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# Wounded student protester leaves Liberia

**-SUP SG reveals**

Student protester Christopher Sivili Walters

**Pres. Weah**

# Weah denies CDC-COP exists

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# Continental News

## Uganda Monitors DRC Border After Deadly Shooting

**K**AMPALA, UGANDA—Ugandan police are deploying a standby force to the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) after U.N. peacekeeping troops opened fire on a border post, killing

two people and wounding 15, including an 8-year-old Ugandan girl. Uganda says it has deployed a team to monitor ongoing tensions in the eastern DRC resulting from a

deadly shooting involving MONUSCO soldiers. The incident that has been described in a statement by the U.N. Special Representative Bintou Keita as unspeakable and irresponsible happened in the town of Kasindi in the DRC's Beni territory close to Uganda.

The statement said that Fred Enanga, the Uganda Police spokesperson, described the incident.

"So, one of the bullets strayed and hit an eight-year-old juvenile called Bira Jackline," he said. "She's getting treatment at Bwera hospital. The stray bullet hit her shoulder and it was retrieved. So, she's out of danger."

In his statement, Bintou said the perpetrators of the shooting were identified and arrested pending the conclusions of the investigation, which has already started in collaboration with Congolese authorities.

Bintou added that contact had also been established with Tanzania so that legal proceedings can be initiated urgently with the participation of victims and witnesses.

MONUSCO, the peacekeeping mission in the DRC, was in 2010 given the mandate to carry out offensive operations. In another statement, U.N. Chief Antonio Guterres said he was saddened and outraged by the incident and demanded accountability.

With ongoing tension between DRC locals and MONUSCO, Enanga said authorities are monitoring the situation.

"We've been closely monitoring what happened from the other side of Bunagana and DRC," he said. "We don't want the violence there to affect our

borderline. We have a standby team monitoring."

Trade between DRC and Uganda slowed down since March due to the resumption of fighting between DRC government forces and M23 rebels who took over the town of Bunagana. Uganda has since March registered 41,164 asylum seekers comprising 21,235 households. VOA



Police officers secure an area in Kayunga, Uganda, Dec. 14, 2021. Uganda on Monday deployed a police force to its border with the Democratic Republic of Congo after a deadly shooting there involving U.N. peacekeeping troops.

two people and wounding 15, including an 8-year-old Ugandan girl.

Uganda says it has deployed a team to monitor ongoing tensions in the eastern DRC resulting from a

during the incident, soldiers from the Intervention Brigade of the MONUSCO force from Tanzania, returning from leave, opened fire at the border post for unexplained reasons and forced their way through.

## Nigerians Turn to Crypto Assets as Currency Weakens

**A**BUJA, NIGERIA—Cryptocurrency experts say Nigerians are hedging against the drop in value of their currency, the naira, by trading more dollar-denominated digital assets. The naira has been falling to new lows on the black market in Nigeria, Africa's largest and most populated economy. But experts say investing in cryptocurrency is also driving the Nigerian currency's devaluation.

GT Igwe Chrisent, founder of online trading platform Truzact, said they have recorded more transactions.

"We've seen a surge in the USD savings we have in our vault," Chrisent said. "Nobody wants to have a million naira worth \$2,000 today and then tomorrow, your one million naira is now worth \$1,500. So, everybody is basically trying to hedge against the dollar. No

matter how bad the naira falls, their money is not affected. That's the only thing making people come to crypto."

The naira has been depreciating steadily for months, losing more than 30 percent of its value within the last year.

Public finance analyst Isaac Botti said government policies are the major reasons

Experts say less volatile digital assets like stablecoins and bitcoins saw a jump in trade volumes last week when compared to the week before. Data from a popular peer-to-peer finance platform showed Nigerians traded more than \$5 million worth of bitcoin — a more than 250 percent increase within the period under review.

Trade volumes on the platform have been increasing steadily since the beginning of the year and reached nearly \$400 million in June.



A trader changes dollars with naira at a currency exchange store in Lagos, Nigeria.

