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# The New Dawn

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# Who ordered helicopters purchase?

**-As Urey denies war allegations**

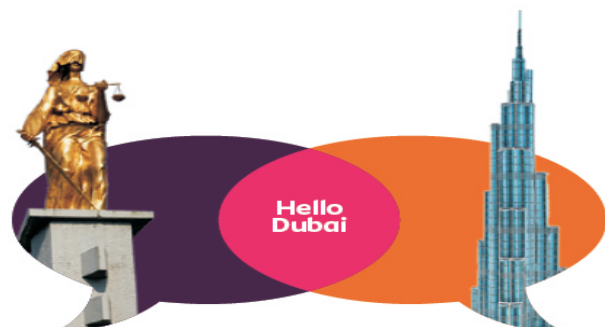
# By-elections for July 29?



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# Continental News

## DR Congo Ebola outbreak declared public health emergency

The World Health Organization (WHO) has declared the Ebola crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) a public health emergency of international concern. But it stressed borders should not be closed, adding that the risk of the disease spreading outside the region was not high. The outbreak in the DRC has killed more than 1,600 people.

This week, the first case was detected in Goma, home to more than a million.

WHO chief Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus told a news conference in Geneva that he had accepted the recommendations of a committee of experts which stressed there should be no restrictions on travel or trade, and no entry screening of passengers at ports or airports outside the immediate region. The most recent serious Ebola outbreak before this one, in West Africa, killed more than 11,000 people.

How bad is the situation in DRC? The outbreak, the second largest in history, started in August 2018 and is affecting two provinces in DRC - North Kivu and Ituri. More than 2,500 people have been infected and two-thirds of them have died.

It took 224 days for the number of cases to reach

1,000, but just a further 71 days to reach 2,000.

About 12 new cases are being reported every day. It is 99% effective and more than 161,000 people have been given it.

However, everybody is not vaccinated - only those who come into direct contact with

an Ebola patient, and people who come into contact with them. The vaccine was developed during the epidemic in West Africa and has been available throughout the latest outbreak.

Why hasn't the outbreak been brought under control?

Tackling the disease has been complicated by conflict in the region.

Since January, there have been 198 attacks against healthcare workers or Ebola treatment facilities leading to seven deaths and 58 injuries.

Another major problem has been distrust of healthcare workers leading to about a third of deaths being in the community rather than at a specialist Ebola treatment centre. It means those people are not seeking treatment and risk spreading the disease to neighbours and relatives.

There has also been difficulty tracking the spread of the virus.

A significant number of cases are coming as a surprise as those affected have not come into contact with known Ebola cases.

"We are one year into the

outbreak and the situation is not getting any better," said Trish Newport, from the charity MSF.

"It's a complex environment with a long history of violence, of conflict, so there's a lot of mistrust of foreigners from outside the area.

"We have to build ties and connections with the community so they trust us." The WHO says the risk to neighbouring countries is "very high". Uganda has already had some isolated cases including two people - a five-year-old boy and his 50-year-old grandmother - who died from the disease. Rwanda is also at risk. This week a priest died from Ebola in the city of Goma, which is home to more than a million people. The city is a major transport hub and sits on the DR Congo-Rwanda border.

The WHO said cases there were a "game-changer", however, there have been no reported cases of the disease spreading in Goma. The WHO has been clear for months that it has insufficient money to tackle the problem.

It had estimated that it needed \$98m to tackle the outbreak between February and July. Yet it faced a shortfall of \$54m. BBC



Attempts to tackle the disease have included screening of people entering other countries from the DRC

## Sudan military and civilians sign deal to end deadly turmoil

Sudan's ruling military council and opposition leaders have signed a power-sharing accord after all-night talks.

It is a "historic moment" for the country, the deputy head of Sudan's ruling military council, Mohamed Hamdan "Hemeti" Dagolo, is quoted as saying by AFP news agency.

Sudan has been in turmoil since the military ousted

President Omar al-Bashir in April.

The deal lacks crucial details which are expected to be debated on Friday.

The terms of the transitional period, which will be laid out in a constitutional declaration, are yet to be agreed.

This includes whether the sovereign council will be the top tier of government or just a

ceremonial body. The two sides have agreed to rotate control of the sovereign council for just over three years.

That council will be made of five civilians, five military figures, and an 11th civilian, to be chosen by the 10 members. A military general will be in charge of that council for the first 21 months, then a civilian will lead for the following 18 months, followed by elections.

They also agreed that there will be a cabinet in which the prime minister will be chosen by the protesters and two key posts - defence and interior minister - will be nominated by the military.

The military has been pushing for immunity from prosecution after protesters' deaths, but this is absent from the signed deal.

It does, however, promise an investigation into the violence. After months of on-and-off talks, the two sides have finally signed a deal. That is notable in itself. The agreement means that after 30 years of military rule, Sudan is now three years away from a fully civilian administration - in theory.

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The finer details of the deal and its constitutional elements have not been agreed upon. There is still a "sovereign council" to be appointed to lead the country through its transition.

However, some among the protesting masses might feel that they have got the short end of the stick.

The very military they challenged - and under whom they suffered pain and death on the streets - remains in power for now and will lead the interim government initially. The generals could possibly secure immunity from prosecution.

Justice in the eyes of the protesters will not have been served yet, but their chants for the fall of the regime have ushered in this new phase. The unrest in Sudan can be traced back to December 2018, when then President Bashir's government imposed emergency austerity measures.

In April, the president was overthrown by the military after prolonged protests

outside the defence ministry in Khartoum, but demonstrators



The deal was signed after all-night talks between the military and opposition leaders

# EDITORIAL

## Taxes should benefit the people

**THE LIBERIA REVENUE** Authority (LRA) awards 50 taxpayers, including individuals, businesses and organizations for their strong support and valuable contributions to tax payment and revenue collection in Liberia.

**THE AWARDEES WERE** selected based on either their total tax compliance or the amount of tax contributions during the 2017/2018 fiscal period year - July 1, 2017 to June 30, 2018.

**WHILE WE WELCOME** the recognition as a sign of motivation to faithful taxpayers, the real issue is government using funds generated from taxes to benefit the people.

**TAXES SHOULD GO** towards providing basic services to the citizenry such as health, education and infrastructure, among others. But if outcries on the current draft national budget before the House of Representatives for lack of expenditure report from the previous fiscal year are anything to go by, then there is much to be desired relative to how our taxes are utilized.

**THE WAY TAXES** are expended in our country is not unique to the Weah administration. We recall very well how previous administrations had misapplied taxes and royalties at the expense of the people. For instance, foreign companies operated in Bong Mines and Yekepa beginning with the Tubman, Tolbert and Doe administrations for decades without roads for those communities.

**CURRENTLY, SOCIAL AND** county development funds paid by concessionaires such as ArcelorMittal, Firestone Liberia and others are not reaching the people, who should be the direct beneficiaries.

**A CLASSIC EXAMPLE** is Nimba County, where social and county development funds and other royalties are being held in escrow from the Sirleaf administration up to the present administration, denying the people what is rightfully theirs.

**IT IS NOT** enough for Liberia's Minister of Finance and Development Planning Samuel D. Tweah, Jr. to recognize the significant contributions of taxpayers to the country's revenue envelop, but said revenue should go towards improving standard of life of the people thru basic services and economic development.

**"TAXES ARE CRUCIAL** because the government collects the money and use it for projects. Also, in addition to paying the salaries of government workers, tax dollars also help support the security services, build community roads and main highways, but importantly it improves the quality of life for citizens and it is critical to the success of the Pro Poor Agenda," CG Nah asserted.

**LRA COMMISSIONER GENERAL** Thomas Doe Nah describes Tax payment as a civic duty and lawful, noting that without taxes, the government will be unable to meet demands of society. We agree with the Commissioner General. However, what is obtaining on the ground is a complete opposite, as wasteful spending and luxurious lifestyles of public officials take precedent over general welfare of the people in a shamble economy.

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# COMMENTARY

By Danielle Nierenberg

## The Fork Is Mightier than the Wall

*A challenge as complex as migration cannot be addressed simply through stricter immigration laws, let alone a border wall like the one US President Donald Trump seeks to build on his country's southern frontier with Mexico. Instead, policymakers must tackle migration's underlying causes - beginning with a broken global food system.*

**N**EW ORLEANS - The word "migration" conjures images of war, natural disaster, and severe economic distress. All are important reasons why people seek refuge far from home. But the single most powerful driver of migration may well be food - or, rather, the lack of it.

As of 2017, some 821 million people worldwide - about one in every nine - faced chronic food deprivation. While some progress has been made to reduce extreme hunger, the overall number of chronically hungry people continues to rise.

The link with migration is clear. When people in Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America cannot feed themselves and their families, they often leave home. According to a study by the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP), each percentage-point increase in food insecurity increases refugee outflows by 1.9%.

