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# The New Dawn

**French Version Inside**

TRULY INDEPENDENT

**Hint...**

"He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house; but he that hateth gifts shall live."  
-Proverbs 15:27

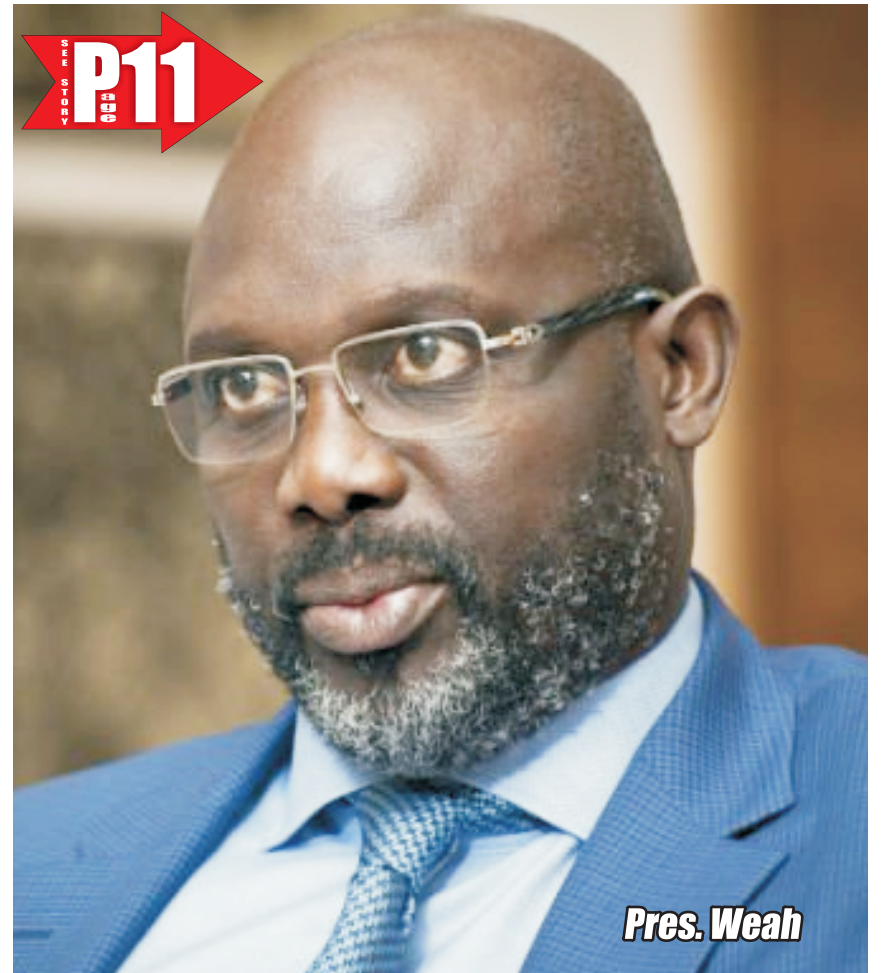
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# Citizens rate Weah's gov't "very poor"

## -Naymote



# Breaking News Cllr. Brusmkine is dead

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# Continental News

## Kenyan legend back after 33 years

When track legend Henry Rono was last home, Ronald Reagan was President of the USA and Alf – a story on a furry, arrogant but friendly alien from the planet “Melmac” – was the trending television series.

Top Gun (starring Tom Cruise) and Crocodile Dundee (Paul Hogan and Linda Kozlowski) were blockbusters on the silver screen and Mike Tyson was winning his first world boxing title (defeating Trevor Berbick), while Boris Becker and Martina Navratilova were Wimbledon singles champions. Eliud Kipchoge was just a two-year-old baby, while fellow world record holder David Rudisha wasn't even born! That was 1986. On Tuesday, after spending 33 roller-coaster years in USA, Rono touched down at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport amid a cocktail of emotions. The scene fitted the script of the Biblical prodigal son, but the only difference was that roles were reversed.

It was more of a “prodigal

father” as Rono’s son Calvin (37), accompanied by his uncle David Meli (43), were at the airport to receive their father and brother who wasn’t able to recognise them! Simply extraordinary scenes... “I feel fresh like a new born baby. It has not been easy staying way for three decades, but, nevertheless, I was mentally and physically

prepared for this moment. It’s a long time for sure but I am happy to be back home,” said Rono, who arrived accompanied by his grandson Anthony Rono, a medical doctor. “It’s with mixed emotions that I couldn’t recognise people’s faces, including my son who was four, and my brother, who was only 10 when I left in 1986.



They are now big men. JKIA also looks much better than when I left,” said the multiple world record holder, who was occasionally interrupted by calls from his daughter Maureen, who was barely two months old when he left for the USA. Rono is known for his historic streak in 1978 when he broke four world records within a span of 81 days, a year he also won the 10,000 metres and 3,000 metres steeplechase gold medals at the Commonwealth and African Games, respectively. However, despite his prowess on track that saw him earn millions of dollars, mismanagement and alcoholism, cutting across three decades, ate deep into his resources, leaving him a pauper.

Rono’s move back to the USA in 1986 to resuscitate his career worsened things with a cocktail of poor form, corrupt agents and alcoholism deepened his woes.

Since 1986, Rono has been in-and-out of alcoholism rehabilitation centres, but only got to get a full reprieve

five years ago when he quit drinking completely as efforts were made to help him return home.

Rono blamed the poor set-up of sports management locally and abroad, racism in athletics and rogue managers for his frustrations that saw him seek solace in alcoholism.

“Sports management in Kenya and abroad was poor with no structures to support athletes, especially Africans. As a young man with a lot of money, I wasn’t getting the support I needed or advise from anyone not even Kenya Amateur Athletics Association (KAAA),” said Rono.

“No one wanted to manage me openly because of the racism and early discrimination in the first world countries.” Rono said that most of the agents who managed him “conned” him of his hard-earned cash, with most taking advantage of his romance with the tiple to grab his assets, rendering him almost destitute in Albuquerque, New Mexico, where he used to reside.

“I was reduced to security guard duties at the local airport and when I came home, no one wanted to help me.”AFP

## How a vote in Ethiopia could test Nobel prize winner

A referendum in the south of Ethiopia is being seen as a test of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s abilities to control the forces of ethnic nationalism, which have threatened to increase divisions within the country. More than two million

people in what is known as the Sidama zone are able to vote on whether they want their own regional state within Ethiopia’s federal system. Voting got off to a calm start on Wednesday morning with long queues of people being seen in the main city, Hawassa. The

referendum will see if tensions around ethnic separatism can be resolved peacefully.

Also, ahead of a general election scheduled for May next year, the vote is a test for the country’s electoral process. Since coming to power in April 2018, Prime Minister Abiy has been praised for his wide-ranging liberalising reforms.

He has transformed what was considered a tightly controlled security state. He also spearheaded a peace process with long-time foe Eritrea - a move which won him this year’s Nobel Peace Prize. But his more relaxed approach to organisations and parties campaigning for greater rights for different ethnic groups has lifted the lid on underlying tensions. Clashes in different parts of the country have forced an estimated three million people from their homes in the past 20 months.

The referendum on creating a new region is part

of a constitutional process that it is hoped could help satisfy ethnic ambitions in one part of the country. The constitution says that every ethnic group has the right to demand their own regional state.

A delay in holding the vote in Sidama earlier this year, triggered violence in which at least 25 people died. Ethiopia’s 1995 constitution created nine regional states, which are mostly based on ethnicity. In other words, Tigray is dominated by Tigrayans, Amhara is dominated by Amharas, and so on.

But the Sidama became part of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Region (SNNPR), home to more than 50 ethnicities.

Making up some 4% of the population, the Sidama are Ethiopia’s fifth largest ethnic group, and many feel that they deserve greater political power and recognition.

Under the previous constitution there was a separate province known as

Sidamo, which, though it contained several ethnic groups, recognised the Sidama in its name.

A new federal state would mean the Sidama could make their own policies, control a regional police force and be in charge of a budget that could be spent on the priorities of the Sidama people. It would also give them greater linguistic and cultural recognition.

One man waiting to vote told the BBC: “This is the happiest day of my life. I believe this is a day signalling peace and freedom. I believe the people will get peace now. So the joy I feel inside is incomparable.” Those who want a new regional state will mark the ballot paper next to a symbol of a shafeta, a Sidama traditional bowl or jar. Those who want the Sidama regional zone to remain within SNNPR will mark the ballot paper next to the sign of a hut.

The electoral commission says the result should be known on Thursday. BBC



There are more than two million registered voters

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# EDITORIAL

## Hailing the Liberia Entrepreneurship Summit

THE CUMMINGS AFRICA Foundation over the weekend, hosted over 100 local entrepreneurs under the Liberia Entrepreneurship Summit, targeting selected Liberian-owned businesses as participants.

THE TWO DAYS Summit in Monrovia provided an avenue to expose young Liberian entrepreneurs to deeper business managerial skills and create empowerment opportunities, focusing on Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs) that look forward to moving to the next level.

OWNED BY FORMER corporate executive and opposition politician, Alexander B. Cummings, the Cummings Africa Foundation has initiated an endeavor that would enable Liberian entrepreneurs to have a say in their own economy thru nonstop education, inspiration and motivation.

