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Continental News

Ethiopia using rape as strategy of war - Amnesty

The Ethiopian military and its allies are responsible for widespread sexual violence against women in Tigray, using rape as a strategy of war, Amnesty International says. The scale of violations during the nine-month conflict in the north of the country amounts to war crimes, the human rights group says.

One woman reported being gang-raped in front of her children. Ethiopian officials have not responded to the allegations. Amnesty says "overwhelming evidence" shows sexual violence has been rampant since the very first days of the conflict. It began last November when the region's Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) party stormed a military base after falling out with the prime minister over his political reforms.

Warning: Some people may find details in this story upsetting.

The rights group interviewed 63 women and children from Tigray who said they had been raped by

Ethiopian or Eritrean soldiers or pro-government fighters belonging to forces and militias from the neighbouring region of Amhara. The report's author told the BBC their testimonies had been among the worst she had ever heard during her career. "The level of sadistic and gratuitous brutality in addition to the rape was absolutely shocking," Donatella Rovera said. A 39-year-old woman reported being seized by

Eritrean soldiers as she was travelling with her two children.

"Five of them raped me in front of my children," she told Amnesty.

"They used an iron rod, which is used to clean the gun, to burn me. They inserted pieces of metal in my womb; that was what hurt me. Then they left me on the street."

Some women Amnesty interviewed said they had

been detained for weeks and repeatedly raped, often by several men. More than half of the women accused Eritrean soldiers of carrying out the violations, identified by their Tigrinya accents and uniforms.

Amnesty is calling on the UN to urgently send a team of experts to Tigray to further investigate the allegations that may amount to crimes against humanity.

Ethiopian officials contacted by the BBC did not respond to requests for comment. Amnesty's calls to Ethiopian and Eritrean authorities were also ignored.

The widespread nature of the assaults suggests military officials knew what was happening and that it was being tolerated at the highest level of government in Ethiopia and Eritrea, Amnesty said. "The patterns of sexual violence emerging from survivors' accounts indicate that the violations have been part of a strategy to terrorise,

degrade, and humiliate both the victims and their ethnic group," the report said.

Ms Rovera said the victims of the assaults have not had access to the support they need to recover and many are living in poverty in Sudanese refugee camps, or camps in Tigray.

On Tuesday, when Ethiopia's prime minister called on civilians to join the army to fight in Tigray, he also accused Tigrayan forces, made up of the TPLF and its allies, of recruiting child soldiers, raping women and blocking aid. Amnesty says it has not interviewed any women who accuse Tigrayan forces of rape, but said that it would be monitoring the situation now the conflict had spread beyond Tigray's borders. The TPLF, which has been designated a terrorist organisation by the government but says it is the legitimate regional government of Tigray, has accused the government of using "venomous rhetoric" against Tigrayans and of being responsible for blocking aid. BBC



Very few of the women who have been sexually assaulted have been able to get help

More Ugandans Turn Up for COVID-19 Vaccinations

Uganda has resumed mass vaccinations against COVID-19 after running out of doses in June. But even with less vaccine hesitancy, essential workers say the rate of vaccination is too slow.

Two health workers share a table facing a long line of Ugandans waiting to receive a dose of COVID-19 vaccine.

Many are here for their second shots and the officials have to check the system, to see if they qualify for it.

Seventeen-year-old Kawalya Paul is among those standing in line as he waits for his card to be verified and stamped. Even though he is not on the priority list of those to be vaccinated, Paul explains to VOA why he decided to come.

"Actually, my mom's boss, succumbed to Covid. Every time he was all very protective. He could not talk to you in case you're not putting on a mask. So, I was like, if he was able to get it, yet he's a doctor and a big man, I was like, what about me, why shouldn't I? Because I saw the virus was close," he said.

The priority list for vaccinations includes teachers, security personnel, health workers, the elderly - who are defined as people over 50 years old - and those between 18 and 50 with underlying health conditions.

At the end of July, Ugandan authorities received 1.72 million doses of vaccine, and are hoping to get another 11 million in September. The pace of vaccination remains slow. So far only about 1.1 million Ugandans have been inoculated.

But, officials are hopeful that Ugandans are now eager to get the vaccine and have opened up vaccination centers at Kampala's Capital



A woman receives a coronavirus vaccination at the Kololo airstrip in Kampala

Family dies after mistaking fertiliser for salt



The family mistakenly used fertiliser chemical that looked like salt in preparing a meal

Twenty-four members of the same family have died after consuming a suspected poisoned meal in north-western Nigeria.

The incident happened in Danzanke village - a remote community in the north-west Sokoto state.

The state's health commissioner, Ali Inname, told journalists that the family mistakenly used fertiliser chemical that looked like salt in preparing a meal on Monday.

He said medical personnel

tried to save the victims' lives without success.

But two members of the family who only tasted the food are now receiving treatment in a hospital.

Following the incident, officials have once again advised people to always keep poisonous chemical substances away from their food stores for safety reasons.

Similar incidents involving families have happened in the past in Nigeria but the number of those who died in the latest case is unusually high. BBC

City grounds and the Namboole National stadium.

Pius Okethwengu, the Namboole hospital administrator, said they are

seeing a large turnout of people at the stadium. He predicts the goal of inoculating 10,000 people this week will be surpassed. VOA

EDITORIAL

Enduring leadership deficit in Weah's Liberia

LACK OF A PRO-ACTIVE leadership in the governing structure is one key vice that is seriously hurting the George Weah administration despite being in power for almost four years now. The deficit of bad governance fueled by corruption, constitutional breaches, political patronage and ineptitude, among others is visible everywhere, from the highest echelon of the government down to junior officials.

FEW INSTANCES THAT demonstrate complete lack of leadership in the administration are recent waves of mass protests across the country by aggrieved or dissatisfied citizens.

THE UNPLEASANT EXPERIENCES showed their ugly heads first in Grand Cape Mount, specifically Robertsport when aggrieved citizens took the street because their Senator-Elect, Simeon Taylor is yet to take seat in the Senate because of legal challenges that are running almost to a year, thus depriving them of representation though they had made their wishes known at the ballot box since December 8, 2020. Similar protest occurred in Lofa where citizens want their Senator-Elect, J. Brownie Samukai, who is facing legal battle to take his seat in the Liberian Senate.

IN MARGIBI, AGGRIEVED marketers barricaded the street because of attempt to forcibly relocate them. Monrovia witnessed two protests one of them violent and bloody, leaving several persons injured.

STUDENTS FROM THE University of Liberia led by the campus-based Student Unification Party (SUP) protesting an ineffective E-learning program introduced by administration were violently dispersed by riot police using teargas canisters that left several students wounded. Just last week, aggrieved citizens from the Mandingo tribe marched from the Japan Freeway (formerly Somali Drive) to the Temple of Justice and the National Police Headquarters in Central Monrovia, demanding the remains of a kinsman, who died reportedly as a result of Police heavy-handedness.

ALL OF THESE separate reactions from citizens occurred because of absence of one common denominator: Leadership. In Lofa, Cape Mount, Margibi and Montserrado leaders failed to exercise leadership by re-assuring citizens that their interests were being protected. At the University of Liberia and along the Japan Freeway, if leaders had been pro-active, citizens won't have taken the streets to protest.

THOSE ENTRUSTED WITH leadership in our nation should be reminded in no uncertain terms that they are placed in those positions to address matters before they go off hand, a high responsibility they should never downplay, as these unpleasant experiences indicate.

IT IS TIME that leaders, whether from the Presidency, to the cabinet, the police, the judiciary and county superintendent get their acts together to lead like the leaders they ought to be to keep our society stable and united. They should not be leaders just by titles but demonstrate pro-active leadership to maintain the confidence of the people they lead.

DOING SO WOULD prevent citizens from getting in the street to express grievances only to suffer injuries from heartless and brutal Police officers who hold loyalty not to the people and the State but to insensitive and corrupt leaders that govern with selfish interest.

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

COMMENTARY

By Barry Eichengreen

Will Central Bank Digital Currencies Doom Dollar Dominance?

BERKELEY - August 13-15 marks the 50th anniversary of "the weekend that changed the world," when US President Richard Nixon suspended the dollar's convertibility into gold at a fixed price and rung down the curtain on the Bretton Woods international monetary system. The subsequent half-century brought many surprises. From a monetary standpoint, one of the greatest was the dollar's continued dominance as a vehicle for cross-border transactions.

Under Bretton Woods, the dollar's supremacy was readily explicable. America's financial position coming out of World War II was impregnable. Changes in the price at which dollars could be converted into gold were unthinkable, first because of that financial strength and then, as the country's monetary position weakened, because of the possibility that one devaluation would create expectations of another.

Many thought that Nixon's move would diminish the dollar's international role. With the currency fluctuating like any other, it would be too risky for banks, firms, and governments to put all their eggs in the dollar basket. They would thus diversify by holding more reserves and conducting more transactions in other currencies.

Why this didn't happen is now clear. The greenback had the advantage of incumbency: the fact that one's customers and suppliers also used dollars made it awkward to move to alternatives. What's more, the alternatives were - and remain - unattractive.

As for the euro, there is a shortage of AAA-rated euro-denominated government bonds that central banks can hold as reserves. Those authorities are therefore reluctant to allow those they regulate to do business in euros, since they are unable to lend the currency to banks and firms in need. China's capital controls complicate international use of the renminbi, while there are justifiable fears that Chinese President Xi Jinping could abruptly change the rules of access. And smaller economies' currencies lack the scale to move a large volume of cross-border transactions.

Some say that issuance of central bank digital currencies, or CBDCs, will transform the status quo. In this brave new digital world, any national currency will be as easy to use in cross-border payments as any other. This will not only erode the dollar's dominance, the argument goes, but also greatly reduce transaction costs.

