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CENTRAL BANK OF LIBERIA
MARKET BUYING AND SELLING RATES
LIBERIAN DOLLARS PER US DOLLAR

| DATE | BUYING | SELLING |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| MONDAY, MARCH 14, 2022 | L\$152.8804 /US\$1.00 | L\$154.5870US\$1.00 |

These are indicative rates based on results of daily surveys of foreign exchange market in Monrovia and selected cities of Liberia. These rates are collected from the Central bank, commercial banks, parallel market and the license forex bureaux. The rates are not set by the Central Bank of Liberia.
Source: Research, Policy and Planning Department, CBL.

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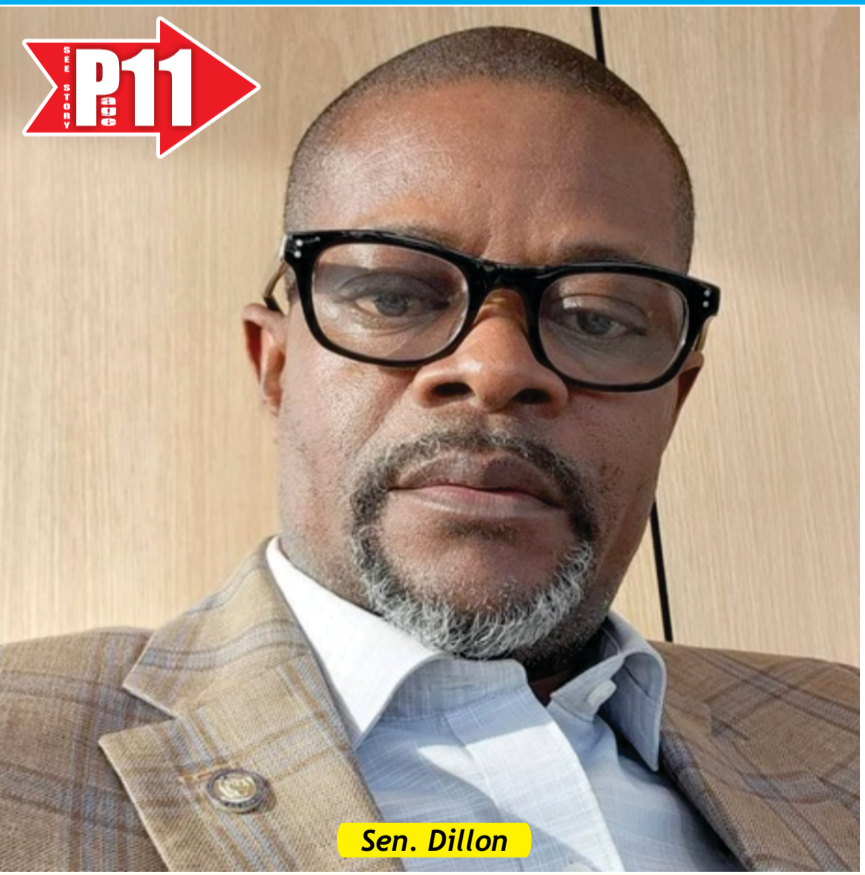
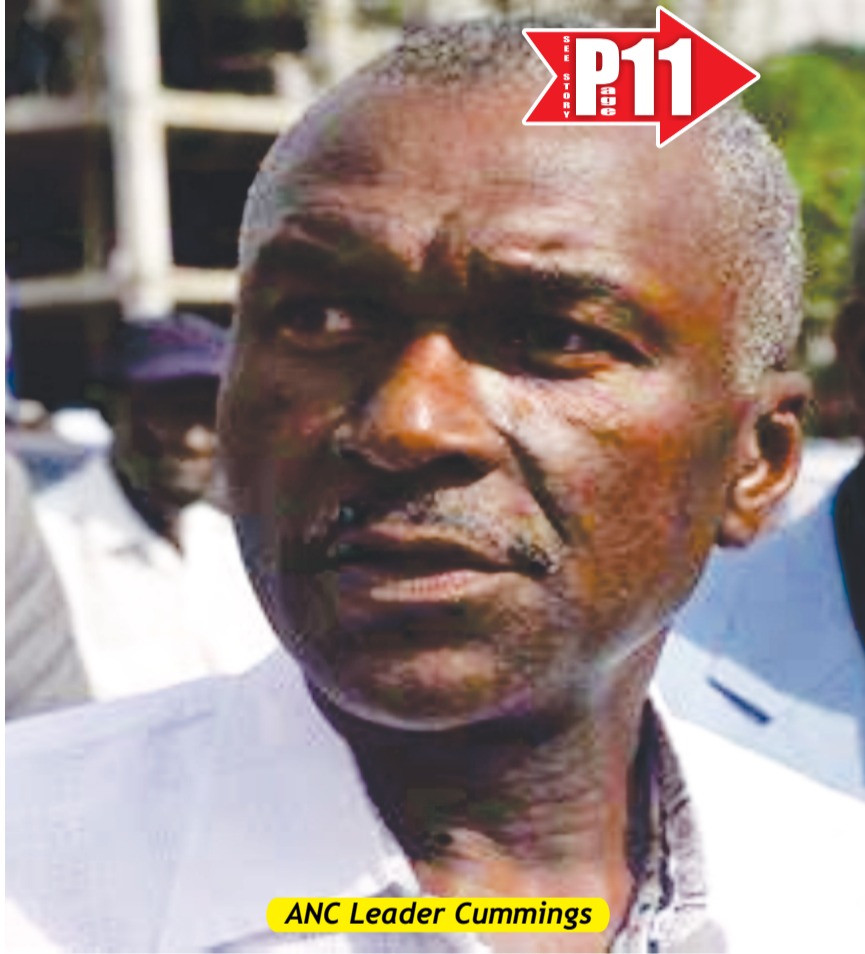
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Cummings free to travel

-Court says



LP replaces Dillon, others

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Lonestar Cell | **MTN**



Continental News

South African Aid Organization Helping Ukraine

Div Venter is a South African man whose wife, Natalia, is Ukrainian. Natalia was in Ukraine when the Russian invasion began and has refused to leave, staying to care for her family and to help those needing medicine and food. But as Russia's invading forces close in, the situation for Natalia is quickly worsening.

Natalia fled the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, after the first Russian bombs fell in the city. She is now in a small village in the southwest portion of the

country. But on Thursday night, there were attacks just 60 kilometers from her location.

Div asked her to describe to VOA what is happening in Ukraine. She sent this WhatsApp voice note: "What can I say about situation in Ukraine? This is not even like in hell. This is something like Armageddon. A lot of children died already, a lot of women died already. A lot of men died. A lot of city bombed already. A lot of city completely destroyed. Some small village absolutely does not have water, does not have electricity. The Russian military take away

people's cell phone which live in small village. People really suffer. People does not have food. It's like completely, different, horrible life. You know. You don't know what will happen tomorrow."

Div, 48, who owns a small roofing company, met Natalia, 46, through friends in 2019. They married the following year. Due to COVID-19, there were delays with processing her spousal visa in South Africa, so the two are apart.

After Natalia fled Kyiv, Div put money into her bank account and she bought essential supplies for those in need, but she wanted to do more.

"You know, Natalia called me last week Friday to say: 'Div, you know what, my people need help. My people need support. What can we do to help my people here? I have to keep myself busy. I cannot just sit and watch how everything goes to shambles here.' And I said to her: 'You know what, my love, I think that is a very good idea. Let me see what I can do from my side,'" Div told VOA.

He immediately thought of Gift of the Givers, which has

been doing disaster relief work for 29 years. In that time, the group has raised over \$266 million in aid.

According to the organization's founder, Imtiaz Sooliman, that money has been donated mainly by South African citizens.

Sooliman said that after Div asked the group to get involved, Gift of the Givers has been giving money and building a network in Ukraine.

"Stuff being bought is food items, socks, jackets, warm clothes, sanitary pads, diapers, medicines for individual patients wherever they can source it," Sooliman said. "So, I said, can't we replicate this process somewhere else? And then they started doing it in Kyiv and then they did it in Kharkiv and they brought in a fourth area — it's [along] the

Belarus border — and all these areas are circled by Russian troops. We send money, find a shop, see what people need, buy the goods and start distributing, and that process is working very, very well."

He said they're now getting requests from all over Ukraine, which he's asking Div and Natalia to sort through.

But why doesn't Natalia cross the border and seek refuge?

"Let's see what will happen in the next day or two," Div said in response to the question. "You know, if it will become too life-threatening, I'm sure that she will leave. I hope that she will leave. I said to her from the beginning, 'Please, Nata, just come back.' But I understand. She is very worried about her grandson."

Natalia's parents, son and grandson are all in Ukraine. VOA



An explosion is seen in an apartment building after a Russian army tank fires in Mariupol, Ukraine

Malian Army Accused of Killing Mauritanian Citizens

A Malian delegation is expected in Mauritania's capital Friday to discuss the alleged disappearance of several Mauritanians on Malian territory.

The delegation is scheduled to arrive in Nouakchott after the Mauritanian government accused Mali of "criminal acts" against Mauritanians on Malian territory.

According to a French news agency report, a Mauritanian member of parliament, Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Henenna, says at least 15 of his countrymen have been killed in Mali. Social media posts have accused the Malian army of being responsible for the killings.

In a March 9 press release, Mali's military government said its ambassador to Mauritania was summoned to

a meeting with Mauritania's foreign affairs minister over the alleged "assassination of Mauritanian citizens" in Mali. The release denied the Malian army is responsible for the killings and pledged to investigate the crimes.

Malian officials visited Mauritania in January to strengthen the relationship between the two countries after

the West African bloc ECOWAS imposed sanctions on Mali, in response to the military government delaying elections.

