

The New Dawn

French Version Inside

TRULY INDEPENDENT

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Weah is ill-advised

-CDC Lawmaker Solomon George

12th graders seeking lawmaker jobs

-Says Miatta Fahnbulleh



What are we doing today?

Lonestar Cell

MTN



Continental News

Terror of Africans in Russian-occupied city

About 100 African students are pleading for help to leave the Ukrainian port city of Kherson, more than two weeks after it was captured by Russian forces.

They have been sheltering for days in underground bunkers on campus in bitterly cold temperatures, with no heating or supplies of medicines. They say they are traumatised and desperate to leave the southern city.

One student told the BBC that they could still hear the "terrifying" continuous sound of gunfire, explosions and military aircraft.

This could be the sound of clashes as the Russian forces push north-west towards Mykolaiv. Russian soldiers have also fired shots at people protesting against their occupation.

The Nigerian students among them have appealed to their government to help evacuate

them before it is too late. They have told the BBC that they are among the last foreigners left in the city.

"We are begging, we really need to leave this place, things are not easy for us," one student told the BBC by phone. "We're not naming them for their own safety. Nigeria's government says it is working relentlessly to help them get out. Last week, its ambassador to Moscow was told by a Russian

official that plans were being put in place to get the students out through Russia.

But that has not happened yet and in any case the students say they are wary of being taken to Russia.

In the meantime, the students, some of whom are from other countries including Cameroon, Ghana, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, said there was still some food available at the university but that most supermarkets had run out of supplies.

Those that are open are selling basic food supplies at double or even triple the normal price. "Those of us who are staying on campus are the lucky ones because there's still food being offered at the cafeteria," said one student.

A second student said that Russian troops who control the city had been dropping off basic foods such as vegetables, rice, pasta and water outside government buildings and near train and bus stations around the city. But they said they had been urged not to take them in case they were seen as collaborators by Ukrainians.

"How can we accept Russia's humanitarian support when Ukrainians are trying to reclaim their country? Anyone who dares to suggest that we take the food is sending us to death," he said.

Water for cleaning is still available but there has not been enough drinking water. Aid groups have been delivering some water and food but it is not clear how long that will go on for. BBC



There have been regular protests in Kherson since it was occupied by Russia on 3 March

Millions in East Africa risk extreme hunger - Oxfam

Up to 28 million people in East Africa are at risk of extreme hunger because of price spikes caused by the Ukraine war and potential lack of rain this March, Oxfam has warned.

Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia are experiencing the

driest weather in 40 years, meanwhile South Sudan is tackling ongoing flooding, the charity said.

It also highlighted what it views as the distraction of the international community because of the Ukraine conflict, leading to a neglect of the food crisis facing East Africa.

Describing the global response as "woefully underfunded", a press release stated that only 3% of the \$6bn (£4.5bn) UN 2022 humanitarian appeal for Ethiopia, Somalia and South Sudan had been funded.

"Areas of Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan and beyond are experiencing an unfolding full-scale catastrophe. Even if the rains do arrive this month, full recovery will be near impossible unless urgent action is taken today," Oxfam's International Executive Director Gabriela Bucher warned.

"The repercussions of the Ukrainian conflict on the global food system will reverberate around the globe, but it is the poorest and most vulnerable people who will be among those hit hardest and fastest," she said.

East African countries get up to 90% of their wheat from Ukraine and Russia, Oxfam said.

A former militia leader from the Central African Republic (CAR) has appeared for the first time at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, accused of committing war crimes and crimes against humanity. Maxime Jeoffroy Eli Mokom Gawaka was handed over to the ICC earlier this month by Chad, following an arrest warrant.

A national co-ordinator of a band of mainly Christian militias, he is suspected of committing atrocities against the Muslim population, including murder, torture and the use of child soldiers between at least 2013 and 2014. His lawyer, Nick Kaufman, told the court the conditions under which he was detained were unacceptable.

One farmer, Ahmed Mohamud Omar from Wajir County in Kenya, said the lack of food and water was impacting his cattle:

"Due to the droughts our donkeys have perished and the

He said the authorities in Chad served him mouldy bread and sardines and told Mr Mokom he was not allowed to see his lawyer. His next appearance at the ICC for a confirmation of charges hearing will be 31 January 2023.

CAR has been mired in violence since a coalition of mostly northern and predominantly Muslim rebels known as Seleka seized power in March 2013. Their ruthless rule gave rise to the opposing "anti-Balaka" Christian militias.

Several of the former leaders of both factions face charges at the ICC.

Two other anti-Balaka leaders are already on trial at the court in The Hague, while one Seleka leader is in custody awaiting trial. BBC



Food prices are rising because of the Ukraine conflict

ones remaining are too weak to pull carts.

"I think about what my family will eat, where will their next meal come from, whether I will get the daily jerrycan of water." BBC

EDITORIAL

LP split erodes Brumskine's political legacy

THE POLITICAL LEGACY of Cllr. Charles Walker Brumskine as a unifier, nationalistic statesman and an ardent promoter of political tolerance is being gradually eroded by the party he founded and left behind.

SINCE THE DEMISE of Cllr. Brumskine in 2019, the Liberty Party has failed to keep its focus. Instead, it has degenerated into personality contest fueled by selfish ambitions and factional loyalty, abandoning the code mission of providing alternative leadership to the Liberian people.

THE LP HAS failed to remain a cohesive political force or to speak with one voice. Even in its attempt to remain in a collaboration has been sheltered by a split right down the middle with Chairman Musa Hassan Bility going his own way while Political Leader Senator Nyongblee Kangar Lawrence is headed for another direction.

NOW THE FACTION led by Political Leader Senator Kangar Lawrence has parted with the now disintegrated Collaborating Political Parties (CPP), leaning on the side of former ruling Unity Party, as Chairman Bility sits on other side, trying to find his own compass rather than what Brumskine left behind.

CERTAINLY, THIS is not the kind of political institution the late Cllr. Brumskine had envisaged when he organized the Liberty Party. He envisaged a strong party would make its presence felt on the political scene, something that he achieved from the very inception of the LP in 2005.

THOUGH IT NEVER emerged victorious from the three last elections, the party rose and found itself among the top three political parties in Liberia after the civil war in 2004. But its spirit became to dwindle after the 2017 elections and the subsequent death of founding father Brumskine.

THE NYONBLEE KANGAR-Lawrence leadership has failed to uphold and protect the Brumskine Legacy with the LP. It is so sad.

A HOME THAT is divided against itself can't stand. Liberty Party is rapidly diminishing as a political force just a year after Brumskine departed. The party now exists by name, losing relevance.

CAN BILITY AND Madam Nyongblee Lawrence bury their egos and reunite Liberty Party for Brumskine's sake? Both officials ought to know that party is about the people rather than selfish interest.

THESE TWO LEADERS are disappointing Brumskine in his grave. They need to change course before the 2023 elections to keep the legacy of Cllr. Brumskine's alive.

The New Dawn
TRULY INDEPENDENT

COMMENTARY

By Antara Haldar

Black Women Justices Matter

CAMBRIDGE - In an October 2013 address at the University of Cambridge Faculty of Law lecture theater, I showed students a "class photo" of the United Kingdom's Supreme Court and challenged them to "spot the difference." It wasn't a case for Sherlock Holmes: of the 11 justices, all were white, and only one was a woman - the solitary, if indomitable, Baroness Hale.

A decade later, my colleagues across the Atlantic, thankfully, do not have to play this game with their students. Three sitting Supreme Court justices are women, two are non-white, and now the United States is on the cusp of another historic judicial appointment. On March 21, US Court of Appeals Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson, President Joe Biden's nominee to replace retiring Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer, will begin her confirmation process in the US Senate. If her appointment is successful, Biden will not only have fulfilled a major campaign promise by putting the first African-American woman on the Court; he also will have acknowledged a core truth about how legal institutions should work.

Far from being a tokenistic nod to left-wing identity politics (as right-wing critics inevitably will contend), Jackson's appointment would reinforce an essential but under-theorized feature of well-functioning legal systems: affective appeal. The makeup of a country's highest court should resemble the makeup of the country.

A critical mass of public buy-in is an indispensable ingredient in an effective legal system. Yet to the extent that the psychological dimensions of law have been considered at all, the focus has been on what social scientists call the "cognitive" side - law's appeal to participants' reason - rather than on law as an "affective institution" that is capable of appealing to participants' emotions. Following psychologist Daniel Kahneman's well-known schema, legal rules and institutions need to appeal to both System Two ("slow" analytical and theoretical thinking) as well as System One ("fast" instinctive and intuitive thinking).

The wiring of our brains is a legacy of humanity's origins in small tribes and kin networks, where trust was largely limited to one's in-group. As a result, we tend to have far more immediate affective (emotional) connections to people who look "like us." Under the right conditions, however, personal trust in an in-group member can spill over to impersonal trust in a larger institution.

