

CENTRAL BANK OF LIBERIA MARKET BUYING AND SELLING RATES

 DATE
 BUYING
 SELLING

 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 2022
 L\$152.7576 /US\$1.00
 L\$154.4755 /US\$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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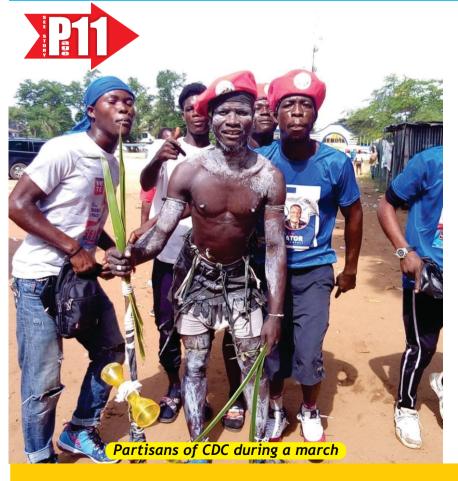
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 2022

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What are we doing today?





MARCH 16

black and white image which some people falsely claim shows Russian President Vladimir Putin training liberation movements in southern Africa, has been

circulating.

It has been used by some to justify why African countries should support Russia in the war in Ukraine.The BBC is not responsible for the content of external sites. The image was also posted on Twitter by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni's son.

But it doesn't show Mr Putin in Africa, and the time when people are claiming it was taken is also incorrect. The photograph was widely shared online after it was posted in Zimbabwean blogs at the end of 2018.

The posts claimed it shows Mr Putin in a Tanzanian military training camp for southern African independence movements in 1973. Also present in the photo, it was claimed, were future Mozambique President Samora Machel and Emmerson Mnangagwa, now the president of Zimbabwe.

"Putin stayed in Tanzania

Continental News

Why Putin couldn't have trained fighters in Africa

training freedom fighters for four years from 1973 to 1977," the blogs also claimed. However, there is no evidence either from Russian or African records of Mr Putin, who was born in 1952, having been to the continent during the 1970s.

Mr Putin's profile on the Kremlin website shows that he was studying at the Leningrad State University at the time, and graduated in 1975.

Also outside training offered to Mozambican freedom fighters in camps in Tanzania was largely conducted by Chinese

And Mr Mnangagwa could not have been in Tanzania in 1973 as he was arrested in 1965 and imprisoned for 10 years by the white-minority government in then Rhodesia. Mozambican author Renato Matusse used the photo in his 2018 book, where he says it shows Mr Machel with Soviet military advisers touring a military facility near the country's capital Maputo in the mid-1980s.

But he says it's clear that Mr Putin is not the man in

Mr Putin was working as a KGB agent in East Germany between 1985 and 1990 and early on would have been a lowranking officer, which makes it highly unlikely that he would have been a leading member of such a delegation.

There is also no mention of him having visited Mozambique by the Kremlin, or in any of his biographies.

Georgi Derluguian, who worked as a Portuguese-Russian interpreter in the 1980s, and is now a professor at New York University Abu Dhabi, says the

claim that the man in the photo is Mr Putin "is a joke".

He says the boots worn indicate the person is a military man, while Mr Putin was an intelligence officer. The appearance is also more like that of an older Mr Putin. And one final piece to add to this puzzle.

The mystery man in the photograph is wearing a watch on his left arm. Mr Putin - at least nowadays - habitually wears one on his right arm.

Although the man pictured is thought to be a Soviet official, so far no-one has been able to confirm his actual identity. BBC



swiftly. Jerry Kenny told the BBC that he and six of his friends had fallen sick because of the

troops, say they have been left

traumatised after two weeks

sheltering underground, and

want their home nation to act

Affairs to be evacuated. But we are still stuck here," he said.

Nigerian Foreign Minister Geoffery Onyeama said at the weekend that he was in contact with Nigeria's ambassadors to Ukraine and Russia, as they engaged the Russian and Indian governments as well as nongovernmental organisations to



Israel bans Ethiopian Easter pilgrims operators.

srael has imposed restrictions on ■ Ethiopian pilgrims travelling to the country for the upcoming Easter holiday.

The Israeli authorities said that because of the war in the north of Ethiopia they were worried that many of the

Tourist agencies have confirmed to the BBC that Israel's Population and Immigration Authority had issued a letter to say that Ethiopia Christian pilgrims should apply for permits individually.

The move has been met with

criticism from Israeli tour

The head of the Israel Incoming Tour Operators Association is quoted by the Times of Israel as saying it was "severely discriminatory" as it only applied to Ethiopians.

But Israeli authorities defended their decision, saying many tourist groups from Ethiopia have stayed in the country "illegally" in the past few years - something they fear could be exacerbated by the ongoing civil war.

The 16-month-old conflict is continuing to impact millions across the country's north.

A spokesperson for Ethiopia's foreign ministry told the BBC that he was not aware of the decision by Israel.

Ethiopia's tourism sector has also been hit hard by the fighting as many of the country's most-celebrated destinations are unreachable.

One tour operator in Addis Ababa, which works with



poor conditions below ground and said had no access to food and other essentials.

"Some people can't even talk because they are scared." he said, adding that the Nigerian government had not "reached out to us in terms of food or water, nothing".

"I've spoken to so many representatives, ambassadors safely evacuate the students trapped in Kherson.

Reports say more than 100 African students, many of them from Nigeria, remain stuck in Kherson.

So far, more than 1,400 Nigerians have been evacuated from Ukraine since the Russian invasion began there three weeks ago. BBC

counterparts in Israel to arrange the pilgrimages, told the BBC that the decision was

bad news for his business already suffering from the war and pandemic-related restrictions.BBC



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 was 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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By Daron Acemoglu

NEW DAWN

Why Nation-Buildi Failed in Afghanistan

scourge to the world and its own people. As General Stanley McChrystal explained in the runregional stability and prevent its use for continued down the same road. 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?