Those facing food insecurity often demand better conditions at home. In the Arab world, "bread riots" have erupted regularly since the mid-1980s. Increases in food prices, particularly for wheat, triggered the Arab Spring protests that began in Tunisia in 2010.

If initial food shortages were not enough to motivate a person to migrate, the ensuing social unrest and conflict often are, not least because they further strain food supplies. As the WFP reports, food insecurity is "a significant determinant of the incidence and intensity of armed conflict." For each additional year of conflict, refugee outflows increase by 0.4%.

According to the Observatory on Food and Migration, many migrants are single men, who leave their female relatives behind to run their depleted farms. In North Africa, women now account for 43% of all farmers, according to the World Bank - up from about 30% in 1980.

These women operate at a significant disadvantage. For example, the World Bank reports that, in Latin America, "when women take on primary responsibility for the family farm, they face certain gender-specific difficulties, including difficulties hiring and supervising labor and acquiring technical knowledge about farming."

Similarly, though female farmers represent 70% of Senegal's workforce, the Observatory on Food and Migration reports that only men are allowed to make decisions about agricultural production or farm operations. This makes it extremely difficult to achieve strong farm output, exacerbating food shortages.

Those migrants who make it to Europe or the United States often form the backbone of their new countries' agricultural sectors. According to a study by the MacroGeo think tank and the Barilla Center for Food and Nutrition (BCFN), more than half of all farmworkers in southern Italy are migrants, and more than three million

migrants work on American farms. The US government estimates that about half of all farmworkers are undocumented immigrants.

Many of these workers live in conditions resembling slavery, toiling in harsh conditions for very low wages. In Southern Italy, for example, migrant farmworkers often have been recruited through the so-called caporalato system, in which criminal gangs - led by "caporali"-organize groups of migrant laborers, provide them with food and housing, and transport them (for exorbitant fees) from their homes to the fields.

The laborers' workdays can last 16 hours, and when they return home, miniscule wages in hand, they face appalling living conditions. In one reported case, 800 workers were found living with only five showers.

Because the caporali's fee is deducted from workers' wages, farmers embrace this system, which also enables them to avoid payroll taxes. And those farmers - not just in Italy, but across Europe and in the US (where undocumented agricultural workers are similarly exploited) - often already benefit from generous subsidies, which encourage them to produce too much food.

The surplus food may be exported at such low prices that farmers and food producers in developing countries cannot compete. Or it may be wasted: according to the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization, one-third of all food produced globally is either lost or discarded, in what amounts to a gross misuse of the resources - from labor to water - used to produce it.

The worst offenders are the most technologically advanced countries, according to the Food Sustainability Index, produced by the BCFN and the Economist Intelligence Unit. In agricultural sustainability rankings - which includes food waste - the US and the United Kingdom rank 45th and 49th, respectively, out of 67 countries.

In contrast, less developed countries show some surprising successes. Latin America, East Asia, and the Pacific perform well on food loss and waste, with four countries from each region ranking in the top 20. Ethiopia, Kenya, and India are also among the countries with strong strategies for minimizing food loss.

A challenge as complex as migration cannot be addressed simply through stricter immigration laws, let alone a border wall like the one US President Donald Trump seeks to build on his country's southern frontier with Mexico. Instead, policymakers must tackle migration's underlying causes - beginning with a broken global food system.

For developed-country governments, that means rethinking agricultural subsidies and implementing targeted policies to reduce food loss and waste. Developing-country governments, for their part, must take steps to mitigate gender inequality.

## O-PED

By Slawomir Sierakowski

## The Age of Cynical Voters

**W**ARSAW - We all know that politicians are cunning and cynical, but could the same now be said for the electorate?

Many of those who voted for US President Donald Trump did so knowing that he is a habitual liar with suspicious ties to Russia, just as the rank and file of the Conservatives in the United Kingdom know that Boris Johnson has lied and cheated his way to the top. In Poland, it is no secret that the ruling Law and Justice (PiS) party is packing governing institutions with its lackeys, misusing public media, rewarding cronies, and undermining the independence of the courts. Nonetheless, PiS trounced Poland's opposition parties in the European Parliament election in May.

The fact that Poles, Britons, and Americans have all ushered in morally bankrupt governments is symptomatic of what German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk described in the early 1980s as "cynical reason." Sloterdijk argued that, in the absence of widely shared narratives of progress, the Western elites had absorbed the lessons of the Enlightenment, but applied them in the service of narrow self-interest rather than the common good. Social problems such as slavery, poverty, and inequality were no longer attributable solely to human ignorance, and yet enlightened people lacked the determination to solve them. As Slavoj Žižek has put it, the operation of ideology today is not "they do not know it, but they are doing it" - it is "they know it, but they are doing it anyway."

In Sloterdijk's view, this cynicism began with the elite. Now we all behave like enlightened egotists. Although we know how to fight inequalities, they are still increasing. Authoritarianism (whether Russian or Chinese) deals more efficiently with poverty than democracy does. Rich societies are little moved by wars or refugee crises.

The great ideas promising significant social change, whether social democracy or Christian democracy, are only finding resonance among the older generation. Voters who don't care that populists such as Trump and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán change their stated positions from one day to the next are not blind admirers of power. They are simply advocates of their own particular interests. If reducing greenhouse-gas emissions means closing down coal mines and coal-fired power plants, those with an interest in the coal sector will not support climate policies, just as those in wealthier areas don't care much about laid-off coal miners.

In Europe, the emerging division between Greens and populists seems to reflect a new post-ideological axis. On both sides of the divide, voters now behave like political operatives, highlighting certain topics while studiously avoiding others. They have internalized the party line (often a patchwork of former left and right policies), which they then repeat in focus groups, on social media, and around the dinner table. Political parties no longer represent voters; rather, voters represent parties, sometimes even before they emerge, as was shown by the Yellow Vest protests.

The Trump presidency, the United Kingdom's Brexit debacle, and the rise of PiS and Orbán suggest a widespread loss of faith in progress. The Eastern European vision of progress was long synonymous with the transition from communism to capitalism, but three decades of belt-tightening and waiting for a better tomorrow have taken a heavy toll on people's confidence in liberal democracy. Populism appeals to voters with its promise of a kind of Copernican Revolution, reversing the belt-tightening as well as the prevailing assumptions of the past.

Shortly after PiS's victory in the European Parliament elections, in which it captured 45.5% of the vote, the online news service Oko.press asked Poles, "Does the current PiS government pursue its party interest more than earlier PO-PSL (Civic Platform-Polish People's Party) governments?" Altogether 68% percent of respondents answered yes, and only 24% said that PiS is less self-interested than its predecessors. Even among PiS voters, 38% acknowledged that the state apparatus is more politicized now than it was under PO and PSL. When asked whether the current PiS government does more for the personal financial gain of its officials than earlier PO-PSL governments, 58% deemed PO and PSL more honest.

Nonetheless, in focus groups of Polish voters, one consistently hears things like, "I know that PiS is not particularly honest, but they look out for the people; they steal and they spin, but at least they share." In other words, these voters support PiS despite its obvious flaws, because they do not believe they can afford to vote out the party that has been funneling cash and other social transfers their way.

Prospect theory, the behavioral-economics model pioneered by Nobel laureates Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, predicts that people will become less risk-averse if presented with only bad options. Our calculus depends not merely on what we can win or lose in absolute terms, but by our current situation and expectations. When someone who is anticipating a high payout receives less than expected, they will feel disappointment, rather than satisfaction at having gained anything at all.

## OPINION

By Richard N. Haass

## Asia's Scary Movie

**N**EW YORK - History at any moment can be understood as a snapshot, telling us where we are, or as a moving picture, telling us not just where we are but where we have been and where we may be headed. It is a distinction with an enormous difference.

Consider East Asia and the Pacific. A snapshot would show a region at peace, with stable societies, growing economies, and robust alliances. But a moving picture would be considerably less reassuring. We may well come to look back on this moment as the time in which the most economically successful part of the world began to come apart.

North Korea is one reason. War has been avoided, not because North Korea has done anything to reduce the threat posed by its nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, but because US President Donald Trump's administration has not matched its fiery words with actions. The nuclear and missile threat posed by North Korea has actually increased since Trump embraced summitry with Kim Jong-un just over a year ago.

There is no reason to believe that the Kim regime will ever denuclearize. The question is whether it will agree to place a ceiling on its nuclear capabilities in exchange for some reduction in sanctions - and, if so, whether it lives up to the agreement and whether neighbors such as Japan believe they can be safe without developing nuclear weapons of their own.

The latter question makes the deterioration in relations between Japan and South Korea all the more disquieting. Japanese officials are uneasy with South Korea's approach to North Korea, viewing it as too conciliatory, and are furious with South Korea for reviving its demand that Japan apologize and compensate Korean women abused by the Imperial Japanese Army before and during World War II. Tensions between these two American allies are spilling over into their trade relationship and will make it harder to coordinate policy toward North Korea and China.

