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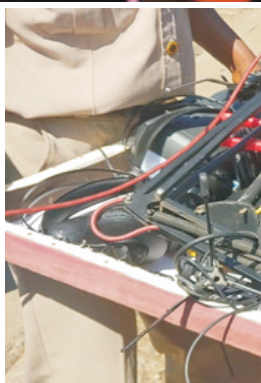
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# Uncertainty looms

**-As Oppositions threaten mass action**



Talk show host Henry Costa

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# Continental News

## Tunisians vote in 2nd post Arab springs election

Tunisians are voting to choose a new president, in a decisive final-round vote between two political newcomers: a flamboyant media mogul and a conservative law professor.

Tycoon Nabil Karoui and retired academic Kais Saied swept aside a host of establishment candidates in the first round of voting last month.

Mr Karoui, 56, has campaigned from prison after being arrested on charges of money laundering and tax fraud.

He denies the charges.

Mr Karoui, who was freed by a court order just four days ago, came second in the first round of voting, with 15.6% of the votes to Mr Saied's 18.4%.

Tunisia's electoral commission has said that if Mr Karoui loses the run-off election he could appeal the result as he has not been

allowed a fair campaign.

The two outsiders saw off a crowded field of 24 other candidates in the first round, striking a blow to Tunisia's political establishment.

Prime Minister Youssef Chahed and former interim

President Moncef Marzouki failed to progress as voters showed their frustration with a stagnant economy, high unemployment and poor public services.

What are the two candidates offering?



Image copyright GETTY IMAGES: Tunisians are voting for their second president since the 2011 Arab Uprising

A 61-year-old law professor nicknamed "the robot", Mr Saied has run a shrewd and hard campaign, with almost no advertising, on a message of integrity and anti-corruption targeted at young Tunisian voters.

In the week before the polls, he announced that he would not campaign while his rival was in prison.

He has promised electoral reforms, including changes to local elections for regional representatives.

Critics have attacked his conservative social views, however.

In an interview with a local newspaper, he accused foreign powers of encouraging homosexuality in the country.

He is in favour of returning the death penalty, suspended since 1994 in Tunisia, and has said that if he wins the presidency, his wife will not be the country's first lady.

As for Mr Karoui, he is dubbed Nabil "Makrouna" (pasta) for his charity's distribution of money and bags of the staple food.

Supporters view him as a self-made businessman whose philanthropy is praised in a country facing rising living costs and youth unemployment. -BBC

## Go home, Tanzanian President tells Burundian refugees

Refugees in Tanzania must go home, President John Magufuli said on Friday, a week after officials began mass repatriations of Burundians despite concerns that they may face political persecution.

Tanzanian officials have said that all repatriations will be voluntary but Magufuli warned in his

speech that refugees in Tanzania, most of whom are Burundians, cannot stay indefinitely and will not be granted citizenship.

"Go back to your home ... don't insist on staying in Tanzania as refugees or expect citizenship while Burundi is now stable," Magufuli said during a rally in Katavi region near a large refugee camp in northwestern Tanzania.

"Even Jesus ran to Egypt as a refugee ... and returned to his land to preach. Why do you want to stay here permanently and not return to your country?" he said.

Burundians made up the majority of the 280,000 refugees registered in Tanzania at the end of 2018, according to the United Nations. Hundreds of Burundians have been killed in clashes with security forces since 2015, when President Pierre Nkurunziza ran for a third, disputed term in office.

Burundi and Tanzania agreed in August to repatriate nearly 200,000 refugees who had sought refuge in Tanzania.

The repatriations started last week, with some refugees expressing fears they might be forced home despite assurances from both governments and the United Nations that would not happen.

Burundi is due to hold elections next year. The security services still continue to torture, rape and murder people perceived as opposing Nkurunziza, the U.N. reported last month. -Reuters



FILE PHOTO: Burundian refugees get off from a bus which transported them from Tanzania to neighbouring Burundi, as part of a repatriation program, at the Nyabitare transit site, in the Gisuru commune, Ruyigi province

## Burkina Faso mosque attack kills 15 worshippers

At least 15 people have been killed and two seriously injured in an attack on a mosque in northern Burkina Faso.

Gunmen entered the Grand Mosque in the village of Salmossi on Friday evening as those inside were praying.

The attack prompted many locals to flee the village which is close to the Malian border.

carrying out the attack.

Jihadist attacks have increased in Burkina Faso since 2015, forcing thousands of schools to close down.

The conflict spread across the border from neighbouring Mali where Islamist militants took over the north of the country in 2012 before French troops pushed them out.

The UN Refugee agency says more than a quarter of a



Image copyright GETTY IMAGES: Military reinforcements have been put in place in the area following the attack

Hundreds of people have been killed in the country over the past few years, mostly by jihadist groups.

One resident from the nearby town of Gorom-Gorom told AFP news agency: "Since this morning, people have started to flee the area."

He added that there was a "climate of panic despite military reinforcements" put in place following the attack.

No group has admitted

million people in Burkina Faso have been forced to flee their homes over the past three months.

Last week, 20 people were killed in an attack on a gold-mining site in the north.

On Saturday, about 1,000 people protested in the capital Ouagadougou to denounce violence in their country and the presence of foreign military forces in the region. -BBC

# EDITORIAL

## When the Church turns a blind eye

**THE CHURCH OF** Liberia as a body has drifted away from one of the key foundations of Jesus Christ's Ministry on earth - Love. Love in the heart of man for his fellow man has gone cold, but that the body of Christ, particularly the Liberia Council of Churches that should carry the face of true Christianity has increasingly become silent and invincible, is highly disappointing.

**OUR CONCERN IS** specifically drawn to the LCC conspicuous absence since the Wednesday, September 18, 2019 tragic fire disaster at the Branch #4 of the United Dawah Umah (UDU) Islamic boarding school in Paynesville, outside Monrovia that left 28 persons, mostly school children burnt to death.

**SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATION ESTABLISHED** electrical fault as cause of the fire that razed the entire structure down at almost midnight, leaving helpless children screaming for help.

**THE TRAGEDY SHOCKED** the entire country and beyond our borders with messages of condolence pouring in from everywhere, including foreign countries and governments.

**IN LIBERIA, THE** Muslim community broke down in mourning, as national leaders and organizations paid tributes.

**BUT THE LCC,** a member of the religious community has yet to make its presence felt in the situation, when it is very necessary to do so. Not even the Inter-Religious Council has acted as a national group to identify with families of the victims, as religious teachings would require.

**THANKS TO THE** Bethel Church of Liberia as a single denomination for providing LRD100, 000 to families of the victims recently and consoling them. That singular act by the Bethel denomination showed the face of the Christian community in what should have been the role of the LCC as a national body.

**BUT THE COUNCIL** of Churches missed out because its love for God's creation, particularly human beings regardless of religion, has gone dead. The LCC is increasingly losing its relevance in society.

**THIS WAS NOT** the type of ministry Jesus Christ taught, while He was on earth. The Church has clearly broken away from its tradition of giving love and care. Who will restore the ancient landmark?

**WHETHER IT IS** the LCC or the Inter-Religious Council, love for fellow human beings should be the prime motive for the existence of each organization. Anything apart from this cardinal principle is mere hypocrisy and self-seeking.

**The New Dawn**  
TRULY INDEPENDENT

# COMMENTARY

By Bennett Ramberg

## Whither Nuclear-Arms Control?

*The purpose of nuclear-arms control is obvious, but the means of achieving it have become more complicated than ever. What worked in the past may not work in the present, and tactics to rein in one country could prove disastrous if pursued with others.*

**L**OS ANGELES - Is nuclear-arms control unraveling? The 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) has collapsed, the 2015 Iran nuclear deal is teetering, and North Korea has continued to expand its nuclear and ballistic-missile arsenal. Worse, it is unclear whether the United States will stick with the New START Treaty when it expires in 2021. That agreement limits (at 3,000) the number of strategic weapons Russia and the US have pointed at each other.

Fortunately, history offers some solace. During and after the Cold War, periods of arms-control breakdown were typically followed by phases of reconstruction. But reversing course is never easy. When it comes to bringing Russia, Iran, and North Korea into compliance, past experience shows that there are limits to what can be accomplished by leveraging alliances or pursuing military action. The remaining options are economic sanctions - which are effective only up to a point - and a further arms buildup, to induce renewed negotiations.

To be sure, alliances historically have played an important role in nuclear nonproliferation. In Europe, the US-NATO nuclear umbrella prevented the bomb from spreading beyond Britain and France. When US intelligence agencies learned in the 1970s and 1980s that South Korea and Taiwan had secret nuclear-weapons programs, America threatened to withdraw its military and economic support, and the programs eventually were shut down.

But intra-alliance pressure has no role to play with respect to loners like North Korea, Russia, and Iran. Despite China's military alliance and occasional summitry with North Korea, it has little influence over Kim Jong-un's nuclear ambitions. And while Britain, China, France, Germany, and Russia may yet be able to pressure the US into renewing dialogue with Iran, their efforts have yielded no results so far.

The use of force in nuclear-arms control has long been contemplated, but rarely pursued, owing to the risks of retaliation or radiological fallout. When these risks are absent, military action becomes attractive. In 1981 and 2007, Israel bombed suspected Iraqi and Syrian nuclear reactors under construction, without blowback. In the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the US Air Force struck Iraq's concealed enrichment plants with impunity. But this is not an option against Russia and North Korea today. A strike on Russia's contraband intermediate-range missile arsenal or on North Korea's nuclear program could bring about the very scenario that arms control is supposed to prevent: nuclear war.