WE BELIEVE THIS is where focus of the Liberian society should be - a strong desire for entrepreneurial skills and courage to venture into business. The timing for the Liberia Entrepreneurship Summit couldn't have been any better than now when the economy has nose-dived.

WE ENCOURAGE THE Cummings Africa Foundation to conduct more of such summits in the country to build and maintain in Liberians particularly, the youth an entrepreneurial spirit that would turn their attention away from seeking government jobs as the only hope for their future.

IF OUR ECONOMY should wake up from its current slumber, the private sector should take the lead thru SMEs, particularly Liberian-owned businesses. No economy has developed exclusively by government spending, though the public sector serves as a stimulus.

HOWEVER, IT IS the private sector that holds a very big chunk of the economy on which government heavily relies for taxes to run the affairs of state.

AS A FORMER executive of Coca Cola Africa, Mr. Cummings has wealth of experience and expertise that both ordinary Liberians and the government itself could tap from. And has made himself available, politics aside.

WE URGE EVERY well-meaning and business-conscious Liberians to take advantage of the opportunity brought about by the Cummings Foundation to emancipate ourselves from the shackles of poverty, dependency and lack. No outsider will do it for us.

ADDRESSING THE OPENING session, Mr. Cummings disclosed that contestants in a business ideas competition from the Summit stand a chance to win up to US\$10,000 and US\$5,000 investment capital thru grants, respectively.

THIS IS A once in a life time opportunity that no business-minded Liberian should afford to miss, as it could well be the start of a journey that could take you to the top, and the Liberia Entrepreneurship Summit, thru the Cummings Africa Foundation should be lauded for availing the opportunity.

**The New Dawn**  
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# COMMENTARY

By Robert Habeck & Jesse Klaver

## A Green Light for Public Investment

*Europe urgently needs a fiscal-stimulus package aimed at bringing about much-needed economic transformation. But while the economic conditions for such an approach are favorable, the political conditions are less so, owing to the German and Dutch governments' misguided insistence on running large budget surpluses.*

**B**ERLIN/THE HAGUE - The eurozone faces immense economic challenges. Germany and the Netherlands - which together account for 35% of the monetary union's GDP and have ample fiscal space - should take the lead in tackling them.

The biggest looming challenge - and not just for the eurozone - is the escalating climate crisis, which demands comprehensive economic restructuring, including an overhaul of energy systems, transport infrastructure, and agricultural practices. This process will be accompanied by another major challenge: adapting to the ongoing Fourth Industrial Revolution, characterized by the rapid development of disruptive technologies, such as artificial intelligence, nanotechnology, quantum computing, and network technology.

Such transformations do not happen by themselves. Governments must lead the way, by pursuing large-scale, coordinated, forward-looking public-investment programs.

Europe is already falling behind: both China and the United States are far outspending it on innovation, reflecting the central role of economics and technology in modern geopolitical competition. In today's world, the only way for Europe to safeguard its strategic sovereignty is by rapidly increasing its own spending on innovation, education, and economic upgrading.

Europe would not have to wait long to begin seeing the fruits of such investment. Key economic indicators in the eurozone are now worsening, owing largely to factors beyond its control, such as the US-China trade war, tensions in the Middle East, and Brexit. A recession is a very real possibility.

The European Central Bank cannot be expected to take the lead in resisting a downturn, as it has done since the last crisis. With the ECB having largely depleted its monetary-policy arsenal - interest rates remain at historic lows - a repeat of the 2012 pledge by then-ECB President Mario Draghi to do "whatever it takes" to protect the euro would lack the credibility to reassure markets, as it did the first time around.

What Europe needs instead is a fiscal-stimulus package that accounts for long-term imperatives. But while the economic conditions for such an approach are favorable - the Dutch and German governments can currently borrow at negative interest rates - the political conditions are less so.

Germany and the Netherlands have long

resisted fiscal expansion. Both run large budget surpluses to keep their own public debt low, and push their eurozone partners to adhere to strict fiscal rules, even at the cost of growth and prosperity. They say that they are operating in eurozone members' long-term interest. But what good will inheriting a low debt-to-GDP ratio be to future generations, if they are also saddled with an outdated economy and an escalating climate crisis?

The European Union's fiscal framework, defined in the Stability and Growth Pact, comprises a highly complex set of rules and conditions, with countries facing corrective measures when their debts or deficits approach or cross a particular threshold. This is not a bad thing in principle: a currency union needs a mechanism to prevent countries from accumulating unsustainable debts.

But the singular focus on debts and deficits is misguided, because it ignores the asset side of the balance sheet. In fact, as it stands, deficit-ratio calculations treat consumption and investment in largely the same way.

To build an economy fit for the twenty-first century, Europe should reform its fiscal framework, so that governments, like private firms, distribute capital expenditures over their full maturity period. This would go a long way toward encouraging public investment, especially during economic downturns.

If reckless overspending is equivalent to running a red light, then failing to invest when conditions allow - let alone demand - is equivalent to stopping at a green one. And yet that is exactly what Germany and the Netherlands - two of the eurozone's largest trucks - have done, and they are blocking other cars from getting past. Meanwhile, the world's most powerful vehicles are speeding ahead, and road conditions are rapidly deteriorating.

It is time for Germany and the Netherlands to react to the green light, ideally in a coordinated fashion. In Germany, the Green Party has already proposed reforming the debt brake, as well as Europe-wide fiscal rules, to allow for more investment. In the Netherlands, the Green Party has long urged the government to use fiscal policy to accelerate the energy transition.

There is reason for hope: the Dutch government is now considering creating a public-investment fund worth billions of euros. But this is just a first step. The only way to get European traffic flowing again is for German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte to commit to a large-scale joint investment effort, focused on innovation, education, and sustainability.

## O-PED

By Anne O. Krueger

## Making America Mediocre

**W**ASHINGTON, DC - The private sector performs well when firms can compete on a level playing field. But if the state is willing to influence market outcomes for individual firms, politically connected parties can gain an advantage over their more efficient competitors.

The US economy has long been among the most productive in the world precisely because it has maintained a relatively level playing field, where firms' costs are determined by how efficiently they respond to market signals. Likewise, the US approach to international trade has long been based on predominantly economic considerations. Because parties to the World Trade Organization had agreed that tariffs could not rise above negotiated levels except in specified circumstances (on national-security grounds, for example), governments could not use such measures to reward or threaten particular firms or industries.

Yet under US President Donald Trump, this is no longer the case. In March 2018, Trump invoked "national security" to justify new import tariffs of 25% on steel (and 10% on aluminum). While that rationale could be valid in some cases, this was not one of them: the US steel industry was operating at around 73% capacity, with just 3% of steel and aluminum production needed for defense.

Moreover, when announcing the tariffs, the Trump administration stipulated that companies wanting to import domestically unavailable steel could apply for a waiver, meaning that the government would have the discretion to grant tariff "exclusions" to some firms while denying them to others.

Under this system, each waiver application must specify the type and quantity of steel needed, including "chemical composition, dimensions, strength, toughness, ductility, magnetic permeability, surface finish, coatings, and other relevant data." A separate application must be made for each type of steel, and applicants must demonstrate that the type of steel needed is not available domestically. Given that there are nine separate criteria (plus other relevant data), the decision-making process for granting waivers is inherently opaque.

Once a waiver application is submitted, it is "posted" publicly, giving domestic steel companies seven days to object, on the basis that they can in fact furnish the type of steel in question. Their objections are then subjected to a seven-day review period. If the original applicant rebuts the objection, the objector has another seven days to rebut the rebuttal.

As of March 2019, the government had received 51,345 requests for waivers and 19,543 objections. Delays had piled up, and commentators pointed out that a disproportionate share of the objections had come from just three US companies - US Steel, Nucor, and AK Steel - and applied to a volume of steel 169% above their combined capacity. As of September 2018, the average number of waiver requests per firm was 43, with one firm filing as many as 2,563. After almost a year, the Department of Commerce had approved just 59% of applications with no objections, and under 1% of those with objections. Although national security had been the purported rationale for the tariffs, far more imported steel from China received exemptions than did steel from Canada or Mexico.

Not surprisingly, this process has drawn multiple complaints. Even the Commerce Department Inspector General (IG), for example, has found that the system relies on "an unofficial appeals process" and may be subject to "improper influence," given that procedures have been altered after an objection, and that there has been inadequate documentation of meetings and phone calls with interested parties. Perhaps worse, different companies applying for exemptions for the same type of imported steel have experienced different outcomes.

If some companies' requests are accepted while others are not, those with waivers will have a de facto cost advantage over other firms. Clearly, the playing field is uneven, given that there have been enough complaints to trigger an IG investigation. According to Reuters, one US can maker has received a waiver for its imports while others have faced denials and delays.

But tariff exemptions aren't the only area where the Trump administration may be abusing its discretionary power. Earlier this month, Inside US Trade reported that the administration was "pushing auto companies to commit that all of their output - even autos manufactured and sold within the United States - will meet US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) regional value requirements, tying the demand to requests for longer transition periods for complying with USMCA auto rules of origin."

Or, to list one more example, the Department of Defense recently awarded a \$10 billion cloud-computing contract to Microsoft over Amazon. Amazon is now taking the Trump administration to court, alleging that it showed "unmistakable bias" throughout the tendering process. At a minimum, the decision raises eyebrows, given that Trump has been openly antagonistic toward Amazon and its founder, Jeff Bezos, who also owns the Washington Post.