In fact, the conclusion doesn't follow. Imagine that South Korea issues a "retail" CBDC that individuals can hold in digital wallets and use in transactions. A Colombian exporter of coffee to South

Korea can then be paid in digital won, assuming of course that nonresidents are permitted to download a Korean wallet. But that Colombian exporter will still need someone to convert those won into something more useful. If that someone is a correspondent bank with offices or accounts in New York, and if that something is the dollar, then we're right back where we started.

Alternatively, the Colombian and South Korean central banks could issue "wholesale" CBDCs. Both would transfer digital currency to domestic commercial banks, which would deposit it into customer accounts. Now the Colombian exporter would end up with a credit in a South Korean bank rather than in a South Korean wallet - assuming this time that nonresidents are allowed to have Korean bank accounts. But, again, the exporter would have to ask the South Korean bank to find a correspondent to convert that digital balance into dollars and then pesos in order to have something of use.

The game changer would be if CBDCs were interoperable. The South Korean payer would then ask its bank for a won-denominated depository receipt, and a corresponding amount of CBDC in the payer's account would be extinguished. That depository receipt would be transferred into a dedicated international "corridor," where it could be exchanged for a peso depository receipt at the best rate offered by dealers licensed to operate there. Finally, the Colombian payee's account would be credited with the corresponding number of digital pesos, extinguishing the depository receipt. Voilà! The transaction would be completed in real time at a fraction of the current cost without involving the dollar or correspondent banks.

Unfortunately, the conditions for making this work are formidable. The two central banks would have to agree on an architecture for their digital corridor and jointly govern its operation. They would have to license and regulate dealers holding inventories of currencies and depository receipts to ensure that the exchange rate inside the corridor didn't diverge from that outside. And they would have to agree on who provides emergency liquidity, against what collateral, in the event of a serious order imbalance.

In a world of 200 currencies, arrangements of this type would require 200 factorial bilateral agreements, which is obviously unworkable. And corridors of many countries, though sometimes imagined, would require rules and governance arrangements considerably more elaborate than those of the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund. This, clearly, isn't going to happen.

CBDCs are coming. But they won't change the face of international payments. And they won't dethrone the dollar.

OPINION

By Helmut K. Anheier

Germany's Homegrown Q Menace

BERLIN - On August 1, 2020, about 30,000 people gathered in Berlin to protest against COVID-19 lockdown measures. Although the event, organized by the Stuttgart-based Querdenker movement, defied a ban on public gatherings, it was ultimately a relatively peaceful affair. That was not the case with the next anti-lockdown demonstration in the capital, on August 29, 2020.

Most of the 38,000 participants in the August 29 rally - which took place after an administrative court in Berlin overturned a police ban on the demonstration - did behave peacefully. But a splinter group of 450-500 protesters, many from the far right, attempted to storm the Reichstag. The assault was neither as violent nor as well planned as the one on the US Capitol that would take place on January 6, 2021 - fueled by America's own "Q," QAnon - but it was the first time since the Nazi era that the Reichstag had been violated. This does not bode well for Germany.

Fast forward to August 1, 2021. The Querdenker had applied for permission to stage a demonstration involving about 25,000 people, which the city declined on the grounds that the movement had repeatedly violated pandemic requirements. The organizers went to court and lost. However, a motorcade was allowed.

But the motorcade turned out to be a ruse. Instead, groups of Querdenker sympathizers started to march from different parts of the city with the alleged aim of congregating at the Brandenburg Gate and in front of the Reichstag. A rather surrealistic scene ensued. The 7,000 Querdenker, maskless and disregarding hygiene measures, enjoyed playing cat and mouse with the police, who had seemingly underestimated the likelihood and scale of the illegal rally, and the potential for violence.

A play on words, "Querdenker" connotes contrariness, on one hand, and lateral thinking on the other. The movement was launched in April 2020 by a Stuttgart-based software engineer, Michael Ballweg, to promote one cause: the end of COVID-19 lockdowns.

According to Ballweg and his followers, public-health measures during the pandemic violate the German people's constitutional rights, including that of free assembly. This is not untrue. But the government's position - which reflects extensive deliberation in parliament and the courts - is that these temporary violations are warranted, given the severity of the COVID-19 threat.

The Querdenker are unconvinced. They accuse the government of using the pandemic as a pretext to establish a dictatorship. Their favorite slogan, chanted at many a lockdown protest, is "Peace, Freedom, No Dictatorship."

Following the events of August 2020, the "peace" part of that slogan is increasingly being called into question. So is the Querdenker movement's focus on constitutional rights during COVID-19 lockdowns. As the movement has grown - there are now local chapters in 59 German cities - it has expanded the scope of its argument.

A recent Querdenker press release claims that the government has used the pandemic to create a "state of permanent surveillance" and grant new powers to police and border guards, "in order to further restrict human rights across Europe." Moreover, the movement asserts, the government has forced people to "lose their jobs ... work overtime, forego wages, and ruin their health," and destroyed young people's future prospects by restricting education. Germany is now facing "the greatest redistribution from the bottom up, and a wave of expropriations of historic proportions," and Querdenker will not "turn a blind eye" to it.

By linking its main concern to issues like state surveillance and economic inequality, the Querdenker movement has drastically expanded its potential support base. Anti-vaxxers, anarchists, libertarians, right-wingers, and esoteric groups of all stripes have joined the cause. This is not unusual for a bottom-up social movement of this kind, but it doesn't do much for the Querdenkers' credibility.

Ballweg denies Querdenker's proximity to - let alone association with - extremists, claiming that such perceptions are the result of misleading and biased media reporting. But the most comprehensive study of the Querdenker movement, conducted by the sociologist Oliver Nachtwey and his team at the University of Basel, suggests otherwise.

The study covered pandemic-related protests in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. It found that movements were heterogeneous, comprising several, often disparate social groups. What united them was a sense of alienation from political institutions, established parties, and the mainstream media.

This alienation, the study suggests, makes these movements vulnerable to conspiracy theories. Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, Querdenker demonstrations increasingly display anti-Semitic tendencies, though the movement is neither particularly xenophobic nor Islamophobic.

Querdenker is, Nachtwey and his team note, profoundly libertarian, and its followers tend to espouse beliefs in alternative medicine and holistic and spiritual thinking - a perspective closely linked to a distrust of modern medicine and science more broadly. Ultimately, they tend to share three key personality characteristics: fact resistance (typical of conspiracy theorists), a strong belief in their own version of the truth, and a self-righteousness bordering on arrogance.

A rightward shift is amplifying these tendencies. While Querdenker cannot be considered a right-wing movement, Nachtwey and his colleagues warn that the potential for radicalization is rising. The right-wing Alternative for Germany (AfD) has already voiced its support for the cause, and members of the Reichsbürger, a right-wing fringe group that denies the legal existence of the Federal Republic and seeks to reinstate some version of the pre-1918 German empire, have often participated in its rallies.

The question now is how Germany should respond. Some have called for Querdenker to be outlawed, and its 59 chapters declared illegal. But the government has little appetite for such a drastic move, which could backfire, inciting more - and more violent - illegal demonstrations. One might also hope that, as the pandemic recedes, so will the Querdenker.

Yet, even if the movement fades, the alienation and distrust of authorities that have fed it are unlikely to go away. These same forces fueled the Islamophobic Pegida movement, which held weekly rallies in Germany in 2015, but eventually dissipated, leaving behind a relatively small group of right-wingers. And they may well power the rise of another such faction after the next controversial political development.

O-P-E-D

By Irwin Cotler, Ahmed Shaheed, Brandon Silver

Curbing the Hate Pandemic

MONTREAL - The COVID-19 pandemic has intensified the spread of an equally virulent virus: hate. Effective vaccines offer the best hope of defeating the coronavirus. We now need similarly targeted legal measures against those inciting hatred.

Today, a rapid worldwide resurgence of racism and xenophobia is targeting minorities like Jews, East Asians, and LGBT persons - with attendant harassment and physical harm - as being responsible for the spread of the coronavirus. In addition, some states have used the cover of COVID-19 restrictions and distractions to extend long-standing hateful policies.

This pandemic of hate long preceded the public-health pandemic, which exposed and expanded it. But despite this growing threat, far too many instances of hateful incitement go unaddressed, much less redressed, contributing to cultures of criminality and the impunity that underpins them. In particular, liberal democracies have not provided a commensurate and concrete policy response to the widespread and systematic state-sanctioned hate that continues to cause the misery, murder, and migration of many minorities.

Sadly, state-sanctioned anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim hatred, and bigotry against black and indigenous people are global phenomena. Emblematic examples of country-specific hate include the constitutionally enshrined discrimination and government incitement against Ahmadiyya Muslims in Pakistan, and the apartheid-like system of unjust imprisonments and dispossession of the Baha'i religious minority in Iran.

Worse, the perpetrators of these crimes continue to travel largely unimpeded around the world. Maintaining the status quo - decades of brutal persecution that shows no signs of abating - could best be described as complicity.

Combating such hate is not only an ethical imperative, but also a public-policy one. Hate tears at society's seams, and catalyzes crisis and conflict. This naturally progresses to mass atrocity. The Holocaust and subsequent genocides resulted not simply from a machinery of death, but also from an ideology of hate. The dehumanization of Tutsis as "cockroaches" by Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines planted the seeds of Rwanda's killing fields in the 1990s in the same way that Joseph Goebbels' anti-Semitic propaganda paved the path to the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

The world has long had a corpus of international laws intended to combat such crimes. After the horrors of the Holocaust, the international community crystallized a commitment to our common humanity in documents like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and treaties such as the Genocide Convention, conventions on the elimination of racial discrimination and discrimination against women, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They recognize - and enshrine in law - the imperative of the struggle against hate and incitement, and the need to prevent and punish its manifestations, lest it metastasize.