Iran's situation is different. Fearing further Iranian enrichment activities, the US could, in theory, fashion a limited strike on Iran's nuclear facilities, on the assumption that the threat of further US action would deter an Iranian response. But Iran is not Iraq or Syria. Either directly or through its various regional proxies, Iran could unleash a wave of aggression against US interests, as demonstrated by the recent

attack on Saudi Arabia's oil infrastructure. US policymakers would have to weigh this risk seriously.

Barring effective alliance pressure or military action, another option historically has been to build up one's own arsenal. In the early 1960s, America resumed nuclear-weapons tests in response to the Soviet Union's violation of the 1958 test moratorium; and this paved the way for the 1963 Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Similarly, the INF was agreed after the US deployed intermediate-range missiles in Europe in response to Moscow's introduction of such weapons. In each case, both sides concluded that tit-for-tat buildups had only increased their insecurity.

But in today's climate, using nuclear escalation to induce another round of arms-control negotiations would yield only mixed results. The US could try to intimidate the North Koreans by returning to South Korea the nuclear weapons that it removed in 1991. But given that Kim associates the bomb with his own survival, such a move would likely ratchet up tensions on the Korean Peninsula and raise China's ire. The better way to prevent nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula, then, is classic deterrence, leveraging America's offshore nuclear umbrella and onshore conventional weapons. At the same time, continued North Korean-US diplomatic dialogue - if not relations - would reduce the risk of a conflict arising from some miscalculation or misunderstanding.

By contrast, the recent US test of an intermediate-range land-based cruise missile, together with US plans to develop an intermediate-range ballistic missile, fits with the historic pattern of using an arms buildup to refocus the Kremlin's attention on arms control. By the same token, the US may see fit to introduce land-based intermediate-range nuclear weapons in East Asia to temper China's nuclear expansion.

Iran, by contrast, has no nuclear arsenal to ramp up or bargain down. Rather, it has a nuclear-enrichment breakout capacity that the US wants to eliminate. Hence, the US is tightening sanctions, increasing its military presence in the Persian Gulf, and launching cyberattacks to break Iran's will. In response, Iran has increased enrichment, disrupted oil shipping in the Persian Gulf, attacked Saudi oil infrastructure, and threatened US interests and allies across the Middle East. The question now is whether brinkmanship will lead to a conflict or a mutual drawdown that would allow for renewed arms-control talks, as in the earlier US-Soviet cases.

In these unsettling times, it is natural to wonder whether arms control has run its course. Although most nuclear nonproliferation and test-ban treaties remain in place, the global arms-control regime is under strain. Nonetheless, in its many iterations, it has shown remarkable resilience over time. That resilience will be tested repeatedly in the months - if not years - to come.

## O-PED

By Dani Rodrik

## Democracy on a Knife-Edge

CAMBRIDGE - In Mohammed Hanif's novel *Red Birds*, an American bomber pilot crashes his plane in the Arabian desert and is stranded among the locals in a nearby refugee camp. He finds himself talking about thieves with a local shopkeeper. "Our government is the biggest thief," he explains. "It steals from the living, it steals from the dead." The shopkeeper replies, "Thank God we don't have that problem. We just steal from each other."

This little vignette just about summarizes the key message of Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson's new book, *The Narrow Corridor: States, Societies, and the Fate of Liberty*. Acemoglu and Robinson's thesis is that prospects for freedom and prosperity balance on a knife-edge between state oppression and the lawlessness and violence that society so often inflicts on itself. Give the state too much of an upper hand over society, and you have despotism. Render the state weak vis-à-vis society, and you get anarchy.

As the book's title signals, there is only a "narrow corridor" between these two dystopias, a slender path that only a few countries, mostly in the industrialized West, have managed to find. Furthermore, getting on the path does not guarantee staying on it. Acemoglu and Robinson emphasize that unless civil society remains vigilant and is able to mobilize against would-be autocrats, authoritarian regress always remains a possibility.

Acemoglu and Robinson's new book builds on their previous blockbuster, *Why Nations Fail*. In that book and other writings, they identified what they call "inclusive institutions" as the principal driver of economic and political progress. These institutions, such as secure property rights and the rule of law, are accessible to all (or most) citizens and do not favor a narrow group of elites over the rest of society.

One country that has always given the Acemoglu-Robinson thesis some trouble is China. The Communist Party of China's monopoly of political power, the country's rampant corruption, and the ease with which the Party's economic competitors and political opponents can be dispossessed hardly smack of inclusive institutions. Yet it is undeniable that over the last four decades the Chinese regime has achieved unprecedented rates of economic growth and the most impressive reduction in poverty in recorded history.

In *Why Nations Fail*, Acemoglu and Robinson argued that Chinese economic growth will run out of steam unless extractive political institutions give way to inclusive institutions. They double down on this thesis in *The Narrow Corridor*. They characterize China as a country where a strong state has dominated society for almost two and a half millennia. Having spent so much time outside the corridor, they argue, it is unlikely that China can make a smooth entry back in. Neither political reform nor continued rapid economic growth seems likely.

The other large country that now seems to sit ill at ease with the original Acemoglu-Robinson thesis is the United States. At the time *Why Nations Fail* was written, many still considered the US a prime example of inclusive institutions - a country that got rich and became democratic through the development of secure property rights and the rule of law. Today, the income distribution of the US is as skewed as in any plutocracy. And the country's representative political institutions, under attack from a demagogue, look decidedly brittle.

*The Narrow Corridor* seems to be written in part to provide an account of the apparent fragility of liberal democracies. The authors coin the term "Red Queen Effect" to denote the ever-continuing struggle to uphold open political institutions. Like the character in the Lewis Carroll book, civil society has to run ever faster to keep up with authoritarian leaders and restrain their despotic tendencies.

The ability of civil society to stand up to "Leviathan" may in turn depend on social divisions and their evolution. Democracy typically emerges from the rise of popular groups that can challenge the power of the elites or from splits among elites. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, industrialization, world wars, and de-colonization led to the mobilization of such groups. Ruling elites acceded to their opponents' demands that the franchise be extended, without property qualifications, (usually) to all males. In return, the newly enfranchised groups accepted limits on their ability to expropriate property holders. In short, voting rights were exchanged for property rights.

But, as I discuss in joint work with Sharun Mukand, liberal democracy requires more: rights that protect minorities (what we may call civil rights). The defining characteristic of the political settlement that generates democracy is that it excludes the main beneficiary of civil rights - minorities - from the bargaining table. These minorities have neither resources (like the elite) nor numbers (like the majority) behind them. The political settlement thus favors an impoverished kind of democracy - what one might call electoral democracy - over liberal democracy.<sup>1</sup>

This helps explain why liberal democracy is such a rare beast. The failure to protect minority rights is a readily understood consequence of the political logic behind the emergence of democracy. What requires explanation is not the relative rarity of liberal democracy, but its existence. The surprise is not that few democracies are liberal, but that there are any liberal democracies at all.<sup>1</sup>

This is hardly a comforting conclusion at a time when liberal democracy seems very much under threat, even in those parts of the world where it seems to have been permanently entrenched. But by appreciating the fragility of liberal democracy, we can perhaps avoid the lassitude induced by taking it for granted.

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## OPINION

By Katharina Pistor

## Does Public Banking Work?

NEW YORK - Three decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the United States is finally embracing public banking. In the summer of 1989, political theorist Francis Fukuyama famously suggested that American-style free-market capitalism would become the default mode for organizing economies around the world. But now policymakers in that model's very heartland are looking for alternatives.

Unlike many other countries around the world, the US has never had a sizable public-banking sector. But as of this month, public banks are legal in California, making it the second (after North Dakota) and largest state to have embraced the idea. California lawmakers recently enacted legislation that officially authorizes "public ownership of public banks for the purpose of achieving cost savings, strengthening local economies, supporting community economic development, and addressing infrastructure and housing needs for localities."

Judging by the text of the law, California's public banks will be more limited in scope than public-banking sectors elsewhere. They will be local, not-for-profit entities with a designated public purpose. Some may operate as commercial banks, accepting deposits and making loans; and others may serve as industrial banks with a focus on infrastructure investments.

In any case, California's public banks will establish a funding base through deposits or loans from local governments across the state. As public institutions, they will be exempt from taxes and certain disclosure requirements. But in all other respects, they will be treated like ordinary banks. They must obtain a banking license and deposit insurance, and they will be required to appoint management with the requisite knowledge and expertise to run a bank.

Will it work? The global and historical experience with public banking suggests that, just as in the private sector, some public banks will achieve most of their goals most of the time, while others will underperform or even fail. Public ownership in itself does not lead to bad outcomes; nor has privatization proven to be the panacea that its boosters promised. Much depends on governance and the clarity of the stipulated goals. Checks and balances are needed to keep management on track, and the managers themselves must have the right skill set.

But whether public banks will work is not really the right question to ask. More important is whether they will stay on mission. As Kent State's Mark K. Cassell shows, "mission shift" within public banks has been common historically, and a failure to prevent it, or to adapt the governance regime accordingly, can create disruptions that result in crises.

