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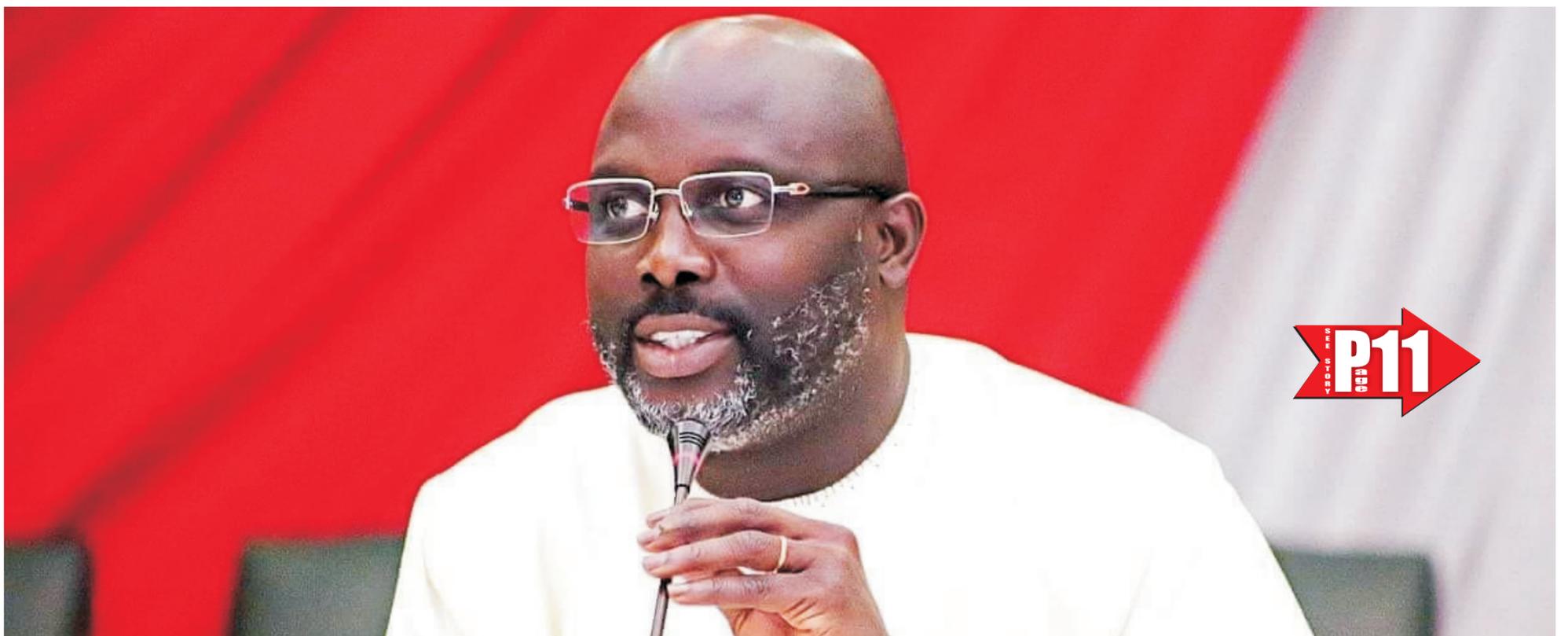
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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12, 2019

# Bring your ideas to the table

## **-Weah responds to protesters**



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# Continental News

## Botswana decriminalises homosexuality in landmark ruling

**B**otswana's High Court has ruled in favour of decriminalising homosexuality in a landmark decision for campaigners.

The court rejected laws that impose up to seven years in prison for same-sex relationships, stating they were unconstitutional.

The move contrasts with Kenya's recent ruling against campaigners seeking to overturn laws on gay sex.

"Human dignity is harmed when minority groups are marginalized," Judge Michael Elburu said.

Three judges came to the decision unanimously.

Judge Elburu labelled laws banning gay sex as "discriminatory" and added: "Sexual orientation is not a fashion statement. It is an important attribute of one's personality." The law has been in place since 1965 when it was brought in by the colonial British government.

The case was brought to court by a student who argued society had changed and homosexuality was more widely accepted.

Activists welcomed the decision and described it as a significant step for gay rights on the African continent.

Laws outlawing same sex

relations exist in 31 out of 54 African countries, according to the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA). Gay sex can be punishable by death in northern Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia and Mauritania. Tanzanian laws mean

homosexuality can result in a life sentence.

Angola, Mozambique and the Seychelles have all scrapped anti-homosexuality laws in recent years.

On 24 May, Kenya's High Court ruled against overturning a law banning gay sex. BBC



## Woman gives birth and sits exams 30 minutes later

**A** woman in Ethiopia has taken her exams in a hospital bed just 30 minutes after giving birth.

AlmazDerese, 21, who is from Metu in western Ethiopia, had hoped to sit the tests before her baby was born, but the secondary school exams were postponed because of Ramadan.

She went into labour on

Monday shortly before the first exam was due to start.

MsAlmaz said studying while pregnant was not a problem and she did not want to wait until next year to graduate.



Monday shortly before the first exam was due to start.

MsAlmaz said studying while pregnant was not a problem and she did not want to wait until next year to graduate.

She took her English, Amharic and maths secondary school exams in hospital on Monday and will sit her remaining tests at the exam

centre over the next two days. "Because I was rushing to sit the exam, my labour wasn't difficult at all," MsAlmaz told BBC AfaanOromoo. Her husband, Tadese Tulu, said he had to persuade the school to allow her to take the exams at the hospital. In Ethiopia, it is common for girls to drop out of secondary school and return later on to complete their studies. MsAlmaz now wants to take a two-year course that will prepare her for university. She said she was pleased with how the exams went and her baby son is doing well. -BBC

## South Sudan jails prominent economist over media interviews

**P**eter BiarAjak, the South Sudan country director for the London School of Economics' International Growth Centre based in Britain, arrives at the courtroom in Juba

A South Sudanese court sentenced a prominent economist to two years in prison on Tuesday for disturbing the peace because he gave interviews to foreign media after he was arrested on treason charges that were

subsequently dropped.

The case of Peter BiarAjak, a former child refugee who returned to his native South Sudan as an internationally renowned academic, has thrown the spotlight on what rights groups say is repression of dissent in Africa's youngest country. Biar fled to the United States as a youth, was educated at Harvard and Cambridge and worked at the World Bank. He became South Sudan country director for the

International Growth Centre, part of the London School of Economics. Biar was arrested in July, 2018 and charged with treason, although a court threw out those charges in April. He had been publicly critical of the way President SalvaKiir and rebel leader RiekMachar approached peace talks to end the civil war.

Biar's lawyer said they would appeal his conviction for inciting public violence through speech. -Reuters



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# EDITORIAL

## The President's olive branch

**PRESIDENT GEORGE MANNEH** Weah extends olive branch to Liberians, specifically, leaders of political parties, civil society groups, elders, religious leaders, traditional leaders, student leaders and the business community, inviting them to a round-table discussion to present their alternative views about the bad state of the economy.

**PRESIDENT WEAH WANTS** Liberians to sit and dialogue on the way forward for economic revival in Liberia, promising, "Bring your ideas to the table, and I assure you that they will be given my most careful consideration."

**WE URGE ALL** those concern to cease the opportunity by going for the round-table to sit with the President and put forth their ideas on the current state of affairs. Politics aside, we are all Liberians and the survival of the State should be our paramount goal.

**THE PRESIDENT'S OLIVE** branch followed the 07 June peaceful protest by group of Liberians under the leadership of the Council of Patriots to petition his government for reforms.

**WE CAN BUT** only hope that the offer from the President is in good fate in that he promises to give all ideas that will be brought forward his "most careful consideration."

**LIBERIA IS ENGULFED** with multiple challenges, ranging from politics, economics, governance to rule of law, reconciliation and social cohesion, among others.

**FRIDAY'S (07JUNE) PROTEST** is a clear flashpoint, indicating that all is not well in the country economically hence, a need for swift intervention. Solutions may not only lie with the current government, but other national leaders. This is why the call from President Weah is important.

"**IT WILL TAKE** the collective effort of all Liberians to achieve the desired objective of reviving the economy and placing our country on a path of sustainable development and transformation. We will have to come together to devise and support new measures which are necessary to address the structural defects and imbalances in our economy", President Weah stresses.

**WE AGREED WITH** him that all hands should be on deck to finding solutions to the problems that plague us as a nation rather than engaging in blame game, which is always counter-productive to whatever objective we want to achieve.

**DIALOGUE RATHER THAN** confrontation is the way forward in building a vibrant nation not only for ourselves, but also for posterity.

**The New Dawn**  
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# COMMENTARY

By Ishac Diwan

## Pulling Sudan Back from the Brink

*In the wake of a military crackdown on June 3 that left over 100 peaceful protesters dead, Sudan is sliding toward anarchy. With trust between the military and the protesters destroyed, external mediators are vital to secure a transitional agreement reflecting compromises by both sides.*

**N**EW YORK - Sudan is on the threshold of disaster. On June 3, paramilitary forces opened fire on peaceful pro-democracy protesters in Khartoum, killing over 100 and wounding hundreds more. Now, hope for a smooth transition to civilian rule is giving way to fear that the country will go the way of Yemen, Syria, or Libya.

