



CDC Chairman Morlu

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## AUGUST 26 2019 www.thenewdawnliberia.com NEW DAWN 2 CONTINENTAL NEW DAWN 2

ife in Zimbabwe is now worse than under former President Robert Mugabe, according to Fadzayi Mahere of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).Verdict: It's true that in recent months, the economic situation has worsened. But there were periods during Mr Mugabe's long rule when the economic indicators were much worse. The opposition in Zimbabwe has called for protests over conditions in the country, accusing the government of economic mismanagement.

Since 2017, Zimbabwe has been led by President Emmerson Mnangagwa, following the overthrow of his long-serving predecessor Robert Mugabe by the military.We've taken a look at some key national economic indicators as a measure of whether Zimbabweans are worse off today than they were before Mr Mnangagwa



took over. The latest economic data suggests Zimbabwe's economy has actually been shrinking over the past year as measured by gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, the average economic output per person.

This might be felt by Zimbabweans as a squeeze on

jobs and wages as businesses struggle through difficult times.

But the projected figure for 2019 is only slightly lower than for 2017, Mugabe's final year in office.

So although Zimbabweans may be feeling the effects of the recent decline, it's not possible to argue from this data that the situation is significantly worse today than under the previous administration.

However, another important measure of the overall health of an economy is the level of investment by businesses.

This has fallen sharply since 2017. As a percentage of the value of the economy, it was nearly three times higher than the projected figure for 2019.The government blames international sanctions, in place since 2002, for damaging the economy.

These sanctions target top officials and state-owned companies, and the US says they won't be removed until meaningful political reforms take place.When it comes to how ordinary Zimbabweans really feel about the economic situation, it's price inflation that has more direct impact on their daily lives than overall growth or investment data.

At the end of 2017 when Mr Mugabe was removed from office, the annual rate of Programme (WFP) has appealed for funds for food aid, for what it calls the country's "worst-ever hunger crisis".

It says people in Zimbabwe have been severely affected by the impact of Cyclone Idai in March, droughts in some parts of the country and what it c a l l e d " e c o n o m i c stagnation". The government has also reintroduced its own currency after a decade of relying on the US dollar.

This prompted an outcry from many workers, who would prefer to be paid in US dollars, and whose wages have shrunk in the past year because of inflation.Despite the current g l o o m y e c o n o m i c environment, there were periods under Mr Mugabe's years in power that were far worse.In 2007-09, the country went through a period of extreme hyperinflation that made the local currency worthless.

At one point in 2008, the annual inflation rate was over 500 billion percent according to the UN, and there was also high unemployment.

"In 2008, there was little food on the shelves. It was much worse on the ground than it is now," says the BBC's Shingai Nyoka in Harare.

There was widespread unrest and a government crackdown that saw large-scale killings and arrests by security forces.

"Mr Mugabe inherited a stable functioning economy that for the first 15 years of his rule he built on, creating a thriving black middle class," says Ms Nyoka."But the last two decades of his rule ruined the economy. In its two years in office, the current government is still trying to resolve legacy issues from Mr Mugabe's rule."Since the new government came into power it has undertaken a number of austerity measures - cutting spending, reducing some public sector wages and introducing new taxes - which it says are to get the economy back on track. It has also said it is "open for business" after years of international isolation and high spending under Mr Mugabe. It says the reforms are necessary to create an environment favourable for investors to create jobs.But Zimbabwean economist Godfrey Kanyenze says the current government's austerity policies have "spawned chronic high inflation and impoverished the majority of Zimbabweans".BBC

## Algeria minister quits after concert stampede Algeria's culture Thousands had gathered at to demand political reforms

lgeria's culture minister has resigned, after the deaths of five young music fans in a stampede at a packed concert by a popular rapper.

Meriem Merdaci's resignation follows public outrage over Thursday's stampede in the capital, Algiers. Thousands had gathered at a stadium to see Abderraouf Derradji, better known as Soolking, perform when a stampede broken out at one of the entrances.French-based Soolking, 29, is a huge star in the North African state.

His song La Liberte, or Freedom, is often heard at protests that have been taking place in Algeria every Friday to demand political reforms following the forced resignation of long-serving ruler Abdelaziz Bouteflika in April.Police chief Abdelkader Kara Bouhadba was sacked on Saturday by Interim President Abdelkader Bensalah, AFP news agency reports.

No official reason was given for the dismissal, but an unnamed security official told AFP that it was "linked to the Soolking concert".

The head of the public body in charge of organising concerts, Sami Benchik el Hocine, was sacked on Friday.Many Algerians have blamed poor security for the stampede, which also left more than 20 people injured. The concert went ahead and was broadcast live on Algerian TV.A journalist who was at the concert, Linda Chebbah, told BBC Newsday that from the beginning it looked like something was wrong. "There were way too many people for this stadium. On the pitch, people were jostling for space. There were so many people at the concert, that I'm not surprised an accident happened."BBC



inflation - that's the rate at which prices rise - was around 5%.

Inflation remained low until towards the end of 2018, but then rose sharply through the first half of 2019, reaching an annualised rate of 176% in June.This is a measure of general consumer prices across the economy. If this is narrowed down to just food prices, the picture looks even bleaker. The annual food inflation figure released in June 2019 was measured at more than 250% according to the UN.So the cost of food on shop shelves has increased, fuel is in short supply and people's pensions are now worth much less. The UN's World Food

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# EDITORIAL Stop politicizing national security

**PRESIDENT GEORGE WEAH'S** ruling Coalition government is threading a very dangerous path by politicizing security of the people. Complacency by the Liberian National Police in recent electoral violence in Montsrrao County District#15 and other areas in Monrovia, resulting to injuries and vandalism drew widespread condemnations here.

THE VIOLENCE BETWEEN supporters of the President's governing Coalition for Democratic Change and opposition supporters intensified following the July 29, 2019 byelections in Montserrado in which the ruling party performed dismally to the four collaborating opposition political parties.

BUT EVEN MORE disgusting was last week's disgraceful hearing in the Liberian Senate during which the presiding, ruling party Senator Saah Joseph, protected heads of the Joint Security from facing senators for questioning.

THE SENATE PLENARY had cited the Joint Security, which comprised the Police, Immigration, Armed Forces of Liberia and Drug Enforcement Agency, among others to give the state of security in the country, particularly the wave of electoral violence that has left many citizens hospitalized and properties destroyed.

BUT CDC SENATOR Joseph, who presided over Thursday's (August 23, 2019) hearing, only accepted written statement from the Joint Security, much to the disappointment of fellow senators desirous of asking specific questions about glaring security lapses during the bloody violence in District#15 that nearly led to the death of opposition candidate Miss Telia Urey of the All Liberian Party (ALP).

**REPORTS FROM THE** district, including video recordings of the violence show the police standing by, as supporters of ruling CDC Candidate Abu Kamara unleashed hail of stones against Miss Urey and her supporters, completely smashing her bullet-proof jeep, which she survived by the teeth of her skin.

**THESE WERE THE** concerns, including others that Senator Nyonblee Kangar-Lawrence of Grand Bassa County and her colleagues had thought to query heads of the Joint Security about. But not under the watch of CDC Senator Saah Joseph, who also chairs the Senate Committee on Executive.

THE GRAND BASSA County Senator was also denied an opportunity to produce video evidence of the bloody violence in District #15, on grounds that the video evidence wasn't mentioned in her communication to Plenary.

**IT IS HIGHLY** saddened and regrettable that issue as grave as national security would be compromised by politics. Senator Joseph, who presided in behalf of Senate Pro-Tempore Albert Chie, should know that insecurity for either the opposition or the ruling party means insecurity for the entire Liberia.

## By Robert Skidelsky he Fall and Rise f Public Heroism

The value of heroism is again on the rise, especially in countries where undemocratic regimes can no longer be relied on to deliver economic prosperity. The future may well lie not with politicians and diplomats, but with those men - and women - who are willing to die.

the Russian dissident politician Boris Nemtsov, who was gunned down in front of the Kremlin in 2015. A young, handsome rising political star in the 1990s, Nemtsov later refused to bend to Russian President Vladimir Putin's diminished role of heroism and courage in modern life, and also about the fate of Russia.

Heroism is a product of extreme situations classically, involving war and violence. Because today's Western way of life is non-extreme, the value of heroism has fallen. But its stock is rising in most of the rest of the world, including Russia.

The hero is both noble and self-destructive. He or she not only prefers an honorable death to a dishonorable life, but also would rather die young and gloriously than spin out a long and compromised existence loaded with easily gotten (and forgotten) honors. Hector in Homer's Iliad says: "'Tis true I perish, yet I perish great." The heroic life is inherently tragic; immortality is its only reward.

Nemtsov was cast in this mold. According to some of those interviewed in the film, he believed that, having previously been a government minister, and once Boris Yeltsin's would never be assassinated. Yet it seemed to him.

Unlike heroism, courage isn't necessarily tragic. But it has suffered a similar fate. War, the main arena for displaying courage, has declined in importance, and is now mechanical rather than labor-intensive. And although we rightly admire as a public virtue. We do not expect our politicians to be like kings who once led their suitably thick-skinned.