In fact, America's own history of public banking offers evidence of this tendency. Consider the fate of Fannie Mae - the Federal National Mortgage Association - which was established in 1938 as a publicly owned mortgage bank. In 1968, Congress amended Fannie's charter and privatized it, turning it into a hybrid entity. Thenceforth, it had a public mission (ensuring affordable home ownership), but was owned by profit-seeking shareholders and indirectly subsidized by an implicit government guarantee that lowered its cost of debt finance. This did not end well. Fannie Mae - together with its younger sibling, Freddie Mac (the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation) - had to be put on life support in 2008.

Similarly, many of Germany's Landesbanken, which date back two centuries, required government bailouts in the 2008 crisis. Originally, each bank's operations were confined to the boundaries of its state (or Land). After World War II, the Landesbanken were re-constituted as regional banks and tasked with assisting post-war reconstruction and development efforts. They were not required to maximize profits, and yet they were reorganized as for-profit institutions. And while they were subject, in principle, to the same regulations as privately-owned banks, it became the practice of federal bank regulators to leave oversight largely to the individual states, which were the ultimate risk bearers.

As with Fannie Mae, the Landesbanken embarked on a mission shift which left them with a completely inadequate governance structure. In their case, though, the problems stemmed not so much from a legal change as from managerial ambition. Some Landesbanken began to internationalize in the 1980s and invest in fancy financial products, and the others soon followed suit. State governments did little about this because they were benefiting from the additional revenue. Regulation remained as lax as before, and politicians continued to populate Landesbanken boards. In the end, this left them even more vulnerable to the crisis, and helped increase the price tag for their bailouts relative to private banks.

The main lessons, then, are that public purpose does not mesh well with profit maximization, and a one-time commitment to public ownership and/or a public purpose is not enough. The banks must be governed well to stay on mission, and the governance regime itself must be monitored to ensure that it remains both effective and complementary to that mission.

At the end of the day, mission drift may be unavoidable. But detecting it and instituting the necessary governance reforms is well within governments' power. It would be a tragic mistake to assume that passing a public-banking law amounts to "mission accomplished." The mission has only just begun.

**O-PED**

By Kester Kenn Klomegah

## Effective media cooperation could boost Russia-African business

Ahead of the upcoming Russia-Africa Summit in Sochi, Russia experts and academics have consistently called for forging media cooperation as an instrument for promoting business opportunities and positive perception, and knowledge about post-Soviet achievements in Russia and developments in Africa.

Professor Irina Abramova, Director of the Institute for African Studies under the Russian Academy of Sciences, said in the eyes of the Russian political establishment and business community, Africa is still viewed as a continent of poverty, endless wars and epidemics, stuck in the pre-industrial stage of development, and surviving only thanks to international aid.

Meanwhile, there is a different Africa, she maintains, Africa with rapid economic growth, dynamic formation of democratic management systems, modern structures and institutions of a market economy, a major player in the market of natural and human resources, a key source of growth in global demands and profitable spheres of investment operations.

"The media should more actively inform Russians about the prospects for the development of the African continent, its history and culture. Unfortunately, the Russian man in the street does not know much about Africa," the director explained.

"For Africans, so far Russia is associated with the Soviet Union, the majority of Africans still have very warm feelings towards Russia. But in general, the Russian Federation in Africa, and Africa in the Russian Federation are very poorly represented in the media. It is necessary to organize a special media entirely dedicated to Russia-Africa," Abramova suggested.

Olga Kulkova, Research Fellow of the Center for Development and Security Studies, Faculty of World Politics, Moscow State University, has acknowledged that Russia is back to Africa, Africa truly is a continent of new opportunities and there is huge potential here for developing economic ties.

She, however, urged Russia to share its scientific and cultural achievements with the African people and boost the prestige of the Russian language on the continent.

Kulkova said "Africa needs broader coverage in Russian media. Leading Russian media agencies should release more topical news items and quality analytical articles about the continent in order to adequately collaborate with African partners and attract Russian business to Africa. More quality information about modern Russia should be broadcast in African states. Indisputably, it would take a lot of money and efforts, but the result will pay off."

LyubovDemidova, Deputy Chairperson of the Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Moscow Region, reiterated that Russia is now aiming to raise its relations with Africa than before and media could serve as a good purpose for the development of fruitful cooperation in various fields.

Over the years, one of the key challenges and problems facing Russian companies and investors has been insufficient knowledge of the economic potential, on the part of Russian entrepreneurs, the needs and business opportunities of the African region, she pointed out.

Lack of effective and frequent interaction in order to understand the capabilities and needs of each other leading to the development of the economy both with Russian and with the African side, she added as another obstacle which stands on the way for sustainable cooperation.

NataliyaZaiser, Founder and CEO of the Africa Business Initiative (ABI), a business NGO created to support relations between Russia and Africa, explained in an interview that the time has changed significantly so it is necessary to find absolutely different approaches and strategies to building business relationships.

For Africa in particular, the Africa Business Initiative offers the chance of a consolidated approach, and an independent organization to work with the business community in Russia and at the same time combine the interests of the African entrepreneurs.

On the other hand, she explains that Africa has much to offer Russia, which is a large country and has excellent prospects in the regions, many of which are developing very rapidly and are ready to accept new partnerships, and discuss forms of cooperation.

There's a good case for creating a specific program (a roadmap if possible media program) for cooperation between African countries and the Russian regions, she said, added that the role of the media allows to assist businesses in broader cooperation, involving foreign colleagues interested in doing business in Africa.

Fyodor Lukyanov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy, Research Director at the Valdai Discussion Club and Editor-in-Chief of the Russia in Global Affairs journal, has observed that the Russian media writes very little about Africa - what is going on there, what are the social and political dynamics in different parts of the continent.

He suggested that the media and non-governmental organizations should make big efforts to increase the level of mutual knowledge, this can stimulate interest for each other and lead to increased economic interaction, and added that "soft power has never been a strong side of Russian policy in the post-Soviet era."

Professor Vladimir Shubin, Deputy Director of the Institute for African Studies under the Russian Academy of Sciences, reminded: "Russia is not doing enough to communicate to the broad public, particularly in Africa, true information about its domestic and foreign policies as well as the accomplishments of Russian culture, the economy, science and technology in order to form a positive perception of Russia abroad and a friendly attitude towards it as stated by the new Concept of the Foreign Policy."



### LTA Order: 0017-10-10-19 Implementing the FM Radio Regulations

October 10, 2019

Republic of Liberia

Liberia Telecommunications Authority (LTA)  
Menetamba Road, Cooper Beach, ELWA  
Paynesville, Liberia

LTA-ORDER: 0017-10-10-19

**PURSUANT TO PART VI SECTION 25 (2) OF THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS ACT (2007), THE LIBERIA TELECOMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY HEREBY ISSUES AND PUBLISHES THIS ORDER ON THE USAGE OF FM RADIO FREQUENCIES**

**WHEREAS**, the Telecommunications Act 2007 (the Act) of the Republic of Liberia, empowers the LTA to develop regulations which will serve as guidance for the management, allocation, assignment, and use of radio frequency required for the operation of FM Radio Service Providers in Liberia,

**WHEREAS**, in compliance with best practices, the regulations have established technical, environmental and safety requirements/standards for the operation of radiocommunication equipment, interference-causing equipment, and radio-sensitive equipment in the Republic of Liberia,

**WHEREAS**, following due notice, opportunities to be heard and inputs from various stakeholders, and taking into account the results of public consultations in line with the LTA's Guidelines for Consultation Process to Develop Regulations 2009, the LTA has finalized regulations on the operation of radio stations, which have been adopted as the FM Radio Regulations; and

**WHEREAS**, FM Radio Service Providers have been categorized into four (4) general classes for smooth implementation of the regulations, and fees for each category established pursuant to the Act consistent with the populations and economy of coverage areas,

**NOW THEREFORE**, in consideration of the foregoing premises, the LTA hereby orders:

1. That the FM Radio Regulations shall come into effect commencing October 10, 2019.
2. That all FM Radio Stations operating in the Republic of Liberia are required to be licensed based on the FM Radio Regulations once this Order takes effect.
3. That in order to transition to the new licensing regime, all licensed FM Radio Service Providers shall file an application with the LTA, and submit all required documents including the Ministry of Information, Cultural and Tourism (MICAT) Broadcast Permit pursuant to Part IV Section 9.0 of the FM Radio Regulations
4. That the transition period for existing Service Providers shall commence on the effective date of this Order and ends on December 31, 2019. All Radio Service Providers are ordered to transition during this period, after which non-compliant FM Radio Service Providers shall be treated as new applicants and may lose their existing frequency assignments.
5. New FM Radio application will be accepted for processing under the new licensing regime effective January 1, 2020.
6. That failure to adhere to this Order, Regulatory actions will be taken.

**THIS ORDER SHALL TAKE EFFECT IMMEDIATELY UPON PUBLICATION; IT SHALL HAVE THE SAME LEGAL FORCE AS A RULE OF THE LTA OR PURSUANT TO LEGAL PROCESS.**

**ISSUED THIS 10<sup>th</sup> DAY OF OCTOBER 2019 IN THE CITY OF PAYNESVILLE, REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.**

THE LIBERIA TELECOMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY

Hon. Edwina Crump Zackpah  
Commissioner, LTA

Hon. Maria G. Harrison  
Commissioner, LTA

Hon. Zotawon D. Titus  
Commissioner, LTA

Hon. Israel Akinsanya  
Commissioner, LTA

Hon. Ivan G. Brown  
Chairperson, LTA

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

# VP Howard-Taylor wants more on girls' empowerment

Vice President Jewel Howard-Taylor has emphasized the need for more efforts to be geared towards the empowerment of women and girls in the country.