Just a few weeks ago, the military seemed to be on the protesters' side. In April, following months of demonstrations against President Omar al-Bashir, the military forced Bashir to resign. The commander of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) paramilitary group, General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo (better known as Hemeti), even claimed that he had refused an order by Bashir to open fire on protesters.

Bashir's regime, in power for nearly 30 years, was replaced by the Transitional Military Council (TMC), headed by General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, with Hemeti as his deputy. But protests continued, now demanding a transition to civilian rule. This spurred the TMC to initiate negotiations with representatives of the Sudanese Professionals Association, which has spearheaded the protests.

Those negotiations were initially promising, but their tone changed abruptly after Burhan and Hemeti returned from visits to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates - countries that previously supported Bashir's regime. There is reportedly a lot of money on the table for the generals - who have particularly close ties to the rulers of Saudi Arabia and the UAE - if they consolidate power and avoid a political opening.

The Saudis and Emiratis have several goals. They hope to stave off a democratic precedent in the region, ensure plenty of foot soldiers for their wars in Yemen and elsewhere, secure access to fertile agricultural land, and gain a foothold in the geo-strategically sensitive Horn of Africa. Their tactics are not new: in 2013, they backed a bloody crackdown on pro-democracy protesters in Cairo by General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who became Egypt's de facto leader after a military coup removed the democratically elected President Mohamed Morsi from power.

But, as with the crackdown in Cairo and the war in Yemen, Saudi Arabia and the UAE are pursuing a half-baked and shortsighted strategy in Sudan. True, Burhan and Hemeti can ensure that Sudanese troops keep flowing to Yemen. But the RSF's massacre in Khartoum, coming on top of its previous war crimes in Darfur, will effectively prevent the Sudanese people - and the international community - from ever accepting the TMC's rule. Moreover, funneling cash toward Sudan's military will do nothing to address the grievances driving social unrest.

Those grievances are partly economic. Decades of mismanagement meant that the economy could not withstand the decline in oil revenues after South Sudan (home to 75% of Sudan's oil reserves) gained independence in 2011. In the past five years, the government had to slash public spending from 18% of GDP to a paltry 10% today. Military spending now accounts for at least 30% of Sudan's public budget. In 2018, the loss of foreign support from the Gulf triggered a massive

devaluation of the currency, causing the inflation rate to soar to 70%.

But the protesters' grievances are also political. Large swaths of the population yearn for democracy and the rule of law. They are tired of watching successive governments funnel benefits toward a small group of northern tribes that have looted the rest of the country, in alliance with security forces and crony businessmen.

As long as these grievances persist, so will instability. In fact, for the last 50 years, Sudanese have resisted the government's violent rule. From Darfur and the Nuba mountains in the west and south to the Blue Nile region in the east, violent conflicts continue to rage.

The RSF's attack will only exacerbate such strife. Already, protesters have rejected an offer by the TMC to reopen negotiations, and they called for civil disobedience until the military regime falls. It is hard to see how Sudan, already a fragile state, can be governed under these circumstances.

Poor governance has led to a tragic waste of the country's enormous potential. Sudan has significant oil resources of its own, as well as gold and hydropower - none of which it has managed to develop for the benefit of its population. Moreover, it boasts so much fertile land (including under irrigation schemes) that it could become the breadbasket of the Middle East. Until now, however, regime cronies have been expropriating and exploiting traditional land, generating conflict, misery, and food insecurity.

Sudan will not reverse its slide toward anarchy, let alone reach its full potential, unless the international community steps in. With trust between the military and the protesters destroyed, external mediators are vital to secure a transitional agreement between representatives of the protesters and at least part of the armed forces.

Such an agreement will require a structured peace process, underwritten by third-party assurances to ensure proper implementation. Credible carrots and sticks will be crucial. For example, debt reduction, together with political stabilization, could open the way for a generous international aid package.

China, which has important oil interests in Sudan, will need to be involved, while Saudi Arabia and the UAE must be pressured to cooperate in the search for a peaceful resolution to the crisis. The African Union is another critical partner, though, given Egypt's current dominance, the AU should not take the lead.

The international community is heavily invested in Sudan. It played a central role in the South's secession, has worked to stabilize Darfur, and finances a large contingent of United Nations troops in Darfur and South Sudan. Now, it must go a step further - and not by issuing sympathetic communiqués. To save the country - and its surroundings - from a new wave of chaos and misery, the international community must mobilize rapidly to support the Sudanese people's aspirations for better governance.

## O-PED

By Peter Singer

## Rugby Australia's "Own Goal"

**M**ELBOURNE - There is no such thing as an own goal in rugby, but Rugby Australia, the game's governing body in Australia, has done its very best to score one by terminating the contract of Israel Folau. In doing so, it has lost the services of a star fullback who has played 73 tests for Australia.

Rugby Australia's reason for ending Folau's career is that he posted on his Instagram account a photo of a notice saying that "hell awaits... drunks, homosexuals, adulterers, liars, fornicators, thieves, atheists, and idolaters." To this, Folau added some words of his own: "Those that are living in Sin will end up in Hell unless you repent. Jesus Christ loves you and is giving you time to turn away from your sin and come to him."

In a statement issued after the sacking, Rugby Australia Chief Executive Officer Raelene Castle said: "I've communicated directly with the players to make it clear that Rugby Australia fully supports their right to their own beliefs and nothing that has happened changes that. But when we are talking about inclusiveness in our game, we're talking about respecting differences as well. When we say rugby is a game for all, we mean it."

Folau is a born-again Christian, and his post was an expression of his religious beliefs. To prevent misunderstanding, I should say that I do not share those beliefs. As an unrepentant atheist, I am among those for whom, Folau believes, hell awaits. But that does not trouble me, because there is, in my view, no god, no afterlife, and no hell. Nor do I differentiate, ethically, between homosexual and heterosexual relationships.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Folau's post falls squarely within traditional Christian teachings that Christians accepted almost unanimously until the twentieth century, and that continue to be held widely - though against strong and growing opposition - among Christians today. The post clearly draws on Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, in which Paul is reported as saying: "Or do you not know that wrongdoers will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived: Neither the sexually immoral nor idolaters nor adulterers nor men who have sex with men, nor thieves nor the greedy nor drunkards nor slanderers nor swindlers will inherit the kingdom of God."

Paul also tells his Christian readers that they must not associate with anyone who is sexually immoral: "Do not even eat with such people." That would have included not only homosexuals and adulterers, but also sexually active singles.

If Rugby Australia had existed in the first century of the Christian era, and Paul had had enough talent to be a contracted player, Rugby Australia would presumably have ripped up his contract once his letter to the Corinthians became public. That makes it quite bizarre that Castle should have justified Folau's dismissal by saying, "People need to feel safe and welcomed in our game regardless of their gender, race, background, religion, or sexuality." Did she mean that you can feel welcomed in rugby, regardless of your religious beliefs, as long as you don't express them in public? That looks a lot like telling homosexuals that they can do what they want in the privacy of their bedroom, but they must not show their affection in public because some people might find it offensive.

As this example shows - and as John Stuart Mill argued in his classic *On Liberty* - once we allow, as a ground for restricting someone's freedom of speech or action, the claim that someone else has been offended by it, freedom is in grave danger of disappearing entirely. After all, it is very difficult to say anything significant to which no one could possibly take offense. Mill had in mind restrictions imposed by the state, but when employers dismiss employees who make controversial utterances, that is also a threat to freedom of expression - especially when the employer has a monopoly on the employment of workers with special skills, as Rugby Australia does.

Rugby Australia would have a stronger basis for its decision if Folau's post had expressed hatred toward homosexuals and could have been interpreted as an incitement to violence against them. But the post no more expresses hatred toward homosexuals than cigarette warnings express hatred toward smokers.

If that analogy seems implausible, that's because you do not take Folau's beliefs seriously. Granted, for anyone outside that particular faith, it's hard to take such beliefs seriously. But try putting yourself in the position of someone with Folau's beliefs. You see people on a path toward a terrible fate - much worse than getting lung cancer, because death will not release them from their agony - and they are blind to what awaits them. Wouldn't you want to warn them, and give them the chance to avoid that awful fate? I assume that is what Folau believes he is doing. He even tells homosexuals that Jesus loves them, and calls on them to repent so that they can avoid burning in hell for eternity. That doesn't sound like hate speech.

What should Rugby Australia have done about Folau's post? It might have just said that people are entitled to express their religious beliefs, and that would have been the end of the story. Only 14% of Australians say that religion is very important to them, and not all among them are adherents of religions that believe in hell. So most Australians would be more likely to laugh off Folau's beliefs than to take them seriously. Perhaps that is the best way to react to them.

## OPINION

By Mohamed A. El-Erian

## America's Unusual Recovery is Now Also its Longest

**L**ONDON - Data released over the next few months will show that the current US economic expansion is the longest on record. But while the United States continues to outperform other advanced economies, this success has yet to dispel many Americans' persistent sense of economic insecurity and frustration; nor does it alleviate concerns about the lack of policy space to respond to the next economic downturn or financial shock.

The current expansion began in mid-2009, following the 2008 financial crisis and the "Great Recession." Powered initially by exceptional fiscal interventions and previously unthinkable monetary policies, the economy built enough of a foundation for private-sector confidence to return, and for corporate balance sheets to recover. Coupled with accelerating advances in new technologies, the expansion came to be led in large part by technology and platform companies presiding over the new "gig economy." It was given further impetus by pro-growth measures, including deregulation and tax cuts.

