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Continental News

Rwanda reviews petroleum policy

pump attendant refills a car's fuel ank. The Government seeks to increase strategic fuel reserves to 100,000 cubic metres by the end of next year after the Auditor General's report exposed delays in expanding the facilities. Courtesy.

The Government has committed to increase strategic fuel reserves to 100,000 cubic metres by the end of next year after the Auditor General's report exposed delays in expanding the facilities.Rwanda has, for long, planned to expand its fuel storage facilities in order to avoid any shortage like the one that was experienced in 2008 during Kenya's postelection violence. However, the plan, contained in the Downstream Petroleum Policy of 2012, has faced various challenges, which occasioned delays.

Under the policy, the Government was meant to construct fuel reserves that can stock at least 150, 000

cubic metres, sufficient enough to sustain the country for at least four months without imports. Given that it costs \$1,000 to construct one cubic metre of fuel reserve, to increase the storage to 100,000 cubic metres requires a combined \$100 million in public and private sector investments.

The Auditor General's Report for the 2017/2018 fiscal

year said that by the time of the audit, 4,200 cubic metres of fuel storage were in place. However, during an interview with The New Times, Robert Opirah, the Director-General for Trade and Investment at the Ministry of Trade and Industry, said that the country has since increased the capacity 78,000 cubic metres.

Among these are 49,000 cubic metres that belong to

private investors and 29,000 cubic metres for the Government. Given that Rwanda's monthly fuel consumption is 30,000 cubic metres, the current reserves can cater for the country's demand for only two and a half months.Opirah told The New Times that construction works for new strategic fuel reserves are underway. He added that the delays in implementing the 2012 petroleum policy were, among other things, challenged funding shortfalls. "The policy could not be successfully be implemented because we did not have enough resources to build fuel reserves

in line with the plan," he said.

The petroleum policy is being revised in order to align it with the National Strategic Transformation (NST1). It awaits cabinet approval. "The adjustments being made on the 2012 policy are more about reexamining standards of fuel and petrol stations, as well as legal and regulatory framework than infrastructure-led transformations," he said.

By the time the policy was designed, the region was grappling with rising cases of piracy in the Indian Ocean, which led to a sharp rise in fuel prices.AFP



Mali attack kills at

t least 25 Malian soldiers are dead and 60 more are missing after militants attacked two army outposts, the government said.Camps in the towns of Boulkessy and Mondoro near the border with Burkina Faso came under attack on Monday.

The government says their troops killed 15 militants and have since recaptured the area, but lost a lot of equipment.Malian forces have now launched a joint operation with Burkina Faso and French forces in the region.Mali has suffered jihadist violence and ethnic rivalries since 2012, when Islamist militants took over the north of the country and France launched its military intervention.

This is one of the deadliest attacks against government troops this year. The West African country - along with Burkina Faso, Chad, Niger and

Mauritania - is part of an antiinsurgency force supported by France known as the G5 Sahel.

On Monday, the five-nation group blamed "suspected members of Ansarul Islam" for the attack at Boulkessy. Ansarul Islam, meaning Defenders of Islam, was created in 2016 by the radical and popular preacher Ibrahim Malam Dicko. He reportedly fought with Islamist militants in the north of Mali in 2012.BBC



igerian President Muhammadu Buhari will on Wednesday depart for South Africa on a three-day state visit, his office has announced.

The visit comes at a time when relations between Africa's two biggest economies have soured following a wave of xenophobic attacks in Johannesburg and other cities last month.

Nigeria's president and his South African counterpart, Cyril Ramaphosa, are

Mr Buhari will be keen to show Nigerians that he is doing everything he can to protect their interests. Anger at the perceived targeting of Nigerians during last month's attacks led to the looting of South African businesses in the West African country.

During his visit, Mr Buhari will hold a town hall meeting with Nigerians still living there.

The president and his delegation, including Nigerian business representatives, will



expected to discuss "the welfare of Nigerians and find common grounds for building harmonious relations with their hosts", a statement by an aide of Mr Buhari said.

Nigeria's government believes the businesses of its citizens were targeted in the attacks and President Buhari sent an envoy to South Africa to "express Nigeria's displeasure over the treatment of her citizens". Hundreds of Nigerian citizens have since left South Africa.

also attend a business forum and preside over the South Africa-Nigeria Bi-National Commission; an initiative created in 1999 to enhance relations between the two countries.

Growth in Africa's two biggest economies has slowed in recent years. The two leaders will want to put the issue of xenophobia to rest, in order to pursue the economic collaboration they both desperately need.BBC

EDITORIAL

Sen. Teahjay's vague argument

SINOE COUNTY SENATOR J. Milton Teahjay's challenge against his colleague, Senator Abraham Darious Dillon of Montserrado County about salary, allowance and benefits for a senator lacks fundamental basis to say the least. In his noise on Monday, 30 November in plenary, Senator Teahjay didn't provide any new information against what Dillon had disclosed except window-dressing the issue.

IN MAKING HIS disclosure recently on how much he earns as Montserrado County Senator, Dillon was clear that he provided gross figures about his salary, allowance and benefits as received from the Senate Chair on Ways, Means and Finance Senator Morris Saytumah of Bomi County.

BUT TEAHJAY VAINLY argued that Dillon didn't not compartmentalize or break down the figures he received from Senator Saytumah. Instead, he read them to the public in lump-sum.

The question is, compartmentalized or not, was there any variance in the figures, as read out by Senator Dillon? This is what Senator Teahjay attempted to insinuate unsuccessfully on Monday.

EVEN IF DILLON had erred, as Teahjay tried to impress on the public, whose responsibility is it to state the right figures or to clarify? Surely not Teahjay, but Senator Morris Saytumah, who chairs the Committee on Ways, Means and Finance, instead.

WHERE DID TEAHJAY get his authority to challenge figures that did not originate from him in the senate? If there were inaccuracies, we think the rightful person to have blamed is Senator Saytumah; not Dillon because the former read directly from the handwritten paper he received; nothing

EVERY PAY CHECK indicates a gross salary before a breakdown of deductions for taxes, social security and insurance, among others. Hence, it is never wrong to say I earn a gross salary of X amount.

BUT THEN WE understand why Teahjay is foaming. Dillon did what the Sinoe County Senator had not done in the past nine years or more - disclosing how much he earns as a senator, which should be a public record.

FROM THE PAST administration to the present, Lawmakers at the Capitol during every fiscal period allot to themselves fabulous salaries, allowances and incentives that drain the national budget and deny attention to other critical sectors. Besides, they have refused to be audited for public money received.

THAT SENATOR DILLON is departing from the past by shinning light on how much taxpayers' money goes to an individual senator, let alone a member of the House, while the people whom they claim to represent died from lack of drugs, tools and power in hospitals across the country, exposes the depth of greed, selfishness and sheer insensitivity of our national leaders. So, it is out of shame and apparent embarrassment that Teahjay spoke, for what was withheld from the people, has come to light.



By Eric Posner

The Impeachment Trap

America's Democrats have made a serious mistake by launching impeachment proceedings against President Donald Trump. They are replaying the Republican impeachment of Bill Clinton in 1998, a futile exercise that damaged Republicans, enhanced Clinton's power, and caused institutional damage as well.

proceedings against President Donald Trump. They are replaying the Republican impeachment of Bill Clinton in 1998, a futile exercise that damaged Republicans, enhanced Clinton's power, and caused institutional damage as well.

The common factor of the two impeachments is that it was clear from the start that the US Senate would never convict, which requires a two-thirds majority. The 45 Senate Democrats were not happy that Clinton perjured himself before a grand jury, obstructed justice, and conducted an extramarital sexual affair with a White House intern, Monica Lewinsky. But they did not believe that this behavior was grounds for removal from office. The behavior was not sufficiently president who remained popular with voters.

few if any Senate Democrats would vote to convict (in fact, none did). But Republicans hoped to embarrass the Democrats and damage Clinton, believing that they would pick up some seats in the November 1998 election by launching impeachment proceedings before then. They were wrong. Clinton's popularity rose after the Americans believed that impeachment was a mistake.

impeachment would damage the presidency, but its main impact on presidential power was the opposite. Republicans eventually agreed with Democrats that responsibility for the debacle lay with Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel whose investigations of Clinton's real-estate dealings years earlier eventually led him to Lewinsky. The two parties allowed the independent counsel statute to lapse, freeing the presidency from a powerful form of oversight, much to Trump's benefit a generation later.

Today, Senate Republicans may well be privately concerned about Trump's behavior. But there is no indication that even one would vote in favor of as Clinton was, he retains the loyalty of his base, Senate. Indeed, the extraordinary enthusiasm of Trump's supporters - their indifference to his influence Republican senators.

Some supporters of impeachment argue that the gravity of the accusations against Trump - that he enlisted a foreign country to harass a political opponent - will ensure his conviction. But we have been through this before. Democrats who abhor sexual harassment and perjury supported Clinton because they saw the alternative as worse. Republicans will make the same calculation. Perhaps the story would be different if Trump had persuaded the Ukrainians to arrest Joe Biden while sightseeing in Kyiv. The president's behavior, as odious as it is, is a far cry from Richard Nixon's involvement in espionage against

HICAGO - America's Democrats have made a the Democratic Party - the single historical serious mistake by launching impeachment example of impeachment proceedings leading to the removal (in Nixon's case, resignation) of the president.

> Others argue that even if Trump is not removed, impeachment in the House - which the Democratic majority virtually guarantees - will send a strong signal that the president's behavior violates American values. But impeachment has its own narrative logic: once the Democrats initiate it, they either win or lose. If they lose, they will be seen as losers who wasted public resources for a futile goal.

