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TRULY INDEPENDENT

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# Continental News

## Nelson Mandela's daughter Zindzi dies at 59

**Z**indzi Mandela, the youngest daughter of South Africa's first black president Nelson Mandela and anti-apartheid activist Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, has died at the age of 59.

She died in a Johannesburg hospital in the early hours of Monday morning, public broadcaster SABC said.

She was an activist in her

own right and was serving as ambassador to Denmark at the time of her death. The cause of her death was not immediately revealed.

Zindzi Mandela was Nelson Mandela's sixth child and his second with Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, his second wife.

President Cyril Ramaphosa in a statement said Zindzi Mandela had "during our years of struggle brought home the inhumanity of

the apartheid system and the unshakeable resolve of our fight for freedom". Ms Mandela had been posted to Denmark in 2015 and had been designated to become South Africa's head of mission in Monrovia, Liberia.

Minister of International Relations Naledi Pandor said: "Zindzi will not only be remembered as a daughter of our struggle heroes, but as a

struggle heroine in her own right." Ms Mandela grew up at the height of the anti-apartheid struggle. With her father imprisoned on Robben Island, she endured years of harassment and intimidation by the apartheid regime, along with her sister Zenani, and her mother Winnie, says the BBC's Vumani Mkhize.

Zindzi Mandela was the family member who read out Nelson Mandela's rejection of then-president PW Botha's offer for conditional release from prison at a public meeting in February

1985. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, through his foundation, said that that "speech in Soweto, on behalf of her father... reinvigorated the values and principles of the struggle". Ms Mandela "played a critical role symbolising the humanity and steadfastness of the anti-apartheid struggle".

Most recently, she was known for her vocal support for radical land reform in South Africa, our correspondent says.

Only two of Nelson Mandela's six children are still alive: Zenani Dlamini, Zindzi's sister; and Pumla Makaziwe Mandela, a daughter from his first marriage, to Evelyn Mase. BBC



Zindzi Mandela with her father Nelson in 2010

## New Covid-19 alcohol ban divides South Africans

**T**he reintroduction of a ban on the sale of alcohol in order to help curb the spread of coronavirus has divided South Africans.

President Cyril Ramaphosa said the ban - the second this year - would take pressure off the health system.

While some backed him, others said he was blaming citizens for his government's failures.

When it comes to coronavirus, South Africa is the hardest-hit country in Africa with more than 275,000 cases.

Deaths resulting from Covid-19 have also risen to more than

4,000, and government projections estimate this could increase to 50,000 by the end of the year. The main opposition party, the Democratic Alliance, said the government was using the alcohol ban as a scapegoat for its failure to provide adequate health care.

Julius Malema, the leader of the opposition Economic Freedom Fighters, tweeted that the president had failed to heed his warning not to lift the alcohol ban first imposed in March.

He added that Mr Ramaphosa should also close schools which resumed last month after several weeks.

On Twitter, people are using the hashtag #AlcoholHasFallen to express their support or displeasure for the president, who announced the renewed alcohol ban on Sunday night.

Some South Africans pondered how the ban could affect the economy.

One woman highlighted how people involved in the hospitality industry would be

## Somalia's states rule out a one-person-one-vote election

**T**he leaders of Somalia's five regional states have said the country is not ready to hold its first one-person-one-vote election this year due to insecurity and logistical challenges.

In a communique after a two-day meeting in the central town of Dhusamareb, the presidents of Galmudug,

the terms of the federal president and prime minister.

Somalia's electoral chief, Halima Ibrahim, last month called for the elections to be postponed to August 2021, citing lack of funds, insecurity, flooding and the coronavirus pandemic.

The parliamentary and



Puntland, Jubbaland, Hirshabelle and South West state called for an alternative election model.

They also called for a meeting with the federal government to seek a politically-negotiated electoral model.

They however said they will reject any attempts to extend

presidential polls were scheduled for November 2020 and February 2021 respectively.

They were intended to be Somalia's first one-man-one-vote elections in 50 years. Recent elections have been based on a power-sharing formula among clans. BBC



The authorities say the ban will take pressure off the healthcare system

losing work.

"After almost two years of not working, my sister finally found a job, sadly her job ended last night," she tweeted. Another Twitter user posted a short video played over a sad song and saying farewell to alcohol: However, people supporting the

president said the ban would help deal with anti-social behaviour: And some have joked that South Africans should get their homebrew kits out again after there was a reported rise in homemade pineapple-based alcohol during the last ban. BBC



# EDITORIAL

## The leakages at the Ministry of Finance

THE LIBERIAN PEOPLE may never get to know clearly how much of their taxes paid into government coffers are leaking into pockets of unscrupulous individuals or officials thru illegal withdrawals from dormant GoL accounts with commercial banks here.

**BUT IF ONGOING** probe by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning into circumstances leading to the alleged withdrawals of L\$6 million and US\$68,000 respectively from various official accounts with one of the commercial banks in the country, GN Bank Liberia Limited, is anything to gauge by then the depth of the bleeding of the state coffers is deeper than image.

**FINANCE MINISTRY AUTHORITIES** are claiming innocence, and have called in the National Security Agency (NSA) to probe the syndicate, which they say occurred from "Unapplied Accounts" with GN Bank Liberia Limited.

**FINANCE MINISTRY SOURCES** are revealing that two checkbooks went missing recently from the Ministry specifically which department, we hope the NSA investigation will unravel the details. But it is said that those missing checkbooks were allegedly used to forge signatures of relevant authorities in withdrawing said amounts.

**THE LEAKAGES ARE** happening at a time the economy is in a serious nose-dive with businesses shrinking and laying off employees, while critical sectors such as health and education are in a quagmire amid the COVID-19 pandemic.

**LIBERIA'S COMPTROLLER** General Janga Augustus Kowo, whose office manages government checks, says it observed suspicious transactions of late, which prompted calling in the NSA to investigate. However, we may never know how many of such transactions may have slipped his watch and trickled into unscrupulous pockets, robbing the citizenry of their taxes.

**SECONDLY, THE ISSUE** of a government functionary such as the NSA probing another state institution, in this case, the Ministry of Finance that makes budgetary allocations for all other ministries and agencies, including the NSA itself, leaves a very thin line for honesty and transparency.

**OUR APPREHENSION IS** founded on the case involving the government General Auditing Commission auditing the US\$25 million mop up of excess liquidity, which was administered by the Technical Economic Management Team headed by the Minister of Finance and Development Planning Samuel D. Tweah, and the Central Bank of Liberia, shrouded in lack of transparency and accountability.

**A SO-CALLED "smart account"** subsequently commissioned by President George Manneh Weah into the US\$25 Million following public pressure is yet to produce findings despite clear and empirical evidence that the entire exercise was marred by serious discrepancies from start to end.

**WE THEREFORE, WONDER** how far and transparent would the NSA probe at the Finance Ministry go in unraveling the syndicate and bringing out all perpetrators (whether small or big fish) to face the law rather than probing on the surface and covering up.

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+231-775407211 Managing Editor: Othello B. Garblah; Editor-In-Chief: Jonathan

# COMMENTARY

By Amin Saikal

## Libya's Double Tragedy

*Libya's plight resembles that of other war-torn countries in the Greater Middle East: internal conflict has spiraled out of control because of misguided foreign intervention. With Turkey and Egypt now locking horns in the country, Libya's agony is even less likely to be resolved at the ongoing UN talks in Geneva.*

**P**ERTH - The plight of oil-rich, tribally segmented Libya resembles that of several other war-torn countries in the Greater Middle East, namely Afghanistan, Syria, and Yemen. In each case, a combination of internal strife and misguided external intervention has sustained a long-running conflict.

Recalling the US-led invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) in his 2014 memoir *Duty*, former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates argued that the United States was good at overthrowing a regime, but had no idea what should take its place. The reason, Gates argued, was that the US failed to consider national and regional complexities. The same was true of the 2011 NATO-led military intervention in Libya.

The ongoing Libyan crisis has both internal and external origins. Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi's dictatorship was toppled in October 2011 in a popular uprising during the so-called Arab Spring. And Qaddafi fell as a result of a US-backed, Anglo-French armed intervention that the United Nations Security Council had authorized on the basis of the "responsibility to protect" the Libyan people.

But neither the rebel forces nor the intervening powers had any plans for forging a post-Qaddafi political order in a deeply divided country. The revolutionary factions had no unifying agenda beyond ending Qaddafi's murderous rule, while the interventionists lacked a strategy to help them build a stable new order.