With the US unemployment rate at 3.6%, real (inflation-adjusted) wages are now growing at 1.6%. And with the most recent quarterly data indicating an annualized GDP growth rate of 3.1%, US economic activity continues to outpace that of Europe and Japan by a significant margin. Owing to this strength, America has become increasingly assertive in pursuing national objectives abroad, including by circumventing longstanding cooperative and conflict-resolution mechanisms and threatening import tariffs and other protectionist measures.

To get to this point, the US had to overcome headwinds from abroad, including an existential debt crisis in Europe and slowing economic growth in China. Domestically, deep political polarization, especially since 2011, has impeded congressional legislative activity and produced multiple actual or threatened government shutdowns (including the longest on record). In the absence of new pro-growth measures from Congress, monetary policy became the "only game in town." After being forced to expand its role in the economy substantially during the crisis years, the US Federal Reserve flirted with some major policy mistakes, and became more vulnerable to political interference.

Because annual growth over the past decade has often been tepid and insufficiently inclusive - what has become known as the "new normal," or secular stagnation - the US economy has been left with a residual sense of underperformance and potential vulnerability. According to an oft-cited Fed survey, almost half of US households report having insufficient savings to cover a \$400 emergency expense.

No wonder trust in institutions and expert opinion remains so low. Coupled with excessive inequality (of income, wealth, and opportunity), frustration and political anger remain high. Making matters worse, fearmongering about the implications of technology and globalization continues to fuel concerns of job dislocations and disruptions. And outside the US, many have come to worry that the superpower responsible for issuing the global reserve currency, and that plays a decisive role in many multilateral interactions, is no longer a reliable and predictable anchor for global trade and finance.

Moreover, unlike in prior expansions, the US is yet to build sufficient buffers to deal with future economic and financial challenges. Or, to quote former US President John F. Kennedy by way of IMF Managing Director Christine Lagarde more recently, we have not fixed the roof while the sun was shining.

Beyond the lack of self-insurance at the household level, the Fed's ability to counter economic recessions and financial disruptions is rather limited. Whereas the current policy rate is 2.25%-2.5%, past downturns have usually required cuts of five percentage points or more. Also, the Fed has a bloated balance sheet and a rather weak mechanism for transmitting monetary-policy measures to the real economy. And even if fiscal policymakers were to become more responsive, they would be starting from a point of relatively high deficits and debt.

Prolonging the current expansion will require great care. Policymakers, particularly Congress, need to avoid big mistakes and minimize the risk of market accidents while doing more to promote growth. The US needs a well-targeted approach to modernizing and upgrading its infrastructure.

Policymakers and leading economists also must be more sensitive to how the fruits of economic growth are shared; among other things, there should be better protections for the most vulnerable segments of society and stronger automatic stabilizers. Businesses, for their part, need to do more to embrace their social responsibilities, if only to avoid ending up in the same position as the banks after the 2008 crash. There is already a growing chorus calling for more regulatory constraints on Big Tech.

Moreover, having shaken up global trade, the US needs to ensure that it will remain the anchor of the rules-based international system. Otherwise, its ability to inform and influence economic and financial outcomes around the world will weaken.

The US will - and should - soon be celebrating its longest-ever expansion. But it must not lose sight of its remaining challenges. The last thing the world needs right now is for today's expansion to give way to a sustained period of lower growth, higher financial instability, and greater cross-border tensions.



**MANO RIVER UNION  
UNION DU FLEUVE MANO**

Office of the Secretary-General

10 June 2019

**PRESS RELEASE**

"The Mano River Union Secretariat joins the ECOWAS Commission, the African Union and the United Nations to commend the Government led by His Excellency President Dr. George Manneh Weah and the people of Liberia for the largely peaceful atmosphere under which the June 7 protest led by the Council of Patriots was held. We believe the last few weeks may have been amongst the most trying and tested times since the elections which ushered in the Government of the Coalition for Democratic Change 18 months ago.

MRU calls on all stakeholders to put Liberia above every parochial and political interest and work together to preserve the peace and stability of the country. All must ensure stability for economic activities and development to take place and be sustained.

MRU has over the months been seized of developments in Liberia and has endeavoured to engage all regional and sub-regional actors to continue to keep the focus on maintaining that country's fragile peace. We will continue to encourage the Government of HE President George Manneh Weah to remain resolute in upholding the Constitution, nurturing democracy and strengthening governance institutions in this regard."

**Amb. Mrs. Medina A. Wesseh, Esq**  
**Secretary General**  
**Mano River Union**



**BLACK-ON-BLACK COLONIALISM**

Starts from page 10

**William V. S. Tubman's Presidency**

Mr. William V. S. Tubman was elected President in 1943 and served for 27 years. This period was unique in the history of Liberia because Tubman introduced and implemented several reforms and changes, including the "spirit as well as the substance of the Caste relationship then- existing between the Indigenous tribal citizens and the Americo-Liberians.

To the wave of **Rising Expectations** by the people, then an unusual phenomenon of political consciousness and agitation for change from what was considered a **repressive regime of unjust, one-party rule**, President Tubman realized and responded by abolishing the then Liberian Hinterland of a single Province and districts, divided/demarcated it into three Provinces -*Eastern, Central and Western Provinces*. But the new approach, however, facilitated a temporal easing of discontent, only to re-appear later in a much more violent form.

**Ninety-seven(97)years** (in 1944) after declaration of political independence, Tubman became President of Liberia. He announced and launched the **Open Door Policy** (Wreh, 1976) and later, **Unification Policy** in a speech in the city of Voinjama, Lofa County. These efforts were in response to the demand by the people in protests against a repressive one-party rule with the settler, Americo-Liberian aristocracy and denial of civil and political rights.

The President recognized and came to grips with the developed/developing socio-political and economic realities of the day. For, the persistent calls and demonstrations for "integration" and "unity" were the then code words for democratic governance, recognition of and respect for the rights of rural citizens. President Tubman responded by abolishing the three provinces in rural Liberia and created, instead, the first four, new counties in the hinterland - *Grand Gedeh, Nimba, Bong and Lofa counties* in 1964. With creation of the counties came the inevitable, senate and house representations, a demand which, until now, had been vigorously, persistently denied (Smith, 1964).

This effort, by the President, was designed to give political participation (legislative representation) to hinterland citizens and the **Open Door Policy** which would or could give economic benefits, also, to rural Liberia. These policy measures were designed, apparently, to defuse and, eventually, eradicate the socio-economic and political inequalities, differences between the settler/coastal, Americo-Liberians and the hinterland, indigenous-Liberians with due recognition and appreciation of and respect for indigenous African culture of rural Liberia.

About this approach, Liebenow observed that the "... appearance of reform being far greater than reality ... the Tubman engine ran out of steam ... It was clear that the overwhelming thrust of integration ... of the First Republic was still in the direction of accepting settler (Americo-Liberian) rather than tribal (Indigenous) norms of behavior ..."

"Detracting from the benefits to be derived from the extension of suffrage/representation in the Legislature and the Open Door Policy to the tribal hinterland", Liebenow wrote, "was the fact that elections had actually become almost meaningless exercises within the single-party state. Real power had gravitated effectively ... from the legislature to the President (making him an Autocrat) and those influential Americo-Liberians who surrounded him. Although education provided more bureaucratic jobs for tribal youth and lower-income Americo-Liberians, the really significant executive, legislative, judicial and ambassadorial positions were retained by the leading families at the core of the Americo-Liberian elite".

*In other words, although President Tubman's vision of liberalism, political participation and national unity were recognized, appreciated and rewarded by the Liberian people with 27-year reign as president, but the oppressive marginalization and denial of basic, civil and political rights of the people still continued and remained a shocking reality.*

On *"Family Linkages & Elite Solidarity"* (or Nepotism), Liebenow wrote that "Nominally, the Tubman reforms introduced almost universal adult suffrage and extended the principle of direct legislative representation to the hinterland areas (of indigenous tribal citizens) and created a potentially-open political system. On the face of it, the Liberian pre-coup d'état (of 1980) political system was highly democratic ... the Liberian system can be viewed as **concentric circles in which the outer-most ring is least influential and the circle closer to core, or center, have greater influence over the course of events and decision-making process**", while at the core or center of the concentric circles sits the President, the highest and (lone) final decision-maker.

**Concentric Circles of President Tubman's Autocracy**

# MORE HEADLINE NEWS

# MORE HEADLINE NEWS

## “Waste of Time”

### --Anti-protest group terms June 7 assembly

By Lewis S. Teh

A group of Liberians opposed to the June 7 peaceful protest, the Citizens United to Sustain Peace and Democracy says the protest held last week by the Council of Patriots (COP) was a waste of time.

Addressing a press conference Tuesday, 11 June in Monrovia, the chairman of the Citizens United to Sustain Peace and Democracy Atty.

led the peaceful protest to demand President Weah to publish his assets, address the bad state of the economy, alleged corruption and dismiss and prosecute Finance Minister Samuel Tweah and Central Bank of Liberia (CBL) Executive Governor Nathaniel Patray, among others.