In all of these examples, the Trump administration has the discretion to grant favors and provide financial incentives for decisions that otherwise have little to do with economic policymaking. Some of the decisions are clearly motivated by electoral politics. Since the election, notes a May 2019 ProPublica investigation, Trump "has made 35 claims that companies would create 8.9 million jobs in the US thanks to his policies and actions." In fact, out of just 154,000 jobs created, a mere 797 are "attributable to Trump, according to the companies that did the hiring."

Discretionary decisions that influence firms' behavior and affect their competitive positions tend to inflict damage well beyond any one targeted company. Under such conditions, corporate executives will inevitably feel pressure to alter their decision-making to please the authorities. The current economic-policy environment has not made America great again. And the longer the government's interventions persist, the less great it will become.

## OPINION

By Carl Bildt

## Impeachment and the Wider World

**S**TOCKHOLM - Once again, the United States is undergoing the profound drama of presidential impeachment proceedings. But, unlike in the past, this time the implications for the rest of the world could be substantial.

Consider the two modern precursors to today's impeachment inquiry into US President Donald Trump's effort to persuade Ukraine's government to announce a criminal investigation of one of his leading Democratic challengers, former Vice President Joe Biden, and Biden's son. The first was the slow-brewing crisis that began with a midnight break-in at the Democratic National Committee's offices in 1972, and went on to consume the US political system for two years, culminating in President Richard Nixon's resignation in August 1974. The second was the special counsel investigation of President Bill Clinton, who was impeached in the US House of Representatives in 1998, but acquitted by the Senate in February 1999.

In both cases, the roots of the crisis were domestic. Nixon was accused of misusing his office for domestic political ends, and then of obstructing the investigation. Clinton was accused of perjury and other abuses relating to his personal behavior. The case against Trump is very different: US foreign policy is at its very center.

US relations with Ukraine are not some peripheral issue. America's Ukraine policy is born of its commitments to European and international security. At least since Russia's annexation of Crimea and incursions into eastern Ukraine in 2014, helping Ukraine secure its independence and sovereignty has been a central foreign-policy concern for both the US and the European Union.

Moreover, unlike the previous two impeachment crises, this one could jam up the machinery of US foreign policy. During Watergate, Henry Kissinger, serving simultaneously as secretary of state and national security adviser, kept the ship afloat, with both the Vietnam War and US-Soviet relations remaining high on the agenda. Likewise, throughout the Clinton drama, which coincided with the run-up to the Kosovo War, US diplomacy and foreign policymaking did not suffer any major disruptions.

Obviously, the same cannot be said for the Trump impeachment inquiry. The proceedings have already revealed deep rifts between a foreign-policy apparatus that is trying to uphold the stated US policy on Ukraine, and a White House that has been pursuing fundamentally different objectives. Whether that apparatus is still capable of carrying out its work on this critical issue is now an open question. On the White House side, there is a noticeable absence of "adults in the room." Under Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who has been implicated in the scandal himself, an already diminished State Department has become a key battleground in the larger impeachment fight.

Moreover, Trump himself could make the current impeachment drama far worse for the rest of the world. During the Clinton impeachment, the White House committed to maintaining "business as usual" and avoided participating in the daily partisan disputes of the process. Trump has already adopted exactly the opposite approach, not least by attacking (on Twitter) the former US ambassador to Ukraine while she was testifying before the House Intelligence Committee.

Clearly, Trump intends to obsess over every detail of the process. Every minute that he spends tweeting and watching Fox News will be time that other occupants of the Oval Office would have spent focusing on pressing issues of state. In this respect, the Trump drama has parallels to Watergate, which was clearly a distraction for Nixon. But given that Trump is even less constrained by (or even aware of) the constitutional principles that he is accused of violating, his efforts to derail the proceedings are likely to be even more brazen.

Whether Trump's behavior justifies removing him from office will be for the US Senate to decide. But whatever happens, America's political crisis comes at a time of rising global instability. In addition to a revisionist Russia seeking opportunities for zero-sum gains wherever it can find them, an increasingly assertive China is flexing its muscles in Asia and on the world stage.

Meanwhile, the Middle East has entered another phase of profound instability, such that a single spark could easily ignite another crisis. North Korea's nuclear-armed regime is contemplating new moves and conducting further ballistic-missile tests. Trade tensions remain high, despite the recent announcement of a "phase one" deal between the US and China. And mass protests are sweeping the globe, from Santiago and Quito to Beirut and Hong Kong.

In today's interconnected world, a crisis anywhere can end up on the desk of the US president, and the policy response that does (or does not) come can have global implications. French President Emmanuel Macron recently made headlines by warning of an impending "brain death" for NATO. If that grim prognosis about the state of transatlantic relations was true earlier this month, it is all the more relevant now that the impeachment drama has reached a fever pitch.

In the previous impeachment episodes, the US remained a strategic actor on the world stage. But Trump's America has already proven to be a source of global disruption. Whether the latest scandal leads to a strategic blow-up or merely a strategic time-out remains to be seen. The world can afford neither scenario.

## FROM OUR FILES

## FROM OUR FILES

## LIBERIA AT A CROSSROADS: ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIALIZED CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL OR A REVERSE TO ANARCHY

By: Alvin Weagar Yelloway\*

The 14-years' civil conflict (1989-2003) ravaged the economic, social and political landscapes in Liberia. Nearly 250,000 persons lost their precious lives as a result of the conflict, which was perpetrated by warring factions and their leaders; but hostilities ended since 2003, followed by the formation of an interim government the same year. The nation held its first post-war presidential and legislative elections in 2005, which ushered in Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as President in 2006. This was followed by the holding of two successive presidential and legislative elections in 2011 and 2017. As a result of these, the country has enjoyed 15-years of uninterrupted peace which makes one to wonder, whether the perpetrators of the worst forms of human rights violations are immune from prosecution?

In an effort to investigate, determine the truth, identify the root causes of the civil conflict, and to determine those who are responsible for the commission of odious crimes, the National Legislature of Liberia established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in June 2005. Article IV of the TRC Statute outlined its mandate to include: documentation and investigation of the massive wave of human rights violations that occurred in Liberia during the period 1979 - 2003, identification of victims and perpetrators of the conflict, and creation of a forum to address issues of impunity.

The Commission was influential in the fulfilment of its mandate and reported the collection of over 22,000 written statements, conducted several dozens of personal interviews and collected over 500 live public testimonies of witnesses, actors, perpetrators, and direct victims from the 15 political sub-divisions of Liberia and the diaspora. In the end, the Commission submitted a comprehensive report to the People of Liberia, the Government of Liberia and the International Community after a little over three years (2006-2009) of work with financial support from Liberian taxpayers, the United Nations, the European Union and other generous governments.

At sections 12-14, Volume II of the Consolidated Final Report of the TRC, the Commission recommended establishment of an extraordinary criminal tribunal, prosecution of war criminals, public sanctions for some officials, reparations to victims, amnesty, and a palava hut peace building mechanism to foster peace, dialogue and national reconciliation.

Nine years since the TRC submitted its report, successive governments have taken little or no action to prosecute war criminals. Captivatingly, other countries have made tremendous strides to end impunity. At the end of a turbulent civil conflict (1991-2002) in Sierra Leone, a country that borders Liberia to the west; Sierra Leone established a Special Court (hybrid) in 2002, which indicted, convicted and sentenced dozens of perpetrators (rebel leaders) who committed, aided and abetted the worst crimes against humanity in Sierra Leone, including a former Liberian elected dictator Charles Ghankay Taylor. The world witnessed a new era when the United Nations Security Council in November 1994 passed a resolution for the establishment of an International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda with the sole purpose to prosecute perpetrators of the crime of Genocide, which was orchestrated in Rwanda between January to December 1994. The Tribunal indicted, convicted and sentenced scores of perpetrators to prison, before it concluded its mandate in 2012.



While efforts were made by Sierra Leone and Rwanda to punish people who committed atrocities, Liberia has not made any significant progress to establish a specialized court in order to prosecute war criminals. On October 18, 2018, the local media in Monrovia quoted Liberia's Foreign Minister as calling for a referendum in order to determine the establishment of a war crimes court. While one cannot fathom the minister's dark statement, we are constrained to declare that his statement is a flagrant outrage to victims (some of whom are in mass graves) of the civil conflict and their families who yearned for justice every day; while they see former warlords occupying lucrative positions of trust in the country, which is equivalent to torture. While the *raison d'être* of the Foreign Minister's statement is ambiguous, the 1986 Constitution of Liberia (at Article 34e) empowers the National Legislature to constitute courts inferior to the Supreme Court of Liberia; to include specialized courts which are deemed necessary for the proper administration of justice throughout the Republic.

We hold the passionate view, that the newly inaugurated President of Liberia; George Manneh Weah, who is viewed as the messianic leader and his Foreign Minister may not have homology on the establishment of a specialized criminal tribunal. By contrast, Weah needs to prove to the world by taking effective action in establishing a specialized criminal tribunal. In September of 2018, when Weah addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN), he reaffirmed his nation's commitment to the values of the UN, which include: international peace, security, human rights and justice. To ensure that human rights and justice are entrenched in Liberia, Weah must urgently establish a specialized criminal tribunal in order to prosecute those who committed the worst forms of atrocities, end the culture of impunity and validate pundits' assertion that the best way to promote and protect human rights is to prosecute people who are responsible for the 14-years civil conflict.