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 Even more telling is the US military's own recent most places, this theory is only half right, at best; and in Afghanistan, it was dead wrong.

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 deeply heterogeneous society organized around foreign to them. local customs and norms, where state institutions have long been absent or impaired.

most states have been constructed not by force based society. but by compromise and cooperation. The 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 decades ahead. legitimacy by securing a modicum of popular support.

local groups, rather than pouring resources into Liberty.

STANBUL - The United States invaded the corrupt, non-representative regime of Afghanistan 20 years ago with the hope of Afghanistan's first post-Taliban president, Hamid rebuilding a country that had become a Karzai (and his brothers). Ashraf Ghani, the USbacked Afghan president who fled to the United Arab Emirates this week, co-authored a book in up to the 2009 surge of US troops, the objective 2009 documenting how this strategy had fueled was that the "government of Afghanistan corruption and failed to achieve its stated sufficiently control its territory to support purpose. Once in power, however, Ghani

> 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 Pretty much everything, but not in the way that efforts are proceeding against a society's wishes? most people think. While poor planning and a 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 USbacked 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 Querubín 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.

experience in Iraq. As research by Eli Berman, Jacob Shapiro, and Joseph Felter shows, the "surge" there worked much better when Of course, Afghanistan needed a functioning 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 makes no sense when your starting point is a they think state institutions are ineffective and

None of this means that the withdrawal could not have been managed better. But after 20 years of True, the top-down approach to state-building misguided efforts, the US was destined to fail in has worked in some cases (such as the Qin its twin objectives of withdrawing from dynasty in China or the Ottoman Empire). But Afghanistan and leaving behind a stable, law-

successful centralization of power under state The result is an immense human tragedy. Even if institutions more commonly involves the assent 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

Daron Acemoglu, Professor of Economics at MIT, is co-author (with James A. Robinson) of This does not mean that the US should have Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, worked with the Taliban. But it does mean that it Prosperity and Poverty and The Narrow should have worked more closely with different Corridor: States, Societies, and the Fate of

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By U.S. Ambassador to Liberia Michael A. McCarthy

What Would J.J. Roberts Have to Say about Liberia Today?

s we celebrate the life of a great Liberian, born 213 years ago in the United States before emigrating to this land at 20 years old, I have been asking myself what Joseph Jenkins Roberts would say about Liberia today.

Sixty years after the arrival of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Liberia, 19 years after the end of the civil war crisis, and seven years after the eradication of Ebola, the taxpayers of the United States contribute to this country over \$110 million per year of foreign assistance. This includes over \$79 million per year donated to the health sector.

Approximately \$9 million is specifically for purchasing medications and commodities for the Liberian people and improving the Ministry of Health's effective distribution and warehousing of pharmaceuticals. Despite this extra support, we learn regularly about places like Kolahun in Lofa County and Sanniquellie in Nimba County, where clinics and hospitals must make do without even the most basic drugs.

Troublingly, Embassy investigations indicate that not only are some citizens diverting public medical resources and low-cost drugs for personal gain, but that babies, young children, and birthing mothers are dying needlessly as a result. What would J.J. Roberts have to say about this?

As a Peace Corps volunteer, I was blessed to live for two years in villages (without electricity or running water) in West Africa. First thing every morning, each household would take advantage of the cool, early morning daylight to sweep inside and outside and dispose of debris.

Villagers then coordinated with the local government to deliver waste daily to a designated landfill. The state of cleanliness in the city of Monrovia, which is more developed and a far wealthier community, sadly does not compare.

Last month, I was surprised at the words of city leadership on Monrovia Day. A senior official lamented that unlike his previous three years in office, "no donor or external partner is funding the recurrent cost of solid waste collection and disposal," implying that he was abandoned by the international community.

Is there a more basic local government responsibility than the collection and proper disposal of garbage? Would Liberia's first president have imagined that, 175 years after independence, foreigners should be held responsible for the removal of garbage in his capital city?

On February 25, we learned that a Rhode Island State Representative, Nathan W. Biah, Sr., is donating electronic voting equipment to the Liberian House.

This is not the first of such equipment donated to help make Liberia's top legislative body more transparent to its citizens. I have been reliably informed that a previous evoting system was installed in 2014 by the U.S. taxpayer-funded National Democratic Institute (NDI), but it was never used.

For his part, President Weah said during his December 10 Summit for Democracy speech (https://www.state.gov/official-interventions-the-summit-for-democracy/): "Over the next year, we intend to introduce legislative transparency by making all votes public so that constituents can hold their lawmakers accountable for their actions, which is a fundamental element of any healthy democracy."

I hope the legislature embraces this latest opportunity to increase citizen awareness of the actions of their elected officials. Would J.J. Roberts have believed that in modern Liberia, a constitutional republic where "all power is inherent in its people," legislators would purposely neglect to use a tool created to educate citizens on how their democratically elected representatives vote?

The United States of America has, no doubt, also failed to live up to some of the aspirations of our first president, but I believe George Washington would be pleased to know that the country he fought to establish would today be working to support democracy and fight corruption both at home and in places like Liberia.

The U.S. House of Representatives introduced Resolution 907 on February 4 of this year, which encourages Liberia to redouble its efforts to counter corruption and advance the causes of human rights. It also urges Liberia to implement critical economic reforms necessary to accelerate sustainable economic growth and human capital development.

Finally, it calls on the U.S. Treasury and State Departments to continue to impose targeted sanctions against those responsible for undermining the rule of law and trust of the Liberian people through corruption, gross violations of human rights, and other acts that threaten the peace and security of Liberia.

Days later, in her address at SKD Stadium on February 14, Special Assistant to the President of the United States Dana Banks stated that "corruption eats away at the democracy you have worked so hard to build. But ultimately, only the Liberian Government and the Liberian people can tackle corruption, fight for accountability and transparency, and move this country forward."