ONDON - Recently I watched The Man Who they dare, the better it is, both for the Was Too Free, a moving documentary about commonwealth, and themselves." The growth of professionalism, and the spread of peaceful commerce and manufacturing, lessened the need for heroic or courageous acts. The overall tendency of modern science and social organization has been to create a world in which authoritarianism and went into opposition, courage and other virtues will no longer be where he was harassed, imprisoned, and finally necessary. In the West, at least, acts of heroism killed. The film left me thinking about the and valor are now confined to stage and screen, where we can admire them without having to suffer their consequences.

> Heroism and courage have always been regarded as masculine virtues. In her famous Tilbury speech at the time of the Spanish Armada, Queen Elizabeth I of England played to the stereotype, declaring that "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king." Women with the hearts of men were thought exceptional. Conversely, Hobbes argued that "men of feminine courage" should be exempted from military service, owing to the risk that they might desert. And Adam Smith was not alone in fearing that commerce would make the population "effeminate and dastardly."

The huge reservoir of largely untapped courage, especially of the moral sort, that women constitute, has been generally ignored by (male) writers. Yet the emancipation of women was the result of rising female courage. Hannah Arendt, who fled Hitler's Germany in the 1930s, displayed preferred successor as Russia's president, he exemplary moral courage in writing her 1963 book Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality me that he was challenging Putin's regime to kill of Evil, about the trial of the Holocaust's logistical mastermind. Nor should it surprise us that young women, most recently the teenager Greta Thunberg, have emerged as Green political leaders. Women are thus compensating for the decline in male courage in public life, something that many men find deeply uncomfortable.

acts of personal courage, we no longer demand it This brings me back to Nemtsov and Russia. In 1996, Nemtsov was the only "liberal" Russian politician who argued that the recently troops into battle, but merely skilled and overthrown Communist Party, then leading in the polls, should be allowed to compete in the country's presidential election. He said that this Moral courage, as distinct from physical was the only way to establish a tradition of courage, is a civic rather than a military virtue. A legitimate transfers of power. Other Russian person may be afraid of physical harm, but liberals thought Nemtsov was mad. In the event, Yeltsin's re-election was corruptly bought, and his successor, Putin, has kept himself in power by a kind of "soft dictatorship." But Nemtsov was prescient in advocating genuine democracy as the only legitimate modern form of rule.

IT SERVES NO side best interest to allow state security apparatus that operates on taxpayers' money to turn blind eyes on violence against one segment of society, believing that what affects a group of citizens now would not spread to rest of the country if left unchecked, as was demonstrated in District#15.



morally fearless. But moral courage has always been less admired than physical courage, because it involves going against the grain. Rulers hate it because it "speaks truth to power," and crowds are made uncomfortable by it because it confronts their prejudices.

the liberal age, because it is deliberate, not instinctive. But its value has diminished along with the penalties for displaying it. Opinions once considered courageous are now merely "controversial," and although they might lead to the loss of one's job or friends, this is hardly the same as being burned at the stake.

In the 1660s, the philosopher Thomas Hobbes prefigured the decline of public heroism and courage when he wrote of citizens that "the less

Since 2011, Putin's rule has looked increasingly From an ethical perspective, moral courage has fragile in the face of growing street protests in been considered the highest form of courage in Moscow and other Russian cities. When such regimes can no longer be relied on to deliver economic prosperity, their future is bound to come under threat as new heroes rise up in opposition. This is the lesson emerging not only in Russia, but also in the Middle East and East Asia.

> In much of the world, then, the value of heroism is again on the rise. The future may well lie not with politicians and diplomats, but with those men and women - who are not afraid to die.

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By Lawrence H. Summers & Anna Stansbury

# Whither Central Banking?

AMBRIDGE - The world's central bankers and the scholars who follow them are having their annual moment of reflection in Jackson Hole, Wyoming. But the theme of this year's meeting, "Challenges for Monetary Policy," may encourage an insular - and dangerous - complacency.

Simply put, tweaking inflation targets, communications strategies, or even balance sheets is not an adequate response to the challenges now confronting the major economies. Rather, ten years of below-target inflation throughout the developed world, with 30 more expected by the market, and the utter failure of the Bank of Japan's extensive efforts to raise inflation suggest that what was previously treated as axiomatic is in fact false: central banks cannot always set inflation rates through monetary policy.

Europe and Japan are currently caught in what might be called a monetary black hole - a liquidity trap in which there is minimal scope for expansionary monetary policy. The United States is one recession away from a similar fate, given that, as the figure below illustrates, there will not be nearly sufficient room to cut interest rates when the next downturn comes. And with ten-year rates in the range of 1.5% and forward real rates negative, the scope for quantitative easing and forward guidance to provide incremental stimulus is very limited - even assuming that these tools are effective (which we doubt).

These developments seem to lend further support to the concept of secular stagnation; indeed, the issue is much more profound than is generally appreciated. Relative to what was expected when one of us (Summers) sought to resurrect the concept in 2013, deficits and national debt levels are far higher, nominal and real interest rates are far lower, and yet nominal GDP growth has been far slower. This suggests some set of forces operating to reduce aggregate demand, whose effect has only been partly attenuated by fiscal policies.

Conventional policy discussions are rooted in the (by now old) New Keynesian tradition of viewing macroeconomic problems as a reflection of frictions that slow convergence to a classical marketclearing equilibrium. The idea is that the combination of low inflation, a declining neutral real interest rate, and an effective lower bound on nominal interest rates may preclude the restoration of full employment. According to this view, anything that can be done to reduce real interest rates is constructive, and with sufficient interest-rate flexibility, secular stagnation can be overcome. With the immediate problem being excessive real rates, looking first to central banks and monetary policies for a solution is natural.

We are increasingly skeptical that matters are so straightforward. The near-universal tendency among central bankers has been to interpret the coincidence of very low real interest rates and nonaccelerating inflation as evidence that the neutral real interest rate has declined and to use conventional monetary policy frameworks with an altered neutral real rate.

But more ominous explanations are possible. There are strong reasons to believe that the capacity of lower interest rates to stimulate the economy has been attenuated - or even gone into reverse.

The share of interest-sensitive durable-goods sectors in GDP has decreased. The importance of target saving effects has grown as interest rates have fallen, while the negative effect of reductions in interest rates on disposable income has increased as government debts have risen. Declining interest rates in the current environment undermine financial intermediaries' capital position and hence their lending capacity. As the economic cycle has globalized, the exchange-rate channel has become less important for monetary policy. With real interest rates negative, it is doubtful that the cost of capital is an important constraint on investment.

To take the most ominous case first, with interest-rate reductions having both positive and negative effects on demand, it may be that there is no real interest rate consistent with full resource utilization. Interest-rate reductions beyond a certain point may constrain rather than increase demand. In this case, not only will monetary policy be unable to achieve full employment, it will also be unable to increase inflation. If demand consistently falls short of capacity, the Phillips curve implies that inflation will tend to fall rather than rise.

Even if interest-rate cuts at all points proximately increase demand, there are substantial grounds for concern if this effect is weak. It may be that any short-run demand benefit is offset by the adverse effects of lower rates on subsequent performance. This could happen for macroeconomic or microeconomic reasons.

From a macro perspective, low interest rates promote leverage and asset bubbles by reducing borrowing costs and discount factors, and encouraging investors to reach for yield. Almost every account of the 2008 financial crisis assigns at least some role to the consequences of the very low interest rates that prevailed in the early 2000s. More broadly, students of bubbles, from the economic historian Charles Kindleberger onward, always emphasize the role of easy money and overly ample liquidity.



Taliban, the bloody conflict in Afghanistan continues to take a heavy toll on the country's people. The recent suicide bombing by the Khorasan branch of the Islamic State (IS-K) at a wedding in Kabul, which killed more than 60 and injured close to 200, is a stark reminder of Afghanistan's poor security situation. It also shows that the Taliban are not the only armed opposition fueling the conflict. A US-Taliban peace pact is therefore unlikely to bring any respite.

The US-Taliban negotiations in Doha - in which the Afghan government is not a participant - are comparable to two previous peace processes: the Paris talks that resulted in the January 1973 peace treaty between the US and North Vietnam; and the negotiations that led to the 1988 Geneva Accords, signed by the Afghan and Pakistani governments with the Soviet Union and the US acting as guarantors.

These two agreements were designed to enable the US and the Soviet Union to exit with "honor" from wars they could not win, by bringing about, respectively, the "Vietnamization" and "Afghanization" of those conflicts. Both agreements failed to achieve their objectives.

By 1975, Soviet-backed North Vietnamese forces had overrun South Vietnam, humiliating the US. And in 1992, the US-supported Afghan Islamic resistance forces, the mujahideen, brought about the collapse of the Soviet-installed communist regime in Kabul.

Whereas the North Vietnamese soon succeeded in uniting their country and restoring peace, however, Afghanistan has fared much worse. The socially and politically divided mujahideen soon turned their guns on one another. And Pakistan took the opportunity to advance its regional interests by nurturing the extremist Taliban, who in 1996-98 conquered most of Afghanistan and subjected it to strict theocratic rule.