It is important to note, that amongst former Presidents Taylor and Sirleaf and current President Weah; the only leader who could weather the storm to establish a specialized criminal court in Liberia is Weah, simply because it is ubiquitous that there is no *prima facie* or circumstantial evidence which explicitly or implicitly linked Weah to the 14-years bloodbath in Liberia, unless Sirleaf and Taylor who

were outrageously indicted by the TRC Report for financing, aiding, abetting and committing atrocities during the 14 years civil conflict.

The failure by Weah to establish a specialized criminal tribunal will be a replete contradiction of his much touted Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development which he launched on October 27, 2018. Pillar 3 of the Pro-Poor Agenda enumerates a more peaceful, unified society that enables economic transformation and sustainable development through ending fragility and the root causes of conflict, ensuring access to justice, rule of law and human rights and complying with international, regional, and human rights standards.

Weah does not find himself in a dilemma, or a quagmire or least to say a state of ambivalence. Nonetheless, Weah finds himself on a trajectory to eliminate the culture of impunity in Liberia by establishing a specialized criminal tribunal which will prosecute, convict and punish former warlords who are responsible for the worst atrocities the country has ever experienced. The benefits that come with prosecuting and subsequently convicting former warlords is that the victims and their families will appreciate justice and it will curb future mayhems.

Finally, the establishment of a specialized criminal tribunal is not at the discretion of Weah; it is a constitutional and statutory imperative. Morally, Weah owes his 2017 electoral victory to the more than half million young people who voted him to power; only because they saw in him an indomitable will and agenda to prosecute former warlords, who gifted them with a miserable and poverty stricken childhood years. Failure to expeditiously establish a specialized criminal tribunal and subsequently prosecute former warlords, who planned and executed the 14-years' turmoil in Liberia, will only reveal that Weah's administration is craving for the nation's reverse to anarchy. Weah will never appreciate such anarchy, because he is so obsessed to reform and rebuild Liberia from abnormality to prosperity; under the rubric of his Pro-Poor Agenda.

\*Alvin Weagar Yelloway is a Swedish Institute (SI) Scholar, a Liberian Human Rights Attorney, and currently pursues a Master of Laws in International Human Rights Law at the Faculty of Law, Lund University. The views expressed in this article do not reflect this paper or institutions he affiliates with.

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

# Paramount Chief blames Ellen for poor economy

By Joseph Titus Yekeryan in Bong

The paramount chief of Kpaai District, Bong County has attributed the current bad economic situation of Liberia to the mistakes made by former President Ellen Johnson - Sirleaf's government.

causing hardship in the Country.

Nearing the end of Mrs. Sirleaf's second and last six years term, her government printed billions of Liberian with completely different design and features from the old Liberian dollar that was still in use.

Manneh Weah is trying his possible best to move the country forward, but he is allegedly being undermined by people who don't have love for the country.

"It frustrates me whenever I see people blaming President Weah for the current state of the economy. The blame needs to be [shifted] on the past regime of Madam Ellen Johnson - Sirleaf because she is the one who introduced new banknotes," Mr. Terteh argues.

He believes that Mrs. Sirleaf needed not to print new money, especially when she still had in circulation mutilated banknotes.

The local official thinks the past government needed to collect all the mutilated banknotes from the market before releasing the new money.

Mr. Terteh's statement has been greeted with serious public reactions with many citizens counterarguing that the Weah - led government is also responsible for the current economic situation.

Johnson Flomo Nar, a radio talk show participant says President Weah and his Vice President Madam Jewel Howard - Taylor were members of the Liberian Senate during the printing of the new money, so they all need to be blamed for the current situation.--

*Edited by Winston W. Parley*



Speaking to our correspondent in the county recently, Paramount Chief Garrison Terteh said the new local currency printed by former President Sirleaf's regime has devalued the Liberian currency and is

The two local currencies, in billions, are both being used here today against the United States dollars, much to the disadvantage of the local currencies.

Paramount Chief Terteh explains that President George

# EUROLIBERIAN Film Festival to kick off next week

-Focuses on gender based violence and cultural heritage

The Delegation of the European Union to Liberia (EU), in collaboration with the Government of Liberia through its National Authorizing Office (NAO) of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, is thrilled to announce its third EUROLIBERIAN annual film festival featuring European and Liberian films, and 15 short videos from Liberian female filmmakers on the topics of gender-based violence and cultural heritage.

From 25 November to 9 December 2019, the doors of multiple venues in Monrovia and Kakata will open to the public for free screenings

filmmakers.

An often under-discussed aspect of gender-based violence is the role of men. Though men are often the perpetrators of gender-based violence, they can also be agents of change. The films will also offer an opportunity to reflect about this issue.

On the topic of cultural heritage, the film festival will feature the MalawalaBalawala hit TV comedy series from the 1980s. The project Coordinator of Kriterion Monrovia, Ms. Pandora Hodge said that the series were refurbished by the Liberian Broadcasting System and are being made available for public viewing. She added,

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during the 2019 EUROLIBERIAN Film Festival. In the capital city, events will take place in New Kru Town, Sinkor, Slipway and in Kakata.

Taking place during the period of the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence, the theme of this third film festival is "Stop the Violence, Make the Change". The festival will offer a rich programme of Liberian and European movies, short films and documentaries raising public awareness on gender-based violence and showcasing the rich diversity of Liberian and European culture.

Accountability Lab will be showcasing 15 short films made by women Liberian

"Having another look at the show gives Liberians and others a chance to reflect on their culture and how the roles of women have changed in Liberia after the war."

The EUROLIBERIAN Film Festival is organized in partnership with the Liberian student organization, Kriterion Monrovia, and Accountability Lab. Following each screening, the organization's dynamic young animators will facilitate public discussions centered on the film content. In addition to film screenings, the festival will include free workshops on storytelling and video production featuring some of Liberia's best traditional storytellers, filmmakers and musical artists.-*Press release*

# Bong residents appeal for War and Economic Crimes Court

By Joseph Titus Yekeryan in Bong

Some residents of Bong County are appealing to the Liberian Government for the establishment of a War and Economic Crimes Court without fear.

According to the citizens, the delay in the establishment of the court continues to give hope to those who unnecessarily killed peaceful citizens during the 14 years of civil war in the Country and those who have misappropriated public funds as well.

They believe that when the War and Economic Crimes Court is established, it will help to bring to book some warlords and corrupt persons.

The citizens told our correspondent in Bong County through a popular radio program "Speak Your Mind," that War Crimes Court will



reduce the rate of violence and revolt in Liberia.

According to them, the Economic Crimes Court will help to abolish

mismanagement of public funds by government officials.

"I voted for this government because my very first time seeing President George M.

Weah during the campaign season in 2017, he told us that upon his ascendancy at the Executive Mansion, he would immediately ensure the establishment of the War Crimes Court," Jeremiah Kerkulah, one of the callers explains.

He says during the war his father, brother, sister and my Uncle were killed, but (Jeremiah) escaped through God's mercy.

The citizens say their call for the establishment of War

and Economic Crimes Court is not intended to witch-hunt someone, but they need justice.

They believe that the current economic situation in the country is due to corruption, and it needs to be addressed by this government.

To address the alleged corruption, the citizens are calling on the Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) led - government to audit past and present government officials.--

*Edited by Winston W. Parley*

**MORE HEADLINE NEWS**

**MORE HEADLINE NEWS**

**Kokoyah miners want government to reconsider its decision**

By Joseph Titus Yekeryan  
in Bong County

Citizens of Kokoyah Statutory District, Bong County are calling on the Liberian Government to reconsider its decision and lift a ban on Class "C" Miners in the region.

An unconfirmed report says that the Liberian Government recently closed all illicit mining activities in Kokoyah District, a situation that is believed to have affected many of the class "C" Miners.

"C" Mining is the type of mining using hands.

Our Bong County correspondent says many of the citizens who have been allegedly carrying on illicit mining activities are people who have built their solvability on said job and currently have no means of providing food for their families.

Some of the citizens explain that since the announcement of prohibition on illicit mining activities in the region, many people have

been denied without being properly investigated whether they are registered with the government or they are illicit miners.

"I want the government to please give us chance to find our daily bread. For some of us, we are registered Class "C" miners. But since the government through its field

supervisors put stop to illicit mining, they have now considered all of us (registered Class "C" miners) as illicit miners," Alexander Gotogai explains.

According to him, when an individual is caught mining in Kokoyah, they can no longer be investigated regarding their status with the government's

regulation.

"If the government does not want us to operate, there is no need for us to be registering, because the very documents we paid for to carry on our mining activities are the very documents that can be downplayed when we are caught mining," Mr. Gotogai adds.

Also speaking with our correspondent in Bong County, one of the citizens who has been involved with illicit mining claims that they do not mine without the concern of mining company MNG Gold.

"I can't even call that illicit mining because whenever we are going to look for our food, we can inform MNG Gold's operational staff," John Blleblue explains.

"We are not using shovel nor digger. we are only using our pan to wash the waste dirt [that] the machine can dumb. So is that what you call mining? he asks.

"This is cleared that the government does not want to help us. You are there as government to help the local citizens, but since you don't want to do it, another person is trying to help us. Then why can't you leave us alone? Mr. Blleblue continues.

Mary Nyahn, age 37, a mother of three children appeals to the Government of

Liberia to allow widows to find their daily bread [through mining].