They have given the government one month to address a long list of demands which will determine their

Notwithstanding, Atty. Weah claims that the June 7 protest is a gimmick that was masterminded by few individuals who disguised themselves as patriots.

He contends that it has become glaring and public debate here that the essence of the June 7 assembly as provided in Article 17 of the Liberian Constitution was to present a petition for redress of grievances.

However Atty. Weah observes that this task of presenting a petition was never done by the COP, allegedly justifying some citizens' fears that there was an underpinning intent held by the COP.

Atty. Weah believes that the protesters are non-nationalistic elements that sought to short-circuit the pursuit of post conflict reconstruction and forestall the building of the state architecture that will facilitate socio-political and economic advancement of the country.

He alleges that from all indications the protest was basically intended to attract undue and fragile international public opinion to help provide a face for political cleansing for individuals with identity crisis and the political phantasmagoria they suffer.

Meanwhile Atty Weah discloses plans to sue those financiers who monopolized mobile telecommunication, and allegedly exploited millions of United States Dollars from poor people for a novelty of cell phone.--*Edited by Winston W. Parley*



Patrice P. Weah claimed that the June 7 protest by the COP was a mirage and a façade to unleash alleged sinister designs against the hard earned peace and democracy that yielded no positive and meaningful result for the Liberian people.

The COP supported by Liberia's four collaborating opposition political parties

next course of action.

Days after the protest, President Weah has expressed thanks to the protesters and other Liberians who did not take part in the protest, for their efforts in strengthening the peace and consolidating the country's democracy, and also for the peaceful and orderly manner in which they exercised their right on 7 June.

## Commerce Minister blames ex-governor Mills Jones

By E. J. Nathaniel Daygbor

Liberia's Minister of Commerce and Industry, Professor Wilson Tarpehblames former executive governor of the Central Bank of LiberiaDr. Mills Jones, for the bad state of the economy.

Prof. Tarpehclaims Dr. Jones expended over US\$600 million in the name of giving out micro loans to marketers, noting that Jones and his kinds failed to follow up on the loan scheme thereby, creating huge financial gap in the economy of Liberia.

Though he did not directly call the name of Dr. Jones, but references him as the 'poverty doctor' and the only poverty

He explains that other factors responsible for the economic downturn are bad concessions signed by government, adding that the Unity Party-led administration initiated and signed 68 concession agreements; of that figure only two met best international standards.

The Commerce boss notes the remaining 66 agreements negatively impacted the economy and it was at that point the nightmare of the country commenced.

Speaking Saturday, 08 June at headquarters of governing Coalition for Democratic Change in Cong Town, outside Monrovia, Prof. Tarpeh recalls



doctor during and before the 2017 Presidential and Representatives, who dished out loans to marketers was Dr. Mills Jones. Dr. Jones vied for the Presidency in 2017, but lost. He got the name from motorcyclists and marketers.

Minister Tarpeh continues that the so-called poverty doctor did not give the loans, using best financial practices;noting they were politically-driven.

He also claims the economy got damaged since 2012,citing warning by former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf that the Liberian economy would experience some tough times.

that during the 2017 elections, about US\$450 million left the country in thin air with no justification, referencing the International Monetary Fund.

He stresses that it is unfortunate for some Liberians to shift blames on the Weah administration that just took power in less than two years.

According to him, the 'mess' was created for decades by past administrations is what the CDC government is cleaning, so it makes no sense for those who worked and benefited from the spoils of the past regimes to cause noise. - *Editing by Jonathan Browne*

## Weah applauds the Russian Federation

President George Manneh Weah has conveyed heartfelt congratulations to President Vladimir Putin, the Government and people of the Russian Federation, on the occasion commemorating Russia's National Day.

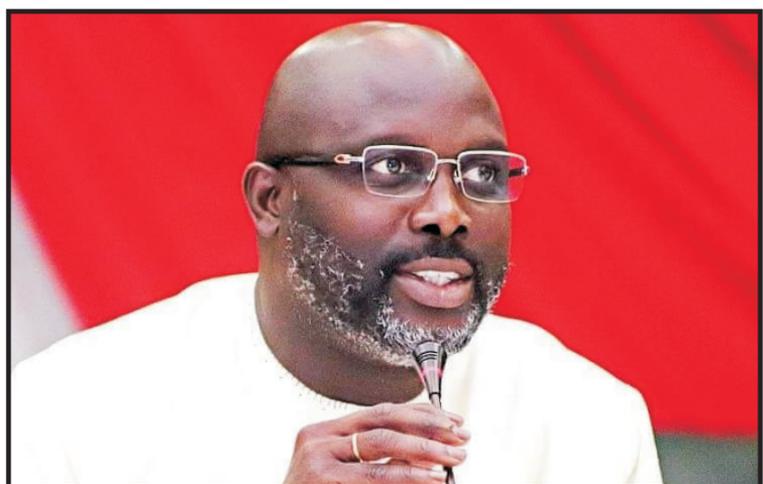
In the message to Russian President Vladimar Putin, President George Manneh Weah on behalf of the Government and people of Liberia, and in his own name, extended sincere best wishes to the Government and people of the Russian Federations

following the observance of this historic milestone.

According to a Foreign Ministry release, President Weah expressed deep appreciation for the consistent bilateral relationship and look forward to deepening the cooperation between Liberia and Russia.

"It is my hope that we will move to strengthen our relations through high level bilateral visits that will inspire cooperation and collaboration on joint ventures between our two peoples", President Weah added.

He then wished for President Putin continued good health and success and for the Government and people of the Russian Federation peace, security, and prosperity.-- *Press release*



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**MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS**

**LRRRC to launch NIDP Survey Report**

By Lewis S. Teh

The Liberia Refugee Repatriation and Resettlement Commission or LRRRC, says all is set for the launch of the National Internally Displaced Person (NIDP) survey report that was conducted in four counties recently.

Addressing a news conference Monday, June 10, at the Commission head office in Sinkor, suburb Monrovia, Executive Director Rev. Festus Logan says the LRRRC is an agency of government with a mandate to provide international protection, and humanitarian assistance to refugees, Liberian returnees, and disadvantaged youth, including persons of concern.

He says since the end of the Liberian civil war, the government through the Commission in 2018 fathomed an intensive month-long profiling and mapping exercise of over 20,000 Liberian citizens, who are

basically internally displaced which encompass disadvantaged youth, men and women, who are unskilled and assumed to have no future in social opportunities.

He says the exercise was carried out with the assistance of the International

Organization on Migration or IMO, the Liberia Council of Churches or LCC, and relevant agencies of government, including the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, among others.

“This government is

concern about the wellbeing of these people, and those concerns stem from the backdrop that the government is a signatory to all relevant conventions, and protocols of the United Nations”, he adds.

Rev. Logan however, notes that the survey findings are intended to facilitate durable solutions through an inter-agency collaboration to carve measures that will provide disadvantaged youths sustainable livelihood.

He discloses the survey was carried out in Montserrado, Grand Bassa, Margibi, and Bong Counties, respectively, capturing over 20,000 NIDP from households of over 5,000 respondents.

The LRRRC boss continues that the objective of the exercise is to establish

situation regarding disadvantaged youths commonly known as zogoes, exploitation and abuse in target communities, and what sort of interest government and its partners can do to find a durable solution.

The survey report captures 5,273 households from 46 communities, among them 4,794 males, which constitute 90 percent and 506 females, constituting 10 percent, detailing as it relates to their level of education, 3 percent has vocational career, 5 percent has college education, 39 percent attains high school education and 16 percent, elementary education.

Meanwhile, Executive Director Logan calls on humanitarian actors and Liberians generally to form part of the official launch on 13th of June. *-Editing by Jonathan Browne*



**CBL boss pushes for prudent debt management**

Under fire Executive Governor of the Central Bank of Liberia (CBL), Nathaniel R. Patray, has emphasized the need for prudent debt management, not only for development but also to ensure macroeconomic stability.

Speaking Monday during the opening a WAIFEM (West African Institute for Economic Management) regional course on Audit of Public Debt Management taking being held at the CBL Auditorium 10-14 June 2019, Mr. Patray

said it is important that auditors and audit institutions understand public debt management arrangements so that they can be able to develop an effective audit approach.

He said, this must be regularly reviewed to ensure that any significant changes and developments are reflected in current and future audits and that public debt management activities are consistent with IMF/World Bank guidelines.

Some of the benefits that Governor Patray attributed to

performance audits of debt management practices included, Encouragement for governments to produce better financial information and publish key debt information to analyze, and assess their financial vulnerability and exposure; Assessment of how well governments perform in the release of data disclosure; Encouragement for governments to focus more on vulnerability monitoring and give high priority to risk management.

Executive Governor Patray reiterated that public finance management is an inseparable and indispensable condition for the good conduct and functioning of a country.

“As a matter of fact, empirical evidence supports the view that the higher the quality of a country’s policies and institutions, the better is its capacity to carry debt and withstand exogenous shocks”, Executive Governor Patray said. He lauded Liberia for making strides in improving public debt management, including the establishment of several agencies such as the Public Procurement and Concessions Commission (PPCC), the General Auditing Commission (GAC), the Internal Audit Agency (IAA) and the Debt Management Committee.