The interventionist powers had swiftly overwhelmed Qaddafi's forces, but failed to deal with the outcome's intended and unintended consequences. Echoing America's earlier mistakes in Afghanistan and Iraq, they underestimated the tribal nature of Libyan society and the geostrategic importance of the country's location in the North African-Mediterranean region. The foreign powers seemed more focused on protecting Libya's lucrative oil reserves than on helping the country's people to regain a sense of national unity and build an inclusive and representative domestic order.

As Libya rapidly descended into chaos, with various armed groups controlling different parts of the country, the intervening powers found it expedient to

scale back their involvement. Above all, they wanted to avoid being caught in the sort of quagmire that the US had faced in Iraq and continues to face in Afghanistan. That decision allowed regional and more distant powers to pursue their own interests in Libya by entering the fray in support of various groups.

Since 2015, two warring factions have become locked in an increasingly bloody power struggle for control of the country: the UN-recognized Government of National Accord (GNA) based in Tripoli, and the Tobruk-based Libyan National Army (LNA) led by the renegade general Khalifa Haftar. And they have been able to sustain their conflict - at a very high human and economic cost for the Libyan people - largely because of foreign backing. Turkey, Qatar, and Italy have poured in support for the GNA, while Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Russia, and France have aided the LNA. The US has oscillated between the two, although President Donald Trump has seemingly voiced a preference for Haftar.

In a worrying recent development, Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi warned Turkey and its allied forces against seizing the strategic city of Sirte, which the LNA currently controls (along with a large chunk of territory stretching east to Libya's border with Egypt). Although neither Turkey nor Egypt would likely want a direct military confrontation, especially given their severe domestic problems, their posturing could lead to a clash that seriously destabilizes the North African and Mediterranean region.

The absence of a national, regional, and international consensus has meant that the UN-sponsored peace talks in Geneva have so far failed to produce any tangible results, with intransigence by one side or the other torpedoing the negotiations. The stalemate has left Libya in the grip of long-term structural instability and insecurity, with little prospect of returning anytime soon to a degree of normalcy that could provide its suffering people hope.

Salvaging the situation will require outside forces to withdraw and let the Libyan people determine their own future. Unfortunately, Libya's oil resources and geopolitical importance have become a magnet for external intervention and a curse for its citizens.



## O-PED

By Jacek Rostowski

## Lessons from the Polish Opposition

*After years of misrule under Poland's Law and Justice party, a candidate representing the mainstream opposition almost managed to wrest back control of the presidency. In fact, anti-populists everywhere should see Rafal Trzaskowski's near-miss campaign as a model for their own efforts.*

LONDON - Although Warsaw mayor Rafal Trzaskowski did not come out on top in Poland's presidential election, the result represents a turning point in European politics. The nationalist-populist tide has peaked. To paraphrase Winston Churchill's famous quip following the Second Battle of El-Alamein in 1942, this may not be the beginning of the end of contemporary authoritarian nationalism, but is at least the end of the beginning.

To be sure, Poland's ruling Law and Justice (PiS) party will continue its conflict with the European Union over its efforts to undermine judicial independence and the rule of law at home. And PiS Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski will doubtless pursue a takeover of Poland's remaining independent media - the next big item on his authoritarian agenda. Moreover, spared from having to engage in political trench warfare with a new, hostile president, the PiS government will be able to keep frustrating the European project from within.

Nevertheless, anti-populists can take comfort in the fact that Polish President Andrzej Duda only narrowly managed to win re-election, despite having the full force of taxpayer-funded state media on his side. In fact, the Polish opposition's surprisingly strong performance offers several lessons for all who still believe in constitutional democracy and the rule of law, regardless of where they live.

First, when challenging a populist government, it is critical to build the broadest possible coalition. Authoritarian populists in countries like Turkey and Hungary keep winning elections because their opponents are perpetually riven by internal conflicts. Anti-populists must put aside longstanding disagreements over issues of culture (LGBTQ rights and the like) and economic policy (such as protectionism and income redistribution) so that they can concentrate on the key task: ejecting populists from power. Failure to unite is what doomed the "Remain" cause in Britain last year.

Anti-populists also must learn to consolidate their base as quickly and effectively as populists do. Polarization, the quintessential populist political tactic, has unfortunately become an intrinsic part of modern politics more generally. Understanding this is particularly important immediately after populists rise or return to power. At that point, anti-populist forces will face years of government smears, and are at risk of being demobilized by defeat.

The past few years have shown that when "they" go low, you have little choice but to go even lower. The impressive, viral "Mourning in America" ad issued by the Lincoln Project ("Never Trump" Republicans) in the United States is a good example of punching back effectively. (Of course, countering populist messages is easier when the populists in power have proved to be more corrupt, incompetent, and self-seeking than the so-called elites they replaced.)

The fact is that for those seeking to dislodge populists from power, "positive messaging" is for the birds. So, too, are efforts to create an entirely new party or "core" in the anti-populist movement. The democratic opposition in Poland wasted several years trying out three new parties, each of which was supposed to represent a fresh, non-discredited, "positive" alternative to PiS. Yet in the end, it was Civic Platform (PO) - the party of Donald Tusk, a former Polish prime minister and president of the European Council - that almost wrested the presidency from Kaczynski's grasp.

That said, a positive message during the last stretch of an electoral campaign, when power is still up for grabs, can be useful in broadening the anti-populist appeal and reaching independent voters. Often, as was the case in Poland, such an approach means putting a new generation of politicians front and center. This is especially necessary when the main anti-populist opposition party is as well established as PO is.

Finally, it is important to remember that because populists naturally thrive on opposition, they usually have difficulties governing effectively. It is no coincidence that US President Donald Trump, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, and Russian President Vladimir Putin have all responded disastrously to the COVID-19 crisis. When politicians are focused on dominating the hourly news cycle and reveling in political theatre, there is little time left for crafting effective solutions to real-world problems.

The upshot is that as long as the institutions of rule-based democracy can be maintained (especially in the case of a free, independent press), populist governments will be transitory. Moreover, in Poland, the PiS government will face a deep structural problem in the years ahead. While Duda won decisively among voters over the age of 50, Trzaskowski carried younger voters by a 22-point margin.

The only defense PiS has against the march of time is to shift ever further toward authoritarianism, and then to outright dictatorship. That will put it in direct conflict with the democracies of Western Europe, the EU, and potentially the US after its own presidential election this November, provided that Trump's opponents adapt the lessons of Trzaskowski's near miss.

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## OPINION

By Abdourahmane Diallo Lucica Ditiu &amp; Winnie Byanyima

## Africa Can't Afford COVID-19 Tradeoffs

*Saving lives from COVID-19 in Africa will mean little if it also means allowing the number of lives lost to HIV, tuberculosis, and malaria to rise. Even as policymakers and civil-society leaders work to stop a new killer disease, they must resolve to sustain progress toward eliminating those we already know.*

GENEVA - As the number of confirmed COVID-19 cases in Africa surpasses 500,000, the new coronavirus is at the forefront of the public consciousness. But the continent was beset by infectious disease long before the current pandemic began. And, as long as governments and donors remain preoccupied with curbing COVID-19, killers like HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis (TB) will only grow stronger.

Of 38 million people worldwide living with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, 25.6 million reside in Sub-Saharan Africa. Africa accounted for 380,000 malaria deaths - 94% of the global total - in 2018. And, 2.6 million people in Africa develop TB every year, resulting in 630,000 deaths.

Over the last two decades, considerable progress has been made in fighting these diseases. AIDS-related deaths have been reduced by more than half since 2004, thanks largely to the availability of antiretroviral therapy. The TB mortality rate fell by 42% between 2000 and 2017. And malaria deaths decreased by 60% between 2000 and 2015; a child who contracts malaria today has a better chance of survival than ever before.

But the COVID-19 crisis threatens to stall or even reverse this progress, not least by inundating already-fragile health systems. Italy has one doctor for every 243 residents and yet, in some regions, its health system buckled under the weight of COVID-19 cases. Imagine what a similar outbreak would do in African countries, which have an average of one doctor for every 5,000 residents.

To be sure, the coronavirus has spread more slowly in Africa than in Europe and North America. But the World Health Organization warns that the outbreak could be stretched out over a few years. If so, the continent's under-resourced health systems will be under severe strain for a long time to come. And what resources governments do have are likely to be channeled toward COVID-19 - even if it means redirecting them from other deadly diseases.