Mauritania is not a member of ECOWAS and does not support the sanctions. The West African country, along with Guinea, remains one of the only ways Mali can have access to a port and



Malian soldiers are seen during a patrol in Dansongo Circle, Mali

Former Zambian President Banda dies at 85



Rupiah Banda became Zambia's fourth president in 2008

Rupiah Banda, who was Zambia's president from 2008 to 2011, has died at the age of 85 after suffering from colon cancer.

"His life of service to our country, and to our continent, represents the highest form of patriotism," President Hakainde Hichilema said.

Mr Banda, a former diplomat, was serving as vice-president when, in 2008, President Levy Mwanawasa suffered a stroke and later died. He then took office, becoming the country's fourth

president, and won the subsequent election.

But he stepped down in 2011 after losing that year's poll to Michael Sata. Mr Banda was widely praised at the time for accepting defeat, rather than challenging the result.

His time in office was dogged by corruption allegations and in 2013 he was arrested after being accused of stealing millions of dollars.

He denied the accusations, describing them as being part of a witch hunt, and was never convicted.

international trade.

The Malian army has also been accused of "disappearing"

several Fulani men in Mali's Segou region, with the U.N. and Human Rights Watch conducting investigations. VOA

EDITORIAL

Bracing for a rude awakening

LIBERIA SITS ON a timebomb that is poised to wreck the future of this nation, if concerted actions are not taken now. The issue of drug trafficking and substance abuse risk denying this country and its people of a reliable future, as thousands of youths in communities across this nation are hooked to dangerous drugs.

THE CURRENT HEAD of the Angie Brooks International Center and former foreign minister Olubanke King-Akerele has urged the Government of Liberia to “stop the ridiculous talk” and take concrete action to end trafficking of dangerous narcotics into the country and substances abuse that are ruining the youths.

SHE NOTES THAT some big hands are behind the sale of illicit drugs in Liberia and young people are being targeted as clients. Liberia is being used as transit center for trafficking of illicit substances to other parts of the world.

IN 2021, A female security officer who suspected a lawmaker of carrying dangerous drugs in his car, was intimidated, harassed and threatened into silence after she appeared before the House of Representatives to testify. She coerced to revert her statement that a member of that august body was caught in the traffic transporting drugs.

ALSO LAST YEAR, the hands of the Liberia Drug Enforcement Agency (LDEA) was caught in the cookies’ jar in Grand Kru County when several LDEA officers confiscated a consignment of dangerous drugs from a woman and repackaged the substances for sale.

FORMER MINISTER KING-Akerele, who spoke at celebration of International Women Day on Tuesday, March 8, 2022 further lamented that women are involved in the sale of drugs to young people in communities, robbing them of their future potential.

THAT WOMEN AND mothers would take pleasure in selling illicit substances to children, some as old as 13, 14 and 15 is not juts disappointing, but quite frustrating. These are heartless women, whose action can be equated to nothing else but murder.

THEY LEAVE THEIR victims useless and sometimes lifeless, after leading them to addiction thru substance abuse. A major social crisis looms over this nation if sustainable programs are not put in place to fight drug and substance abuse

LIBERIA RISKS LOSING her next generation of men and women to drug abuse. It is unbelievable that substances are also sold even on school campuses!

WE MUST JOIN hands to act now: parents, community and religious leaders, school authorities and government to avert a looming social calamity and save the next generation of Liberians from self-destruction.

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COMMENTARY

By Daron Acemoglu

Why Nation-Building Failed in Afghanistan

STANBUL - The United States invaded Afghanistan 20 years ago with the hope of rebuilding a country that had become a scourge to the world and its own people. As General Stanley McChrystal explained in the run-up to the 2009 surge of US troops, the objective was that the “government of Afghanistan sufficiently control its territory to support regional stability and prevent its use for international terrorism.”

Now, with more than 100,000 lives lost and some \$2 trillion spent, all America has to show for its effort are this month’s scenes of a desperate scramble out of the country - a humiliating collapse reminiscent of the fall of Saigon in 1975. What went wrong?

Pretty much everything, but not in the way that most people think. While poor planning and a lack of accurate intelligence certainly contributed to the disaster, the problem has in fact been 20 years in the making.

The US understood early on that the only way to create a stable country with some semblance of law and order was to establish robust state institutions. Encouraged by many experts and now-defunct theories, the US military framed this challenge as an engineering problem: Afghanistan lacked state institutions, a functioning security force, courts, and knowledgeable bureaucrats, so the solution was to pour in resources and transfer expertise from foreigners. NGOs and the broader Western foreign-aid complex were there to help in their own way (whether the locals wanted them to or not). And because their work required some degree of stability, foreign soldiers - mainly NATO forces, but also private contractors - were deployed to maintain security.

In viewing nation-building as a top-down, “state-first” process, US policymakers were following a venerable tradition in political science. The assumption is that if you can establish overwhelming military dominance over a territory and subdue all other sources of power, you can then impose your will. Yet in most places, this theory is only half right, at best; and in Afghanistan, it was dead wrong.

Of course, Afghanistan needed a functioning state. But the presumption that one could be imposed from above by foreign forces was misplaced. As James Robinson and I argue in our 2019 book, *The Narrow Corridor*, this approach makes no sense when your starting point is a deeply heterogeneous society organized around local customs and norms, where state institutions have long been absent or impaired.

True, the top-down approach to state-building has worked in some cases (such as the Qin dynasty in China or the Ottoman Empire). But most states have been constructed not by force but by compromise and cooperation. The successful centralization of power under state institutions more commonly involves the assent and cooperation of the people subject to it. In this model, the state is not imposed on a society against its wishes; rather, state institutions build legitimacy by securing a modicum of popular support.

This does not mean that the US should have worked with the Taliban. But it does mean that it should have worked more closely with different local groups, rather than pouring resources into

the corrupt, non-representative regime of Afghanistan’s first post-Taliban president, Hamid Karzai (and his brothers). Ashraf Ghani, the US-backed Afghan president who fled to the United Arab Emirates this week, co-authored a book in 2009 documenting how this strategy had fueled corruption and failed to achieve its stated purpose. Once in power, however, Ghani continued down the same road.

The situation that the US confronted in Afghanistan was even worse than is typical for aspiring nation builders. From the very beginning, the Afghan population perceived the US presence as a foreign operation intended to weaken their society. That was not a bargain they wanted.

What happens when top-down state-building efforts are proceeding against a society’s wishes? In many places, the only attractive option is to withdraw. Sometimes, this takes the form of a physical exodus, as James C. Scott shows in *The Art of Not Being Governed*, his study of the Zomia people in Southeast Asia. Or it could mean cohabitation without cooperation, as in the case of Scots in Britain or Catalans in Spain. But in a fiercely independent, well-armed society with a long tradition of blood feuds and a recent history of civil war, the more likely response is violent conflict.

Perhaps things could have turned out differently if Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence agency had not supported the Taliban when it was militarily defeated, if NATO drone attacks had not further alienated the population, and if US-backed Afghan elites had not been extravagantly corrupt. But the cards were stacked against America’s state-first strategy.

And the fact is, US leaders should have known better. As Melissa Dell and Pablo Querubin document, America adopted a similar top-down strategy in Vietnam, and it backfired spectacularly. Places that were bombed to subdue the Viet Cong became even more supportive of the anti-American insurgency.

Even more telling is the US military’s own recent experience in Iraq. As research by Eli Berman, Jacob Shapiro, and Joseph Felter shows, the “surge” there worked much better when Americans tried to win hearts and minds by cultivating the support of local groups. Similarly, my own work with Ali Cheema, Asim Khwaja, and James Robinson finds that in rural Pakistan, people turn to non-state actors precisely when they think state institutions are ineffective and foreign to them.

None of this means that the withdrawal could not have been managed better. But after 20 years of misguided efforts, the US was destined to fail in its twin objectives of withdrawing from Afghanistan and leaving behind a stable, law-based society.

The result is an immense human tragedy. Even if the Taliban do not revert to their worst practices, Afghan men and especially women will pay a high price for America’s failures in the years and decades ahead.

Daron Acemoglu, Professor of Economics at MIT, is co-author (with James A. Robinson) of Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty and The Narrow Corridor: States, Societies, and the Fate of Liberty.

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O-PED

By George Soros

Vladimir Putin and the Risk of World War III

SAN FRANCISCO - Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24 was the beginning of a third world war that has the potential to destroy our civilization. The invasion was preceded by a long meeting between Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Xi Jinping on February 4 - the beginning of the Chinese Lunar New Year celebrations and the Beijing Winter Olympic Games. At the end of that meeting, the two men released a 5,000-word, carefully drafted document announcing a close partnership between their two countries. The document is stronger than any treaty and must have required detailed negotiations in advance.

I was surprised that Xi appeared to have given Putin carte blanche to invade and wage war against Ukraine. He must be very confident that his confirmation as China's ruler for life later this year will be a mere formality. Having concentrated all power in his own hands, Xi has carefully scripted the scenario by which he will be elevated to the level of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping.

Having obtained Xi's backing, Putin set about realizing his life's dream with incredible brutality. Approaching the age of 70, Putin feels that if he is going to make his mark on Russian history, it is now or never. But his concept of Russia's role in the world is warped. He seems to believe that the Russian people need a Czar whom they can follow blindly. That is the direct opposite of a democratic society, and it is a vision that distorts the Russian "soul," which is emotional to the point of sentimentality.

As a child, I had many encounters with Russian soldiers when they occupied Hungary in 1945. I learned that they would share their last piece of bread with you if you appealed to them. Later, at the beginning of the 1980s, I embarked on what I call my political philanthropy.