As these statements indicate, the U.S. Government is sufficiently concerned about corruption in Liberia to sanction individuals. Corruption leads to citizen frustration and has had destabilizing effects on countries in the region. It poses significant risks to peace and democracy. How would Liberia's first statesman feel to know that his country's top ally was compelled to sanction members of Liberia's government just to preserve rule of law and the democracy he helped establish? I wonder.

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OPINION'

By Jayati Ghosh

NEW DAWN 4

Putin's War Is Damaging the Developing World

EW 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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ARTICLE

ARTICLE

Liberia Abandons Agricultural Transformation to NGOs: Hundreds of millions spent, but farm productivity falling, and farmers' losses and food insecurity rising

BY: AMBULAH MAMEY, International Agricultural Development Practitioner

ey Messages

- 1. Liberia still produces less than half (0.2) cup of rice per Liberian, per day after spending hundreds of millions on projects to be self-sufficient in rice production.
- 2. Almost half of a billion (437.02 million USD) accounts for financial flow to Liberia's agriculture sector- specifically the crop-subsector between 2018 and 2022.
- 3. The African Union has consistently ranked Liberia "NOT ON TRACK" to transforming its agricultural sector. Liberia failed 22 of 24 progress indicators in AU latest report.
- 4. 96% of farmers in Liberia relied on informal market as the main source of seeds, fertilizers and other inputs because agricultural market is not functional. The World Bank says Liberia is the worst place for farmers to operate their business.
- 5. Cocoa, farmers in Liberia received 69.79% less average yield/hectare than farmers in Cote' d'Ivoire, 69.22% less than farmers in Guinea, 65.6% less than farmers in Sierra Leone and 66.6% less than farmers in Ghana. Rice farmers are experiencing almost the same.
- 6. No poor country in the world has ever reduced poverty without increasing agricultural productivity. If Liberia should move out of poverty, it must prioritize the transformation of its agriculture sector and improve agricultural productivity!!
- 7. Liberians must sit up, shine their eyes, and begin to demand real sustainable results from stakeholders in the agricultural sector- especially NGOs and the Government.

Liberia produces less than half (0.2) cup of rice (its staple food) per Liberian, per day. But on average, a Liberian need a little over 1cup of rice per day. The rice per capita deficit is happening after decades of multiple donor and government projects- costing hundreds of millions of United States Dollars- that promise to make the country self-sufficient in rice production. Most recently, from 2018 to 2022, almost half of a billion (437.02 million USD) accounts for financial flow to Liberia's agriculture sector- specifically the cropsubsector. This amount does not include financial flow to other subsectors including a 40 million committed to the fishery subsector and several other millions spent on "improving" Liberia's agricultural sector by an army of NGOs deployed across the country. Of the 437.02 million, 145.9 million (33%) was committed before 2018, but only 18.6million was spent before 2018; leaving the remaining 127.2 million available for the current Administration to spend. The 437.02 million is in the form of grants 172,118,287.9 (39%), FAO's projects 7.84M (2%), Government of Liberia's budgetary support to agriculture 19.01M (4.35%), loans that Liberia will repay with interest, 185.6 M (42%) and 52.4 M (12%) from other sources including beneficiary and private sector contribution to donor projects, and the Government of Liberia's indirect support that includes tax waivers.

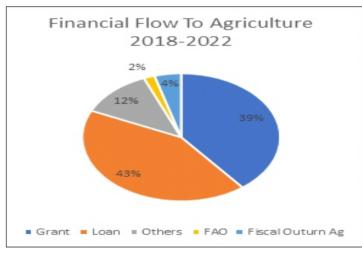
Data are scare in Liberia, and when they are available, they tend to be incomplete. Hence, the data collated and presented above- may not be the most accurate but present a good picture of agricultural spending and commitment between 2018 and 2022. Anecdotal estimate has it that- before 2018- over a billion was spent to make Liberia self-sufficient in rice production. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), World Bank, African Development Bank (AFDB), USAID, and FAO were and are currently the major donors or lenders. There is also an "army" of agricultural NGOs working to improve Liberia's agriculture sector.

Except three of the current projects that are

scheduled to last for 4-6 years, funds from these organizations are spread across short-term (2-3yrs) projects, implemented in piecemeal across Liberia. The projects are designed a bit differently with unique acronyms to match, but all project work practically towards the same goals: to enable smallholder farmers improve productivity and increase production and to improve agricultural markets. The projects also seek to increase farmers' income, reduce poverty, and food import and improve food security and nutrition.

For example, the AFDB and the Global Agriculture and Food and Security Program (GAFSP) say their "Smallholder Agricultural Productivity Enhancement and Commercialization Project" and "Smallholder Agriculture Development for Food and Nutrition Security (SADFONS) are being implemented to "Increase farmers' income through crop intensification, value addition and market development and to improve food and nutrition security and reduce poverty; respectively. The World Bank says its "Rural Economic Transformation Project (RETRAP)" is aimed at "increasing productivity and market access for farmers and agri-enterprises" while IFAD's Tree Crop Extension Projects have been seeking to improve the incomes and climate change resilience of smallholder cocoa producers.

Short-term agricultural loans, grants, and projects promising pathways to food self-sufficiency, and poverty alleviation have old footprints and not new in Liberia. The AfDBs first agricultural project was implemented in Liberia in 1968 and it sought to increase rice production. Later in 1977 the FAO entered Liberia and has been working to revitalize the agriculture sector. IFAD came in 1981 with its first smallholder rice seed project to increase rice



production and has not left- except during the war. But previous and current interventions- costing billions of dollars- have not been able to transform Liberia's agriculture to deliver what the country desperately needs and what its agricultural sector holds the key to provide: strong economic growth, food, and nutrition security and sustained rural poverty reduction and jobs for urban youths.