Still others believe that impeachment hearings will reveal that Trump has committed crimes or betrayed the country in as yet undisclosed ways, or that the hearings will enable Democrats to convey the seriousness of all the president's wrongdoing in egregious to overcome their political loyalty to a a way that will galvanize the public. But the leaky Trump administration has kept few secrets so far, and much of his behavior has been normalized, at Republicans leading the impeachment knew that least for his Republican supporters. Impeachment proceedings, unlike judicial proceedings, are a cumbersome mechanism for developing evidence. Nothing new was learned about Clinton after the Starr Report was issued, and nothing new will be learned about Trump.

Indeed, Trump's character flaws and misbehavior impeachment proceedings ended. Most are already so well known that the impeachment proceedings will most likely blow back and cause more harm to Democratic politicians than Republicans. Again, the Clinton impeachment Many people worried that the Clinton offers lessons. Everyone knew, or suspected, that Clinton was a womanizer (or what today might be called a sexual predator) and a serial liar. People were not quite as aware that Republican Speaker Newt Gingrich had also conducted an extramarital affair, as did his successor, Bob Livingston. Both resigned; Clinton remained in office. Trump's greatest skill is in turning his prosecutors into the accused. Expect this to happen again, with Trump using his Twitter account to shine a spotlight on whichever Democrats have the greatest political vulnerabilities.

None of this is rocket science. So, why would a canny politician like Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi yield to other members' pressure for removal. While Trump is nowhere near as popular impeachment (though she is clearly temporizing for example, by refusing to hold a vote in the House who dominate the Republican primaries, and, to authorize the impeachment proceedings)? The unlike Clinton, he enjoys majority support in the answer stems from the basic logic of Congress in a polarized era.

many other scandals - almost guarantees that any Congress is a collective body. Its members are additional information that might materialize beholden to voters in specific districts or states during the impeachment hearings will not rather than the country as a whole. House Democrats from more liberal districts fear that they will be defeated in primaries by more forcefully anti-Trump challengers. The only way to counter such challenges is by supporting impeachment. As more Democrats jump on the bandwagon, more moderate Democrats join in to avoid looking like defenders of Trump's misconduct.

> Mark Twain supposedly joked that "history does not repeat itself but it often rhymes." But in this case, repetition seems to be the right word. The political logic that trapped the Republicans in 1998 will operate the same way on the Democrats in 2019.

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By Ruth Meinzen-Dick

Empowering Africa's Women Farmers

ASHINGTON, DC - Over 60% of all employed women in Sub-Saharan Africa work in agriculture. Yet the region's women farmers often reap a meager harvest, not because of inclement weather or poor soil quality, but because of their gender - or, more specifically, because of a dense web of laws, policies, programs, and customs that put them at a significant disadvantage.

Closing the gender gap in agriculture will require action on three fronts. The first is land rights. In most of Sub-Saharan Africa, women rarely own land. Instead, women farmers usually access land through a male relative, most commonly a husband, brother, or father. This arrangement leaves them highly vulnerable; a death, divorce, or simply a man's change of mind can leave a woman farmer landless overnight.

The resulting insecurity affects the way women farm. At constant risk of displacement, long-term productivity-enhancing investments don't make financial sense. Why build terraces to reduce erosion and improve soil health if someone else can claim the land and its improvements as soon as the work is finished? Why plant an orchard if it can simply be taken away once the final tree is in the ground?

Over the last two decades, many countries have taken important steps to promote and protect women's land rights. For example, Ethiopia introduced joint land registration - with the names and photographs of both husband and wife included on certificates - thereby formalizing women's rights to the land they farm. Such reform has been shown to lead to increased investment in land, especially by women. The investment rises even higher among women who are also educated about their land rights, highlighting the importance of legal literacy programs.

But land is only the first step. Women also lack equal access to inputs, including fertilizer, better seeds, mechanical equipment, and agricultural extension services that would connect them with information about improved agricultural practices. This inequality is compounded by unequal access to the credit farmers need to purchase inputs. In Kenya, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, studies have shown that women are less likely to benefit from financial services.

Improving access to financial services and agricultural inputs thus constitutes the second front for empowering women farmers. Development agencies and NGOs have begun working to design woman-focused financial services and programs to improve access to agricultural inputs. African women are also helping one another, with a growing number of women's organizations, such as microfinance groups, working to improve access to financial services, new technologies, and information. In Kenya, members of such self-help groups are likelier than other women to know about climate-smart agricultural practices, for example.

The final front is perhaps the trickiest: decision-making power. In far too many contexts, women farmers lack the authority to manage the crops they produce or the income they generate. This has far-reaching implications for development.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, agriculture is 2-4 times more effective in reducing poverty than growth in other sectors. Moreover, as the Goalkeepers report released last month by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation showed, women are likelier than men to invest resources under their control in meeting their children's needs (food and education).

Given this, enabling women farmers to control their resources is important to achieving not only United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 - gender equality and empowerment of women and girls - but also many others, including eliminating poverty (SDG1) and ending hunger (SDG2).

Though some progress has been made on all three fronts to empower women farmers, it is nowhere near enough. To encourage and guide further action, my colleagues at the International Food Policy Research Institute and I designed the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index, which measures decision-making power, access to resources (including credit), control over income, time burdens, and membership in groups.

By providing insight into the extent and sources of women's agricultural disempowerment in various contexts, the WEAI - and a later adaptation, pro-WEAI, which facilitates project impact assessments - is helping governments, donors, and NGOs to design effective interventions. So far, the WEAI (including adaptations) has been used by 99 different organizations in 54 countries. For example, WEAI insights guided the design of Bangladesh's ANGeL project, which aims to identify actions and investments in agriculture that will improve nutrition and empower women.

When Africa's women farmers thrive, everyone benefits: the women themselves, the children in whom they invest, the communities that they feed, and the economies to which they contribute. With the right investments and policies, Africa's woman-run farms could produce a bumper crop of development.

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By Mariana Mazzucato

Preventing Digital Feudalism

ONDON - The use and abuse of data by Facebook and other tech companies are finally garnering the official attention they deserve. With personal data becoming the world's most valuable commodity, will users be the platform economy's masters or its slaves? Prospects for democratizing the platform economy remain dim. Algorithms are developing in ways that allow companies to profit from our past, present, and future behavior - or what Shoshana Zuboff of Harvard Business School describes as our "behavioral surplus." In many cases, digital platforms already know our preferences better than we do, and can nudge us to behave in ways that produce still more value. Do we really want to live in a society where our innermost desires and manifestations of personal agency are up for sale?

Capitalism has always excelled at creating new desires and cravings. But with big data and algorithms, tech companies have both accelerated and inverted this process. Rather than just creating new goods and services in anticipation of what people might want, they already know what we will want, and are selling our future selves. Worse, the algorithmic processes being used often perpetuate gender and racial biases, and can be manipulated for profit or political gain. While we all benefit immensely from digital services such as Google search, we didn't sign up to have our behavior cataloged, shaped, and sold.

To change this will require focusing directly on the prevailing business model, and specifically on the source of economic rents. Just as landowners in the seventeenth century extracted rents from land-price inflation, and just as robber barons profited from the scarcity of oil, today's platform firms are extracting value through the monopolization of search and ecommerce services.

To be sure, it is predictable that sectors with high network externalities - where the benefits to individual users increase as a function of the total number of users - will produce large companies. That is why telephone companies grew so massive in the past. The problem is not size, but how network-based companies wield their market power.

Today's tech companies originally used their broad networks to bring in diverse suppliers, much to the benefit of consumers. Amazon allowed small publishers to sell titles (including my first book) that otherwise would not have made it to the display shelf at your local bookstore. Google's search engine used to return a diverse array of providers, goods, and

But now, both companies use their dominant positions to stifle competition, by controlling which products users see and favoring their own brands (many of which have seemingly independent names). Meanwhile, companies that do not advertise on these platforms find themselves at a severe disadvantage. As Tim O'Reilly has argued, over time, such rent seeking weakens the ecosystem of suppliers that the platforms were originally created to

Rather than simply assuming that economic rents are all the same, economic policymakers should be trying to understand how platform algorithms allocate value among consumers, suppliers, and the platform itself. While some allocations may reflect real competition, others are being driven by value extraction rather than value creation.

Thus, we need to develop a new governance structure, which starts with creating a new vocabulary. For example, calling platform companies "tech giants" implies they have invested in the technologies from which they are profiting, when it was really taxpayers who funded the key underlying technologies - from the Internet to GPS.

Moreover, the widespread use of tax arbitrage and contract workers (to avoid the costs of providing health insurance and other benefits) is eroding the markets and institutions upon which the platform economy relies. Rather than talking about regulation, then, we need to go further, embracing concepts such as co-creation. Governments can and should be shaping markets to ensure that collectively created value serves collective ends.

Likewise, competition policy should not be focused solely on the question of size. Breaking up large companies would not solve the problems of value extraction or abuses of individual rights. There is no reason to assume that many smaller Googles or Facebooks would operate differently or develop new, less exploitative algorithms.

Creating an environment that rewards genuine value creation and punishes value extraction is the fundamental economic challenge of our time. Fortunately, governments, too, are now creating platforms to identify citizens, collect taxes, and provide public services. Owing to concerns in the early days of the Internet about official misuse of data, much of the current data architecture was built by private companies. But government platforms now have enormous potential to improve the efficiency of the public sector and to democratize the platform economy.

To realize that potential, we will need to rethink the governance of data, develop new institutions, and, given the dynamics of the platform economy, experiment with alternative forms of ownership. To take just one of many examples, the data that one generates when using Google Maps or Citymapper - or any other platform that relies on taxpayer-funded technologies - should be used to improve public transportation and other services, rather than simply becoming private profits.