The Taliban in turn harbored al-Qaeda, which carried out the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the US. That prompted America, backed by its NATO and non-NATO allies, to intervene in Afghanistan the following month with the aim of destroying al-Qaeda and dislodging the Taliban regime. The US-led forces quickly dispersed al-Qaeda's leadership and ended Taliban rule, but failed to defeat either group decisively. The Taliban and elements of al-Qaeda staged a comeback within two years of the US intervention, and have tied down American and allied forces in a low-grade but staggeringly costly insurgency ever since.

Now, after nearly two decades of fighting, US President Donald Trump desperately wants to disentangle America from a seemingly unwinnable war - preferably through a political settlement with the Taliban. Trump's Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation, the Afghan-American Zalmay Khalilzad, has been engaged since September 2018 in shuttle diplomacy, in an eerie parallel with the unsuccessful efforts of then-US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to bring about peace in the Middle East following the 1973 Arab-Israeli War.

Khalilzad has just begun his ninth round of negotiations with Taliban representatives in Doha. Separately, he has had numerous meetings with the Afghan government and non-governmental leaders, as well as with regional and international actors - but not Iran, with which the US is locked in a cycle of deepening hostility.

He has focused on four interrelated objectives: a timetable for the exit of all foreign troops currently in Afghanistan; a commitment from the Taliban to prevent hostile acts being launched against the US from Afghan soil; direct negotiations between the Taliban and the Afghan government, which the Taliban regard as "illegitimate" and a "puppet"; and a ceasefire across Afghanistan.

But although Khalilzad may finally manage to reach agreement with the Taliban regarding the first two aims, there is no guarantee that America's partner in the peace talks will help to realize the remaining two. The Afghan government's weakness and internal divisions would give the Taliban the upper hand in any power-sharing arrangement, particularly after US and allied forces have left. And it is very doubtful that the Taliban, whether in power or as a partner in power, would be able to control other armed opposition groups, most importantly IS-K, or enlist the support of a cross-section of Afghanistan's diverse population.

From a micro perspective, low rates undermine financial intermediaries' health by reducing their profitability, impede the efficient allocation of capital by enabling even the weakest firms to meet debt-service obligations, and may also inhibit competition by favoring incumbent firms. There is something unhealthy about an economy in which corporations can profitably borrow and invest even if the project in question pays a zero return.

These considerations suggest that reducing interest rates may not be merely insufficient, but actually counterproductive, as a response to secular stagnation.

This formulation of the secular stagnation view is closely related to the economist Thomas Palley's recent critique of "zero lower bound economics": negative interest rates may not remedy Keynesian unemployment. More generally, in moving toward the secular stagnation view, we have come to agree with the point long stressed by writers in the post-Keynesian (or, perhaps more accurately, original Keynesian) tradition: the role of particular frictions and rigidities in underpinning economic fluctuations should be de-emphasized relative to a more fundamental lack of aggregate demand.

If reducing rates will be insufficient or counterproductive, central bankers' ingenuity in loosening monetary policy in an environment of secular stagnation is exactly what is not needed. What is needed are admissions of impotence, in order to spur efforts by governments to promote demand through fiscal policies and other means.

Instead of more old New Keynesian economics, we hope, but do not expect, that this year's gathering in Jackson Hole will bring forth a new Old Keynesian economics.

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The Taliban are ethnic Pashtuns, hailing specifically from the Ghilzai tribe to which Afghan President Ashraf Ghani and many around him belong. Neither the Ghilzais nor the rival Durrani tribe of former President Hamid Karzai are much trusted by non-Pashtun ethnic groups, who (though themselves divided) collectively form the largest share of Afghanistan's population. To complicate matters further, all Afghan ethnic groups have extensive cross-border ties with the country's neighbors.

Meanwhile, IS-K has loyalty to no one inside Afghanistan. The group became operational in 2015 and is said to have about 2,000 fighters (including some Taliban defectors), who are dedicated to creating disruption and chaos. They have been responsible for horrific attacks across Afghanistan, especially in Kabul and mostly on civilian targets.

Any withdrawal of US and allied forces during Trump's current term, whether phased or otherwise, must be based on conditions on the ground. Otherwise, the consequences will be disastrous. Because of the way the peace process and the situation in Afghanistan have evolved, a hasty foreign-troop withdrawal would lead to a fiasco similar to those generated by the earlier Soviet retreat from the country and by the US withdrawal from Vietnam.

To avoid such a catastrophe, the US and its allies need to remain in Afghanistan for at least another decade. But Trump is in a hurry, and thinks that a strong CIA presence in the country will manage to do what Western forces have been unable to achieve. More likely than not, that will prove to be wishful thinking.

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## MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS More Liberians off to India for post graduate studies -In the role of forensic in combating terrorism PG in Environmental Bernice D. Borbor - Role of Engineering at Delhi Forensic in Combating

t least about 14 Liberians are off to India for studies in various disciplines including the role of forensic in combating terrorism at Indian Universities under the Indian Government Scholarship programs, the Honorary Consulate General of India in

Liberia has announced.

Of the fourteen, seven (7) of the students will undergo Post Graduate Studies under India Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR) Scholarship scene, while seven (7) are enlisted for Short- Term Professional studies in Forensic Science.

The ICCR Master's Scholarship Students (in various fields)who left included Mr. Dean L. Williams-Civil Engineering at West Bengal University; Mr. **Emmanuel Sherman-Computer** Engineering at Delhi Technological University; Mr.Anthony NimleyChea, Jr.,



H.E. Y.K. SAILAS THANGAL, AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY & PLENIPOTENTIARY OF INDIA ACCREDITED TO LIBERIA, PRESENTING CREDENTIALS TO PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA, H.E. Mr. GEORGE MANNEH WEAH

H.E. Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs , Government of India

Technological University; and Mr. Tobby Achilles Quah- MBA at Punjab University, Patiala.

Other ICCR Scholarship

students in India for studies are Mr. Franklin Gonpue - MSc. at Mysore University; Mr. Standee P. Weah, Master of Public Health, SavitribalPhule Pune University; and Mr. S. G. Forh - M. Tech Electrical Engineering, Indian Institute of Engineering Science and Technology, Shibpur.

All seven who left to study dies in Role of Forensic in Combating Terrorism; Mr. Julius A. Thomas - Cyber Security and Incident Response: Mr. Amara YousufJabateh - Investigation of White Color Crime (Financial Frauds Investigation);Ms. Bernice D. Borbor - Role of Forensic in Combating Terrorism; and Mr. Targen P. Daye - studies in Environmental ImpactAssessment (EIA).

Forensic Science under the ITEC Scholarship Program include Mr. NelscoWolo -the Role of Forensic in Combating Terrorism; Mr. Charles OmascoCassell - studies in Digital Forensic; Mr. Jeremiah S. Chea - studies in Role of Forensic in Combating Terrorism; Mr. Julius A. Thomas - Cyber Security and Incident Response; Mr. Amara YousufJabateh - Investigation of White Color Crime (Financial Frauds Investigation);Ms.

Terrorism; and Mr. Targen P. Daye - studies in Environmental ImpactAssessment (EIA).

YousufJabateh -Investigation of White Color Crime (Financial Frauds Investigation);Ms. Bernice D. Borbor - Role of Forensic in Combating Terrorism; and Mr. Targen P. Daye - studies in Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA).

India's recent advancement in the massive transformation of its economy through industrialization and IT application, as well as meteoric rise to the status of a full emerging economy, has not only placed it in a unique t imposes on it a moral obligation to assist other least developed Nations it has left behind to also come out of the quagmire of under development.

position, but imposes on it a moral obligation to assist other least developed Nations it has left behind to also come out of the quagmire of under development.

India does this through various means, including technology transfer, development assistance (grants and concessionary loans), experience sharing, and offer of scholarships for studies in India in specialized professional areas.-Press release

he Rector of the Don Bosco Youth centre in old Matadi, Monrovia has cautioned graduates of the SOS Hermann Gmeiner International School (HGIS) here not to lose sight of the future, warning that high school diploma is not an end, but a route to attaining success, as a great deal of effort or endurance is needed for one to achieve the desired aim.

Rev. Fr. Raphael J.M.

conquer poverty."

He stressed that champion don't quit, they keep trying and never give up. The Guest Speaker applauded the Class of 2019 for making it to Graduation Day, and urged them to go out and embrace the promising future that awaits them, whether in the medical field, education, agriculture or social work. He however, cautioned them that the future that they are about to face is not all rosy.

**SOS HGIS Monrovia** 

graduates 26 students

The future has its challenges and disappointments. Be prepared mentally, physically and morally to adapt, in order to achieve your objectives. The same enthusiasm that brought you this far should remain within you. Don't waste all of your time on social media or watching Television, use it wisely, he said.

Speaking at the program, Kebbeh Daniels, who spoke on behalf of SOS Children's Villages Liberia National Director, urged the graduates to be fearless as they go out. She told them to set goals and pursue them. She noted that the school has done its part by providing the appropriate environment and learning space; it is the student's time to face their future, because their destiny lies in their hands.