With tears in her eyes, Mary explains: " We're only begging the government to help us. They have started chasing us from the operational site of the company which is very bad. I think the company's owners should be the ones complaining. Instead, the government that we depend [on] is the one in fact inciting the company not to do us good."

"What we can do is not harming the company at all. If so, then by now the company [would have] told us not to even step around their operation. But to be frank, it is their waste dirt we can wash then at the end of the day we will see pieces of gold," she continues.

Our Bong County correspondent who traveled to the District on Wednesday says many of the citizens are engaged in either mining activities or making business to provide for their households.

Our correspondent says the region has little number of farmers due to the operation of the Turkish Gold mining company MNG Gold in the area which has taken a significant portion of the land for mining purposes.--*Edited by Winston W. Parley*



**Oxfam sponsors advocates for women's right**

Oxfam in Liberia and the global Enough Campaign delight in sharing the experiences of five partners drawn from women's rights groups in Liberia who participated in regional and international Enough Campaigns.

The goal of the Enough campaign is to change widely accepted and harmful social norms that justify violence against women and girls to ones that promote gender equality and non-violence.

Hawa Wilson, Program Officer at Paramount Young Women Initiative (PAYOWI) attended a three-day Digital Feminist Convening from 2-4 November 2019 in Johannesburg, South Africa, a

trip supported by Oxfam International - Enough Africa Platform and the Association for Progressive Communication (APC) Women's Rights Program.

An Oxfam press release issued in Monrovia Wednesday, 20 November says the convening, focused on harmful social norms and masculinity, aimed at enhancing collaboration between young digital feminists and identify joint actions for collaboration and young feminist movement building in Africa.

Hawa says this online campaign will help to educate the public on the negative impact of rigid gender norms and how all forms of stereotyping, violence, abuse, and harassment against women can be

eradicated.

She says the campaign will be implemented through her organization, Paramount Young Women Initiative.

Participants were gathered from implementing countries of The Enough Campaign (Benin, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Mali, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, DRC, Morocco, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa, Tunisia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe).

Enough campaigners Ora Barclay Keller, Executive Director of Girls for Change Organization and SataahFayiah, Executive Director of Hygiene for Girls, represented Liberia in Accra, Ghana first Enough West African Youth Forum sponsored by Oxfam in Liberia and Benin.

The two shared experiences of young people in shifting social norms that normalize and reinforce violence against women and girls and shared learning from national Enough campaigns in the WAF region.

Ora says, "The program was very interesting, I had the opportunity to network with other Enough Campaign members from 7 other African countries."

"We had the opportunity to share our experiences as campaigners and the impact of our work across different sectors from CSO's partners around Liberia."

She continues, "We learned about new ways to identify and engage with our targets and formulate messages to amplify our advocacy.



According to Ora, one thing that stood out is that in most countries the issues around Sexual Gender based - violence remains a paramount concern and a call for action to stakeholders.

"I had a memorable experience and a lot of take away I can use in our Enough Excuses Campaign and my Organisation," says Ora.

The Forum creates a space for young people to share their experiences and stories, connect these experiences to the systemic causes of violence against women (patriarchy and unequal power relations), identifying and recognizing their power and developing action plans that they can collectively take forward to make positive changes.

The Forum encourages young participants to build a common vision on social norms that reproduce violence against

women and girls, what they are, why they must change them and what role young people are playing in shifting these norms.

For Musu Kamara who was supported by Oxfam- Hong Kong Enough Campaign, she learned about the Social Norms (Early Child Marriage, the Objectification/ Ownership of Women, Sexist Oppression of Women intimate partner violence and violence against women in all forms).

Participants included Enough campaign leads from different countries, including representatives from women's rights organisations, young people's organisations and young feminist organisers.

Beneficiaries express thanks and appreciations to Oxfam in Liberia and the Enough Campaign for the learning opportunity and promise to share experiences with respective organizations.--*Press release*



**OXFAM**

# Français

## « Imprimer de nouveaux billets pour payer les salaires est un mensonge économique » (Député)

Le Représentant du district 3 du comté de River Gee et membre du Comité parlementaire sur les voies, les moyens et les finances a qualifié de mensonge économique, financier et social l'idée selon laquelle le gouvernement veut imprimer de nouveaux billets de banque afin de payer les arriérés de salaires des fonctionnaires.

« C'est un mensonge économique ; c'est un mensonge social ; c'est un mensonge financier », a déclaré le député Francis Dopoe, mardi soir, 19 novembre, lors d'une émission-débat sur une station de radio locale à Monrovia.

M. Dopoe a indiqué que les taxes que perçoit quotidiennement l'Autorité Libérienne des Revenus (LRA) servent à payer les fonctionnaires d'Etat. Il n'ya donc aucune raison de faire croire aux gens que l'on veut imprimer de l'argent pour payer les fonctionnaires.

« J'ai été informé de ce que le gouvernement perçoit des

recettes... Ce gouvernement a perçu les recettes les plus élevées en matière d'impôt par rapport à tous les gouvernements qui l'ont précédé. Alors, qu'il nous dise où est passé l'argent », a-t-il insisté.

Selon le représentant Dopoe, l'Assemblée législative a adopté un budget de 297 millions de dollars américains pour les compensations, ajoutant que si les autorités responsables de la perception des recettes perçoivent en moyenne 40

millions de dollars, elles devraient pouvoir payer les salaires qui s'élèvent à environ 24 millions de dollars par mois.

Se basant sur la récente déclaration de la LRA en ce qui concerne les impôts perçus par rapport à la masse salariale de 297 millions de dollars adoptée par le parlement, le député Dopoe a indiqué que cela n'a aucun sens de faire croire aux gens que le gouvernement veut imprimer de nouveaux billets de banque afin de payer les salaires des fonctionnaires.

D'ailleurs, la LRA, d'après lui, travaille assidument pour percevoir les impôts en espèces, donc le gouvernement ne devrait dans les conditions normales être à cours d'argent pour payer les salaires de ses fonctionnaires, et si cela est le cas, ça signifie que soit le régime est en train de faire des dépenses hors budget ou il est en train de rembourser des emprunts non autorisés à la Banque Centrale. « Le ministère des Finances devrait donc dire la vérité au peuple libérien, car le pays n'a aucun problème de recette », a-t-il dit.

« Il se peut que quelque chose n'aille pas bien comme cela avait été le cas la dernière fois. Il se peut que le gouvernement soit en train de faire des dépenses hors budget encore ou alors il serait en train de rembourser à la Banque centrale ce qu'il avait emprunté, ce qui n'était pas approprié pour notre économie », a déclaré le législateur de River Gee.

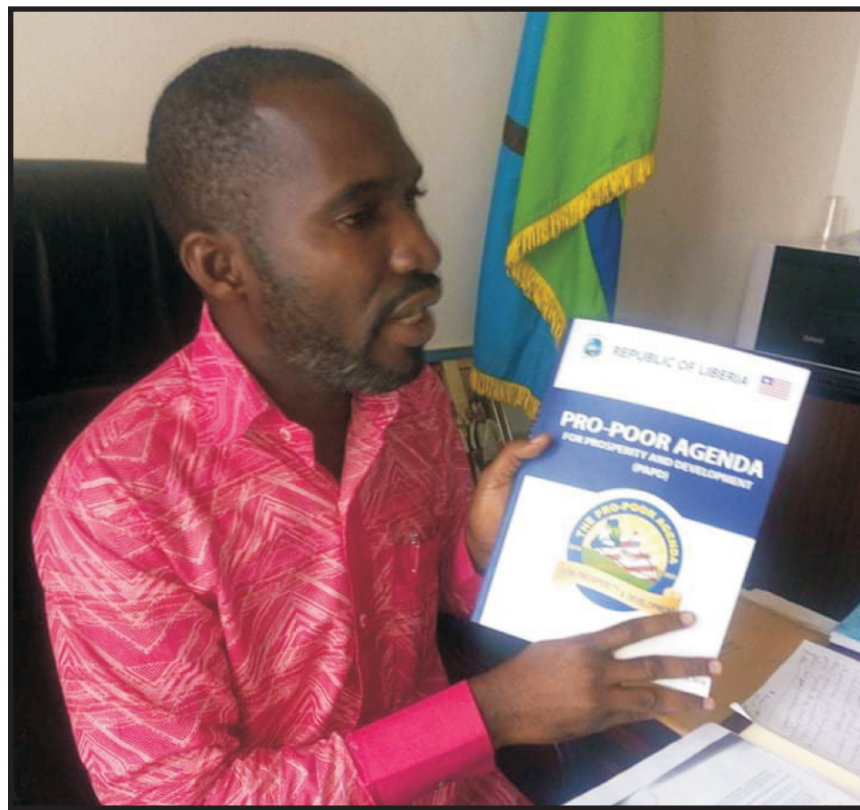
Le représentant Dopoe a

souligné que la même équipe de gestion économique qui avait pris la décision économique peu orthodoxe de laisser de côté les banques commerciales pour acheter des dollars libériens chez des particuliers savent où se trouve cet argent.

« Alors ils savent où se trouve l'argent. Ils pourraient trouver la politique pour le faire sortir. Mais ce que je veux dire, c'est que la manière la plus rigide de le faire est de changer la devise », a expliqué le représentant Doepoh.

Selon lui, avant de prendre leur pause législative, l'opinion majoritaire des législateurs au cours de leurs discussions était que la CBL devait imprimer de l'argent parce que la monnaie locale est source de confusion, elle n'est pas homogène.