First, I set up a foundation in my native Hungary, and then I actively participated in the disintegration of the Soviet empire. When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, the disintegration had already begun. I set up a foundation in Russia, and then did the same in each of the successor states. In Ukraine, I established a foundation even before it became an independent country. I also visited China in 1984, where I was the first foreigner allowed to set up a foundation (which I closed in 1989, just before the Tiananmen Square massacre).

I don't know Putin personally, but I have watched his rise very closely, aware of his ruthlessness. He reduced the capital of Chechnya, Grozny, to rubble, just as he is currently threatening to do to the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

Putin used to be a canny KGB operator, but he seems to have changed recently. Having developed an *idée fixe*, he appears to have lost touch with reality. He certainly misjudged the situation in Ukraine. He expected Russian-speaking Ukrainians to welcome Russian soldiers with open arms, but they turned out to be no different from the Ukrainian-speaking population. Ukrainians have put up an incredibly brave resistance against seemingly overwhelming odds.

In July 2021, Putin published a long essay arguing that Russians and Ukrainians are really one people, and that the Ukrainians have been misled by neo-Nazi agitators. The first part of his argument is not without some historical justification, given that Kyiv was the original seat of the Russian Orthodox Church. But in the second part, it was Putin who was misled. He ought to have known better. Many Ukrainians fought valiantly during the Euromaidan protests in 2014.

The events of 2014 made him very angry. But the Russian army performed poorly when it was ordered to attack its Ukrainian brothers. Ingrained corruption in the awarding of defense contracts also has played an important role in its underperformance. Yet rather than blaming himself, Putin seems to have gone literally mad. He has decided to punish Ukraine for standing up to him, and he appears to be acting without any constraint. He is throwing the entire Russian army into the battle and ignoring all the rules of war, not least by indiscriminately bombing the civilian population. Many hospitals have been hit, and the electrical grid supplying the Chernobyl nuclear power plant (currently occupied by Russian troops) has been damaged. In besieged Mariupol, 400,000 people have been without water and food for nearly a week.

Russia may well lose the war. The United States and the European Union are both sending defensive weapons to Ukraine, and there are efforts to buy Russian-made MIG fighters that Ukrainian pilots know how to fly. These could make all the difference. Regardless of the outcome, Putin has already worked wonders when it comes to strengthening the EU's resolve and unity.

Meanwhile, Xi seems to have realized that Putin has gone rogue. On March 8, one day after Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi had insisted that the friendship between China and Russia remained "rock solid," Xi called French President Emmanuel Macron and German Chancellor Olaf Scholz to say that he supported their peacemaking efforts. He wanted maximum restraint in the war in order to avert a humanitarian crisis.

It is far from certain that Putin will accede to Xi's wishes. We can only hope that Putin and Xi will be removed from power before they can destroy our civilization.

George Soros, Founder and Chair of the Open Society Foundations, is the author, most recently, of In Defense of Open Society (Public Affairs, 2019).

OPINION

By Jayati Ghosh

Putin's War Is Damaging the Developing World

NEW DELHI - It is difficult to see any winners in the ongoing war caused by Russia's irrational and devastating invasion of Ukraine. But the losers extend far beyond the people of Ukraine, who are being attacked, and the people of Russia, who did not choose this war but now must endure an economy being dismantled by trade and financial sanctions. The economic impact of the conflict will be felt around the world, including in many developing countries that are already struggling to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic.

One immediate concern is the effect of rising oil prices. The price of benchmark Brent crude recently jumped by 20% to more than \$139 per barrel, its highest level since 2008 - probably in response to news that the United States and its European allies were discussing a possible ban on imports of Russian oil, which had so far been exempt from Western sanctions. (On March 8, the US announced a ban on imports of Russian energy products, while the United Kingdom pledged to phase out imports of Russian oil and oil products by the end of 2022.)

But global energy prices had already been soaring, following a period of dramatic volatility during the pandemic. The price of Brent crude, which had fallen to as low as \$9 per barrel in April 2020 at the height of the pandemic's first wave, rose above \$90 per barrel in January 2022. Since then, the Ukraine war has put further upward pressure on oil and gas prices.

Western media have focused on the impact of rising energy prices in Europe, which relies heavily on natural gas imports from Russia. But most of the world's oil and gas importers are much poorer. Many of these countries were unable to mount fiscal responses to the pandemic on the scale of those in the US and other advanced economies, and have since experienced much weaker recoveries in output and employment. This latest oil-price spike is a blow they can ill afford, as it is likely to generate balance-of-payments problems and domestic inflationary pressures that will be tough to combat in the current uncertain context.

Of course, the additional inflationary pressures from the Ukraine war are also complicating the challenge that policymakers in rich Western economies face in tackling rising prices without causing a hard economic landing. Oil is a universal intermediary good, which influences the costs of commodities and services, as well as transport costs, in multiple ways.

Oil-price increases can thus be a significant driver of cost-push inflation even at the best of times. But inflation in rich countries was already at levels they had almost forgotten. Policymakers also appear to consider only the most simplistic weapons against inflation, like raising interest rates and tightening liquidity, which do little to address cost-push pressure and could cause a real economic downturn.

But the challenges are greater still in the developing world, leaving policymakers with even less wiggle room. The dramatic recent increase in oil prices obviously affects oil-importing countries directly, and will feed into all other prices through rising input and transport costs.

The tragedy playing out in Ukraine is also increasing global food prices, creating even more pain in developing countries where hunger had already increased dramatically during the pandemic. Before the war, Ukraine was the world's fifth-largest wheat exporter, and also a major exporter of barley, corn, rapeseed, and sunflower oil. The prices of these commodities in global trade have risen significantly, adding to recent increases in crop prices generally.

Now there is a further danger: Financial investors who had been betting on speculative asset markets will need to find other places to park their money, and food futures could emerge as a favored destination. In the first five days of March, the price of wheat futures at the Chicago Board of Trade increased by 40%, putting it on track for its largest weekly increase since 1959.

Crop production in developing countries could also be hit by fertilizer shortages. Russia, the world's largest wheat exporter, is also a major fertilizer producer, and disruptions to these exports will push global food prices even higher.

We previously saw parts of this movie in otherwise peaceful times, just before the global financial crisis, and it was a dark and depressing story even then. The food crisis that resulted from financial-market speculation in 2007-08 led to massive increases in hunger and devastated the lives of hundreds of millions of people in developing countries. That crisis occurred even though global supply and demand of food items did not change much. But now, with real reductions in global food supply almost inevitable, the price rises could be greater and longer-lasting. If speculative pressure increases, already fragile economies will be damaged even more.

It may not be surprising that the G7 (whose recent track record as a self-appointed leader of the global economy is hardly distinguished) is not expressing much concern about these real and pressing dangers. But multilateral organizations surely need to step up in this time of crisis, at the very least by providing compensatory financing to help the developing world cope with multiple price shocks, and suggesting and enabling regulations to prevent speculation in essential markets.

Without such efforts, Russia's war against Ukraine will wreak much more damage on the global economy - and poorer countries will be among the hardest hit.

Jayati Ghosh, Executive Secretary of International Development Economics Associates, is Professor of Economics at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and a member of the Independent Commission for the Reform of International Corporate Taxation.



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INVITATION FOR BID

The Government of Liberia through the National Elections Commission (NEC) has applied for fund from the National Budget of the Government of Liberia and intends to apply part of it to fund eligible payments for the below listed contract packages.

The Contract packages in question are:

| NO. | CODE | DESCRIPTION | Quantity | Time of Bid submission | Bid Opening Date, Time & Place |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|----------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | IFB No. NEC/LSBE/ NCB/003/2022 | Prepacked Election Materials | Assorted | Monday, March 21, 2022, at 10:00am | Monday, March 21, 2022 @ 10am, NEC Conference Room |
| 2. | IFB No. NEC/LSBE/ NCB/005/2022 | Data Center Processing Accessories & Software | Assorted | Monday, March 21, 2022, at 12:00pm | Monday, March 21, 2022 @ 12pm, NEC Conference Room |
| 3. | IFB No. NEC/LSBE/ NCB/004/2022 | Spare parts & Lubricants-Vehicles | Assorted | Monday, March 21, 2022, at 2:00pm | Monday, March 21, 2022 @ 2pm, NEC Conference Room |
| 4. | IFB No. NEC/LSBE/ NCB/002/2022 | Replacement Materials (Voter Card) | Assorted | Monday, March 21, 2022, at 3:00pm | Monday, March 21, 2022 @ 3:00pm, NEC Conference Room |
| 5. | IFB No. NEC/LSBE/ NCB/003/2022 | Printing and Binding of Elections materials | Assorted | Tuesday, March 22, 2022, at 10:00am | Tuesday, March 22, 2022 @ 10am, NEC Conference Room |
| 6. | IFB No. NEC/LSBE/ NEC/001/2022 | Election Stationery | Assorted | Tuesday, March 22, 2022, at 12:00pm | Tuesday, March 22, 2022 @ 12:00pm, NEC Conference Room |
| 7. | IFB No. NEC/SBA/LSBE/ NCB/002/2022 | Vehicles Rental & Lease | 19 pcs | Tuesday, March 22, 2022, at 2:00pm | Tuesday, March 22, 2022 @ 2:00pm, NEC Conference Room |

The NEC now invites sealed bids from eligible and qualified bidders for the above listed.

Bidding will be conducted through the National Competitive Bidding (NCB) procedure specified in the PPC Act and is open to all bidders.

Interested eligible bidders may obtain further information from the address below from 9:30am to 4:30pm, Monday to Friday:

THE DIRECTOR OF PROCUREMENT

Ground FLOOR, ROOM 73

National Elections Commission

9th / 10th Streets Sinkor

1000 MONROVIA 10, LIBERIA

MOBILE NUMBER: +231-777-540-212

A complete set of bidding documents in English may be purchased by interested Bidders through payment of a nonrefundable fee of Thirty United States Dollars (US\$30.00) for each set.