The SOS HGIS principal, Mr.

William Suakollie was pleased to have seen the school contribute its quota to the capacity building that is required for nation building, saying, "I am glad to see some of the best and brightest minds, many of whom are sitting there, will take up the mantle of leadership in both the public and private sectors to serve their country."

A total of 26 students graduated from the SOS HGIS Monrovia. Since putting out its first graduates over 14 years ago, the SOS HGIS can boast of top-level staff who support, nurture and mentor students with the quality of education they deserve. The SOS HGIS Monrovia now boasts of 30 staff dedicated to providing quality services. During the current 2018/2019 academic year, all of the student that wrote the West African Senior High exams successfully passed.

Airoboman, made the statement Friday, August 16, when he served at Guest Speaker of the 14th graduation ceremony of SOS HGIS Monrovia, held at the Monrovia Christian Fellowship on 9th Street, Sinkor.

The Salesian Rector noted that young people, in particular, have an indispensable role to play in Liberia's development and for their future.

Rev. Fr. Airoboman: "You need a rethink; you need a direction because now more than ever before, this country needs innovation. There are many challenges, but you have to overcome. You might be poor, but today's moment is an opportunity for you to





# MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS **VP Haward-Taylor on the importance of Civics in schools** Global Fund Welcomes Italy's Increased Contribution

ice President Jewel Howard-Taylor, has emphasized the importance of Civics in the Liberian school system.

VP Howard-Taylor according to a release from the Office of the Vice President said the teaching of Civics in the Liberian school system would enable citizens to be aware of their cultural heritage helping them become an enlightened and loyal citizenry.

Deputizing for President George M. Weah at the 172nd National Flag Day celebration, hosted on Saturday, August 24, 2019, Vice President Howard-Taylor stressed that with Civics Celebration about the move by Government to reintroduce in its school curriculum the teaching of Civics beginning this academic year.

Said VP Howard-Taylor, "We need civics to come back and it should be highlighted more deeply so that citizens can have a love for country," adding that, to make the needed impact, Civics should be taught in a more amplified way for citizens to understand the values of a culture.

On a related educational subject, the Liberian first female Vice President, the release noted, is recommending a change in the schedule of the conduct of

included in the educational curriculum; students will now be educated on moral values, civil rights and responsibilities as well as patriotism.

The Vice President's remarks come in the wake of announcement by the Ministry through its Deputy Minister for Instruction, Mr. Alexander Duopu, who informed the audience at 172nd National Flag Day

National Exams being administered in Liberia.

According to VP Howard-Taylor, the current timing is causing serious distortion and impediments to the enrollment of high school students planning to enter colleges and universities.

She pointed out that the delay in the release of the exam results, coupled with the actual graduation of these students, were delaying the

process of entering institutions of higher learning in the country as well as other parts of the world.

The Liberian Vice President expressed her belief that with an adjustment, preferably to March of each year, this would accommodate the desire of many students to enter institutions of higher learning, noting that their high school credentials which are prerequisite to entering colleges and Universities would be ready in time.

At the same time VP Howard-Taylor has guestioned the removal of the phrase "Under God" from the original pledge of Allegiance.

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the Republic of Liberia, and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all," VP Howard-Taylor recited this portion of the pledge during her special remarks, wondering why was the phrase "under God" removed.

She went on to remind Liberians that this phrase was meant to reaffirm the divine existence of religious faith in Liberia's heritage and future and to strengthen those spiritual weapons which forever will be the country's most powerful resource in peace and conflict.

Speaking earlier, this year's Keynote Speaker for the 172nd Observance of the National Flag Day, Professor Johnson Gwaikolo, who is a Member of the House of Representatives from Nimba County District # 5 and former President of the United Methodist University, stressed that the national flag is a symbol of statehood which must be respected but not worshiped.Liberia's dominant female catholic school, the St. Teresa's Convent was awarded the first place winning of the Pass-in-Review and best Dress school 2019/2020.

he Global Fund announced Sunday that it welcomed the government of Italy's announcement that it will contribute €161 million to the Global Fund over the next three years.

This pledge - representing a 15% increase from Italy's previous contribution - is a clear demonstration of the country's commitment to end

the epidemics of HIV, tuberculosis and malaria. Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte made the announcement during the G7 Summit in Biarritz.

"Italy's increased contribution to the Global Fund confirms our strong commitment to global health," said Emanuela Del Re, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and International goals by 2030 and save additional 16 million lives over the next three years. Health is an essential precondition for sustainable development, starting from women, children, youth and the most vulnerable groups. The Italian Development Cooperation is ready to continue to play an important role in this global fight."

Cooperation. "We responded to the Fund's call to step up the fight in order to achieve our common goals by 2030 and save additional 16 million lives over the next three years. Health is an essential pre-condition for sustainable development, starting from women, children, youth and the most vulnerable groups. The Italian Development Cooperation is ready to continue to play an

important role in this global fight."

Italy has been a strong supporter of the Global Fund since it was established in 2002. Italy hosted the first meeting of donors to replenish the Global Fund's resources in Rome in 2005. It has also played a key role in shaping Global Fund's policies, including advancing human rights, building stronger systems of health and investing in challenging operating environments.

"We are extremely grateful to see Italy stepping up the fight," said Peter Sands, Executive Director of the Global Fund. "We thank Italy for the continued support in the global fight against HIV,

tuberculosis and malaria. Together, we can save millions of lives and accelerate the progress towards delivering universal health coverage for all."

France will host the Global Fund's Sixth Replenishment pledging conference in Lyon 9-10 October 2019. The Global Fund seeks to raise at least US\$14 billion for the next three years to help save 16 build stronger health systems by 2023.

million lives, cut the mortality rate from HIV, TB and malaria in half, and build stronger health systems by 2023.

The Global Fund Replenishment Conference aims to further mobilize efforts to end the epidemics of three of the world's most devastating diseases by 2030, in line with the Sustainable Development Goals.-Press release



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told to reverse their decision because they were in error by acting against the budget Law, a statement backed by Senator Cooper himself.

The authorities instead of returning to the county to reconsider their decision, were expected at the Supreme Court last Thursday, August 23rd to give reason why Cooper's move against them should not be granted.

However, returning from

the United States of America recently, Margibi County District#2 Representative Ivar K Jones, who was out of the country during the conference, maintains the caucus made no error.

He argues they based their decision on Count Four of resolution derived from the Margibi County 2018 Council Sitting.

According to him, the budget law gives rise to the resolution as a legitimate

instrument to be used.

Rep. Jones continues that all decisions arrived at from his district regarding proposed projects relative to the Nov. 2018 sitting stand.

He says anyone who stands in the way of development for the people of Margib now, and 2020, the people will stand in his way at the ballot box.

Explaining further, he notes that he and Representative Clarence G. Gahr are the only ones from Margibi who opposed

the waiver of the money but will of the majority has to prevail, adding that about three other counties made similar decision.

He warns no one should take the China Union money issue to gain undue political relevance at the detriment of majority members of the county leadership.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court has placed an injunction on Margibi's account at the GN Bank in Katata. During the recent conference with the Supreme Court, it was established that the total money in the bank has been reduced from US\$750,000 to a little over US\$ 400,000, while the money is still on contention.

The Chairman of the Margibi County Legislative Caucus Rep. Ben A Fofana, who is heavily blamed for the current disagreement, clarified that they were only sent to inform Margibians that central government waived the money to China Union contrary to claim that the leadership did.

# MONDAY AUGUST 26 2019 www.thenewdawnliberia.com NEW DAWN 7 What is a construction of the serve of the

The Liberia National Police (LNP) and the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) are trading claims here surrounding an alleged invitation extended to CDC officials to assist the LNP with information on their partisans who allegedly flogged Deputy Police Chief for Operations Col. Marvin Sackor early this month.

In the presence of Rep. Moses Acarus Gray and CDC Chairman Mulbah Morlu, partisans allegedly flogged Col. Sackor at their party headquarters, as the victim tried to dialogue with the party over clashes with opposition supporters who were celebrating their candidate's victory in the Montserrado Senatorial by election.

Following public pressure and a move by some Senators to question police on a wave of violence here, the LNP claims it has written Rep. Gray and Chairman Morlu as



persons of interest to assist with information on those who committed the act.

"We are asking them to assist us with information on those that carried on the act," Police Spokesman Moses Carter told a press conference on Friday, 23 August. According to Carter, the assault against Col. Sackor was done in the presence of Mr. Gray and Mr. Morlu, noting that it is from Col. Sackor's statement that the two CDC officials have been invited.

Further, Carter claims that communication was dropped

at the office of Mr. Morlu, but the latter allegedly raised contention as to his name being misspelled.

"So the communication was brought back and corrected. When our dispatcher took the communication back, Chairman Morlu was not in office. Meanwhile, our Deputy Inspector General for Crimes Service visited Chairman Morlu and placed a call to Hon. Gray, inviting them to appear at the Headquarters of the Liberia National Police," Carter reveals.

Minutes after Carter's press conference, Mr. Morlu reacted by questioning the police on what crime he committed that would warrant inviting him as a person of interest.