Supply-chain disruptions caused by containment measures elsewhere compound the risks, by threatening access to the preventive-health resources, diagnostics, and treatments needed to combat HIV, TB, and malaria. Already, some African countries have paused programs providing TB and HIV treatments and diagnostics, and suspended distribution of insecticide-treated mosquito nets (ITNs) - essential to protect against malaria - right before the high-transmission rainy season.

The WHO forecasts that under the worst-case scenario (suspension of all ITN campaigns and a 75% reduction in access to effective antimalarial drugs), the COVID-19 crisis could lead to a doubling of malaria deaths this year in Sub-Saharan Africa. Such high malaria mortality levels were last recorded 20 years ago.

Moreover, a six-month disruption of antiretroviral therapy could lead to more than 500,000 additional deaths from AIDS-related illnesses (including TB) in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2020-21. In 2019, an estimated 440,000 people died of AIDS-related illnesses in the region.

Likewise, a study led by the Stop TB Partnership shows that a three-month lockdown and ten-month recovery period could lead to an additional 1.4 million TB deaths globally between 2020 and 2025. In this scenario, the global fight against TB would be set back by 5-8 years.

Such outcomes are not inevitable. What is needed is a global collective response focused on delivering life-saving services, reducing the burden on already overstretched health systems, and protecting Africa's most vulnerable. Success will depend on innovative solutions, a holistic perspective (rather than disjointed single-disease programs), and an equity-first approach.

For starters, diagnostic tests - for COVID-19 and many other common diseases - must be accessible to all - and especially to high-risk populations. Africa has well-established testing services for several common diseases, including multi-disease testing for HIV and TB. But these programs are now at risk, and Africa is also falling behind other regions in testing for COVID-19.

But there is promising news: some countries have introduced joint testing for TB and COVID-19 and for malaria and COVID-19 (and immediate malaria treatment if required). Joint testing makes all the more sense, because HIV, TB, and malaria may all cause symptoms consistent with COVID-19, such as high fevers. Such programs must be scaled up, so that diagnostics and treatments - which are often expensive and difficult to access - are available to all.

This is entirely achievable. African countries, which have plenty of experience with health emergencies, have responded quickly and effectively to the threat of COVID-19. The African Union, through the Africa Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, is providing strong regional leadership to coordinate the response.

Such efforts must be advanced and deepened, both to contain COVID-19 and to sustain progress in the fight against HIV, TB, and malaria. Past experience shows that engaging affected communities and empowering civil society will be vital to success.

The rest of the world must also contribute. Above all, this means agreeing that any COVID-19 vaccine or treatment will be made available to all countries free of charge. During the HIV epidemic, millions died unnecessarily, because they could not access lifesaving drugs. Even today, some nine million people in Sub-Saharan Africa are awaiting life-saving treatment. Everyone has a right to health, regardless of where they live or how much money they have. For COVID-19, we need a People's Vaccine.

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## SPECIAL

## ARTICLE

# What We Owe Essential Workers

By Daron Acemoglu

**B**OSTON - The low-wage workers who make up nearly half of the US workforce have long been neglected, steadily falling behind highly educated workers in expanding industries such as technology, finance, and entertainment. Since the 1970s, real (inflation-adjusted) wages have stagnated for prime-age men with less than a college education, and declined significantly for those with a high-school education or less.

Many of these workers find themselves on the front lines of the COVID-19 crisis, where they serve as hospital orderlies, nursing home aides, warehouse and delivery workers, and grocery clerks. Now that there has been a groundswell of (belated) appreciation for their contributions to the economy and society, the question is whether America can use this moment to turn things around for the bottom 50%.

Change is possible, but not assured. In an age of big-money politics and union bashing, the bargaining power of low-wage workers - especially minorities - has shrunk, together with their economic fortunes. Consider the federal minimum wage: at \$7.25 per hour, it has actually declined by more than 30% in real terms since 1968. A first step, then, would be to raise it to \$12 per hour. This would increase earnings at the bottom of the income distribution, and likely have only a minimal effect on overall employment.

A harder challenge is to restore workers' bargaining power. Though political decisions over the past 40 years have undoubtedly weakened organized labor, the decline of unions also reflects broader secular developments. Reversing the trend will probably require new organizational forms.

Technology represents the biggest obstacle to improving the lot of low-wage workers. Because the US economy today is so much more automated than it was in the 1970s, a push for higher wages would encourage firms to adopt even more labor-replacing technologies such as robotics and artificial intelligence (AI).

But raising the minimum wage is not the only option. Labor-replacing automation has become prevalent because we have adopted policies and strategies that actively encourage it.

For example, the US tax code strongly favors



capital, generating a powerful incentive for firms to replace workers with machines. When a company hires a worker, the government collects both income and payroll taxes, thereby inserting a significant wedge between what employers pay and what workers take home. A company pays less when it deploys a machine, because capital income is taxed much more lightly, and the government implicitly subsidizes capital investments through accelerated depreciation allowances, further tipping the scale against workers.

But the problem doesn't stop there. In the tech sector, the prevailing business model is highly dependent on removing human labor from the economic equation (that is how you "move fast and break things," to borrow Facebook's early slogan). These firms face few constraints in pursuing this model, not least because the US government has abandoned its traditional role in shaping the direction of scientific research and technological innovation.

Low-wage workers are not the only casualties of this change. As good, high-quality jobs have dwindled, wage growth for all workers has begun to ebb, and increasingly unequal growth has begun to erode social cohesion and democratic principles and institutions.

There is nothing inevitable about this. We can use our knowledge base to develop technologies that

complement, rather than compete with, human labor, by creating new tasks or boosting workers' productivity in existing and emerging sectors. Moreover, such a worker-first tech policy goes hand in hand with a higher minimum wage and other sorely needed reforms. When technology makes labor critical to the production process, workers' bargaining power will necessarily increase.

Altering a country's tech policy is a tall order, but it has been done many times before. In the 1940s, the United States rapidly redirected its enormous innovation capacity toward munitions and materials it mobilized for war. And globally, there have been notable gains in clean-energy innovation in recent decades, to the point that renewables have become competitive with fossil fuels. These technologies did not spring fully formed from the head of the free market. Rather, they are the result of government clean-energy policies such as carbon pricing (though not in the US) and various forms of direct support.

These policies were born of a broader recognition that rising greenhouse-gas (GHG) emissions pose a major threat to humanity. And they benefited from a shared measurement framework that enabled governments and firms around the world to quantify the environmental damage caused by emissions. The same playbook can be used to drive human-complementary technologies. But in this case, it is the first step that may prove most difficult. We need to generate a widespread recognition that relentless automation will not lead to prosperity, but to ruin.

Then comes the second step: We will need a measurement framework by which to quantify and categorize different technologies. Those that will benefit only capital should incur a cost in the same way that GHG emissions do, whereas those that bolster human productivity and labor demand should be encouraged.

In practice, this framework could be used to monitor how different technologies affect labor's share of output at the level of firms, sectors, and countries. Automation has tended to reduce this share, owing to prevailing incentives. But there is no law of technological determinism requiring that, say, AI be used to replace human labor, rather than to augment it.

Automation itself is not the problem. Industrial robots, AI, and other cutting-edge technologies can increase productivity substantially, just as technological innovations have done in the past. But for the sake of social cohesion and sustainable economic growth, those benefits must be available to workers of all skills and backgrounds.

The pandemic has highlighted the high price low-wage workers in the US have paid for employers' obsessive focus on labor-replacing automation. Without an overhaul of the existing policy framework, the skill bias of automation will continue to broaden, placing an even larger cohort of workers at risk.

Daron Acemoglu, Professor of Economics at MIT, is co-author (with James A. Robinson) of *The Narrow Corridor: States, Societies, and the Fate of Liberty*.

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MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

# Pay salaries in Liberian Dollars

**-Liberian economic group proffers options to reduce inflation**

By Ethel A. Tweh

The Liberian Economy Group (LEG) headed by veteran Economist Dr. Togba Nah-Tipoteh is suggesting that government needs to pay salaries in Liberian Dollars and collect taxes in Liberian

recommendations which may require taking hard decisions that could be in conflict with the lifestyle of the new breed of government officials that live in luxury.

LEG proposes that the Liberian Dollars equivalent of US\$60,000 be stipulated as

and each legislator US\$36,000.

