political question," Atty. Wleh-teh argues.

Allegations of corruption, the poor state of the economy and a US\$25m mop-up exercise are among many other reasons why opposition and critics of President George Manneh Weah's regime want to protest in demand of reforms.

President Weah and international partners, including the UN, ECOWAS and AU have met with protest organizers or the Council of Patriots (COP) for dialogue, but the COP insists it will go ahead with the mass assembly during which it will present its grievances to the government.

Continuing with his legal argument, Atty. Wleh-teh suggests that to seek injunctive or prospective relief, the future harm must be highly likely, imminent or nearly certain.

He insists that the injury complained of cannot be speculative ..., but it should [be] concrete, particularized, distinct and actual.

Citing the Doctrine of Standing, he notes that a party seeking to demonstrate standing must assert his or her own rights and cannot raise the claims of a third party who is not before the court.

Relying on this doctrine, Atty. Wleh-teh explains further that a party seeking to demonstrate standing cannot make claims of generalized injury common to the body

politics - that is, the claimed injury must be individualized and unique or personal to the person bringing it to court.

"I would like to clearly point out that the Court has placed prohibition against generalized grievance as a basis for standing," he points out.

Elaborating on a likely court decision, Atty. Wleh-teh says there can be no standing if the injury asserted is shared in an equal measure by all or a large class of citizens.

"Therefore, there is no legal basis standing because one is a taxpayer, citizen, resident or property owner," he adds.

Besides, he narrates that the court cannot give redress because if the Court decided to assume jurisdiction over such a matter, he still wonders if a favorable decision from such court can remedy Cllr. Johnson's perceived injury.

Atty. Wleh-teh wonders

how could the court identify each person wanting to protest, to exercise jurisdiction of them, bearing in mind that protest is usually carried out in the context of a movement, with an undefined membership where people join based on a common belief or goal.

Additionally, he notes that decision to form part is voluntary and often spontaneous, especially, about issues that are so core to the general society.

Apprehensions abound from both government and ordinary citizens here about outcome of the 07 June protest that it may turn violence, particularly when protesters say they will begin their street assembly beginning the 7th onward to draw President Weah's attention to prevailing situations in the country. -

Editing by Jonathan Browne



Mourinho undecided on next role



Jose Mourinho is yet to decide where to continue his managerial career but admits he "cannot be emotional" when choosing his next destination.

Mourinho is at the Monaco Grand Prix this weekend, where Sky Sports F1 reporter

Natalie Pinkham asked him what the future holds for him and what his next move will be.

The 56-year-old was relieved of his duties as Manchester United manager in December and has since been linked with a return to Inter Milan, where he famously won

the treble in 2010.

Juventus, Real Madrid and Paris Saint-Germain were also mooted as potential destinations, but the French champions have since extended Thomas Tuchel's contract while Real opted to appoint Zinedine Zidane in March.

When asked about his future on Saturday, Mourinho told Sky Sports: "I don't know, honestly I don't know. The only thing that I know is that I cannot be emotional.

"I have to be rational. I have not to choose just because I want to work and I am desperate to work - I have to choose because it is the right project for me, the right motivation for me.

"I want to become stronger than ever. I'm studying a lot, I am working a lot with my staff to be a great team as a coaching staff and to be ready to do it again big.

Valencia win Copa del Rey to end Barcelona's double dream

Kevin Gameiro and Rodrigo scored as a valiant Valencia beat La Liga champions Barcelona to win the Copa del Rey.

Ernesto Valverde's men said in the build-up that a win would help ease some of the pain of the Champions League loss to Liverpool, but they were sub-par again, in the Seville heat.

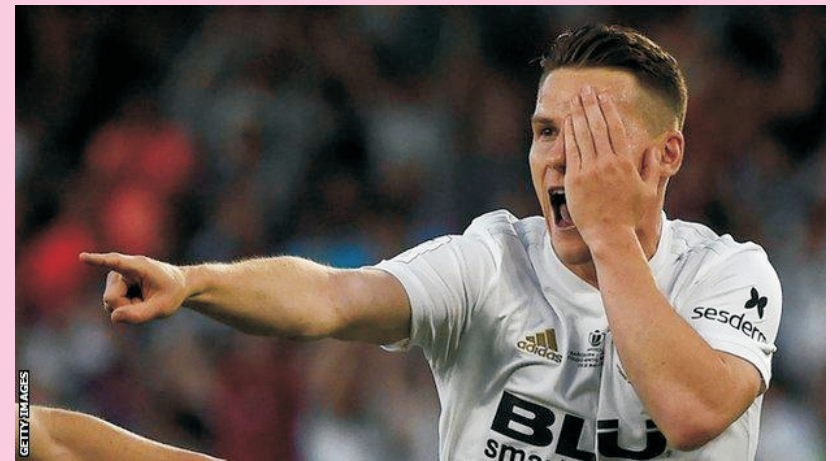
French forward Gameiro fired in a superb strike to give Valencia the lead before

Valverde said: "When a coach loses you want to go again, to fight to overcome the next challenge. I know losing for this club is hard."

Temperatures reached north of 30C inside Real Betis' packed Estadio Benito Villamarin, but only one side wilted.

Relive the action from the Estadio Benito Villamarin

There was a sign of things to come when, in the eighth minute, Barcelona defender Clement Lenglet was lucky to



Rodrigo headed in the second.

Lionel Messi's 73rd-minute strike gave Barca hope but they fell short.

After the match, Barcelona president Josep Maria Bartomeu backed Valverde to continue at the Nou Camp.

"I've always said that Ernesto has a contract for the next season, he's the coach," he said. "I do not think this defeat is the coach's fault."

escape being punished for a woeful pass.

His ball along his own area was picked up by Rodrigo, but fortunately for the Frenchman his centre-back partner Gerard Pique was on hand to clear the Spain international's shot off the line.

However, there was no stopping Gameiro's opener following good work down the left from Jose Gaya.

Former Arsenal striker Chamakh retires

Former Morocco international Marouane Chamakh has confirmed his retirement from football at the age of 35 after not playing for almost two-and-a-half years.

The former Arsenal, West Ham, Crystal Palace, Cardiff City and Bordeaux striker had been without a club since he left Cardiff in 2016.

His last league match was against Brighton in a goalless draw in the English Championship on 3 December that same year.

"Today I can say that I



really retired from football," Chamakh told beIN Sports.

Born in France, Chamakh spent eight years with Bordeaux scoring 56 goals in 230 league appearances, and won one Ligue 1 title and two French League Cups.

He moved to Arsenal in 2010 and went on to make 40 Premier League appearances in three seasons, netting eight

goals. Chamakh went on to play for West Ham, Crystal Palace and Cardiff City.

At international level, Chamakh represented France's Under-19s before switching allegiance to Morocco in 2003.

He made his debut for the Atlas Lions against Sierra Leone in Casablanca in June 2003 and went on to make 65 appearances, scoring 18 goals.

Chamakh helped Morocco finish as runners-up at the 2004 Africa Cup of Nations and featured at the next two Nations Cup finals.

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