Then there are the ongoing protests in Hong Kong. As mainland control over the former British colony has increased, the "one country, two systems" formula promised in 1997 has not played out as the people of Hong Kong had hoped, steadily giving way to "one country, one system." This is unlikely to change, as China is less dependent on Hong Kong as a financial gateway and is concerned that a liberal approach toward demonstrators there will signal weakness and encourage protests - and even a leadership challenge - on the mainland. The authorities in Beijing are thus likely to do whatever they believe is necessary to maintain order.

China's turn toward repression is even more starkly apparent in its policies toward its Uighur minority. At the same time, Deng Xiaoping's careful foreign policy has given way to a more assertive foreign policy under President Xi Jinping. In the South China Sea, China is militarizing islands in an effort to gain control of this strategically vital waterway and intimidate others into abandoning their claims. Likewise, with its Belt and Road Initiative, China is providing infrastructure loans to countries throughout Eurasia, often on onerous terms that enhance China's access and influence, while yielding questionable benefits for the recipients.

Taiwan's future is also unclear. This year marks the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC). At that time, the US recognized the PRC government as China's sole legal government, but pledged to maintain unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. And in the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, the US pledged to provide the island with arms, and stated that it would view with great concern any effort to determine Taiwan's future other than peacefully.

It all made for an arrangement that finessed positions in the absence of a commonly acceptable solution, one that has worked well for four decades, as Taiwan has become a thriving democracy with a booming economy. Differences over Taiwan have not precluded a viable Sino-American relationship, and the lack of an official relationship has not prevented strong US-Taiwan ties.

Now, however, it seems as though Xi may decide to push this issue, as unifying Taiwan with the mainland appears to be integral to achieving his "Chinese Dream." Meanwhile, some in the US and Taiwan advocate closer ties or even recognizing Taiwan as an independent country. At some point, a crisis is likely to materialize when one or more parties cross a line the others cannot accept.

A final question mark over the region stems from US policy. The US has been central to Asia's success. Its alliance with South Korea has reduced the chance of conflict on the Korean Peninsula; and its alliance with Japan has reduced the chance of a Japanese nuclear program or a war between China and Japan over disputed islands.

But Trump has publicly questioned the value and fairness of both alliances, suggesting that they are at risk unless South Korea and Japan pay more and adjust their trade policies. And, more broadly, Trump's foreign policy is at its core unpredictable and disruptive, whereas strong alliances require predictability and confidence.

When all of these snapshots - a nuclear-armed North Korea, an uneasy Japan, a more assertive and repressive China, growing impatience over Taiwan, and mounting uncertainty over US policy - are viewed as a moving picture, it becomes clear that the stability underpinning Asia's unprecedented development can no longer be assumed. It is difficult to imagine the future being better than the past; it is not at all difficult to imagine it being worse.

# LIBERIANS DEBATE

With Sally Gaye

*Liberians give their views on the prevention of Montserrado County District#10 Representative Yekeh Kolubah's wife and children from leaving the country for suspected child trafficking recently by the government reportedly upon orders of President George Manneh Weah. Security at the Roberts International Airport prevented Ms Kolubah and children from boarding a commercial airline to travel out of Liberia.*



**Robertson Wherboe**

"It's the law. Before he went there, there were people there who made laws. He should have read. When you're traveling with children whether biological or not, there are procedures to follow. Stop the wolf-crying and do the right thing. The one that made me laugh was, "the president gave order that your family shouldn't leave the country..." Are you kidding me? Is the president so aware of all those check-in for traveling upon return from an official trip?"

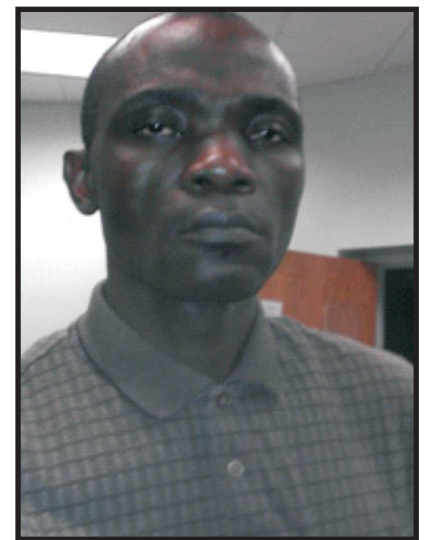


**Princeness Toe**

"This is nonsense. What has his family got to do with this? Rep. Kolubah is in Liberia; he's the offender, what have those babies done too? Is crime now transferable? President George Weah is very immature and has no idea of running government. He wants to show that he is very tough on ordinary people, but he has no clue (idea) to handling the economic crisis Liberian people are facing."

**Adadevoh Daye**

"President Weah is very vindictive and evil. Wow, stopping a mother from traveling with her children is beyond decency of a leader. Yet, his foreign wife can travel on Liberian passport. It will end one day. Some of us are so limited; maybe it's because we haven't travelled or we haven't read enough. Our Government is targeting poor innocent babies because of their father's alleged behaviors and some of us think that's something to be proud of?"



You kept a woman and her babies at the airport for several hours and didn't care about their fates because their father and husband's alleged offense? That is universally unacceptable. That is an inhumane transferred aggression."

**Mercy Kollie**

"Let's be serious here for once! Why when the (Council of Patriots) and its associates are about to launch another PROTEST, they planned to take their families out of the COUNTRY? SINCE they feel that the country (Liberia) is the only common patrimony we all have, let all us be here to fix it. Does Yekeh think his family's lives are much better than others?"



Let Georgette Kolubah and her six (6) kids stay in Liberia to feel how it's when you're living in a state of skepticism or uncertainty. The government should allow her to depart after the July 26 celebration, if indeed, it is about obtaining documents or not."

**Amada Freeman**

"According to the Constitution of Liberia - Chapter 3, Article 13a-b, all Liberians have the right of freedom to move in and out of Liberia as they please. If it was just routine, why were their belongings seized? Why did a mother have to watch her babies starve for an hour+ because she had to drive back into town to buy Formula? Are we now going to be harassed in our own country because we're openly critical of this government?"



Really? Has this government forgot how vocally "abusive" and critical it was during Madam Sirleaf's time?"

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**MORE HEADLINE NEWS**

# CBL new Board of Governors inducted

Three nominees who were recently confirmed by the Liberian Senate as members of the CBL Board of Governors took the Oath of Fidelity and Secrecy on Wednesday July 17 in CBL's Board Room and pledged to work to restore the Bank's independence and credibility. The three recently confirmed members of CBL Board of Governors were Messrs. Richard A. Dorley, Timothy Thomas and James B. Dennis. They expressed their gratitude to President George M. Weah for their preferment.

Mr. Richard A. Dorley, who once served on the CBL Board, promised to help address the challenges facing CBL, promising a new approach to problem-solving. He said he needed cooperation from the CBL staff to address existing issues swiftly and effectively.

Mr. Timothy E. Thomas said he would draw on his on



his 42 years of work experience to contribute to tackling the challenges facing the national economy. He expressed the need for someone to think 'outside the box' without any pre-conceived notions and with an open mind.

Mr. James B. Dennis, who is

also no stranger to CBL, said he was returning to CBL to work to restore the credibility and independence of the institution, restoring the confidence that had somewhat been eroded by negative publicity. He promised to draw on his many years of

experience at CBL.

CBL Board Member Sheba Brown, in welcoming the new

members on the Board of CBL Governors said, although CBL's image had been maligned and the economy facing stress, she saw better days ahead. The imperative of the new members of the Board of Governors, she said, was to restore CBL's moral and institutional integrity, as well as address the issue of the Government of Liberia's indebtedness to CBL. She also mentioned the need to amend the CBL Act of 1999, which she said was stifling CBL progress.

CBL Executive Governor and Chairman of the Board of Governors praised the new CBL Board members, saying that they would be assets to the Bank. He promised to provide them all the necessary briefing documentation to facilitate their work.

## New World Bank Country Director for Liberia arrives today

The World Bank Country Director for Liberia, Mr. Pierre Frank Laporte, arrives in Liberia on Thursday, July 18, for a three-day official visit. During this visit, he will be exploring avenues to further deepen dialogue between the Bank and various Liberian stakeholders, as well as opportunities to promote growth and economic diversification. Mr. Laporte will visit project sites.

While in Liberia, Mr. Laporte, who serves as Country Director for Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone, will meet and hold discussions with senior officials of the Liberian Government,

including Finance and Development Planning Minister Samuel Tweah, Executive Governor of the Central Bank of Liberia, Hon. Nathaniel Patray and development partners. The Country Director is expected to host a roundtable with the Government and Bank's Health Team before departing the country.