But the implementation of human-rights foreign-policy tools based on these norms has been woefully inadequate, failing to challenge hate in the manner that it warrants. In particular, targeted sanctions frameworks such as Magnitsky Laws - nowadays the paradigmatic tool to punish human-rights abusers - have never been used expressly to combat incitement to violence and discrimination. This is despite many such frameworks being linked to the relevant international treaties, whether explicitly, such as in the European Union and United Kingdom, or implicitly, like in Canada and the United States.

Such sanctions have been a powerful post-facto tool, adding substance to statements condemning discriminatory violence against the vulnerable and - with applicable due-process safeguards - targeting the individuals most responsible for these crimes. They have been used, for example, in relation to Houthi-controlled security and intelligence agencies' unjust detention and rape of politically involved women in Yemen, Chechen leaders' torture and murder of LGBT persons, and the atrocities committed by Myanmar's military, the Tatmadaw, against the country's Rohingya Muslim minority. But these sanctions, while commendable, deal with the criminal consequences of hate, not its cause.

Rather than providing posthumous redress, targeted sanctions could possibly have prevented such crimes. Rapidly implementing such measures in response to incitement to hatred and discrimination - an initial early warning sign that often foreshadows major crimes - would sound the alarm and shine an international spotlight on the situation, naming and shaming individual perpetrators while providing protective cover to victims.

Moreover, sanctioning such individuals for incitement - typically with visa bans and asset seizures - could potentially serve as a deterrent, as they may modify their behavior in the hopes of being delisted. Even where those listed do not change their ways, targeted sanctions would reduce the virality of their hate by minimizing their resources and restricting their global mobility.

Such sanctions would be an important expression of solidarity and support for those suffering in other countries. Furthermore, they would safeguard the implementing country's sovereignty by protecting against a corrosive influx of foreign assets and individuals linked to the promotion of divisive - and often deadly - discrimination.

Government leaders who violate internationally recognized obligations by promoting hate should not enjoy the freedoms abroad that they deny minorities at home. Protecting freedom of speech is not inconsistent with holding to account those inciting violence and discrimination. In fact, ending impunity for stirring up hatred would widen the scope for freedom of expression for all, especially for minorities whose voices are suppressed by rampant hate speech.

In these difficult and dangerous times, the shared desire for a peaceful and harmonious future, in which we celebrate our differences and the solidarity of humanity, can be a source of inspiration and a catalyst for global cooperation. To achieve it, we must stand up and strike out against the hate that ultimately hurts us all.



Republic of Liberia

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AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
BANK GROUP



NAME OF PROJECT: Integrated Public Financial Management Reform Project II

Assignment Title: Consultancy To Update LEITI Communication Strategy to meet up the requirements of the New 2019 EITI Standards

Financing Agreement reference: 2100155034068

Project ID No.: P-LR-K00-014

Issue Date: August 10, 2021

End Date: August 25, 2021

1. Background

The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) is a global standard that promotes transparency and accountability in the oil, gas, and mining sectors.

EITI implementation has two core components:

- **Transparency:** oil, gas, and mining companies disclose information about their operations, including payments to the government, and the government discloses its receipts and other relevant information on the industry. The figures are reconciled by an Independent Administrator (IA) and publishing annually alongside additional information about the extractive industries under the EITI Standard.
- **Accountability:** a multi-stakeholder group (MSG) with representatives from government, companies, and civil society is responsible for overseeing the process and communicating the EITI reporting findings and promoting the integration of EITI into broader transparency efforts that country.

Liberia became a member of the EITI through an Act of the Legislature in 2009. The Liberian plan is a tripartite arrangement of Government, Civil Society, and Companies whose core value is to ensure transparency over revenues generated from the extractive sectors of Liberia- forestry, Mining, Agriculture, and Oil and gas.

The EITI Standard encourages MSGs to explore innovative approaches to extending EITI implementation to increase the comprehensiveness of EITI reporting and public understanding of revenues and promote high standards of transparency and accountability in public life, government operations, and business. The requirements for implementing countries are set out in the EITI Standard.

In this regard, the Liberia Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (LEITI) is seeking a reputable firm or individual to develop a comprehensive communication and outreach strategy to enhance the workings of the EITI process locally.

2. Objective of the Assignment

The objective of the assignment is to (i) produce an updated communication strategy for the Supervisory Board (local MSG) to promote the work of the LEITI Secretariat and MSG (ii) outline clear strategies for the conduct of workshops with the key stakeholders and the dissemination of LEITI reports amid post-COVID-19, and (iii) establish a relationship with local media pool.

Expected outputs from the project include a consultation report, an updated outreach, and a communication strategy to promote the visibility of the LEITI.

3. The Scope of the Assignment

The local experts will work in close coordination with the LEITI secretariat and Multi-stakeholder Steering Group (MSG) and will be expected to undertake the following tasks:

4. **Outreach and communication strategy.** The local experts should develop an updated outreach and communication strategy that will amplify the EITI activities under the LEITI, emphasizing the New 2019 Standard and post COVID-19. This should include:

- a. Identify the target audiences (i.e., line Ministries, mining companies, CSOs, local governments; local communities in the sector; line ministries and agencies; media; academia circles; general public, etc.);
- b. Identify the communication objectives for each targeted audience (stakeholder mapping) at the national and local levels.
- c. Assess the communication capacities of all stakeholders;
- d. Identify the communication products and activities tailored to each audience, using the LEITI work-plan and strategic plan, building on emerging new international communication material, when possible, for each target audience.
- e. Specify appropriate communication channels, dissemination methods, and media such as video, print, web/online media, traditional media, and social media, among others, to effectively communicate key messages to specific stakeholders.
- f. Create a work plan with clear deliverable outcomes for the implementation of the strategy.

5. **Conduct a workshop on developing an advocacy and communication strategy.** The local experts should organize (logistics support from the LEITI secretariat) and conduct a workshop for the Board members, including broader constituency representation, to form a basis and buy-in for the strategy. The workshop should include but not limited to:

- a. Mapping of target groups, identifying communication objectives for each targeted audience, and tailoring activities to meet LEITI's communication demand;
- b. The local experts should consider legislative changes (IF ANY), LEITI work plan, beneficial ownership roadmap, and other relative documents.

6. **Capacity building for journalists.** Concerning the development of the communication strategy, the local experts should establish relations with a pool of local journalists to assure the communication strategy has buy-in from the media.

7. Reporting Requirements and Expected Deliverables

The Consultant shall submit the documents summarized below to the Executive Director of the LEITI or such personnel as may be appointed by the Executive Director. All documents/reports will be issued in English, submitted in both hard and electronic copies.

The consultant shall provide the following key reports:

- a. **Inception Report** (due 5 days after kickoff of the assignment): The Consultant shall prepare a brief inception report highlighting his/her understanding of the assignment and the methodology to be employed. The report will also include inter alia: a) Initial findings following the desk review of relevant documents and consultations with agency heads, key personnel and other stakeholders; b) An elaboration of the work plan; c) List and contacts of key stakeholders to be engaged; d) A proposed methodology, plan and dates for the Stakeholder Workshop e) proposed outline for the Strategic Plan f) and a proposed outline for a Communication Strategy g) The draft should include a SWOT analysis of LEITI internal functions and capabilities to communication strategy process; h) Review organization structure and staffing analysis for alignment with the strategic plan.
- b. **Draft Strategic/Communication Plans:** The consultant must produce a draft Strategic Plan, with an accompanied Communication Strategy. This draft should be submitted within 15 calendar days of the commencement of the assignment, and must incorporate all the requirements of the Terms of Reference.
- c. **Conduct Stakeholders' Workshop:** This workshop will be used to present the draft strategic plan. This workshop would provide an opportunity to obtain stakeholders' feedback. This activity must be carried out within 25 calendar days of the commencement of the assignment and will bring together all the key stakeholders to a half-day Workshop. The Executive Director will be responsible for organizing the workshop-logistical arrangements in relation to the venue, consumables and provide basic support for the attendance of relevant stakeholders and assisting with technology support for the presentations.
- d. **Final Strategic-Communication Plans:** This should be submitted within 40 calendar days after the commencement of the assignment. The Plans shall incorporate all comments and inputs provided by Partners during the stakeholders' workshop. The Final Strategic Plan should include the Communication strategy, Work Plan, SWOT analysis, Staffing analysis, a roadmap and Mentoring/Coaching plan (MP). It should also include lessons learned and recommendations.

8. Required Qualifications and Experience:

The ideal candidate should meet the following qualification and experience requirements: Women are particularly encouraged to express their interests in providing the requested services.

The local experts will need to demonstrate:

- Experience in advocacy and communications planning, including **strong knowledge and work on transparency and governance in the extractive sector, and multi-stakeholder work is desired;**
- Experience in working with (and good contacts with) media organizations and have experience of leveraging coverage from those organizations;
- Understanding of the role of communication in development and ensuring transparency;
- Knowledge of policy/technical issues in the extractive industries or other natural resources sectors in Liberia
- Demonstrated ability to produce high quality, creative communications materials and proven track record of previous communication achievements
- Master's degree in communications, natural resource governance, and the related field of study

9. Duration of Assignment: 2Calendar Months

The Project Management Unit (PMU) of the Ministry of Finance & Development Planning (MFDP) now invites eligible individual consultants to indicate interest in providing these services by submitting their Curriculum Vitae (CV) and copies of academic credentials, demonstrating experience in performing similar assignments with references and showing responsiveness to the qualification requirements outlined in this REOI. Eligibility criteria and the selection procedure shall be in accordance with the World Bank's "Procurement Regulations for IPF Borrowers" July 2016, Revised November 2017 and August 2018 ("Procurement Regulations").