Qualifications requirements include the follow:

- ❖ CURRENT BUSINESS REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE
- ❖ CURRENT TAX CLEARANCE
- ❖ PAST PERFORMANCE HISTORY WITH AT LEAST THREE (3) REFERENCES
- ❖ AUDITED FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR ATLEAST ONE (1) OF THE LAST TWO YEARS.
- ❖ AVAILABILITY OF SUPPLY AT ALL TIME
- ❖ CAPACITY TO DO AT LEAST (30) THIRTY DAYS PRE-FINANCE OF SUPPLY

Submissions must be clearly marked, signed and sealed in an envelope, including other requested information.

Bids must be submitted at the NEC Procurement Unit located at the Ground Floor of the main NEC building on the date and time indicated above. Bids will be opened in the presence of bidder's representatives or those who choose to attend.

The National Elections Commission reserves the right to reject or accept any bid submitted and to annul the process at any time without incurring any liability and without assigning any reason thereof.

Signed: _____

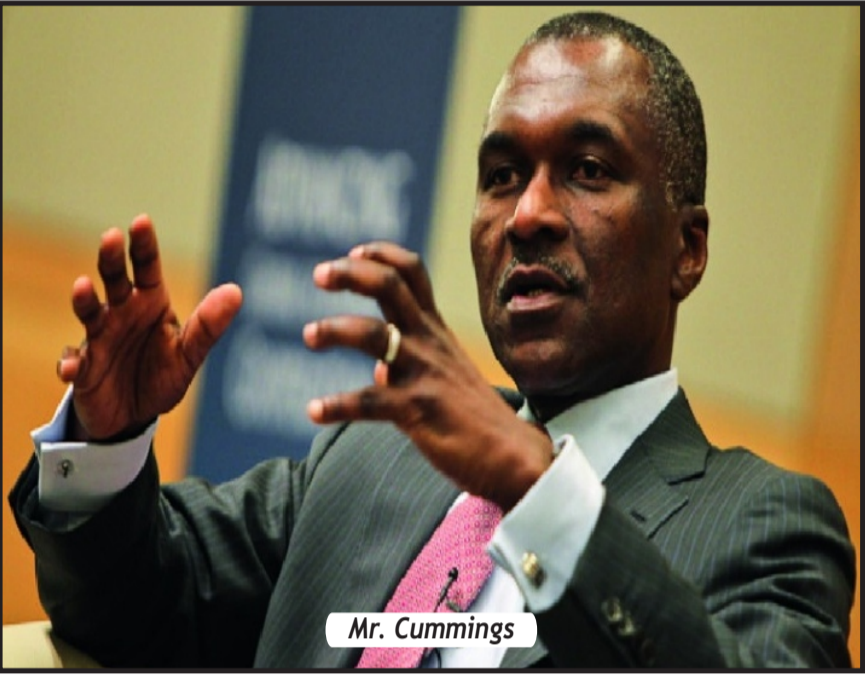
National Elections Commission

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

ANC Political Leader reassures Liberians

The Alternative National Congress (ANC) Political Leader, Alexander B. Cummings has reassured Liberians of genuine real change in the country's direction and the living



Mr. Cummings

face of adversities and stand firm and steadfast with all who are right. He said to change the direction of Liberia and improve the living conditions of the people, it will required personal and other sacrifices, as well as

change, "conditions may change, alliances may break and partnerships may fall apart, but with focus and commitment fixed on change," the ANC remained confident it will win for the Liberian people, he said.

Mr. Cummings said before embarking on the journey to earn the trust to serve and lead Liberia, he was mindful that the road would be long and bumpy with twists and turns and would be maligned and conspired against by opponents and friends.

The ANC Political Leader said he had forewarned that if the Collaborating Political Parties (CPP) didn't make it to 2023, it shouldn't dash the hope and strong desires of Liberians for change, it was not long, he said, the Unity Party followed the All Liberian Party to announce their withdrawal from the CPP.

Mr. Cummings said the collapsed of the CPP, has not altered Liberia's need for real and genuine change.

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Vote against every warlord in 2023

-Clergy urges Liberians

By Lewis S. Teh

Ahead of Liberia's 2023 presidential and legislative elections, a clergy and civil society leader has called on Liberians to vote against all those who led the civil war that wrecked the country for 14 years and also continue to abuse power.

Speaking recently in Sinkor during the launch of the series of the untold story of the Liberian Civil War, Rev. Dr. Tolbert Jallah, Acting National Chairperson of the Alliance for Transitional Justice in Liberia (ATJL), demanded full implementation of the 2009 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Report.

"Today as we launch the untold story of [the] Liberian civil war, I'm urging every citizen to vote against those that led [the] war and continue to abuse power," said Rev. Jallah.

A number of known warlords have been elected in past elections despite voters being cautioned here repeatedly. There are fears that the presence of ex-fighters in elected positions may strengthen their resolve to abscond justice.

The first Liberian civil war which occurred as a result of rebels' invasion in 1989,

claimed about 200,000 people and eventually led to brokering of peace by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the United Nations, but that peace was short-lived, and another round of hostilities broke out in 1999.

According to Rev. Jallah, ATJL had gathered to provoke and call the attention of national and international actors for the full implementation of the 2009 Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, saying he stands against anything contrary to that.

"We call on you citizens of this country to reject those who have violated human rights and

walking in the helm of power to vote against them in 2023," he said.

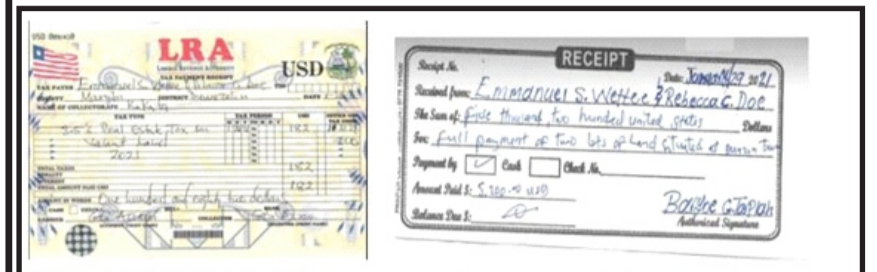
"I personally on behalf of the technical advisory working group of the alliance will vote against anyone who has committed atrocities in this country and abused power. And I therefore challenge you to do likewise to those who abuse you. Vote against them come 2023," he pleaded with Liberians.

"Don't reward them with power because when you continue to do so they will continue to be law breakers, they will be immune and they will abuse their power," Rev. Jallah added.

He called on Liberians to reject the 'evil forces' at the



Diaspora Liberian Group's Eminent Chairman Duped in Double Land Sale in Duazon



Eminent Wettee with Mr. Baryoe G. Tarplah, LRA receipt, land payment receipt and work on the land

Monrovia - The Eminent Chairman of the All-Liberian Conference on Dual Citizenship (ALCOD), Emmanuel S. Wettee, who have invested more than a decade advocating for dual citizenship for natural born Liberians and those born of Liberian parentage and two decades traveling the world encouraging diaspora Liberians to return and invest in Liberia, has been duped in land sale in Duazon, Lower Margibi County.

Eminent Wettee is now a victim of rampant double land selling to more than one person in Liberia by same family members, relatives, or friends.

Eminent Wettee purchased two lots in 2021, in Duazon, Lower Margibi County, paying US\$5,200 to one Mr. Baryoe G. Tarplah and after investing more than US\$5,000 on the land

to start the process of building his foundation, one Bishop Frank Harris, a Nigerian-born, claimed ownership to the identical two lots, thus stopping the plans of Eminent Wettee to further invest on the land.

As per an investigation conducted by Mr. Joe A. Dorah, Land Administrator, Margibi County, Chairman Wettee and Rebecca C. Doe's land deed was probated by Judge Joe S. Barkon on January 22, 2021, and signed by the Probate Clerk, Catherine C. Johnson and registered by the Registrar B. Wolobah Pew with the Vol. B-2021 and page 0300000090 on January 25, 2021 at 9:00 AM and their grantor (Mr. Baryoe G. Tarplah) talked by cell phone with Land Administrator Dorah and confirmed that he

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 7

ballot box for their refusal to implement the TRC Report of 2009.

Rev. Jallah argued that it is time for the will of the good people to prevail, noting that Liberian voters should not give ex-war lords a second or third term mandate.

Mr. Adolphus W. Dupley, Alliance for Justice Liberia Vice Chairperson for Policy and Projects, said the group was birthed in February 2018, and by June 12, 2018, its name, vision, mission, and objective were adopted by five institutions.

He named the institutions involved as Patriot Crusaders Liberia, Inc., United Methodist Church through its Human Rights Monitors, Youth United for the Promotion of Academic and Social Change, Organization for Women and Children, and the Defense for Children International Liberia

Mr. Dupley narrated that the mission of the alliance is to build local resilience, ownership and provoke national and international actors to adhere and comprehensively implement the TRC Recommendation, establishing a special ordinary tribunal on war crimes, and provision of health and social services to war victims.

"Our vision [is] to build and sustain a society free of injuries and impunities, obtained through the legal prosecution of war and economic criminals, health and social services for war victims," he said.

According to him, the strategic objective of the alliance is to fully and timely implement the TRC Report and use the same to achieve lasting healing, reconciliation and accountability to foster inclusive sustainable development.

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MORE HEADLINE NEWS

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

GoL Comptrollers, Accountants get training on IPSAS integration

The Ministry of Finance and Development Planning through the Department of Comptroller and Accountant General, had over the weekend rolled out a two-day over days training for government comptrollers and accountants on the new change of Financial Reporting International Public Sector Accounting Standard (IPSAS) 2003 to IPSAS 2017.