Prior to joining the Bank, Laporte, a national of Seychelles, held several key positions in the Seychelles government, including Governor of the Central Bank of Seychelles, and later Minister for Finance, Trade and Investment. Laporte is also a former International Monetary

Fund Economist and Fund Resident Representative. He also worked in the private sector as the Chief Executive Officer of the SACOS Insurance Group in Seychelles.

In his new position, Laporte's top three priorities will be to (i) lead the Bank's strategic dialogue with Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone and support the implementation of the World Bank's Africa Region's priorities, (ii) deepen the policy dialogue and partnership with governments and key stakeholders, and (iii) oversee the delivery and implementation of the lending and non-lending portfolio.

Laporte holds a Masters' Degree in Economics (with Distinction) from the University of Sheffield (UK) and a Bachelor's Degree in Business Economics with Computing from the University of Surrey (UK). He is also a holder of several awards; in 1998 he received the Midland Bank Award for Outstanding Performer in the Economics, Money, Banking and Finance programs of the University of Sheffield (1998). He received the 2013 Southern African Finance Minister of the Year award by the African Leadership Magazine and a Special Commendation Award for Outstanding Contribution and Service to Humanity by the Georgia Legislative Black Caucus in 2014. -Press release



Mr. Pierre Frank Laporte

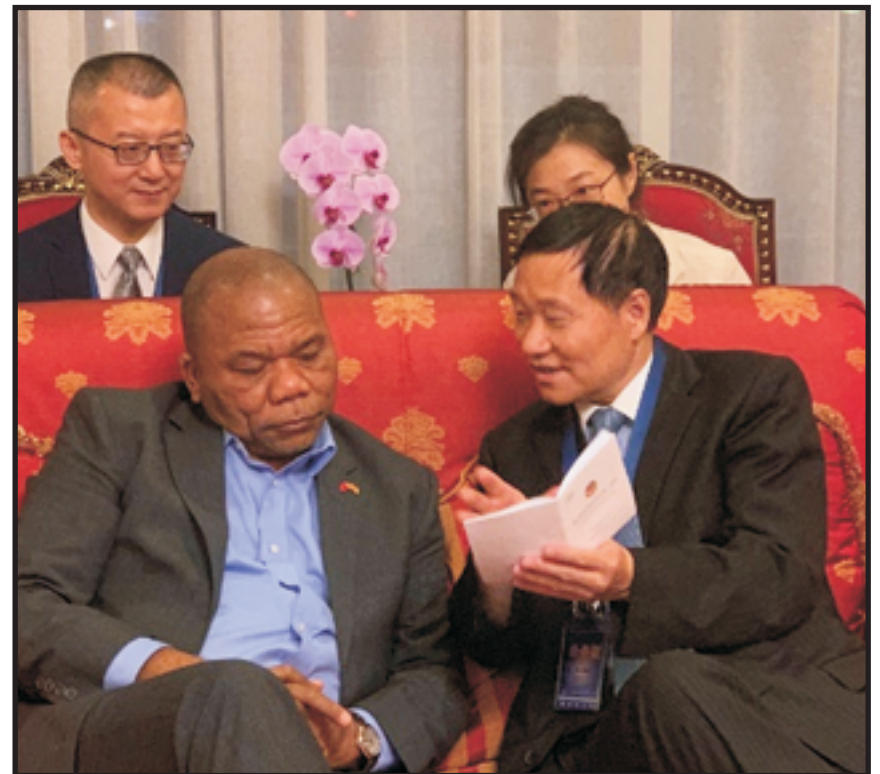
## Senate delegation arrives in Beijing

A high-level delegation from the Liberian Senate has arrived in Beijing for a five-day official visit at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).

According to a dispatch

member of the CPPCC, Mr. Xiao Gang, Liberia's Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Dudley McKinley Thomas, and staff at the Embassy.

President Pro-Tempore Chie stressed that the visit to China presents an opportunity for the Senate delegation to sincerely thank and commend the government of China for the



from the Liberian Embassy near Beijing, the delegation led by the President Pro-Tempore, Hon. Albert T Chie include Senators Jonathan L. Kaipay of Grand Bassa County and Francis S. Paye of Rivercess County.

The delegation was met on arrival at the Beijing Capitol International Airport late Tuesday evening, July 16, by a

improvement of the structural facilities at the seat of the National Legislature, the Capitol Building, as well as to further enhance and strengthen the cordial and friendly bilateral relations subsisting between Liberia and China.

Last July 2018, President George Manneh Weah



# MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

## World Bank supports strengthening of Public Service Accountability in Liberia

will support the Government of Liberia's efforts in improving

The World Bank Board on Tuesday, July 16, approved an International Development Association (IDA)\* grant of \$19 million equivalent to improve domestic revenue mobilization systems and strengthen financial control and accountability in public finances. This grant financing will be executed under the Public Financial Management Reforms for Institutional Strengthening (PFMRIS) Project.

The PFMRIS project will address financial management and governance issues, as well as deepen and institutionalize PFM reforms achieved to date to ensure sustainability, through a human capital (HC) lens. It will also address the importance of broadening the revenue base in an equitable manner to revert the worsening HC indices through the provision of public services in education and health.

"Transparency and accountability in the public sector are critical for the

Liberian Government to assist in mobilizing additional revenue to deliver needy services, particularly in education and health. Boost in the country's human capital development will put Liberia on the path to prosperity and sustainable development," said Larisa Leshchenko, World Bank Country Manager for

Liberia.

This project will lay the foundation for beginning to rebuild a social contract with citizens on their ability and willingness to demand accountability from the Government and the political elite. This new social contract and creation of greater fiscal space require more efficient

spending through strengthening the ability of PFM systems to provide relevant information on expenditure and establishing reasonable controls and requisite oversight on overall government finances. The strengthened systems will enable the Liberian government ensure resources are being effectively used for enhanced HC development and improved service delivery.

Aligned with the Liberia's medium-term development strategy, Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and development (PAPD), the project places emphasis on legal and regulatory framework, budget credibility, revenue mobilization, robust and linked IT systems, comprehensive and transparent financial reporting, and external scrutiny.

"The outcomes of an effective and efficient PFM systems are (i) fiscal responsibility, (ii) strategic resource allocation, (iii) service delivery, and (iv) eradication or minimizing corruption. The project will ensure that the Bank does not only build PFM systems, but also that rules and regulations are followed or enforced," said Co-Task Team Leaders Donald Herrings Mphande and MacDonald Nyazvigo.

Through the enhancement of domestic revenue mobilization sources and systems, the PFMRIS project



## Liberia, Belgium sign air transport agreement

The Governments of the Liberia and the Kingdom of Belgium have signed an Air Transport Agreement aimed at strengthening aviation services between both countries.

The signing ceremony took place on Wednesday, July 17, 2019 in the Minister's Conference Room on the 4th floor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Liberia's Foreign Minister

Gbehzohngar Milton Findley signed on behalf of the Liberian Government, while the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Belgium to Liberia, H. E. Hugues Chantry signed for his Government.

Speaking at the colorful ceremony, Foreign Minister Gbehzohngar Milton Findley described the new Agreement as a renewal of concrete bilateral relations between Liberia and the Kingdom of

Belgium, particularly in the aviation sector.

While recounting Belgium's role in Liberia's recovery process, Foreign Minister Findley recalled the remarkable efforts by SM Brussels Flight during the height of the Ebola crisis in Liberia, when the Belgium carrier brought in essential medical supplies to aid in the fight against the Ebola epidemic.

For his part, Belgium Ambassador accredited to Liberia, Hugues Chantry said the Air Transport Agreement is an historic landmark that will pave the way for SM Brussels Flight to have a cordial working relationship with the Liberian Civil Aviation Authority, especially on issues bordering on aviation activities.

Also speaking at the Signing ceremony, the Director General of the Liberia Civil Aviation Authority Mr. Emmanuel Nuquay said the LCAA, as Regulator in the aviation sector, is extremely delighted about the new Agreement with Belgium, describing SM Brussels Flight as the dominate carrier in the Liberia airspace.



## Senate delegation

Cont'd from page 6

dedicated two annexes at the Capitol Building that was funded by the Chinese Government at the cost of approximately US\$12.9 million.

The annexes contained 60 offices - 40 for the wing of the House of Representatives and 20 for the Senate including separate conference rooms, offices for staffers, cafeteria, among other things to alleviate the space constraints experienced at the seat of the National Legislature.

Pro-Tempore Chie noted that the visit will also be an opportunity for the Senate delegation to understand the inner workings and structures of the CPPCC which would lead to the two institutions finding ways to better cooperate for the mutual benefit of the two countries and peoples.

While the delegation is in China, the Senate delegation will meet with the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Mr. Li Zhanshu, at the Great Hall of the People. They will also meet with the chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, Mr. Wang Yang, who will host a dinner in their honor.