Further information and the detailed TOR can be obtained at the address below during office hours, i.e. from 0900 to 1700 hours (GMT) on working days.

Expressions of interest must be delivered in a written form or by email to the address below by 25th August 2021 @ 1700 hours (GMT) and mention "Consultancy To Update LEITI Communication Strategy to meet up the requirements of the New 2019 EITI Standards"

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Project Management Unit (PMU), 1st Floor
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MORE HEADLINE NEWS

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Supreme Court upholds Simeon Taylor's victory

By Winston W. Parley

Liberia's Supreme Court has declared Simeon B. Taylor as the winner of the Special Senatorial Election held in Grand Cape Mount County on 8 December 2020, affirming the final ruling of the Board of Commissioners of the National Elections Commission (NEC), ending months of legal battles

January 2021.

"The merits of this case having been dismissed on appeal, Co - appellee, Simeon B. Taylor, is ordered forthwith certificated with full benefits and emoluments as if he were seated January 2021," the court said.

In a unanimous ruling, the Supreme Court's full bench of five Justices instructed the Clerk

from entering the polling stations.

Regarding Watson's contention that Taylor's name appeared twice on the final voter registration roll (FRR), the Supreme Court also ruled that it is an offense under the New Elections Law of 1986 for a voter to register twice.

However, the court took into consideration the NEC's admission in this case that the appearance of Mr. Taylor's name on the Final Registration Rolls in Tahn and Lofa Bridge in Grand Cape Mount County was due to an error on the part of NEC.

It continued that there was no intent shown that Mr. Taylor registered twice for the purpose of voting twice, saying "we cannot impute any wrong doing to Co - appellee Simeon B. Taylor."

The court indicated that it was established that Mr. Taylor only voted in Tahn in the December 8, 2020 Special Senatorial Election, despite evidence that his name appeared twice on the FRRs.

Besides, the Supreme Court said that there is no evidence that individuals bearing the last name "Taylor" as found in the FRRs were family members of Mr. Taylor, the Senator - elect, and that they registered and voted twice in the December election.

It said even if such were the case, there is still no evidence that the alleged act was with the knowledge and consent of Mr. Taylor.

NTA employees vow to revenge at ballot box

By Lewis S Teh

President George Manneh Weah could pay a high price at the ballot box in future elections if he fails to heed call by employees of the National Transit Authority (NTA) to dismiss the entity's managing director, Harbie Macauley for alleged corruption.

"We really don't know what President Weah sees in a man who's being accused of many

for non-payment of salary and administrative mismanagement.

"We are tired with this corrupt individual, and we are calling on President Weah to see reason and dismiss Mr. Macauley, because he's responsible for all the corruption that is ongoing here at the NTA", they lamented.

The aggrieved workers carried placards with inscription, "The corruption and



following last year's polls.

The Supreme Court in its ruling at the Temple of Justice in Monrovia Wednesday, 11 August ordered the NEC to certificate Mr. Taylor of the opposition Collaborating Political Parties (CPP) with full benefits and emoluments as if he were seated in

of Court to mandate the NEC to resume jurisdiction and give effect to the judgement.

The high court said Victor V. Watson, the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) senatorial candidate, failed to establish proof of pre - marked ballots, forgery of signatures on the Senate Record of Count and the stopping of his poll watchers



corruption, but if he (President Weah) ignore our quest to have Mr. Macauley dismissed, our only option is to revenge at the ballot box", protesting NTA employees vowed recently.

They besieged the entity's compound along the Japan Freeway on Monday this week, calling on President Weah to immediately dismiss their boss

bad labor practice need to stop."

According to them, since the ascendancy of Mr. Macauley as managing director of the NTA, situations continue to worsen with the entity's busses broken down and money meant for payment of salaries diverted for his personal use something, they note, prompted their protest,

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 11

Several residents escape death in Chugbor

Several residents of Chugbor Community, Montserrado County District#10 escaped death early Tuesday, August 10, 2021 when fire erupted on a community transformer due to overloading as a result of power theft, damaging it completely.

One of the victims Ciapha G. Mandomasa narrates that as early as 7: am he was pressing in the room trying to get prepared for job when he heard a sound from the LEC pole, and when he came outside, he saw the pole gutted by fire that was escalating gradually to extend to nearby homes.

According to him, he tried offing the fire with sand but due to the velocity of the flames, he just could not do it alone until he was joined by



other residents of the community.

"We did our best but we could

not off the fire and it was gradually escalating.

However, we off the central

Advertise with us!

breaker that controls the pole in our community to prevent the fire from getting to our homes before calling LEC to help us. Meanwhile, when we off the breaker, we were able to off the fire with sad through the help of other residents", Ciapha explained.

When asked what caused the fire, he noted that the fire broke out as the result of power theft or illegal connection.

He narrated that while they were asleep, they received information that an individual had climbed on the light pole to carry on illegal connection, but they did not take it seriously.

He said this is not the first

power theft in the community, noting that they had informed the LEC about it severally and management has been a great help to them.

"If God was not going to bring me out to see that, I believe that at this time we were going to be dead. Currently, we have over 25e persons that are connected to the pole. If we were going to be in bed, we all could have become dead body by this time", Ciapha G. Mandomasa said.

At the same time, he is calling on Liberians to report power theft in their communities, as this is a major cause for the many fire incidents across the country. **-Editing by Jonathan Browne**

MORE HEADLINE NEWS MORE HEADLINE NEWS

RPI launches Covid-19 community engagement program

Refuge Place International-Liberia, a national charity, has launched a Covid-19 community response mechanism in Monrovia.

Established by the former director general of the National Public Health Institute of Liberia (NPHIL) Doctor Mosoka P. Fallah, RPI is working across Liberia to improve health outcomes for poor communities. The health NGO aims to create a replicable health care model for urban slums and poor rural communities in Liberia, with the goal of reducing high maternal, neonatal and child mortality rate and making quality health care accessible to all.

The RPI's covid-19 community response mechanism was launched Monday, August 9, 2021 at the

the disease.

On July 19, the charity donated 44 oxygen regulators to Star Base Treatment Unit on Bushrod Island on the outskirts of Monrovia before donating a batch of 57 to the Ministry of Health and additional 57 to major health centers inclusive of the John F. Kennedy Medical Center, the ELWA Hospital, the Redemption Hospital, the Jackson F. Doe Hospital and St. Joseph Catholic Hospital.

"As you are aware, we have made donations to the Star Base Treatment Center, the Ministry of Health for the counties, JFK Hospital, ELWA Hospital, JDJ Hospital, Redemption Hospital and the St. Joseph Catholic Hospital for the treatment of patients and suspected cases," said the Madam Nyanford, who is also a sister to Dr. Fallah.

She explained that as part of

"Finally, to support the national response, we will sponsor several radio talk shows on the prevention of the deadly covid-19 virus. Dr. Fallah wants to use this opportunity to challenge other Liberians in the diaspora to join forces in their different localities to buttress the covid-19 response activities of our national government through the Incident management System (IMS)," Madam Nyanford among other things added.

Dr. Adams K. Lincoln, Program Manager of Healthcare Federation of Liberia (HFL), noted that the launch of the RPI-Liberia community response mechanism for covid-19 demonstrates the readiness and preparedness of the private health sector to support the national covid-19 response.

He indicated that evidence-based information clearly documents that the involvement and active participation of communities in the prevention and control activities are critical to the containment of infectious disease outbreaks.

"The importance of empowering communities to take the required actions to protect themselves as well as identifying suspected cases and linking these suspected cases with the health system for appropriate action cannot be over-emphasized," Lincoln told the gathering.

According to him, lesson learned from the Ebola crisis indicates that it was the active participation of communities in identifying suspected Ebola cases and linking these suspected cases with the health system for appropriate actions that led to the interruption in the transmission chain and subsequent containment of the virus in Liberia.

Mr. Stanley Duwor, Community Health Worker Coordinator, explained that during the course of the mechanism, RPI will remain engaged with leaders of the three targeted communities and their 17 blocks in planning, implementation and gathering feedback from covid-19 response activities to take appropriate action(s) to ensure adherence to prevention and protocols.

He said as part of their duties, community health workers will distribute flyers, brochures and stickers in targeted communities. -

Editing by Jonathan Browne

Tweah's highlight Liberia's potential during USAID Boss courtesy visit

Finance and Development Planning Minister Samuel D. Tweah Jr., has highlighted Liberia's potential, during a courtesy visit by USAID Mission Director Jim Wright at the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning on Tuesday.

The visit of the USAID Boss was more about acquaintance and strengthening the existing partnership between the USAID and the Government of Liberia.

Hon. Tweah commended the USAID for being a strategic partner that continues to deliver impactful development projects under the administration of President George M. Weah.

He said the USAID has supported several projects in areas of health, education, economic governance, digital economy and agriculture including support to tourism at Providence Island.

climate meeting, something he said resulted in its roadmap being developed, following policy changes as well as the law and procedure aspect.

The USAID, including AfDB, WB, he said, have been supportive to the creation of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ).

However, he pointed out that the government is prioritizing agriculture "going forward", while also making strides in fighting corruption through the anti-money laundering framework legislation, which will empower financial institutions like the FIU, LACC and others.

Regarding the IAA, he said a new framework is being created to enable the entity to be more vigilant, because they are responsible to advise the government in terms of spending public resources, while a new framework for audit is being looked at by the GAC.

"We have the Liberia Anti-



Madam Franzetta of RPI speaks to health workers and community residents

organization's Maternal and Child-care center in Chicken Soup Factory Community, Gardnersville Township along Japan Freeway in the suburb of Monrovia.