As linguist George Lakoff of the University of California, Berkeley, and Mark Johnson

of the University of Oregon point out, we are all symbolic thinkers. We live by metaphors. Contemporary talk of inclusive institutions and institutional diversity is not just fashionable sloganeering. Rather, it addresses a central need in any complex society. We need institutional structures that can reflect the experiences of a broad cross-section of stakeholders. The reason the Supreme Court and other key institutions should look like the country they serve is not just a matter of politics. It is important for their own proper functioning.

In a highly divided country like the US, the legal legacy of slavery and racism is not some old scar. It is an open wound, visible in practices like red lining and voter disenfranchisement, and in tragedies like the police murder of George Floyd. Under these fraught circumstances, the appointment of an African-American woman to the highest court can help to confer the institution with legitimacy in the eyes of a key, long-alienated constituency.

Jackson brings just the right mix of objectivity and empathy to the job. It is to her credit that she has been deemed simultaneously elitist, by dint of her Harvard education, but also suspect, owing to a distant uncle's incarceration for a nonviolent drug offense. She also has a long track record as a public defender - a first for the Supreme Court.

As critical legal scholars have noted for generations, legal institutions have a mixed record (at best) of delivering justice for the disenfranchised. As such, they have no right to assume their own moral authority. Rather, they need to earn it, which requires constant reinvention.

Jackson is emphatic that she does not view all legal issues through the lens of race. Even so, her nomination raises an important issue of institutional design. By including a representative of the country's most legally neglected community in one of its most highly respected institutions, the US can set an example internationally.

As in television, cinema, and comedy, faithful representation makes for better storytelling. The mosaic of perspectives introduced into a university department, a marketing department, or a police department by more diverse hiring is not just an affirmative action cliché; it provides the basis for better performance. Similarly, Jackson's appointment to a seat on the US Supreme Court is not just good politics; it provides the basis for better jurisprudence.

Antara Haldar is University Lecturer in Empirical Legal Studies at the University of Cambridge.

O-PED

By Daron Acemoglu

The Supply-Chain Mess

BOSTON - Global supply chains used to be the last thing policymakers worried about. The topic was largely the concern of academics, who studied the possible efficiency gains and potential risks associated with this aspect of globalization. Although Japan's Fukushima nuclear disaster in 2011 had demonstrated how supply-chain disruptions could impact the global economy, few anticipated how central the problem could become.

Not anymore. Today's supply-chain bottlenecks are creating shortages, propping up inflation, and preoccupying policymakers around the world.

US President Joe Biden's administration deserves credit for recognizing that supply chains are key to future economic security. In February 2021, Biden issued an executive order directing several federal agencies to secure and strengthen the American supply chain; and in June, the White House published a 100-day review on "Building Resilient Supply Chains, Revitalizing American Manufacturing, and Fostering Broad-Based Growth."

This 250-page report contains many important proposals. Some are already part of the broader discussion on improving the US workforce's skills and the economy's capacity for innovation. Other ideas have been circulating for a while in international relations and security studies; for example, the document considers the national-security implications of defense and other critical industries' reliance on imported inputs.

But the review's most important contribution is its observation that global supply chains have imposed various social costs: "Our private sector and public policy approach to domestic production, which for years prioritized efficiency and low costs over security, sustainability and resilience, has resulted in supply chain risks." The review then asks whether hyper-globalized supply chains are so great for economic efficiency after all.

The default position among economists is "yes, they are." When two firms enter into a transaction in which each will gain something, that is good for both firms and also probably for the rest of the economy, owing to the resulting efficiency improvements and cost reductions. Whether this involves a US manufacturer offshoring the production of some inputs to a Chinese firm is beside the point.

Yet supply chains can pose a danger to an economy in two important ways (beyond the defense-related concerns mentioned above). The more complex a supply chain becomes, the greater the economic risks. A break in any link can affect the whole chain and send prices surging if it creates sudden shortages of a necessary input.

The worst-case scenario is when a failure in one part of the chain triggers domino effects, bringing down other firms and bringing the entire sector to a standstill. Logically, this scenario is similar to what one finds in financial networks, where the failure of one bank can push others into insolvency or even bankruptcy, as happened in 2008 following the collapse of Lehman Brothers.

In principle, because uncertainty is costly, businesses will take these risks into account when deciding to build supply chains. In practice, however, there are good economic reasons why firms may overextend their supply chains. For one thing, firms will account for their own risk, but not for the systemic effects they are creating, nor for the risks they are imposing on other firms or the entire economy.

Moreover, when global competition creates powerful incentives to reduce costs, even small price differences offered by foreign suppliers can become attractive, especially in the short term. In this age of stock-market options and hefty bonuses, financial interests also factor into managers' considerations. CEOs enjoy immediate compensation when they can achieve cost reductions and increase profits, whereas the significant costs of future uncertainty - or even bankruptcy - will likely be someone else's problem.

A second way that companies may overextend their supply chain is subtler but no less important. The problem, the White House review notes, is that "the United States has taken certain features of global markets - especially the fear that companies and capital will flee to wherever wages, taxes and regulation are lowest - as inevitable." This statement echoes economist Dani Rodrik's prescient observation that globalization is not just about trade in goods and services; it is also about the sharing of rents. As such, the globalization of supply chains is an integral part of the shifting balance between capital and labor.

The most straightforward mechanism for this process is the offshoring of inputs, the mere threat of which can be used by managers to keep wages low. This happens on both ends of the offshoring transaction: US companies can pay less to their employees by expanding their supply chain to countries (such as China or Vietnam) where wages are already lower as a result of lax labor regulations.

A fragmented supply chain may also make it more difficult for workers to organize for collective bargaining, creating yet another benefit for businesses. Companies may even reap tax advantages from globalizing their supply chain, if doing so allows them to book profits in lower-tax jurisdictions.

This second reason is problematic for the US economy as well. It suggests that managers will tend to globalize their companies' supply chains even when doing so is not more efficient, simply because doing so allows them to shift rents away from workers and toward shareholders. Not only does this create an excessively overextended supply chain; it also distorts the income distribution by suppressing wages, especially for low- and middle-skill workers.

The White House report proposes keeping more of the supply chain in the US, especially in manufacturing. But how can this be achieved? A two-pronged approach would be the most effective. First, the need for meaningful inducements for businesses to invest in their domestic supply chains implies that the tax advantages of offshoring inputs should be eliminated, and the opportunities for labor-regulation arbitrage should be curtailed.

But other, more fundamental changes are also needed. The global supply-chain mess is an opportunity for the US to have a broader conversation about the economy and what it is for. As long as CEOs remain obsessed with short-term stock-market performance, bolstered by the ideology of "shareholder value," they will seek ways to shift rents away from their workers, whatever the risks.

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*.

OPINION

By Shang-Jin Wei

Digital Finance Without Cryptocurrencies

NEW YORK - When Tesla CEO Elon Musk promoted the Dogecoin and Bitcoin cryptocurrencies, their prices shot up. While some countries are taking a wait-and-see attitude toward private digital money, El Salvador has embraced Bitcoin as an official currency. And the New York State Department of Financial Services (NYDFS) has been busy issuing licenses (and collecting fees) to people who want to create and trade cryptocurrencies. Taking the opposite tack, China has recently banned both the mining of cryptocurrencies and their use as a medium of exchange.

Given the diverse policy responses, how should we assess the social costs and benefits of different types of digital currency? Let us consider free-floating cryptocurrencies, stablecoins, and central bank digital currencies (CBDCs).

The prices of free-floating cryptocurrencies - of which Bitcoin is the most famous example - are not anchored to any other asset. Despite their rapid growth, it is important to remember that cryptocurrencies have no intrinsic fundamental value and are therefore vulnerable to price crashes.

The recent run-up in cryptocurrency prices recalls the seventeenth-century tulip price bubble in the Netherlands, when an initial price increase attracted more buyers to the market, pushing up prices further. But, as with the tulip mania, some seemingly random news in the future could end the cryptocurrency boom, triggering a downward price spiral as existing owners rush to the exit.

One attraction of cryptocurrencies for investors and speculators is that they resemble a lottery ticket - while the potential loss is limited to what you pay for it, the potential gains could be enormous. Although we lack precise data on who is trading cryptocurrencies, research on lottery tickets suggests that less wealthy investors are more likely to be attracted to this market. Crypto exchanges like Coinbase have made buying cryptocurrencies as easy as buying a lottery ticket, with the minimum trade as low as \$2. This means any future price crash is likely to hurt the segment of society least able to afford a drop in their savings.