Speaking at a ceremony marking the observance of the International Day of the Girl Child, Vice President Howard-Taylor said empowerment of girls in the areas of education, health and agriculture are crucial to the overall sustainable national development.

She explained that this will not only help to put women and girls on par with their male counterparts but will enable them to adequately support the national development processes.

According to a release from the Office of the Vice President, VP Howard-Taylor was speaking Friday, October 11, 2019, in Nyien, in Todee District, Montserrado County, when she hosted a program



for over two hundred girls and young women to commemorate this year's "International Day of the Girl Child".

She lauded the energy and sense of urgency as well as the courage and intellect that the girls and young women have brought to recognizing and confronting many of the

challenges from poverty to violence amongst others.

"It's time to uphold the equal rights, voices and influence of girls in our families, communities and nations. Girls can be powerful agents of change, and they need to be supported by everyone who cares about human rights and a sustainable

future" the Vice President told the gathering of young women and girls.

"Youth activism, spearheaded by girls, has brought fresh energy and a renewed sense of urgency to tackling issues fought by generations before them. They have shown that no one is too young to act for human rights, and no one is too small to make a difference. These young human rights defenders are initiating, joining and spearheading movements with insistence and courage, confronting backlashes and attacks", she furthered in her remarks.

The Liberian Vice President said despite their generally disadvantaged position, girls and young women are at the forefront of critical struggles, characterized by political, socio-economic and environmental crises.

"They are engaged in a range of issues, demanding an end to gender-based violence, insisting on implementation of the right to education, sexual and reproductive rights, and economic and political empowerment." Vice President Howard-Taylor emphasized.

The program, which brought together over three hundred girls as well as school administrators and the authorities of Todee District, also featured other partners

including representatives from AWILO Young Women- Liberia Chapter, the International Youth Federation, and Green Gold Liberia among others at a roundtable discussion to highlight mentorship and the importance of girls and young women empowerment in various sectors.

The Vice President Howard-Taylor has meanwhile provided twenty new sewing machines to begin a skills training program in tailoring for girls and young women in Todee District.

According to the Liberian Vice President, the tailoring program is the first amongst several vocational skills trainings she intends to initiate in Todee District.

In remarks, Todee District Statutory Superintendent, John N. Tucker praised Vice President Jewel Howard-Taylor for always identifying with the people of Todee and pledged the local authorities' commitment to closely working with the Office of the Vice President and other partners in undertaking meaningful development in the District.

He described the Vice President's scholarships and mentorship support to women and girls in the community as timely and encouraged the beneficiaries to attach more seriousness to their education.

The United Nations General Assembly on December 19, 2011, adopted resolution 66/170 declaring October 11 each year as International Day of the Girl Child.

The observance of the day is intended to acknowledge the importance of empowerment and investment in girls, which are critical for the eradication of poverty, and breaking the cycle of discrimination and violence girls suffer worldwide.

This year's International Day of the Girl Child was celebrated under the international theme: "Girl Force: Unscripted and Unstoppable" and the national theme: "Girl Force: Breaking Boundaries and Barriers."

## 3 top education officials suspended

Authorities at the Ministry of Education announced over the weekend that they have suspended three of their county officials for lack of oversight leading to the astronomical increase in tuition fees by public school administrators. The education authorities said the lack of action by the officials also led to the

complaints from parents regarding un-prescribed fees charged by Public School administrators.

"The suspension of these individuals takes effect as of the 15th of October 2019," a statement issued by the Education Ministry said.

The ministry said it was compelled to take the action after an all-day deliberation

operations at the county level with the suspended persons until further notice," the statement added.

The SMT's engagement, which resulted in the above action, was predicated upon the officers' lack of appropriate communication of changes made to the prescribed fees charged by the Ministry, which was stipulated in the National Academic Calendar 2019/2020. An act on the part of CEOs considered as disregard for direct instructions and policies of the Ministry of Education.

However, the ministry said the Special Taskforce remains operational and continuing the probe into complaints originating from other counties as well as analyzing fees charged at private schools.

The exercise for private schools, the ministry added is meant to gauge details of fees charged over the last two academic years, analyze, and report the variance to determine if an increment or fees charged commensurate with the service provided.

It could be recalled that there was a public outcry at the beginning of the 2019/2020 academic year across the country for the huge tuition and registration fees charge by both public and private schools in the face of extreme economic situation in the country at the civil servants have not taken pay for months.

held between the Senior Management Team (SMT) and Education Officers who are the direct representatives of the Minister within these counties.

"Hence, all education stakeholders and the public are advised not to transact any matters relative to education management or



disregard for policies within their controlled school system.

Those suspended are Mr. G. Samuel K. S. Bondo of Montserrado 1, Mr. Moses S. Dologbay of Nimba County, and Mr. James G. Gaye of Margibi.

Their suspension follows an investigation into

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**Liberia launches first Time Capsule late October**

By Winston W. Parley

The University of Liberia (UL) is expected to launch Liberia's first Time Capsule on 30 October this year that will be used to preserve important information concerning the University and its partner institutions both in public and private sector for 100 years.

The Time Capsule is part of UL's centennial projects which are being undertaken in celebration of its 100th commencement this December.

Following the launch of the Time Capsule, it will then be buried at a geographically ideal site between December 12 to 18 2019 during a big program to be held by the University.

The Time Capsule which the University defines as "a sealed container with a collection of documents or material culture that is opened after a specified number of years," will be Liberia's first ever when it is launched this October to store particular memories to be conveyed to future generations.

Addressing a press conference Friday, 11 October on Capitol Hill, UL Vice President for Academic



Affairs Dr. William Ezra Allen said to memorialize the 100th commencement as a very important day, the University decided undertaking several key projects including the storing of a Time Capsule.

"One of the things that will be revealed during the launch on October the 30th will be where the Time Capsule will be buried," Dr. Allen says.

Up until the storing of UL's Time Capsule this December, Dr. Allen says "we know of no Time Capsule" here in Liberia.

The UL vice president asserts that a technical team

will decide which of the four campuses of the University of Liberia is geographically and environmentally safe to put the Time Capsule.

The team, according to Dr. Allen is looking at the issue of humidity as the University wants to locate the Time Capsule in a dry area and ensure that the container is air-tight to avoid moisture which could lead to decay of materials stored in it.

Dr. Allen reveals that the University will send out letters to two groups which include cognate partners like National

Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Information and the other group which is the general partners.

"The other partners are our general partners. We will ask them to come - Club Beer Factory, Ministry of Finance, the various Ministries and let them know the value of the Time Capsule," he says.

At the launch, Dr. Allen says the University will inform its partners of the importance of storing some of their information that they would want to communicate to future generations in a Time Capsule.

As at the time of the press conference, Dr. Allen says the University had not received any donation yet for the Time Capsule, but it has met with one of its partners UNESCO which is involved in cultural preservation.

In a meeting, Dr. Allen says he asked UNESCO as to what

the University could do that would make the UN agency to declare as historic site, the area where the Time Capsule will be stored.

He explains that the University considers the 2019 commencement its 100th commencement, taking into account some of the years in which graduations were not held either due to national crisis or other conditions like low enrollment of students.

According to Dr. Allen, the goal of the Time Capsule is to put documents and artifacts in a container that is reserved to be opened at a specified period.

He indicates that UL plans to open the Time Capsule in the 200th commencement of the University, which might be in the year 2119 if graduations continue regularly.

The University could write its own history and talk about the centennial program, or store in the Time Capsule the souvenir program that will be printed for the 100th commencement this December.

Storing the souvenir program in the Time Capsule could also enable future generations to know for instance, that the Visitor to the University in 2019 was President George Manneh Weah, as well as the names of the graduates, the Guest Speaker, among others.

The Ministry of Finance may want to store for instance, the Pro - Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development (PAPD) so that 100 years from now, people could know that President Weah had a Pro - Poor Agenda.

**Weah appoints new FIU Director General**

President George Manneh Weah has appointed Mr. Edwin Harris as Director General at the Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU).

An Executive Mansion press release dated 11 October says Mr. Harris replaces Mr. Alex Cuffy whose tenure expired few months ago.

Harris' appointment is subject to confirmation by

the Liberian Senate where applicable.

He holds a Master of Public Administration (MPA) from the Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts; and brings more than eight years of progressive work experience in the regulatory agency, anti-corruption and anti-money laundering consultancy.