Speaking on behalf of Chief Executive Officer (CEO) Dr. Fallah at the launch of the community response mechanism, the Chief of Office Staff, Madam Franzetta Nyanford said, the initiative is in continuation of the organization's Covid-19 intervention and an effort to buttress the Government of Liberia (GoL) in tackling the virus out of the country.

She pointed out the launch of the program is in furtherance of previous effort by RPI in helping the Liberian government under the stewardship of President George Manneh Weah to achieve its goal of kicking out

the response mechanism, RPI will work with catchment communities - Bassa Town, Gulf Community and Chicken Soup Factory with a total population of 52,000 in designing community-based strategies.

She named the strategies as deployment of hand washing stations at major intersections, provision of covid-19 prevention messages through posters and banners at different places in the communities and provision of thousands of free masks as well as sensitization messages.

She also disclosed RPI will stimulate the local economy by working with local groups to produce masks and local liquid soap for hand washing, shift the focus of community health workers to providing door-to-door health promotion messages to households in the catchment areas and procure megaphones for community messaging.



According to him, there are challenges, but also opportunities for the government to "bend" the curve for transformation.

Challenges, he said, included Job creation for young people, agriculture, roads and electricity, but efforts are being made in addressing them.

The Finance Minister informed the USAID boss about achievements made through economic reforms, which include macroeconomic stability during the last three years.

He revealed that the government's strong fiscal and monetary policies have led to inflation being down at 8.2 percent. Government he said was no longer borrowing from the Central Bank of Liberia, but instead living within its means.

Also, Hon. Tweah explained about the successful business

corruption, and a new framework that will give power to the LACC to prosecute government related cases is underway, while a new access declaration framework, including the passage of the whistleblower act as well, is expected soon.

He disclosed that the government is also making efforts in domestic revenue push, and expenditure push, adding that a public management tracking system in line with the PFM will be created, so that the public can know exactly what government is doing with revenue collected and how it is expended.

For his part, new USAID Mission Director Jim Wright made a commitment to continue working in the same step of my predecessor.

He said "We are looking to increase transparency and build confidence, and trust for Liberia".

Français

La CPP au bord du gouffre, tandis que les dirigeants du LP s'affrontent

Chaque nouvelle controverse au sein d'un parti membre de la Collaboration des partis politiques de l'opposition (CPP) soulève de nouvelles questions quant à savoir jusqu'où peut aller cette alliance.

La lettre qu'a écrite le leader politique du Parti de la liberté, la sénatrice Nyonblee Kanga-Lawrence, à la Commission électorale nationale (NEC) pour demander le retrait des nouveaux statuts et règlement intérieur du parti, comme quoi elle n'a pas en personne examiné le document avant d'être soumis, en ajoute à l'incertitude.

Les échanges brutaux qui ont lieu sur fond de querelles internes entre les membres des partis membres de la collaboration et les attaques mutuelles intempestives des partisans de chacun des candidats potentiels soulèvent d'autres questions quant à la volonté de

l'opposition de présenter un front commun face à la coalition au pouvoir, à savoir la Coalition pour le changement démocratique (CDC), en 2023.

Et puis les disputes verbales et le niveau de méfiance qui caractérisent visiblement l'alliance de l'opposition laissent croire que la CPP est au bord de l'effondrement.

Avant, c'était le cas Edwin Melvin Snowe, sénateur de Bomi, qui s'était présenté comme candidat indépendant alors qu'il était membre de la CPP à l'époque, avant de déclarer par la suite son soutien au président George Weah en vue des élections de 2023 - "à condition que ce dernier tienne les promesses

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 9



L'activiste mis aux arrêts récemment dit n'avoir aucun regret

Emmanuel Gonquoi, leader du Economic Freedom Fighters of Liberia (EFFL), n'a absolument aucun regret d'avoir verrouillé les portes du Capitole, le siège officiel du pouvoir législatif du Libéria. Il n'hésiterait pas de fermer même le palais présidentiel s'il en avait l'occasion.

« Le gouvernement a déclaré que nous avions verrouillé le Capitole. mais nous ne regrettons absolument pas notre action. Si vous nous en

donnez l'occasion aujourd'hui, nous verrouillons le palais présidentiel», a déclaré M. Gonquoi le mardi 10 août 2021 à la suite de sa libération de la prison centrale de Monrovia après y avoir passé une nuit.

M. Gonquoi et trois autres membres du groupe de la société civile ont été emprisonnés le lundi 9 août à la prison centrale de Monrovia. Ils sont accusés de plusieurs chefs d'accusation, dont menace terroriste, voies de fait simples, contention criminelle et conduite

désordonnée.

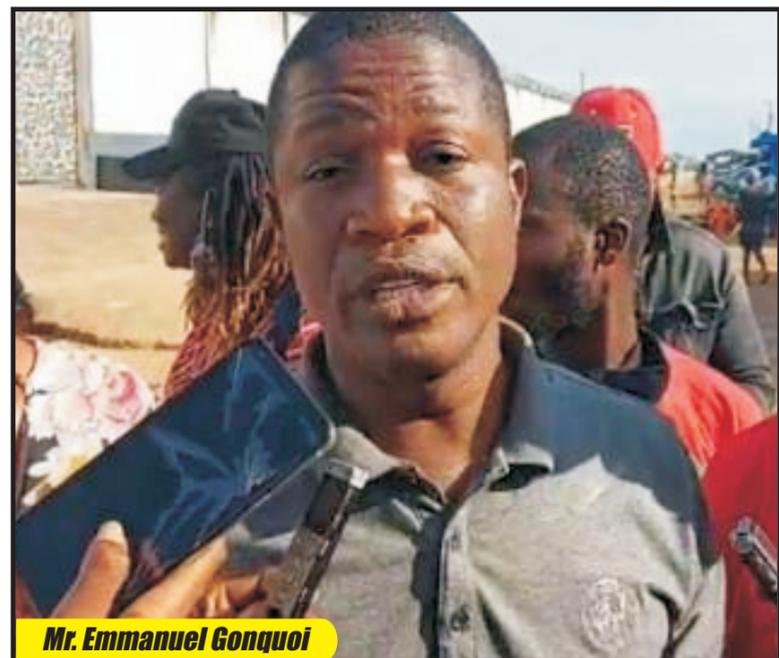
Mais, lors d'un entretien avec des journalistes lundi devant la prison, il a dit qu'il a eu une très belle expérience, car leur incarcération leur a permis de voir la vie en dehors de leur zone de confort.

Il accuse les législateurs libériens de s'arroger tout le budget, alors que la grande majorité des populations meurent de faim et sont incapables de se faire soigner.

« Et nous croyons constitutionnellement que chaque gouvernement est constitué sur les épaules du peuple. Ainsi, en tant que peuple, nous avons décidé de prendre des mesures agressives et révolutionnaires pour servir de contrepoids car nos législateurs ne peuvent pas le faire. Et c'est la raison pour laquelle nous avons verrouillé le Capitole. Nous n'avons pas d'excuses à présenter », a-t-il déclaré.

Emmanuel Gonquoi et trois autres leaders de The Economic Freedom Fighters of Liberia (EFFL) ont été incarcérés ce lundi 9 août à la prison centrale de Monrovia. Ils font désormais face à

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 9



Mr. Emmanuel Gonquoi

Éditorial

Un déficit persistant de leadership dans le Libéria de Weah

L'absence d'un leadership proactif dans la structure gouvernementale nuit gravement à l'administration de George Weah qui est au pouvoir depuis près de quatre ans maintenant. La mauvaise gouvernance alimentée par la corruption, les violations constitutionnelles, le favoritisme politique et l'incompétence, entre autres, est visible partout, depuis le plus haut échelon du gouvernement jusqu'aux fonctionnaires subalternes.

Les récentes vagues de protestations de masse des citoyens lésés à travers le pays démontrent un manque total de leadership dans l'administration.

Les expériences désagréables ont montré leurs têtes laides d'abord à Grand Cape Mount, en particulier à Robertsport, où des citoyens lésés sont descendus dans la rue parce que leur sénateur élu, Simeon Taylor, n'a pas encore pris son siège au Sénat en raison de contestations judiciaires qui durent presque un an, leur privant ainsi une représentation, en dépit du fait d'avoir fait leur choix dans les urnes le 8 décembre 2020. Une manifestation similaire s'est produite à Lofa où les citoyens veulent que leur sénateur élu, J. Brownie Samukai, qui fait face à une bataille juridique, siège au Sénat.

À Margibi, des commerçants ont barricadé la rue parce qu'on veut les relocaliser de force. Monrovia a été témoin de deux manifestations violentes et sanglantes, ayant fait plusieurs blessés. Des étudiants de l'Université du Libéria dirigés par le Student Unification Party (SUP) protestaient contre les cours en ligne, un programme mis en place par l'administration. Mais ils ont été violemment dispersés par la police anti-émeute à l'aide de grenades lacrymogènes. Il y a eu plusieurs blessés parmi les étudiants.

Pas plus tard que la semaine dernière, des citoyens lésés, dont pour la plupart des malinkés, ont marché de la Japan Freeway au temple de la justice et au siège de la police nationale dans le centre-ville de Monrovia, réclamant la dépouille mortelle d'un des leurs, qui serait mort du fait de la brutalité policière.

Toutes ces réactions distinctes des citoyens se sont produites en raison de l'absence d'une chose: le leadership. De Lofa à Cape Mount en passant par Margibi et Montserrado, les dirigeants n'ont pas fait preuve de leadership pour rassurer les citoyens que leurs intérêts étaient protégés. À l'Université du Libéria et le long de la Japan Freeway, si les dirigeants avaient été proactifs, les citoyens ne seraient pas descendus dans la rue pour protester.