The report further suggests that only the president or his designate, like the vice president, and the foreign minister, with an entourage of seven and two respectively, should be made to travel abroad on government missions.

It notes that the minister of finance and the Central Bank of Liberia (CBL) governor with an entourage of two, respectively, should attend the ADB/ WB or IMF annual meetings.

LEG believes that Liberian ambassadors could represent the country adequately with the strengthening of the embassies; while legislators who are members of the ECOWAS Parliament can travel to ECOWAS Parliament with no entourage.

Additionally, LEG cautions that Liberians have to produce what they can consume and stop importing products that they could produce. It calls on Liberians to buy from Liberian-owned businesses, pay for services and commodities in Liberian dollars and for the government to also pay salaries and collect taxes in

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 11



Dr. Togba Nah- Tipoteh

dollars as a possible way of tackling the declined value of the local currency against the United States Dollars.

The group released its report on the current state of the Liberian economy, advancing several

yearly salary for the President of Liberia; and similarly for the Vice President US\$48,000; the Speaker US\$45,000; Deputy Speaker US\$40,000; President Pro-tempore US\$45,000; Chief Justice US\$45,000; each Associate Justice US\$40,000

# Gbarpolu agriculture sector outlines challenges

By Ben P. Wese

The Agriculture Coordinators for Gbarpolu County outlines challenges facing the sector, particularly farmers, arranging from lack of vehicles, motorbikes and farming implements.

Speaking in an exclusive interview with this paper at her residence in Gardnersville along the Somalia Drive, Madam Weedor Akoi Cegbe explains that her office in Gbarpolu County has communicated with the Ministry of Agriculture in Monrovia to address what she describes as long-term challenges that have engulfed the agriculture office of the county.

"We have been making our report and communicating to them but they are still saying things will be fine and we are still hoping to see the improvement. Actually, it is causing embarrassment for us

because when farmers come to us or when we visit the field to give them some import, but we



don't have it, so we only encourage them and try to make them do what they are

supposed to do," Madam Cegbe laments.

She notes that prior to the inception of the governing Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC)-led government, many NGOs

were in the county, helping the agriculture sector, but due to the Coronavirus

# Weah extols France on 231th National Day Observance

President George Manneh Weah has sent a congratulatory message to the Government and people of the Republic of France on the occasion commemorating the 231st National Day of France, (the Bastille Day).

In the message to his French counterpart Emmanuel Macron, President George Manneh Weah, on behalf of Liberia, extended heartfelt congratulations and sincere best wishes to the Government

further expressed deep satisfaction over the cordial relations between Liberia and France which he noted has remained cordial under his leadership.

He emphasized that France's generous assistance to Liberia has come a long way in empowering the country in the areas of agriculture, sports and vocational education.

President Weah looks forward to working closely with President Emmanuel



President George Manneh Weah

and people of France as they commemorate this historic landmark.

According to a Foreign Ministry release, Weah also noted that as the people of France commemorate this historic occasion in the midst of the current global health pandemic, COVID-19, Liberians will join their French counterparts in celebrating this historic landmark occasion.

The Liberian President

Macron in the expansion of Liberia-France relations, in order to strengthen the bonds of amity between both countries aimed at enhancing their collaboration in the fields of health, science and technology.

President Weah then wished for President Emmanuel Macron continued good health and wisdom as he leads the people of France to a renewed happiness and prosperity.

pandemic and other reasons, those institutions ceased operations.

She says farmers usually work in groups but since the State of Emergency and restriction on public gathering, many farmers were asked to reduce their numbers.

"The farming is going slow in the county because some farms have up to 25 to 30 members (men and women) but we went around, encouraging them to reduce the number. There are two major products being produced in the county, which include rice and cassava," Madam Cegbe discloses.

She points that for local

products to reach to market is another challenge farmers are faced with after harvest, lamenting that bad roads and citizens preference for imported food over locally produced commodities are among challenges facing the agricultural sector of Gbarpolu.

Meanwhile, the County Agriculture Coordinator appeals to government through the Ministry of Agriculture and international NGOs to help provide rice and cassava mills for farmers, noting that pounding of seed rice after production is another major challenge they face in the county.



MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

# Drama at Mildred Tamba's funeral

By Emmanuel Mondaye

Family members and other mourners attending funeral rites of the late Mildred K. Tamba - a marketer, who shot dead by an officer of the Emergency Response Unit of the Liberia National Police were dumbfounded in mystery when the casket bearing her remains refused to enter the Abundant Grace World Outreach Ministries Inc. Miracle Chapel behind the Police zone#2 depot in Paynesville for the funeral service.

The late Mildred K. Tamba was reportedly shut dead on 27 June in Paynesville City by ERU Officer James E. Dumo, while returning from a birthday party along with a friend, Salamatu Kaba, who

because God knows why.

Without any further delay, the coffin turned around and headed for the church edifice amidst weeping from across the community, including children, while several relatives, mainly sisters and brothers fell unconscious outside the edifice and had to be taken away briefly to revive them.

Delivering the funeral discourse, Apostle Melvin Miracle Davis noted that two things happened when the deceased died; firstly, the place and the timing.

According to him, the late Mildred and her friend Salamatu Kaba had agreed on a time and venue and they both left for the place they decided going on that fateful 27 June.

But he warns Christians to

Meanwhile, Officer James E. Dumo is in detention, awaiting court trial. Police investigators indicate that detailed inquiries revealed that the victim, along with some friends, including Officer Dumo were at a birthday party in View Point Community, Paynesville.

But at about 1:00 AM, defendant Dumo, his girlfriend Salamatu Kaba, one Randall and another man identified as Dashekia decided to walk ahead of the late Mildred Kumba Tamba and her boyfriend Emmanuel F. Johnson with others to be identified who were at a distance.

Suspect Dumo allegedly started beating on his girlfriend Salamatu Kaba, which prompted Randall and



happened to be a fiancé of suspect Dumo.

The Liberia National Police has disrobed and charged Officer James E. Dumo with murder and forwarded him to court for prosecution.

But hundreds of family members, sympathizers, marketers and friends of the deceased burst in tears over the weekend when the casket containing her corpse forcibly detour pallbearers to the residence of her friend Salamatu Kaba, instead of the church.

The late Mildred only calmed down when her widower, Emmanuel F. Johnson, intervened by pleading with the corpse to forget about everything

remain focus on the work of the church and avoid finding excuses because a time will come that everyone must face the God's judgment seat and account for his or her deeds on earth.

Reading life sketch of the deceased, her brother Joseph N. Tamba, Jr. lamented that the death of Mildred has left a big gap in the Tamba Family because she demonstrated care and affection for the family.

He called on fellow relatives and friends of the deceased to take heart in the Lord, Jesus Christ, because no man can ask God why Mildred had to face such fate on the morning of June 27. The deceased reportedly left behind two children, a male and a female.

Dashekia's intervention, pleading with the defendant to stop. But Dumo continued to beat Salamatu, threw her into drainage and then raised his service arm and fired a round which then ricocheted after hitting the concrete sidewalk, penetrating Mildred's forehead.

He is currently held at the Monrovia Central Prison Compound in Monrovia, pending trial.

The Ministry of Justice (MOJ) through the Liberia National Police (LNP) provided two LNP double-cabin pick-ups to escort the late Mildred Kumba Tamba's burial ceremony. **-Editing by Jonathan Browne**

# GUEST COMMENTARY

## World economy in crisis again

By Togba-Nah Tipoteh

As the World Economic Forum (WEF) celebrates its 50th Anniversary, let us recall my Message to the WEF two years ago at its 2017 Annual Meeting in Davos, Switzerland. In that Message, I predicted that the world economy would be in crisis yet once again in 2020. In economics, a crisis in the economy takes place when the gross domestic product (GDP) falls, prices rise too high in the midst of a liquidity crunch. A recession takes place when the GDP falls in two successive quarters.