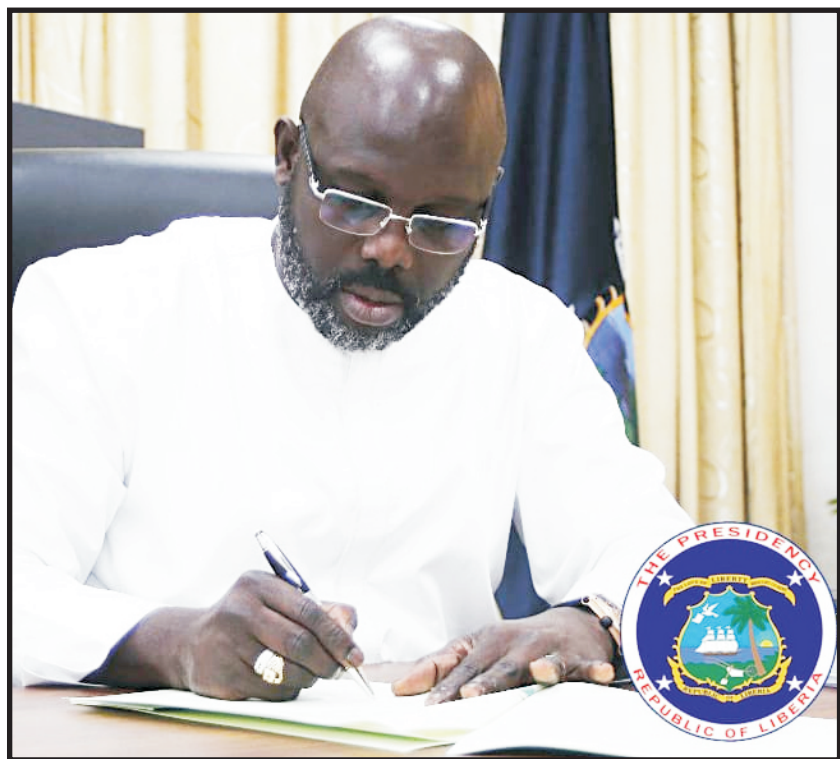
The Executive Mansion says Mr. Harris has skills and broad

knowledge in policy formulation, research and other anti-corruption strategies from the public and private sectors.

According to the release, Mr. Harris also has vast knowledge and understanding of the Patriot Act, European Union Directives, UK Bribery Act and other international protocols on anti-money laundering and countering terrorist financing.

Additionally, Mr. Harris, a Certified Anti-Money Laundering Specialist (CAMS) and Certified Fraud Examiner (CFE); is a candidate for Master of Science (MSC) in Financial Crimes and Compliance Management at the Utica College, Utica, New York.

President Weah and his government say they have no doubt that Harris' institutional knowledge as lead consultant at FIU (2012 - 2014), coupled with his educational and impeccable experience in Countering Terrorist Financing, Anti-Money Laundering and the financial sector as a whole will play a vital role in advancing the principles of the institution. —Press release



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# Français

## Les numéros un et deux de la chambre basse maintiennent avoir réduit leurs salaires

Le président de la Chambre des Représentants, Bhofal Chambers, et son adjoint Prince Moye, ont nié les accusations selon lesquelles, contrairement à leurs collègues, ils auraient refusé de réduire leurs salaires conformément à l'opération d'harmonisation salariale initiée par le régime de George Weah.

Le président et le vice-président de la Chambre des Représentants ont été menacés de destitution par des législateurs s'ils n'acceptent pas de réduire leurs salaires. Mais les deux chefs de la Chambre basse, dans une déclaration commune rendue publique à Monrovia le jeudi 10 octobre, ont indiqué qu'ils ont bel et bien réduit leurs salaires respectivement de 31,9% et de 35,6%.

Ces deux législateurs membres du parti au pouvoir avaient été menacés mercredi. A en croire les parlementaires en colère, les deux hommes auraient

refusé de réduire leurs salaires conformément à l'opération d'harmonisation entreprise par le gouvernement, qui a affecté d'autres législateurs.



Speaker Bhofal Chambers

Deputy Prince Moye

Les représentants Hanson Kiazolu du district 17 du comté de Montserrado, Francis S. Dopoh du district 3 du comté de River Gee, Ellen Attoh Werh du comté de Margibi et Rostonlyn S. Dennis du district 4 du comté de Montserrado seraient en train de galvaniser leurs collègues afin de contraindre Chambers et Moye d'accepter la réduction de leur salaire.

Les législateurs menacent de les destituer de leurs fonctions. Ils se sentent trahis car il semble que quoi que les représentants et les membres du Sénat libérien aient accepté que leurs revenus mensuels furent revus à la baisse dans le cadre de l'opération d'harmonisation salariale, les salaires des deux patrons de la chambre des représentants sont restés intacts.

Lors d'un entretien avec un groupe de journalistes, les représentants en colère ont déclaré que « le peuple libérien veut que nous réduisions nos salaires. Et après avoir réduit nos salaires, le président et le vice-président de la Chambre des représentants continueraient de toucher les mêmes salaires qu'ils touchaient avant l'opération d'harmonisation qui a affecté tous les législateurs ».

Le gouvernement dirigé par la Coalition pour le changement démocratique (CDC), dont Chambers et Moye sont des membres influents, a initié l'exercice d'harmonisation à cause de la crise économique et financière à laquelle le régime est confronté.

Selon Kiazolu, les législateurs ont accepté de réduire leurs salaires de 31%, contrairement au président et au vice-président qui auraient catégoriquement refusé.

Même le pouvoir judiciaire a accepté l'harmonisation. Les salaires dans ce secteur ont été réduits de 16%. Le fait que la direction de la

chambre des représentants ait refusé de suivre l'exemple des autres n'est pas dans l'intérêt de la nation, a déclaré le député Kiazolu.

Par conséquent, le représentant Francis S. Dopoh a juré d'encourager les autres représentants pour destituer le président Chambers et son adjoint Moye s'ils continuent de recevoir le même salaire qu'ils recevaient avant l'opération d'harmonisation.

« Chambers et Moye seront démis de leurs fonctions parce qu'ils ne travaillent pas dans l'intérêt du peuple libérien », a-t-il dit.

Mais dans une déclaration commune lue le jeudi 10 octobre, Chambers et Moye insistent sur leur attachement à l'accord qu'ils ont signé avec le pouvoir exécutif en ce qui concerne l'harmonisation des salaires de l'ensemble des fonctionnaires de l'Etat.

Le bureau de Chambers aurait reçu pour l'exercice en cours 1.043.265 USD, au lieu de 1.221.123 USD qu'il avait reçus pour le dernier exercice fiscal (2018 - 2019), tandis que son adjoint Prince Moye aurait reçu 722.942 USD pour le même exercice, au lieu de 766.381 USD, à en croire la déclaration.

Le Président Chambers et son adjoint disent regretter que leurs collègues ne se soient pas informés assez avant de proférer leurs menaces. « Il est préférable que l'on rassemble les faits réels sur des sujets de préoccupation qui affectent l'Assemblée législative afin que les messages qui sont relayés aux populations soient corrects », ont-ils dit.

Cependant, après la publication de la déclaration, le représentant du district 3 du comté de River Gee, Francis S. Dopoh, a déclaré que les législateurs ne parlent pas des budgets qui leur sont alloués, car l'ensemble du budget a été revu à la baisse, mais des salaires et d'autres avantages que continuent de recevoir les deux législateurs.

## Burkina Faso: au moins 15 tués dans l'attaque de la mosquée de Salmossi

Au Burkina Faso, une attaque contre une mosquée dans la commune de Markoye dans la région du Sahel. Vendredi 11 octobre, des hommes armés ont tiré sur des fidèles musulmans à l'heure de la prière du soir.

Au moins quinze personnes ont été tuées et quatre autres blessées, selon des sources sécuritaires. Une autre

mosquée, dans la commune de Mansila, toujours dans la région du Sahel a également été visée par une attaque.

C'est à Salmossi que l'attaque a eu lieu. Plusieurs hommes armés font irruption dans la Grande mosquée du village à l'heure de la prière du soir.

Ils tirent sur les fidèles musulmans qui s'y trouvent. Plusieurs personnes tombent.

Selon un bilan fourni par des sources sécuritaires, cette attaque a fait une quinzaine de morts et plusieurs blessés. Les assaillants seraient restés longtemps dans le village après l'attaque.

Selon nos sources, les assaillants sont arrivés sur une cinquantaine de motocyclettes. Ils étaient habillés tenue sable désert et vert bariolé. Leur présence autour de la mosquée de Salmossi avait été signalée au moins une heure et demie avant l'attaque.

Informés les éléments du détachement militaire de Markoye qui venaient à la rescousse sont tombés dans une embuscade.

Dans la même soirée du vendredi, une autre mosquée, celle de la communauté Tidiana de Mansila a fait l'objet également d'une attaque par des hommes armés. Aucun bilan n'est pour le moment disponible.

Après la mosquée, les assaillants ont fait une descente au domicile du chef religieux de cette communauté musulmane où ils ont incendié du matériel, selon nos sources.



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# Français

## Côte d'Ivoire/Politique : commission électorale Guikahué fait un aveu

Acté par le régime, voté par les deux chambres du parlement, le projet de recomposition (et non de réforme) de la Commission électorale semble avoir pris irrévocablement forme. Depuis le lundi 30 septembre 2019, le bureau de l'institution présidé par Ibrahim Kuibiart, est en place et s'est aussitôt mis au travail.

Ni les quolibets de l'opposition significative, ni les récriminations d'une certaine opinion qui y voient de nouveaux germes de conflits postélectorales n'ont tiédi l'ardeur du pouvoir à faire selon son bon vouloir. Répliquant même que cette commission respecte bien les directives de la Cour africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples (Cadhp) qui avait fortement recommandé une commission conforme aux standards internationaux. "Nous on avance", c'est le slogan à la bouche des défenseurs de cet organe tout de même controversé.

Pendant que le Fpi dirigé par Gbagbo fredonne toujours le refrain d'une réforme à longueur de meetings et que le PdcI l'autre grand exclu du bureau mène une offensive en direction des chancelleries, misant par-delà sur une nouvelle injonction de la Cadhp et de la Cedeao, la nouvelle CEI projette de son côté le déroulement de son agenda. Et comme pour cautionner cette œuvre du pouvoir Rhdp, l'Onu (à travers le Pnud) et l'Union européenne (Ue) l'un des bailleurs de fonds habituels sont déjà à la manœuvre aux côtés de l'organe électoral ivoirien. Elles ont eu jeudi une audience avec le nouveau président Coulibaly Ibrahim Kuibiart.