The WAIFEM Director General, Dr. Baba Y. Musa, in welcome remarks read on his

**Police probe death at Palm Spring Resort**

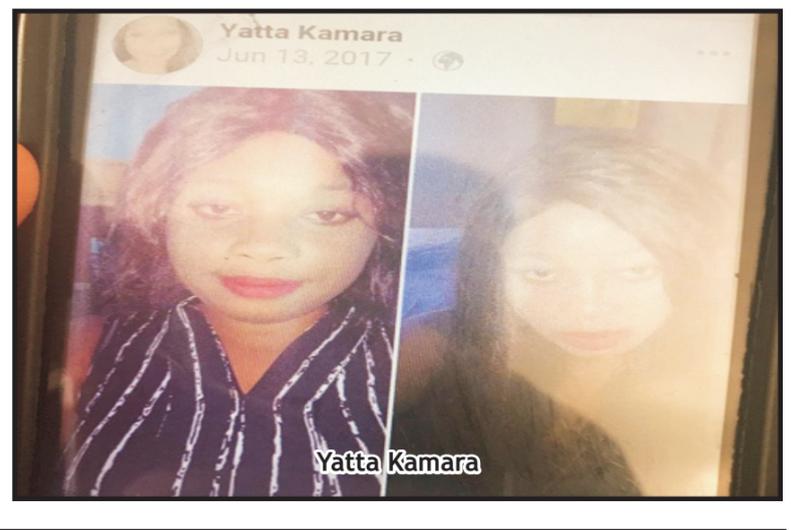
The Liberia National Police (LNP) is investigating the death of a woman, Yatta Kamara, who had gone to visit her unidentified male partner at Palm Spring Resort in Monrovia.

According to a press release, the deceased was reported dead by her partner in his room in circumstances that still remain unclear.

However, the Management

of Palm Spring Resort says while it distances itself from the unfortunate happening, it has at the same time contacted the Liberia National Police (LNP) which is probing the death.

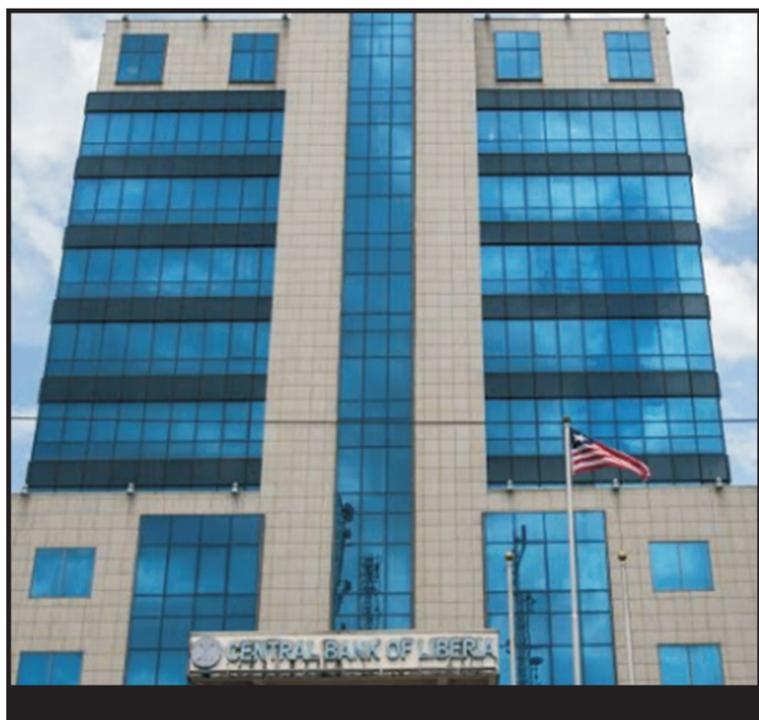
Meanwhile, the body of the late Yatta Kamara has been taken to hospital, pending autopsy while the unidentified male partner is at the Police station undergoing investigation. *-Press Release*



behalf by the Institute’s Director of Research. Alvin Johnson, said the course was organized in response to the results of national debt management performance assessment missions and sub-national missions organized jointly by the World Bank and WAIFEM, which indicate low scores in audit of public debt in all WAIFEM countries. The course, Dr Musa said is also intended to provide auditors, accountants and debt managers with the knowledge of the key principles of public

debt management and a wide range of public debt management issues, including key considerations in auditing public debt that enables auditors to perform effective auditing of public debt, and promote government financial accountability and transparency.

Participants in the week-long workshop were drawn from Anglophone West African countries including The Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. *-press release*



# Français

## Les militants de la Coalition au pouvoir se montrent mécontents à l'égard de la vice-présidente Taylor

Il semble que les membres clés de la Coalition pour le changement démocratique (CDC) au pouvoir ne sont pas du tout contents de la vice-présidente Jewel Howard Taylor pour avoir refusé de recevoir le cahier de doléance des manifestants le 7 juin.

La vice-présidente Taylor avait été choisie par le président Weah pour recevoir le cahier de doléances lors de la manifestation du 7 juin, mais elle n'a pas pu faire le déplacement pour, selon son entourage, cause de malaise.

Mais cela ne semble pas convaincre le représentant Moses Acarus Grey qui n'a pas caché son mécontentement à l'endroit de l'ancienne première dame.

"Vous me connaissez, je suis un homme direct, mais en réalité je ne suis pas content d'elle", a déclaré le représentant Grey le lundi 10 juin. Il répondait à une question que l'un des animateurs de l'émission lui avait posée, à savoir s'il était content de l'action de la vice-

présidente Taylor.

« Mais vous me demandez si je suis à cent pour cent content d'elle ? Non, je ne le suis pas », a-t-il ajouté.

Le représentant Gray tient ces propos au moment où les partisans du parti au pouvoir et

les manifestants se rejettent la faute de l'échec de la soumission du cahier de doléances aux autorités gouvernementales le 7 juin.

Au cours de la semaine qui a précédé la manifestation du 7 juin, les médias ont laissé

entendre que le président George Manneh Weah aurait dit aux membres de l'équipe de médiation de la CEDEAO que sa vice-présidente soutenait la manifestation.

Le gouvernement s'était battu bec et ongle pour démentir et écarter cette rumeur, avant d'annoncer ensuite à travers les médias qu'à la place du président Weah, c'est la vice-présidente Taylor qui recevrait les doléances des manifestants.

Aucun des deux dirigeants ne pouvait recevoir les réclamations. Le gouvernement a par la suite formé une délégation qui était composée du ministre de la Justice, Musa Dean, du ministre des Affaires étrangères, Milton Findley, du représentant de Bomi, Edwin Snowe et de l'envoyé spécial de la CEDEAO, Babatunde Ajisomo afin que les manifestants présentent leurs revendications.

Le collectif des organisateurs de la manifestation du 7 juin contre la gestion du président George Weah, le "Conseil des patriotes", a annoncé dimanche lui accorder un mois pour satisfaire leurs revendications.

Lors de la dispersion du rassemblement, les organisateurs avaient appelé à une nouvelle manifestation lundi, déplorant notamment de n'avoir pu remettre leur cahier de doléances à M. Weah ou à sa vice-présidente Jewel Howard-Taylor, ex-épouse de l'ancien chef de guerre et président Charles Taylor (1997-2003).

Une nouvelle version de ce texte "pour sauver l'Etat" a été lue dimanche lors d'une conférence de presse par l'un d'entre eux, un populaire animateur de radio, Henry Costa, virulent critique de George Weah.

"Nous attendons du gouvernement qu'il réponde à ces revendications dans un délai d'un mois, puis nous déciderons de la suite des opérations", a déclaré un des dirigeants du collectif, Darius Dillon. Parmi ces revendications

figure l'ouverture de poursuites pénales contre le ministre des Finances Samuel Tweah et le gouverneur de la Banque centrale du Libéria (CBL), Nathaniel Patray, pour une opération monétaire controversée lancée en 2018 et censée enrayer l'inflation. Le "Conseil des patriotes" exige également l'annulation d'emprunts contestés destinés à la construction de routes et de ponts, ainsi qu'une déclaration publique du patrimoine du président et de son administration.

Par ailleurs, la police a annoncé avoir engagé des poursuites contre le député d'opposition Yekeh Kolubah, un des organisateurs de la manifestation du 7 juin, brièvement interpellé deux jours auparavant, et 20 de ses partisans.

Le député et six autres personnes sont poursuivis à la suite d'une plainte d'un homme qui l'accuse d'avoir ordonné à ses gardes du corps de le battre, a précisé la police dans un communiqué.

Les 14 autres prévenus sont des partisans de M. Kolubah qui s'étaient affrontés aux policiers le 5 juin pour protester contre son interpellation, selon la même source.

Le 7 juin, les manifestants ont réclamé des mesures pour résorber la crise économique, en particulier l'inflation galopante, un tribunal spécial pour juger les responsables de la guerre civile (1989-2003) et le renforcement de la lutte contre la corruption.

Elu successeur de la présidente Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2006-2018) sur un programme de résorption de la pauvreté et de lutte contre la corruption, l'ex-star du PSG et du Milan AC s'est dit conscient des difficultés rencontrées par la population.

Il a annoncé le 29 mai le changement de la direction de la CBL et le prochain lancement d'un programme d'aide du Fonds monétaire international (FMI), synonyme de "sacrifices" mais censé stabiliser l'économie.