However, in science, generally, the Scientist of the Millennium, Professor Albert Einstein, defines insanity as the expectation of a different result from taking the same action over and over. Since its founding, fifty years ago, the WEF has been operating on the Davos Manifesto I, which states that what matters is what benefits the shareholders rather than what benefits the stakeholders. After fifty years of existence, the WEF has declared that it is going to operate on the basis of the currently released Davos Manifesto II, which states that what matters is shareholders and stakeholders rather than shareholders alone. Therefore, the Davos Manifesto II is, in effect, the admission by the WEF that the Davos Manifesto I failed and the world economy is now in Einsteinean Crisis and should listen to the 15 year-old Swedish child Greta Thunberg, who insists on getting Climate Change to effect carbon emission below two degrees centigrade, as was decided by 196 countries at the Climate Change Conference in Paris, France in 2015. Miss Thunberg is promoting the view that what matters is what benefits stakeholders--employees, customers, suppliers, communities and society. Miss Thunberg comes from Sweden, a Nordic country. The Nordic countries are being used for demonstrating best practices with respect to the usefulness of Davos Manifesto II, by pointing out the Nordic experience in promoting free education and health, flexible hiring and firing, strong social security, open market and low tariffs/trade barriers. Most importantly, the Nordic countries display a nationalism in which what matters is what a person contributes to societal advancement rather than solely to individual advancement.

Let us look at some data about how the world economy has fared in terms of meeting the WEF objective of making the world a better place in terms of improving living conditions globally and sustainably. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) of Europe, in 1820, the ratio of the world's top 20% population to the world's bottom 20% population was 3:1; by 1991, this ratio was 86:1, indicating a massive increase in income and wealth inequality. The World Development Institute of the United Nations University indicates that by 2000, 1% of the world's adults owned 40% of the global assets. The international NGO, OXFAM, states that the 85 wealthiest persons in the world have a combined wealth equal to the wealth of 50% of the world's population. OXFAM continues by indicating that the world's richest 22 persons have more money than all of the women in Africa. Again from OXFAM, we find out that although women and girls work for 12.5 billion hours, they do not get paid for their work, the market value of which amounts to USD10.8 trillion annually.

Now, let us look at the experience of the 70 year-old People's Republic of China (PRC), as it celebrates its New Year, while battling with a life threatening virus. In 1978, the rural poor in the PRC accounted for 97.5% (770 million people) of the population. At the end of 2018, the rural poor level in the PRC was 1.7% (16.6 million people), a massive reduction in the poverty rate, literally eliminating rural poverty. The PRC result was achieved by ensuring that what matters is stakeholders, with the sustainable improvement in their living standards.

In sending this 50th Anniversary Message to the World Economic Forum, let the global community, especially the poor countries, take due note of the fact that past and present experiences show that what matters is what benefits stakeholders, meaning what benefits society sustainably.



# Français

## Politique : Le NPP pourrait disparaître au profit du CDC vue la démission massive de ses membres

L'ancien parti au pouvoir fondé par le chef de guerre et président Charles Taylor traverse des moments difficiles en dépit de son statut de deuxième parti le plus important de la mouvance présidentielle.

Le Parti national patriotique (NPP) est en proie

à des querelles internes interminables caractérisées par une guerre de leadership qui continue de s'approfondir au jour le jour.

Actuellement, il semble y avoir deux factions au sein du Parti, l'une dirigée par l'épouse de M. Taylor, la vice-président Jewel Howard Taylor, et l'autre par l'ancien représentant du

comté de Maryland, M. James Binney. Binney semble plus proche du Congrès pour le changement démocratique, le plus grand parti membre de la coalition au pouvoir, tandis que Mme Taylor, de son côté, se bat pour avoir une main mise sur le parti.

Alors que le congrès national prévu pour renouveler le bureau politique du parti n'a pas pu avoir lieu, les leaders de chacun des deux camps se disputent le titre de légitimes dirigeants. La crise est si profonde que certains membres préfèrent quitter le parti pour rejoindre le parti au pouvoir, le CDC de George Weah. En effet, le jeudi 9 juillet, Esther Walker, surintendante du comté de Bong, l'une des femmes les plus influentes et vice-présidente du comité de la promotion de la femme du NPP, a annoncé sa démission du parti lors d'une conférence de presse et déclaré son adhésion au CDC.

Mme Walker a expliqué que

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 9



## Scandale financier : le ministère des finances secoué par la disparition d'argent

Le Liberia n'en finira pas avec les scandales financiers qui se succèdent comme les jours de la semaine, surtout depuis l'ascension au pouvoir du régime actuel.

En effet, le ministère des Finances et de la Planification du développement (MFDP), est mouillé dans une affaire de chèques qui auraient facilité le retrait frauduleux de 6 millions de dollars libériens et 68 000 dollars américains de son compte à GN Bank.

A en croire les autorités du ministère des Finances, le scandale financier implique les « comptes non appliqués » du ministère auprès de GN Bank Liberia Limited et d'autres banques commerciales opérant ici.

Selon le contrôleur général du Libéria, Janga Augustus Kowo, qui gère ces chèques, le ministère a ouvert une enquête sur le scandale.

Récemment, nous avons appris qu'un groupe mafieux qui sévit au

ministère des Finances et de la Planification du Développement et dans d'autres institutions financières avait extorqué plusieurs milliers de dollars au gouvernement du Libéria.

La dernière opération criminelle du groupe mafieux aurait eu lieu à GN Bank Liberia Limited avec un retrait

frauduleux de 6 millions de dollars libériens et 68 000 \$ US. De multiples retraits auraient été effectués dans les différentes branches de la banque. La branche de Clara Town aurait été le principal point de retrait, en raison de la présence d'une

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 9



## La Côte d'Ivoire et Le Mali avertissent Le Sénégal

Pendant qu'au Sénégal les autorités rivalisent d'insolence inondant l'espace public de cette bave si nauséabonde, en Côte d'Ivoire et au Mali, l'actualité met en exergue deux Présidents pris au dépourvu pour avoir perdu de vue une réalité, somme toute, assez banale. Alassane Ouattara est désormais assuré que seuls les plans de Dieu sont immuables, Ibrahima Boubacar Keita vient de comprendre qu'on ne peut gouverner contre la volonté du Peuple souverain. Ce qui se passe dans ces pays très proches du Sénégal devrait inciter les gouvernants à plus de retenue, à moins d'insolence. Seulement, ce serait compter sur Macky SALL qui a choisi de marcher sur les pas du Maréchal Déby.

« Les paroles s'envolent, les écrits restent ». L'auteur de cette assertion n'a visiblement pas pris en compte le Sénégal. Dans ce pays, tout s'envole, rien ne reste. Maintenant, c'est la compilation CISSE LO, le tube de l'été réservé aux plus de 18 ans, qui ravit la vedette aux autres sujets, notamment le « noggatu » de Babacar NGOM sur les paysans de Ndengler et Djilakh. Il n'y a pas longtemps, en février 2015, c'est Me Abdoulaye WADE qui était au-devant de l'actualité pour avoir traité Macky SALL de sorcier. « C'est un descendant d'esclaves. Les villageois l'ont sorti de là-bas. Il n'était pas sorcier, mais ses parents étaient anthropophages. Ses parents mangeaient des bébés et on les a chassés du village. C'est progressivement qu'ils ont commencé à fréquenter les êtres humains normalement », avait déclaré Me Abdoulaye WADE. Et l'ancien président de la République d'ajouter : « Vous savez si un enfant est impoli, il entendra conter les circonstances de la circoncision de son père. C'est à dire que tu entendas des vérités que tu n'aurais pas voulu entendre. On aurait pu vivre jusqu'à la fin du temps sans que personne ne soit au courant, mais je le dis. S'il veut, il peut m'enfermer mais c'est ça la vérité. Ceux qui sont propriétaires de la famille de Macky SALL sont toujours là, vivants. Il sait que c'est leur esclave. Je le dis et je l'assume parce qu'on ne peut pas toujours cacher les vérités ». Des propos choquants qui n'ont pourtant résonné dans les oreilles des Sénégalais que le temps d'une rose.

Me WADE qui les avait tenus sera triomphalement accueilli quelques mois plus tard quand il revenait au Sénégal pour diriger la campagne électorale des élections législatives qui ont positionné son parti comme la première force politique de l'opposition.