In contrast to free-floating cryptocurrencies, stablecoins' value is pegged to either an official currency such as the US dollar or Japanese yen, or to a precious commodity like gold or oil, and thus have a natural anchor for their prices. But investors should first ask whether a stablecoin issuer is backing their coin fully with the equivalent amount of underlying assets. Otherwise, the stablecoin's intrinsic value should reflect the risk that, in a major market crash, the coin provider may not have sufficient reserves to convert all their coins to high-quality assets without imposing a haircut on the promised value.

Even stablecoin providers who promise to hold full collateral should have their reserves regularly and independently audited. Entities such as NYDFS that issue operating licenses to coin providers typically do not perform such a function.

In countries that have a history of high inflation or hyperinflation, such as some in Latin America and Africa, there may be a case for using stablecoins as a medium of exchange. But for most countries with a reasonably well managed monetary policy, stablecoins could undermine policy effectiveness by making the overall liquidity in the economy less controllable by central banks. Moreover, both stablecoins and free-floating cryptocurrencies can be, and have been, used to launder money and for other illicit financial transactions.

Last but not least, national interests may clash. In December 2020, for example, NYDFS approved GYEN, a stablecoin pegged to the yen. GYEN is considered by New York State a digital financial innovation that generates revenue and employment for the state. But if this stablecoin were to gain significant traction as a medium of exchange in Japan, then its potential costs - including a loss of seigniorage revenue and reduced effectiveness of Japanese monetary policy - would be felt there.

CBDCs are a much better bet. For starters, they can save governments billions of dollars by removing the need to circulate and maintain notes and coins. The United States, for example, currently spends more than \$1 billion each year on minting, printing, and maintaining coins and paper notes. The savings that would result from introducing an official digital dollar could be deployed for other socially useful programs - such as providing free Medicaid to the 31.1 million Americans who are not covered by any medical-insurance program, or funding the National Endowment for the Arts five times over.

Because CBDCs are also a means of payment that could be used instead of a credit card, they can exert pressure on existing payment providers to become more efficient and reduce their transaction fees. Consumers and businesses alike will benefit.

Moreover, because official digital currencies are issued by central banks, they do not compromise the effectiveness of monetary policy. And while all digital payment and transaction systems raise questions about data security and the protection of personal information, CBDCs have as good a chance as their private-sector alternatives of addressing these concerns.

While CBDCs will help to improve the financial system's efficiency, free-floating cryptocurrencies do not have a bright future and carry the risk of financial instability. Stablecoins are somewhere in between. For these reasons, we should not be surprised to see more countries over the next few years ban free-floating cryptocurrencies as a medium of exchange, roll out official digital currencies, and impose strict regulations on stablecoins.

Shang-Jin Wei, a former chief economist at the Asian Development Bank, is Professor of Finance and Economics at Columbia Business School and Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.

ARTICLE**ARTICLE**

After Failing Locals in Large Concessions, Italian Tycoon Lets Community Forests Down

By James Harding Giahue, with *The DayLight*

GBI-DORU DISTRICT and COMPOUND NUMBER TWO - When International Consultant Capital (ICC) stopped its logging operations in Nimba County in 2019, it was already owing villagers over US\$55,000 having used their land and felled their timbers, leaving behind broken development promises and an estimated 7,000 logs, according to locals.

ICC and the Gbi-Doru Administrative District had signed the 10-year social agreement in 2010 as part of forest management contract area K—commonly called FMC-K Nimba in the forestry sector—covering 127,842 hectares. FMC-K is the largest logging concession in Liberia, extending to River Cess and Grand Gedeh and totaling 266,910 hectares of woodlands.

The same year ICC parked off from Gbi-Doru, African Wood & Lumber Company (AWL)—now owned by Italian businessman Cesare Colombo, ICC's CEO—signed logging deals with two community forests. In January, Colombo secured the agreement with Gbarsaw & Dorbor for 21,230 hectares of forest in Norwien District, River Cess County for five years. Later in July, he concluded the deal with Marblee & Karblee between Compound Number One and Two, Grand Bassa, giving him logging rights in its 24,355-hectare woodland for the same duration. AWL had been established in 2015 by a Liberian businessman called Krangar Logan and Colombo became its sole shareholder as of March last year, the company's article of incorporation shows.

Like ICC in Gbi-Doru, AWL's agreements with Gbarsaw & Dorbor and Marblee & Karblee have been marred by broken promises and indebtedness to the communities in land and log-harvesting fees. With no clauses in the deals for things like schools and clinics commonplace in logging contracts, both communities solely rely on harvesting fees to conduct development projects such as roads, schools and clinics.

AWL owes Gbarsaw & Dorbor US\$5,000 for human resource development, and US\$37,786 land rental fees, the leadership of the community forest told *The DayLight*.

Colombo blames his company's indebtedness to that community on illegal chainsaw milling. Also called pit-saw milling in the Liberian logging industry, chainsaw milling involved the use of chainsaws to rip logs into planks. The practice, which is currently unregulated, has increasingly become a nuisance across the forestry sector.

The situation in Marblee & karblee is even worse. The company owes the community US\$39,000 for the use of its forestland, US\$6,000 for scholarship and has failed to pave dirt roads in that area in the last three years, according to locals. The Forestry Development Authority (FDA) did not grant our request for AWL's record of payments and production, though the National Forestry Reform Law guarantees public access to such information. However, it harvested 6,136.59 cubic meters of logs from November 2020 to June last year, records of the company's production *The DayLight* obtained show. That means the company owes the villagers US\$, 38,353 representing harvesting and development fees in line with their agreement.

"We are coming to have [a] meeting to write the company. If they don't want the forest again, let them give it back to us," says Arthur Bayogar, a community forest leader.

Colombo again denies any wrongdoing, adding that the company had also not paid the Marblee & Karblee the full amount due to illegal chainsaw-milling activities. He demands the community pays his company for every log the pit-sawyers harvested.

"The outstanding payment [is] due to the pit-sawing activity that is not allowed in the concession," Colombo tells *The DayLight* in an emailed interview. "And for each log felled, compensation to the company [needs] to be calculated."

'Taking advantage'



International Consultant Capital's camp in Gbi-Doru District, Nimba County. *The DayLight*/James Harding Giahue

Forest governance campaigners say Colombo's move from FMC- K Nimba to community forests in River Cess and Grand Bassa is part of a new trend across the forestry sector. The last five years have seen companies and individuals associated with large logging agreements turn to community forests. Under Liberian laws and regulations, companies enter logging concessions with the government but sign community forest deals directly with villagers. A guiding principle of forestry reform in Liberia, the scheme was meant to ensure rural towns and villages benefit from forest resources denied them for generations. But that has not worked for many communities, with companies being indebted to locals rifle, some for over a decade.

Andrew Zelemen, a campaigner with the National Union of Community Forest Development Committee (NUCFDC), says Colombo and other businesspeople are exploiting the weakness of communities.

"My understanding is that some of these companies are taking advantage of the limited capacity of community members who are awarding these concessions to them," Zelemen, whose group advocates for communities affected by large-scale concessions, tells me in a mobile phone conversation from Lofa. He says Colombo needs to explain why he left FMC-K for Gbarsaw & Dorbor and Marblee & karblee.

"Something is wrong somewhere and something is happening, and these companies need to tell us what they are doing the Liberian people's forests," he adds.

Bonathan Walaka, the secretary of the National Union of Community Forest Management Body (NUCFMB), agrees with Zelemen and says he understands Colombo's shift to community forests.

"The reason is just simple," Walaka says. "The land rental fees companies pay the government in FMCs are more than what they pay the government in community forests." He argues Colombo saves more money from failing to pay Marblee & Karblee, for instance, than refusing to pay Gbi-Doru. By law, companies pay communities 30 percent and the government 70 percent in land rental fees for large concessions such as FMC-K and 55 and 45 percent in the same order for community forests. By law, land rental fees are the product of US\$1.25 and the size of hectares of a given forest.

"The government has the power to have the companies pay its share of land rental fees but the communities don't," Walaka says.

Walaka's comments make correct reference to the law. The FDA is not a party in community forest agreements but approves them as the government institution that oversees the forestry sector. The laws and regulations governing the sector are largely communities-centered.

However, in the cases of Gbarsaw & Dorbor and Marblee & Karblee, the FDA did not enforce those laws. For instance, despite debt to both communities, the FDA sanctioned three shipments of a combined 7,286.24 cubic meters of timbers produced by AWL between February and April last year, according to record of the exports we got. That is a violation of the Ten Core Regulations, which call for firms to be clear of all forest-related dues before export. It is even sufficient ground for the FDA to terminate AWL's agreement per the National Forestry Reform Law.

No law or regulation bars an individual associated with a company that has outstanding payments from obtaining a logging contract. But Jonathan Yiah, the lead forestry campaigner at the Sustainable Development Institute (SDI), thinks FDA did not exercise its oversight in Colombo's community forest deals. He says it should have disapproved the Italian businessman's deal with Gbarsaw & Dorbor and Marblee & Karblee over his connection to ICC and FMC-K.