NOT ON TRACK to Agricultural Transformation: 15 years of Poor Agricultural Productivity, Low Production, Increased Rice Import, and Poor Nutrition Outcome

After decades of spending billions to transform Liberia's agriculture, the following facts ought to make Liberians sit up, pay attention, and begin to demand accountability from NGOs and the government. Since 2017 (the year the African Union began tracking its members' progress towards a transformed agricultural sector) Liberia has been consistently ranked "NOT ON TRACK" to transforming its agricultural sector. On the AU's latest scorecard, Liberia failed 22 of the 24 indicators of progress; including, 0 out of 3 points for its capacity to engage in evidence-based agricultural intervention, 1.3 out of 8.25 points for farmers' access to fertilizers, seeds, and other inputs, 0.58 out of 10 points for farmers' access to finance and 2.38 out of 10 points for public expenditure on agriculture and 1.69 points out of 3 points for food security and nutrition.

The "NOT ON TRACK" is consistent with many situations in Liberia and the following highlights of the agricultural input market- especially for seeds and fertilizers- are revealing. Agricultural Input Markets are among the first set of structures required to ensure the adequate supply of

improved inputs (seeds, fertilizers, insecticide, and technology) to farmers, to boost productivity on their farms and increase production. But in Liberia, the market remains largely informal, disorganized, and hence, continuously failing to provide the quality and quantity of farm inputs the farmers need.

Up to 2017, about 96% of farmers in Liberia relied on the informal and unregulated market as the primary source of inputs. This informal market features traders from neighboring countries who supply mostly counterfeit/uncertified seeds, and fertilizers that contribute to low production quantity and poor quality that has kept many farmers in recurrent financial losses, and food deficit after months of hard labor. The number of farmers that use certified seeds in Liberia for the major crops (including rice and cassava) is just 8,137 (4%) of the approximately 203,442 farmers because the input market is nonfunctional and there is less attention directed to developing and enforcing policies that increase confidence for private investment. The dire situation with Liberia's agricultural market is further explained in the "Enabling The Business for Agriculture (EBA)", a World Bank study that examines to what extent governments make it easier or harder for farmers to operate their businesses. The EBA ranks Liberia the worst (101 out of 101 countries studied) in its overall 2019 ranking; revealing that fragile countries, including Haiti, Mali, Sudan, and Iraq, scored better than Liberia in the overall ranking for enabling agricultural business.

On a scale of 0 to 100 for registering fertilizers and supplying seeds, Liberia scored 0 for registering fertilizers and 7.4 for seed supply. Something very disturbing about the World Bank's EBA report is that Liberia's miserable performance is reported after another unit of the World Bank, USAID, AFDB, the Swedish Government and other NGOs have spent at least 200 million on no less than six projects (1, 2,3, 4, 5, 6) that are focused- in a significant part or whole- on "developing agricultural market", reforming agricultural markets", "improving market access for farmers and agri-enterprises".

These poor outcomes are furthered revealed in the trend and status of the productivity and production of major crops in Liberia, food imports and its attendant cost, and nutrition outcome -especially food related non-communicable diseases. For the past 15 years (2006- 2020) the average yield per hectare for rice, cassava, and cocoa farmers in Liberia were significantly lower than their counterparts in neighboring countries (See Figure-2).

Figure-2: Source- Computed using FAO Data

Cocoa, farmers in Liberia received 69.79% less average yield/hectare than farmers in Cote' d'Ivoire, 69.22% less than farmers in Guinea, 65.6% less than farmers in Sierra Leone and 66.6% less than farmers in Ghana. Rice farmers in Liberia received 50.2% less average yield/hectare than farmers in Cote' d'Ivoire received; 13.1% less than farmers in Guinea, 20.2% less than farmers in Sierra Leone and 45.8% less than farmers in Ghana. Rice is Liberia's staple food, and almost every past and current leader in Liberia (President, Senator, Representative)- has promised to make Liberia selfsufficient in rice production. But after 15years of uninterrupted peace and spending billions to increase rice production, Liberia remains a food deficit country with a 15 vears (2006-2020) average rice (milled) production of 181,411.13 metric tons; 568,588.87 metric tons or 68.17% less than the 750 thousand metric tons Liberians demand every year. At the current average production (181,411.13 MTH) and the current population of 5.058 million, Liberia's rice value chain provides less than half (0.2) cup of rice per Liberian per day. On average, a Liberian consumes over 1cup of rice per day. Instead of taking bold but evidence-baked action to increase rice production and address the per capita rice deficit, Liberia finds comfort in importing rice. As the population grows, the rice deficit increases, and the import quantity and cost to import rice grows. Over the last 15 years, rice import has gone north: from 210 thousands metric tons in 2006 to approximately 400 thousand metric tons in 2020; costing Liberia at least 200 million on average.

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

2022

-Keynote Speaker Challenges UL 102nd Graduates

he keynote speaker at the University of Liberia (UL) 102nd **Commencement Convocation** Mrs. Saundra Berry Hall has challenged the graduating English as "The class of FRUITFULNESS."

Madam Hall, who is the president of the University of Liberia Alumni Association in the Americas, told the graduates

She reminded the graduates that the University of Liberia needs them, adding, "You are the future movers and shakers of Liberia."



class to aspire to higher education and greater opportunities to accomplish more.

The 102nd Graduating Class of the University of Liberia is named "Naa Neeni Ma," which is translated in that they have just begun to scratch the surface.

"I challenge you to aspire to higher education and greater opportunities to accomplish more," said Madam Hall, during the opening of the college based - graduation on UL Fendall

On the first day of the commencement, 502 candidates graduated from the Liberia College of Social Sciences and Humanities, the William V. S. Tubman College

CONT'D ON PAGE 10

WAPSI Forum Raises Hope of Inlusivity and Good Governance in West Africa

he maiden edition of the West Africa Peace and Innovation (WAPSI) Forum which held on the 9th and 10th of March 2022 has raised hope of inclusivity, good governance and an enduring stakeholders' engagement on peace and security in the region.