Au Sénégal, la matière a cessé d'être grise depuis que le dithyrambe est sorti de l'apanage des griots et c'est parce que tout s'envole qu'on en est arrivé à

oublier ce qui s'est passé avant-hier. Décidé à ne laisser aucune chance à ceux qui pourraient lui faire de l'ombre, le leader de l'APR s'entoure et s'accommode d'hommes et de femmes limités à tout point de vue. Lui qui souffre d'une carence notoire de charisme, voudrait avoir à ses côtés des sots et des ignares ou à défaut, d'intellectuels à la crédibilité largement entamée. Avec le régime de Macky SALL, c'est la consécration des cancre et des vieux insolents. Pour continuer à trôner à la tête de l'Assemblée nationale, Moustapha NIASSE avait décrété la poursuite du compagnonnage de l'AFP avec Macky SALL. Aux mécontents de son parti qui en trouvaient à redire, il avait alors servi des insultes à foison. « J'ai signé un accord avec Macky SALL. Et je le dis ici, aucun ambitieux, aucun imbécile, aucun salopard, ne peut détruire ce qui me lie à Macky SALL... », avait-il lancé. Dans notre dernière chronique, nous avons fait cas de Souleymane Jules DIOP qui a insulté tout le Sénégal avant d'être reçu avec les honneurs par Macky SALL qui en fit, par la suite, son chargé de communication. Moustapha CISSE LO, qui s'est révélé aux Sénégalais pour avoir dégainé une arme à feu en pleine réunion des conseillers régionaux de Diourbel, d'où son surnom « El Pistolero », n'a, depuis, cessé d'offenser les Sénégalais.

Ses insultes, visant Ousmane SONKO, n'avaient guère dérangé la bien-pensance sénégalaise. Et même s'il a langue bien pendue, il est loin d'être un cas isolé. D'ailleurs, ce qu'Abdou Karim SALL a fait est hautement plus insolent que sa compilation d'injures sortie au temps voulu comme ferait n'importe quel musicien. Abdou Karim SALL le bourreau de l'Environnement, le ministre aux souliers en diamant que la terre ne souille pas, même quand il plante un arbre. Alors qu'il n'était que directeur, il a poussé son outrecuidance au point de se pointer, en plein scrutin référendaire, devant les locaux du groupe Wal Fadji pour, disait-il, arrêter le signal. Maintenant qu'il est ministre, qu'est-ce qu'il ne se permettrait pas ?

Si les gouvernants peuvent compter sur l'amnésie collective, ce qui se passe non loin du pays devrait les inciter à plus de retenue, à moins d'insolence qui n'est pas que verbale. Ibrahima Boubacar Keita, don't la réélection n'est pas moins régulière que celle de Macky SALL, est aujourd'hui dans un tourbillon qui lui coutera bien des plumes après avoir balafré le Mali. Pour avoir refusé d'entendre les nombreuses voix lui rappelant la souveraineté du peuple malien, il a précipité son pays dans les ténèbres. Ce qu'il rechigne à leur donner, les Maliens sont en train de le lui arracher.



# Français

## Politique : Le NPP pourrait disparaître au profit du

sa vision politique ne correspond plus à celle du NPP, d'où la nécessité de démissionner. Elle s'est toutefois dite membre de la Coalition pour le changement démocratique en raison de son adhésion au Congrès pour le changement démocratique.

Elle a soutenu que sa décision n'a rien à voir personnellement avec la vice-présidente, car les rapports entre les deux sont bons et cordiaux.

La vice-présidente Taylor a dit dans un communiqué de presse avoir pris note et accepté la démission de Mme Walker. Elle n'a émis aucune

réserve quant à sa décision de quitter le Parti, à l'entendre.

« Le NPP, en tant qu'ancien parti au pouvoir et l'un des partis politiques les plus populaires au Libéria, a toujours su survivre pendant des décennies en dépit de l'exode massif de ses membres vers d'autres horizons », a indiqué la vice-présidente de la république du Libéria dans son communiqué. Selon elle, le NPP reste malgré tout une force incontournable sur l'échiquier politique du pays, surtout avec l'émergence d'une jeune génération dynamique et soucieuse de promouvoir la vision du Parti.

## Scandale financier : le ministère des

forte liquidité là-bas.

La présente d'un présumé groupe mafieux au ministère des finances aurait été découverte à la suite d'une série d'enquêtes menées par des responsables du ministère auprès de GN Bank Liberia Limited, selon des sources du ministère des Finances.

La nature de l'enquête n'a pas été révélée, mais la mafia, selon des sources de la National Security Agency, opère depuis un certain temps maintenant à partir des « comptes non appliqués » dans diverses banques commerciales du pays.

Le Bureau du contrôleur général, a déclaré avoir observé des transactions suspectes, c'est pourquoi le contrôleur général a invité l'Agence de sécurité nationale à mener des enquêtes.

« C'est grâce à la politique de surveillance rigide que nous avons mise en place que nous avons pu découvrir cet acte. Cela aurait pu être plus grave si nous n'avions pas mis en place ces mesures. Cela dure peut-être depuis des années. Nous avons trouvé certaines de ces personnes au ministère lorsque nous sommes arrivés aux affaires et nous ne les avons pas enlevés », a déclaré M. Kowo à ce journal samedi soir.

« La NSA a commencé à mener ses enquêtes. Un certain nombre d'employés du ministère et de GN Bank ont déjà été arrêtés », a-t-il expliqué. Un « compte non appliqué » est un

compte spécial du gouvernement du Libéria créé pour payer les fonctionnaires.

Ces comptes sont détenus par le ministère et les salaires qui ne sont pas versés sur les comptes des employés y sont versés. Cela arrive quand des paiements sont rejetés par le système bancaire lors d'un traitement automatisé à cause d'une ou plusieurs erreur(s) soit dans le nom ou le numéro de compte, ou d'une doublure sur le fichier salarial.

Selon le contrôleur général Kowo, le montant en question (qui est porté disparu du compte de l'Etat) est d'environ de 6 millions de dollars libériens et 68 000 \$ US.

« Le ministère attend la conclusion de l'enquête de la NSA pour décider de la prochaine ligne de conduite. Mais pour l'instant, nous ne voulons rien dire. Ce que nous avons fait ici, c'est de mettre en place ici des procédures plus strictes », a-t-il dit.

Une source proche de l'enquête a déclaré que la conclusion devrait être publiée sous peu. « Mon informateur m'a dit qu'ils sont allés très loin dans les enquêtes et devraient rendre leur rapport bientôt », a dit la source qui a voulu bien s'exprimer sous le couvert d'anonymat.

A en croire une autre source, deux chèques ont disparu au ministère. Elle soupçonne que ces chèques ont été utilisés pour falsifier les signatures des fonctionnaires du ministère afin de retirer l'argent de ce montant.

## COMMENTAIRE

Par Amin Saikal

## La double tragédie libyenne

**P**ERTH - Le sort de la Libye, au sol riche en pétrole et à la segmentation tribale, ressemble à celui d'autres pays du Moyen-Orient déchirés par la guerre - comme l'Afghanistan, la Syrie et le Yémen. Dans chaque cas, une combinaison de conflits internes et d'interventions extérieures malavisées fait perdurer un conflit de longue date.

En se souvenant des invasions menées par les États-Unis en Afghanistan (2001) et en Irak (2003) dans ses mémoires de 2014, Duty, l'ancien Secrétaire à la Défense américain Robert Gates a fait valoir que les États-Unis étaient bien en mesure de renverser un régime, mais qu'ils n'avaient aucune idée de ce qui devait lui succéder. La raison, selon Gates, était que les États-Unis n'ont pas su prendre en compte les complexités nationales et régionales. Il en va de même pour l'intervention militaire menée par l'OTAN en Libye en 2011.

La crise libyenne actuelle a des origines à la fois internes et externes. La dictature du colonel Mouammar Kadhafi a été renversée en octobre 2011 par le soulèvement populaire du Printemps arabe. La chute de Kadhafi a fait suite à une intervention militaire anglo-française soutenue par les États-Unis, que le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies avait autorisée sur la base de la « responsabilité de protéger » le peuple libyen.

Mais ni les forces rebelles, ni les puissances qui ont pris part au conflit n'avaient de projet pour forger un ordre politique post-Kadhafi dans un pays profondément divisé. Les factions révolutionnaires n'avaient aucun programme d'unification au-delà de la fin du régime meurtrier de Kadhafi, pas plus que les interventionnistes n'avaient de stratégie pour les aider à construire un nouvel ordre stable.

Les puissances interventionnistes ayant rapidement surpassé les forces de Kadhafi, elles n'ont pourtant pas su gérer les conséquences prévues et involontaires de l'issue du conflit. Faisant écho aux erreurs passées des États-Unis en Afghanistan et en Irak, ces puissances ont sous-estimé la nature tribale de la société libyenne et l'importance géostratégique de la position du pays dans la région Afrique du Nord-Méditerranée. Les puissances étrangères semblaient plus intéressées par la protection de réserves pétrolières lucratives de la Libye, que par l'aide à la population du pays pour l'aider à retrouver un sentiment d'unité nationale et à bâtir un ordre national inclusif et représentatif.