"What crime did I commit? My best witness is the man they claimed was assaulted, Marvin Sackor," Morlu claims.

"You say you invited Acarus Gray, Honorable Acarus Gray, and I found out from him, it's also a lie. You don't treat people like that," Morlu adds.

He continues that in law enforcement, if you consider someone as a person of interest, it means that the person is suspected of committing a crime.

"I'm challenging Sackor, a man I respect to come up and support Patrick Sudue's reckless comment," Morlu says at his party headquarters.

"Not a single day I raised my hands against a police officer, even when provoked. So why would I now ... my own police that work for the government that we fought to elect?" Morlu argues. He says any call by the police inviting him to an investigation will be graciously honored.

But Morlu insists that to be invited by police as a person of interest "is a misplacement and mischaracterization of the phrase."

Meanwhile, the police insist that they are requesting the appearance of Chairman Morlu and Rep. Gray at LNP headquarters not later than 12:00 noon on Monday, 26 August.

Additionally, Carter discloses that three persons including suspects Romeo Nayonkon, Prince Kollie and Joseph Bropleh have been arrested in connection with the electoral violence in Montserrado County District #15.

District #15 remains a politically tense environment as the ruling party's representative candidate Abu Kamara and opposition collaborating parties representative candidate Telia Urey battle for a seat at the Legislature.

Ms. Urey is the leading candidate, but she and supporters have suffered violent attacks at the hands of Mr. Kamara's supporters.

According to Mr. Carter, police have retrieved Ms. Urey's laptop which was stolen from her vehicle during violence on Saturday, 17 August in District #15.

Ms. Urey is the daughter of the chairman of the four collaborating opposition parties, Mr. Benoni Urey.

## Citizens' feedback mechanism online platform gets a boost

he United Nations D e v e l o p m e n t Programme (UNDP) turns over US \$60,000 dollars' worth of equipment to the Government of Liberia.

The equipment are to be used under a pilot project of the Ministry of State called the Citizens' Feedback Mechanism (CFM).

It is a mobile and webbased platform that will, in real time, receive, compile, analyze and respond to citizens' perceptions on the standards of public services.

The CFM initially focuses on 5 pilot Counties and County Service Centres (CSCs), namely, Nimba, Bomi, Grand Bassa, Sinoe, and Grand Gedeh Counties. The database will be a robust depository of key data on service delivery necessary for improving and informing policies on public services, in line with the goals of the PAPD.

Turning over the equipment on behalf of UNDP Resident Representative Pa Lamin Beyai, his Deputy for Operations Mulugeta Abebe said UNDP remains a reliable partner to the Government of Liberia's national agenda of delivering quality services to its people, in line with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Abebe expressed

enthusiasm for the implementation of this project, following series of interactions and discussions with key stakeholders.

He expressed the hope that access to such a platform by the people of Liberia, will help the government institute policies and measures that will improve the development agenda of the Country.

Receiving the items, the Director of the Cabinet Jordan Sulonteh expressed gratitude on behalf of President Weah, to UNDP for for such partnership which started as a discussion but has culminated into actions.

"Making citizens' voices count in Liberia's pro-poor Development remains a centerpiece of the Liberian Government's Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development (PAPD)," said Sulonteh He said part of the CFM, allows citizens to share their experiences and receive feedback from providers on the delivery of public services in real time, and generates valuable data about the quality of services as a basis for government-wide performance assessment and improvement. The CFM also provides information to citizens on the range of services offered by the various MACs, through a system of regular information broadcasts.In doing this, the



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from exercising their right to actively participate in politics," the Caucus warns.

They assert that the women of Liberia have fought hard to gain and maintain the peace According to them, this negative turn of events undermines the country's effort to move forward as a peaceful nation to prosperity and development.--Press



and stability of their beloved *release* country.



CFM contributes to the delivery of pillar four of the PAPD that seeks to build a capable state, one that is reformed, efficient and accountable to citizens.

Support from UNDP by the

Government is to design a Performance Management and Compliance System (PMCS) aimed at building a system that ensues accountability of public officials.



uatre anciens responsables de la Banque centrale du Liberia (CBL) ont été inculpés de blanchiment d'argent et arrêtés dans l'enquête sur l'entrée de billets dans le pays entre 2016 et 2018, a-ton appris mercredi de source judiciaire et d'un avocat des prévenus.

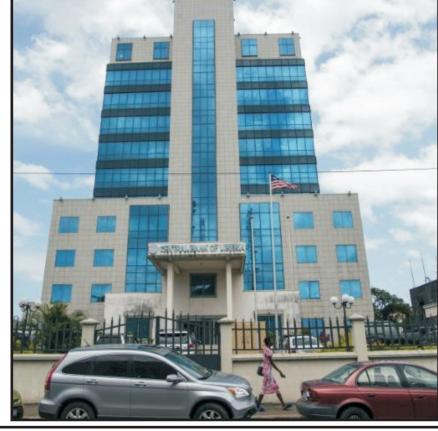
Ces quatre anciens responsables de la CBL ont été inculpés et arrêtés mardi en même temps qu'un fils de l'ex-présidente Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2006-2018), Charles Sirleaf, pour blanchiment d'argent, nouvelle charge retenue contre les cinq prévenus, selon la même source judiciaire. Mais M. Sirleaf a été libéré quelques heures après pour raison de santé, a indigué mercredi son avocat à l'AFP.

Les cinq ex-dirigeants de la CBL avaient en mars été inculpés de "complot criminel" et de "sabotage économique" puis arrêtés à la suite de l'enquête sur l'entrée de billets dans le pays entre 2016 et 2018. Ils avaient ensuite été libérés sous caution à des dates

différentes.

Il leur était notamment reproché d'avoir fait imprimer sans autorisation un excédent de billets pour un montant de 2.645 milliards de dollars libériens (14,4 millions d'euros ou 16,3 M USD), dont ils ne peuvent justifier l'utilisation, selon l'accusation.

Des investigations d'une commission d'enquête présidentielle ainsi que l'audit d'un cabinet américain, réalisé à la demande des Etats-Unis, sollicités par le Liberia, avaient auparavant porté sur l'entrée au Liberia d'un montant de guelgue 16 milliards de dollars libériens



#### (99 millions USD ou 87 millions d'euros) destinés à la CBL.

La justice "décerne un mandat d'arrêt aux suspects avec inculpation, ainsi ils pourront être informés du nouveau crime qui leur est reproché" relatif au blanchiment d'argent, a indiqué le juge Blamo Dixon d'un tribunal de la capitale Monrovia, dans une ordonnance judiciaire parvenue mercredi à l'AFP.

Les jurés "ont fait le serment de faire des investigations" sur ce blanchiment reproché aux cinq prévenus. Ces derniers, "pendant leurs fonctions, sans

autorisation de la CBL, en connaissance de cause et intentionnellement, ont conspiré avec l'intention de blanchir de l'argent et de saboter l'économie libérienne", selon cette ordonnance.

"Ils ont escroqué la CBL et le gouvernement en imprimant illégalement un surplus de dollars libériens d'un montant de 2,645 milliards de dollars à injecter sur le marché libérien", indique le même document.

Outre Charles Sirleaf, les quatre personnes inculpées puis arrêtées sont Milton Weeks, Doctor Hagba, Richard Walker et Joseph Dennis.

**Articles traduits** Par Valéry G. Guhéna E-mail: valeryghn10@yahoo.com Tel: 076 589 44 0881483394

## Lutte Contre La Corruption Au Mali : Le Procureur Kassogue Souligne Des Obstacles Et Réaffirme La Nécessité De Traquer

Pour les organisateurs, l'objectif de cette conférence visait à informer l'opinion nationale sur les vastes chantiers concernant la lutte contre la corruption mais aussi à expliquer quelques difficultés de la justice pour y faire face.

En effet, ayant pris fonction le 12 Aout dernier, le nouveau Procureur de la

République près le Tribunal de Grande Instance de la commune III du district de Bamako a annoncé les couleurs.

Dans ses propos introductifs lors de ce point de presse, M. Kassogué a d'abord mesuré l'étendue du chantier qui l'attend dans cette difficile mission : « Nous arrivons à un moment où

beaucoup d'affaires de corruption sont révélées ou dénoncées tant dans le rapport 2018 du Vérificateur Général qui vient d'être publié que dans la presse et par les lanceurs d'alerte. Nous arrivons aussi dans un contexte difficile, un contexte de suspicion généralisée, où la corruption constitue un sujet de préoccupation nationale,

ressaisir et mener une lutte implacable contre toutes les pratiques corruptives », a-t-il affirmé.

Mais, cette tâche, elle ne sera pas facile, reconnait Mamoudou Kassogué. Car la justice et les Pôles Economiques et Financiers, considérés par la plupart de nos compatriotes comme seuls responsables de l'échec de la

Economique et Financier de Bamako.