The Forum is a platform designed by the ECOWAS Commission and its partners to intensify community engagement, facilitate cutting edge research and

foster the dissemination of knowledge sharing on best practices and innovative solutions to the emerging challenges to human security in the ECOWAS region.

Speaking during its opening, the ECOWAS Commission President Jean Claude Kassi Brou noted that the Forum is being launched at an auspicious time when the West African region is facing human security and severe health challenges, accentuated by the ravaging COVID-19 pandemic.

In her goodwill message, the



Head of European Union (EU) delegation to Nigeria and ECOWAS, Ms Cecile Tassin-Pelzer stated that Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated existing challenges such as the surge in armed conflicts, proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), climate change, unconstitutional seizure of power, among others. ECOWAS, she maintained must galvanize action and intensify collaboration with stakeholders in finding solutions to the varied issues raised at the forum. She pledged that EU will continue to support the African Governance Architecture.

The Ambassador of Federal Republic of Germany to Nigeria and ECOWAS, represented by his deputy Herr Martin Huth, emphasized the need to build bridges in order to collectively address the effect of the Covid-19 pandemic on global economy and the most vulnerable in societies.

Presenters, participants, discussants and the generality of invitees who dialogued at the virtual sessions were persuaded that the West African region, more than

ever before is in need of

'Aspire to Higher Education' -Keynote Speaker Challenges UL 102nd Graduates -Legender Speaker Challenges UL 102nd Graduates - Campus on Monday, March 14, 2022. - Campus on Monday, March 14, 2022. - Campus on Monday, March 14, 2022. - Campus on Monday, March 14, 2022.

recent report released by the EJS Center has highlighted the chronic underreporting of women candidates in the runup to the general and presidential elections held in Zambia in 2021. The report analyzed 1,344 articles across 8 Zambian news outlets and found that only 18.15% mentioned women candidates. The report also uncovered the use of toxic and derogatory language targeted at women candidates.

Given the critical role that the media plays in shaping voters' perceptions of candidates, the gender bias revealed in the report raises concerns about whether women

gender bias in the media that was unveiled by the EJS Center through media monitoring and interviews with women candidates and journalists.

One woman candidate interviewed by the Center highlighted lack of access to resources as a barrier to securing coverage, noting:

"If you have no access to media to explain yourself and defend yourself, and also to bring out your true character, then your potential is killed. Just like that."

Two additional key areas of concern were also identified: the biased-at times toxic-coverage of women candidates, and the underrepresentation of women



can compete on a level playing field with their male counterparts. Women make up only 12.9% of the members of parliament elected in 2021 in Zambia. It is clear that more work must be done to uncover and overcome entrenched barriers to equal representation.

The report, entitled 'The Voices Forgotten by The Fourth Estate—A Report on Gender Bias in the Media Ahead of Zambia's 2021 Elections,' identified a significant lack of coverage of women candidates during the election period. This chronic underreporting is just one key area of concern related to

in the newsroom. An established woman candidate shared her concerns over toxic media coverage:

It's very tough... Every day they are calling you names. Using very vulgar language toward you. [In] Zambian politics people go to the extent of even branding you a prostitute."

The report shed light on actions that could be taken to address these concerns and create a more genderresponsive media landscape. Concluding the report, EJS Center Founder and former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

CONT'D ON PAGE 10

innovative approaches to tackle emerging human security challenges.

The Forum featured the launch of two reports commissioned by WAPSI-on Human Security and Leveraging Technology for Peacebuilding in the ECOWAS region. There were also breakout sessions where panelists and experts examined the multifaceted dimensions of human security, Covid-19

ramifications, digital technologies and mediation among others.

The two-day forum wound up with a summary of highlights by the Executive Director of West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) Dr. Chukwuemeka Eze who urged ECOWAS Member States and stakeholders to move beyond

CONT'D ON PAGE 10

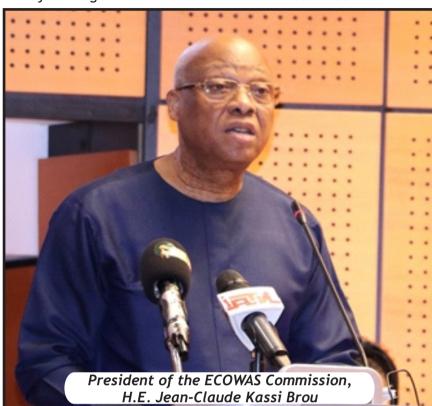
President of ECOWAS Commission to Co-Chair Africa Investment Forum Virtual Boardroom on the Abidjan-Lagos Corridor Highway in Collaboration with the AfDB for more support to orphanages

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

E C O W A S Commission, H.E. Jean-Claude Kassi Brou will Co-Chair a Virtual Boardroom to attract investors to finance the construction of the Abidjan-Lagos Corridor

(GMT) on the 16th of March 2022.

The Abidjan-Lagos Corridor Highway, is a project that aims to construct a 6-lane supranational highway with components to transform it into economic development corridor that interconnects 5 ECOWAS Member



Highway Project with H.E. Solomon Quaynor, Vice President of the African Development Bank (AfDB) for Private Sector, Infrastructure, and Industrialization at 10:30 am

States (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria) thus, facilitating transport linkages, free movement, and improved cross border economic exchanges between the five (5) countries involved.

present this ECOWAS flagship infrastructure project in the transport sector (the Abidjan-Lagos Corridor Highway Development Project) to potential investors, with a deal to ask for Investment financing.