The Senate delegation will use the opportunity to meet with potential investors and business executives to persuade them to invest in Liberia. They later travel to Guangzhou City, Guangdong Province where they will also hold additional meetings with Chinese officials, business executives and potential investors.

They are expected to return to Liberia early next week. - Dispatch

# Français

## L'opposant Urey met en garde la commission électorale et le pouvoir

L'opposant Benoni Ureya mis en garde la Commission électorale nationale (NEC) et la Coalition pour le changement démocratique (CDC) au pouvoir contre toute tentative de fraude lors des prochaines élections partielles.

« Nous avertissons la NEC et tous les Libériens, y compris les militants du parti au pouvoir, que nous n'accepterons rien d'autre que la volonté du peuple libérien », a déclaré M. Urey le mardi 16 juillet lors d'une interview exclusive qu'il a accordée au journal NewDawn à Logan Town, dans la banlieue de Monrovia.

"Vous voyez, pour une fois, nous devons rester unis et dire que nous n'accepterons rien d'autre que les résultats réels de ces élections", a-t-il martelé.

La fille de M. Urey, Mme Teliya Urey, est la candidate de l'alliance des quatre principaux partis politiques de l'opposition à l'élection législative du district 15 du comté de Montserrado. Et quant à M. Darius Dillon, il est le candidat de l'alliance à

l'élection sénatoriale partielle du même comté.

La NEC a récemment suspendu les élections partielles pour une durée indéterminée en raison du retard qu'a accusé l'arrivée des « kitspréemballés » dans le pays. La suspension a été annoncée à quatre jours de la date officielle des élections.

Mais M. Urey soupçonne la NEC et le pouvoir de vouloir organiser une fraude massive

pour permettre aux candidats de la coalition au pouvoir de gagner. D'où la mise en garde. Il s'est dit certain de la victoire de M. Dillon car en dépit du mauvais temps le samedi 13 juillet, lors du lancement de la campagne de ce dernier, les gens sont sortis nombreux pour exprimer leur soutien au candidat de l'opposition. « Ces personnes ont parlé. La voix du peuple doit être entendue », a-t-il déclaré avant d'ajouter

que les élections partielles sont une occasion pour le peuple du Libéria d'exprimer son ras-le-bol au président George Manneh Weah.

M. Urey semble ne pas avoir de doute quant à la victoire de sa fille. Selon lui, celle-ci a déjà gagné car les gens du district 15 la soutiennent massivement.

La seule chose qui puisse empêcher sa fille de remporter la victoire serait la fraude. C'est pourquoi il tient à avertir le pouvoir que « nous n'accepterons pas de tricherie cette fois-ci », car les élections sont une occasion pour les gens d'exprimer leur déception et

leur frustration dans les urnes comme ils le font depuis le



Opposition leader Mr. Benoni Urey

## Gbagbo/Blé Goudé : les juges de la CPI détaillent les motifs de l'acquittement

Les juges de la CPI ont remis leurs motivations écrites sur l'acquittement prononcé il y a six mois en faveur de Laurent Gbagbo et Charles Blé Goudé. Les magistrats démontent, point par point, les poursuites contre l'ancien président ivoirien et l'ex-chef des Jeunes patriotes pour crimes contre l'humanité commis en 2010 à la suite de l'élection présidentielle en Côte d'Ivoire.

Les juges évoquent tout d'abord la « déconnexion globale » entre le récit de l'accusation et les preuves apportées au dossier, y compris les témoignages entendus au cours du procès débuté en janvier 2016. Deux des trois magistrats estiment que la thèse du procureur reposait « sur des bases incertaines et douteuses », « un récit manichéen et simpliste d'une Côte d'Ivoire décrite par le procureur comme une société polarisée » entre les militants pro-Gbagbo et les partisans d'Alassane Ouattara, les deux candidats en lice à la présidentielle de novembre 2010.

Pour les deux juges qui ont prononcé l'acquittement, auquel s'oppose la troisième juge, aucun crime contre l'humanité n'a été commis par Laurent Gbagbo et Charles Blé Goudé, c'est-à-dire qu'aucune politique visant à attaquer des civils de manière généralisée et systématique - c'est la définition du crime contre l'humanité - n'a été mise en œuvre.

Les sites de crimes tous réfutés

Au cours du procès, le procureur avait évoqué plusieurs sites de crimes censés démontrer la responsabilité de Laurent Gbagbo et Charles Blé Goudé. La marche sur la Radio-Télévision ivoirienne organisée au début de la crise, en

décembre 2010, au cours de laquelle au moins 87 personnes avaient été tuées, avait bien été interdite par Laurent Gbagbo, estiment les juges. Mais aucune des preuves de l'accusation ne démontre que l'ex-président aurait donné l'ordre de réprimer les manifestants. Selon leurs conclusions, les forces ivoiriennes devaient protéger la RTI, mais ne visaient pas la population civile - et si des violences ont été commises par des soldats, elles ne relèvent pas de crimes contre l'humanité.

Concernant les crimes commis à Yopougon en février 2011, le procureur avançait que Charles Blé Goudé aurait prononcé un discours incitant ses partisans à la violence. Mais se basant sur les preuves, les juges estiment que les violences, récurrentes dans ce quartier, avaient débuté avant l'arrivée du leader des Jeunes patriotes sur les lieux.

Sur la répression d'une marche organisée par des femmes à Abobo, début mars 2011, les preuves n'ont pas permis aux juges de dire si ce sont des soldats qui ont tué les 13 victimes. Enfin, sur les tirs à l'arme lourde sur le quartier, quinze jours plus tard, ils estiment que l'armée s'opposait au Commando invisible et non à des civils.

Le dernier incident retenu par le procureur date du 12 avril. Mais Laurent Gbagbo avait été arrêté la veille des faits, dans la résidence présidentielle. Quant à Charles Blé Goudé, il se cachait depuis plusieurs jours.

Des forces ivoiriennes en position défensive, selon les magistrats

Les magistrats trinitadien et italien estiment que les preuves montrent que les forces ivoiriennes étaient en position défensive, soumises à une guérilla urbaine et opposées à de multiples acteurs.

## Le sénateur qualifie d'honteuse l'action de la direction de l'ancien parti au pouvoir

Le sénateur Conmany Wesseh du comté de River Gee s'insurge contre la direction de l'ancien parti au pouvoir pour avoir traduit ses camarades devant la cour suprême, qualifiant cet acte d'honteux.

L'ancienne présidente Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, le sénateur Wesseh, Mme Medina Wesseh et Patrick Worzi, avaient été exclus du parti au lendemain de sa défaite au second tour de l'élection présidentielle de 2017 contre la coalition pour le changement démocratique de

George Weah. On les accuse d'être la cause de la défaite de leur parti parce qu'ils ne l'auraient pas soutenu lors des élections.

Mais le conseil des commissaires de la Commission électorale nationale, rendant sa décision dans cette affaire il y a quelques mois, a demandé que les personnes expulsées furent réintégrées le plus tôt possible.

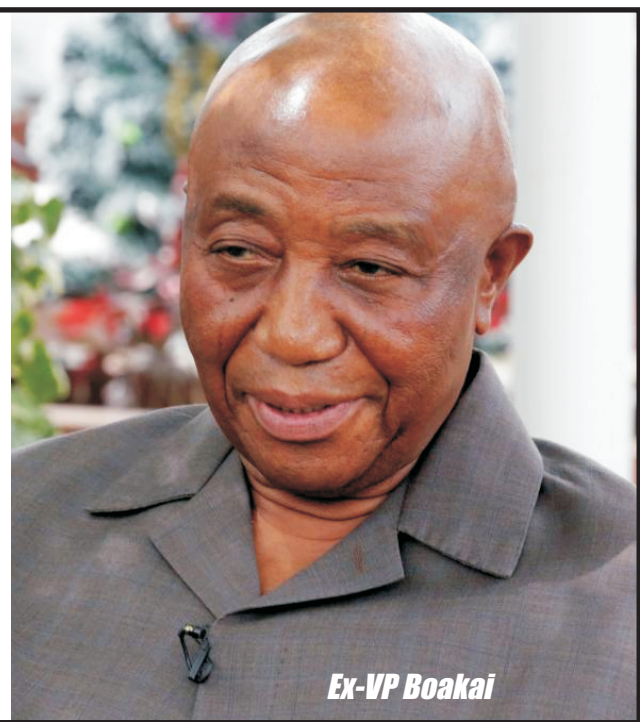
Cependant, le président national du Parti de l'unité, M. Wilmot Paye, et le président émérite, le sénateur Varney Sherman, ont interjeté appel

devant la Cour suprême du Libéria.

S'exprimant donc au micro du New Dawn, le mardi 16 juillet, dans son bureau au parlement à Monrovia, le sénateur Wesseh a accusé les personnes qui ont saisi la Cour suprême de vouloir créer la division entre les militants du parti. Il a aussi qualifié d'inconstitutionnelle leur expulsion car à la réunion à laquelle la décision avait été prise n'était présent qu'un peu d'un tiers des membres du bureau, ce qui invalide toute décision prise à cette réunion.