Outre cela, persiste Mamoudou Kassogué, la justice fait face à d'énormes obstacles pour éradiquer ce fléau. Il s'agit notamment, selon lui, de la faiblesse des moyens mis à la disposition des pôles économiques et financiers, la non-extension des avantages du pôle économique financier aux autres membres de la chaine pénale en charge de la lutte contre la corruption, les interventions tous azimuts et inopportunes dans les affaires juridiques, l'absence d'agents spécialisés au niveau des pôles économiques et financiers, l'obstacle constitué par les immunités et privilèges de juridiction ; les problèmes liés à la formation et à la spécialisation des personnels, a-t-il indiqué. Qu'à cela ne tienne, de nouvelles mesures seront préconisées par la nouvelle équipe, et l'espoir est permis, quant à la réussite de cette noble et belle mission, a rassuré M. Mamoudou Kassogué avant la fin de ce point de presse.



une question existentielle pour l'avenir même de notre pays » a-t-il affirmé.

Le phénomène de la corruption a atteint un tel degré dans notre pays que le combat vaille d'être mené pour la survie même de notre nation, estime M. Mamoudou Kassogué. Une situation donc très critique, dont la lutte demande une forte implication de toute la population malienne et une prise de conscience collective, a laissé entendre M. Kassogué : « La situation est tellement critique que si nous ne voulons pas perdre définitivement le combat contre la corruption, et donc le combat pour le développement. Ce qui serait vraiment dommage, nous devons très promptement nous

lutte contre la corruption, sont limités : « La corruption a ceci de particulier qu'elle n'est révélée au grand jour que lorsqu'il y a des problèmes soit par rapport à l'exécution de la tache convenue, soit par rapport au partage du butin, soit encore quand il y a des missions d'inspection, de contrôle ou de vérification » at-il martelé, avant de poursuivre : « tous les cas de corruption ne sont pas portés à la connaissance de la justice qui ne peut pas investiguer sur ce qu'elle ne sait pas. Il faut aussi noter que même par rapport aux cas qui lui sont dénoncés, il peut souvent y avoir des difficultés objectives à faire aboutir les enquêtes » s'explique, le nouveau Procureur en charge du Pôle

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# **Éclitorial** Nous demandons au gouvernement de bien gérer les aides étrangères

e Département d'État des États-Unis d'Amérique a reproché au gouvernement Weah de ne pas avoir fait preuve de transparence concernant les aides étrangères au développement qui ne sont pas correctement comptabilisées dans le budget national, ni soumises au même audit et au même contrôle national que les autres postes budgétaires.

Le Rapport de transparence budgétaire (FTR) 2019 du Département d'État américain couvrant la période du 1er janvier au 31 décembre 2018 place le Libéria parmi les pays les moins performants d'Afrique.

Il regrette en particulier que la plus haute institution d'audit du Libéria, la Commission Généraledes Audits, n'ait pas rendu publics ses rapports d'audit dans un délai raisonnable au cours de la période considérée, et que bien que les critères et les procédures d'octroi des licences et des contrats d'extraction de ressources naturelles soient inscrits dans la loi, dans la pratique, des cas de corruption et de la mauvaise application des lois ont été signalés.

C'est une question qui devrait interpeler l'attention du gouvernement, en particulier les aides étrangères au développement d'autant plus que ces aides sont conditionnées par la transparence et l'intégrité, qui sont essentielles au maintien de la confiance de nos partenaires internationaux.

L'administration Weah a récemment envisagé de réorienter des fonds destinés à la mise en œuvre d'un certain nombre de projets de développement vers d'autres secteurs. Cela avait poussé le corps diplomatique étranger à faire une déclaration, exigeant la restitution des fonds. Cela est non seulement dénigrant mais aussi embarrassant.

Le gouvernement a soutenu que son prédécesseur (l'administration Sirleaf) avait agi de la même manière et avait restitué des fonds destinés à d'autres secteurs. Mais la réalité est que cela n'a pas engendré ce type de réaction de la part des missions étrangères, peut-être à cause de la procédure employée du point de vue de la bonne gouvernance.

Nous pensons que si la bonne chose était faite, l'administration Weah n'aurait pas reçu une alarme publique aussi honteuse de la part de ses partenaires et des gouvernements.

## COMMENTARE Par Robert Skidelsky Le déclin et retour de l'héroïsme public

ONDRES - J'ai récemment visionné le documentaire The Man Who Was Too Free, film émouvant sur l'histoire du politicien dissident russe Boris Nemtsov, abattu devant le Kremlin en 2015. Jeune étoile politique séduisante et montante dans les années 1990, Nemtsov refusera de céder face à l'autoritarisme du président russe Vladimir Poutine. Il rejoindra l'opposition, ce qui lui vaudra harcèlements, emprisonnement, et qui lui coûtera finalement la vie. Ce documentaire suscite une réflexion sur la disparition progressive de l'héroïsme et du courage dans l'existence moderne, ainsi que sur le destin de la Russie.

L'héroïsme est en général le produit de situations extrêmes - guerres et conflits violents. Or, le mode de vie occidental actuel n'a plus grand chose d'extrême, ce qui conduit au déclin de cette valeur qu'est l'héroïsme. Cette valeur reste pour autant présente dans la majeure partie du reste du monde, y compris en Russie.

Tout héros est à la fois noble et autodestructeur. Il ou elle préfère non seulement mourir avec honneur que vivre dans le déshonneur, mais également périr dans la jeunesse et la gloire que traverser une longue existence faite de compromis, aux honneurs faciles (qui seront oubliés). Dans l'Iliade de Homère, Hector proclame : « Maintenant le destin m'a saisi, toutefois je ne mourrai point sans gloire ». L'existence héroïque est intrinsèquement tragique, que seule l'immortalité récompense.

Nemtsov était fait de cette étoffe. Selon plusieurs intervenants du documentaire, il pensait qu'en qualité d'ancien ministre, autrefois successeur favori de Boris Eltsine, il ne serait pas assassiné. Il m'apparaît toutefois que Nemtsov a mis le régime de Poutine au défi de le tuer.

À la différence de l'héroïsme, le courage n'est pas nécessairement tragique. Il subit néanmoins un destin similaire. La guerre, principal théâtre des actes de bravoure, ne revêt plus la même forme qu'autrefois, désormais plus mécanique. Et si nous admirons toujours à juste titre les actes de courage personnel, nous n'exigeons plus cette vertu publique. Nous n'attendons plus de nos dirigeants qu'ils soient les rois conduisant leurs troupes dans la bataille, mais simplement qu'ils se montrent compétents et suffisamment solides.

Le courage moral, distinct du courage physique, est une vertu davantage civique que militaire. Une personne peut redouter les blessures physiques, mais n'avoir peur de rien sur le plan moral. Ce courage moral a cependant toujours été moins admiré que la bravoure physique, car il s'inscrit à contre-courant. Les dirigeants politiques le craignent dans la mesure où il expose la vérité au pouvoir, tandis qu'il met les foules mal à l'aise en les confrontant à leurs préjugés. que « moins ils osent, mieux c'est pour le bien commun et pour eux-mêmes ». Le développement du professionnalisme, ainsi que du commerce et du secteur manufacturier dans un cadre de paix, réduit la nécessité d'actes héroïques ou courageux. La tendance globale des sciences modernes et de l'organisation sociale consiste à créer un monde dans lequel la bravoure et d'autres vertus ne seront plus nécessaires. En Occident à tout le moins, les actes d'héroïsme et de vaillance sont désormais confinés à la scène et au grand écran, où nous pouvons nous contenter de les admirer sans avoir à en subir les conséquences.

Héroïsme et courage ont toujours été considérés comme des vertus masculines. Dans son célèbre discours de Tilbury, à l'époque de l'Armada espagnole, la reine d'Angleterre Elizabeth I donne raison au stéréotype en déclarant « Je sais que j'ai le corps d'une femme faible et fragile, mais j'ai le cœur et les trippes d'un roi ». Les femmes au cœur d'homme sont alors considérées comme rares. Inversement, Hobbes fait valoir que les « hommes au courage féminin » devraient être exemptés d'armée, compte tenu du risque de les voir déserter. De même, Adam Smith et bien d'autres diront avoir la crainte que le commerce rende le peuple « efféminé et lâche ».

L'immense vivier de courage largement inexploité des femmes, notamment moral, a été largement ignoré par les écrivains (masculins). Or, l'émancipation des femmes a été le résultat d'un courage croissant de leur part. Hannah Arendt, qui fuit l'Allemagne hitlérienne dans les années 1930, fera preuve d'une force morale exemplaire dans l'écriture de son ouvrage de 1963 intitulé Eichmann à Jérusalem : Rapport sur la banalité du mal, qui traite du procès du cerveau logistique de la Shoah. Il n'est pas non plus surprenant qu'un certain nombre de jeunes femmes telles que l'adolescente Greta Thunberg émergent en tant que leaders politiques écologistes. C'est ainsi que les femmes compensent le déclin du courage masculin dans la vie publique, ce qui met profondément mal à l'aise de nombreux hommes.