Plaidant du bout des lèvres pour une commission plus inclusive, ces organisations internationales donnent des signaux pour un soutien à la Cei en dépit de ses insuffisances criardes. L'Union européenne veut miser sur une participation massive des jeunes au processus électoral. Elle en a discuté avec le nouveau patron de la Cei jeudi 10 octobre, lors de leur tête-à-tête. Un vœu qui pourrait s'avérer pieu si la Cei n'inspire pas confiance dans sa future façon d'agir et se comporte comme un organe inféodé. Bref!

La pilule aussi amère soit-elle semble avalée, si l'on en croit les sons du côté de l'opposition PdcI. Ce parti qui est revenu à la réalité après

s'être enfermé dans une illusion d'une "vraie" réforme vient d'étonner plus d'un. Le jeudi 10 octobre 2019, au cours d'une conférence de presse, le secrétaire exécutif Kakou Guikahué s'est plutôt voulu optimiste. « Le PdcI n'a pas de membre à la CEI, mais à ces élections on va y aller et puis on va gagner », a-t-il affirmé. Si l'on s'en tient à ces propos, il va s'en dire que si la tactique du pouvoir était d'amener le PdcI au boycott de la présidentielle en l'écartant de la recomposition de la Cei, ce serait un pétard mouillé.

Par cette nouvelle position, le PdcI en attendant ses alliés, intègre le fait accompli en ce qui concerne la Cei dans son ossature actuelle et veut désormais miser sur la mobilisation de ses électeurs, les seuls, à présent, à pouvoir inverser les rapports de force. Gagner la présidentielle sans être à la Cei, sans exercer un quelconque contrôle sur le processus électoral. Le plus vieux parti devrait inviter ses alliés, notamment ceux du Fpi de Gbagbo à ce même réalisme.

Faut-il croire à un revirement de Ouattara?

A la vérité, Alassane Ouattara, avec la caution du président de la Commission de l'Union africaine Moussa Faki, avec les organisations internationales qui accourent, est si bluffé qu'on le verrait revenir sur une quelconque réforme de la Cei. A moins d'un coup de force vraiment contraignant. Que faire face à cette donne? Comment peser sur le processus électoral sans être à la Cei? Les pro-Gbagbo doivent s'inviter à la réflexion si l'option est d'y participer. Parce qu'à l'observation des choses, ils pourront crier sur tous les toits à appeler à une Cei consensuelle, jamais Ouattara qui pense tenir le bon bout, ne fléchira d'un iota. Ils auront ainsi gaspillé leur énergie en s'arc-boutant sur un seul axe. Et à l'arrivée ils se mordront le doigt de ne pas avoir mobilisé leurs électeurs à s'inscrire sur les listes électorales parce que la Cei n'est pas en leur faveur. Sans plan B, comment cette opposition pourrait-elle évincer Ouattara? Lui qui se donne les moyens de parvenir à ses fins en démontrant à ceux qui ne l'ont pas encore compris qu'il n'est pas homme à se laisser dicter ses décisions.

Il faut maintenant changer de fusil d'épaule.

## COMMENTAIRE

Par Bennett Ramberg

### Quid de la maîtrise des armements nucléaires ?

LOS ANGELES - Le principe de maîtrise des armements nucléaires est-il en train de se déliter? Le traité INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty) sur les forces nucléaires de portée intermédiaire, signé [par Ronald Reagan et Mikhaïl Gorbatchev] en 1987, est mort; l'accord de 2015 sur le nucléaire iranien vacille; et la Corée du Nord continue de développer ses capacités nucléaires et son arsenal de missiles balistiques. Pire, nul ne sait si les États-Unis maintiendront leur adhésion au traité New START (New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) lorsque celui-ci arrivera à expiration, en 2021. L'accord limite (à 3 000) le nombre d'armes stratégiques pointées l'un vers l'autre par la Russie et les États-Unis.

L'histoire offre heureusement quelque réconfort. Durant la guerre froide et après qu'elle a pris fin, les périodes d'interruption des efforts de maîtrise de l'armement ont généralement été suivies par des phases de reconstruction. Mais il n'est jamais simple de faire marche arrière. Quant aux possibilités d'amener la Russie, l'Iran et la Corée du Nord à respecter leurs engagements, l'expérience a montré les limites de ce que peuvent accomplir les pressions d'une alliance ou le recours à l'action militaire. Restent les sanctions économiques - qui ne sont efficaces que jusqu'à un certain point - et le renforcement des capacités militaires, afin d'enclencher de nouvelles négociations.

Certes, les alliances ont au cours de l'histoire joué un rôle important dans la non-prolifération nucléaire. En Europe, le parapluie nucléaire des États-Unis et de l'OTAN a permis que la bombe ne se répande pas au-delà de la Grande-Bretagne et de la France. Lorsque les agences de renseignement des États-Unis ont appris dans les années 1970 et 1980 que la Corée du Sud et Taiwan développaient des programmes secrets d'armement nucléaire, la menace d'une suppression de l'aide militaire et économique s'est avérée efficace et les programmes en question ont été par la suite abandonnés.

Mais les pressions de ce type, efficaces dans le cadre d'une alliance, ne jouent aucun rôle face à des acteurs solitaires comme la Corée du Nord, la Russie et l'Iran. L'alliance militaire avec la Chine et les sommets occasionnels n'ont guère d'influence sur les ambitions nucléaires de Kim Jong-un. Et si la Grande-Bretagne, la Chine, la France, l'Allemagne et la Russie sont peut-être encore capables de pousser les États-Unis à renouer le dialogue avec l'Iran, leurs efforts n'ont pas obtenu jusqu'à présent de résultats.

La force est souvent considérée comme un facteur potentiel de maîtrise des armements nucléaires, mais rarement utilisée, étant donné les risques de représailles et de retombées radioactives. En l'absence de ces risques, l'action militaire devient tentante. En 1981 et en 2007, Israël a bombardé des sites en Irak et en Syrie suspectés d'abriter des réacteurs nucléaires en construction, sans réaction. Lors de la guerre du Golfe, en 1991, l'aviation américaine a frappé impunément les usines d'enrichissement cachées des Irakiens. Mais un tel choix n'est pas possible aujourd'hui contre la Russie et la Corée du Nord. Une frappe sur l'arsenal russe de missiles de portée intermédiaire contrevenant aux accords ou sur les installations du programme nucléaire nord-coréen pourrait déclencher le scénario que la maîtrise des armements est censée éviter: une guerre nucléaire.

La situation en Iran est différente. Parce qu'ils craignent que Téhéran ne développe ses activités d'enrichissement, les États-Unis pourraient, en théorie, lancer sur les installations nucléaires iraniennes des frappes limitées, en tablant sur la menace d'une action de plus grande envergure pour dissuader une réponse iranienne. Mais l'Iran n'est ni l'Irak ni la Syrie. Soit directement, soit en utilisant les différentes forces agissant dans la région pour son compte, Téhéran pourrait déclencher une vague

d'agressions contre les intérêts des États-Unis, comme l'a démontré la récente attaque contre les infrastructures pétrolières de l'Arabie saoudite. Les responsables américains auraient ici à peser sérieusement les risques.

En dehors des pressions sur un allié ou de l'action militaire, le renforcement de son propre arsenal apparaît, historiquement, comme une troisième option. Au début des années 1960, l'Amérique a repris ses essais nucléaires en réponse à la violation par les Soviétiques du moratoire de 1958, et ouvert ainsi la voie au traité de 1963 d'interdiction des essais dans l'atmosphère, dans l'espace et sous l'eau (Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty). De même, l'INF fut conclu après le déploiement par les États-Unis de missiles à portée intermédiaire en Europe pour répondre à l'installation par Moscou du même type d'armes sur le même théâtre. Dans chacun de ces cas, les deux camps ont conclu que les mesures de rétorsion conduisant au renforcement de leur force de frappe ne faisaient qu'accroître leur propre insécurité.

Pour autant, dans le climat actuel, se servir de l'escalade nucléaire pour lancer un nouveau cycle de négociations sur la maîtrise des armements n'apporterait que des résultats mitigés. Les États-Unis pourraient tenter d'intimider les Coréens du Nord en rendant à Séoul les armes nucléaires qui lui ont été enlevées en 1991. Mais c'est sa survie même que Kim associe à la bombe et une telle initiative raviverait probablement les tensions dans la péninsule Coréenne, tandis qu'elle provoquerait l'ire de Pékin. La meilleure façon d'éviter une guerre nucléaire dans la péninsule est donc de recourir à la dissuasion classique, en l'espèce le déploiement au large du parapluie nucléaire américain et d'armes conventionnelles sur le terrain. Dans le même temps, la poursuite du dialogue diplomatique - à défaut de relations - entre les États-Unis et la Corée du Nord réduirait le risque d'un conflit imputable à une erreur d'observation ou d'interprétation.

À l'opposé, le récent essai américain d'un missile de croisière sol-sol de portée intermédiaire, couplé aux projets du Pentagone de développer un missile balistique lui aussi de portée intermédiaire, correspond au modèle historique d'utilisation du renforcement des capacités nucléaires pour rappeler l'attention du Kremlin sur la maîtrise des armements. De la même façon, les États-Unis pourraient considérer comme appropriée l'installation en Asie de l'Est d'armes nucléaires sol-sol de portée intermédiaire afin de ralentir l'expansion nucléaire chinoise.