The Abidjan-Lagos Corridor Highway Project, which is being implemented fully in collaboration with the Corridor Countries, is key on the 2nd Priority Action Plan for the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA-PAP II). It is also a priority under the new ECOWAS Vision 2050 which among other objectives, seek to "Make ECOWAS a fully Integrated and Interconnected Economic Region". Once completed, the corridor will boost trade (catalyst for the AfCFTA), instigate investment in other economic sectors, create employment opportunities for the citizens of Member States.

The Corridor also forms part of the wider Dakar-Lagos Corridor and is a major part of the Trans African Highway Network and key priority in the ECOWAS 25-year Regional Infrastructure Development Master Plan.



Minister for Operations, Prince K. Vincent, has called for more support for orphanages around the Country to enable them provide quality care for the less fortunate within their various homes.

Minister Vincent made the remark over the weekend when he identified with the orphans, deaf and mute, at the Sister IYE Orphanage and another center in the

eputy Defense Gardnerville, Kebbah Community.

He said the less fortunate must not be abandoned because they are potential future leaders that can contribute to the development of the Country if their plight is properly addressed.

The Liberian Deputy Defense Chief said Vocational Education is paramount in the rebuilding process of Liberia

CONT'D ON PAGE 10

Bea Mountain workers protest outside Court

orkers of Bea Mountain Mining Company have staged a protest at the Temple of Justice, appealing to President George Manneh Weah to address their plights.

The protesters converged at the Judicial branch Monday, 14 March 2022 during the official opening of the March Term of Court of the Supreme Court of Liberia. The protester apparently assumed that President Weah would attend the ceremony, thereby assembling there to draw his attention.

They carried placards with the inscription "Mr. President please look into our case."

Bea Mountain which operates in Grand Cape Mount County, western Liberia, saw its operations come to a standstill in January this year after local citizens clashed with management while targeting the company's operation.

The citizens' protest was in demand of the fulfillment of a 14 count resolution comprising several demands made to the company including a 2% exploration benefit.

For example, sources say, Laar and Manna, two



communities within the concession area, are requesting the signing of an extra MOU containing projects valued over US\$50 million with the company.

But following days of violent protests and destruction of the company's properties, the Liberian Government later in January this year ordered the resumption of normal operations at Bea Mountain Mining Corporation.

The order followed a mediation between the company and stakeholders including citizens of communities in the concession areas in Kinjor, Grand Cape Mount.

NEC, DI launch election

National Elections Commission, (NEC), in collaboration with Democracy International (DI), has officially launched its Election Essay Contest for Poll Workers who participated in the 2020 Special Senatorial Elections, (SSE), and the 16 November 2021 Representative Byelections.

The United States Aid for International Development, USAID, is providing funding for the 2022 Election Essay Contest. The poll worker 500word election essay competition is under the theme, My Duty, My Country, My Future.

According to a NEC release Monday, Poll Worker can submit a 500-word essay about their experiences and motivation as a poll worker as it relates to their civic duty. The Essay may be typed or hand written.

A NEC release Monday, 14

March 2022 informs the public that the Election ESSAY CONTEST starts on tomorrow, Tuesday, 15 March 2022 and ends on 22 April 2022. Electronic Essays can be submitted to EDA-EssayContest@democracyintern ational.com, while Hard copies can be delivered to Democracy International Liberia Office,

between 12th and 13th Streets, in Sinkor.

The Winner of the 2022 election essay will have the opportunity to meet and greet with the Board of Commissioners of NEC, US Ambassador to Liberia, and the USAID Mission Director to



Français

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

2022

es 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

a 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 p r é l i m i n a i r e s d u 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.



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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 maind'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 pourrons 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

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 "".

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

STANBUL - 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

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

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 Ecossais 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 antiaméricaine.

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

Daron Acemoglu, professeur d'économie au MIT, coauteur (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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of Education, and the David A. Straz-Sinje Technical and Vocational College based in Sinje, Grand Cape Mount

In her address to the three colleges, Madam Hall said the pathway to success for these colleges as they perform their respective responsibilities of training and imparting students to make contributions to their country must be anchored on some major pillars.

She listed the pillars as qualified instructional staff; relevant and dynamic curricula and textbooks and other instructional materials; learning resource centers; state of the art technology and exposure of students to research and experiential learning.

As president of the University of Liberia Alumni Association in the Americas (ULIBAAA), Madam Hall said she had been asked by the association to explore ways that ULIBAAA can partner with the University of Liberia and provide some needed assistance."I want to assure you that University of Liberia Alumni Association in the Americas, of which I am the President, stands ready to partner with you and our University family, to help in any way possible, incorporating your skills, knowledge, expertise and resources, for us to move the University forward," Madam Hall said.

Matthew Gonmah, valedictorian of the three colleges, expressed gratitude to the University of Liberia and the Visitor of the University and President George Manneh Weah for the significant impacts made in the lives of the students by introducing the tuition free policy at UL.He however pleaded with President Weah to provide more resources to the University of Liberia so that in return, the university will be able to adequately empower the Department of Social Work to address the problem and nightmare of Liberia, referencing the disadvantaged youth or zogoes. He noted that such

'Aspire To Higher

2022

support to the university will also benefit other colleges and departments and provide support for a world - class digital library that will help place the institution in the 21st century academic era.

Talking a bit more about Social Workers, Mr. Gonmah said most people think of them when they think of poverty alleviation and child welfare or giving food.

But he noted that Social Workers perform different tasks and more, adding, "Today, the department of Social Work has trained students, through their internship program within the department working with GOL [Government of Liberia] ministries" which include Defense Ministry, hospitals, clinics and NGOs.

He added that the Ministry of Gender has introduced cases centered on domestic violence, substance use and abuse, rape, isolation, and inequality, among others. "Social Workers are advocates in ensuring that individuals maintain independence, accessibility to public transportation, bathrooms, education and more," he said.

Gonmah noted that issues of health problems that intersect with social problems, should be addressed by professional Social Workers and educators such as illiteracy, homelessness, and poverty.