Rep. Moses Acarus Gray

## Les habitants de la capitale Monrovia ont tremblé de peur le 7 juin dernier

La peur se lit encore sur les visages des habitants de Montserrado et de ses environs à cause du déploiement massif des forces de l'ordre et de sécurité armées jusqu'aux dents dans les principales rues de Monrovia le jour de la manifestation du 7 juin. La plupart des libériens dénoncent une tentative d'intimidation de la part des autorités.

« Le président a le droit de prendre toute décision sans que personne ne l'interroge, mais il doit être conscient du fait que sa décision de permettre à des hommes armés de sillonner les rues au nom de la protection crée plus de panique que d'assurance chez les citoyens », a dit Dickson Morris, résident de Gurley Street, dans le centre de Monrovia. Selon lui, la présence massive des forces de

l'ordre et de sécurité armées dans les rues a plutôt empêché les citoyens de vaquer à leurs occupations habituelles.

Il appelle le gouvernement à utiliser d'autres mesures pour tenter de protéger ses citoyens plutôt que de déployer des milliers d'hommes en armes dans les rues, d'autant plus que la paix au Libéria est toujours qualifiée de paix fragile, « et surtout, pour ce qui concerne le dernier développement, le fait que des hommes armés défilent dans les rues envoie une image négative selon laquelle le pays est encore en guerre ».

M. Dickson a ajouté que, « Certes, le gouvernement est tenu de protéger ses citoyens et les ressortissants étrangers, mais il faut qu'il le fasse de sorte à ne pas susciter de la peur et à ne pas empêcher les pauvres gens de quitter leur maison pour chercher leur pain quotidien, ajoutant : « Nous sommes conscients que le personnel défile dans les rues avec des armes ; nous savons ce que cela signifie. »

Quant à Mme Mathaline Smith, une habitante de la circonscription électorale n° 7



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de West Point Town, a presque fui dès qu'elle a aperçu les hommes et femmes armés jusqu'aux dents qui ont pris d'assaut Broad Street et dans d'autres zones.

« Je me demande ce qui se passe encore ; Je pensais que la manifestation était terminée ou bien attendons-nous quelque chose ? si c'est le cas, il faut que le

gouvernement dise aux gens que le Libéria s'attend à quelque chose de différent.

« Je pensais que la police et le service de l'immigration étaient dans la rue à cause de la manifestation du 7 juin,

mais il semblerait que leur présence est bien plus que le 7 juin. Cela effraie certains d'entre nous, qui n'ont nulle part où aller. »

# Français

**3e mandat : les ennemis de la paix plus que jamais engagés à prendre en otage l'avenir de milliers de générations**

**Q**ue retiendra l'histoire ? Face au débat constitutionnel, la Guinée plonge dans une impasse politique aux conséquences incalculables

Le pays est pris en otage par un clan de mafieux, de corrompus et de prévaricateurs qui, pour de sordides intérêts veut s'éterniser au pouvoir. Au lieu de servir le peuple, ces laquais de pirouettes se servent du peuple pour remplir leurs poches. Ils sont guidés par les mauvais esprits et hantés par les vieux démons. Quid à sacrifier tout un peuple.

Ces marionnettes au grade de Professeurs, de docteurs non certifiés et moins honorables avec desquels on éprouve d'énormes difficultés pour authentifier leur ronflant titre qui frôlent le ridicule. Des tigres sur papier qui excellent avec tâtonnement

d'outrager qui que ce soit, ce sale coup en cours dans notre pays, n'est autre qu'un acte de rébellion contre la Constitution qui est le livre sacré de la République.

Ils n'ont qu'un seul et unique objectif, c'est celui de s'accaparer des richesses du pays et s'en faire pleinement les poches.

Ils n'aiment point les guinéens. Mais plutôt ils aiment le sous-sol guinéen pour l'immensité et la diversité de sa richesse. Les ennemis de la paix sont engagés plus que jamais à faire aboutir leur volonté de prendre en otage l'avenir de milliers de générations.

Peuple de Guinée allons-nous continuer à regarder ces ennemis de la République mettre notre pays dans le chaos ?

Pourquoi résignons-nous face au déluge qui s'annonce ?

Peuple du 28 Septembre 58, prenons notre destin en



et ignorance dans la pire conduite des cas.

Des ministres, des Directeurs, des cadres de l'administration, des militants aveugles et zélés sans conviction, trempent dans une idiotie qui menace la stabilité de tout un pays.

Ces cadres véreux, qui bénéficient de la largesse du pouvoir veulent plonger la Guinée dans une crise avec un lendemain incertain.

Ils rembobinent le pouvoir à vie avec la folie d'une nouvelle constitution.

Le moment est-il opportun ?

Pourquoi vouloir modifier la constitution à 1 an et demi de la fin du dernier mandat du président Alpha Condé ?

Ces opportunistes sans foi ni loi veulent quoi au juste contre le peuple souverain de Guinée ? Se soucient-ils de la préservation des fondamentaux de la République ?

Sans aucune volonté

main. Le faire, est un acte de salut patriotique à l'image de l'appel du Général De Gaulle du 18 juin 1948. Il faut résister sans violence pour sauver notre vivre ensemble. Unis comme un seul, debout comme une nation, fera de nous des forts. Car, la force s'inclinera toujours devant la puissance. Et cette puissance éternelle, c'est bien nous, le peuple du 02 Octobre 1958.

Peuple de Guinée, motivons-nous plus que jamais comme un soldat pour défendre cette constitution qui a permis à Alpha Condé d'être élu en 2010, réélu en 2015 et par lequel il s'en ira de manière démocratique en décembre 2020.

Ce qui était hier, ne l'est pas aujourd'hui. Et demain, se fera avec une autre réalité. Qu'on se ressaisisse et qu'on place la Guinée au-dessus de tout. On aura mieux à en tirer profit.

## COMMENTAIRE

By Ishac Diwan

### Éloigner le Soudan du précipice

**N**EW YORK - Le Soudan est au bord de la catastrophe. Le 3 juin, des forces paramilitaires ont ouvert le feu sur une foule pacifique de manifestants pour la démocratie, tuant plus de cent personnes et blessant des centaines d'autres. Aujourd'hui, les espoirs de voir le pays accéder sans heurts à un gouvernement civil s'effacent devant les craintes qu'il ne connaisse le sort du Yémen, de la Syrie ou de la Libye.

Voici seulement quelques semaines, les militaires semblaient s'être rangés du côté des manifestants. En avril, après des mois de contestation contre le président Omar Al-Bachir, l'armée a contraint ce dernier à la démission. Le commandant des Forces de soutien rapide (Rapid Support Forces - RSF), le général Mohammed Hamdan Daglo dit « Hemetti », a même affirmé avoir refusé d'exécuter l'ordre de Bachir d'ouvrir le feu sur les manifestants.

Le régime de Bachir, après s'être maintenu près de trente ans au pouvoir, a été remplacé par un Conseil militaire de transition (Transitional Military Council - TMC), dirigé par le général Abdel Fattah Bourhane, dont Hemetti est le vice-président. Mais les manifestations ont continué, exigeant désormais la transition vers un pouvoir civil. Le TMC a donc été poussé à entamer des négociations avec les représentants de l'Association des professionnels soudanais (Sudanese Professionals Association - SPA), fer de lance de la contestation.

On a d'abord beaucoup espéré de ces négociations, mais le pouvoir a changé de ton après que Bourhane et Hemetti sont revenus de leurs visites en Égypte, en Arabie saoudite et dans les Émirats arabes unis - trois pays qui soutenaient le régime de Bachir. Beaucoup d'argent a été, dit-on, mis sur la table pour complaire aux généraux, lesquels entretiennent des liens très étroits avec les dirigeants en place à Riyad et à Abou Dhabi, et les convaincre d'affermir leur situation et de refuser l'ouverture politique.

Saoudiens et Émiratis poursuivent plusieurs objectifs. Ils veulent empêcher un précédent démocratique dans la région, conserver un vivier de fantassins pour leurs guerres au Yémen et ailleurs, sécuriser leur accès à des terres agricoles fertiles et prendre pied dans la Corne de l'Afrique, zone géostratégique sensible. Leurs tactiques ne sont pas nouvelles : en 2013, ils ont soutenu, contre les manifestants du Caire qui réclamaient la démocratie, la répression sanglante organisée par le général Abdel Fattah Al-Sissi, devenu de facto l'homme fort d'Égypte après qu'un coup d'État militaire a chassé du pouvoir le président démocratiquement élu Mohammed Morsi.

Comme pour la répression au Caire et la guerre au Yémen, l'Arabie saoudite et les ÉAU suivent pourtant au Soudan une stratégie à courte vue et mal conçue. Certes, Bourhane et Hemetti ont apporté l'assurance que les troupes soudanaises continueraient d'affluer au Yémen, mais le massacre perpétré par les RSF, s'ajoutant aux crimes de guerre précédemment commis au Darfour, apparaît plus encore comme un repoussoir, apte à dissuader les Soudanais - et la communauté internationale avec eux - d'accepter un jour la férule du TMC. En outre, l'argent liquide déversé sur l'armée soudanaise ne sera d'aucune utilité pour répondre aux griefs de la population, qui alimentent l'agitation sociale.