L'Iran, en revanche, ne dispose pas d'arsenal nucléaire qu'il pourrait renforcer ou alléger dans le cadre d'une négociation. Mais Téhéran a la capacité d'atteindre le seuil d'enrichissement d'uranium nécessaire à l'arme nucléaire, ce dont les États-Unis ne veulent pas. Raison pour laquelle ces derniers durcissent les sanctions, accroissent leur présence militaire dans le golfe Persique et lancent des attaques informatiques, pour briser la détermination iranienne. En réponse, les Iraniens augmentent leur taux d'enrichissement, perturbent le trafic pétrolier dans le golfe Persique, attaquent les infrastructures pétrolières saoudiennes et menacent les intérêts des États-Unis et de leurs alliés au Moyen-Orient. La question est désormais de savoir si cette stratégie de la corde raide conduira au conflit ou à une accalmie, qui permettrait une reprise des pourparlers sur la maîtrise de l'armement, comme cela s'était autrefois produit entre les États-Unis et l'Union soviétique.

En cette époque incertaine, il est naturel de se demander si la maîtrise de l'armement n'a pas fait son temps. Si la plupart des traités de non-prolifération et d'interdiction des essais nucléaires sont toujours en vigueur, le système mondial de la maîtrise des armements est sous tension. Il a néanmoins montré, dans les différentes versions qui furent les siennes, une remarquable résilience. Cette résilience risque d'être souvent mise à l'épreuve dans les prochains mois et même dans les prochaines années.

## ARTICLE

## ARTICLE

# Going Forward: The Legislature Must Redeem Its Image

By: Peter Quaqua

Liberia's political system is structurally corrupt. It is as though the system was designed to make the few in government positions overly powerful and wealthy.

It is therefore not accidental that most lawmakers and other officials are acting as though they are above the law. Many of them are seen violating the traffic rules with impunity.

They enjoy unfair competition in the political, economic and social spheres. It is even disturbing that laws are crafted to prolong them in power. This is much to the disadvantage of other competent citizens. For many years, government officials and employees operated arbitrarily without a code of conduct. The Legislature managed to adopt the first one in March 2014 in keeping with Article 90 of the Liberian Constitution. Three years later in 2017, the code of conduct was vilified and trashed. It followed a dispute over its enforcement in the 2017 elections, which ended at the Supreme Court. The Legislature itself that should be the trailblazers for democratic governance, transparency and justice, sadly looks more like torture chambers - leading the suffocation of the people they sworn to represent.

## Standoff

In September 2012, a standoff ensued between the President Sirleaf and the House of Representatives over the budget of the lawmakers. While addressing a forum on the margins of UN General Assembly in the United States, President Sirleaf must have been pushed to the wall when she was confronted with a question regarding the very high salaries and/or benefits of legislators. The president is reported to have said: "The legislature places self-interest above the country...and I did not give it to them, they took it".

Members of the House of Representatives were exasperated by the assertion of the President, accusing her of exposing them to 'public ridicule.' Speaker, Alex Tyler called a press conference and demanded a retraction, stating that the House took "serious exception to the statement by President Johnson - Sirleaf at an international forum in the United States." They never got one.

That situation appeared to have been the breaking point in the relationship between Madam President and the Speaker both of whom came from the same political party (Unity Party) and hail from the same county - Bomi.

Before then, the president, the House and Senate [in 52nd and 53rd Legislature] went to bed on so many deals that were deemed inconsistent with minimum benchmarks. Lawmakers were accused of taking bribes to pass every bill that appeared before them, including and especially the ones from the Executive.

The ease with which a range of legislations were passed led to the derisive tag "4G bills". This brings to mind the case of super lobbyist, James Davis; every time he was spotted at the Capitol, it was an indication that something creepy was in the offing.

I had my own experience with lawmakers when the media and civil society actors were lobbying for the passage of the Freedom of Information Act of 2010. Maybe because we did not have the means, the bill took two years in the Legislature from the date of its submission in 2008.

It is highly probable to assume that President Sirleaf spoiled lawmakers with money and aroused their appetite for shady kickbacks. Remember the controversial hundred pick-ups donated to the Legislature by ArcelorMittal in 2008. Factor in the 68 concession agreements ratified by the Legislature. Imagine only 6 of those agreements were certified to have been in line with the laws of the country. [See the Moore Stephens audit report of 2013].

The "Iron Lady" was excellent at compromising her critics; she was master of her own PR and would do



anything to defeat whatever appeared to challenge her image internationally. So she must have been right; the lawmakers took the money but she fell short of saying 'I approved it.'

I should observe that the desire of the people's representatives to equal the extravagant or huge pay checks of those in the Executive has gotten the country to the abysmal level marked by widening socio-economic inequality; hence, a fight to get rich quick at the mercy of the poverty stricken masses.

Fancy the figure some functionaries of the Executive, [state owned enterprises] including Maritime, The Telecommunication Authority (LTA), the Petroleum Corporation (LPRC) who were at some point taking home 10, 15, 20 and 25 thousand US Dollars monthly. One would surmise that the President wanted to 'pay them well so that they would resist the urge to pilfer from the national coffers.

But I think those payments in themselves were dubious, even as the process was manipulated to legitimize the graft. Seemingly, the Legislature must have felt cheated and reasoned that, 'since we make appropriations in the budget by law, why not increase our own wages?' And so they did incrementally until it hit the roof. Instead of confronting the Executive, they rather joined them in the salary bonanza. How embarrassing!

And President Sirleaf was helpless; she could not stop them. Fast forward, the country has been confined in the harsh economic conditions to pay 103 legislators uncalled-for salaries. Ironically, even the people who are supposed to be fighting waste and abuse (The Corruption Commission) are paid bloated salaries hopefully to insulate them against corruption but to what extent have that paid off, is altogether different story.

Perhaps lawmakers knew their decision to "take" those high amounts would be unpopular with the people they represent. That would have been the motivation for concealment of their actual amounts. Such a situation created room for widespread speculations about the huge sums lawmakers were paid and the attendant mass cry for reduction. But the amount remained classified information until the recent disclosure by Senator Darius Dillion-shedding light on the figures Senators take home every month. Consider it - \$15,325.00USD excluding the Liberian dollars component?

Should the public take it that members of the House netted the same double digits as in the Senate? One lame justification for the bloated salary is the talk about hungry citizens pestering at their doorsteps - begging them for alms. Imagine the government bearing the burden for individual lawmaker's charity. This amounts to organized cheating. Former President Sirleaf referred to it in a tweet as "long standing wrong" while commending Senator Dillon for the courage. What a travesty!

Arguably, the life and death of any democracy lies in the hands of the legislature. It is the preeminent forum of citizens' participation and representation in the

governance process. If they get it wrong, the dreams and aspirations of their constituents are killed and democracy is doomed. The Legislature is the chief examiner and advocacy branch of government and must be there for public good, not self-interest.

Whether it was a smokescreen or genuine intention, when President George Weah spoke in January 2018 at the Legislature about reducing his benefits by 25 per cent and called on the lawmakers to follow his lead, many thought the Legislature would redeem its image by immediately seizing the opportunity to institute reforms that guarantees fairer wages.

But without regret the people's representatives have rather been resisting adjustments in their earnings until now. Isn't it rather mean for the lawmakers to be taking as much as US\$15,325.00 in such a terrible economy? Some have even justified the need for more. No wonder the country had been experiencing "budget shortfalls". Meanwhile, lawmakers have unfortunately also fought every call to audit their accounts.

## Pressed on all sides

Amid the public disapproval, lawmakers have been pressed on all sides to bring their salaries down. The CDC government has been struggling to pay workers, occasioned by the huge wage bill of an ailing economy. There was a rude awakening recently when health workers went on strike in demand of their pay among other conditions. Workers are angry and agitated. They were justified especially when their lawmakers are busy getting rich doing less, while workers do the dirty work and take home undignified wages.

Just when the Weah administration embarked on a salary harmonization exercise as part of efforts to enroll into the IMF program to revive the crumbling economy, you could hear lawmakers resisting in loud voices, crying that they had taken loans from banks and therefore would not submit to salary cuts. How indifferent and selfish can you be!

Luckily, the pending IMF program has already made one impact - the 'self-seeking' Legislature has been made to swallow some of their greed to succumb to cutting their salaries, though much is still desired. Even with this bit of good news from the Legislature, there are cries from some members of the House of Representatives that the CDC Speaker, Dr. Bhoafa Chambers and his UP Deputy, Prince Moya did not submit to cutting their salaries when everybody else including the President has been subjected to cuts. The Speaker is said to net US\$29,000 in salary and US\$15,000 in gasoline allowance, according to Unity Party Rep. Hanson Kiazolu and aggrieved members of the House who spoke to the press. Are you serious? They threatened to remove the Speaker and his Deputy upon their return to the capitol.

In the long run, the country would likely benefit from the newly enacted National Remuneration and Standardization Act of 2019, if the Act is not only intended for government employees and officials in the lower bracket. It doesn't look right for lawmakers to determine their own salaries and benefits. Maybe

# Uncertainty looms

By E. J. Nathaniel Daybor

There appears to be a looming uncertainty here as Liberia's four opposition collaborating political parties (CPP) have threatened a sustained mass action against President George Manneh Weah's regime over the closure of local radio station Roots FM which is deemed in government circle as anti-Weah.