Ex-Pres. Sirleaf



Ex-VP Boakai



# Français

## Éditorial

### Il faut que le peuple bénéficie des impôts

L'Autorité des Revenus du Liberia (LRA) a récompensé 50 contribuables, dont des particuliers, des entreprises et des organisations, pour « leur soutien indéfectible et leurs précieuses contributions au paiement des impôts et à la collecte des recettes au Libéria ».

Les lauréats ont été sélectionnés pour s'être conformés aux exigences fiscales et de s'être acquittés de la totalité de leurs impôts au cours de l'exercice financier 2017/2018, c'est-à-dire du 1er juillet 2017 au 30 juin 2018.

Nous saluons cette reconnaissance qui est un signe de motivation pour les contribuables fidèles, mais ce qui est le véritable problème est le fait que le gouvernement n'utilise pas les fonds générés par les impôts au profit de la population.

Les impôts devraient servir à fournir aux citoyens des services de base telles que la santé, l'éducation et les infrastructures, entre autres. Si l'on s'en tient aux préoccupations concernant le projet de budget national qui est actuellement au niveau de la Chambre des représentants pour manque de rapport de dépenses de l'exercice précédent, on dira que beaucoup à désirer en ce qui concerne l'utilisation de nos impôts.

La façon dont les taxes sont dépensées dans notre pays n'est pas quelque chose de nouveau. C'était ainsi bien avant l'administration Weah. Nous nous souvenons très bien de la façon dont les administrations précédentes ont géré les impôts et les redevances, ce, au détriment de la population. Par exemple, depuis le temps du Président Tubman jusqu'au régime du Président Samuel Doe en passant par celui de M. Tolbert, des sociétés étrangères ont exploité les mines de Bong Mines et de Yekepa pendant des décennies, mais les populations riveraines n'ont bénéficié jusqu'aujourd'hui d'aucune route adéquate.

À l'heure actuelle, les fonds régionaux de développement social que les entreprises concessionnaires comme ArcelorMittal, Firestone Liberia et d'autres ont donnés n'ont jamais servi les populations qui devraient normalement en être les bénéficiaires directs.

Le comté de Nimba est un exemple classique : des fonds régionaux de développement sociaux ainsi que d'autres redevances sont bloquées, ce, depuis l'administration Sirleaf, et aujourd'hui l'administration Weah, privant ainsi le peuple de ce qui lui revient de droit.

Reconnaître l'importance de la contribution des contribuables pour le développement du Libéria n'est pas suffisant pour le ministre des Finances et de la Planification du développement du Libéria, Samuel D. Tweah, d'autant plus qu'il a ajouté que les recettes devraient servir à l'amélioration des conditions de vie des populations en pourvoyant des services de base et en développant l'économie.

« Les impôts sont indispensables car le gouvernement collecte ces fonds pour les utiliser dans la réalisation des projets. En plus des salaires des fonctionnaire du gouvernement, l'argent des contribuables aide également à soutenir les services de sécurité, à construire des routes communautaires et des routes principales, mais surtout, il participe à l'amélioration des conditions de vie des citoyens. Il est également indispensable à la réussite du programme pour les pauvres », a-t-il dit.

Le commissaire général de la LRA, Thomas Doe Nah, a quant à lui décrit le paiement des taxes comme un devoir civique et légal, notant que sans impôts, le gouvernement ne sera pas en mesure de répondre aux demandes de la société. Nous sommes d'accord avec le commissaire général.

Cependant, nous constatons que ce qui se passe en réalité sur le terrain semble être tout le contraire. D'ailleurs les dépenses inutiles et les modes de vie luxueux des hauts cadres de l'Etat ont l'air d'être plus importants aux yeux des gouvernants par rapport au bien-être général des citoyens, surtout en ces temps de crise économique.

## COMMENTAIRE

Par Danielle Nierenberg

### La fourchette plus forte que le mur

LA NOUVELLE ORLÉANS - Le mot « migration » suscite des images de guerre, de catastrophes naturelles et de graves difficultés économiques. Tous ces motifs ont leur importance et poussent des gens à chercher refuge loin de chez eux. Mais le plus puissant moteur de migration pourrait bien être la nourriture - ou, plutôt, l'absence de nourriture.

Depuis 2017, près de 821 millions de personnes dans le monde - environ une personne sur neuf - ont fait face à la privation de nourriture chronique. Si certains progrès ont été accomplis pour réduire la faim extrême, le nombre total de personnes souffrant de faim chronique continue à augmenter.

Le lien avec les migrations est clair. Lorsque des gens issus d'Afrique, du Moyen-Orient et d'Amérique latine ne peuvent pas se nourrir eux-mêmes ni nourrir leurs familles, bien souvent, ils quittent leur pays. Selon une étude du Programme alimentaire mondial (PAM) de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, chaque augmentation d'un point de pourcentage de l'insécurité alimentaire augmente les mouvements de réfugiés de 1,9%.

Ceux qui doivent faire face à l'insécurité alimentaire exigent souvent de meilleures conditions de vie dans leur pays. Dans le monde arabe, des « émeutes du pain » éclatent régulièrement depuis le milieu des années 1980. La hausse des prix des denrées alimentaires, en particulier pour le blé, a déclenché les manifestations du Printemps arabe, qui ont débuté en Tunisie en 2010.

Si les pénuries alimentaires initiales n'ont pas suffi à motiver une personne à migrer, les troubles sociaux et les conflits sont souvent des causes de migration, notamment parce qu'ils ajoutent une nouvelle contrainte sur les approvisionnements en denrées alimentaires. Comme l'indique le PAM, l'insécurité alimentaire est « un déterminant significatif de l'incidence et de l'intensité des conflits armés. » Pour chaque année de conflit supplémentaire, les exodes de réfugiés augmentent de 0,4%.

Selon l'Observatoire sur l'alimentation et la migration, de nombreux migrants sont des hommes célibataires, qui quittent les femmes de leur famille pour faire fonctionner leurs exploitations appauvries. En Afrique du Nord, les femmes représentent à présent 43 % de tous les exploitants agricoles, selon la Banque mondiale - contre environ 30% en 1980.

Ces femmes sont considérablement désavantagées. Par exemple, la Banque mondiale indique qu'en Amérique latine, « quand les femmes prennent la responsabilité principale de l'exploitation agricole familiale, elles sont confrontées à certaines difficultés spécifiques au genre, notamment à des difficultés l'embauche, à la supervision du travail et à l'acquisition de connaissances techniques sur l'agriculture. »

De même, si les exploitants agricoles représentent 70 % de l'effectif du Sénégal, l'Observatoire sur l'alimentation et la migration rapporte que seuls les hommes sont autorisés à prendre des décisions concernant la production agricole ou les activités agricoles. Il est donc extrêmement difficile d'obtenir une forte production agricole, ce qui vient aggraver les pénuries alimentaires.

Les migrants qui arrivent en Europe ou en États-Unis forment souvent la base du secteur agricole de leur nouveau pays. Selon une étude du think tank MacroGeo et du Barilla Center for Food and Nutrition (BCFN), plus de la moitié de tous les travailleurs agricoles dans le Sud de l'Italie sont des migrants et

plus de trois millions de migrants travaillent dans des exploitations agricoles américaines. Le gouvernement américain estime qu'environ la moitié de tous les travailleurs agricoles sont des migrants sans papiers.

Un grand nombre de ces travailleurs vivent dans des conditions semblables à l'esclavage, dans des conditions très dures, pour des salaires très bas. Dans le Sud de l'Italie, par exemple, les travailleurs agricoles migrants sont souvent recrutés par le système caporalato, dans lequel des bandes criminelles - dirigées par des « caporali » - organisent des groupes de travailleurs migrants, leur fournissent le gîte, le couvert et les transports (à des honoraires exorbitants) pour se rendre de leurs foyers jusqu'aux champs.

Les journées de travail des travailleurs peuvent durer 16 heures et quand ils rentrent chez eux avec des salaires misérables, ils font face à des conditions de vie épouvantables. Dans un casqui nous a été signalé, 800 travailleurs ne disposaient que de cinq douches.

Parce que les frais des caporali sont déduits des salaires des travailleurs, les exploitants agricoles adoptent ce système, qui leur permet également d'éviter les charges sociales. Et les exploitants agricoles - pas seulement en Italie, mais partout en Europe et aux États-Unis (où les sans-papiers sont des travailleurs agricoles exploités de la même façon) - bénéficient souvent déjà de subventions généreuses, ce qui les encourage à produire trop de nourriture.