"FDA allowing this to happen aids companies to be in huge arrears with communities," Yiah says in an emailed interview. "FDA needs to ensure proper due diligence, it has responsibility for, is conducted."

"Once due diligence is done on each of the companies currently operating, the problem with logging operations in community forest may be reduced," he adds.

Colombo refutes those criticisms, counterarguing that he invested millions in the communities to "create a cordial and friendly relationship" with locals.

"We are always committed to our obligation, and we never undermine the intent of the forestry reform in Liberia," Colombo says, despite evidence showing the opposite.

The FDA did not grant our request for an interview on the matter. *The DayLight* wrote Deputy Managing Director Joseph Tally for the interview last month but did not get a reply up to press time.

This story was originally published by *The DayLight* as part of its Forest Accountability and Transparency Reporting Series.

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

NEC: Candidate nomination underway for Lofa by-election

The National Elections Commission, (NEC), informs the public that, the Candidate Nomination Exercise for the Senatorial By-election in Lofa County is

exercise for the Lofa County by-election which started on Monday, 21 March 2022 will end on 1 April 2022. The candidate nomination exercise runs from Monday to Friday, beginning at 9:00AM to 05:00PM, daily.

Secretary General of the Parties for distribution to their members. Independent aspirants can pick up the nomination forms themselves or through designated persons.

The statement from the Elections Management Body, (EMB), informs the public that all aspirants for the Lofa Senatorial By-election must appear in person to return the nomination package during the period of the nomination.

In a related development, the Accreditation Exercise for Party Agents, Local and International Observers and the Media for the Senatorial By-election in Lofa County is ongoing at the Headquarters of the Commission on 9th Street in Sinkor. The accreditation exercise for the Lofa Senatorial by-election started on Saturday, 19 March 2022, will end on Tuesday, 29 April 2022.

According to the NEC statement, the Candidate Nomination and Accreditation Exercises are in line with the key electoral dates released for the Lofa County Senatorial By-election, slated for 10 May 2022.

The NEC in a statement issued Tuesday, 22 March 2022 said, nomination package for aspirants of Political Parties, Coalitions or Alliances will be delivered to the Chairperson or



currently underway at the Headquarters of the Commission on 9th Street in Sinkor.

The NEC says, the Candidate nomination

Calm returns to Tubman University**-following Dr. Wilson's resignation**

By Patrick N. Mensah,
Maryland County

Calm returns to Tubman University in Harper City, Maryland County following the resignation of the University's President Dr. Elliott Wreh Wilson, yielding to demand from the Faculty Association and protesting students over alleged administrative malpractices that he denied.

In his resignation letter, Dr. Wilson thanks President George Manneh Weah for the opportunity afforded him to serve the University.

He says it was indeed a great privilege and an honor for him, born in Maryland County, with parents from Picnic-Cess, Grand Kru County to serve the student constituency in his county of birth. Dr. Wilson explains that he was constrained to resign because he does not view violence as a means of order, following adversity after adversity on the campus of Tubman University.

President Weah accepts the resignation of Dr. Wilson and thanks him for his dedicated and compassionate services to

Tubman University and the country at large.

Meanwhile, President Weah has appointed Dr. Emmanuel Leon Sie-Wreh, as Acting President of Tubman University, pending vetting of candidates by the Board of Trustees for subsequent appointment of a new President of Tubman University.

On March 8 and 19, 2022, aggrieved students besieged learning activities in Harper City and erected barricades at

various school entrances in demand of government's attention to an indefinite go-slow by the Faculty Association since February.

Dressed in black T-shirts and jeans trousers, they marched early Tuesday, March 8, from the University's main campus and disrupted lessons at various grade schools, including public facilities in Harper, chanting, "Wreh Wilson must go."

The protesting students placed locks and chairs at

**Senate takes Dual Citizenship debate to constituents**

By Ethel A. Tweh

The plenary of the Liberian Senate has decided to take debate on the Alien and Nationality law to constituents across the country as members of the 52th Liberian Legislature go for Easter break.

During debate at the Capitol, Nimba County Senator Prince Johnson said the Senate shouldn't impose Dual Citizenship on the Liberian people, noting that citizens rejected it during the 2020 national referendum, and he doesn't support it as well.

Grand Gedeh county Senator Zoe Pennue notes that in consultation with his

that this matter was rejected by Liberians during the December 8, 2020 Senatorial Election and there is no need for plenary to rush in its passage but to rather take it back to their people for consultation.

Maryland County Senator J. Gbleh-bo Brown thinks Plenary needs more time in debating the amended Alien and Nationality law. He contends that before passing the act, they need to meet with America to set up some things. "If you're an American citizen, you can't be tried in another country. So, if a Liberia citizen becomes an American citizen, that means we can't try our own citizen", Sen. Brown cautions.



colleague Senator, they both have rejected the Dual Citizenship Act but that they will take it to their people during the break.

However, Montserrado County Senator Abraham Darius Dillon says Dual Citizenship is in favor of every Liberian both in and out of the country, adding that when a Liberian citizen goes out of the country and acquire citizenship, he or she always come right back to Liberia to invest by sending money to Liberia and building homes right here.

For his part, Sinoe County Senator J. Milton Teahjay says constitutional reform is not an event but a process, explaining

major entrances (doors) of the Harper Administration building and the Harper City Hall, respectively were women groups from across the county had converged for the observance of this year's International Women's Day, forcing the women to relocate to the St. Theresa's Catholic Parish Hall to observe the day.

They also disrupted a meeting of school principals at the local head offices of the

According to him, he is not against the law, but there are surrounding issues that need to be dealt with before enactment.

He reminds that Article 28 of the Constitution of Liberia states that no person shall be denied the right to change citizenship or nationality, saying that by passing Dual Citizenship violates the Constitution.

The debate is on amending Part III, Chapter 20.2, Sections 21, 31, 21.51 and 21.52; and Chapter 22, Sections 22.2 and 22.4 of the Aliens and Nationality Law of the Liberian Code of Law Revised to legalize dual citizenship here.

Ministry of Education in the county, and disbursed students at private and public schools, forcing them out of classes.

Earlier, the Faculty Association issued several counts against the administration of Dr. Wilson, including alleged salary discrepancy, nepotism and administration lapses, among others and demand his resignation. *Editing by Jonathan Browne*

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

Rep. Dr. Rosanna Shaack identifies with fire victims in River Cess

Following an outbreak of fire in Chenwon Town, Gbweezohn Chiefdom in River Cess County recently, Rep. Rosanna Shaack has donated several relief items to the victims of the fire disaster in

According to a release from the press bureau of the House of Representatives, the incident occurred on March 8 & 9, 2022 during the early night hours.

Some group of unknown men were said to have burned 13 houses and all of their local rice

identifying with the victims, describing the incident as really unfortunate for those families to be made homeless.

"We regret the losses, but I can assure you we will make sure the joint security launches a full-scale investigation. This is the reason why we have come to say sorry [for] our little contribution with these relief supplies," said Rep. Shaack.

The relief items valued over US\$5,000.00 included used clothes, mattresses, lappers, soap, toothpastes, toothbrushes, bed sheets, buckets, and oil, among others.

It is not clear who are those responsible for the fire incident, but the River Cess County Legislative Chair Madam Schaack has called on the joint security in the county to launch an investigation into the matter and prosecute those who will be held liable.

Receiving the supplies, the victims, majority of whom are women and children, expressed thanks and appreciation to the lawmaker and said she was very timely in coming to their rescue.



the area.

The fire destroyed the entire town, burned to ashes more than 18 homes, destroyed the local rice storerooms and left several families homeless.

storerooms.

Donating the items, River Cess County District #1 Representative Rosanna Shaack said she was heartbroken upon hearing of the tragic incident.

She said it was her own way of

IFC, African and European Partners Launch Alliance to Support Private Sector Growth in Africa

To support a stronger private sector, entrepreneurship and the growth of small and medium-sized businesses across Africa, African, European, multilateral and bilateral partners today launched the Alliance for Entrepreneurship in Africa (AforE).

The Alliance will combine and focus the technical and financial strengths of its members to improve Africa's business environment and support the growth and success of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), women in business and young entrepreneurs. In addition to its core members, the Alliance aims to bring together multilateral and bilateral development banks, bilateral donors and African national development banks.

The Alliance was first announced at the Summit on Financing of African Economies in Paris in May 2021.

Alliance core members include the African Development Bank (AfDB); the European Bank for Reconstruction and

Development (EBRD); the European Investment Bank (EIB); the European Development Finance Institutions (EDFI); the French Treasury; the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and Proparco, the private sector financing arm of Agence Française de Développement Group (AFD Group).

The launch of the Alliance comes as African economies recover and rebuild from the effects of the COVID-19

pandemic, with small businesses seen as important drivers of job creation, innovation and the delivery of essential goods and services.