Ces sujets de mécontentement sont, pour partie, économiques. Des décennies de mauvaise gestion ont laissé le pays incapable de supporter la chute de ses recettes pétrolières après que le Soudan du Sud (où se concentraient 75 % des réserves) a obtenu son indépendance, en 2011. Au cours des cinq dernières années, l'État a dû réduire la dépense publique, passée aujourd'hui de 18 % du PIB à une part plus

modeste de 10 %, tandis que les dépenses militaires représentent au moins 30 % de son budget. En 2018, les restrictions de l'aide des monarchies du Golfe se sont soldées par une dévaluation massive de la monnaie soudanaise, suite à quoi l'inflation s'est envolée jusqu'à des taux proches de 70 %.

Mais les reproches adressés par les contestataires sont aussi politiques. Beaucoup de gens aspirent à la démocratie et à l'état de droit. Ils en ont assez de voir les gouvernements successifs déverser les aides sur un petit groupe de tribus du Nord qui ont pillé le reste du pays, avec la complicité des forces de sécurité et de milieux d'affaires où règne le copinage.

Tant que persisteront ces récriminations, l'instabilité perdurera. Or voici cinquante ans que les Soudanais résistent à la violence d'État. Du Darfour et des monts Nouba à l'ouest et au sud, jusqu'à la région orientale du Nil bleu, de violents conflits n'ont cessé de faire rage.

Le massacre des RSF n'aura d'autre effet que d'exacerber l'affrontement. Les contestataires ont déjà rejeté la proposition de réouverture des négociations faite par le TMC et lancé un appel à la désobéissance civile jusqu'à la chute du régime militaire. On voit mal comment le Soudan, État déjà fragile, pourrait être gouverné dans ces conditions.

Une gouvernance défaillante a conduit au gaspillage tragique de l'énorme potentiel du pays. Le Soudan dispose encore de ressources pétrolières non négligeables, son sous-sol est riche en or et ses capacités hydro-électriques sont importantes - il n'est parvenu à développer aucune de ces richesses et n'en fait pas profiter sa population. Il dispose en outre de terres si fertiles (exploitées notamment en cultures irriguées) qu'il pourrait devenir le garde-manger du Moyen-Orient. Jusqu'à présent pourtant, les terres traditionnelles agricoles sont accaparées par les amis du régime, qui les exploitent, au prix de conflits, de la pauvreté et de l'insécurité alimentaire.

Si la communauté internationale ne s'en mêle pas, le Soudan ne pourra pas éviter de glisser vers l'anarchie, sans parler d'atteindre son potentiel. La confiance entre les militaires et les protestataires ayant été rompue, des médiateurs extérieurs sont primordiaux pour parvenir à un accord transitionnel entre représentants de la contestation et une partie au moins des forces armées.

Un tel accord nécessitera un processus de paix structuré et la garantie d'une tierce partie pour sa mise en œuvre. Des incitations - et des sanctions - crédibles seront indispensables. Ainsi un allègement de la dette, couplé à la stabilisation politique, pourrait-il ouvrir la voie à un dispositif généreux d'aide internationale.

La Chine, qui a d'importants intérêts pétroliers au Soudan, doit être impliquée, tandis que des pressions doivent être exercées sur l'Arabie saoudite et les Émirats arabes unis pour les convaincre de coopérer à un dénouement pacifique de la crise. L'Union africaine est un autre partenaire nécessaire, bien qu'étant donné la domination qu'y exerce l'Égypte, elle ne doit pas conduire les opérations.

La communauté internationale est lourdement engagée au Soudan. Elle a joué un rôle central dans sécession du Sud, a consacré ses efforts à stabiliser le Darfour, et finance un important contingent de casques bleus au Darfour et au Soudan du Sud. Elle doit aujourd'hui aller plus loin - et ne pas se contenter de communiqués de soutien. Pour sauver ce pays - et ses alentours - d'une nouvelle vague de chaos et de misère, la communauté internationale doit se mobiliser rapidement en faveur des aspirations des Soudanais à une meilleure gouvernance.

## PERSPECTIVES

## PERSPECTIVES

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

# BLACK-ON-BLACK COLONIALISM SOCIAL CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WOES MAXIMIZED IN THE THROES OF AFRICAN POLITICAL RULE

With Bai M. Gbala, Sr.  
June 10, 2019 2019

In the year of 1847, the Republic of Liberia was the first and only nation of black people declared politically independent and ruled, entirely, by black people on the black African Continent of several African nation-states colonized by white, mainly, European nations. As proud citizens of the new Republic, Liberians travelled the world community in celebration (boasting and beating their chests) of this unique, historic achievement, in the light of the then prevailing socio-economic and colonial politics of the day.

But, over time and, in fact and in deeds, it became clear that the estimated 15-16 African tribes, nations-states, still known as the Republic of Liberia, have been transformed and, in fact, are a single Black state colonized by black African-American immigrants from North America, black African immigrants from the Caribbean Islands, both freed slaves, and black Africans captured from slave ships on the high seas on their way to slave merchants.

Thus, the unique "black-on-black colonialist Rule" on the Black African Continent.

Political philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, practicing politicians, analysts and Liberian observers argue that old-world, white Colonialism would and could have made the Republic of Liberia a better shining, attractive nation on the African Continent, in terms of ability to produce and provide social cultural, economic and political needs and development for the nation and people, the Republic failed not because the Colonialists were black Africans on the black African Continent but, simply, because the black colonialists lack the required training and experience of research, analysis, planning and organization for institutional success and/or ignored application of such training and experience, although the Republic was, and is, closely allied historically, with and was the step-child, so-to-speak, of the world's greatest, most developed, and powerful nation on earth (the USA) in terms of political/economic solidarity.

The Republic has become and remains the laughing stock of world watchers because democratic politics and national economic development have been, and are, extremely elusive.

This conclusion is based upon Liberian History of colossal inability to "produce and provide", due, also, to graft/greed, the system of Black-on-Black Colonial Rule and the resulting profound negative impact on the nation and people. The argument/conclusion points not only to academic history, but also, practical, comparative socio-economic and political activities of Liberia and former-colonized neighboring nations.

Raymond Leslie Buel

Firstly, author Buel's epic book, *Liberia: Century of Survival, 1847-1947*, published on the 100<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of the Liberian Nation was, and is perhaps, the best assessment of the social cultural, economic and political activities of the Republic during its first one hundred years.

As topic of Chapter 2 of the book, the author posed and answered the rhetorical question of "What Is Wrong with Liberia", the subject and analysis of his book. He noted that "Although the constitution of Liberia is modeled on that of the United States,



Liberia cannot be called a democracy", because the descendants of the African-American immigrant-settlers of 20,000 "kept firmly in their hands the government of the country of about one million. The freedom of the immigrant settlers takes the form of imitating the old (US) Southern aristocracy". Although with emphasis on "classical" education, Liberia did not produce intellectual elites as found in Hattior political leaders such as the late James Aggrey of Ghana or the late Felix Eboué, Negro Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa.

"Every Americo-Liberian (and the assimilated, Congo) strives to get on government payroll and, usually, succeeds". Except for the period of 23 years, (1847-1870), the Liberian government has been in the hands and control of the True Whig Party, a single-party state, political rule for 110 years. "Of West Indian stock, President Edwin Barclay proved to be the most dictatorial of all Liberian Presidents". At his request, the Legislature enacted a sedition law in 1933 (still on the books?) which penalized criticism of the President or the Government's indigenous policy with imprisonment of from three to seven months and confiscation of property. The same penalty is imposed upon anyone providing information to a foreign state or agent on affairs of domestic concern.

Upon retirement in 1943, Barclay selected Mr. William V. S. Tubman as his successor, opposed by Mr. James F. Cooper, former Secretary of Interior, with a newly-organized Democratic Party. On May 7, 1943, Mr. Cooper's Paper, the *Weekly Mirror*, wrote ". . . the voting on Tuesday, May 4, 1943 was the most partial, the most unfair, the most brazenly corrupt and domineering in the long shady record of the True Whig Party and in the history of the Republic. One small precinct of two dozen dwelling houses, more or less, in the Territory of Marshall, with a population in the whole territory of less than 1,000, counting men, women and children, including all domestic animals polled 5, 100 for the Whigs and 7 for the Democrats".

In probably the most sweeping indictment of any political system in the world, a US diplomatic representative in Liberia in October, 1933 summarized the Liberian situation as follows:

"The political system of Liberia has been marked not only of unfair elections, but also, of inefficient, arbitrary and corrupt government. Waste of public funds in maintenance of over-staffed or unnecessary institutions and offices; failure of the Department of

Justice to enforce payment of delinquent taxes; failure of the Department of Justice to prosecute Liberian officials for embezzlement of diversion of public funds and supplies or to take action against them under their bonds; failure of the Liberian government to enforce payments of taxes into the Treasury of Consular and other fees; payment of funds due soldiers of the Frontier Force whose money was collected by Liberian politicians and their friends; failure to institute economic reforms repeatedly recommended by the Financial Advisor . . .

Author Buel predicted that "as the Liberian Native tribes become educated, they will protest more and more against abuse. Although President (Edwin) Barclay did not say so, that there is a Native democracy in Africa revolving around the hereditary chief. When either a Negro or White aristocracy wedded to the West attempts to upset Native concepts rather than encourage their gradual evolution, trouble usually results. The future of Liberia will depend upon whether (or not) political power is (or will be) gradually transferred from the decadent Americo-Liberian minority to the vigorous Native tribes constituting the overwhelming majority".