Of course, some will argue that regulating the platform economy will impede market-driven value creation. But they should go back and read their Adam Smith, whose ideal of a "free market" was one free from rents, not from the state.

Algorithms and big data could be used to improve public services, working conditions, and the wellbeing of all people. But these technologies are currently being used to undermine public services, promote zero-hour contracts, violate individual privacy, and destabilize the world's democracies - all in the interest of personal gain.

Innovation does not just have a rate of progression; it also has a direction. The threat posed by artificial intelligence and other technologies lies not in the pace of their development, but in how they are being designed and deployed. Our challenge is to set a new course.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE

Blunder, Blame-game, Cliché, and Missed Opportunity

- A Critique of President George M. Weah's UNGA Speech

By Martin K. N. Kollie Youth Activist, martinkerkula1989@yahoo.com

Assembly meets annually in regular session which often begins on the Tuesday of the third week in September. The 74th Regular Session started on Tuesday, September 24, 2019 and has since brought together Heads of States and renowned Diplomats from 193 countries. More than 90 Heads of States are attending this year's UNGA. Twenty (20) Speakers took the stage for the morning session on Tuesday.

Among an array of Speakers from Ukraine, Romania, Iraq, Eswatini, Iran, Lebanon, Republic of Palau, Georgia, Central Africa Republic, Colombia, Seychelles, Mauritania, Estonia, Guinea, Zambia, Chad, Honduras, Australia, and Fiji, the Liberian Leader George M. Weah had yet another opportunity to convince or persuade world leaders, diplomats, investors, philanthropists, industrialists, and prominent global citizens to turn to Liberia for a moment.

For the second time in roll, ex-Soccer Star turned Politician President George Weah, failed to fully utilize and maximize this world stage at his advantage. The habitual misuse of such platform is happening at a time when the Liberian Republic is nearing collapse under his leadership. The economy is on life support - hospitals and schools are closed - health workers are on strike - civil servants have not taken pay for months - foreign companies and local businesses are shutting down - zero foreign direct investment - thousands of kids are out of school due to tuition hike - hardship is at an all-time high.

The President began his speech on a good footing by asking delegates at the UNGA to observe a moment of silence for the loss of 28 children who died in a tragic fire incident in Liberia last week. I, too, join President Weah to memorialize this huge loss and sympathize with those bereaved. The President used 179 words just to lavish praises on H. E. Tijjani Muhammad-Bande (the newly elected President of the 74th Session of the UNGA), his predecessor H. E. Maria Fernanda Espinosa Garcês, and UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres. Did he have to?

Last UNGA 2018, his 1489-wordy speech was not only boring and poorly delivered but it again missed target. This year, the President used 2175 words in his speech. This was even more boring and incoherent. The speech writers of President have not been doing him justice in my opinion. Like previous speeches, this year's UNGA speech did not hit target, inspire, and catch the audience's attention.

The Real Focus of 2019 UNGA:

The main focus of this year's 74th Regular Session of the UNGA is on two (2) global issues:

a. Climate Change

b. Iran

The general theme of this 74th Session of the UNGA is "Galvanizing multilateral efforts for poverty eradication, quality education, climate action and inclusion".

There are three major focal points in this general theme, namely: Poverty Eradication, Quality Education, and Climate Action and Inclusion. Even if he didn't want to focus on Climate Change alone which he was tasked to do, we expected the speech of President Weah to predominantly and honestly highlight the successes, challenges, and prospects his regime has engendered in all three focal areas while at the same time making a strong case for sustained/concrete global assistance at all fronts/levels. Whoever wrote this speech deceived and embarrassed the President. President George M. Weah was asked to focus on "The Earth's Changing Climate and Global Action". Sadly, a



single paragraph did not address climate change and what his administration has done or is doing to join other countries in the fight against this global threat. All we heard were "misuse of social media", "hate speeches", "protests by opposition", "14 years of civil crisis", "no political prisoners", etc.

What does social media and hate speeches have to do with climate change? The president failed to mention how his government is: minimizing the risks of climate change and its adverse impacts - reducing greenhouse gas emissions - combating deforestation and air pollution - protecting the ozone layer - dealing with sea erosion and environmental degradation - preventing flood and promoting waste management - and investing in biodiversity/ecosystem.

Complaining and Shifting Blame on Opposition Political Parties and Critics:

The President spent a lot of time on shifting blame on opposition political parties and critics for the mishaps/misfortunes of his regime. This is a total abuse of the world stage. The president complained us to the UNGA but forgot to complain himself along with his cronies for plundering State coffers to build mansions and live in mammoth opulence.

In his speech, President Weah said:

"Some individuals, within and out of our country, particularly those who have lost democratically-held elections, have resorted to incitement, threats of violence, misuse of social media, and hate speech, with the aim and objective of achieving power through undemocratic means."

Who is more inciting and hateful than president Weah - a man who said no Urey will ever win election under his watch as President? Who is more inciting and hateful than president Weah - a man who described his critics as enemies of the State? Who is more inciting and hateful than president Weah - a man who used his power to illegally impeach an Associate Justice? The President forgot to talk about the threat of counter-protest issued by his Youth Chairman Jefferson Koijee when he said to peaceful protesters "We will meet in flesh and blood".

President Weah went to lodge our complaint but he forgot to also lodge his. Let me just list a few his complaints:

- Civil Servents are yet to take pay for more than 4 months (Some haven't taken pay for even 10 months)
- 2. Health workers are on strike while teachers are threatening to also go on strike due to cut and delay in salaries/allowances
- 3. Thousands of school-going kids are out of school

due to the hike in tuition and fees.

- 4. Foreign companies and local businesses are closing due to economic downturn
- 5. The economy is on life support as inflation and the depreciation of local currency are at an all-time high
- 6. L\$16 billion is missing while US\$25 million cannot be accounted for
- 7. State Plunder: President Weah and his cronies are buying/building private estates and palaces
- 8. Increased electoral violence, mysterious deaths, police brutality, armed robbery, rape, and repression of critical voices including The Press
- 9. Zero Foreign Direct Investment as a result of the lack of investors' confidence in Weah's government. Hence, hardship is at an all-time high while basic social services are lacking
- 10. Pregnant women, AFL veterans and widows, students, university lecturers, zogos, pensioners, persons with disabilities, activists, etc. have all protested against the Weah-led government. This is an expressed 'Vote of no confidence' by THE PEOPLE

Does President Weah Respect The Rule of Law?

Without any regard for truth-telling, President Weah has become a 'champion' of the Rule of Law all of a sudden. In this line below, he portrays himself as a respecter of the law even though he has violated almost all of our laws including the very Constitution he took oath to protect.

"For democracy to thrive, all Liberians, including both the ruling parties and the opposition parties, must respect the rule of law, and abide by the procedures and regulations prescribed therein."

Weah should had informed the UNGA about the number of laws he has broken as Head of State of Liberia. Since he forgot, let me mention a few laws this president has outrightly violated:

Article 54 of the 1986 Constitution (appointment of foreign ambassador), Part 10 Section 10.1 of the 2014 Code of Conduct Law (asset declaration), Article 37 of the 1986 Constitution (by-election), Part 5 Section 47 of the 2005 PPCC Law (competitive bidding), Section 9.6 of the 2014 CoC Law (public money for private interest), Article 39 of the 1986 Constitution (Census), Section 6.3 subsection d of the 2009 LEITI Act (appointment of secretariat), Part 2 Section 7 Subsection 4 of the 2010 Maritime Act (5-yr tenure as PR of IMO), Section 1.3.6 and Part 9 Section 9.1 and Section 9.2 of the 2014 CoC Law (Conflict of Interest), and Section 8.1 and Section 8.2 of the 2014 National Lottery Authority Act (4-yr tenure, illegal removal of DG).

After violating almost all of our laws, how can President muster the courage to lecture us on the Rule of Law? Is he qualified to be the lecturer of such course (The Rule of Law)? Of course not!

Did the President lie at the UNGA?

President George Manneh Weah in a rather shocking paragraph remarked:

"The political environment remains vibrant, with political actors and parties freely exercising their franchise and participating in various elections. Mr. President, I am delighted to report that there are no political prisoners in Liberia, and existing laws that hindered or threatened press freedom have been decriminalized."

The President lied when he said people are freely expressing themselves, exercising their franchise, and participating in various elections. There have been incidents of electoral harassment, intimidation, violence, and fraud. The violent and fraudulent incidents in District #15 and District #13 elections are unique cases to reference. What about the attack on supporters of the opposition at the Liberty Party Headquarters? The President's political rhetoric and emotional outbursts have been a source of inciting electoral violence and fraud.

TO BE CONT'D NEXT EDITION

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

ECOWAS urges Liberia to Sweden boosts LNP's ratify AfCFTA Agreement capacity to combat SGBV ratify AfCFTA Agreement

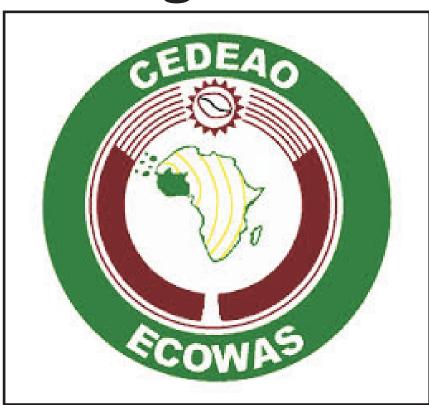
he Ambassador of the Economic Communityof West African States (ECOWAS) in Liberia, BabatundeAjisomo, hasurged Liberia and other African countries vet to ratify the AfricanContinental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) to do so.