Dopoe a dit soutenir l'impression d'une nouvelle monnaie, pourvu que le régime remplisse un certain nombre de conditions essentielles. Il réclame des explications en ce qui concerne le scandale des 16 milliards de dollars libériens, ainsi que de la controverse entourant les 25 millions de dollars décaissés pour éponger l'excès de liquidité. Il réclame également une réforme profonde au sein de la banque centrale du Libéria et des audits internes. Il a aussi posé la question de savoir que sont devenus les rapports de la Commission anti-corruption du Libéria (LACC) et de la Commission de contrôle général des comptes (GAC) sur cette crise financière controversée.



## Forum de Dakar : le mandat de la Minusma au cœur des débats

Tout au long du forum sur la paix et la sécurité de Dakar, les critiques se sont fait entendre contre l'ONU et la Minusma. Les présidents sénégalais et mauritanien ont appelé tour à tour les Nations unies à se réformer et ont réclamé un mandat renforcé pour la mission de l'ONU au Mali. Une demande récurrente ces dernières années alors que la Minusma peut en réalité déjà avoir recours à la force si

nécessaire.

Ce possible usage de la force est consacré par le chapitre 7 de la charte des Nations unies, accordée à la Minusma dès sa création en 2013. Mais face à une situation sécuritaire qui ne cesse de se dégrader, le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU va décider de lui accorder trois ans plus tard un mandat « plus robuste » en l'autorisant à utiliser « tous les moyens nécessaires » pour accomplir sa mission. Ainsi, est-il précisé dans le

texte de la résolution, la Minusma peut « anticiper et écarter les menaces » et « prendre activement des dispositions musclées pour contrer les attaques asymétriques dirigées contre des civils ». De fait, le mandat de la Minusma est le plus vaste jamais confié à une mission onusienne.

Si théoriquement la mission a donc la possibilité d'intervenir, en pratique elle ne le fait guère car selon Arthur Boutellis, conseiller senior à l'International Peace Institute, elle n'est pas configurée pour le combat, en raison notamment, d'un déficit en termes de renseignement tactique.

Un mandat de contre-terrorisme pour la Minusma ?

Mais au-delà de l'aspect technique, il y a aussi et surtout, un questionnement politique. Une force de maintien de la paix comme la Minusma a-t-elle vocation à faire du contre-terrorisme ? Car c'est ce qu'on lit entre les lignes des déclarations du président sénégalais Macky Sall, et de son homologue mauritanien Mohamed Ghazouani. Mais, dans la charte de l'ONU, le contre-

terrorisme n'est en aucun cas l'objet d'une mission de maintien de la paix et élargir à ce point le mandat de la Minusma serait un saut conceptuel que ne seraient pas prêtes à faire ni la Chine, ni la Russie, très soucieuses de conserver les limites du champ d'action des Nations unies, précise notre correspondante à New York, Carrie Nooten.

A l'ONU on se demande aussi s'il était utile d'aller plus loin. L'opération Barkhane et la force conjointe du G5 Sahel sont justement tout deux mandatées pour effectuer ces missions spéciales, débusquer

et traquer les terroristes. Les compétences en matière de renseignement, de coordination aux frontières ne sont pas celles auxquelles les casques bleus sont formés. Les membres du Conseil de sécurité tiennent justement une réunion sur le G5 Sahel ce mercredi à New York.

La plupart partagent la position du secrétaire général Antonio Guterres, et réclament que la Force G5 Sahel prenne plus d'importance, que son dispositif prenne de l'ampleur. Près de la moitié des 414 millions d'euros promis au lancement de la force ont déjà été versés.



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# Français

## La MRU organise une conférence de haut niveau sur les énergies renouvelables à Freetown

Une conférence réunissant plusieurs parties prenantes dans le domaine des énergies renouvelables et la cuisine propre adébuté le lundi 18 novembre 2019 à Freetown, la capitale de la Sierra Leone, sous les auspices de l'Union du fleuve Mano (MRU). L'objectif de la conférence est de trouver une solution durable à la faiblesse énergétique qui handicape la région.

Le président Julius Maada Bio, dans son discours d'ouverture de la conférence, a mis un accent sur l'obligation de s'attaquer à la faiblesse énergétique de la région. Des représentants de gouvernements (ministres de l'énergie et parlementaires), des organisations de la société civile, des partenaires au développement et des responsables du secteur privé ont pris part à la conférence. « Pour notre développement, il est impératif de lutter contre la pauvreté énergétique en Sierra Leone en particulier et dans la sous-région en général », a déclaré le président Bio.

Dans le cadre de ses efforts dans ce sens, son gouvernement élabore actuellement une réglementation efficace qui encourage les partenariats avec le secteur privé. Il a annoncé que d'ici 2022, 145 mini-réseaux devraient être opérationnels et capables de desservir plus de 400 000 clients. Le président Bio a indiqué que l'effort que déploie son gouvernement "contribuera de manière significative à réduire les disparités en matière d'accès à l'énergie entre zones urbaines et zones rurales".

« Nous reconnaissons les défis et sommes conscients que nous devrons faire preuve d'un leadership cohérent et ciblé, tirer parti du soutien continu de nos partenaires du secteur et investir également dans la réorganisation du secteur et dans l'augmentation des sources de production et de l'offre », a-t-il déclaré.

S'exprimant quelques instants plus tôt, la secrétaire générale de la MRU, l'Ambassadrice Medina A. Wesseh, a insisté sur la nécessité d'impliquer tous ceux qui travaillent dur pour trouver des solutions durables à la pauvreté énergétique et promouvoir la cuisine propre.

« Nos dirigeants et les habitants de la sous-région recherchent des résultats et j'espère qu'après les délibérations de fond de ces deux jours, nous aboutirons à un plan d'action concret à la hauteur de leurs attentes », a dit l'Ambassadrice Wesseh.

La conférence a été convoquée sous la direction du Ministère de l'énergie de la Sierra Leone, du secrétariat de l'Union du fleuve Mano et du réseau Nexus de l'énergie (TENN). Il s'agit de la première conférence multipartite de haut niveau de l'Union du fleuve Mano sur les énergies renouvelables et la cuisine propre.

Les intervenants à la conférence qui avait pour thème : "Développer le marché énergétique sous-régional", ont invité les participants et leurs gouvernements respectifs à œuvrer de manière assidue à la réalisation de l'ODD 7 - accès à une

énergie abordable, fiable, durable et moderne. Des solutions de cuisson propres tout en facilitant les marchés énergétiques intégrés sous-régionaux, afin de garantir l'harmonie et une prospérité partagée à travers l'Union et le continent africain.

Le fondateur et présidents de TENN, Kandeh Yumkella, a quant à lui exprimé le vœu que la conférence devienne un dialogue annuel axé sur la création de conditions propices au développement de marchés intégrés à l'image de l'expérience de l'Union européenne qui est le meilleur marché intégré de l'énergie au monde.

« Au sein de l'UE », a-t-il déclaré, « certains pays sont trop petits et n'ont pas d'énergie. Alors, ils achètent chez ceux qui en ont. Il en va de même pour la Sierra Leone et le Libéria ». Yumkella a ajouté que lui et le ministre sont issus des partis différents. « Cependant, pour ce qui est des avantages pour la Sierra Leone, nous pensons d'abord à notre pays ».

M. Yumkella a également dévoilé la construction des bureaux et du centre de formation du réseau Energy Nexus. « Cela servira de plaque tournante du savoir pour l'Afrique avec des partenariats et des institutions des États-Unis, d'Europe et d'Asie. » La mission de TENN est de coordonner l'accès à l'énergie avec des ODD clés permettant de développer l'énergie et de créer un écosystème énergétique / des conditions et des processus permettant d'intensifier les solutions énergétiques durables. « Un avenir où la pauvreté énergétique est éliminée, l'accès à l'énergie est synchronisé avec le développement durable et des processus prêts à développer des solutions énergétiques durables », a-t-il souligné.

Mahama Kappiah, directrice exécutive d'ECREEE, a également souligné le travail que son organisation accomplit dans la région de la CEDEAO et le potentiel immense de la Sierra Leone pour mettre en avant la nécessité de partenariats solides permettant d'attirer des investissements majeurs.

En 2017, les chefs d'État et de gouvernement de la CEDEAO ont adopté l'initiative du corridor solaire pour l'Afrique de l'Ouest qui, une fois pleinement mise en œuvre, « permettra à la région d'accélérer la réalisation des objectifs régionaux en matière d'énergie renouvelable en développant l'énergie et en l'intégrant dans le réseau électrique régional ».

Parmi les autres projets notables, citons le projet régional d'électrification hors réseau de 270 millions de dollars - ROGEP soutenu par la Banque mondiale et la West Africa Clean Cooking (WACCA). Le ROGEP, qui vise à accroître l'accès à au moins 10 millions de personnes à des services d'électricité via des systèmes autonomes, tandis que la WACCA vise à faire en sorte que l'ensemble de la population ait accès à des combustibles et à des appareils de cuisson modernes et durables d'ici 2030.

## COMMENTAIRE

Par Robert Habeck & Jesse Klaver

## Feu vert pour l'investissement public

**B**ERLIN/LA HAYE - La zone euro est aujourd'hui confrontée à d'immenses défis économiques. L'Allemagne et les Pays-Bas - qui représentent ensemble 35 % du PIB de l'union monétaire, et qui disposent d'une importante marge de manœuvre budgétaire - doivent prendre l'initiative pour les surmonter.