Ceci nous ramène à Nemtsov et à la Russie. En 1996, Nemtsov est le seul politicien russe « libéral » à faire valoir que le Parti communiste, alors récemment renversé puis en tête dans les sondages, devrait concourir dans le cadre du processus électoral pour la présidence du pays, considérant que seule cette voie permettra d'instaurer une tradition de transfert légitime du pouvoir. D'autres libéraux russes y voient une folie. La réélection d'Eltsine sera le fruit de la corruption, et son successeur Poutine se maintiendra au pouvoir par une forme de dictature allégée. Nemtsov aura fait preuve de clairvoyance en défendant la véritable démocratie comme la seule forme moderne de régime politique légitime.

Le FTR recommande plusieurs mesures à prendre pour améliorer la transparence fiscale du Libéria, en veillant à ce que le budget soit substantiellement complet et que les comptes hors budget fassent l'objet d'un audit et d'un contrôle adéquats.

Il suggère également la publication des rapports d'audit de la GAC dans un délai raisonnable, demande de veiller à ce que les critères et les procédures utilisés pour attribuer les contrats et les licences d'extraction de ressources naturelles soient conformes à la loi et à ce que les informations de base sur toutes les attributions d'extraction de ressources naturelles soient rendues publiques.

Par conséquent, nous exhortons l'administration Weah à tenir compte de ces conseils qui non seulement favorisent la transparence, la responsabilité et la bonne gouvernance, mais reflètent également les meilleures pratiques internationales.

D'un point de vue éthique, le courage moral est considéré comme la plus haute forme de bravoure à l'ère libérale, car il est volontaire, et non instinctif. Sa valeur décline cependant, tout comme les réactions qui s'y opposent. Des opinions autrefois considérées comme courageuses sont aujourd'hui devenues simplement « polémiques », et bien qu'elles puissent conduire à la perte d'un emploi ou de certains amis, elles ne mènent plus au bûcher.

Dès les années 1660, le philosophe Thomas Hobbes préfigure le déclin de l'héroïsme et du courage dans la cité, lorsqu'il écrit au sujet des citoyens Depuis 2011, le règne de Poutine apparaît de plus en plus fragilisé par les manifestations croissantes à Moscou et dans d'autres villes de Russie. Lorsque les régime de ce type ne sont plus dignes de confiance dans l'instauration d'une prospérité économique, leur futur devient inéluctablement menacé par de nouveaux héros émergents dans l'opposition. Tel est l'enseignement qui se dégage non seulement en Russie, mais également au Moyen-Orient et en Asie de l'Est.

Dans la majeure partie du monde, la valeur de l'héroïsme est de retour. L'avenir pourrait bien résider non pas dans les dirigeants et diplomates, mais dans ces hommes - et ces femmes - qui ne redoutent pas la mort.

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## Analysis of the Impacts and Intricacies of Liberian Foreign Policy and International Relations over the last 75 Years

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Cont'd from last edition

wo key League officials were placed in positions to advise the government, but with limitations set forth by the Liberian government. With this assistance program in place, Liberia was able to resume making loan payments (Karpeh, 2008, p 88). In 1937 President Barclay, under pressure from the United States, withdrew the concession agreement with the German investors, who were accused of sympathies with the Nazi regime in their home country. Until January 3, 1944, Barclay was Liberian President, to be succeeded by William Tubman.

Guanua (1995) noted that after the fall of Malaysia and Singapore to the Japanese during World War II, Liberia became very strategically important as its rubber plantation was the only source of natural latex rubber available to the Allies, apart from plantations in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). Among many other uses, natural rubber was needed to build tires for war planes, military jeeps, aircraft guns, and sensitive radar equipment. As a result of the simultaneous sharp increase in demand and a da rastic reduction in supply, prices soared for natural rubber in the United States, and measures were taken to reduce demand.

Writing in his memoirs, former U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull wrote, "With Japan's occupation of the Rubber producing areas in the Far East, Liberia became of greatly increased importance to us as one of the few remaining available sources of natural rubber.". President Barclay assured the Americans that Liberia would supply all the natural rubber that the United States and its allies needed for the war effort.

In 1942 Liberia signed a Defense Pact with the United States. This commenced a period of strategic development, including the construction of roads, airports and other infrastructure projects. Roberts field Airport was built with runways long enough for B-47 Stratojet bombers to land for refueling, giving Liberia the longest runway in Africa to this day (Guanua, 1980).

The provision of war supplies to the North African theater was difficult, expensive, and time-consuming. German U-boats had taken complete control of the North Atlantic Ocean routes, making shipping in the North Atlantic Ocean hazardous to American warships and merchant's vessels. In order to transport American soldiers and war supplies to North Africa, the United States needed to open up a South American-Liberian air corridor.

Because of its proximity to South America, Liberia

neutrality and declare war on the Axis powers. In May 1943, Edwin Barclay visited the United States. He was the first black man to be officially introduced from the rostrum of the United States Congress as a guest of honor (Foreign Ministry, 2010).

Liberian Foreign policy under President Tubman

Karpeh (2009) explains that under President William V. S. Tubman administration, Liberia foreign policy was geared towards attracting foreign investment into the country with the goal of modernizing the economy and infrastructure. He introduced the Open Door policy which allowed more multinational cooperation to come in and invest in the country. Liberian Policy is committed to the concept of a free enterprise system, democracy and a pragmatic search for solution to problems of multinational existence, completely pro-West.

President Tubman also led a policy of national unification in order to reduce the social and political difference between his fellows Americo- Liberian and the indigenous Liberians. While the United States, its ally, began to base military operations in the country after it entered World War II, Liberia did not declare war on Germany and Japan until January 27, 1944. In April 1944, Liberia signed the Declaration by United Nations. Choosing to sever diplomatic relations with Germany and expel German citizens from Liberia was a difficult decision for Tubman for economic and social reasons: (1) German merchants were integral to the Liberian economy; (2) Germany was Liberia's major trading partner; and (3), most of the doctors in Liberia were Germans. Under the above declaration, Tubman agreed to expel all German residents and oppose the Axis powers.

Karpeh (2009) indicates that Tubman's relationship with the US, which he hailed as "Our strongest, closest, and most reliable friend." In June 1944, he and Edwin Barclay of Liberia traveled to the White House as guests of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the first African heads of state to be received there. Following the war, which resulted in an anti-colonial movement on the African continent, Tubman strengthened ties among fellow Africans by participating in the Asian-African Conference of 1955 and the First Conference of Independent African States in Accra, organized in 1958 by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana In 1959, Tubman organized the Second Conference of African States.

Liberian policy is committed to the concept of a free enterprise system, democracy, and a pragmatic search for solutions to problems of multinational existence. We envisage a synthesis composed of individual states retaining their own way of life, but united by mutual exchanges of peoples, goods and ideas, by pacts of nonaggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and of perpetual peace. In 1961, following a Pan-African conference held in Monrovia, Tubman helped to found the Organization of African Unity now African Union (AU)(OAU), which African Union (AU). This association of "moderate" African leaders worked for gathering dual unification of Africa, unlike the "revolutionary" group based at Casablanca.



The Author

With the expansion of the economy, Tubman gained revenues for the government to construct and modernize infrastructure: the streets of Monrovia were paved, a public sanitation system was installed, hospitals were built, and a literacy program was launched in 1948. During Tubman's administration, several thousand kilometers of roads were built, as was a railway line to connect the iron mines to the coast for the transport of this commodity for export. During this period, he transformed the Port of Monrovia into a free port to encourage trade.

By early 1960, Liberia began to enjoy its first era of prosperity, ignited in part by Tubman's policies and implementation of development. Regarded as a pro-Western, stabilizing influence in West Africa at a period when other countries were achieving independence, often amid violence, during the 1960s Tubman was courted by many Western politicians, notably U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson (Foreign Ministry, 2010).

Several Americo-Liberian nationalities, German and Swedish companies became involved in the exploitation of iron mines, making Liberia the first source of iron in Africa and the fourth worldwide. Tubman wanted to diversify the economy rather than basing it on rubber and iron resources which made 90% of exports, so he encouraged the development of coffee plantations, palm oil, sugar cane and especially rice cultivation in 1966 with the help of Taiwan.

Tubman is best known for his policies of National Unification and the economic Open Door. He tried to reconcile the interests of the native tribes with those of the Americo-Liberian elite, and increased foreign investment in Liberia to stimulate economic growth. During the 1950s, Liberia had the second-highest rate of economic growth in the world. By the time of his death in 1971 Liberia had the largest mercantile fleet in the world, the world's largest rubber industry was the thirdlargest exporter of iron ore in the world and had attracted more than US\$1 billion in foreign investment.

became the first major West African bridgehead for the South Atlantic air ferry route. For this reason, the Liberian Government also granted to the United States, the use of its territory to store war supplies and to construct military bases in Montserrado County and Grand Cape Mount County at Fisherman's Lake. United States military supplies were collected in Florida, transported through South America to Brazil, then flown from Brazil to the military depot at Roberts Field. There 5,000 United States African-American troops stored and maintained the inventory. From Roberts Field, the war supplies were flown to their final destinations in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria.