Il faut rappeler à ceux à qui l'on a confié le pouvoir qu'ils sont placés à ces postes pour régler les problèmes avant qu'ils ne tournent mal, une responsabilité élevée qu'ils ne devraient jamais minimiser, comme l'indiquent ces expériences désagréables.

Il est temps que les dirigeants, de la Présidence au cabinet, en passant par la police, la justice et le surintendant du comté, rassemblent leurs actions pour diriger comme les dirigeants qu'ils devraient être pour rendre notre société stable et unie. Il ne faut pas qu'ils soient des leaders uniquement par le nom, mais par le fait qu'ils font preuve d'un leadership proactif pour maintenir la confiance des personnes qu'ils dirigent.

Cela empêcherait les citoyens de descendre dans la rue pour exprimer des griefs uniquement pour subir des blessures de la part des agents de police cruels et brutaux qui sont fidèles non pas au peuple et à l'État, mais à des dirigeants insensibles et corrompus qui gouvernent de manière égoïste.

Français

La CPP au bord du gouffre,

qu'il a faites aux habitants de Bomi lors de sa récente tournée dans le comté".

Des sources affirment que le sénateur Snowe n'est pas un fan de l'ancien vice-président Joseph Boakai. Il ne semble pas non plus avoir d'admiration pour M. Alexander B. Cummings. Cela l'amène à regarder dans la direction du président Weah.

Il y a maintenant Musa Hassan Bility, le nouveau président du Liberty Party. Le choix des candidats pour représenter la CPP à l'élection présidentielle de 2023 ne sera pas du tout une tâche aisée.

D'ailleurs Bility et son leader politique, à savoir la sénatrice Karnga-Lawrence, ont commencé à se bouffer le nez au sujet de la révision ou l'amendement des status et règlement intérieur de leur parti.

La sénatrice Karnga-Lawrence continue de faire valoir qu'en tant que leader politique du parti, elle a le droit de voir l'amendement et le compte rendu des réunions avant qu'ils soient soumis à la Commission électorale.

" Il est de mon devoir de m'assurer, en tant que présidente et leader politique, que les nouveaux statuts et règlement intérieur reflètent les conclusions des travaux du comité de révision et le procès-verbal de la convention nationale spéciale de notre parti", a-t-elle dit.

Et pour joindre l'acte à la parole, la dame de fer du parti de Me Brumeskin a adressé un courrier à la commission électorale nationale le 4 août 2021 pour demander de retirer des nouveaux statuts et règlement intérieur.

Dans sa lettre, la sénatrice Karnga-Lawrence a expliqué avoir, conformément à l'article VIII de la constitution du Parti de la Liberté, convoqué une convention

nationale spéciale pour examiner et adopter dans le cadre approprié, certaines propositions soumises par le comité de révision des statuts et élire les nouveaux membres du bureaux exécutif.

C'est ainsi, selon la sénatrice Karnga-Lawrence, qu'un comité de planification dirigé par l'actuel secrétaire général a été créé. Une convention nationale spéciale a été tenue à Gbarnga, dans le comté de Bomg, du 22 au 23 janvier 2021. Il a été adopté au cours de cette convention spéciale un amendement et de nouveaux membres du bureau exécutif ont été également élus. Parmi eux figurent M. Musa Bility élu président national et M. Martin Kolleh secrétaire général.

Mais le problème de Karnga-Lawrence, c'est que M. Bility et son secrétaire général ne lui ont pas soumis le document pour l'authentifier avant de l'envoyer à la NEC.

Selon elle, la version amendée qui est actuellement à la NEC comporte des anomalies multiples. Elle croit que Bility et son secrétaire général l'ont volontairement empêché d'y jeter un dernier coup d'œil.

Mais M. Bility, pour se défendre, a dit n'avoir rien fait de mal et qu'en tant qu'administrateur en chef du parti, il avait agi dans les limites de son autorité.

Lors d'un entretien avec ce quotidien, le président national du parti de la liberté a fait valoir que personne d'autre n'a le pouvoir de signer le document. Il n'y que lui et son secrétaire général qui tous deux ont le droit légal de diriger le parti.

Maintenant, voici le piège. Bility est considéré comme un allié de la mouvance au pouvoir. Il envisagerait de pousser le LP dans la direction de la Coalition pour le Changement Démocratique. À première vue, les partisans disent que Bility semble soutenir Cummings, mais en réalité, il est une taupe du parti au pouvoir au sein de la Collaboration des Parti Politiques de l'opposition et utilise le LP comme véhicule.

L'activiste mis aux arrêts

plusieurs chefs d'accusation dont menace terroriste, voies de fait simples, contention criminelle et conduite désordonnée.

Leur détention fait suite à un mandat d'arrêt émis par le tribunal de Monrovia le vendredi 6 août à la suite d'une plainte du procureur, accusant Gonquoi et son groupe EFFL d'avoir violemment attaqué le portail du palais de

l'Assemblée nationale « The Capitol », qui est situé en face du palais présidentiel, et d'avoir frappé et blessé des agents de sécurité qui s'y trouvaient.

Les accusés ont comparu devant le tribunal lundi matin pour répondre au mandat d'arrêt délivré par le tribunal, mais ils se sont ensuite retrouvés en prison en raison de leur incapacité à déposer une caution de comparution criminelle.

COMMENTAIRE

Par Barry Eichengreen

Les monnaies numériques des banques centrales sonnent-elles le glas de la domination du dollar ?

BERKELEY - La période du 13 au 15 août marque le 50ème anniversaire du « weekend qui a changé la face du monde », lorsque le président américain Richard Nixon a suspendu la convertibilité du dollar en or à un prix fixe et mis un terme au système monétaire international de Bretton Woods. Le demi-siècle qui a suivi n'a pas été sans surprises. D'un point de vue monétaire, l'une des plus inattendues fut la domination continue du dollar comme véhicule des transactions transfrontalières.

Avec Bretton Woods, la suprématie du dollar était facile à expliquer. La situation financière de l'Amérique à l'issue de la Seconde Guerre mondiale était impénétrable. Les variations dans le prix auquel les dollars pouvaient être convertis en or étaient impensables, d'abord en raison de cette force financière, puis, lorsque la position monétaire du pays s'est affaiblie, en raison de la possibilité qu'une dévaluation crée les attentes d'une dévaluation à venir.

Bien des gens ont cru que la décision de Nixon allait nuire au rôle international du dollar. Cette devise étant aussi fluctuante que les autres, il serait trop risqué pour les banques, les entreprises et les gouvernements de tout miser sur le dollar. Ils ont donc dû se diversifier en détenant davantage de réserves et en effectuant davantage de transactions dans d'autres monnaies.

La raison pour laquelle cela ne s'est pas produit est à présent évidente. Le billet vert avait l'avantage d'être en place : le fait que ses clients et fournisseurs utilisaient également des dollars rendait difficile le passage à des monnaies alternatives. De plus, les alternatives étaient - et demeurent - peu attrayantes.

Quant à l'euro, il y a une pénurie d'obligations d'État libellées en euros notées AAA que les banques centrales peuvent détenir comme réserves. Ces autorités sont donc réticentes à laisser ceux qu'elles réglementent faire des affaires en euros, puisqu'elles ne peuvent prêter la monnaie aux banques et aux entreprises qui en ont besoin. Les contrôles de capitaux de la Chine compliquent l'utilisation internationale du renminbi, à l'heure où l'on craint à juste titre que le président chinois Xi Jinping ne change brusquement les règles d'accès. Les monnaies des économies plus petites n'ont quant à elles pas l'échelle nécessaire pour déplacer un grand volume de transactions transfrontalières.

Certains disent que l'émission de monnaies numériques de banque centrale, ou MNBC, va faire évoluer le statu quo. Dans ce meilleur des mondes numérique, toute monnaie nationale sera aussi facile à utiliser dans les paiements transfrontaliers que toute autre monnaie. Selon cet argument, ce phénomène va non seulement éroder la domination du dollar, mais également réduire considérablement les coûts de transaction.

En fait, la conclusion de cette argumentation n'est pas recevable. Imaginez que la Corée du Sud publie un MNBC « de détail » que des individus puissent détenir dans des portefeuilles numériques et utiliser dans des transactions. Un exportateur colombien de café vers la Corée du

Sud peut alors être payé en wons numériques, en supposant bien sûr que les non-résidents soient autorisés à télécharger un portefeuille coréen. Mais cet exportateur colombien aura toujours besoin de quelqu'un pour convertir ces wons en quelque chose de plus utile. Si cette personne est une banque correspondante avec des bureaux ou des comptes à New York, et si c'est le dollar, alors nous voilà de retour à notre point de départ.

Alternativement, les banques centrales colombiennes et sud-coréennes pourraient émettre des MNBC « de gros ». Les deux transfèreraient la monnaie numérique à des banques commerciales nationales, qui déposeraient cette monnaie sur des comptes clients. À présent, l'exportateur colombien se verrait attribuer un crédit dans une banque sud-coréenne plutôt que dans un portefeuille sud-coréen - en supposant cette fois que les non-résidents soient autorisés à avoir des comptes bancaires coréens. Mais à nouveau, l'exportateur doit demander à la banque sud-coréenne de trouver un correspondant pour convertir ce solde numérique en dollars puis en pesos afin d'avoir quelque chose d'utilisable.

La révolution serait que les MNBC soient interopérables. Le payeur sud-coréen demanderait alors à sa banque un certificat représentatif d'actions libellé en wons et un montant correspondant de MNBC dans le compte du payeur serait éteint. Ce certificat représentatif d'actions serait transféré dans un « couloir » international dédié où il pourrait être échangé contre un certificat représentatif d'actions en pesos au meilleur taux offert par les concessionnaires autorisés à y opérer. Enfin, le compte du bénéficiaire colombien serait crédité du nombre correspondant de pesos numériques, ce qui mettrait fin au certificat représentatif d'actions. Et voilà ! La transaction serait réalisée en temps réel à une fraction du coût actuel sans impliquer le dollar ni les banques correspondantes.