Le plus important de ces défis imminents - et pas seulement pour la zone euro - réside dans l'escalade de la crise climatique, qui exige une restructuration économique globale, notamment au travers d'une refonte des systèmes d'énergie, des infrastructures de transport, et des pratiques agricoles. Ce processus s'accompagnera d'un autre défi majeur, à savoir l'adaptation à l'actuelle quatrième révolution industrielle, caractérisée par le développement rapide des technologies de rupture, de type intelligence artificielle, nanotechnologies, informatique quantique, et technologies de réseau.

Ces transformations ne se produisent pas seules. Les gouvernements doivent conduire la marche, en appliquant à grande échelle des programmes coordonnés d'investissement public d'avenir.

L'Europe est d'ores et déjà à la traîne, largement distancée par la Chine et les États-Unis en termes d'investissement dans l'innovation, ce qui illustre le rôle central de l'économie et des technologies dans la compétition géopolitique moderne. Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, la seule manière pour l'Europe de sauvegarder sa souveraineté stratégique consiste à augmenter rapidement ses propres dépenses dans l'innovation, l'éducation et la modernisation économique.

L'Europe n'aurait pas à attendre bien longtemps pour observer les fruits de tels investissements. Plusieurs indicateurs économiques clés dans la zone euro se dégradent actuellement, principalement en raison de facteurs qui échappent à son contrôle, tels que la guerre commerciale entre les États-Unis et la Chine, les tensions au Moyen-Orient, ou encore le Brexit. La récession devient une possibilité tout à fait réelle.

Il ne faut pas s'attendre à voir la Banque centrale européenne mener la résistance face au ralentissement, comme elle a pu le faire lors de la précédente crise. La BCE ayant en effet largement épuisé son arsenal de politique monétaire - les taux d'intérêt conservant des niveaux historiquement bas - un remake de la promesse de 2012 formulée par le président de la BCE de l'époque, Mario Draghi, consistant à faire « tout ce qui sera nécessaire » pour préserver l'euro, manquerait de la crédibilité suffisante pour rassurer les marchés comme lors de la dernière crise.

L'Europe a davantage besoin d'un plan de relance budgétaire répondant à des impératifs de long terme. Seulement voilà, si les conditions économiques sont actuellement propices à une telle approche - les gouvernements néerlandais et allemand étant en mesure d'emprunter à des taux d'intérêt négatifs - les conditions politiques le sont moins.

L'Allemagne et les Pays-Bas résistent depuis de nombreuses années à l'expansion budgétaire.

Tous deux enregistrent d'importants excédents budgétaires, qui leur permettent de conserver une dette publique peu élevée, ainsi que de pousser leurs partenaires de la zone euro à adhérer à des règles budgétaires strictes, au prix même de la croissance et de la prospérité. Les deux pays prétendent œuvrer dans l'intérêt à long terme des États membres de la zone euro. Or, quel intérêt y aura-t-il pour les générations futures à hériter d'un faible ratio dette/PIB, si ces générations se retrouvent par ailleurs confrontées à une économie obsolète, ainsi qu'à une escalade de la crise climatique ?

Le cadre budgétaire de l'Union européenne, défini dans le Pacte de stabilité et de croissance, se compose d'un ensemble extrêmement complexe de règles et de conditions, qui expose les États à des mesures coercitives lorsque leur dette ou leur déficit approche ou franchit un seuil déterminé. Ce fonctionnement n'est en principe pas mauvais, dans la mesure où l'union monétaire a besoin d'un mécanisme permettant d'empêcher les États d'accumuler des dettes insoutenables.

L'accent singulier placé sur les dettes et les déficits constitue néanmoins un erreur, puisque la partie actifs du bilan se retrouvent ignorée. En effet, en l'état actuel des choses, les calculs de ratio de déficit traitent pour l'essentiel de la même manière la consommation et l'investissement.

Si elle entend bâtir une économie adaptée au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'Europe doit réformer son cadre budgétaire, de sorte que les gouvernements, comme les entreprises privées, répartissent les dépenses en capital sur leur pleine période de maturité. Cette démarche contribuerait significativement à encourager l'investissement public, notamment en périodes de ralentissement économique.

Si les dépenses excessives équivalent à griller un feu rouge, le fait de ne pas investir alors même que les conditions le permettent - sans parler de la demande - équivaut à s'arrêter au feu vert. Or, c'est exactement ce que font l'Allemagne et les Pays-Bas, deux des plus gros poids lourds de la zone euro, qui empêchent d'avancer les véhicules situés derrière eux. Pendant ce temps, les plus grosses cylindrées de la planète prennent de la vitesse, et les conditions routières se dégradent rapidement.

Il est temps pour l'Allemagne et les Pays-Bas de franchir le feu vert, idéalement de manière coordonnée. En Allemagne, le Parti écologiste propose d'ores et déjà de réformer le frein de la dette, ainsi que les règles budgétaires à l'échelle européenne, afin de permettre davantage d'investissement. Aux Pays-Bas, les Verts appellent depuis longtemps le gouvernement à user de la politique budgétaire pour accélérer la transition énergétique.

L'espoir reste permis, à l'heure où le gouvernement néerlandais envisage la création d'un fonds d'investissement public de plusieurs milliards d'euros. Ce n'est toutefois qu'une première étape. La seule manière de décongestionner le trafic européen consisterait pour la chancelière allemande Angela Merkel et le Premier ministre néerlandais Mark Rutte à s'engager dans un effort conjoint d'investissement à grande échelle, axé sur l'innovation, l'éducation et la durabilité.

# PERSPECTIVES PERSPECTIVES

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

## ON PRINTING ADDITIONAL LIBERIAN BANKNOTES AND MACROECONOMIC POLICY

Mr. Lenn Eugene Nagbe, the Liberian Journalist and colorful, Honorable Minister of Information, was Editor-Writer of the Patriot, the propaganda Sheet and Voice of former President Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia and General Prince Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front (NPFL/INPFL), the murderous, Civil War out fit whose operating Policy was code-named "Jungle Justice".

The NPFL/INPFL left an estimated quarter of a million Liberians dead, hundreds of millions fled Liberia as refugees in neighboring and distant lands, while another hundreds of millions ended up naturalized citizens, also, in neighboring and distant lands.

Of recent after the civil war nightmare, Mr. Nagbe found friendship, alliance with and employment as supporter and loyalist of former President Mrs. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Founder and CEO of the Association for Constitutional Democracy in Liberia (ACDL), accused of being the architect/financier of the murderous civil war and the leading warlord.

Booted out or expelled as Flag-Bearer of the UNITY Party for alleged support and bank-rolling political campaigns of opposition politicians for protection from prosecution for alleged war and economic crimes, the former President is now, reportedly, the "power" behind the Weah Presidential Throne.

Meanwhile the Journalist Lenn Eugene Nagbe, the Sirleaf loyalist, is now Minister of Information and undisputed, official Spokesperson or "mouthpiece" for the CDC-led Coalition Government of H. E. Dr. President George Weah.

On last Friday September 12, 2019, during the Ministry's weekly Press Briefing, the Honorable Minister addressed the Media on the prevailing, critical issues of the Nation's Economy with specific reference to a new Macroeconomic "Monetary Policy", apparently, relevant to lawful Printing, receiving, controlling and accounting for the 34 billion Liberian banknotes to be printed, in the light of the recent, sordid history of Liberia's Central

Bank.

Regarding that recent history, the Newspaper Hotpepper (Hotpepper Liberia, March 31, 2018) broke the story by its report that a 40-foot container with L\$9 billion, approximately US \$59 million, left the Free Port of Monrovia upon written request by Mariea E. Grisby-Toe, Oldada DeShield, Musulyn R. B. Jackson and five others officials of the Central Bank of Liberia, escorted by well-armed members of the Emergency Response Unit of the National Police".

### POLICE RAIDS CENTRAL OF LIBERIA

Approximately six months later, according to the same newspaper (Hotpepper Liberia, September 14, 2018), "detectives of the Emergency Response Unit of the National Police and the National Security Agency . . . raided the offices of the Auditing Department of the Central Bank on the fifth floor of the CBL Building . . . searching computers of staffers, interested in . . . digitized records . . . in search of any record that will give them a clue to the mystery of the missing container containing L\$9 billion in Bank Notes . . . printed in Lebanon . . . all in L\$500 and L\$100" denominations.

The entire history of the printings of Liberian-dollar banknotes, legislative approval, non-approval, contracts, non-contracts, printing of 5, 10, 16.5 billion etc., storage, stealing, local/international investigations, the US 25 million-dollar investigation, reports and findings, but there is no concrete, clear, evidence-based decision to-date, pro & con, while the charged/accused are still running around free and holding their positions with impunity, with others fled Liberia.

Now Comes the Honorable Minister of Information Said he at one of the usually well-attended, weekly Press Briefings, "To control and regulate the influx of the local currency in the Liberian economy, the Government of Liberia has resolved to print more Liberian dollar banknotes. Right now we, as a government, don't know how much Liberian dollars in the country and at the same time we do not know



Lenn Eugene Nagbe  
Minister of Information, R. L.

where it (the Liberian dollars) is kept; so we will change the money. It is not good for any government to run an economy without knowing the total liquidity of its currency on the market. So, we will fix that. "That's Monetary Policy".