The creation of the Alliance reflects the strong commitment of African, European, multilateral and bilateral institutions, in coordination with the African Union, European Commission and others, to bolster Africa's private sector amid ongoing African and global economic challenges.



Police charge 2 for armed robbery

By Joseph Titus Yekeryan

Police in Gbarnga, Bong County have charged and sent to Court two persons in connection to an alleged armed robbery carried out on the night of Wednesday, 9 March 2022.

Suspects Emmanuel Dolo and Eric Flomo are also charged with theft of property and possession of physical objects for lethal use, in violation of Section 15.32, 15.51 and 17.11 of the New Penal Code of Liberia.

According to Kelenso Flomo, the commander of the Crimes

Police Superintendent Flomo furthered that the suspects were arrested with the motorcycle on an accident scene on 15 March 2022 with the complainant, after he tailed and hit them with another motorcycle.

The police charge sheet said the suspects were seen with a locally made single barrel gun during police interrogation.

They are held in detention at the Gbarnga Central Prison station, awaiting court's trial.

However, one of the suspects, Eric Flomo admitted to possessing and carrying the arm to the crime scene, but said



Services Division of the Liberia National Police (LNP) Bong County Detachment, the suspects allegedly held victim Amos Buayou under gunpoint and made away with his boxer motorcycle.

The accused also allegedly made away with the victim's smartphone, spare motorcycle key and \$2,000 Liberian Dollars.

They allegedly carried out the robbery after the victim dropped the suspects off around Cuttington University Campus.

he was asked to do so by his colleagues, who had gone ahead with the motorcyclist.

Emmanuel Dolo said he admitted to the commission of the crime because of fear and alleged torture by police officers, while in police custody.

Our Bong County correspondent says criminal activities are becoming alarming in Gbarnga and its environs.

Recently, another motorcyclist was attacked and seriously wounded by an unknown individual.

Alliance members today signed the working arrangement for the Alliance. IFC will serve as the Alliance Secretariat helping to coordinate the activities and operationalize the initiative in partnership with the French Treasury.

"Small businesses and entrepreneurs in Africa are drivers of inclusive growth, economic stability and resilience. Supporting their growth will be critical to creating jobs and helping Africa recover from the COVID-19 crisis. And the Alliance for Entrepreneurship in Africa stands ready to do that. IFC is proud to be part of this initiative, which deepens the

partnership between international partners to give small businesses the support they need and deserve," said Makhtar Diop, IFC's Managing Director.

Solomon Quaynor, the African Development Bank's Vice President for the Private Sector, Infrastructure and Industrialization, said: "Micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises are vital to Africa's prosperity. They represent 90% of all businesses and generate more than half of all jobs. Supporting existing businesses and the ecosystem for entrepreneurs to create innovative new ones lies at the heart of our private sector

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Français

Parti de la Liberté : Le camp Kangar-Lawrence se retire de la CPP

Le camp du parti de la liberté fidèle à la sénatrice Nyongblee Kangar-Lawrence a officiellement annoncé, le lundi 21 mars 2022, son retrait de la Collaboration des Partis Politiques (CPP), une alliance des principaux partis politiques de l'opposition.

L'ALP (All Liberian Party) et l'UP (Unity Party, ancien parti au pouvoir) avaient, il y a quelques mois, déjà annoncé leur retrait de la coalition politique de l'opposition dont l'objectif initial était de présenter un candidat unique afin de battre le président actuel George Weah lors de la prochaine présidentielle.

Faisant l'annonce lors d'une conférence de presse tenue le lundi 21 mars 2022, le secrétaire général national de la faction Nyongblee Kangar-Lawrence, M. Jacob Julius Smith, a expliqué que la décision découle de l'avis du Conseil consultatif.

Il a déclaré que le Conseil

consultatif s'est réuni dans la ville portuaire de Buchanan, dans le comté de Grand Bassa, du 28 au 29 janvier 2022, et a mandaté le Comité exécutif national du parti par une résolution pour retirer le LP de la CPP.

« Maintenant, par conséquent, conformément à la décision du Comité exécutif national du Parti de la liberté, le Parti de la liberté se retire par la présente et met ainsi fin à son

adhésion à la Collaboration des Partis Politiques (CPP) », a déclaré M. Smith.

Le 21 février 2019, le Parti de la liberté ainsi que trois autres partis politiques enregistrés, à savoir le Parti de l'unité, le Congrès national alternatif et le Parti de tous les Libériens, avaient signé un protocole d'accord par l'intermédiaire de leurs

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Le DPPL apporte son soutien à l'Ambassadeur des États-Unis et appelle à la lutte contre la corruption

La récente déclaration de l'ambassadeur des États-Unis Michael McCarthy interpelle les Libériens et le Président Weah sur la nécessité de lutter contre la corruption et d'assainir la ville de Monrovia qui est la capitale politique et économique du pays, estime le Parti Populaire Démocratique du Liberia (PPDL).

Le DPPL croit également

que la déclaration de l'ambassadeur américain exhorte le président Weah et son gouvernement à mettre en œuvre les réformes économiques essentielles nécessaires pour accélérer la croissance économique durable et le développement du capital humain.

Le Président du DPPL, le Rév. David Kiamu, dans une déclaration publiée le lundi 21 mars 2022, a appelé l'administration Weah à

prendre en compte la déclaration de l'ambassadeur McCarthy, car il s'agit d'une mise en garde pour ceux qui, au sein de son gouvernement, sont déterminés à saper l'État de droit et à abuser de la confiance du peuple libérien et ceux qui sont corrompus jusqu'à la moelle.

« Ceux qui menacent la paix et la sécurité de cette nation sont connus, qu'ils sachent qu'ils sont suivis par la communauté internationale et par les citoyens du Liberia. Un jour, peut-être très bientôt, ils seront obligés de payer pour leurs actions », a dit Rév. Kiamu.

Pour lui, la déclaration de l'ambassadeur est réaliste, honnête, juste et exhorte le président George Weah à prêter attention à ce qui est important pour son gouvernement. « C'est une évaluation très transparente de la faiblesse de ce gouvernement en matière de la lutte contre la corruption et la violation de l'État de droit et des droits de

Editorial

L'ambassadeur McCarthy ne veut pas du mal au Libéria

Il est malheureux que l'ambassadeur des États-Unis Michael McCarthy ait été la cible de propos durs, certains dans les journaux et d'autres dans lors d'émissions de débats en direct, pour avoir attiré l'attention sur le fait que la ville de Monrovia est très sale et contredit les autorités de Monrovia City Corporation qui disent que la ville de Monrovia a été abandonnée et ne bénéficie plus de soutiens financiers de la part des partenaires étrangers.

Certains animateurs des débats télévisés pensent pas que l'ambassadeur des États-Unis se mêle aux affaires intérieures du Libéria en tentant de contredire les autorités de la ville. Mais nous ne sommes pas d'accord, car les membres du corps diplomatique ici font partie intégrante de la société libérienne. Ce qui affecte notre capitale en termes de manque d'élimination appropriée et d'ordures a également un impact sur leurs activités et leur bien-être au Libéria.

Plus précisément, l'ambassadeur McCarthy a déclaré dans un O-PED qu'il avait écrit le mardi 15 mars 2022 pour commémorer le 200e anniversaire du premier président du Libéria, Joseph Jenkins Roberts (célébré chaque année comme une fête nationale), « qu'aurait dit le défunt président à propos de l'état actuel du pays qui est maintenant englouti par la corruption systémique, la gouvernance du barreau et l'échec du leadership, entre autres ? »

Il a ensuite repris un commentaire fait lors de la célébration de la Journée de Monrovia le mois dernier lorsqu'un haut fonctionnaire a regretté que, contrairement à ses trois années précédentes au pouvoir, "aucun donateur ou partenaire externe ne finance les coûts récurrents de la collecte et de l'élimination des déchets solides". Ce fonctionnaire estimait que la ville avait été abandonnée par la communauté internationale. L'ambassadeur s'est ainsi demandé de savoir s'il y a une responsabilité plus fondamentale d'une mairie locale que de rendre sa ville propre.

Malheureusement, le diplomate américain a automatiquement été la cible de vives critiques de plusieurs sources, certaines mettant en cause le manque de soutien des États-Unis au gouvernement du Libéria et la manière dont les fonds destinés au développement sont gérés par l'Agence américaine pour le développement international ou l'USAID.

En tant que partenaire historique et traditionnel du Libéria, les ambassadeurs des États-Unis accrédités près de cette capitale sont tenus d'attirer l'attention des autorités gouvernementales libériennes chaque fois que les choses ne vont pas correctement. Et c'est exactement ce que M. McCarthy a fait dans son O-PED.