Malheureusement, les conditions pour réaliser une telle opération sont plus que contraignantes. Les deux banques centrales doivent s'entendre sur une architecture pour leur couloir numérique et gérer conjointement son fonctionnement. Elles doivent autoriser et réglementer les courtiers détenant des stocks de devises et des certificats représentatifs d'actions pour s'assurer que le taux de change à l'intérieur du couloir ne diverge pas de celui à l'extérieur. Et elles doivent s'entendre sur qui fournit des liquidités d'urgence, contre quel type de sûreté, en cas d'ordre imbalance préoccupant.

Dans un monde à 200 devises, des arrangements de ce type exigeraient 200 factoriel accords bilatéraux, ce qui est évidemment impossible. Et les couloirs de nombreux pays, bien que parfois imaginés, exigeraient des règles et des arrangements de gouvernance beaucoup plus élaborés que ceux de l'Organisation mondiale du commerce et du Fonds monétaire international. Cela n'a donc évidemment aucune chance de se produire.

Les MNBC arrivent. Mais elles ne vont pas changer les modalités des paiements internationaux. Et elles ne vont pas détrôner le dollar.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE

Developing Liberia is a National Emergency: Reasons for Underdevelopment of Liberia

By Hun-Bu Tulay/ntevoma@gmail.com

Liberia has remained underdeveloped even though she has vast natural resources (gold, diamonds, timbers, fertile soil for agriculture etc.). The country's leaders have for the better part of 174 years gone out begging for assistance. Our leaders have failed to maximize the potential we have of becoming a great nation. They wait instructions from power leaders and nations to tell them what is good. The country got political independence 174 years ago but yet she is an economic slave. She entered bigot concession agreements and gave the right of our resources to companies owned by former slave masters.

The former masters control the economy, hence dictate to politicians on what is good for their people. They make us believe that nothing good comes from Africa (foods, clothes, drinks, education etc.). These leaders spend over 50% of the national budgets to purchase foreign items thereby creating jobs in the former colonial masters' countries at detriment of theirs. The youths are poorly educated, the streets are poorly constructed, the hospitals are poorly managed and the youths go without jobs.

These leaders are satisfied with the situation in the country because they loot the resources and they have the funds to travel to foreign lands for good medical treatment, send their children to foreign countries for schools. In the words of Donald Trump African countries have become shithole countries. When Trump said this, they thwacked at him. This is what the late Kwame Nkrumah wrote about 52 years ago when he published the book "Neocolonialism and The Last Day of Imperialism". The late Dr. Nkrumah predicted what is happening today. Our leaders of today have faded memories. Many of them have mansions in foreign countries.

The country remains underdeveloped even after political independence over many years ago. Whenever one tunes his/her radio or television, he or she hears one of the poorest countries in Africa (Liberia second poorest in South Sahara Africa), and the most underdeveloped are also in Africa despite the numerous natural resources of some of these countries, and the most corrupt countries are in Africa. The 'WHY' of this phenomenon has jaded my little mind and I have tried to answer the question.

Unlike Liberia, some countries in Africa are developing much faster than others. I once asked a friend this question and he said to me that many people in Africa, particularly government officials who should champion development do not allocate resources for programs/infrastructural development. He further said in many Africa cities, if one travelled and returned twenty years later, he would not see any change in the neighborhood where he left after years of absence. To prove or disprove him, I visited Soniwein, a small community behind AME University on Camp Johnson Road, where I once lived 50 years ago, and realized my friend was right.

The purpose of this article is to share my answer to the question 'Why' Liberia continues to remain underdeveloped. The answer to the 'why' has always been under our noses and yet we cannot see it. We have been blinded for over 100 years. To answer the question, I first want to ask many of our political actors and even our intellectuals if they have seen and read a book titled "Small is Beautiful" by Ernst Frederick Shumacher, published in 1973. In this book, the author identified the greatest enemies of development. He identified these enemies as Envy and Greed. The author said that these two human vices, if systematically cultivated, the inevitable result is nothing less than the collapse in human intelligence.

Political actors driven by these human vices lose the power to see things as they really are. And if a nation is infested by these vices, the political actors become increasingly incapable of solving the nation's most elementary problems of everyday existence of the people. These vices make political actors live on ideas that conflict with the constitution and laws governing the country and the universe. Whenever a nation reaches this stage, conflict abounds, because the people will demand answers from their political leaders.

Hence it was not surprising to many people the events of 1979 Rice Riot, the 1980 Coup d'état, and the 1990 popular uprising that resulted in the killing of over 250,000 Liberians and the destruction of the very fabric of our society (health care, water and sanitation services, the energy sector, education, agriculture and basic infrastructures (roads and bridges).

When former masters realized that our leaders are covetous and greedy, they identified those leaders that are envious and greedy and used them to unseat progressive Leaders, who wanted and want to develop the country. The first Coup d'état in Liberia happened 150 years ago and it has continued. Even some of the civic crises and conflicts in Liberia are masterminded by the former masters for their interest.

Over the past 150 years, since the first military coup d'état many African countries have declined economically, socially, educationally and infrastructurally. However, some have bend back and are on course. For example, Ghana has recovered and has achieved her vision of 2020. In the case of Liberia, she has not. She has mortgaged her sea port, energy sector to the

former colonial masters. Just investigate, who are the individuals behind the ATM Terminal contract and the LEC Management Contract. In respect of infrastructure, before the military coup d'état, most of the road networks in Liberia were not paved, but even a sedan could be driven from Monrovia to Harper or Foyain under two days. Today, 41 years later, even 4x4 vehicles take more than a week to cover the distance to these cities. Things have gotten worse over the past sixteen years.

These two human vices give birth to egocentricity and corruption. I will address each of these for the reading public to understand.

1. Egocentricity

In many African countries the national budgets are drafted to give worth to political actors. Just review the salaries and wages of these actors. The employees/compensations are often 50% plus of the national budgets and the lion share goes to the members of the parliament, the presidents and the ministers. Some countries have approved national budgets between US\$500 to 600 million and employees' compensations are US\$296.0 million (56.22%). There are no budget lines for programs and as a result the educational, agriculture, health and infrastructure sectors are in deplorable condition. In some countries the conditions are so bad that you might want to send you 'dog' for treatment in the clinic or health center.

Even if the revenue envelope dropped from US\$600 million to US\$535 million these political actors do not adjust their salaries and wages, what is interesting is that they in fact increased the salaries and wages and sometimes introduced budget lines to get more money in their pockets. It is often the donor partners that raised the Red Flag and because they want the donor partners to support the budget, they complied to whatever is recommended by the partners. Some Finance and Economic Development ministers sometimes claimed a budget surplus. But nobody sees the impact because salaries of the government employees continue to be delayed in the wake of the surplus.

I do not know how many of our political actors have this book by Robert Klyosaki and Sharon Lechter "Rich Dad Poor Dad". In the book, the authors suggested that whenever a person's financial situation changes, he/she needs to adjust his/her expenditures. It is only men and women of greed that fail to do this.

Many of the political actors in Liberia believe that their country is a middle-income country. This notion is false. It is time to face the truth. Only a few countries in Africa are working toward becoming a middle-income country and Liberia is not one of those countries. The Sirleaf Administration developed Vision 2030 (Making Liberia a Middle-Income) Country by 2030). The projected cost of achieving this vision was estimated to be US\$5.0 billion. If we as a country had aligned our national budget on some of the activities instead of developing new goals and vision, we would be moving in the right direction. This is what Ghana did to all succeeding governments after Jerry Rawling for the 2020 vision plan. Today, she is 90% there. Until African Leaders begin to continue what their predecessors started, many countries will continue to be underdeveloped.

2. Corruption

Corruption has many definitions but for the purpose of this article, we will look at two definitions. **Corruption as defined by the World Bank as a form of dishonesty or criminal offense which is undertaken by a person or organization that is entrusted with a position of authority, in order to acquire illicit benefit or abuse power for one's private gain. Another definition is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. Both definitions apply to the abuse of power for private gain.**

In Liberia those who are entrusted to allocate the resources for the development often allocate those resources for private gains. For example, such budget lines, Presidential Projects and Legislative Engagement, as well as the Legislative projects. These funds go directly to them. They are thereby putting money in their pockets and making them wealthy. If funds are allocated to such projects, how much is left for government projects? Absolutely little or nothing. During the days of Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Tubman, Tolbert, Doe, Siaka Stevens etc., all the late presidents never allocated funds for presidential projects. This is new in Africa. This new act on the part of Political Leaders is not corruption but BROAD DAYLIGHT STEALING of the RESOURCES. Are the Legislators and the presidents of these countries beneficially? The answer is yes. Hence this is an act of corruption as by the World Bank's definition.

Corruption erodes trust, weakens democracy, hampers economic development and further exacerbates inequality, poverty, social division and environmental crisis. These budget lines put thousands of dollars in the pockets of these actors and no budget line for programs to uplift the ordinary citizens from poverty; hence, the citizens go to them begging for handouts. They become demigods/slave masters for the ordinary citizens.

These actors also allocate huge quantities of petroleum products to themselves. In some countries members of parliament/legislators allocate 500 gallons of petroleum products monthly (equivalent of US\$1,600.00). Some of them even said this quantity is small. In countries they received gifts to ratify concession agreements.