The AfCFTA is a trade agreement subsisting among 27 African Union member states. It was signed in Kigali, Rwanda on 21 March 2018. As ofJuly 2019, 54 states have signed the agreement but only 27 haveratified the document.

Speaking Monday at the start of a sensitization workshop on TradeProtocols and Agreements for the Private sector held at a local hotelin Monrovia, Amb. Ajisomo said thus far for the ECOWAS region, all memberstates have signed the AfCFTA agreement and 10 out of 27 ECOWAS memberstates have also ratified the agreement.

He said 44 of 55 African countries signed the AfCFTA Agreement, adding that they have made progress since then.

Amb. Ajisomo said it is encouraging to note that signatories have risen to 54, saying that only the state of Eritrea is yet to sign



theagreement.

He stated that the creation of single continental market for goods andservices, with free movement of business people and investment, wouldhelp to bring deeper integration and turn the 55 single Africaneconomic blocks into a more coherent, larger single market.

He pointed out that a larger and more viable economic space wouldallow African markets to function better and promote competition, aswell as resolve the challenges of multiple and

overlapping regionaleconomic communities, thereby helping to boost intracontinentaltrade.

The regional envoy noted the sheer size of the single market would provide a more

conducive environment for industrial diversification and regionalcomplementarities.

He disclosed that the United **Nations Economic Commission** calculatesthat AFCFTA could increase intra-Africa trade by as much as US\$35billion annually or 52 percent above the baseline.

ith support from the Swedish Police Authority, the Liberia National Police (LNP) has concluded a three - day refresher training on sexual and gender - based violence (SGBV) prevention for key actors.

The training brought together more than 50 participants including nurses, police officers and social workers.

A press release says the training covered topics including Psychosocial Counselling, Human Rights, and Peace Model in Investigations.

It sought to derive a coordinated approach among law enforcement officers, health workers and social workers for the provision of services to survivals of sexual violence as well as strengthen mechanisms for the prosecution of perpetrators of SGBV in Liberia.

The training had a huge female participation with 44 of the participants being women.

"This figure shows a fundamental push in our quest to increase women's participation in the protection of human rights," said **Assistant Commissioner Varney** Ali Sheriff, head of the Project Unit at the LNP.

Sheriff further explained that the participants were drawn from the Women And Children Protection Section (WACPS) assigned at Zones Six, Eight and ten police stations.

According to him, the participants also included Social Workers and Nurses assigned at the Five One Stop Centers (Redemption Hospital, Hope for Women International, James David Hospital, Star of the Sea in West Point and the Duport Road Clinic) in Montserrado County.

Sheriff explained that the training was a continuation of the Swedish Police Authority's three years capacity building of the LNP's Forensic and Gender Sections.

"The Swedish Police Authority has been strategically supporting the LNP and partners in an effort to enhancing the peace, justice," **Assistant Commissioner Sheriff** explained.

He noted that this is in -sink with the concept of building strong institutions for the actualization of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS).

The participants applauded the Swedish Police Authority and the Liberia National Police for the training, describing it as a monumental drive towards combating sexual and gender based violence in the society.

An assigned nurse at the James David Hospital, Elizabeth Kerkulah appreciated the Liberia National Police, and the Swedish Police for the training.

"This training will further enhance our ability to support survival of SGBVs and deliver quality services to them," Kerkulah said as she spoke on behalf of the trainees.

She recounted the renovation done at the Duport Road Clinic by the Swedish Police Authority between 2017 and 2018 which costs over US\$2,500.00.

"In fact, they gave us some Christmas gift, many materials to work with," added Mrs. Kerkulah.

For his part, the Desk Officer at the Swedish Police Authority Project for International Development Cooperation, Nikolas Jerkedal recognized the cooperation between the LNP and the Swedish Government.

He also encouraged the trainees to further improve their coordinating scales and perform beyond expectations at their various workplaces.

Speaking on behalf of Liberia's Inspector General of Police, Patrick T. Sudue, the Deputy Inspector General of Police for Crime Services Department, Intelligence and Interpol, Prince K. Mulbah extended gratefulness to the Swedish Police and the Swedish Embassy for their continuous support in building the capacity of the Liberia National

Deputy Inspector General Mulbah said Sweden has continued to remained strong and strategic partner to the operations of the LNP, saying "we are grateful for this friendship."

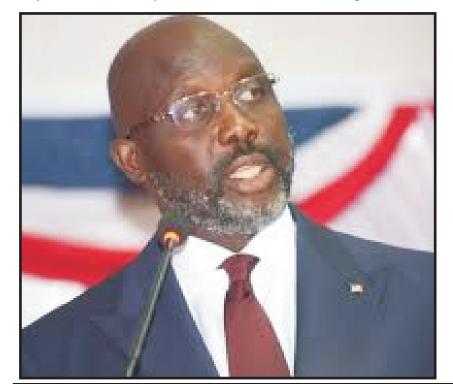
He then thanked the participants for the efforts made gaining such knowledge and prayed the Swedish Police for a renewal of the similar project to enable LNP performs professionally. -- Press release

Weah applauds Germany & Guinea on Unity and Independence Days

resident George Manneh Weah has, on behalf of Liberia extended heartfelt congratulations and best wishes to the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Germany on the

occasion marking the "German Unity Day" celebration.

In the message to his counterpart Frank-Walter Steinmeier, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, President George Manneh



Weah noted that his Government appreciates the German Government's continuous support for the subsistence of harmonious relations between the two countries and peoples since the inception of diplomatic ties, which he said has enhanced mutually beneficial cooperation between both nations.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Monrovia, the President Weah recalled that since the establishment of diplomatic ties between both states, Germany has continued to demonstrate strong leadership and has successfully contributed to negotiation within the EU which retained confidence in the Union, amidst the Brexit debate on the international front.

"It is in this spirit that my government looks forward to deepen collaborations with your government, in many spheres including economic

cooperation, education, women empowerment and other aspect of private sector involvement, President Weah further stated. He wished for President Steinmeier's



MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

Financial experts rap on de-dollarization at CBL forum

he Executive Governor of the Central Bank of Liberia (CBL), Hon. Nathaniel R. Patray, III, has said that for Liberia to move away from dollarization and adopt the Liberian dollar as the sole legal currency, it would depend on improving the macro-economic environment which is tied to effectiveness of monetary, fiscal and structural policies.

From the monetary perspective, the Executive Governor said, such a policy shift should include a welldefined monetary policy framework, which ensures realization of price stability. Regulatory policies that incentivize the voluntary use of local currency in the economy, the Governor added, must also be adopted, as well as public sector that encourages the use of local currency.

The CBL Executive Governor spoke on Friday, September 27, 2019, during a one-day Economic Forum on "De-dollarization in Liberia and its implications for Effective Monetary Policy." Executive Governor Patray recalled that in 2014, the



Government of Liberia (GoL) developed a roadmap for the implementation of the dedollarization strategy of Liberia. However, he noted, the roadmap was not finally approved. "As a result, the process of de-dollarization in Liberia has been done on an ad-hoc and less concerted basis," the CBL Executive Governor noted.

He expressed optimism about the need to review the roadmap with the view of taking a strategic approach towards de-dollarization. Critical steps in this process, the Executive Governor noted, would be the declaration of the Liberian Dollar as the sole legal tender in the CBL Act and the presentation of the National Budget in Liberian dollar.

Meanwhile, panelists at the CBL Economic Forum have called for caution in the process leading towards dedollarization. In his presentation, the Deputy Governor for Economic Policy, Dr. Musa Dukuly, said the policy to tackle dollarization must be based on a concerted and broad-based debate supported by empirical research.

De-dollarization, Dr. Dukuly maintained, must be pursued with a more market-based approach rather than a forceful approach, which can be more detrimental, leading to distortion in the macroeconomic environment. Such a policy decision he emphasized, must be complemented with developments of the financial markets "as rapidly as possible if we intend to pursue dedollarization."

Monetary policy, the CBL Deputy Governor said, will be ineffective where foreign currencies are considered as strong substitute for domestic currency. He pointed out that it is imperative to strengthen the institutional arrangement for the conduct of monetary policy, including the Liquidity Working Group and the establishment of a Monetary Policy Committee (MPC). Dr. Dukuly added that efficient liquidity management by the Central Bank is important for monetary policy operations that support the value of the Liberian dollar.

Other panelists at the Forum were former Central Bank of Liberia Executive Governor, Mr. Elie E. Saleeby;

the Resident Representative of the International Monetary Fund in Liberia, Mr. Geoffrey Oestreicher; Vice President for the Liberia Bankers' Association and Managing Director of UBA Liberia, Mr. OlalekanBalogun and the Vice President for Institutional Development and Planning at the University of Liberia, Professor Geegbae A. Geegbae. The panelists agreed that dedollarization is not a shortterm initiative. "It requires careful understanding and appreciation of the possible implications, required policies, actions and detailed planning." "De-dollarization is not going to solve all our problems. What we need is prudent and sound fiscal discipline," former CBL Executive Governor, Saleeby cautioned.

Last weekend's Forum is the second held by the CBL. Coordinated by the Research, Policy and Planning Department of the Bank, the Economic Forum is intended to, among other objectives, articulate CBL's monetary policy and regulatory functions in an effort to facilitate public feedback to the Bank's monetary and regulatory policies. The forum was attended by over 100 participants from a crosssection of the society, including universities, the commercial banks, the business community and the media.

Liberia risks expulsion from global transparency program

iberia risks being delisted from the ■Open Government Partnership (OGP) if the country fails to submit its National Action Plan (NAP) to Washington, D.C., the United States by end of December, says the OGP Secretariat.