Nous, Libériens, parlons avant de penser. Avons-nous oublié si tôt les sacrifices que les États-Unis ont faits et continuent de faire pour sortir les Libériens des conditions de santé désagréables et de la pauvreté ? Il a fallu que les États-Unis mettent à disposition l'argent de ses contribuables, en collaboration avec les Nations Unies, la CEDEAO et l'Union Africaine pour que nous jouissions aujourd'hui d'une paix relative.

En vérité, l'ambassadeur Michael McCarthy n'est pas le premier diplomate étranger au Libéria à dénoncer l'état sanitaire épouvantable de Monrovia. L'année dernière, le chef de la mission de l'UE à Monrovia a décrit Monrovia comme la « ville la plus sale » de toutes les villes qu'il a vues en Afrique.

En tant que Libériens, nous devrions nous regarder dans le miroir pour voir les réalités auxquelles cette nation est confrontée et faire honnêtement des progrès pour y faire face au lieu de condamner les critiques saines qui sont destinées à notre bien.



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Français

Parti de la Liberté : Le camp Kangar-

dirigeants politiques exprimant leur désir de créer une Coalition politique.

Le 19 mai 2020, les quatre partis politiques ont officiellement signé par l'intermédiaire de leurs dirigeants politiques respectifs un document-cadre de collaboration fournissant des détails sur leur philosophie de gouvernance nationale. « A la suite de la signature dudit document-cadre, le LP s'était engagé à observer les principes du document. Il a ainsi honoré et respecté le droit des membres de ne pas s'ingérer dans les affaires internes des autres partis membres », a-t-il dit.

Pendant les huit mois de sa présidence tournante de la CPP, à en croire Monsieur Smith, le Parti de la Liberté a travaillé avec diligence pour jeter les bases de la consolidation des principaux partis politiques membres.

« Considérez qu'il a été observé à plusieurs reprises au cours des derniers mois que le Congrès national alternatif dirigé par M. Alexander B. Cummings et membre de la CPP a procédé

d'une manière et d'une forme qui sapent l'esprit et l'intention de la collaboration, notamment en alimentant un conflit au sein du Liberty Party », a-t-il déclaré.

Poursuivant, Monsieur Smith a dit : « la CPP est maintenant en proie à un conflit apparemment insoluble résultant de la mauvaise gestion du document-cadre de la CPP par l'ANC au cours de ses huit mois de leadership, comme en témoignent de multiples acrimonies impliquant l'ANC et d'autres partis politiques membres de la CPP qui ont donné lieu à des litiges contraires à l'esprit et à la volonté de la collaboration ».

Il a souligné qu'en raison de ce qui précède, il est maintenant devenu évident que l'objectif qui sous-tendait la création de la Collaboration des partis politiques de l'opposition ne peut plus être réalisé dans les circonstances énoncées ici.

Smith a donc noté qu'en conséquence, le Liberty Party est tenu de prendre toutes les mesures légales pour sauvegarder son intégrité et ses intérêts conformément à sa constitution et à ses principes directeurs.

Le DPPL apporte son soutien à l'Ambassadeur des

l'homme ».

Il estime que la révélation de l'ambassadeur des États-Unis, selon laquelle certains citoyens détournent des ressources médicales publiques et des médicaments à des fins personnelles, ce qui entraîne la mort de bébés, de jeunes enfants et de

mères allaitantes, est non seulement troublante, mais extrêmement embarrassante, honteuse. Cela démontre que les Libériens sont en train de perdre la lutte contre la corruption. « C'est une indication que ce gouvernement ne fait pas assez pour éradiquer la corruption dans les agences publiques. »

Burkina Faso: reprise du procès Sankara pour les plaidoiries de la défense

Les audiences avaient été suspendues début mars après une requête des avocats de la défense. Le procès des assassins présumés de Thomas Sankara a repris ce matin 22 mars 2022 à Ouagadougou. Les avocats des accusés ont la parole pour leurs plaidoiries, après trois semaines de silence.

Une longue pause qui aura au moins permis de répondre à une question aussi étonnante que fondamentale : un coup d'État peut-il être légal ? C'est en tout cas ce qu'ont voulu supposer les avocats de la défense suite au putsch le 24 janvier dernier du lieutenant-colonel Paul-Henri Sandogo Damiba et investi président par le Conseil constitutionnel. Les sages de la haute institution ont tranché la semaine dernière : ils ne légalisent pas le coup d'État. Les accusations d'attentat à la sûreté de l'État resteront donc valables durant le procès.

Un procès qui a repris ce matin à la salle des Banquets de Ouaga 2000, qui accueille la chambre d'instruction de première instance du tribunal militaire. Une salle presque vide, mais marquée par la présence de Mariam Sankara, la veuve de l'ancien président burkinabé.

COMMENTAIRE

par Raghuram Rajan

Les sanctions économiques, une arme de destruction massive

CHICAGO - Chaque jour nous voyons les images de civils ukrainiens tués ou chassés de chez eux. Une guerre, de quelque manière qu'elle se mène, constitue une horreur. Néanmoins il fallait s'opposer à l'agression injustifiée de la Russie contre l'Ukraine. En plus des livraisons d'armes à l'Ukraine, nombreux sont les pays à utiliser l'arme économique contre la Russie. Nain économique relativement à sa puissance militaire, celle-ci peut continuer son offensive en élargissant l'étendue des moyens militaires qu'elle met en œuvre et les territoires qu'elle cible.

En comparaison des bombardements aveugles, l'arme économique ne tue pas aussi rapidement, ne crée pas de destructions aussi visibles et n'inspire pas autant la peur. Pourtant son déploiement sans précédent contre la Russie aura indubitablement des conséquences douloureuses.

Les sanctions appliquées à la banque centrale russe ont déjà contribué à l'effondrement du rouble et la récente limitation des échanges financiers transfrontaliers ont eu un effet immédiat et porté un coup au fonctionnement des banques russes. Les sanctions commerciales (la limitation des achats de produits venant de Russie et l'interdiction de lui livrer des biens cruciaux comme les pièces de rechange nécessaires à l'aéronautique) et l'exode des multinationales hors de Russie ont un effet immédiat moindre, mais elles impacteront la croissance économique du pays et augmenteront le chômage. Si ces sanctions sont maintenues, elles porteront atteinte au niveau de vie et la santé de la population russe et pousseront à la hausse son taux de mortalité.

Le fait d'en être arrivé à ce point traduit un effondrement politique généralisé. Trop de pays puissants ont aujourd'hui à leur tête des dirigeants autoritaires qui répriment les critiques sur le plan intérieur et s'appuient sur le nationalisme pour refuser des compromis au niveau international. Si l'agression à laquelle se livre Vladimir Poutine restait impunie, on peut s'attendre à une multiplication de ce type de comportement ailleurs dans le monde.

L'effondrement de l'ordre international est tout aussi problématique. Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU ne peut sanctionner ses membres permanents (la Chine, la France, la Russie, le Royaume-Uni et les USA), car ils disposent du droit de veto. L'impuissance de l'ONU conduit à l'impunité des dirigeants des grandes puissances qui bafouent les règles internationales. Et même si l'ONU pouvait donner son feu vert à une action armée, la volonté d'engager des moyens militaires contre une Etat déterminé détenteur de l'arme nucléaire ferait probablement défaut.

Rendu possible par l'intégration mondiale, le recours à l'arme économique permet de court-circuiter un système de gouvernance mondiale inopérant. Il représente un moyen efficace (autrement dit, douloureux) mais civilisé de répondre à l'agression et à la barbarie.

Mais il ne faut pas sous-estimer les risques que cette arme peut engendrer. Utilisées à plein, les sanctions sont aussi des armes de destruction massive. Elles ne font peut-être pas s'écrouler des immeubles ou s'effondrer des ponts, mais détruisent des entreprises, des institutions financières, des moyens de subsistance - voire même des vies. Comme les autres armes de destruction massives, elles infligent des souffrances sans distinction, frappant aussi bien les coupables que les innocents. Utilisées sans limite, elles pourraient inverser le processus de mondialisation grâce auquel le monde moderne a prospéré.

L'arme économique soulève plusieurs questions. L'absence apparente d'effusion de sang lors de sa mise en œuvre et l'absence de normes pour régir son emploi pourraient entraîner une utilisation excessive. Il ne s'agit pas d'une simple spéculation. Les USA maintiennent toujours des sanctions économiques sévères contre Cuba, alors qu'il existe des régimes bien pires dans le monde ; quant à la Chine, elle a récemment pris des sanctions à l'encontre des exportations australiennes, en représailles semble-t-il à la demande australienne d'une enquête approfondie sur l'origine du COVID-19.

La pression croissante de l'opinion publique sur certaines entreprises pour qu'elles cessent leur activité dans certains pays est tout aussi inquiétante. Elle peut conduire à un élargissement des sanctions au-delà de ce que les décideurs politiques avaient prévu. On peut imaginer qu'un pays devienne la cible de sanctions économique en raison de la position de son gouvernement sur l'avortement ou le réchauffement climatique.