Example in 2006, the Legislators of Liberia received 103 pickup trucks from ArcelorMittal while this company's concession agreement was under review by these lawmakers. Immediately upon the receipt of the pickup trucks, the concession agreement was ratified under 48 hours. This is corruption. It is alleged that all 68 concession agreements entered into during Sirleaf's Administration, were embroidered with incentives for each ratification, and that is why sixty-six of the sixty-eight concession agreements did not meet international standards or best practices.

If those that have oversight are corrupted what hope is there a corrupt free government?

In the 1970s and 1980s corruption in the Legislature was not heard of. Maybe there was, but at low key. Corruption was mainly in the Executive Branch of the Government (Ministries and Autonomous Agencies). When the coup d'état occurred on April 12, 1980 in Liberia, the military leaders said they overthrew the Tolbert Government because of Rampant Corruption and Nepotism.

A year after the coup d'état, a United States Technical Advisor assigned to the Ministry of Finance wrote that during the Tolbert Administration the door of corruption was wide enough for a Volkswagen to drive through but under the Doe Administration it was wide for Helicopters to fly through. President Sirleaf labelled corruption as a Vampire. She once said "I did not give it to them, they took it"; reference to the benefits of the Legislators in the National budget. Under the Weah Administration, the corruption door is so wide that the largest Cruise Ship, the Harmony of the Sea can easily ship through. During the Doe Administration corruption was only rampant in the Executive; during the Sirleaf Administration corruption extended its tentacles in Legislature, and under the Weah Administration corruption has extended its tentacles in Judiciary for the first time in the history of Liberia. It is alleged that all three Branches of Government are deemed corrupt to the extent even the children can discern this national anomaly.

The Chief Justice of the country has confirmed that some judges are corrupt. But this same Chief Justice requested the United State Treasury Department to give names of judges that were bribed. With this assertion and confirmed revelation, this means the nation is in very serious trouble. The Chief Justice also failed to give the names of corrupt judges. Fundamentally, this admittance is enough to impeach

CON'D ON PG?

Port managers admit to stealing \$300k

By Bridgett Milton

Two suspended managers of the Port of Buchanan in Grand Bassa County have conceded to diverting port funds totaling over US\$300,000.00 to a private account.

Hence, the Management of the National Port Authority

conference here Wednesday, August 11, 2021 the Public Relations Manager of the NPA, Malcolm Scott said, the two suspects admitted to taken \$300k from the Government of Liberia.

According to Scott, suspended Manager Charles McArthur Gull admitted to

out dubious financial transactions outside of the Port's normal financial procedure.

Scott did not disclose name and title of the dubious or bogus account but said the suspects confessed to the opening of a ghost account where they deposited the amount without the knowledge and approval of the NPA management.

It is not known whether this is the only secret account opened by the suspects, who could financial crimes charges or they have transfers outside the country, but Scott said the NPA Management will not condone financial misgivings especially, in its effort to fight corruption, promote transparency and accountability.

He added that the LACC will take seize of the matter, going forward for further probe to bring the issue to a logical conclusion.

He said while the investigation is ongoing, the suspects remained suspended until further notice.

The National Port Authority of Liberia comprises the Freeport of Monrovia, the Port of Buchanan (Grand Bassa County), the Port of Greenville (Sinoe County) and the Port of Harper (Maryland County), respectively. - **Editing by Jonathan Browne**



MD of the Port of Buchanan Charles McArthur Gull

(NPA) has forwarded the Managing Director of the Port of Buchanan Charles McArthur Gull and his Chief Statistician Amara Kamara to the Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission (LACC) for investigation.

Addressing a news

investigators that he and his accomplices opened a secret account at their own discretion and deposited over 300 thousand United States Dollars.

He said the turnover of the two officials follows an internal investigation in which both Gull and Kamara admitted to carrying

House places moratorium on Bong County's account

By Joseph Titus Yekeryan
in Bong County

Members of the House of Representatives have voted in acceptance of a recommendation to place a moratorium on Bong County's account and further requested for an audit of the account.

Recommendations to place the moratorium and audit the county's account were made by some lawmakers in session on Tuesday, 10 August 2021.

The placement of the moratorium means there will be no withdrawals from the county's account until the ban is lifted.

The decision was reached following a letter from Bong County District #3 Representative Marvin Cole to invite Internal Affairs Minister Varney Sirleaf and the county's Superintendent Esther Walker to appear before Plenary and explain the alleged mismanagement of over \$80,000 USD from the



county's coffers.

During the appearance on Tuesday, Minister Sirleaf and Superintendent Walker denied financial malpractice and said they have been working in line with the law.

Minister Sirleaf said Rep. Cole has over the past had a close relationship with Bong County

Assistant Superintendent for Fiscal Affairs Paul Sulunteh who sometimes last year complained of being left out in financial decision making by the county despite being signatory A-1 to the county's account.

However, the lawmakers in session on Tuesday steadily

Liberia to experience

Cont'd from page 6

functions.

However, he said the government will make sure that with this new policy, it will help the IAA to discharge its function and the public will have access to government information to enhance fiscal transparency and mitigate corruption.

Meanwhile, Minister Tweah narrated that government has also developed another policy that will serve a clearing house and make sure that before any government money is disbursed to any government agency, it should be approved by the IAA clearing house.

He noted that it is intended to show financial transparency and anti-corruption fight before the Ministry of Finance can release any funding.

Additionally, Mr. Tweah pointed out that within the new policy, the IAA clearing team will also permit him to publish and announce any

money that the Minister of Finance is paying or paid to any government institution.

He said document will no longer be a problem to fight corruption in projection with fiscal transparency because they have developed the electronic management system for liberal and it will help everyone have information to government activities and expenditures.

Minister Tweah said government is contemplating how to increase domestic resource to one billion United States dollars, and that process will be achieved shortly because the Liberia Revenue Authority is working on things to give the government increment in domestic revenue generation.

He boasted that the government's effort to enhance domestic revenue is better than the past.--**Edited by Winston W. Parley**

NTA employees vow

Cont'd from page 6

calling for his dismissal.

"We will continue this strike action until the President remove him, and failure on the part of President Weah to dismiss this guy, we will revenge our anger to the ballot box come 2023".

The further explained most of the entity's fleet of over 50 buses are grounded because of minor problems, including lack of fuel.

The employees' threat to revenge thru the ballot box against the governing Coalition for Democratic Change is the second here, after aggrieved marketers in Red Light, Paynesville and Duala on Bushrod Island accused the government through the Monrovia City police of destroying their market stalls, leaving them with no option but to similarly revenge at the ballot box.

However, Managing director Macauley responding after he was called in for questioning by the Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission or LACC recently, regretted strike actions by aggrieved workers and apologized for the incident which paralyzed normal operations of the public transportation service across the country. The situation also left thousands of

citizens stranded.

Mr. Macauley admitted to "issues" being at the entity but disclosed that the management team has been striving to address those issues.

According to him, the management of the NTA has agreed to address additional issues raised by the aggrieved employees and contractors in keeping with a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) they signed.

He pointed out that safety gears for employees and contractors have been immediately provided, and added that each employee and contractor received a bag of rice and one month's salary during the Independence Day celebration on July 26.

Macauley vowed to continue to work with employees and contractors at the NTA in a bid to address issues confronting them and the institution to guarantee productivity, efficiency and effectiveness.

But from all indication, it seems the managing director has failed to meet up with promises he made to the aggrieved workers and contractors something, that is responsible for their continue strike actions against the managing director. **Editing by Jonathan Browne**

voted to audit the account of the county from the period of 2018 to 2021.

During a headcount vote, 24 lawmakers voted for the audit to be conducted while four voted against the decision.

All the Representatives

from Bong County were present besides the Caucus' Chair and District #7 Representative Joseph Papa Kolleh.

The audit could be conducted within two months and findings will be taken back to the Plenary of the House of Representatives.

Liberia to experience fiscal monetary transparency

--Minister Tweah Discloses



Minister Samuel D. Tweah Jr.

Liberia's Finance Minister Samuel D. Tweah Jr., says the Government of Liberia is beginning a new framework policy for the next budget year in January with more robust effort to tackle fiscal financial monetary transparency and corruption mitigation here.

Addressing scores of Liberians at the Center for the Exchange of Intellectual Opinion (CEIO) Wednesday, 11 August 2021 on Carey Street, Mr. Tweah said government in consultation with the Internal Audit Agency of Liberia has drafted a framework policy, disclosing plans for publication of government expenditure and activities on the Ministry's website for public consumptions.

According to him, over the past years government has not been able to provide update to the public through the Minister of Finance's website to show government agencies and institutions which have received money and for what purpose.

The Minister disclosed that the Public Financial Management Law of Liberia is reactive, instead of looking forward, adding that the law is always coming after the expenditure of public money which he thinks is against the law.

He argued that the the Internal Audit Agency (IAA) is supposed to ensure that government money is used for the intended purpose, but it has been weak over the past time in the discharge of its

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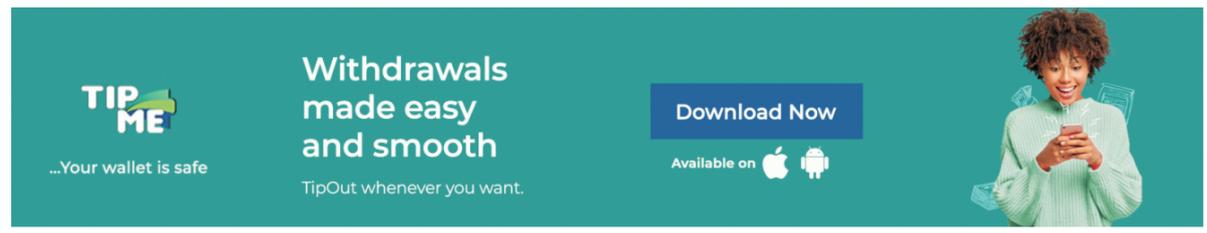


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