Open Government Partnership is a multilateral initiative that aims to secure concrete commitments from national and sub-national governments to promote

open government, empower citizens, fight corruption, and harness new technologies to strengthen governance.

Speaking Wednesday, October 2, 2019, the Head of the OGP Secretariat in Liberia, Mr. G. Ralph Jimmeh, said six government ministries and agencies have submitted their draft commitments for scrutiny, validation and subsequent capture in the NAP and onward submission to Washington before the December deadline.

According to Mr. Jimmeh, the national action plan will be validated at various nationwide consultative forums in line with the Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development (PAPD) especially, Pillar Four, which speaks to transparency and accountability.

"Those commitments that would be validated and captured under the NAP must be transparent and be able to affect the people. It is supposed to impact the lives of the people," he noted.

He disclosed that the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP) in its commitments, is expected to provide budget reports, mid-term and all other reports in line with the national cake.

"The Ministry of Finance and Development Planning is supposed to develop a guide website that will inform citizens about how their money will be expended. The Judiciary's [duty] is commitment to open justice so that one can be any part of the world to track cases. The Liberia Business Registry has embarked on beneficiary

Weah applauds

Cont'd from page 6

personal wellbeing and for the Government and people of Germany peace and prosperity.

In a related development. President Weah has, on behalf of Liberia, conveyed warmest felicitations and best wishes to the Republic of Guinea on the observance of the 61st Independence Anniversary of that country.

According to the release, President Weah expressed hope that the cordial ties of friendship and cooperation subsisting between Liberia and Guinea will be further strengthened in the spirit of African solidarity as both leaders work in furtherance of the principles of the Mano River Union, ECOWAS, the African Union and the United Nations for the promotion of regional and international peace and security.

He then prayed that Allah will continue to endow President Alpha Conde with abundant wisdom and strength as he leads his compatriots to greater prosperity. -- Press release



ownership so that everyone can know the actual owners of businesses," he explaind.

The OGP Head of Secretariat, who just returned from a forum in Dubai, revealed that Liberia is one of two African countries that have been supported for the crafting of their NAPs.

Mr. Jimmeh further revealed that the country benefited US\$65,000 for the development of its national program, stressing that this fund will be managed by the National Accountability Lab.

"Liberia was selected based on the case that was made on behalf of the country sometimes ago in Atlanta, Georgia by the Secretariat. We actually went to Dubai so that countries can share their experiences," Jimmeh asserted, among other things.

THURSDAY | OCTOBER 03 | 2019 www.thenewdawnliberia.com

Français Weah réagit aux critiques

e président George Manneh Weah a réagi ∎aux critiques suscitées par son récent discours lors de la 74èmeAssemblée générale des Nations Unies à New York, affirmant qu'il ne comprend pas ce que ses critiques veulent.

« Je viens de dire que je ne comprends pas ce que vous voulez. Depuis que nous sommes au pouvoir, je n'ai pas un jour réclamé la création d'un tribunal de crimes de guerre. Vous, les journalistes, avez revendiqué le tribunal des crimes de guerre ; Les Libériens appellent à un tribunal des crimes de guerre. Les victimes et les coupables réclament un tribunal des crimes de guerre », a-t-il déclaré à la presse mardi 1er octobre à l'aéroport international Roberts.

« Ce que j'ai fait est de leur expliquer, pourquoi maintenant? Donc, si vous ne comprenez pas mon anglais,

vous devez revenir au discours et le lire ensuite », a-t-il déclaré au cours de l'entretien à son retour de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies.

Ces propos sont en réaction aux critiques selon lesquelles le président Weah aurait raté

l'occasion de plaider le cas du Libéria à l'ONU. Ses critiques désapprouvaient aussi ses propos selon lesquelles ceux qui ont perdu les élections cherchaient à accéder au pouvoir par des moyens non démocratiques.



Un Néerlandais restitue le trésor éthiopien qu'il protégeait depuis vingt ans

C'est l'histoire d'un joyau du 18e siècle découvert dans une valise par un ex-réfugié éthiopien aux Pays-Bas, il y a deux décennies, et de l'Indiana Jones du 21e siècle. Débusquée par le correspondant de l'AFP aux Pays-Bas, elle n'a rien d'une fable, si ce n'est sa moralité.

Il y a quelque chose de Tintin et le Sceptre d'Ottokar dans cette aventure qui pourrait s'appeler « Monsieur Asfaw et la couronne du roi Sellase ». L'intrigue se déroule entre l'Éthiopie et les Pays-Bas et s'étend sur plus de vingt ans. Son dénouement,

heureux, vient d'avoir lieu, dans un petit appartement de Rotterdam.

Sirak Asfaw arrive d'Éthiopie aux Pays-Bas comme demandeur d'asile à la fin des années 1970. Il a dû fuir son pays, en proie à la Terreur rouge du colonel Mengistu (1977-1978). Installé dans la grande ville portuaire de Rotterdam, il débute une nouvelle vie, travaille comme consultant en gestion pour le compte du gouvernement. Hospitalier, il accueille régulièrement ses compatriotes qui, comme lui, fuient la dictature communiste.

Un jour d'avril 1998, il

découvre une valise laissée par l'un de ses visiteurs. Stupeur à son ouverture : une couronne se dévoile sous ses yeux, elle est ornée de cuivre doré, sur laquelle sont représentés Jésus-Christ et ses apôtres. « Je me suis dit: "Ceci a été volé. Elle ne devrait pas être ici. Elle appartient à l'Éthiopie" », témoigne Sirak Asfaw à Jan Hennop, journaliste à l'AFP.

Problème : en 1998, l'Éthiopie est en conflit ouvert avec l'Érythrée voisine. « Je ne pouvais pas la rendre à cause de la situation instable en Ethiopie », raconte Sirak Asfaw, qui a promis au mystérieux propriétaire de la valise que la couronne « ne quitterait pas sa maison sauf pour rentrer » dans son pays d'origine. C'est ainsi que le joyau de monsieur Asfaw, gardien de trésor malgré lui, restera caché pendant vingt et un ans. Deux décennies qui ont pu lui paraître longues et périlleuses : Sirak Asfaw a été menacé à plusieurs reprises par des Éthiopiens qui le savaient en possession de la couronne et souhaitaient le forcer à la rendre.Indiana Jones

Sirak Asfaw tint bon. « Je savais que si ie la rendais, elle disparaîtrait à nouveau », dit-il lucide. Et s'il a prouvé qu'il savait garder un secret, il sait aussi quand il est temps pour lui de le révéler, sans que cela ne fasse de dégâts. Or, ce jour est arrivé, selon lui, lorsqu'Abiy

En s'adressant aux Nations Unies, le président Weah a déclaré : « Nous ne comprenons pas pourquoi on réclame maintenant la création d'un tribunal des crimes de guerre, presque dix ans après sa convocation et pendant laquelle aucune pression de ce type n'a été exercée sur le gouvernement issu de l'Accord de paix d'Accra ».

Il a déclaré à l'ONU que "nous commençons à assister à l'émergence d'une menace rampante pour notre espace démocratique, ainsi qu'à la paix et à la stabilité durement gagnées".

Le président Weah a accusé des individus à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du Libéria, « en particulier ceux qui ont perdu des élections démocratiques » de recourir à l'incitation, aux menaces de violence, au mauvais usage des médias sociaux et au discours de haine, dans le but d'atteindre le pouvoir par des moyens non démocratiques.

Parmi les nombreuses revendications mises en avant pendant les dernières manifestations sous le régime du président Weah, on peut citer l'appel à la création d'un tribunal des crimes de guerre et des crimes économiques et la nécessité de lutter contre la corruption, entre autres.

Le Congrès pour le changement démocratique du président Weah, qui fait partie de la coalition au pouvoir, et son président actuelMulbah Morlu réclamaient eux aussi la mise en place d'un tribunal des crimes de guerre sous le régime de l'ancienne présidente Ellen Johnson - Sirleaf.

Mais depuis qu'ils ont pris le pouvoir, le CDC et son leader politique, le président Weah. continuent de manifester leur opposition à la justice, comme le président l'a fait savoir dans cet entretien le plus récent.

Plus de 250 000 Libériens seraient morts et des biens d'une valeur de plusieurs millions de dollars auraient été détruits pendant la guerre civile dans le pays.

A noter que le président Weah a obtenu le soutien du sénateur Prince Yormie Johnson, sénateur du comté de Nimba, en 2017, pour remporter présidentielle. Johnson est un ancien général rebelle qui a dirigé le Front patriotique national indépendant du Libéria (INPFL). Il est accusé du meurtrebrutal du président Samuel Doe alors qu'il était en exercice.

« Vous appelez à un tribunal des crimes de guerre, je veux que vous m'expliquiez pourquoi aujourd'hui, pendant que nous avons des problèmes économiques et nous essayons de développer notre pays. Pourquoi se concentrer maintenant sur le tribunal des crimes de guerre ? Pourquoi ne vous y êtes-vous pas concentrés il y a 12 ans?».

Le président Weah a indiqué que les personnes qui ont participé à l'ensemble du processus de ce qui est arrivé aux Libériens « ont dirigé le pays pendant 12 années ».

« Alors pourquoi maintenant ? Est-ce que c'est ce que vous voulez ? D'accord, nous l'avons ensuite envoyé à l'Assemblée législative pour que les Libériens puissent en parler. Je veux vous donner l'occasion d'en parler au lieu de troubler chaque jour la paix de ce pays », a-t-il déclaré.

Il dit qu'il ne sait pas pourquoi les gens ont des sentiments mitigés lorsqu'il a informé l'ONU de ce qui se passe sur le terrain.