"It seems only a matter of time", he concluded that, "when the preponderance of the 'civilized Natives' over the Americo-Liberians will become overwhelming. Once awakened to western ideas of democracy and freedom, the educated Natives will demand the right to participate in the government, believing that, eventually, the Americo-Liberian minority must lose its control. Whether (or not) the struggle (for power) becomes violent or the transition of power to the Natives is gradual (and peaceful) depends on the wisdom of the present governing class and of the United States of America . . .

Writer-Historian Gus Liebenow

Liebenow's approach to Liberian political History was based on what he described as "Class & Caste Stratification in the First Republic", reforms achieved and reforms attempted by the Tubman regime. Hostility between the majority Indigenous Liberian citizens and the minority Settler Americo-Liberian citizens had been the feature of Liberian society from the day of arrival of the settler-immigrants throughout the country's existence since 1847 (Liebenow, 1987).

CONT'D ON PAGE 5

# Bring your ideas to the table

By Winston W. Parley  
Liberia's President George Manneh Weah is urging Liberians to come together to devise and support new measures necessary to address structural defects and imbalances in the economy here, days after thousands of aggrieved citizens took part in what is seen as the country's most peaceful mass protest on June 7.

"Fellow citizens, let us sit and dialogue on the way forward for economic revival in Liberia. Bring your ideas to the table, and I assure you that they will be given my most careful consideration," he said Tuesday, 11 June via state broadcaster ELBC.

The Council of Patriots (COP) supported by Liberia's four collaborating opposition political led the peaceful protest to demand President Weah to publish his assets, address the bad state of the economy, alleged corruption and dismiss and prosecute Finance Minister Samuel Tweah and Central Bank of Liberia (CBL) Executive Governor Nathaniel Patray, among others.

They have given the government one month to



address a long list of demands which will determine their next course of action.

In his brief nationwide address Tuesday before departing the country for Abuja, Nigeria, President Weah says it will take the collective efforts of all Liberians to achieve the desired objective of reviving the economy and placing the country on a path of sustainable development and transformation.

"We will have to come together to devise and support

new measures which are necessary to address the structural defects and imbalances in our economy," he says.

He states that his government recognizes that the alternative views of all citizens are equally vital in finding a way forward.

In recognition of this, President again invites the leaders of political parties, civil society groups, elders, religious leaders, traditional leaders, student leaders and

the business community to a round-table discussion to afford them the opportunity to present their alternative views or their suggestions on the economy.

He however did not state when hopes to have such engagement between the government and the various stakeholders cited.

In celebration of the peaceful nature of the recent protest, President Weah extends thanks to all Liberians for their efforts in strengthening the peace and consolidating the country's democracy.

He particularly commends the protesters for the peaceful and orderly manner in which they exercised their right on 7 June, and also to those other Liberians who chose to go about their normal business on

that day - also in a peaceful and orderly manner.

According to President Weah, both sides demonstrated tolerance and respect for the rights of the other, in keeping with the rule of law.

Further he appreciates the national security apparatus of the country for their professionalism in protecting lives and property and ensuring public safety.

He assures Liberians that under his leadership, the government will continue to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of all Liberians - irrespective of their political affiliation, tribe and religion.

President Weah recalls that when he assumed the presidency last year, he informed citizens that his regime had inherited a broken economy and pledged to exert every effort to fix the economy and improve the lives and livelihood of the people.

He notes that while the efforts to fix the economy are sustained and ongoing, his government still faces challenging times.

To the international partners, President Weah additionally extends appreciations for their continued support in assisting the Government and People of Liberia to consolidate the democratic gains that the country has made over the years.

He also appreciates the local and international media for their coverage in keeping with their professional responsibilities.

## Weah off to Nigeria

President George Manneh Weah left the country on Tuesday, 11 June for Abuja, the Federal Republic of Nigeria in honor of an invitation from his Nigerian counterpart, Muhammadu Buhari, to attend what is called

handed over power to an elected civilian government in 1999, marking the beginning of the longest continuous civilian rule since Nigeria's independence from colonial rule in 1960.

It is a tradition that has been held annually, beginning

Eugene Nagbe, Minister of State without Portfolio Trokonkpui and Head of the National Investment Commission Molewuleh B. Gray.

The delegation will return home on Friday, 14 June.

While President Weah is



Nigeria's Democracy Day scheduled for June 12.

According to the Executive Mansion, Democracy Day is June 12, a national public holiday in Nigeria, which until June 6, 2018, was held annually on May 29.

It is the day the military

in 2000. While in Nigeria, President Weah is expected to hold bilateral discussions with President Buhari.

The President's delegation includes Foreign Affairs Minister Gbehzohngar Findley, Minister of Information, Culture and Tourism Lenn

away, Mr. Nathaniel F. McGill, Minister of State for Presidential Affairs, will chair the affairs of the Cabinet in close consultation with the Vice President, Madam Jewel Howard-Taylor and via telephone conversation with the President.--Press release

## Ex-Arsenal star Eboué

Starts from back page

moving to Turkey in 2011, where he won three Turkish Super Lig titles and five domestic trophies with Galatasaray.

He was a cult figure at Arsenal, where he made 214 appearances between 2005 and 2011.

The Ivorian returned to England as a free agent after leaving Galatasaray in the summer of 2015, before his hopes of a career revival were cut short.

"Being away from a competitive football pitch for a year was heartbreaking," he added.

"I had to train by myself, and I was really ashamed because people looked at me differently.

"Some would say 'look it's Eboué, a Uefa Champions League finalist with Arsenal in 2006', to them it was surprising or shocking.

"Personally, I prefer to train in the morning, but there were people who were training at that time. They'd come to take

a picture and post it all over [social media]. So I left to train at night."

As things got worse he began to lie to his family.

"I couldn't train during the day and was too embarrassed to stay at home," he admitted.

"My children always asked me when I was going to return to the field, so whenever I stepped out in the morning, I pretended to go to work.

"Unbeknown to my children I was staying outside and returning home when they were already in bed. I didn't want them to ask me why they didn't see me play on television."

After time away from the media spotlight to focus on his recovery, Eboué has recently been more willing to be seen in public.

As well his appearance on French TV he played for an Arsenal Legends side against a Real Madrid Legends team last year.

## Messi top highest paid athletes



**B**arcelona and Argentina forward Lionel Messi is the world's highest paid athlete, earning \$127m (£99.8m) in the past 12 months, according to the Forbes top 100 ranking.

Juventus's Portugal forward Cristiano Ronaldo is second on \$109m (£85.6m) with Paris St-Germain's Brazil forward Neymar in third on \$105m (£82.5m).

Last year's highest earner, boxer Floyd Mayweather, has dropped off the list.

Serena Williams is the only

woman in the top 100, earning \$29.2m (£22.9m).

Five-time Formula 1 world champion Lewis Hamilton and former heavyweight world champion Anthony Joshua are the highest earning British athletes, sitting at 13th on \$55m (£43.2m).

The American business magazine calculated the athletes' earnings by adding up their prize money, salaries and endorsements between June 2018 and June 2019.

The top 100 includes athletes from 25 countries and their \$4bn (£3,1bn) combined

earnings are up 5% from the previous year, when Mayweather was first with \$285m (£224m).

The American boxer's only fight since August 2017 was an exhibition boxing bout against Japanese kickboxer Tenshin Nasukawa in December.

Athletes had to earn a minimum of \$25m (£19.6m) to make this year's list.

Messi is only the second footballer to top the rankings after Ronaldo, and only the eighth different athlete to take the number one spot since the rankings began in 1990.

It is also the first time that footballers have ranked as the top three earners in sports.

Messi is one of 38 non-American athletes on the list, with 62 US stars in the top 100.

The NBA accounted for the most athletes with 35, with LA Lakers' LeBron James the sport's highest paid athlete in eighth on \$89m ahead of Golden State Warriors pair Stephen Curry (9th on \$79.8m) and Kevin Durant (10th on \$65.4m).

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## Ex-Arsenal star Eboue on mental health struggles

**F**ormer Ivory Coast and Arsenal defender Emmanuel Eboue has revealed that his struggles with mental health are continuing.

The 36-year-old opened up on French television about his battle with depression and said he had even considered suicide.

In an emotional interview he revealed his problems started when he was suspended by Fifa from all

football-related activity for one year.

The ban, a result of failing

to pay money owed to a former agent, led to the termination of his short-term contract at

then Premier League side Sunderland in March 2016.

Without a professional club and shattered financially after a bitter and acrimonious divorce case, he said he had suicidal thoughts.

"Sometimes I would lock myself in my room for three or four days. Just thinking and asking 'what's left?'" Eboue told RMC Sport's Le Vestiaire (The Locker Room) in France.

"Even today, I still take antidepressants to help me

because it is still a long road for me. But here I am hoping others would learn from this."

Eboue, who is now retired from football, made 79 appearances for Ivory Coast, scoring three goals, and played at two World Cups (2006 and 2010) and five Africa Cup of Nations.

At club level he spent eight seasons at Arsenal after arriving from Belgian side Beveren in 2004, before



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