Rev. Prof. Dr. Julius Julukon Sarwolo Nelson, Jr., President of the University of Liberia, said as the University of Liberia plays its role in the investment of the human resources, it assures the entire country that it is confident and proud of its products today.

"Liberia is faced with numerous challenges as we continue to pick up the pieces, transform our nation into what [it] should be, and play our role amongst the comity of nations," said President Nelson.

He added that "we are all aware, that the only way this can be done effectively, is when we invest in, and develop our human resources, as we tackle the daunting task on our hands."

President Nelson thanked the parents and family members who served as support and pillars to the outstanding graduates, as they came from day to day,

bettering themselves for the future of mama Liberia, and the world at large.

"Be assured that your input and investments are highly appreciated, and will certainly pay off," President Nelson said. He also appreciated the entire University of Liberia (Lux in Tenebris) family, for brightening the light, and leading the institution to where it is today.

Addressing the graduates, President Nelson said he knows the road has been rough, and the journey has been tough, but through the special Grace and Mercy of the Almighty, the graduates have made it through.

"To our 157 graduates from the College of Education, our 252 graduates from the Liberia College, and our 93 graduates from the Straz-Sinje Technical and Vocational College, we want you to know that we are deeply proud of you," said Dr. Nelson.

He said all 502 of them have been through the fire, broken into pieces, been tested and tried, and they have turned out as pure gold.

"Gold that will shine in the darkness of corruption; gold that will shine in the darkness of systemic challenges; gold that will shine in the darkness of inequality and equal opportunity. You are our gold today, and we are proud to send you out there as degree holders in your respective areas of discipline, with the recognition and respect attached thereto, as you represent the Lux in Tenebris in the larger society. GO OUT AND SHINE," he urged.

The commencement exercise will continue on Wednesday, March 16, 2022 in Fendall, with the conferral of degrees on candidates from the Thomas J. Faulkner College of Science and Technology, the William R. Tolbert College of Agriculture and Forestry and the College of Engineering.

The UL will over the next one week confer degrees on more than 2,000 candidates from the undergraduate, graduate and professional schools.

Deputy Minister Vincent calls

after years of civil wars.

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He encouraged orphanages to begin focusing their attention in such a direction.Deputy Minister Vincent called on the students at the orphanages to be studious as only a sound education can make them better future leaders.

"I am excited to be here today, to share the moment

with you guys and to encourage you to remain focused for a better future," he said.

"Don't let your current situations pull you down, don't

shortcuts in life, but work hard," Deputy Minister Vincent emphasized.

Welcoming Minister Vincent to Sister IYE Orphanage, Mr. Thomas Momo, Head of the

Home, lauded the Deputy Minister for the visit, stressing that the entire orphanage was thrilled by his gestures.

"We are glad to have you here with us today, and thanks for the gift you have brought for us; we will also remember you for these kind gestures and great words of encouragement," Mr. Momo

Starts from the back

by the court.

authority of the court. These are situations that are faced by some of our courts during the enforcement of judgment," said Cllr. Rennie.

He urged that stakeholders "This also questions the have conversation around these issues and find solutions so that court officials are not sometimes beaten by community members for simply enforcing a court order.

NEW DAWN 10

Starts from page 6 WAPSI FORUM Raises Hope of Inlusivity

rhetorics, budget for and promote bottoms-up approach to peacebuilding, and invest in critical health infrastructure since human security risks are not defined by the absent of threats but the vulnerabilities of the people to threats.

Bringing the highly networked and globally attended event to a close, the ECOWAS Commission's Commissioner, Political Affairs, Peace and Security, represented by the Head of Division Mediation and Coordination of Regional Political Affairs Dr. Onyiye

Onwuka, expressed profound gratitude to all the Commission's partners for a successful hosting of the event while reiterating the need for sustained partnership and engagement with all institutions, to ensure a healthier, safer region for community citizens.

The forum is co-funded by the European Union and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), and implemented with the support of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ GmbH).

Starts from page 6 ESI Presidential Center for women

noted:

"We cannot underestimate the importance of media's role in shaping our world view, and specifically how we view women. They have a responsibility to ensure free, fair, and unbiased reporting in order to level the playing field and allow women to reach their full potential—as political candidates, community leaders, or valued members of society. It is also the responsibility of institutions like the EJS Center to help the media along on this journey and work with them to create an equal media landscape for all."

The report was the result of extensive work conducted by the EJS Center and partners in Zambia to track and analyze media coverage ahead of, during, and after the 2021 elections. While the report is not exhaustive, it is hoped that it will spark further discussion on the issue of gender bias and its impact within the media industry in Zambia and across the African continent and serve as a gateway to nurturing a fair and equal media environment in

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 Gbengba Town, Paynesville.

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

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



Registered Land Surveyor Cell #: 0886301241/0777985788

n NEC chair trial: LACC fights to dismiss mo

tate prosecutors have filed a **J**counter motion requesting Criminal Court "C" Judge T. Ciapha Carey to dismiss a motion by lawyers representing National Elections Commission (NEC) chair Mrs. Davidetta Browne Lansanah, which seeks dismissal of the trial.

The NEC had earlier filed a motion seeking a complete dismissal of the entire case on grounds that the Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission (LACC) lacks the legal backing to prosecute the crime-insider trading on the basis that the law has not been enacted and that the court itself lacks jurisdiction over the and therefore their client cannot and should not plead to the alleged crime of insider trading.

The lawyers also argued that the court does not have any jurisdiction over their client as it relates to the violation of the Code of Conduct for public officials because the Code of Conduct provides its own disciplinary processes in the event where there is an infringement /breach of the Code in Part XIV Section 14.1."

They defended their argument by propounding that Part XII of the very Code of Conduct provides for the creation of the office of an Ombudsman: section 12.1 of the Code of Conduct states: "The office of an Ombudsman is hereby established as an independent autonomous body which shall be responsible for the enforcement. oversight, monitoring and



matter.