Alors que la Libye est rapidement entrée dans le chaos, avec différents groupes armés contrôlant différentes parties du pays, les

puissances qui ont pris part au conflit ont trouvé opportun de réduire leur participation. Par-dessus tout, elles ont voulu éviter d'être prises dans le genre de borbier que les États-Unis ont connu en Irak et qu'ils continuent de vivre en Afghanistan. Cette décision a permis aux puissances régionales et plus éloignées de poursuivre leurs propres intérêts en Libye en entrant dans la mêlée par l'intermédiaire du soutien à divers groupes.

Depuis 2015, deux factions belligérantes sont aux prises dans une lutte de pouvoir de plus en plus sanglante pour le contrôle du pays : le Gouvernement d'entente nationale (GEN) reconnu par les Nations Unies et basé à Tripoli, et l'Armée nationale libyenne (ANL) basée à Tobrouk, dirigée par le général renégat Khalifa Haftar. Elles sont parvenues à faire durer leur conflit - à un coût humain et économique très élevé pour le peuple libyen - en grande partie grâce au soutien étranger. La Turquie, le Qatar et l'Italie ont apporté leur soutien au GEN, tandis que l'Égypte, les Émirats arabes unis, l'Arabie saoudite, la Russie et la France ont apporté leur soutien à l'ANL. Les États-Unis oscillent entre les deux, bien que le président Donald Trump ait apparemment exprimé sa préférence envers Haftar.

Dans un contexte récent inquiétant, le président égyptien Abdel Fattah al-Sisi a mis en garde la Turquie et ses forces alliées contre l'entrée dans la ville stratégique de Syrte, que l'ANL contrôle actuellement (ainsi qu'une grande partie du territoire s'étendant à l'Est jusqu'à la frontière entre la Libye et l'Égypte). Bien que ni la Turquie ni l'Égypte ne souhaitent probablement une confrontation militaire directe, en particulier compte tenu de leurs graves problèmes intérieurs, leur posture pourrait conduire à un conflit qui déstabilise sérieusement la région nord-africaine et méditerranéenne.

L'absence d'un consensus national, régional et international signifie que les pourparlers de paix parrainés par les Nations Unies à Genève n'ont jusqu'à présent produit aucun résultat tangible. En effet, l'intransigeance de l'une ou l'autre des parties prenantes continue de torpiller les négociations. L'impasse a laissé la Libye sous le coup d'une instabilité structurelle et d'une insécurité à long terme, sans grandes chances de revenir dans un avenir proche à un degré de normalité capable de redonner espoir à ses peuples durement frappés.

Pour sauver la situation, il faudra que des forces extérieures se retirent et qu'elles laissent le peuple libyen déterminer son propre avenir. Malheureusement, les ressources pétrolières de la Libye et son importance géopolitique continuent d'attirer l'intervention extérieure dans le pays et maintiennent une malédiction sur ses citoyens.



## ARTICLE

## ARTICLE

# The Forgotten Victims Of The Pandemic: An Ongoing Migration Crisis

By Jacqueline Skalski-Fouts

As Europe closed borders and suspended flights in early March to combat the spread of COVID-19, undocumented migrants and migrant workers remained for two months, many without living spaces or sources of income after the shutdown, leaving some to take shelter in gyms or out on the streets, some even attempting to as a last resort.

With most countries closing borders and issuing some form of stay-at-home orders, safety and services dedicated to asylum seekers and refugees has dramatically decreased. The result is a large number of migrants in Morocco and around the world facing dangerous health situations and increased economic insecurity.

Migrants in Morocco, even those with proper documentation, cannot reap the benefits of accessible state aid. For many, income and livelihood depend on mobility. The majority of migrants work in informal jobs (street vendors and uncontracted work such as cleaners), which . With closures many have no source of income and cannot qualify for any financial support by the government.

increasing vulnerability to human trafficking and abuses in the exploitation of people's desperation. This includes further potential restrictions to migrant workers and migrants seeking refuge in third countries, like Spain or Italy.

## Migration in a Moroccan Context

Traditionally an emigration country, Morocco has quickly become the safer migration route into Europe, with land access to the border in the Spanish enclaves of Melilla and Ceuta. Although the number of illegal border crossings into Spain has halved since 2018, the entering into mainland Spain last year came from Morocco.

Morocco has begun to dramatically reduce the number of illegal border crossings into Europe, but once caught, migrants can end up in a deportation loop. Arriving at the Spanish border, they are arrested and bused back to Southern Moroccan cities far from smugglers who could offer them passage. As authorities continue to restrict movement, migrants and smugglers are pushed to seek out new routes, such as by sea, which is often more dangerous.

are or had been engaged in paid work since their arrival.

Providing legal aid to migrants of trafficking networks and smugglers from taking advantage, while also offering law students the chance to gain valuable experience in the field, and connecting migrants and women to CSOs to develop skills and build their own cooperatives or businesses, which can reduce youth unemployment. With a stronger legal and economic support system, migrants are more likely to establish roots rather than risk irregular migration to Europe.

Developmental and human rights organizations are increasingly offering support to migrants around the country, yet it is important that organizations take further steps at the local level. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees ( ) has repeatedly warned that certain quarantine measures and restrictions on free movement must meet international human rights standards. Rather than delaying asylum claims, they can be processed remotely, where restrictions prevent face-to-face interviews. Extending residency permits to those in-need can increase health access to migrants in areas affected by the pandemic.

In May, in partnership with the Moroccan government, the UNHCR and the National Council of the Medical Association to provide increased health



Without a source of income, some , and others skip meals. In the current situation, asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants are more vulnerable to permanent job loss and deportation as movement is restricted.

## What does this mean for the future?

Stigmatization, misinformation, and discrimination have led to further restrictions for migrants. False claims and reports that migrants carry the virus and spread it throughout communities. In Lebanon, Syrian refugees are targeted with curfews that do not apply to other foreigners or citizens despite the low number of of COVID-19 among Syrian refugees (only 1.3 percent).

New restrictions on migration suggest longer-term impacts on mobility and an increase in social exclusion, leading to issues like discrimination and even global divides as production shifts locally and economic isolation grows.

Limited mobility increases dangerous and illegal migration, forcing more to turn to smugglers,

Since 2014 the Moroccan government has run , giving residency permits to 50,000 migrants within the country. However, the UNHCR reports that "gaps in accessing documentation and employment persist."

With tighter migration restrictions on popular destination points, such as Spain, France, and Italy, Morocco could see larger populations of migrant workers stuck indefinitely in migration centers such as Rabat.

## What will come next?

Organizations like the High Atlas Foundation (HAF) offer some solutions. Beginning in 2020, law school students at the University Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah in partnership with HAF will provide to migrants in the Fez region, in particular victims of trafficking, young people, and women.

Fez is estimated to house of migrants, many of which come from Sub-Saharan regions of Africa and live within the "new" districts of the city. These districts are often "modest or poor," and with limited legal access, migrants have trouble finding work. In a study of migrants in Fes, only of respondents reported that they

care access and medicines for asylum seekers and refugees in Morocco.

Moroccan migration policies support a humanitarian approach and prohibit manifestations of racism. However, limited accessibility of resources for migrants and legal obstacles

Further steps can include greater health and legal accessibility for vulnerable migrant groups, including access to psychosocial support, emergency accommodation, pre-school education, childcare, mediation, and occasional emergency aid (such as in the case of a lockdown). October has historically been the month for migrants crossing from Morocco to Spain, so it is important to adopt these steps to prevent a surge in dangerous, irregular border crossings.

Jacqueline Skalski-Fouts is a Global Studies undergraduate student at the University of Virginia.

USMBA Law students participate in skills-building workshops in preparation for opening a law clinic. February 2020, High Atlas Foundation.



# Ellen does not deserve this

By E. J. Nathaniel Daygbor

A stalwart of the former ruling Unity Party, Senator Conmany B. Wesseh of River Gee County says, Ex-president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf does not deserve verbal attacks from controversial talk show host Henry Costa in recent times.

Addressing a news conference in Monrovia on Monday, July 13, Senator Wesseh, who is seeking the national chairmanship of the UP said the attacks from Mr. Costa about the former president's willingness to

took the airwave, claiming that the former President does not have good intent for the collaboration and that her presence with the group is squarely to undermine efforts of men and women working tirelessly to make the dream successful.