« Je ne pense pas qu'un Libérien devrait se sentir offensé quand je demande à l'ONU que nous avons des problèmes économiques pour voir comment ils peuvent nous aider. Comme je me souviens il y a quelques années, j'étais l'un de ceux qui étaient allés avec le gouvernement pour obtenir un allégement de la dette, il n'y avait pas eu de colère.

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

Ahmed devient Premier ministre d'Éthiopie, début avril 2018.

Depuis sa prise de fonction, Ahmed a multiplié les mesures d'ouverture démocratique. À commencer par un geste spectaculaire: la signature d'un accord de paix avec l'Érythrée. Pour Sirak Asfaw, la situation est donc assez stable et sûre - ce malgré la tentative de coup d'Etat du 22 juin dernier, les

revendications nationalistes et les risques de morcellement territorial - pour rendre à l'Éthiopie ce qui appartient à l'Éthiopie.

Il décide pour ce faire de prendre contact avec un célèbre spécialiste des objets d'art. Arthur Brand, surnommé depuis un documentaire de CBS « l'Indiana Jones du monde de l'art ».



Français

Éditorial

L'argument vague du sénateur Teahjay

a réaction du sénateur J. Milton Teahjay du comté de Sione à l'égard de son collègue, le sénateur Abraham Darious Dillon, du comté de Montserrado, concernant le salaire, les indemnités et les avantages sociaux d'un sénateur, est pour le moins dépourvu de fondement.

Le sénateur Teahjay, lors de la séance plénière du lundi 30 octobre, n'a donné aucune nouvelle information qui soit différente ou contredise les informations qui ont été rendues publiques par le sénateur Dillon. Il ne s'est contenté que d'embellir la question.

Tout récemment, le sénateur Dillon du comté de Montserrado, révélant ce qu'il gagne en tant que sénateur, a clairement indiqué qu'il s'agissait d'unsalaire brut, ses indemnités et ses avantages, tels que reçus des mains du président du comité sénatorial sur les voies, les moyens et les finances.

Mais Teahjay s'offusque vainement contre le fait que Dillon n'ait pas, selon lui, compartimenté ni décomposé les chiffres qu'il avait reçus du sénateur Saytumah. Il lui reproche de les avoir lus en public sans donner des explications détaillées.

La question est la suivante :Que les chiffres aient été détaillés ou non, y a-t-il une différence entre les chiffrestels que lus par le sénateur Dillon et ce que reçoit un sénateur ? C'est peut-être ce que le sénateur Teahjay a tenté de nous faire comprendre lundi, mais hélas sans succès.

Même si Dillon avait commis une erreur, à qui incombait la responsabilité de donner les chiffres corrects ou d'apporter une précision? Certainement pas le sénateur Teahjay, mais le sénateur Morris Saytumah, qui préside le Comité sénatorial sur les voies, les moyens et les finances.

De quel droit Teahjay conteste-t-il des informations qui n'émanent pas de lui ? S'il y avait des inexactitudes, nous pensons que la personne légitime à blâmer est le sénateur Saytumah; pas Dillon parce que le second lisait directement dans le papier manuscrit qu'il avait reçu; rien d'autre.

Chaque fiche de salaire indique un salaire brut avant une décomposition des retenues sur le revenu (impôts), la sécurité sociale et l'assurances, entre autres. Par conséquent, il n'est jamais faux de dire que je gagne un salaire brut de tel montant.

Cependant, nous comprenons pourquoi Teahjay s'agite ainsi. Dillon a fait ce que le sénateur du comté de Sinoe n'a jamais fait au cours des neuf dernières années ou plus - en révélant son salaire, et cela rentre dans l'histoire.

Depuis le début de l'administration jusqu'à aujourd'hui, les législateurs du Capitole s'allouent, au cours de chaque exercice financier, des salaires, des indemnités et des avantages faramineux qui drainent le budget national et empêchent toute attention portée à d'autres secteurs critiques. En outre, ils ont refusé d'être audités pour les fonds publics reçus.

Le fait que le sénateur Dillon se démarque ainsi du passé en informant le public de ce que reçoit un sénateur et un député, pendant que les gens qu'ils prétendent représenter meurent de faim, de manque de médicaments dans les hôpitaux à travers le pays, expose la profondeur de la cupidité, de l'égoïsme et de la pure insensibilité de nos dirigeants nationaux. Ainsi, c'est par honte et par embarras apparent que Teahjay a parlé, car ce qui a été dissimulé au peuple a été révélé.

COMMENTAIRE

Par Eric Posner

Le piège de la mise en accusation

HICAGO - Les Démocrates américains ont commis une grave erreur en lançant une procédure de mise en accusation à l'encontre du Président Donald Trump. Ils sont en train de reproduire la mise en accusation de Bill Clinton par les Républicains en 1998, un exercice futile qui a porté tort aux Républicains, a renforcé les pouvoirs de Clinton et a également causé du tort aux institutions.

Le facteur commun à ces deux mises en accusation, c'est que dès le début, il était clair que le Sénat américain n'aurait jamais pu appliquer la sentence, ce qui exige une majorité des deux tiers. Les 45 Démocrates du Sénat reprochaient à Clinton d'avoir commis un parjure devant un grand jury, d'avoir fait obstruction à la justice et d'avoir eu une aventure extraconjugale avec Monica Lewinsky, une stagiaire de la Maison Blanche. Mais ils n'ont pas estimé que ce comportement fût un motif suffisant à sa révocation. Ce comportement n'était pas suffisamment scandaleux pour avoir le dessus sur leur fidélité politique à un président toujours populaire auprès des électeurs.

Les Républicains à l'origine de la mise en accusation savaient que très rares seraient les Démocrates du Sénat à voter en faveur de la sentence (en fait, aucun de n'a voté en ce sens). Mais les Républicains espéraient gêner les Démocrates et causer du tort à Clinton, en croyant qu'ils allaient remporter quelques sièges aux élections de novembre 1998 en lançant une procédure de mise en accusation avant cette date. Ils ont eu tort. La popularité de Clinton s'est accrue une fois la procédure de mise en accusation achevée. La plupart des Américains ont cru que la mise en accusation était une erreur.

Bien des gens craignaient que la mise en accusation de Clinton ne nuise à la présidence, mais son effet sur le pouvoir présidentiel eut un effet contraire. Les Républicains se sont finalement mis d'accord avec les Démocrates sur le fait que la responsabilité de la débâcle revenait à Kenneth Starr, l'avocat indépendant dont les enquêtes sur les transactions immobilières de Clinton plusieurs années auparavant l'avaient conduit à Lewinsky. Les deux partis ont laissé expirer le statut d'avocat indépendant, libérant ainsi la présidence d'une puissante forme de surveillance, ce qui arrangerait bien les affaires de Trump une génération plus tard.

À l'heure actuelle, les Républicains du Sénat ont peutêtre de quoi être préoccupés par le comportement de Trump. Mais rien n'indique qu'un seul d'entre eux voterait en faveur de sa destitution. Bien que Trump soit loin d'être aussi populaire que Clinton, sa base lui est toujours fidèle, sa base domine les primaires des Républicains, et, contrairement à Clinton, il bénéficie d'un soutien majoritaire au Sénat. En effet, l'enthousiasme extraordinaire des partisans de Trump - leur indifférence à ses nombreux autres scandales garantit presque que les renseignements supplémentaires qui pourraient être recueillis au cours de l'audience de mise en accusation n'influenceront pas les sénateurs républicains.

Certains partisans de la mise en accusation affirment que la gravité des accusations contre Trump - il a engagé un pays étranger pour harceler un adversaire politique - garantissent sa condamnation. Mais nous avons déjà connu cette situation par le passé. Les Démocrates, qui ont en horreur le harcèlement sexuel et le parjure, ont soutenu Clinton parce qu'ils ont considéré l'autre possibilité comme pire encore. Les Républicains vont faire le même calcul. Peut-être que les choses se passeraient autrement si Trump avait convaincu les Ukrainiens d'arrêter Joe Biden lors de son voyage touristique à Kiev. Le comportement du président, si odieux soit-il, est bien loin de l'implication de Richard Nixon dans des crimes d'espionnage envers le Parti Démocrate - le seul

exemple historique de mise en accusation ayant conduit à la destitution (dans le cas de Nixon, à la démission) du président.

D'autres affirment que même si Trump n'est pas destitué, une mise en accusation à la Chambre - que la majorité démocrate garantit pratiquement - enverra un signal fort disant que le comportement du président bafoue les valeurs américaines. Mais la mise en accusation a sa propre logique narrative : une fois que les Démocrates la mettent en branle, soit ils gagnent, soit ils perdent. S'ils perdent, ils seront vus comme des perdants qui ont gaspillé les ressources publiques dans un but futile.

D'autres encore croient que les audiences de mise en accusation vont révéler que Trump a commis des crimes ou trahi le pays par de nouveaux moyens non divulgués, ou que les audiences vont permettre aux Démocrates de communiquer la gravité de tous les actes répréhensibles du président, de manière à mobiliser l'opinion publique. Mais l'administration de Trump n'a gardé que de rares secrets jusqu'ici et une grande part de son comportement a été normalisé, au moins pour ses partisans républicains. La procédure de mise en accusation, contrairement aux procédures judiciaires, est un lourd mécanisme quand il s'agit de produire des preuves. Rien de nouveau n'a été divulgué sur Clinton après la publication du rapport Starr - et rien de nouveau ne le sera sur Trump.