The days' event took place in Kakata city, Margibi

Management System (IFMIS) free balance platform across Ministries and Agencies.

Making separate remarks at the opening and at the closing sections, the Director for Accounting Treasury/Technical Services, Dede D. Sandman, a proxy on behalf of Hon. Janka A. Kowo thanked and appreciated the Senior Management Team at the Ministry of Finance and Development planning for the levels of support in building financial officers' capacities.

According to Sandman, the

For his part, the Assistant Director, M & E Reporting, CAGD Sylvester Weah Sr. who led the entire process said comptrollers and accountants have taken a big step ahead in a new change from IPSAS 2003 to IPSAS 2017.

"Today is also significant in a special way, because we have taken one big step".

Weah further explained on how the training is intended to strengthen accountants and comptroller's capacity by building on the existence of

President Weah donates to NaFAA



By Naneka Hoffman

President George Mannah Weah has donated two 40-foot containers of life safety jackets to the National Fisheries and Aquaculture Authority (NaFAA) intended for fishing folks across the country.

The containers were offloaded on Friday, March 11, 2022 at the technical office of NaFAA situated at the former Mesurado Pier on the Coast Guard Base on Busrod Island.

Safety jackets are protective gears that are used to protect and safe a drowning person, pending arrival of rescue team, while on sea.

Speaking in an interview with reporters during the offloading, Deputy Director for Administration Augustine Banoballah thanked President Weah for the donation.

Mr. Banoballah revealed the gesture from the President is a promise fulfilled and is in response to petition read in

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 10



GoL Comptrollers and Accountants in group photo

County, and it was held with the theme: "Preparing Financial Statements; Referencing the Legal basis".

It was organized by the Comptrollers and Accountant General Department, with support from UNDP, AfDB, EU, and SIDA.

It seeks to improve efficiency among Comptrollers and Accountants on the new change of IPSAS 2003 to IPSAS 2017 for sound financial reporting through the Integrated Financial

training geared towards building the capacity of participants on an effective and efficient financial reporting system. He used the occasion to admonish the participants to make use of the knowledge acquired and be more committed to the timely financial reporting system set forth.

"The new changes in IPSAS 2003 to IPSAS 2017 is just an extension of upgrading your report on a timely basis and adjusting some financial instruments for sound reporting and decision making" he added.

knowledge acquired over the years.

"We are hopeful that at the end of the day, when we leave from here we will see the graph moving upward, and have more energy to report on time". Says Mr. Weah

Reporting Accountants James M. Barbu and Timale K. Zizivily in separate remarks explained how Accountants and Comptrollers from spending entities should focus on the new changes of IPSAS 2003 to 2017 IPSAS. -Press release

Starts from page 6

sold the land to Chairman Wettee and Ms. Doe.

Bishop Harris presented his deed with the name Moduekwe Godfrey, which was probated by Judge Mardea T. Chenoweth on February 3, 2021, signed by probate Clerk, Catherine C. Johnson and registered by the Registrar, B. Wolobah Pew, with the Vol B-2021 and page 030000000492 on March 22, 2021, at 11:55 AM and his grantor said he sold the land to him. The grantor of Bishop Harris's deed is a relative of

Diaspora Liberian Group's Eminent

Mr. Baryoe G. Tarplah and are living in the same area according to neighbors. According to some neighbors, the grantor of Bishop Harris's deed and Mr. Tarplah, knowingly sold the same land to both parties. Neighbors are saying the practice of family members knowingly selling identical land(s) to more than one person is normal.

The question many are asking, how is it possible that Probate Clerk Catherine C. Johnson can sign the identical lot/land document without an

alert within few weeks? How Registrar B. Wolobah Pew could registered documents relating to the identical land/lots without an alert within few weeks? Was it a collaborative effort to probate Bishop Frank Harris's land deed, since Eminent Wettee is a Liberian Diaspora?

Diaspora Liberians and others are calling upon the lawmakers, government officials, land administrators and the Judiciary System within Margibi County to

please investigate this case. "If this issue is not resolved by local authorities in Margibi County it will birth national and international attentions," Eminent Wettee stated.

He disclosed that Mr. Baryoe G. Tarplah will be in court very soon, to pay back his expenses relating to the land and resolving this issue through the legal means. Eminent Wettee is now experiencing the same pain as other diaspora Liberians. Accordingly, Mr. Baryoe will soon be hearing from Eminent Wettee's legal team.

He told this newspaper from his home in the US that as he travels around the world encouraging diaspora Liberians that all hands are needed on desk to develop their land of nativity, including purchasing land, building homes, establishing businesses, etc., one common concern from diaspora Liberians is the dishonesty of some Liberians back home, who are engaged in the dubious habit of double land sale to more than one diaspora Liberian or others.

According to him, some of the things they hear from some family members, relatives, friends, or associates back home is that they (diaspora Liberians) left the country during the civil war and are now coming back to purchase their lands and live a better life than them. They are saying it without

any remorse, that selling land(s) purchased by a diaspora Liberian to another person is wealth distribution or redistribution. "The problem of double land selling is a national concern and normal without any easy solution in Liberia," he said sadly.

In addition to double selling of land(s), Eminent Wettee pointed another bad habit: "There is this issue of some Liberians using substandard materials to build homes for Liberian Diasporas. In some cases, a diaspora Liberian will have to rebuild their home(s) two or three times or take a very long vacation to make sure their homes are well built."

Notwithstanding with these frustrations, Chairman Wettee is still encouraging diaspora Liberians to return home despite their concerns, even though he has become a victim, too. "The rampant selling of land to more than person in Liberia is impacting national development and this needs to be addressed not only by national government, but also local governments, civil society organizations, religious leaders or institutions, families, relatives, friends, and all," Eminent Wettee pleaded.

He added: "Knowingly, the selling of identical land(s) to more than one person by some Liberians (same family members, relatives or friends) is corruption and a criminal act."

Français

Des difficultés se profilent à l'horizon avec la hausse du prix du carburant

Les Libériens seront confrontés à plus de difficultés sous le régime de la Coalition pour le changement démocratique (CDC) avec l'annonce de la hausse du prix du carburant il y a quelques jours.

Le lundi 7 mars, le gouvernement a annoncé que le prix en détail d'un gallon d'essence précédemment vendu à 4,00 USD est désormais 5,66 USD, tandis que le diesel est passé 4,53 \$ US à 6,00 \$ US.

L'augmentation intervient quelques jours après que le gouvernement a clairement indiqué déjà travers une circulaire qu'il y avait suffisamment de produits pétroliers dans le pays qui devrait durer des mois.

Le 14 février, le navire est arrivé avec des produits et est reparti le 16 février. Un autre navire-citerne MT BWLYNX est arrivé la semaine dernière avec 12 500 tonnes métriques d'essence, tandis qu'un autre navire DUKE a apporté 2 400 tonnes métriques, ce qui signifie

qu'il y a suffisamment de carburant dans le pays.

Dans un pays dont on estime que 64 % de la population vit en dessous du seuil de pauvreté, Don't 1,3 million vivent dans l'extrême pauvreté (rapport de la Banque mondiale 2020) et près de 70 % obtiennent leur électricité à partir de générateurs à essence ou diesel, le gouvernement est soumis à

une immense pression pour repenser le plafond des prix.

Bien qu'il prétende que les prix des produits pétroliers du Libéria sont les plus bas dans la sous-région, cela ne semble pas être le cas, c'est plutôt le plus élevé parmi ses voisins immédiats d'Afrique de l'Ouest.

Alors qu'au Libéria un

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 9



Côte d'Ivoire : la population est estimée à 28 millions d'habitants

La population de la Côte d'Ivoire est estimée à 28 millions d'habitants, a-t-on appris vendredi d'une source gouvernementale.

« La population résidente permanente sur le territoire ivoirien est estimée à 28 millions par les résultats préliminaires du recensement général de la population et de l'habitat », a indiqué la ministre du Plan et du Développement, Kaba Nialé, dans un communiqué dont Xinhua a obtenu copie.

A l'initiative du gouvernement ivoirien, un recensement général de la population et de l'habitat a été organisé du 8 novembre au 14 décembre dernier.

Selon la ministre, les résultats préliminaires qui font état de 28 millions d'habitants en Côte d'Ivoire seront corrigés et finalisés à l'issue d'une « enquête de validation dite enquête post-censitaire qui débutera en mars 2022 » et « les résultats globaux définitifs seront communiqués en mai 2022 avec les différents

indicateurs ».

Les grandes tendances de la population à l'issue de ce recensement indiquent que la taille moyenne des ménages au niveau national s'établit à cinq personnes, le taux de masculinité demeure supérieur à 100, confirmant cette particularité de la Côte d'Ivoire où il y a plus d'hommes que de femmes et le taux de croissance démographique est en constante baisse.

D'après ces résultats, l'urbanisation rapide de la population se poursuit, la population urbaine de 2021 est sept fois supérieure à celle de 1975 et la densité de la population est en croissante progression.

Toutefois, les disparités régionales demeurent, les régions du Nord du pays restent encore faiblement peuplées, Abidjan se démarque par sa forte population et plus du cinquième de la population totale vit dans le district d'Abidjan avec une densité trente fois supérieure à la moyenne nationale.



Éditorial

Se préparer à un éveil brutal

Le Libéria est assis sur une bombe à retardement qui est sur le point de détruire l'avenir de cette nation, si des actions concertées ne sont pas prises maintenant. Le problème du trafic de drogue et de la toxicomanie risque de priver ce pays et son peuple d'un avenir fiable. Des milliers de jeunes des communautés de ce pays sont accros aux drogues dangereuses.