But the LACC says the case as it relates to insider trading and market manipulation is in violation of the Code of Conduct consistent with Part XVII: Criminal Offence, therefore it is acting properly.

The Liberian anti-graft commission also insists that the court has jurisdiction over the case because the statue which creates the Criminal Court "C" confers such iurisdiction.

But NEC boss lawyers' argument here is that the alleged crime of insider trading has not been enacted into law and has not been penalized under Liberian statutory laws

evaluation of the adherence to the code of Conduct"

But state prosecutors in their motion have countered argued that the LACC acted properly in the absence and the creation of the office of the Ombudsman it acted in its stead.

However, the NEC's argument are: (1) that "insider trading" is not a cognizable crime under Liberian law; and (2) that under the national code of conduct, the ombudsman has the sole authority to receive and investigate complaints of alleged violations and impose sanction.

The lawyers argument here is that while "insider trading" is mentioned in the LACC act and the anti-money laundering act, that mention is conditional first because those acts do not define what constitutes insider trading, neither do they say what the penalty is. Next, the money laundering act in section 15 lists several predicate offenses and says as may be provided in the penal code or other Liberian

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They maintained, being aware that the Liberian law doesn't provide any definition and penalty of what insider trading is, the LACC (in the indictment) cited the definition of insider trading from Black's law dictionary-arguing that this is unacceptable, especially in matters of criminal allegations.

Moreover, the LACC did not dispute that the Code vests jurisdiction in the ombudsman to receive and investigate complaints of alleged violation and impose sanction. Instead, the LACC argues that in the absence of the ombudsman, it can act. However, the problem with this argument, legal experts explained is that in matters of public laws, a party/commission can't assume authority unto itself. That authority must be stated in the law, in this case the Code.

They assert that assuming but without agreeing the LACC could act in the absence of the ombudsman, does the Code give criminal court "C" jurisdiction to impose the Code's administrative sanctions on a person? There's absolutely no provision in the Code for the criminal court to impose and/or judicially review the imposition of the Code's administrative sanctions.

On March 8, lawyers representing Mrs. Browne-Lansanah filed a motion asking Judge Carey to dismiss the case saying, the alleged crime of insider trading upon which the LACC is prosecuting their client has not been enacted.

The LACC thru its Executive Chairperson Cllr. Edwin Kla Martin on Wednesday, December 15, 2021, indicted Madam Browne Lansanah for alleged conflict of interest and corruption. Report had it in November 2021 that the NEC under the supervision of Chairperson Davidetta Browne Lansanah during the November 16, 2021 by-elections in four counties, rented thermometers from a company called Tuma Enterprises Inc., allegedly owned by her brothers for over US\$180,000 outside of government procurement regulations.

She was charged and indicted for the alleged crime of insider trading in violation of Part II, Section 2.2 of the 2008 Corruption Acts establishing the LACC.

CDC partisans in Nimba decry neglect

By Thomas Domah/ Nimba County



everal aggrieved partisans of the ruling **J**Coalition for a second contact. Democratic Change in Nimba County are disenchanted over lack of attention and support from the county and national leadership of the party.

Speaking to reporters in Ganta, Nimba County, the chairperson for the aggrieved partisans Melvin Bundeh laments that they currently face problems, noting that both the county and national leadership of the CDC have not been able to improve their living condition, including job opportunities.

The CDC national leadership in Monrovia about a month ago declared all county chapters vacant, pending national convention, as the ruling Coalition seeks second term in

Bundeh continues that they have been downplayed because of selfish interest and bad leadership.

According to him, since the ascendency of President Weah, they as partisans of the ruling program such as micro loans.

Melvin alleges that instead, partisans of the Movement for **Democracy and Reconstruction** (MDR) headed by Senator Prince Yormie Johnson are benefiting from job opportunities than CDcians in the county.

Sen. Johnson pledged support and campaigned for Mr. Weah in 2017. He remains an ardent supporter of the President and has already begun pre-campaign activities for President Weah's second term

But many critics, including Nimbaians say the Senator is in the habit of directing all benefits to his MDR party for his political loyalty to President Weah.

He further reveals that since President Weah election in 2017, there has been no meeting and recruitment for the CDC in Nimba with just a year away to the next Presidential election.

Meanwhile the aggrieved partisan chairperson disclosed they will protest in the county to express their disappointment and frustrations against the party are yet to benefit ruling CDC for neglecting them scholarship or empowerment ahead of elections in 2023. Editing by Jonathan Browne



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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 2022

Don't undermine court's dignity, integrity -CJ Korkpor cautions new lawyers court. Lastly, preserve the secret of your client," he said,



By Lincoln G. Peters hief Justice Francis S. Korkpor has admitted Counselors of the Supreme Court Bar to be mindful of the oath they took and disengage from any act that has the propensity to undermine the dignity and integrity of the court.

"As you embark on the practice of law before this court, we admonish you to always be mindful of the oath you took and make yourselves respectable and honorable citizens," Chief Justice Korkpor said Monday, 14 March 2022 at the opening of the March Term of Court.

He urged the new counselors to support and uphold the Constitution, the statutory laws of Liberia and the rule of all

"Do nothing to undermine the dignity and integrity of the adding that the preservation of clients' secrets will increase lawyers' credibility in their work.

The opening of the March Term of Court had a huge attendance of lawyers and other prominent officials of government, including Liberia's Justice Minister and Attorney General, Frank Musa Dean, Senate President Pro tempore Albert Chea and the Minister of State for Presidential Affairs Mr. Nathaniel MaGill, among others.

For his part, the newly inducted President of the Liberia National Bar Association, Cllr. Sylvester Rennie said there is a need for a fair and impartial dispensation of justice here.

He pointed out that a fair and impartial decision is the sole champion for a peaceful society, adding that in the absence of these core values, you find it difficult to enforce a judgment even if it is made

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