Obviously, printing new Liberian currency (banknotes) is to cover over the old holes by digging new holes, given the extremely damaging, recent facts of monetary policy paralysis and the present-prevailing morals of lawlessness, public dishonesty, stealing, more stealing, daylight banditry and the mind-boggling crimes against Liberian humanity.

This is Nagbe's Theory of Macroeconomic Analysis and the application of his "historical economic antecedents", whatever they are. But the primary actors or agents of the political class with power/authority are:

- a) The Super Ministry of Finance & Development Planning (MFDP) which develops and plans nothing; and
- b) The Liberia Revenue Authority, both historical corrupt and stealing agencies over-staffed with "computer-trained" foreign (dual) citizens who do not live in Liberia and over-paid with salary/wage allowances. They are agents of the political Class.



# Citizens rate Weah's gov't "very poor"

By Winston W. Parley

Most Liberians think the country is heading in the wrong direction, rating the performance of President George Manneh Weah's government in managing or handling the economy as "very poor" in the sixth survey report released here by Naymote Partners for Democratic Development.

Releasing the report at his office in Paynesville Wednesday, 20 November, Naymote Executive Director Mr. Eddie D. Jarwolo says there is a sharp reduction in citizens' level of satisfaction with the quality of democracy in the country.

The survey conducted from July 15, 2019 to August 30, 2019 focused on service delivery, the economy, accountability, civic engagement and participation, and security.

According to Mr. Jarwolo, 3,600 registered voters from 46 electoral districts across the 15 counties were randomly selected as



respondents for the survey and ten enumerators were trained to conduct the survey.

The citizens' perception survey is conducted every year by Naymote to assess what citizens across the country think about the quality of governance here.

Of the total sample size of

3,600 registered voters from 46 electoral districts, Naymote reports that 82% of respondents think "the country is going or somehow going in the wrong direction while 15% think the country is going or somehow in the right direction."

The current 82% in 2019

represents a sharp increase in negative perceptions of the management and governance of the country because in Naymote's 2018 survey findings, 64% of respondents at that time said the country was going in the wrong direction.

Also in the 2019 survey 89% of the respondents described the current economic conditions here as very poor or poor, as compared to 70% who described it as very poor or poor in the 2018 survey report.

The report also indicates a sharp reduction of citizens' satisfaction with the level of democracy in the country, as 57% respondents said they are very satisfied or satisfied with the way democracy is working while 40% said they are not satisfied.

Three percent of respondents said they did not know. In the 2018 survey, 80% had said they were "very satisfied and satisfied" with the way democracy was working, meaning there is a sharp reduction to 57% this year.

Additionally, the survey finds that the level of engagement between legislators and their constituents is weak, as 75% respondents say they have not attended any event in their district organized by their lawmakers since January 2018.

Notwithstanding, the survey reveals that most survey respondents were satisfied with opposition legislators' and opposition political leaders' ability to hold the government accountable.

Naymote Executive Director Mr. Jarwolo tells the journalists that 65% of respondents said they are very satisfied or satisfied with the way political parties are engaging and holding the ruling party accountable on commitment to service delivery.

On the other hand, he says 31% said they are not satisfied with the roles of the opposition political parties are playing in holding the government to account.

While the respondents commended the opposition for holding government accountable, Mr. Jarwolo how says the citizens indicated in the survey that they didn't want the opposition to organize demonstrations here.

"Most of the things that you see today that are coming up, it's because of the work of the opposition, exposing the

government on corruption," he says.

"But they [citizens] complain about the demonstration," he continues, saying most of the people complain that when the opposition are demonstrating, citizens will not be able to go to work.

He notes that every time you hear press conferences from the collaborating parties, and youth groups, taking the government to task, it's better than war and throwing stones.

"Irrespective of gender, the general rating of the economy was poor. Over 92% (males 2,121 and females 1,190) rated the performance of the government in managing or handling the economy as very poor and poor," Mr. Jarwolo reveals.

In a similar vein, he says 81% (females 2,365 and males 539) rated the government's performance in managing or handling the health services as very poor and poor.

90% (males 2,049 and females 1,172) of the respondents rated the government's performance in fighting corruption as very poor and poor.

Further, trust in the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) has decreased, according to the report.

While 93% of respondents in the 2018 survey rated the AFL as the most trusted security institution here, only 78% of the respondents in the 2019 survey rated the AFL as the most trusted or fairly trusted security agency in Liberia, a drop in confidence from last year.

At the same time, Naymote finds that mistrust of the Liberia Drug Enforcement Agency (LDEA) has decreased.

In the 2018 report, Naymote said 72% of the respondents said they did not trust the LDEA, as compared to 57% of respondents in the 2019 perception survey report.

Of the total sample respondents, Naymote says 58% of respondents were between the ages of 18 to 35, meaning that younger people mostly participated in the survey.

"This trend aligns with the fact that young people constituted a little over 65 percent of the total registered voters in the 2017 elections. Thirty two percent of the respondents were between the ages 36 -50 and 10% were ages 50 and above," Naymote concludes.

## Commercial banks not secure

By E. J. Nathaniel Daygbor

while reserves of commercial banks here are in 'damaging red.'

According to him, former governor Jones allegedly intimidated commercial banks when management of those banks tried to raise question about their reserves, and that many fell prey to the threat on grounds that the CBL is the regulatory and monitoring arm of the government for monetary activities.

He says the current financial crisis faced by commercial banks originated from former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

According to him, Dr. Jones failed to realize that tempering with commercial banks' reserves in the name of constructing modern headquarters for the Central Bank of Liberia would have had this kind of long-term effect on the market.

When this paper contacted Dr. Mills Jones via mobile for reaction, his private phone rang endlessly on several

occasions.

The Central Bank of Liberia was established on October 18, 1999 by an Act of the National Legislature of the Republic of Liberia. It became functional in 2000 and succeeds the National Bank of Liberia (NBL). Mr. Elie E. Saleeby served as the Bank's first Executive Governor.

The principal objective of the CBL is to achieve and maintain price stability in the Liberian economy. To this end, it seeks to preserve the purchasing power of the national currency; promote internal and external equilibrium in the national economy; encourage the mobilization of domestic and foreign savings and their efficient allocation for productive economic activities; facilitate the emergence of financial and capital markets that are capable of responding to the needs of the national economy, and foster monetary, credit and financial conditions conducive to orderly, balance and sustain

economic growth and development.

The powers of the Bank are vested in a Board of Governors, responsible for the formulation and implementation of policy. The Board consists of five Governors who are appointed by the President of Liberia subject to confirmation by the Liberian Senate.

Meanwhile commenting on government's request to print new Liberian banknotes, Chief Allen thinks this is not a bad idea, but he urges the Weah administration to focus on agriculture and safe the country's reserves in gold and diamond.

He says to revive the economy, government should invest in large farming and use the expected new banknotes for mineral processing, stressing a need to add value to natural mineral deposits thru processing and saving them in the reserve of the Central Bank of Liberia, instead of using banknotes as reserves. -

Editing by Jonathan Browne

## Breaking News Cllr. Brusmkine is dead

Breaking News: Unconfirmed report reaching this paper says that Cllr. Charles Walker Brumskine is dead. Cllr. Brumskine was the founder and former political leader of the Liberty Party. He was 68. More detail in subsequent edition.



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# Commercial banks not secure

## -Cyril Allen alarms



Cyril Allen

The chairman emeritus of the former ruling National Patriotic Party (NPP) Chief Cyril Allen blames the previous administration for the current cash shortage suffered by commercial banks

in the country.

Currently an executive member of the governing council of the ruling CDC, he argues that commercial banks are not financially secure because the Central Bank of Liberia under former

executive governor Dr. Mills Jones allegedly depleted reserves of commercial banks to renovate the current Central Bank headquarters in Monrovia.

Speaking to the NewDawn in Monrovia via mobile phone, Chief Allen recalls that during the administration of Dr. Jones under the watchful eyes of former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the Central Bank of Liberia generated only US\$5 million as profit for the entire 12 years but, at the same time, the CBL renovated its structure located on Ashmun Street in the tune of US\$21 million without borrowing a dime.

He wonders where authorities of the CBL generated funds to have undertaken such huge financial task without tempering with reserves of commercial banks, something, which he says, was impossible.

Chief Allen describes the newly renovated CBL headquarters as a "white elephant" for the government,



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# Mourinho promises to bring 'passion' and 'happiness' to Tottenham

New Tottenham manager Jose Mourinho has promised to bring "passion" and "happiness" to the club.

The Portuguese, 56, was appointed on Wednesday morning, following the sacking of Mauricio Pochettino on Tuesday night.

Former Chelsea and Manchester United boss Mourinho praised the quality of Spurs's squad and their



"world class" stadium and training ground.

"I couldn't be happier and look forward to the challenge," he said.

In his interview with Spurs TV - his first since being appointed - Mourinho said: "What can I promise? Passion, real passion. Passion for my job, but also passion for my club, that's the way I have been all my career and I want to try, obviously, everything to bring happiness to everyone who

loves the club."

Mourinho has signed a contract until the end of the 2022-23 season with a basic salary of £8m a year.

It is his first job since being sacked by United in December 2018.

He takes over a Spurs side that are without a win in their past five games and have slipped to 14th in the Premier League, 20 points behind leaders Liverpool after just 12 matches.

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