Mme Olubanke King-Akerele, actuelle directrice du Centre international Angie Brooks et ancienne ministre libérienne des Affaires étrangères, a exhorté le gouvernement du Libéria à "arrêter les propos ridicules" et à prendre des mesures concrètes pour mettre fin au trafic de stupéfiants dangereux dans le pays et à l'abus de substances qui ruinent les jeunes du pays.

Elle a dit que certaines grandes mains sont derrière la vente de drogues illicites au Libéria et que les jeunes sont ciblés. Le Libéria est utilisé comme centre de transit pour le trafic de substances illicites vers d'autres parties du monde.

En 2021, une policière qui a soupçonné un législateur de transporter de la drogue dangereuse dans sa voiture a été intimidée, harcelée et menacée de se taire après avoir comparu devant la Chambre des représentants pour témoigner. Elle a été contrainte de revenir sur sa déclaration selon laquelle un membre de cet auguste corps a été pris dans le trafic de drogue.

L'année dernière également l'Agence libérienne de lutte contre la drogue (LDEA) a été prise la main dans le sac à comté de Grand Kru. Plusieurs agents de la LDEA ont confisqué une quantité de drogues dangereuses à une femme et ont reconditionné les substances pour les vendre.

L'ancien ministre King-Akerele, qui a pris la parole lors de la célébration de la Journée internationale de la femme le mardi 8 mars 2022, a en outre déploré que les femmes soient impliquées dans la vente de drogue aux jeunes dans les communautés, les privant ainsi d'un meilleur avenir.

Le fait que des femmes et des mères prennent plaisir à vendre des substances illicites à des enfants, qui sont âgés de 13, 14 et 15 ans, n'est pas que décevant, mais assez frustrant. Ce sont des femmes sans cœur, dont l'action ne peut être assimilée qu'à un meurtre.

Ils laissent leurs victimes inutiles et parfois sans vie, après les avoir conduites à la dépendance par la toxicomanie. Une crise sociale majeure menace cette nation si des programmes durables ne sont pas mis en place pour lutter contre la toxicomanie.

Le Libéria risque de perdre sa prochaine génération d'hommes et de femmes à cause de la toxicomanie. C'est incroyable que des substances soient également vendues même dans des écoles !

Nous devons nous donner la main pour agir maintenant : parents, chefs communautaires et religieux, autorités scolaires et gouvernement pour éviter une calamité sociale imminente et sauver la prochaine génération.

Français

Des difficultés se profilent

gallon d'essence se vend à 5,66 \$ US (875 L \$), en Sierra Leone voisine, un gallon d'essence est vendu à 4,12 \$ US, en Guinée, juste à côté, il se vend à 4,23 \$ US, en Côte d'Ivoire 4,11 USD et Ghana 4,50 USD.

Qu'est-ce que cela signifie pour les Libériens ordinaires ?

L'effet de l'action du gouvernement a été immédiat avec la flambée des prix des produits de base sur le marché local quelques jours seulement après la déclaration. Les véhicules du transport public ont doublé les frais de transport. Par exemple, les usagers devraient désormais payer 2,00 USD (300 L\$, soit deux fois plus que ce dont certains vivent quotidiennement), de ELWA Junction à Broad Street dans le centre de Monrovia, contre 1,00 USD (150 L\$).

Avec le taux de chômage du pays (la part de la main-d'œuvre sans emploi, mais disponible pour un emploi et à la recherche d'un emploi), cela aura un effet massif sur la population.

Le taux de chômage du pays pour 2020 était de 3,30 %, soit une augmentation de 0,41 % par rapport à 2019, tandis qu'en 2019, le taux de chômage était de 2,89 %, soit une baisse de 0,05 % par rapport à 2018, selon le rapport de la Banque mondiale. Ainsi, la pauvreté reste généralisée.

Cela pourrait-il affecter la réélection de Weah en 2023 ?

La généralisation croissante de la pauvreté, au milieu des allégations de corruption et de l'affichage effréné de la richesse de certains responsables du gouvernement pourrait avoir un impact négatif sur la candidature du président George Weah pour un second mandat et éroder certains des gains qu'il a réalisés pour lesquelles certains électeurs pourraient opter pour lui.

On dit que les Libériens votent principalement en fonction du coût de la vie, c'est-à-dire leur capacité d'acheter aisément ce dont ils ont besoin pour survivre. Mais avec la flambée des prix des produits de base à un an à peine d'une élection majeure, il est difficile de dire que cela ne sapera pas la candidature du président Weah.

Les Libériens, dont beaucoup votaient pour la première fois, voyaient le président Weah comme un modèle. Ils pensaient qu'il venait avec un bâton magique pour changer tout.

Cependant, la pauvreté reste répandue au Libéria et la dernière action du gouvernement pourrait ne faire qu'ajouter à la fureur et jouer contre le président à moins qu'il y ait un revirement.

Que dit le gouvernement pour défendre son action ?

Le mardi 8 mars 2022, le gouvernement a souligné que sa décision de fixer une nouvelle structure des prix des produits pétroliers dans le pays n'était pas arbitraire, mais motivée par des facteurs externes.

Le ministre de l'Information, Ledgerhood J. Rennie, a déclaré que le gouvernement reconnaît que l'augmentation est "difficile à avaler", mais qu'elle est nécessaire pour garantir la disponibilité constante des produits sur le marché et la stabilité des prix. "Nous espérons que le mois prochain, nous pourrions revoir la décision et qu'il peut y avoir une diminution", a déclaré le ministre Rennie.

Il a expliqué que le gouvernement est conscient que le coût du pétrole pourrait avoir un effet négatif sur le niveau général des prix, c'est pourquoi il envisage de revoir la nouvelle structure des prix dans les « plus brefs délais ».

Le ministre de l'Information a déclaré que les agences gouvernementales compétentes s'efforçaient d'annoncer des tarifs fixes pour le transport vers divers endroits dans les 48 heures afin d'éviter une augmentation anarchique. Il a mis en garde les chauffeurs contre l'augmentation déraisonnée des frais de transport.

Qu'a dit la Petroleum Refining Company ?

Le directeur général adjoint de Liberian Petroleum Refining Company, Adrian Hoff, a déclaré que les importateurs de produits pétroliers opèrent dans le cadre d'un accord de gestion des garanties (CMA) qui leur permet de commander des produits dans le pays sans payer initialement en espèces aux principaux fournisseurs internationaux. Mais une fois dans le pays, pour que les produits soient retirés de l'installation de stockage de la LPRC chaque jour et amenés sur le marché, les importateurs libériens doivent payer par envoi au taux mondial - d'où leur revendication d'une augmentation de prix.

Monsieur Hoff a déclaré que l'administration Weah a pris des décisions difficiles dans le passé pour éviter d'augmenter le coût des produits pétroliers en réduisant les taxes. " « Nous avons rencontré le président et sa plus grande préoccupation a été » ne pas augmenter le prix "".

COMMENTAIRE

Par Daron Acemoglu

Les raisons de l'échec de l'édification d'une nation en Afghanistan

ISTANBUL - Les États-Unis ont occupé l'Afghanistan il y a vingt ans dans l'espoir de reconstruire un pays devenu un fléau pour le monde et pour ses propres populations. Comme l'expliquait le général Stanley McChrystal dans la période qui a suivi la montée en puissance des troupes américaines en 2009, l'objectif consistait à ce que « le gouvernement afghan contrôle suffisamment son territoire pour renforcer la stabilité régionale et empêcher son utilisation par le terrorisme international ».

Aujourd'hui, après plus de 100 000 vies perdues et près de 2 billions de dollars de dépenses, tout ce que l'Amérique retire de cette période se résume aux scènes de ce mois-ci, à cette fuite désespérée hors du pays - un effondrement humiliant qui rappelle la chute de Saigon en 1975. Comment expliquer une telle débandade ?

Si presque tout est allé de travers, les choses ne se sont pas déroulées pour autant comme on l'imagine. Si une mauvaise planification et un manque de précision dans les renseignements ont bien contribué à la catastrophe, les causes de ce problème remontent en fait à vingt ans plus tôt.

Les États-Unis ont estimé dès le départ que la seule façon de créer un pays stable doté d'un semblant d'ordre public passait par la mise en place d'institutions étatiques solides. Encouragée par de nombreux experts et par des théories aujourd'hui surannées, l'armée américaine a interprété ce défi selon les termes d'un problème technique : l'Afghanistan était dépourvu d'institutions publiques, de forces de sécurité en état de marche, de tribunaux et de bureaucrates compétents. Pour toutes ces raisons, la solution consistait donc à envoyer des ressources et à transférer de l'expertise étrangère. Les ONG et l'aide étrangère occidentale au sens large étaient sur place pour aider à leur manière (que les populations locales soient d'accord ou non). Et parce que leur travail exigeait un certain degré de stabilité, des soldats étrangers - principalement des forces de l'OTAN, mais également des entrepreneurs privés - ont été déployés pour maintenir la sécurité.

En considérant l'établissement d'une nation comme une stratégie descendante impliquant en premier lieu l'établissement d'un État, les décideurs américains se sont conformés à une tradition vénérable de sciences politiques. L'hypothèse est que si l'on peut établir une domination militaire écrasante sur un territoire et soumettre toutes les autres sources de pouvoir, on peut alors y imposer sa volonté. Pourtant, dans la plupart des pays, cette théorie n'est au mieux qu'à moitié vraie. Mais en Afghanistan, elle s'est révélée complètement erronée.

Il est indéniable que l'Afghanistan avait besoin de nouvelles institutions en état de marche. Mais le présupposé selon lequel des armées étrangères seraient à même d'imposer cela de haut en bas était dans ce cas précis non pertinent. Comme James Robinson et moi-même le soutenons dans notre livre de 2019, *The Narrow Corridor*, cette approche n'a aucun sens lorsque votre point de départ est une société profondément hétérogène organisée autour de coutumes et de normes locales, dont les institutions étatiques ont longtemps été absentes ou affaiblies.