En effet, les défauts de caractère et les débordements de Trump sont déjà si bien connus que la procédure de mise en accusation va probablement se retourner contre les Démocrates et leur causer plus de tort qu'aux Républicains. Une fois encore, la mise en accusation de Clinton est éloquente. Tout le monde savait - ou soupçonnait - que Clinton était un coureur de jupons (ou ce qu'aujourd'hui on peut appeler un prédateur sexuel) et un menteur invétéré. On n'était pas aussi bien informé sur les aventures extraconjugales du Président de la Chambre des Représentants républicain Newt Gingrich, ainsi que sur celles de son successeur Bob Livingston. Tous deux ont démissionné; Clinton est resté en fonction. Le plus grand talent de Trump est sa capacité à transformer les procureurs en accusés. Attendons-nous à ce que cela se reproduise, quand Trump va utiliser son compte Twitter pour attirer l'attention sur le prochain Démocrate ayant les plus lourdes vulnérabilités politiques.

Il n'y a rien de bien sorcier là-dedans. Alors pourquoi une politicienne aussi rusée que la Présidente de la Chambre des Représentants Nancy Pelosi cède-t-elle à la pression des autres membres et plaide-t-elle en faveur de la mise en accusation (bien qu'elle soit clairement en train de tergiverser - par exemple, en refusant d'organiser un vote à la Chambre pour autoriser la procédure de mise en accusation) ? La réponse découle de la logique fondamentale du Congrès dans une ère polarisée.

Le Congrès est un organe collectif. Ses membres ont des comptes à rendre à leurs électeurs dans des circonscriptions particulières ou des États particuliers, plutôt qu'à l'ensemble du pays. Les Démocrates de la Chambre issus de circonscriptions plus libérales craignent d'être battus aux primaires par des adversaires anti-Trump plus forts. Le seul moyen de lutter contre de tels adversaires, c'est de soutenir la mise en accusation. Plus les Démocrates suivent le mouvement, plus des Démocrates modérés se joignent à eux pour éviter de ressembler à des défenseurs des inconduites de Trump.

On attribue à Mark Twain ce bon mot, selon lequel « l'histoire ne se répète pas, mais elle rime souvent. » Mais dans ce cas, répétition semble être le mot juste. La logique politique qui a piégé les Républicains en 1998 va fonctionner de la même façon sur les Démocrates en 2019.

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PERSPECTIVES PERSPECTIVES

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

DEBUNKING THE "GRAND CONSPIRACY"

("Saves, Protects and keeps Liberia and Presidency intact")
FOR NOT ESTABLISHINGWAR AND ECONOMIC CRIMES COURT IN LIBERIA

With Bai M. Gbala, Sr. September 28, 2019

CONSPIRACY

Introduction

According to the Newspaper Hot Pepper(Hot Pepper Liberia, September 24, 2019), an anonymous "Grand Conspiracy" published elaborate Statute of an Extraordinary War & Economic Crimes Court to be established in Liberia, evidently, inspired by Neo-Colonialism.

After several decades of the Liberian civil war of destruction, human suffering and death, there had been, and is, legitimate demand, with constant pressure, by Liberians, human rights organizations and Liberia's international partners for implementation of the Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Report/Recommendations(R/R)by 1), establishment of aWar and Economic Crime Court in Liberiaor 2), arrest and turn-over of all suspects/accused to the International Criminal Court (ICC) for trial, as made and provided by the United Nations, consstent with international law.

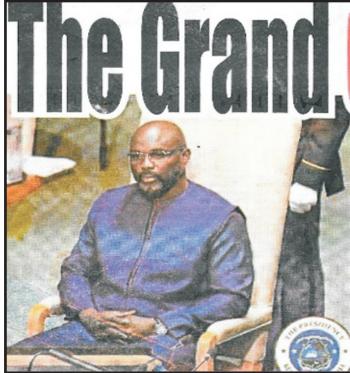
The ICC was designed and established by the United Nations (of which Liberia and all, almost, leading nations of the world are active, founding member-states) with power/authority to "complement existing national judicial systems by referring cases to the ICC only when and where the government/national courts are unwilling/unable to prosecute suspects", as is the case in Liberia.

Government's Refusal to Prosecute

The former Government of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, accused as chief architect of the civil war and principal warlord, refused to implement the TRC R/Rfor obvious reasons. Therefore, the TRC R/Rwere side-lined for several years up to the present and the legitimate demandfor implementation of the TRC R/Rshifted to the new Government of President George Weah.

However, a sticky political/economic problem arose within Liberian political circles with negative impact on the interests of the major primeshakers & movers:

- a) As Standard Bearer of CDC and candidate for President of Liberia, Senator Weah selected as his Vice Presidential running mate, the Standard Bearer of the National Patriotic Party, NPP, (the notorious rebel party, massive human rights violator and murderer of estimated quarter of a million of Liberians)Mrs. Jewel Howard-Taylor, estranged-wife of the founder of NPP and leader of the civil war insurgents, former President Charles Taylor, now in prison for war crimes against humanity. Further, the Chairman of Senator Weah's CDC Party announced, publicly, that "We will not shy away from former President Charles Taylor";
- b) Moreover, H. E. Dr. President George Weah declared, also publicly, that "There will be no war crimes court in Liberia", apparently, during his Presidency and in the absence of reference to the other legitimate option of referring suspects to the International Criminal Court (ICC). The announcement implies policy commitment to the prevailing impunity from prosecution of thousands of suspects accused of War & Economic crimes.
- c) Also, H. E. Dr. President George Weah formed several, close political Alliances with:
 - 1) Former President Taylor, the Chief African Criminal now in prison for war crimes against African Humanity, including Liberians;
 - 2) Prince Yormie Johnson(PYJ), now Nimba County Senior Senator and former Field



H. E. Dr. George M. Weah, President of Liberia

Marshall/General and Commander of the rebel INPFL who carried out the most major summary executions without trial, committed the most gruesome, brutal human rights violations of the civil wartorture, mutilation by cutting off ears and private body parts of the victims while alive and, eventually, murder (for example, Samuel K. Doe, President of Liberia) on live video;

Mrs. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, the accused war & economic criminal who, allegedly, financed Weah's political campaign in return for protection from prosecution for alleged war crimes and now sitting, allegedly, as "political/economic counsel" behind Weah's Presidential Throne.

The United Nation's Diplomats

Hungry for and seeking the fast US buck (dollar), these professional political/ideologues of United Nations are, particularly, interested in re-establishing Colonial influence in Africa. Recall the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's classic Essays on Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism and its application to today's 21st century Africa. Relevant Case in point is the recent2010 "elections" in La Cote d'Ivoire at which the Honorable Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa, was Africa Union (AU) Envoy/Observer and which Honorable, President Mbeki bravely, eloquently condemned (Africa Watch, May 2011).

Pre-Presidential (2010) Elections in La Cote d'Ivoire

The National Assembly passed an election law which barred candidates, either of whose parents were of a foreign nationality and who had not lived in Côte d'Ivoire for five years preceding the election for which one is candidate and who has served in a high position under nationality different than Ivorian. This was the case of Mr. Alassane Ouattara, widely-believed to be citizen of Burkina Faso, brought to power as President of La Cote d'Ivoire by the controversial results of the elections, according to World & Ivorian Press and Africa Union Envoy/Observer'sreports.

The United Nations (UN)

The UN Special Representative, Choi Young-jin (of South Korea), Envoy of UN Secretary-General, determined that some of Gbagbo's complaints about the elections results were legitimate but that Ouattara had won the election with fewer votes than those announced by the Ivorian Elections Commission(IEC). So, in terms of the votes cast for the two candidates, the IEC (Ouattara)& theIvorian Constitutional Council (CC-Gbagbo), the UN Envoy reached three, different conclusions, not specified nor announced.

Therefore, in terms of the total votes cast for the two candidates of the same elections, some of the Election Observers **questioned** the fairness of the elections,

especially, in northern Cote d'Ivoire.

Those who sounded the "Red-flag" alarms of Northern Cote d'Ivoirian balloting were the elections-observer missions of the Africa Union (led by Joseph Kokou Kofigoh, former Prime Minister of Togo); the independent, civil society Societe' Civile Africaine pour la Democratie et l'Assistance Electoral (led by Seynaboulndieguene of Senegal); and the Coordination of African Election Experts, (CARE) from Cameroon, Senegal, Benin, Mali, Morocco, Gabon and Togo (led by Jean-Marie Ongjibangte of Cameroon. The Problems identified included the stealing of ballot boxes, arresting of candidates' representatives, multiple voting, refusal to admit international observers to witness counting of ballots, and the murders of representatives of candidates.

Failures of the UN Mission

The UN Special Representative made the extraordinary decision by declaring, publicly, the winner of the presidential elections, contrary to his mandate from the UN Security Council. This pronouncement positioned the UN Mission as partisan stakeholder in the conflict, rather than a neutral peacemaker. From this point on, the UN Mission had no choice but to support the installation of Mr. Ouattara as President and the removal of Mr. Laurent Gbagbo.

Rather than seek the achievement of the required reasonable, non-partisan goal, the western UN Mission on used, blatantly, its military personnel (might) in opening a path for the pro-Ouattara Forces Nouvelles to defeat the Gbagbo forces and capture Gbagbo& wife under the shameless, false pretense that it (UN) was acting to protect civilians. The UN Mission did nothing to stop the Forces Nouvelles from advancing south, including into Abidjan. Nor did the UN Mission or French Licorne Forces, as mandated by the UN, act to protect civilians in Due`koue` and Guiglo, where most of concentrated killings of civilians took place.