La peur généralisée de sanctions indiscriminées pourrait conduire à une attitude défensive. Au vu des mesures prises à l'encontre de la banque centrale russe, la Chine, l'Inde et nombre d'autres pays peuvent craindre que quelques Etats décident de geler leurs actifs en devises (sous forme de dette des pays avancés). Comme peu d'autres actifs possèdent la liquidité des réserves en dollars ou en euros, ces pays pourraient limiter les activités qui nécessitent la détention de réserves (par exemple les emprunts transfrontaliers des entreprises).

Un nombre croissant de pays pourrait chercher une alternative collective au réseau de messagerie financière SWIFT, entraînant une fragmentation du système de paiement mondial. Et les entreprises privées pourraient devenir encore plus réticentes à servir de médiateur pour les investissements ou le commerce entre pays qui ne partagent pas les mêmes valeurs politiques ou sociales.

Sanctions et contre-sanctions, on pourrait voir se développer de plus en plus de jeux stratégiques à somme nulle. Ainsi un pays pourrait inviter des banques étrangères sur son marché avec l'arrière-pensée de prendre un jour en otage leurs actifs et leurs capitaux. A l'inverse, un Etat pourrait interdire à ses banques d'opérer dans certains pays afin de réduire leur vulnérabilité à de telles menaces. Tout cela conduirait à une diminution des échanges économiques et commerciaux internationaux.

L'utilisation à grande échelle de l'arme économique a permis de contourner un système de gouvernance mondiale paralysé en réponse à la guerre d'agression menée par la Russie. Elle met aussi en évidence la nécessité de mettre en place de nouveaux garde-fous. Sinon, nous risquons d'aller vers un monde balkanisé sur le plan économique - et moins prospère.

Notamment parce que l'arme économique est trop puissante pour l'abandonner entre les mains d'un seul pays, quel qu'il soit, son utilisation devrait faire l'objet d'un minimum de consensus. Ce mécanisme existe déjà, dans la mesure où l'efficacité des sanctions économiques croît avec le nombre de pays qui les appliquent. Pourtant, la menace de sanctions secondaires prises à leur encontre pourrait contraindre des pays qui ne le souhaitent pas, à y participer. Le consensus requis devrait donc être volontaire - et il devrait être d'autant plus large que les dégâts causés par l'arme économique sont potentiellement massifs.

De même, le déploiement de l'arme économique devrait être graduel. S'en prendre aux biens des élites du pays agresseur devrait être la première des priorités et nécessiter le consensus minimum. Les pays riches devraient agir en ce sens en ne fermant plus les yeux sur l'évasion fiscale, la corruption et les biens volés situés sous leur juridiction. D'un autre côté, les mesures destinées à affaiblir la monnaie de l'agresseur ou à affaiblir son système financier risquent de transformer les classes moyennes libérales et les réformateurs en nationalistes agressifs. De ce fait, elles devraient exiger beaucoup de réflexion et se baser sur le consensus le plus large possible.

Les pays avancés seront sans doute réticents à encadrer le pouvoir nouveau qu'elles se découvrent. Mais ils doivent reconnaître qu'une économie mondiale balkanisée serait désavantageuse pour tous. Entamer des discussions sur le contrôle de l'arme économique pourrait être un premier pas vers un meilleur ordre mondial. La coexistence pacifique est toujours préférable à la guerre, de quelque manière qu'elle soit menée.

Traduit de l'anglais par Patrice Horovitz

Raghuram G. Rajan a été gouverneur de la Banque centrale indienne. Il est actuellement professeur de finance à la Booth School of Business de l'université de Chicago. Son dernier livre s'intitule *The Third Pillar: How Markets and the State Leave the Community Behind* (Penguin, 2020).

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Lone Star leave for 3

Diallo, Yeanay, Sembeh, Allison, Reyah, Teah and Zawoh, who are hoping to make their debuts.

Teah was an unused substitute when Liberia lost 2-0 to Egypt in an international friendly at the Borg El Arab Stadium in Alexandria on 30 September 2021.

There is a return for United States-based Joel Johnson and England-based Mohammed Sangare, who were injured on international and club duties.

Defender Johnson last featured for Liberia in a 1-0 defeat to Sierra Leone in the

first round of the 2022 World Cup qualifiers at the Siaka Stevens Stadium in Freetown on 8 September 2019.

Sangare last appeared for Liberia in a 1-0 defeat to Chad in a 2021 Africa Cup of Nations qualifier at the Stade Omnisports Idriss Mahamat Ouya in N'Djamena on 13 October 2019.

Liberia will take on Benin on 24 March, Sierra Leone on 27 March and Burundi on 29 March, respectively.

Full squad

Goalkeepers: Allenton Sembeh (Bea Mountain), Junior Yeanay (Nimba Kwado) and Derrick Julu (Watanga FC)

Defenders: Jamal Arago (Sabail, Azerbaijan), Mark Pabai (SPAL, Italy), Prince Balde (Drita, Kosovo), Sampson Dweh (LPRC Oilers), Joel Johnson (Hartford Athletic, United States of America) and Emmanuel Reyah (Muscat FC)

Midfielders: Abraham Mohammed Soumaoro (PAEKK FC, Cyprus), Moussa Sanoh (Mioveni, Romania), Seth Kante Hellberg (IK Brage, Sweden), Oscar Murphy Dorley (Slavia Prague, Czech Republic), Allen Njie (FC Aarau, Switzerland), Mohammed Sangare

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Court seeks stakeholders's intervention to function

By Lincoln G. Peters

The Resident Circuit Judge of the Civil Law Court, Judge Kennedy Peabody has called on stakeholders here for their participation and coordination to enable the court to operate effectively and produce the desired result.

Delivering the charge for the opening of the March Term of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, Civil Law Court, "A" and "B," Judge Peabody urged stakeholders to understand the judicial duties and functions which he said have direct social and

the Bar and stakeholders are to coordinate the means or the act of making the means for a group of people to work together in an efficient and organized way.

He further explained that the justice coordination is the harmonization and integration of activities and responsibilities to ensure that the resources of each stakeholder or organization involved in the administration of justice are efficiently used in pursuit of justice delivery.

Judge Peabody maintained that the efficient administration of

justice prevails in an enabling environment for the court to function and discharge its statutory duties.

He noted that the efficient administration of the court depends on the stakeholders' unrelenting support, adding the court is a government institution belonging to the residents of the country and Liberia.

"The role of the other stakeholders such as politicians and the public in the court is to ensure that the enabling conditions and environment are created for the efficient administration of Justice," he continued.

He further admonished that it is the Bar's duty to coordinate resources by the participation of the stakeholders and to ensure that citizens get the best possible representation in a fair trial.

Judge Peabody stressed that stakeholders' participation and coordination in the administration of justice are very important.

"Members of the Bar, the Judiciary is your rubber farm, Judiciary is your pepper bush, the Judiciary is your cocoa farm, the Judiciary is your rice farm, therefore, if the road to your farm is not clear and your farm is not fertilized, you will not have access to your farm and your farm will not yield the expected productivity," he concluded.

In response to the charge, the Liberia National Bar Association (LNBA) said there are several judgments before the Supreme Court and several that have not been enforced.

The LNBA said it's a challenge and it's important that they address those concerns.



economic implications and consequences on the wellbeing and happiness of the citizens and residents.

"It is appropriate to criticize the court or sometimes you express your thanks for proficiency, commitment and dedication by judicial officers, but what are you doing [for the] court to run smoothly to meet the end of justice?" Judge Peabody said.

According to him, the court has been defined as the place for fair and proper administration of law, while

justice is through the court, adding, the objective being the redress of wrongs by compelling punishment to serve as deterrence.

"The interaction among the stakeholders, the Bar and the Court must be easily manageable. Let none of us say the job is for Judiciary or the problem faced by the court is for the Government," Judge Peabody cautioned.

He added that Lawyers have a special responsibility to fight to uphold the rule of law and to ensure that

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IFC, African and European

development strategy. The African Development Bank is committed to the Alliance for Entrepreneurship in Africa. We want to ensure that African entrepreneurs have the means to thrive and can play an important part in solving Africa's development challenges."

Odile Renaud Basso, EBRD President, said: "The EBRD is committed to supporting financially and technically small businesses in the North African countries where it invests, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and soon Algeria. We offer an extensive suite of financial tools and advisory programme that we put at the service of small and medium enterprises and by joining forces with partners in Alliance we can archive a better impact on the economic growth of these countries."

"Ensuring that African entrepreneurs and companies can access finance is crucial to accelerate growth and create jobs. Over the last two years EIB has been very active to support financial institutions that help SMEs particularly hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. We are pleased to be a core member of the Alliance for Entrepreneurship in Africa. This initiative combines the financial and technical strengths and local insight of African and international partners and together we can ensure a better future for African business," said Ambroise Fayolle, European Investment Bank Vice President.