Guanua (1980) added that Liberia's strategic importance to the Allied war effort was evidenced by the fact that, in January 1943, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt traveled to Liberia after participating in the Casablanca Conference in order to secure Liberia's support. Roosevelt's objectives were to negotiate the establishment of U.S. military bases in Liberia, secure Liberia's commitment to continue supplying the U.S. with natural rubber, urge the Liberian government to expel German citizens and persuade it to abandon its When Tubman was appointed to the Supreme Court in the 1930s, Liberia was seriously underdeveloped, lacking the basic infrastructure of roads, railways, and sanitation systems. Tubman said that Liberia had never received the "benefits of colonization," which he meant to be the investment by a wealthy major power to develop the infrastructure of the country. He established an economic policy, known as the "open door" to attract foreign investment(Foreign Ministry, 2010). Working to facilitate and encourage foreign businesses to locate in Liberia, he encouraged development. Between 1944 and 1970, the value of foreign investments, mainly from the United States, increased by 200%. From 1950 to 1960, Liberia experienced an average annual growth of 11.5%. Liberian foreign policy under President Tolbert

Dunn (1995) revealed that former President William R. Tolbert tried to broaden Liberia foreign Policy by establishing ties with the East and maintain its ties with the West. To this end,

he established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, People's Republic of China, Cuba, and several other Eastern Bloc countries, thus adopting more nonaligned posture. Tolbert severed Liberia's ties with Israel during the Yoin Kippur war in October 1973 and spoke in favor of recognizing national rights of the Palestinian People. However, Tolbert supported the United States on the Vietnam war, as his predecessor, William Tubman. Tolbert was chairman of the Organization of African Unity from July 1979 until he was killed in April 1980.

#### TO BE CONT'D

AUGUST 26 2019 MONDAY www.thenewdawnliberia.com **NEW DAWN** 11 **FSU** 

he ruling Coalition for Democratic Change or CDC has somersaulted over its decision to challenge the ruling of the National Elections Commission or NEC in the disputed Montserrado District #15 by-election before the Supreme Court.

The decision of the CDC not to contest the ruling of the NEC comes barely 48 hours after the electoral body Board of Commissioners upheld an earlier decision by its hearing officers for a rerun of the July 29, 2019 Monsterrado County District#15 Representative by-elections in about 20 polling places where poll results are in contention.

The CDC and its candidate Mr. Abu Bana Kamara had vowed to file an appeal at the Supreme Court in a bid to overturn the decision of the NEC, arguing that they were being robbed of their legitimate votes by the ruling of the electoral body which called for a rerun in the disputed area. The CDC



through its lawyers on Saturday August 24th, in a letter addressed to NEC Chairman Jerome Kokoyah notified NEC that it was withdrawing its notice of appeal, which it announced before the Board of Commissioners following their August 22, 2019 decision to uphold an earlier ruling."We are pleased to notify you that our client has elected not to seek a review of the August 22, 2019, ruling by the Board of Commissioners in the case above. Hence, with our client's permission, we herewith submit the attached written instructions to form part of the

record," the lawyers representing the legal interest of the CDC candidate in the disputed by election said.

The letter instructing the lawyers representing the legal interest of the CDC and its candidate Abu Bana Kamara to withdraw the notice of appeal before the NEC was dated August 23, 2019 and addressed to Cllr. Jonathan T. Massaguoi, Partner/Director of Litigation of the International Law Group.

In Mr. Kamara's letter requesting the withdrawal of his notice of appeal he noted that he is "confidence of the rerun process."

The case is a fall out of a complaint of irregularities and electoral fraud filed against the ruling party and NEC by Ms. Telia Urey of the four collaborating opposition political parties following the July 29 by-election in the district.

Provisional results released by the NEC places Ms. Urey at 42.68 percent, ahead of CDC's Abu Kamara, 41.48 percent.

In his ruling Wednesday, 14

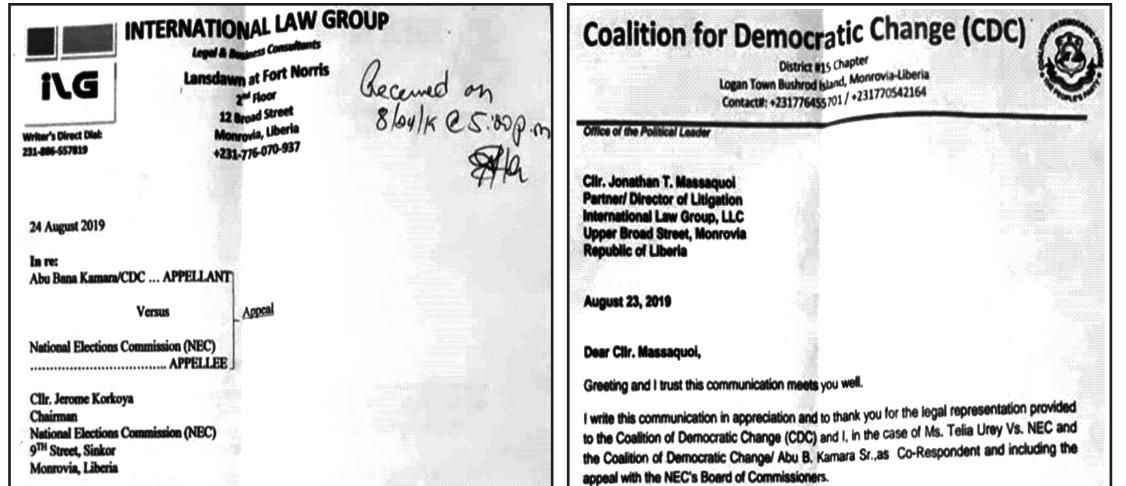
August at the heavily guarded NEC headquarters in Monrovia, Hearing Officer Cllr. Munah Ville said Ms. Urey could not adequately provide pictorial evidences to prove beyond reasonable doubt, that there were discrepancies. However, he rule that there should be a rerun of the election in the disputed centers within the district.

The ruling by Cllr. Ville was taken before the NEC Board of Commissioners who on August 22, 2019 confirmed and reaffirmed the earlier decision for a rerun.

"Based on the factual, legal and public policy reasons contained in the said ruling, same is hereby confirmed and affirmed," the NEC Board of Commissioners said Thursday August 22, 2019 in their ruling.

The NEC Board of Commissioners said it will announced the date of the rerun in two working days if there was nothing otherwise.-Writes Othello B. Garblah

See both letters attached below:



### Subject: Withdrawal of Notice of Appeal

#### Dear Clir. Korkoya:

We are pleased to notify you that our client has elected not to seek a review of the August 22, 2019 ruling of the Board of Commissioner in the case above. Hence, with our client's permission, we herewith submit the attached written instructions to form part of the record.

Sincerely, Kunkunyon Wieh Teh, Esq. Attorney-At-Law 111 Attin T. Massaguoi Counsellor-At-Law

However, there are further anticipated legal procedures with the Supreme Court of the Republic of Liberia, but the Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) and I, kindly request that we withdraw the appeal and abandon the legal process with the Supreme Court of the Republic of Liberia; and proceed with the Re-run as announced by the Board of Commissioners of the National Elections Commission.

I am confident of the Re-run process and once again, please accept my compliments and sincere appreciation for your adequate legal representation

Thanks for your understanding.

Abu Bana Kamara, Sr. Candidate Coalition for Democratic Change District #15, Monsterrado County Colin: +231 777 510 350





#### By Ramsey Singbe, Jr. Margibi

s the Supreme Court of Liberia awaits majority members of Margibi County leadership to appear and give cause why one of their colleagues, Senator Oscar A. Cooper's complaint against them should not be granted, the

county's district #2 Representative Ivar K. Jones argues they made no error.

Excluding Senator Oscar A. Cooper, Associate Justice Joseph N. Nagbe cited the Margibi leadership to a conference recently in his chamber at 4:00 PM to explain reason behind their action being protested by Sen.

#### Cooper.

The leadership recently apportioned US\$1 million belonging to Margibi from the China Union Social Development Fund in Montserrado County on June 13, 2019 to various projects.

However, the decision, according to Senator Cooper, totally violates the budget law of Liberia and is against the best interest of the county.

He also frowns at those members of the leadership involved in waiving a huge portion of royalty to China Union, which had invested in Margibi County prior to their decision.

On these grounds, Sen. Cooper took an exception to his colleagues' action and ran to the Supreme Court, praying that body to intervene.

After the August 14 conference at the Supreme Court, the senator's lawyer Counsellor Lavela Koboi Johnson, Sr. informed the media that they (Margibi Officials) were



# Female Legislative Caucus condemns violence

he Women's Legislative Caucus of Liberia has condemned as wrong, violence against women, no matter in what form it is exhibited.

The Women Legislative Caucus says in a press release issued recently that it is appalled and condemns in the strongest possible terms the current wave of Liberian women.

The group cites electoral violence last year in Montserrado County District #13 and another violence on 17 August in District #15.

"Ms. Telia Urey is a competent Liberian woman that has every right to contest freely without any molestation, and participate in the political process in this country," the group says.



the Women Legislative Caucus to see more women actively joining the political race without fear or favor.

Ms. Urey and her supporters have suffered violent attacks at the hands of ruling party Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) supporters.

"Such violentbehav iors have the



election violence perpetrated against

The press release indicates that it has been the desire of