Significantly, Key Observations & Conclusions by Honorable Thabo Mbeki, Africa Union (AU) Envoy and Elections Observer, were:

- The agreed conditions for holding democratic elections in Cote d'Ivoire were not created.
- Despite strong allegations of electoral fraud, the international community (UN Mission)decided against conducting any verification of the process but announced the results. This decision left unanswered the question of who actually won the elections.
- The UN Mission abandoned its neutrality as a peacemaker, decided to play a partisan role.
- France used its privileged place in the UN Security Council to grab an important role in determining the future of Cote d'Ivoire, its former colony in which France has significant, economic interests. France joined the UN Security Council Mission in Cote d'Ivoire to ensure that Ouattara emerged as the victor in the Ivorian conflict.
- Former French President,
 Francois Mitter and, remarked that "without
 Africa, France will have no history in 21st century"; implication that Ouattara's victory as
 President of Cote d'Ivoire will address the national interests of France consistent with its (France's)
 FrancAfrique policies designed to perpetuate Colonial/Neo-Colonialist relationships with its former, African colonies.

Now, therefore, in the light of the foregoing analysis and the facts of recent history, it is proper, reasonable, redresses the illegal acts inflicted by legitimate demands consistent with desires of the citizens, indeed mandatory, to arrest and turn-over all suspected/accused individuals to the International Criminal Court for trial, as made and provided by the World Body, The United Nations. This approach saves, protects and keeps Liberia and the Presidency intact, while it achieves the desired objective, rather than the Conspiracy theory approach, applicable only in the absence of concrete, validated evidence of juicy, public wrong-doing, which is NOT the case here.

TO BE CONT'D NEXT EDITION

By Winston W. Parley

resident George Manneh Weah upon arrival here Tuesday plays down concerns and misgivings about his address at the United Nations General Assembly saying it was time to be real about the issues concerning the country and wonders why people are having mix feelings.

"We rely on donors," Weah told local reporters upon his arrival at the Roberts

community can do everything for us, so the leaders have to go and let them know that we have to (enable us) work together," President Weah asserts.

He says he doesn't think any Liberian should have mix feeling when he is asking the UN that Liberia has economic issues and wants the help of the UN and the international community.

"... Because I remember couple of years back, I was one of those that went to ... went with the government to go for debt relief, there was no mix feeling. So I don't know why people will have mix feeling," he says.

Liberians are feeling the pinch of a bad economy under President Weah's regime, with



International Airport Tuesday, adding the Liberia lacks the capacity and strength to stand on its own.

President Weah was real, apparently something that most people have acknowledged but been unable to express publicly in the midst of high political tension.

"Instead of galvanizing ourselves, we believe that of course the international

uncontrollable rising foreign exchange rate, high prices for goods and services, lack of jobs and delayed salaries for the few that have managed to secure jobs.

The private sector here is not booming, thus putting much pressure on the government as a lot of unemployed young people continue to look to the government for public jobs.

"Of course we spoke to our partners, some of the issues we're having here, what we try to put in place, we asked them to join us to do it. You know Liberia has a history of going to the UN, to the international community to help us. This is not the first time," President Weah continues.

Sa Leone Special Court

Starts from backpage

judgments represent an undeniable record of the atrocity crimes proven to have been committed against the people of Sierra Leone during the country's elevenyear civil war, and as such will also be useful to a wider audience, including to the people of Sierra Leone, to enhance their understanding of their history. The briefing in The Hague will be followed next month by a lecture at the Sierra Leone Law School in Freetown by Justice Emmanuel Roberts.

Eleven of the Fourteen Chapters in the volume highlight the specific international crimes to which civilians in Sierra Leone were subjected, including sexual slavery, murder, rape,

mutilation and pillage. In her dedication, Justice Fisher acknowledged the people of Sierra Leone who came forward to testify during the trials before the Court:

"Those voices speak through the judgments and those voices should be heard not only by professionals but by the people of Sierra Leone.

It is to the people of Sierra Leone that this book is dedicated, in the hope that we have made more accessible to them the record of the crimes perpetrated against them - not as a tragic reminder of the horrors of war, but as a tribute to their courage and resilience, and as a weapon against any who might deny the atrocities they suffered and overcame."

The Residual Special Court for Sierra Leone is responsible for the ongoing legal obligations of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, which concluded its mandate in December 2013. These include supervision of prison sentences, witness protection and support, maintenance and preservation of the archives, and assistance to national prosecution authorities.





FUNERAL ANNOUCEMENT



FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS OVER THE REMAINS OF OUR BELOVED MOTHER, SISTER, DAUGHTHER, WIFE, COUSIN, GRANDMOTHER, MRS. CYNTHIA NENYI DAVIES - GONGAR WHO WENT TO BE WITH THE LORD ON SEPTEMBER 11, 2019 AFTER A PROTRACTED ILLNESS IS AS FOLLOWS:

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, 2019, THERE WILL BE A SILENT WAKE KEEPING AT THE FAMILY HOUSE ON 9TH STREET AT 8:00 PM.

ON FRIDAY OCTOBER 4, 2019, THE BODY SHALL BE REMOVED FROM THE ST. MOSES FUNERAL PARLOUR AT THE HOUR OF 9:00 A.M. AND SHALL BE TAKEN TO THE A. P. CAMPHOR UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, CLARATOWN, **BUSHROD ISLAND.**

THE FUNERAL SERVICE SHALL COMMENCE SAME DAY AT 10:00 A.M AT THE A. P. CAMPHOR UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, CLARATOWN, BUSHROD ISLAND.

INTERMENT SHALL FOLLOW THEREAFTER AT THE KAISER MEMORIAL CEMETERY IN BREWERVILLE.

THE DECEASED LEAVES TO MOURN HER LOSS HER CHILDREN, WARD AND SEVERAL GRANDCHILDREN:

MS. TRACY MONEH APPLETON MRS. BRENDA APPLETON-SENDOLO MR. ERASMUS DADDY APPLETON MS. JULIAN LITTLEGIRL APPLETON MR. LEO KAITHY APPLETON MR. BADIO GOE

MS. ESTHER GONGAR HER BROTHER AND SISTER:

MR. HENRY KOFFA AND MRS. SARAH DAVIES-KENNEDY AND A HOST OF OTHER RELATIVES AND FRIENDS WITHIN LIBERIA AND THE USA.

THIS ANNOUCE WAS BROUGHT IN BY THE APPLETON. DAVIES, GONGAR, SETTRO, WHETIE PORTEA FAMILIES ON BEHALF OF THE FAMILY.



VOL. 9 NO. 173

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 03, 2019

Sa Leone Special Court Judges Publish the Jurisprudence



Justice Fisher

he Judges of the Residual Special Court on Wednesday October 2, 2019 published 'Bearing the Greatest Responsibility: Select Jurisprudence of the Special Court for Sierra Leone', a digitized Volume of the consolidated judgments of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL).

The SCSL wrapped up its work in December 2013 after the successful completion of its mandate, and was succeeded by the RSCSL. Part of the RSCSL's mandate is to ensure the SCSL's legacy. The Volume may be downloaded without cost from the RSCSL's website, at www.rscsl.org, and may be cited freely.

Justice Shireen Avis Fisher,

who oversaw the production of this Volume, briefed diplomats in The Hague to coincide with today's launch. She highlighted the Court's unique contributions to its jurisprudence on the use of child soldiers in conflict, terrorism, forced marriage as a crime against humanity, head of state immunity, and attacks directed against UN peacekeepers.

'Bearing the Greatest Responsibility' is a searchable verbatim compilation of the judgments of the SCSL, organized according to subject matter, and broken down by crime, case, facts, location, and legal analysis.

This volume will be of use to international courts, some of which have already looked to SCSL precedents, as well as to prosecutors, jurists, legal scholars, international institutions, human rights activists, and other interested persons.

In addition to the legal analysis, the factual findings contained in the



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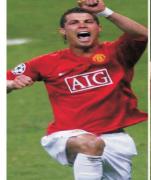


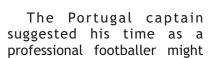


lines post-foot onaldo ol

ristiano Ronaldo has hinted he might retire from football "in the next year or two" to become a fully-fledged businessman.

He is aiming to move into the business world having launched a number of ventures - including his own line of underwear, denim, footwear, perfumes, a digital agency, restaurants, gyms and hotels - in the last few years.







be nearly up with his contract at Juventus running until June 2022, when he will be 37.

"I still love football. I love to entertain the fans and the people who love Cristiano. It doesn't matter the age, it's all about mentality," he told SportBIBLE.

"The last five years I start to enjoy this process of seeing me outside of football, so who knows what will happen in the next year or two?

"You have to trust in yourself. In football, I have more control. I know what I can do.

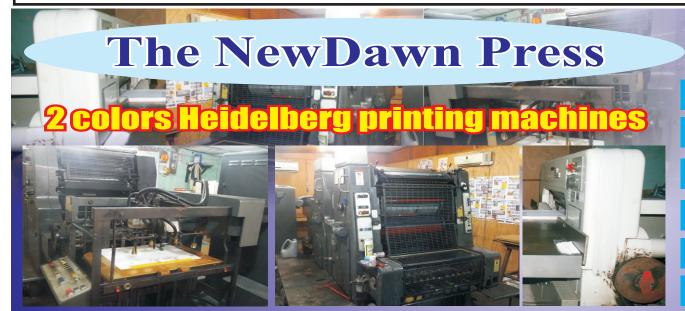
In business, it's more

difficult, you depend on other people, but I have a good team. It will be a challenge.

"I always want to be number one. I will do it, 100 per cent."

Ronaldo pointed out that sporting greats and the greatest managers share more than a few similarities.

He added that his goal in the business world will be exactly the same one as a footballer - to work his way to the top through daily graft and commitment to the cause.



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