"The European DFIs welcome the opportunity to join hands with international and African partners to boost entrepreneurial growth in Africa. EDFI member institutions have been able to increase financing for SMEs across Africa, demonstrating our commitment to this important priority. The deeper collaboration through this new alliance can help mobilise even more investment in the inclusive development of Africa's private sector," said Søren Peter Andreasen, CEO at EDFI.

"Proparco is proud to count among the founding members of the Alliance for Entrepreneurship in Africa. Proparco has long been committed to supporting African entrepreneurs and will build on the expertise acquired

through the French initiative Choose Africa to contribute to this new global Alliance," said Gregory Clemente, CEO of Proparco.

"Last May, the international community gathered in Paris at the Summit on the Financing of African Economies to devise jointly actions that will help boost a strong and inclusive recovery in Africa, grounded in a dynamic private sector. Today, we are proud to deliver with the official launch of the Alliance for entrepreneurship in Africa, gathering prominent development partners to support private sector development in Africa, as the main driver for growth and job creation. We will remain committed in the implementation phase to deliver on the ground, mobilize additional financing, promote tangible and high value added projects developed by the Alliance core members, with the objective to effectively make a difference for African SMEs through innovative financial products," said Mr. Emmanuel Moulin, Director General of the Treasury.

Through a private-sector focused cooperation platform, the Alliance will support the roll-out of new initiatives to expand financing options for Africa's SMEs, which cite a lack of access to finance as a major constraint to growth. According to the World Bank, SMEs account for up to 90 percent of all businesses in sub-Saharan Africa and represent 38 percent of the region's GDP. Prior to COVID-19, IFC estimated the funding gap faced by SMEs in the region at \$331 billion.

In addition to financing projects, the Alliance will support reforms aimed at strengthening the business and investment climate across Africa and facilitate the growth of private sector initiatives in more sustainable green and digital sectors.

Banking and non-banking financial institutions, other public and private sector organizations (such as foundations, philanthropic organizations, venture capital firms), and business and innovation training providers (including incubators, accelerators, universities), may also join the Alliance.

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Weah's confidants ill-advice him

By Lewis S. Teh

Montserrado County District #7

Representative Solomon C. George, a zealot of the governing Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) says President Weah's confidants in government are ill-advising him.

"Those who are ill-advising the President are the real problems of this country; the Bible says

working tremendously to put Liberia on the right trajectory, but few individuals around him continue to ill-advice him on key national issues, but failed to cite specifics.

"George Weah is doing well but I'm insisting that there are some men around him carrying on wickedness, telling him lies, gossips and all sorts of things; that is wrong!" He notes.

Quoting from the Book of Ezekiel in the Holy Bible, the CDC lawmaker, noted for his vulgar languages in public,



Representative Solomon C. George

anyone that dig a pit shall fall into it", Rep. George warns here.

He made the observation on Monday, March 21, 2022 in an interview with reporters on the grounds of the Capitol in Monrovia. According to him, President Weah is

which earned him the nickname "Jah Rude", says there are few men around the President, who have grouped themselves into a council, causing total wickedness, and their action isn't helping at all.

The CDC lawmaker attributes success of President Weah and his CDC-led government to love from the people of

Liberia. "These things can't be happening and we as elders don't speak; it's good that we speak for people to know exactly what's going on and the kind of people that are close to the President."

Meanwhile, the Montserrado County lawmaker calls on the United States government to investigate activities of ESBI, a foreign electrical firm partnering with the Liberia Electricity Corporation, for allegedly denigrating the electricity sector of Liberia.

He says it's frustrating that people would jubilate whenever electricity comes in their various communities, saying "We Liberian people we been civilized long time ago; we had electricity even before I was born."

The ESBI management, he continues, shouldn't continue to act unprofessionally and stresses a need for an audit at the institution.

"I'm asking the American Ambassador, who spoke yesterday about corruption to get involved, because even some of us who are officials of government, are facing serious problem with electricity issues."

Rep. George was once arrested while visiting the United States and returned to Liberia during the administration of Ex-president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

According to him, on countless occasions, he has written the Management of the Liberia Electricity Corporation (LEC) for power supply, but to no avail, lamenting "If they can treat me like that then who else."

12th graders seeking lawmaker jobs



Madam Miatta Fahnbulleh

are saying.

Additionally, the Liberian musician lamented that Liberians have now lost their dignity and pride, saying they care no more for integrity and humanity.

In the interview conducted following the observance of the 5th anniversary of the passing of her mother, Sister Mary Brownell, Madam Fahnbulleh argued that the way an outsider saw Liberians in the 1940s was about a proud people, but that has changed today.

"There was never a time when the discussion was young people going into leadership. Never! In my time, you knew we had to evolve. When I was 35 - 40, it never occurred to me, [to] go and be a senator. No, it was not," Madam Fahnbulleh told a recent interview.

"But today, you find children in the 12th grade planning their run for the House of Representatives. And you know why they're going there. So like I said ... the indoctrination of the voters, we have to work better at that," she added. Salaries for Liberian lawmakers have been very controversial here, with suggestion that they earn approximately above US\$5,000 after some cuts were made in recent year.

Giving her reaction to U.S. Ambassador Michael A. McCarthy's recent publication in relation to the sanitary situation in Monrovia, Madam Fahnbulleh said it's good for the American Ambassador and the Europeans to say whatever about Liberia.

According to her, she has personally made the same noise back in 2018 about the filth which was about six feet high right around her area.

But she said she was deemed frustrated and considered an opposition when she raised the issue about the mountain of garbage right in the city. "So since you don't want to listen to us I'm happy that the American Ambassador can come up and tell y'all the same thing we've been saying," she said.

She noted that there are intelligent people and geniuses in this country "that we refuse to accept or listen to."

Earlier talking about the fifth anniversary of her mother Mary Brownell's passing, Madam Fahnbulleh said it was decided to establish what is considered the Mary Brownell Legacy.

She said following a series of activities, there was a provoking and academic discussion held about where they go from Mary Brownell's departure to how do women carry on, among others.

Madam Fahnbulleh said the academic discussion had fantastic panelists, home and abroad, while the President of Ghana and Chairman of Ecowas, Nana Akuffo Addo, served as the keynote speaker.



March 21, 2022

Survey Notice

The general public is hereby informed that the Administrator of Geegba Estate has been duly authorized the survey of two (2.0) lots of land in favor of Mr. Francis Davis on Thursday 24th March 2022 beginning at 1:00 Pm.

The parcel of land is lying and situated between Charlesville, Margibi County, RL

Therefore, all adjoining property owners, and interested parties are requested to be present at the site on the day of the survey with their deed(s), diagram(s), map(s), technical representatives/surveyors and other relevant document to substantiate their claims.

Please let this survey notice and announcement claim the attention of the following individuals:

- 1. Mr. Hans Barque
- 2. Madam Helen Bestman
- 3. And all those having property the area in the area

Signed: Albert D. Giah Jr.
Registered Licensed Surveyor
Cell No. 0886-740-519

+231 886 740 519 Like & Follow us on

from page 10

Lone Star leave for 3

(Newcastle United under-23, England) and Frank Allison (Freeport FC)
Forwards: Justin Paul

Salmon (Degerfors IF, Sweden),
Mohamed Cherif Diallo (Derthona, Italy), Kpah Sherman (Terengganu, Malaysia), Peter

Wilson (Olympiakos Nicosia, Cyprus), Ayouba Kosiah (NAC Breda, Netherlands), Divine Roosevelt Teah (Nimba FC) and Prince Zawoh (Nimba United)

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Lone Star leave for 3 Friendlies in Turkey



By: Naneka Hoffman

A 19-member Liberia Football Association (LFA) delegation has left Monrovia to honor three friendlies in Antalya, Turkey. Co-opted LFA executive committee member Joseph Kollie heads the delegation.

It includes Kangar Tarr, III, of the Ministry of Youth & Sports, head coach Peter

Butler, deputy coaches Christopher Wreh and Thomas Kojo; goalkeeping coach Nathaniel Sherman, physical trainer George Gebro, team's doctor Torsou Jallabah, physiotherapist Boakai Abu Kamara, equipment manager Tommy Johnson and sports journalist Trojan Molley Kiazolu of Spoon Network.

The players include Sampson Dweh, Derrick Julu, Emmanuel Reyah, Divine Roosevelt Teah,

Junior Yeanaye, Frank Allison, Allenton Sembeh and Prince Zawoh.

They will be met on arrival in Accra, Ghana by administrative manager Sebastian Collins, who flew to Ghana on 18 March to secure Turkish visas.

Butler invited 23 players for three friendlies, including Italy-based Mohamed Cherif

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