L'excédent de la nourriture peut être exporté à des prix si bas que les exploitants agricoles et les producteurs de denrées alimentaires des pays en développement ne peuvent pas les concurrencer. Cet excédent peut également être gaspillé : selon l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture, un tiers de toute la nourriture produite dans le monde est perdu ou jeté, dans ce qui s'apparente à un abus de ressources - de main d'œuvre et d'eau - utilisées pour produire ces denrées alimentaires.

Les pires criminels sont les plus technologiquement avancés, selon l'indice de durabilité alimentaire, produit par BCFN et Economist Intelligence Unit. Dans les classements de l'agriculture durable - qui comprend les déchets alimentaires - les États-Unis et le Royaume-Uni sont respectivement classés 45ème et 49ème, sur 67 pays.

En revanche, moins de pays développés montrent d'étonnantes réussites. L'Amérique latine, l'Asie orientale et le Pacifique ont de bons résultats en matière de pertes et de gaspillage alimentaire, quatre pays de chaque région se classant dans le top 20. L'Éthiopie, le Kenya et l'Inde sont aussi parmi les pays dotés de solides stratégies pour réduire au minimum les pertes de nourriture.

Un défi aussi complexe que la migration ne peut pas être traité simplement par des lois plus strictes sur l'immigration, sans parler d'un mur à la frontière, sur lequel le Président américain Donald Trump cherche à construire à sa frontière méridionale avec le Mexique. Au lieu de cela, les décideurs doivent s'attaquer aux causes profondes de la migration - en commençant par un système alimentaire mondial déficient.

Pour les gouvernements des pays développés, cela signifie repenser les subventions agricoles et la mise en œuvre de politiques ciblées pour réduire les pertes et le gaspillage alimentaire. Les gouvernements des pays en développement, quant à eux, doivent prendre des mesures pour atténuer les inégalités entre les sexes.

## ARTICLE

## ARTICLE

# Eulogizing the remarkable revolutionary journey of Dr. Henry BoimahFahnbulleh, Jr.

July 16, 2019

By: Daniel T. Bestman & Mustapha N. Kanneh (Ataturk)

We have searched, as well as studied and struggled for the objective conditions of our people and the achievement of an egalitarian society. We have always wanted a better Liberia, where Liberians will live irrespective of their tribe, culture, race, tradition, and creed or political affiliation. We went to the houses of the grandeur political politicians including those who are in the status quo yet we couldn't get the empirical answer we wanted to march in the people's struggle. Nonetheless, we remain with the facts to ascertain our acceptance with Dr. H BoimaFahnbulleh, Jr.

It then became clear that the oldest generation never only hated Dr. H. BoimaFahnbulleh and the progressive struggle but also to the reality that destiny has ordained certain characters and no matter what they would arrive at the stage of the liberators of the masses of the people. We have witnessed the mass of our people suffered from the pangs of poverty and frustration owing to the people they elected during elections and nonetheless blame politicians for their action and inaction. They blamed activists and people like our leader and teacher HB for their deed and indecision, nevertheless they forgot to note their actions constituted the leaders and the followers. Despite the soft conjunctive gerund proficiency that history has abrogated obligations unto men to struggle or kowtow in progress or in failure, HB had chosen the latter.

Today, we stand in defense not only of our leader and teacher, H. BoimaFahnbulleh Jr., but all progressive forces who struggled for an equal society, equal rights and quality of treatment of all men. When we first met Dr. H. BoimaFahnbulleh as ordinary University amateurs, we thought he was the greatest of all evils in the Liberian society having been told by our parents that they (progressives) were the cause of the destruction and mayhem of yesteryears. We were informed by generational renegades that Dr. BoimaFahnbulleh and the leaders of the rice riot caused the problems of Liberia today, but quietly they refused to allude to the unraveled facts that we as revolutionaries must never condemn the actions of history without investigation, instead we must accept and confront the contradictions that followed historical occurrence. We accepted those teachings and lived by them conscientiously in so far they came from our nipple strands despite we were baffled by provision of information without facts. Yet we believed struggling against the position of paternal hegemony was a taboo to the plebeians of our community. We approved and pontificated that the Progressives were never wrong in changing the wheel of democracy of our country to allow us participate fully and freely.

Fanon thought us that "Every generation has a relative obscurity, to fulfilled its mission or to betrayed it". So it's the same as Dr. H. BoimaFahnbulleh and the Progressives taught us either to fulfill our mission or betray it. We have chosen the former because our leaders HB and his likes fulfilled their mission and we are now inspired to guide and protect the democracy of our forbearers.

The mission of the Progressives was multi-party democracy. They wanted a state where people will participate in the decision making process of their country without being tasked to pay hut task. They struggled for a state where people will have the right to vote irrespective of the binomial nomenclature. HB and the blissful Progressives struggled for a Liberia where everyone would have access to education regardless of their tribe, religion or cultural abrogation. Their struggle was for the dignity and respect of all man regardless of creed, religion or tribe. They struggled in the context of the issues that

confronted their generation and if these vices were to rise again, we are sure that our leader and teacher Dr. H. BoimaFahnbulleh will confront them with the same vigor and courage as in 1979.

HB as he is affectionately called by his cadres and militants has always been at the barricades. He has never traded his love for the motherland and the dignity of the people for self-glorification and national approval and will never adopt this form of insanity only to be exalted.

Today, we celebrate the life of this great patriot not only because of the role he has played in transforming us from mere humans to revolutionaries but also from scholars to change makers. We have not only read his articles but also received his teachings of dialectics and pedagogy. Since our maiden interaction with this great patriot was the denouement in our political journey to place the nation and people over the self. He had taught us not only to struggle and fight for the excursion of society but also for the liberation of our minds. In his words that we remembered fondly, he said "any education that is not place at the service of the masses is useless". Now more than ever before, we affirmed this statement as a way of life for all students and cadres rising through the ranks and steps of national transformation.



In sensitive uniformity with Dr. Fahnbulleh, we hold this to be self-evident that any education not use to change the narrative of society and the people is non-essential to the graduation of society as such education is the end and means of the liberation of the people from poverty, backwardness and neocolonialism.

Born in a wealthy and well to do family, many didn't expect Dr. Fahnbulleh Jr., to take the path he journeyed to struggle for the inclusion of the native who were excluded from the decision making process of Liberia. With his mother being an educationalist and his father an ambassador to East Africa, as well as his entire family members were servants of the ruling class, HB courage to commit 'Class suicide' to struggle on the side of the people amidst his link to the regime and rejection of the opportunity to amass wealth at the pity of the masses makes him a monarch for all social democrat revolutionaries in Liberia. For a young man with terminal PhD with beautiful wife, and from an elite family to abandoned his heritage and struggled for social justice, civil liberties, people's participation and academic freedom is unprecedented in the Liberian history thus Dr. H. BoimaFahnbulleh remains an insignia of struggle and liberation in Liberia. In spite of all our searches we have found Dr. H. BoimaFahnbulleh Jr. as our true leader and pathfinder.

For as far as your conscious drive to societal

transformation remains unabated, historical materialistic reflections of yesteryears which have served cue for posterity parroted Dr. HB as a selfless and dedicated revolutionary paradigm to act the course of history. Unarguably, there's a very critical few of our gullible generation who sees merit as the sincerest tool to morally fulfill the prophecy of man's indebtedness to transform his understanding and society. We have held sacred those deep Hegelian dialectics in the perspectives of the Liberian cliquish struggles, moral and spiritual decadence, wide scale violence, economic hardships, complacency, stunned poverty, people's conflicts, buckled education system, sterilized-ideology network, paralyzed health system, vilified cultural configuration, gullible youths, unprepared menfolk, and the monstrous intransigent, capitalism.

Bitterly in memory of the distraction of a college kid from the dormitory of conscious digest of the Marxist-Leninists' thoughts to transform society; rising above a system which greeted freedom of thoughts and expressions with hostilities and incriminations; growing beyond the barricades of comfort and security to caress discomfort and fundamental hardships in an overwhelmingly unconscious society, just if the objective conditions demanded; shielding a novice-tyrant as a conscious revolutionary technique to subduing a hoodlum to the path of progressiveness after crushing the obscene Whigs of one-half a century of imperial dominance, though tyrants will always be tyrants; maneuvering and directing the intellectual discourse of Liberia for a whole generation (more than four decades) so that the reasonable minds would choose to select and create its own society; and consequently HB remains a revolutionary and statesman par excellence.