The parties including former ruling Unity Party (UP), Liberty Party (LP), the Alternative National Congress (ANC) and the All Liberian Party (ALP) on Friday, 11 October demanded government to immediately restore all equipment taken from Roots FM.

"We therefore call on President Weah to immediately and unconditionally reopen Roots FM and restore all of its equipment and facilities. We look forward to quick action, as the alternative left for our political parties will be to lead a peaceful, nonviolent, direct and sustained mass action," said Mr. Wilmot Paye of UP.

The government here is unhappy with Talk Show Host Henry Costa who is the main voice on Roots FM for being harsh in his discussions against officials. But a pro-government station that uses terrible language against



oppositions remains operational.

The police's move last week to shut down Roots FM which is deemed in government circle as anti-Weah station comes over a week after Costa raised alarm here, alleging that police were refusing to release a kidnapped, raped and tortured victim Justina Taylor from a Catholic-run hospital to seek advanced medication in the U.S.

Justina was released by the government following clashes between police and hundreds of protesters in Oldest Congo Town.

The latest move against Costa's station Roots FM came Thursday, 10 October 2019 while the station's usual

morning talk show was live, with heavy sounds being heard like a gate being broken.

The scene was chaotic when loyalists of Mr. Costa and well-armed riot police clashed outside Roots FM on Ashum Street, Monrovia. Also leading the scene were former rebel generals who have also gone to enforce the closure of Roots FM.

Speaking Friday, 11 October, Mr. Paye warned that government will soon realize that it has crossed the red line for opposition's patience and tolerance.

"It cannot continue to act lawlessly under the guise of applying the law," he warns the Weah regime further.

Mr. Paye explains that Liberians and the world were

awakened on Thursday, 10 October by an act of violence and vandalism meted out against Roots FM, an independent radio station, in quite an unprecedented manner.

Before it was shut down, the facilities and premises of the station were vandalized by armed police, causing panic in central Monrovia as businesses closed over fear of violence.

"If what we have seen so far is the basis for yesterday's action by the Liberian Government, then that is totally wrong and unacceptable," Paye continues.

He argues that the government's action is intended to give undue advantage to Freedom FM which is reportedly owned and operated by National Security Agency (NSA) Deputy Director for Special Services Mr. Sam Siryon.

Paye notes that Freedom FM has been preaching hate messages against government critics and inciting violence in many instances which happen eventually.

Meanwhile Mr. Paye has called on regional group ECOWAS Commission, African Union, United Nations, European Union, and the Government of the United States of America to view this latest move by President Weah and his government as an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The Unity Party chairman intimates that the move by the Liberian government is an attempt to suppress all forms of dissent and criticism ahead of next year's senatorial elections.

"Those elections will be held nationwide, that is why the four political parties cannot sit supinely and allow President Weah to institute measures that will jeopardize Liberia's peace and democracy," he says.

Paye laments that instead of addressing the governance's malaise and the economic hardship that Liberians are

forced to bear under the insensitive government, it makes no sense to employ oppressive means that will only destroy Liberia's image further.

According to the opposition, the Weah regime has lost the confidence and trust of its own citizenry and Liberia's bilateral and multilateral partners for its inherent incompetence.

"Even as we speak to you, many children are not in school for this academic year and are doubtful about their future simply because their dispossessed parents cannot afford to pay their fees," Paye adds.

He states that food prices have soared inflation is climbing at an alarming rate, which means the economic situation in Liberia will only continue to worsen in the coming months and years.

The tough-talking UP Chairman pointed out that President Weah and his officials continue to mislead the public that they are "harmonizing" salaries to promote fairness.

On the contrary, Paye claims that the main objective of government's harmonization exercise is to retain the thousands of people illegally added to the government's payroll.

He says while in theory the government appears to be implementing earlier recommendations by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, the truth is that the move is intended to deceive Liberia's partners.

He claims that the government has no clues of what to do in order to revive an economy it has destroyed completely.

"Yesterday's action in no way helps to allay growing fears that Liberia remains fragile and is therefore unsafe for doing business," Paye asserts.

He notes that the Government's continuous acts of violence have only scared away investors who are reluctant because of the growing disregard for all tenets of good governance and the rule of law.

The opposition community additionally accuses government of continuously organizing and allegedly using former rebel generals, noting that this has not been helpful in alleviating the growing fears that Liberia remains fragile and unsafe for doing business.

The opposition have urged all members, supporters, sympathizers and friends of the ALP, ANC, LP and UP to continue to be peaceful, law abiding and non-violent as broad consultations are being held in order to determine their next course of action.—*Edited by Winston W. Parley*

## Going Forward: The Legislature

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that's why President Sirleaf said "they took it."

For too long, Liberians have spoken about fighting corruption in government, but it remains ineffectual from one regime to the other because fingers are pointed elsewhere. If the system is this corrupt, it easily breeds corrupt leaders and workers.

I should agree with Dr. Amos Sawyer when he spoke about the 'politics of conquest' in the history of the country. Overtime, Liberians have always been engaged in some struggle to 'conquer or liberate the people.' The country always appears to be in some sort of conflict-begging for transition. And the urge for reform makes sense to some people only when one political bloc feels cheated.

One international person observed during the disputed 2017 presidential elections "that all the parties were looking for opportunity to cheat, but the cheating favored one group, so the rest are fighting back." Perhaps that was a fair assessment! For if the system is flawed and you do not challenge it; it means you want to benefit from the defects. That's double standard!

Waiting to be fixed  
Another structural defect waiting to be fixed is the call to reduce the presidential and legislative terms. Again, this is a contrivance of corrupt and selfish minds. Imagine Liberia currently sits on top with the highest presidential and legislative tenures in West Africa with 6 and 9 years respectively. Senegal used to have 7 years for the president, but they have now amended to join

Benin, Guinea, Mali, Togo, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, The Gambia, Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Niger and Guinea Bissau all with 5 years each; while Nigeria and Ghana are the best with 4 years each. Wonder why Ghana is ahead in their democratic development? This suggest something about Liberia - a democratic dictatorship?

New Grounds  
Essentially, Liberians broke new grounds in their quest for democracy on 22 January 2018, when Mr. George Weah of the Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) took over from President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of the Unity Party. But the country had to wait 73 long years to witness such peaceful transferred of power from one party to another, having endured intermittent violent disruptions during the period. But that transition happened after Mrs. Sirleaf had served two terms of 12 years. What a wait!

The transition was smooth and colorful, but the road to the inauguration was rocky and nearly impassable. The campaigns for the 2017 elections were acrimonious and the results marred by series of litigations. Of course the uneasiness and tensions were understandable - the polls were hugely contested, as candidates were desperate to get their chance to lead. There were 20 candidates on the presidential ballot, 4 more than the 2011 elections; while a total of 984 representative candidates were cleared to contest - an increase of 192 more than the previous elections in 2011. Some of these people had been waiting for 6 to 12 years to contest one of the 73 seats in the House of Representatives.

TO BE CONT'D NEXT EDITION

## The Gambia, Chad, Sao Tome and South Sudan advance



The Gambia and Chad both needed penalties to reach the group phase of qualifying for the 2021 Africa Cup of Nations as South Sudan and Sao Tome e Principe secured their places with aggregate victories.

The Gambia hosted Djibouti at the Independence Stadium in Bakau, just outside the capital, with the preliminary round tie level at 1-1 from the first leg.

The second leg also

finished 1-1 leaving the tie at 2-2 overall.

It went to a penalty shoot-out with the home fans willing on their team as The Gambia won 3-2 on spot-kicks to progress to Group D of qualifying where they will meet the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon and Angola.

Chad also went through via penalties after they won the home leg of their tie against Liberia 1-0 to make it 1-1 on aggregate.

Liberia's captain Sam

Johnson was sent off shortly after the break for a second booking with Chad then capitalising to score the only goal of the second leg.

In the subsequent shoot-out, Chad just edged Liberia 5-4 to make it through to Group A of qualifying where they will face Mali, Guinea and Namibia.

South Sudan, who won the first leg of their tie against Seychelles 2-1, followed it up with a 1-0 victory away from home to go through 3-1 on aggregate.

South Sudan will play in Group B of qualifying with Burkina Faso, Uganda and Malawi.

Sao Tome e Principe followed up their famous 3-1 first-leg victory away to Mauritius with a 2-1 victory in their home leg on Sunday to go through 5-2 overall.

Sao Tome will be in Group C of qualifying for the 2021 Nations Cup alongside Ghana, South Africa and Sudan.

The first two rounds of group matches will be played during the international window in November.

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## Neymar limps off as Brazil draw with Nigeria

Neymar's return to Champions League action may be delayed after the Paris Saint-Germain forward limped off after just 12 minutes of Brazil's friendly against Nigeria on Sunday.

The 27-year-old, who played the full 90 minutes against Senegal on Thursday, clutched his hamstring after eight minutes and was replaced by Philippe



Coutinho shortly after.

Neymar, who was playing his 101st international, is now a doubt for PSG's Champions League meeting with Club Brugge on October 22. He has missed the first two rounds because of a UEFA suspension.

He was injured while on national duty back in June when he hurt an ankle in a friendly against Qatar. It ruled him out of the Copa America which Brazil went on to win.

If the injury was bad for Neymar then the result was disappointing for Brazil -- it is their fourth successive match without a win.

Their previous three outings since winning the Copa America had yielded draws against Colombia and Senegal and a defeat by Peru.

Even when Neymar was on the pitch, the Nigerians were causing problems with Brazil goalkeeper Ederson at full

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