Il est vrai que l'approche descendante de la construction d'un État a fonctionné dans certains cas (comme la dynastie Qin en Chine ou l'Empire ottoman). Toutefois la plupart des États ont été établis non pas par la force, mais par le compromis et la coopération. La centralisation réussie du pouvoir sous les institutions de l'État implique le plus souvent l'assentiment et la coopération des personnes qui y sont soumises. Dans ce modèle, l'État n'est pas imposé à une société contre sa volonté : au contraire, les institutions de l'État établissent leur légitimité en obtenant un minimum de soutien populaire.

Cela ne signifie pas que les États-Unis auraient dû

collaborer avec les Talibans. Mais cela signifie qu'ils auraient pu collaborer plus étroitement avec différents groupes locaux, plutôt qu'investir des ressources dans le régime corrompu et non représentatif du premier président afghan qui a succédé aux Talibans, celui d'Hamid Karzaï (et de ses frères). Ashraf Ghani, le président afghan soutenu par les États-Unis, qui s'est enfui aux Émirats arabes unis cette semaine, a co-écrit en 2009 un livre sur la manière dont cette stratégie a alimenté la corruption et n'a pas atteint son objectif déclaré. Une fois au pouvoir, Ghani a continué sur la même voie.

La situation à laquelle les États-Unis ont été confrontés en Afghanistan était encore pire que la situation typique qui attend tous les bâtisseurs de nations à venir. Dès le début, la population afghane a perçu la présence américaine comme une opération étrangère destinée à affaiblir sa société. Ce n'était pas un type d'accord qui pouvait leur convenir.

Que se passe-t-il lorsque les efforts de renforcement d'un État par l'approche descendante entrent en conflit avec les vœux d'une société ? Dans de nombreux cas, la seule option qui semble disponible consiste à se retirer. Parfois, cela prend la forme d'un exode physique, comme le montre James C. Scott dans *The Art of Not Being Governed*, son étude sur le peuple Zomia en Asie du Sud-Est. Ou cela peut encore signifier une cohabitation sans coopération, comme dans le cas des Écossais en Grande-Bretagne ou celui des Catalans en Espagne. Mais dans une société farouchement indépendante, bien armée, avec une longue tradition de vendetta et une histoire récente de guerre civile, la réponse la plus probable est celle du conflit violent.

Peut-être les événements auraient-ils suivi un cours différent, si l'agence pakistanaise de renseignements Inter-Services Intelligence n'avait pas soutenu les Talibans lorsqu'ils ont été battus militairement, si les attaques par drones de l'OTAN n'avaient pas davantage aliéné la population, ou si les élites afghanes soutenues par les États-Unis n'avaient pas été corrompues à l'extrême. Mais la chance n'était décidément pas du côté de la stratégie américaine consistant à édifier un État en premier lieu.

Le fait est que de la part des dirigeants américains, un tel résultat est assez décevant. Comme le montrent Melissa Dell et Pablo Querubín, les États-Unis ont adopté une stratégie verticale, similaire à celle employée au Vietnam et aux effets contre-productifs considérables. Les endroits bombardés pour soumettre le Viet Cong sont devenus encore plus favorables à l'insurrection anti-américaine.

L'expérience récente de l'armée américaine en Irak est encore plus révélatrice à cet égard. Comme le montre l'étude menée par Eli Berman, Jacob Shapiro et Joseph Felter, la « vague » a bien mieux fonctionné lorsque les Américains ont tenté de gagner les cœurs et les esprits en stimulant le soutien des groupes locaux. De même, ma propre collaboration avec Ali Cheema, Asim Khwaja et James Robinson montre que dans les zones rurales du Pakistan, les gens se tournent vers des acteurs non étatiques précisément lorsqu'ils estiment que les institutions publiques sont inefficaces et qu'elles leur sont étrangères.

Cela ne veut pas dire pour autant que le retrait n'aurait pas pu être mieux géré. Mais après vingt ans d'efforts mal inspirés, les États-Unis étaient voués à l'échec dans leurs deux objectifs consistant à se retirer d'Afghanistan et à laisser derrière eux une société stable, fondée sur le droit.

Une immense tragédie humaine en résulte. Même si les Talibans ne retombent pas dans leurs pires travers, les hommes et surtout les femmes vivant en Afghanistan vont payer chèrement les échecs américains dans les années et les décennies à venir.

Daron Acemoglu, professeur d'économie au MIT, co-auteur (avec James A. Robinson) de Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty and The Narrow Corridor: States, Societies, and the Fate of Liberty.

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ANC Political Leader

The ANC Political Leader said "the mismanagement of the country's resources must end, the stealing and abuse of power must end, the fear and division in our society must end, impunity must end, leadership by corruption must end, and give all Liberians equal chance to compete.

Mr. Cummings said ANC and Liberty Party would work together to explore and widen the inclusive tent of the CPP, mindful of the dangerous plot by ruling CDC Government to thwart the effort and divide the Liberian people.

"I see it in the enterprising spirits of Liberian manufacturers, producers, and Liberian-owned businesses including shops, and cook shops owners, market women, taxi and bus drivers, barbers, tailors, car loaders, pehn-pehn and keh-keh riders and waiters, and other Liberians who are desperately trying to make in an economy that is working against their success," Mr. Cummings said.

The ANC Political Leader said electing a different quality of leadership that is trustworthy to lead by higher standards and good examples, he's certain that Liberia will proudly rise and Liberians will be uplifted and

rightfully regarded in the world.

According to Mr. Cummings, Liberia will no longer need to beg or see each other become beggars or rely on others to do for the nation what we should be doing for ourselves.

He said through the honest and collective efforts, as well as our commitment and dedication to duty, Liberians will enjoy their resources, God has richly bestowed on our country, noting that Liberia is too rich for Liberians to be so poor, due to corrupt and irresponsible leadership.

Starts from the back

they didn't listen to us," she lamented.

The students, at the same time disrupted a Principals Association meeting at the local head offices of the Ministry of Education in the county, and disbursed students at private and public schools, forcing them out of classes.

The protesting students also disrupted public facilities including the Harper City Hall, the office of the County Education Officer, (CEO), Liberia Revenue Authority local office, the Sea Port of Harper and the Administration Building which hosts offices of County Superintendent Prowd and other line ministries and agencies.

But responding to the situation, CEO Tehneseo P. Brohdonye condemned the act, stressing that the Ministry of Education Maryland Chapter's mission is to provide all Liberians opportunity to access and complete affordable education of a quality, relevance and appropriateness that meets their needs and that of the nation.

He said the County School system regrets the situation, particularly the Harper Educational district amid threat by the students to extend the protest to other educational districts.

He urged the students to remain in the confines and proximity of their campuses and disengage from act of obstructing learning at various grade schools.

"We empathize with the student community on account of the discourteous acts, and urge everyone to remain calm

Protest continues

as necessary measures to instill peace and stability have been communicated to the relevant authority as well as the Ministry of Justice to take appropriate actions to abrogate the occurrence of such ominous act as it frightens the students, parents, teachers, school administrators and the entire school community", CEO Brohdonye continued.

However, despite the CEO's plead, students of the Tubman University have vowed to continue demonstrating until the University's Board of Trustees and requisite government agencies can intervene, noting that the protest is in solidarity with the Faculty Association's indefinite go-slow that has disrupted normal activities at the second state-owned institution of higher learning in the country.

Recently, the chairperson of the Maryland Legislative Caucus Isaac Roland Blalu said the caucus has resolved to intervene in the crisis so the University can resume normal academic activities.

Addressing reporters during a visit to the county, Representative Blalu said, members of the caucus are not pleased with the current situation engulfing the second state-run University in the southeast.

"I want to be clear here, what is happening at the University, as a caucus, we are not pleased. So, we will continue to pursue this in order to have a definite action or resolution because we need not to have an institution in the county where every time there is noise or protest", the lawmaker expressed. **Editing by Jonathan Browne**

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President Weah donates

Grand Bassa County during launch of motor fishing engine boats when fishing folks asked President Weah to provide them life jackets for security on sea.

"Today we are pleased to announce that through the effort of President Weah, we have two 40-foot containers filled with life jackets. This is six thousand pieces (6000) of life jackets. They are intended to be distributed to our fishing folks to make sure they are safe while on sea", he noted.

The NaFAA deputy director indicated that when they

took over the fishing sector of Liberia, one of the key concerns of fishermen has been safety at sea because often experience accident and face difficulty in rescuing victims because of lack of safety or protective gears, mainly life jackets.

Mr. Banoballah said they will distribute the life jackets among fishing folks across the country and ensure that everyone receives just as it was done in the case of the boat engines, adding that NaFAA is working on a policy that would make sure all crew members onboard a canoe wear life jacket before going on sea to

fishing.

"We have 6,000 pieces of life jackets and in our data base [and] we have 5,000 fishermen that are canoe owners. Each canoe has at most 6 crew members and we will make sure all those that are part of the crew have life jackets before going on sea to fishing. We are going to work with the nine fishing counties in Liberia and all others that need them. This is the first consignment and the last one will be here soon", he noted.

Editing by Jonathan Browne

Air France departure is policy position

-Transport Min. Wlue

Transport Minister Samuel A. Wlue discloses here that Air France's discontinuation of flight to Liberia is entirely a policy position by the Government of France, which is principally in consonance with its geopolitical determination and disposition in the wake of ailing diplomatic ties with Mali.

Minister Wlue clarifies the imminent departure of the French carrier absolutely has nothing to do with poor management of the Roberts International Airport (RIA) or bad services, including power outages and runway faults, which he notes, aren't unique to the RIA only.