Throughout this icon conscious ride on his remarkable revolutionary journey, the parochial conspiracy of the True Whig Oligarchy which had been long critical to silence an eloquent legal mind (HB Snr.) from the diplomatic boardrooms of national ideas simply for insinuating the market of socialism in the Liberian context not knowing that the demise of the oligarchy would have sprang from feckless alliance with socialist-centered eastern bloc and making a position statement against the capitalists interest. In essence your dialectics are far touching and edifying and has gladdened the inner most fabric of almost all emerging Liberian Neoproggressives. If the neoproggressives are to stay safe and embark on a similar remarkable revolutionary journey, your disciplines of selflessness and perseverance shall certainly serve as our memory chip to living the model life of the revolutionary father of Africa's Intelligentsia Class, Dr. HB. Your prediction of the incompetent democrat baited as a gambit pawn by desperate charlatans to unleash their Faustian agenda has scored as a material allusion to the contemporary conspiracy concocted toward the doomed of our motherland. No matter how tense the contradictions exist, you have taught us to build thicker skins and keep resilience in the struggle for social justice, and so we have taken on the onerous duty to confront the contradictions in any form and manner they exists. To hold these ideas sacrosanct for the judgment of posterity, you have edified our generation to take huge investment in education, for it is education that can transform any stagnant society.

Finally, if we as society must tossed radiance on a remarkable crusader par excellence, if man's rewards given by society must reflects brilliantly cheerful beyond the blur canopies of bigotry and immaterialism, and if we are to validate man's journey from the corridors of growth to valleys of development, we are inevitably certain that the remarkable revolutionary turned reservoir of consciousness will be posted as a glowing beacon of the Liberian consciousness.

Keep fighting for social justice, PROGRESSIVE MASTER BOIMA!

# Who ordered helicopters purchase?

By Winston W. Parley

A long time closed aide to imprisoned former President Charles Ghankay Taylor Mr. Benoni Urey, now an opposition leader here says he didn't give the instruction to use US\$620,000 to buy two MI-2 helicopters for war, one of the reasons he says UN had problem with him.

"The MI-2 Helicopters [were] never used for war. One was used for the police and one was used for the SSS (Special Security Service). In fact, those helicopters were used to carry UN personnel all over this country," he told this paper exclusively on Tuesday, 16 July in Logan Town.

Mr. Urey, the longest serving Commissioner of Liberia's Maritime Affairs in President Taylor's regime narrated that one of the things the UN had against him was the allegation that he provided \$620,000 to buy the



Ex. Pres. Taylor

two MI-2 helicopters, a claim he denies.

He explains to the NewDawn that when UN personnel were sick, the helicopters were used to fly them from Lofa or Grand Gedeh Counties either to hospital or out of this country.

He, however, insists that he didn't give the instruction to

use the money to buy the helicopters in question.

Instead Mr. Urey claims that he was given instruction allegedly by former Finance Minister Mr. Nathaniel Barnes who had allegedly claimed that the president had instructed that Mr. Urey instruct the agents - LISCR [Liberian International Ship and

Corporate Registry] to transfer \$620,000 ... to purchase the two

claim of the alleged transaction, but the latter's phone rang endlessly without response.

Meanwhile, Mr. Urey has told this paper that he is not a warrior, neither does he know how to support warring factions financially.

"I never fought any war; I never have been accused of anything, you know. But when the UN put us on this list ... to influence the removal of President [Charles] Taylor from office, at the conclusion of it, they should have written to say these people committed no crime," Urey complains.

The businessman turned politician indicates that he has made it clear to the UN Human Rights office how putting somebody's name on a list without investigating them has got people going on national radio to call him a criminal.

He says as the longest serving Commissioner at the Liberia Maritime Affairs, he was never a signatory to any of the accounts abroad or locally.

## By-elections for July 29?

By E. J. Nathaniel Daygbor

The National Elections Commission is considering July 29, 2019 as new date for the Montserrado County by-elections, according to news from the corridor of the NEC.

The New Dawn gathers that the new date was reached following a two hours' meeting between NEC Chairman, Cllr. Jerome George Korkoya and President George Manneh Weah at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Monrovia Wednesday, 17 July.

The meeting also concluded on payment of the remaining US\$1 million for vendors contracted by the National Elections Commission to provide materials.

The Commission had earlier budgeted US\$2.5 million for the Montserrado County Senatorial By-Election and the District #15

Representative By-Election, respectively in the county, but the government provided an initial amount of US\$1.5 million in both United States Dollars and Liberian Dollars.

The Liberian government through the NEC had postponed these by-elections twice due to delay in arrival of electoral materials and the June 07 protest which shock the country a month ago.

The Commission had earlier postponed the by-elections from 02 July to 08 July, 2019 due to delay in arrival of materials. On 04 July the Commission this time around indefinitely postponed the conduct of the polls, citing "technical and operational reasons."

"The National Elections Commission (NEC) informs the public that the Montserrado senatorial and district 15 Representative by-elections, which were scheduled for July 8, 2019, have been postponed

to a later date, to be announced," the Commission said.

Notwithstanding, it disclosed that full consignment of 1,046,100 ballot papers are currently in the country. They include tactile ballot guides, forms and record of the counts. Of the total ballot papers, the NEC says 993,850 will be used for the senatorial by-elections, while 52,250 will be used for the representative by-election.

However, when contacted via mobile phone on the latest date, Chairman Korkoya could neither deny nor confirm, but explains there are expected consultations with the Liberian Legislature, candidates, political parties and stakeholders before any official pronouncement is made about the date for the by-elections.

He says the Commission is also expecting arrival of the remaining electoral materials into the country soon.

Chairman Korkoya assures that a new date for the polls would not be kept secret, but there are ongoing consultations with actors and the NEC remains committed, transparent and accountable to the Liberian people in conducting free, fair and credible elections at all times.

The Montserrado County Senatorial By-Election came about as a result of the death of Senator Geraldine Doe Sherif following a protracted illness from womb cancer and the passing of District #15 Representative Adolph Lawrence in a car crash along the Robertsfield highway en

## Road Safety

Starts from back page

Commissioner of Police (ACP) Alphonso Binda says the police are carrying on a pilot project in the communities, following the publication in 2018 of the Liberia National Police (LNP) statistics on accidents from Montserrado, Margibi and Grand Bassa Counties.

He says the essence of the awareness is to ensure that people that are not knowledgeable to road safety measures including some vehicle operators that are busy on cell phones while driving, and children that are abandoned while crossing roads, among others benefit from the campaign.

"The data also captured that most victims are the

route to Monrovia from Buchanan, Grand Bassa County where he had celebrated his 50th birthday with his now widow, Senator Yonblee Kangar Lawrence.

The NEC has qualified seven candidates for the senatorial seat including, Pualita Wie of the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change, Abraham Darios Dillon of the four collaborating opposition political parties, MacDella Cooper, Massa Massaquoi Kanyon, Kimmie Weeks, and incumbent Montserrado County

Electoral District #6 Representative Samuel Enders, all independent candidates and Mohammed Ayoubu Dukuly of the Vision for Liberia Transformation Party. But from all indications, the main contenders are Mr. Dillon and Ms. Wie.

In Montserrado County Electoral District #15, the race is between Abu Kamara of the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change and Tellia Urey of the four collaborating opposition political parties. **-Editing by Jonathan Browne**



## Road Safety campaign draws community dwellers



By Winston W. Parley

The Liberia National Police (LNP), with support from German Cooperation GIZ has taken road safety awareness campaign to various communities in parts of Monrovia to help educate community dwellers, children and vehicle operators to reduce accident cases.

The road safety awareness campaign was launched last year following troubling statistical report on

accidents from Montserrado, Margibi and Grand Bassa Counties.

The alarming rate of road accidents here has prompted the police to undertake an awareness project which is supported by GIZ, working with community dwellers including kids, vehicle operators and the media to create awareness on road safety matters.

Based on study questions given selected teams from various communities including Bassa Community and Buzzy Quarters in Monrovia, kids took

part in questions and answers sessions with GIZ's Yana Tumakova, explaining what they have been taught to do when crossing roads, how to observe traffic light and look both left and right before getting on the road, among others.

One of the participants in the road safety awareness campaign Bana F.Barquoi explains that they have learned that when riding on motorbike, passenger must wear safety gear like helmet to stay safe in case there is an accident.

According to him, the helmet is important because it might reduce the chance of being injured if accident occur while driving.

The debate on Wednesday was intended to select the best performing participants in the tournament to represent their communities in other upcoming events that will include debate, quizzing, and comedy.

Police Chief of Traffic Assistant



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## Sidani Bassim not in monopoly

- NCSNL

The National Civil Society Network of Liberia (NCSNL) refutes claims here that the Government of Liberia dubiously gave monopoly right to the CEO of Aya Groups Inc, Mr. Sidani Bassim in the cocoa industry, describing such information as false and misleading.

The NCSNL says the Aya Group Inc, is benefiting from



the current cocoa market because of his compliance with government's

requirements for such market, including license to operate.

It notes that meeting all

necessary requirements as a business entity is an important step to contributing to government revenue, particularly, amid the current economic downturn faced by the country.

According to the Network, Mr. Bassim's contribution to the government through revenue payment is an indication that he has no intention to be a part of any ploy to deny the over 30,000 smallholder cocoa farmers

here the opportunity to continue planting and

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