But responding to the attacks, Sen. Wesseh argues that Madam Sirleaf is a pride and blessing to the UP and by extension the CPP, stressing that attacks coming from Costa should be condemned by all actors of the CPP and those aspiring for leadership in the former ruling party.

conflict in Liberia, something, he describes as remarkable and beyond the thinking of many international groupings that had predicted earlier that the country would have gone back to wars within a span of five years.

He adds that besides the 12 years of peace, the Johnson Sirleaf leadership brought road connectivity, improved health and education sectors, good governance and an improved fiscal discipline to the governance process of Africa's oldest Republic.

Meanwhile, Sen. Wesseh



work with the four Collaborating Political Parties (CPP) which conglomerates the Unity Party, the Liberty Party, the Alternative National Congress and the All Liberian Party ahead of the 2020 Special Senatorial Election and the 2023 Presidential Election is unacceptable and unthinkable.

Following a recent close doors meeting with stakeholders of the CPP and the legislative caucus of the collaborating parties, Costa

He says such attacks are intended to create confusion within the CPP at a time the group and the Unity Party is in dire need of support of a well experienced and internationally respected personality like Madam Johnson Sirleaf and former Vice President Joseph Nyumah Boakai.

Wesseh recounts that the level of work Mrs. Sirleaf and Mr. Boakai did for the period of 12 years cannot be overlooked especially, maintaining peace after 14 years of brutal civil

expresses his deepest condolences to families of fallen lawmakers, Montserrado County Electoral District #9 Representative Munah Pelham Youngblood and Sinoe County Representative Jay Nagbe Sloh as well as former director of the Legislative Budget Department at the Capitol, Professor Julius Caesar for their respective untimely deaths at the time the country needs their contributions. **-Editing by Jonathan Browne**

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## Ex-Speaker Nuquaye

passed by both houses in respect of the replacement of the Liberian Dollars legacy notes, and he replied: "To my knowledge, there was no Resolution..."

He said all resolutions when signed by members of the Senate, obtaining the number required by the Constitution, he signs as Secretary of the Senate.

Earlier last week, Tyler was also subpoenaed following the testimony by second State witness Amos T. Goba, Analyst in the Department of Analysis, Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU, who had alleged that investigators interviewed and took statements from former

House Speaker Tyler and others.

According to him, the investigation established that L\$13,004,750,000.00 was printed and shipped, while the bank claimed that only L\$10,359,750,000.00 was printed and shipped, giving a variance of L\$2,645,000,000.00.

He stated that the investigation found communications from the Houses of Representatives and Senate and from former President Ellen Johnson - Sirleaf addressed to former CBL Executive Governor Milton A. Weeks.

Further, witness Goba explained that the investigation

found a Board Resolution signed by the Board of Governors; a contract; shipping document relating to the shipment to include packing list, bill of living and airway bill.

Former CBL Executive Governor Milton A. Weeks and David Fahart, Elsie Dossen Bardio and Kollie Tamba are standing trial for multiple charges including theft and economic sabotage of billions of Liberian dollars printed and shipped to Liberia, following a series of mass protests that prompted local and international investigation into claims that the money went missing.

# Pay salaries

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Liberian dollars.

In the report, the group suggests that mass poverty will reduce when Liberians begin to promote their local products and buy in local currency.

The group observes that too much Liberian Dollars is running after the United States Dollars, noting that for the foreign exchange rate to go down, Liberians have to prefer the local currency over the USD.

For the Government of Liberia to be credible, the group suggests that it must lead in purchases by purchasing only from Liberian businesses what they can produce.

LEG also notes that the Budget must be designated in Liberian dollars according to the Constitution of Liberia, cut off all donations made by Public Corporations and Autonomous Agencies and direct such amount to the Government of Liberia Treasury and also revamp the National Oil Company of Liberia (NOCAL).

LEG argues that the main problem in Liberia is longstanding and widespread

poverty, with two-thirds of the children who should be in school found not to be in school, terming it the world's worst record according to UNICEF's Annual report 2017.

The group reveals that it is against the foregoing background that some independent Liberian professionals have come together to form themselves into the Liberian Economy Group.

These Liberians, seven in number, are scientists with extensive working knowledge about problem identification and problem solution with respect to the Liberian Economy and are prepared to use such knowledge to promote peaceful actions that lead to the elimination of mass poverty in Liberia.

Members of the Economic Group include Dr. Togba Nah Tipoteh, Economist and chairperson; David Vinton, MBA, Finance, Vice Chairperson; Estelle Liberty, MSc, Economics, member; Amin Modad, MBA, Business Development, member; and Geepu Nah Tiepoh, PhD, Economics, member. **--Edited by Winston W. Parley**

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The fifth defendant Melisa A. Emeh is said to be out of the bailiwick of Liberia and has not been brought to court, therefore the court has granted prosecution's request to grant her a separate trial so as to enable the four other defendants that are available to get speedy trial.

All the defendants on trial have pleaded not guilty for charges of theft of property; economic sabotage; fraud on the internal revenue of Liberia; misuse of public money, property or record; theft or illegal disbursement of public money; criminal conspiracy and criminal facilitation.

This third indictment in the case did not include former President Ellen Johnson - Sirleaf's son Charles E. Sirleaf who served as Deputy CBL Governor for Operations when the financial scandal emerged

at the bank, because he was nolleprosequi with prejudice in May this year.

Besides Mr. Sirleaf, the prosecution here also entered a nolleprosequi (dropped charges) in favor of defendants Richard H. Walker, Dorbor M. Hagba and Joseph Dennis.

The government here indicted the officials in 2019 for their alleged roles in the misapplication of billions of Liberian Dollars printed and shipped to Liberia to replace old local currency after a series of mass protests led local and international institutions to investigate a claim that the money had gone missing.

The indictment alleges that the defendants conspired to willfully conceal the actual amount in circulation for the purpose of committing theft, depriving the Government of Liberia of its resources. **- Edited By Othello B. Garblah**



# Ex-Speaker Nuquaye subpoenaed



Mr. Emmanuel Nuquaye

By **Winston W. Parley**

The Criminal Court “C” in Monrovia has subpoenaed another former House Speaker, this time Mr. Emmanuel Nuquaye to appear and testify in the ongoing trial of former Central Bank of Liberia (CBL) officials indicted for alleged

theft and economic sabotage of billions of Liberian Dollars.

In the writ of subpoena issued Monday, 13 July, Mr. Nuquaye, a 2017 vice presidential candidate on the ticket of the former ruling Unity Party (UP), is ordered to testify as to whether the House of Representatives ever passed a

resolution regarding the printing of LD\$10 billion in 2017 to replace the legacy banknotes in circulation.

“You are hereby commanded to subpoena Hon. Emmanuel J. Nuquaye to appear before the first judicial circuit, Criminal Assizes “C” for Montserrado County ... on Tuesday, the 14th of July A.D. 2020, at the precise hour of 9: AM,” the writ of subpoena reads in part.

Mr. Nuquaye’s subpoena comes nearly a week after his predecessor, former House Speaker Atty. J. Alex Tyler, Senate Secretary Nanborlor F. Singbeh and several other officials were subpoenaed last week to testify in the case on prosecution’s request.

On the stand last Thursday, 9 July, Senate Secretary and prosecution’s first subpoena witness Mr. Nanborlor F. Singbeh was asked whether there was joint resolution

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# Man City decision does not mean end of Financial Fair Play

In the immediate reaction to the court of arbitration for sport quashing Manchester City’s two-year Champions League ban, there was a view Uefa’s financial fair play system is finished, so thumping a defeat for its compliance structures.

But given the brief Cas statement that presented an odd conundrum to conclude an extraordinary saga, and Uefa’s response, reports of FFP’s death appear to be an

exaggeration.

Cas does appear to have swung a wrecking ball towards the FFP rules and the Uefa structures that govern Europe’s top-flight clubs by agreement, but perhaps not in the way assumed.

The three lawyers on the Cas panel did reverse the guilty verdict of Uefa’s club financial control body’s “adjudicatory chamber” (AC), which found City’s owner, Sheikh Mansour bin Zayed al-Nahyan, of the Abu Dhabi ruling family, disguised



some multi-millions of his own funding as independent sponsorships from Abu Dhabi companies. However the circumstances, the Cas finding that City failed to cooperate with, and even obstructed, the investigations of European football’s governing body, would normally appear quite damning of a club.

A€10m (£9m) fine for that is not nothing, and would hurt most European sports organisations.

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