Addressing a news conference over the weekend in Monrovia, the Transport boss recalled that before embarking on its Monrovia route, Air France's

prime route closer to Liberia was Mali, which served as its regional transit hub—essentially to serve the needs of the French troop deployed in Mali.

He continues that in November 2020, Air France launched a daily flight service to RIA in support of its Bamako, Mali Operations which were called off when ECOWAS placed an embargo on the Republic of Mali earlier this year.

Wlue explains that the Bamako, Mali route being very important part of their network, Air France Management combined the said operations with the North African Country of Mauritania.

He indicates that as a service to the Liberian people and many valued customers, Air France tried to combine its Monrovia operations with the Gambia.

However, he says May 9th 2022, Mr. Jean-Marc Pouchol, Air France Vice President for Africa and Mr. Jean-Luc Mevellec, Regional Director for West Africa, invited him to the Charles De Gaulle Airport in France and held discussion with him about Air France Operations to Liberia.

The Minister explains that based on economic performance and route profitability, the current geopolitical situation and Air France -KLM's overall plan to restore its profitability, Air France decided to temporarily suspend flights to Monrovia, Liberia as of April 30th 2022.

According to him, the airline's last flight will leave Paris Charles de Gaulle April 30th adding that customers already booked on flights after April 29, 2022, will be informed individually.

He stresses that customers concerned may change their travel plans or cancel the trip and request a refund.

In another development, Minister Wlue announces that the Ministry of Transport (MoT) will begin today, March 14,

2022 starts routine motor vehicle inspection scheme for 2022, which includes enforcement of the third-party insurance policy.

This means that strategic parts of the roads identified as checkpoints will be attended to by Transport inspectors usually assisted by traffic police officers.

The exercise, he says will be implementing across the country, including Monrovia and its suburbs.

"Most of the motorists have the audacity to leave their homes as early as 5:00 A.M. to evade the inspection, but the Ministry has put in place specific measures to deal with such issues this time around," Wlue reveals. **Editing by Jonathan Browne**



Transport Minister Samuel A. Wlue



Cummings free to travel

The Stipendiary Magistrate at the Monrovia City Court Jomah Jallah had written the Liberia Immigration Service (LIS) revoking and lifting the travel restriction placed on opposition Alternative

restored as though the same was never restricted. He explained in the communication that the revocation of the travel restriction on Mr. Cummings is pursuant to an order received from Judge Roosevelt Willie, Resident Circuit Judge of

charges of forgery and criminal conspiracy, but he has denied any wrongdoing. He urged that all law enforcement agencies in the country accord Mr. Cummings all normal travel assistance that all Liberians and foreign residents are entitled to when traveling in



ANC Leader Cummings

National Congress (ANC) leader Mr. Alexander B. Cummings.

In his communication to LIS Commissioner General Col. Robert W. Budy dated 11 March 2022, Magistrate Jallah announced that travel restriction placed on Mr. Cummings is hereby revoked and lifted with immediate effect.

The Magistrate indicated that Mr. Cummings' right to travel within and without the bailiwick of the Republic of Liberia is hereby

Criminal Court "A". Mr. Cummings is on trial for criminal charges based on accusations by his fellow opposition leader Mr. Benoni Urey and the All Liberian Party (ALP) that the accused and his ANC party allegedly tampered with the framework agreement of the Collaborating Political Parties and attached his (Urey's) signature to a photocopy version. Mr. Cummings has denied there exists any original CPP framework agreement other than what his accusers claim is a photocopy version and has instead challenged them to produce the original. He faces

and outside of Liberia. Magistrate Jallah noted that he had been directed by Judge Willie to revoke the restriction with immediate effect and restore Mr. Cummings' right to travel freely within and without Liberia. "Therefore, the Liberia Immigration Service (LIS) and all law enforcement agencies in Liberia are advised to accord Mr. Cummings the normal travel assistance all Liberians and foreign residents may be entitled to when traveling in and out of the Republic of Liberia," the Magistrate said.

LP replaces Dillon, others

The opposition Liberty Party (LP) over the weekend removed Montserrado County Senator Abraham Darius Dillon and others from their respective positions in the party.

The LP immediately replaced Dillon and others on the National Executive Committee of the party, arguing that its decision was in conformity with Article V(2) of the party's constitution.

Mr. Dillon had earlier been suspended from the party over a claim of his failure to pay dues.

"The Liberty Party (LP) National Executive Committee (NEC) informs the public that it has met over the weekend and appointed several persons to fill vacant positions on the NEC in line with Article V (2) of the LP Constitution," a release quotes LP as saying.

The party said its constitution states that "In the event that any other officer of the NEC is removed,

incapacitated or has travelled and/or abandoned his duties/responsibilities for a period exceeding six (6) months during non-election years and one (1) month during election year, the NEC shall immediately appoint a suitable replacement."

According to a release signed by LP Secretary General Martin Kollah and

approved by LP Chair Musa Hassan Bility, those appointed are Wadei Powell, Vice Chair for Political and Legislative Affairs, replacing Senator Dillon; and Menipakei Dumoe, Vice Chair for Press and Public Affairs, replacing Daniel Sando.

Other appointees are Alexander Bealded, Vice Chair for Auxiliaries, replacing Agatius Coker; and Daniel Gbassagee,



LP Chairman Bility

AME University suspends employee

-over rape allegation

The Administration of the African Methodist Episcopal University suspends one of its employees indefinitely over rape allegation.

The Administration in a press release narrates that on March 10, 2022, one of its employees was invited by the Women and Children Protection Section of the Liberia National Police (LNP) for questioning over a complaint of alleged rape filed by a female seeking enrollment at the University.

"Due to the University's Zero Tolerance policy on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse coupled with our desire to ensure a fair and transparent investigation,

Administration has suspended the accused employee indefinitely until the investigation is complete" the release notes.

It says while the University seeks not to render judgment in a matter that is being investigated by the Police, the Administration believes that the action provides safety for both students and staff and will take further action(s) in line with policies, pending the outcome of the investigation.

Meanwhile, the University assures the public of its ZERO TOLERANCE on any act of sexual violence and abuse as, it conducts its core responsibilities of developing the future leaders of Liberia.

SURVEY NOTICE

March 12, 2022

The general public is hereby informed that the undersigned land surveyor has been authorized by **Edvida N. Barclay** to conduct a re-survey of 2.0 (two) acres parcel of land situated and lying at Duazon, Margibi County.

The re-survey will commence on **Saturday, March 19, 2022 at 10:30 AM.**

Therefore, all adjoining property owners, and interested persons are requested to be present on the day of the survey with copies of their deeds, relevant documents, and technical representatives (surveyors) to substantiate their claims.

This notice should claim the immediate attention of the following persons and initial:

1. George Harris
2. Elizabeth Bayogar
3. E. D & C. H. S

Signed:

MacArthur Z. Beyan
Registered Land Surveyor
Cell #: 0886301241/0777985788

NEC Eminent Member, replacing Kla Toomey.

Mohammed Sesay, is appointed NEC Eminent Member, taking over from Prescilla Cooper; and Ayouba Kamara, NEC Eminent Member, replacing McCarthy Weh.

The release said the new appointees will act in these roles pending LP's elections, where applicable, to permanently fill the positions and that the remaining vacant positions on the NEC will be filled accordingly after consultations and due diligence.

The release also said that following the fire incident on March 6 at the Grand Bassa County Government Hospital, a team of NEC members paid a visit to the facility on Thursday, March 10, 2022 to ascertain its needs and possible LP interventions.

It noted that the party was

presented with a request for urgently needed hospital equipment, supplies and fuel.

"The LP committed to the provision of the requested equipment and supplies in the amount of \$30,000 United States Dollars. LP National Chairman, Musa Hassan Bility, also made a personal donation of 1000 gallons of fuel through the Bility Development Foundation," the release said.

"LP will present the donation to the hospital by the end of next week," it continued.

The latest move by the Bility-led executive committee is being viewed as a process of consolidating its power after winning some legal battles against LP political leader and Grand Bassa County Senator Nyonblee Karngar - Lawrence and her group who had instituted actions to remove the elected leadership under Mr. Bility.

Protest continues at Tubman University



Protesting students of the Tubman University

By Patrick N. Mensah, Maryland county

Protesting students of the Tubman University in Harper City, Maryland county have disrupted grade school activities in Harper City, demanding government's attention to an indefinite go-slow by the faculty association of the University since February.

The aggrieved students last week Tuesday and Thursday - March 8 and 10,

2022, besieged learning activities in the coastal capital, erecting barricades at various school entrances and disrupting normal classes.

Their move is in solidarity with members of the faculty, who have since February 26, 2022, abandoned classes in demand of several counts, including the removal of the TU's President, Dr. Elliott Wreh Wilson.

Dressed in black T-shirts and jeans trousers, they marched early Tuesday, March 8, from the

University's main campus to disrupt lessons at various grade schools, including public facilities in Harper, chanting, "Wreh Wilson must go."

The protesting students placed locks and chairs at major entrances (doors) of the Harper Administration building and the Harper City Hall, respectively where women groups from across the county had converged for the observance of this year's International Woman's Day, forcing the women to relocate to the St. Theresa's Catholic Parish Hall to observe the day.

Speaking on behalf of the women, Madam Beatrice Weah expressed dismay over the students' attitude after pleading with them for the continuation of the program.

"I have not felt hurt the way I feel today. We knelt down to beg our children and promised them that we will make sure after our program to reach the president, as mothers on their behalf, but

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 10

Doing will take LIB to the world

Doing geh big dreams. And big moves! Doing know if you make it here, You can make it anywhere.

So. What are we doing today?

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