## Brutal Gang Rape Shocks South Africa



Women protest outside the Krugersdorp, South Africa, Magistrates Court Monday, Aug. 1, 2022

**J**OHANNESBURG — A South African court on Monday began proceedings against more than 80 people arrested after the brazen gang rape of eight women. The women were filming a music video last week when they were attacked by masked, armed men. Women's rights activists protested outside the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court against the high rates of gender violence in South Africa as dozens of men detained in sweeping arrests in the aftermath of the incident were set to appear in court.

No one has yet been charged with rape and police investigations into the incident are continuing.

Eight women were raped and robbed while shooting a video in the mining area of Krugersdorp outside Johannesburg last Thursday, Police Ministry spokeswoman Lirandzu Themba told VOA.

They were approached by

men wearing balaclavas and firing guns in the air and raped multiple times.

"On Sunday the police minister Bheki Cele met six of the eight survivors of the gang rape that has shocked the country," said Themba.

The youngest of the women was just 19, Minister Cele said after the meeting. "Let me tell you, they're quite traumatized. They're not in a good shape, mentally or otherwise."

Local media reported that many of those arrested were believed to be illegal miners, known here as zama-zamas, and that some had also been arrested for being illegal immigrants from neighboring countries. Two suspects were killed during the shootout with police last Thursday. The more than 80 men have now been charged with contravention of the immigration act and possession of stolen goods, police said. It was unclear how many, if any, of them were connected directly to the gang rapes, Cele said, adding that forensic testing was pending. VOA

for the trend.

"Government policies around trade balances over the years, we have consistently run trade deficits — spending more to buy dollars than we're earning from foreign trade," Botti said. "Another significant problem is our level of borrowing. ... We have to pay back in the currencies of the countries we borrowed from. As of Friday, a dollar was equal

to 710 naira. That's a significant reduction in the value of naira compared to the dollar." Experts also say scarcity of foreign exchange and inflation made worse by local factors like food and energy shortages, and Russia's war in Ukraine, are making matters worse.

Last week, Nigeria's Senate summoned the Central Bank governor, Godwin Emefiele, for questioning.

# EDITORIAL

## Christopher's pains cry for justice

**THE WOUNDS AND** pains of Student Christopher Walter Sisulu Sivili of the University of Liberia along with his colleagues who were brutally attacked by pro-government supporters on Independence Day (July 26, 2022) before the Embassy of the United States near Monrovia cry for justice. The only crime those students committed was to peacefully protest in Monrovia against the 175th Independence celebration of Liberia.

**IN THEIR MIND**, there is nothing to celebrate because Liberia is engulfed by hardship and poverty, as a result of massive corruption in government that has deprived citizens of basic services such as health and education, among others.

**IN FACT, THE** students under the banner, Vanguard Students Unification Party (SUP) of the University of Liberia staged their protest far away from the main venue of the official Independence Day celebration held at the Centennial Pavilion on Ashmun Street, but yet, they were chased and attacked by the pro-government group, CDC-Council of Patriot, inflicting wounds that left several of them taken to hospital, including Student Christopher Walter Sisulu.

**SADLY, AND REGRETTABLY**, the government has turned a blind eye on the violence with the Police saying that they have no knowledge about those who perpetrated it, in what obviously amounts to complacency.

**IN A DELIBERATE** lack of political will to go after suspected perpetrators, the Police are instead, asking the public to identify individuals who might have staged the attack against peaceful students exercising their constitutional and democratic franchise.

**THE GOVERNMENT OF** Liberia thru the Ministry of Justice had earlier condemned the violence and ordered full investigation, but in a 60-degree turnaround, the Police say they lack information to make any arrest thus, breeding impunity.

**THIS IS WHY** we welcome call by the Liberia Council of Churches for government to provide full account of the violence that occurred under its watch. In fact, Police presence was reinforced near the Embassy of the United States during the violence, so it is very incomprehensible when Police Spokesperson Moses Carter, asked the public to help the Police with clue on who might have ignited the bloody attack.

**WE ALSO LAUD** rights campaigner and Presidential hopeful, Cllr. Tiawan Saye Gongloe, for taking on the government and personally promising to take the matter to court upon his return from the United States.

**AS CLLR. GONGLOE** observed via a statement from America, the lack of respect for the rule of law and human rights under the Weah administration, is fast turning Liberia, a constitutional democracy, into a fascist state, evidenced by current violence and lawlessness in the country.

**MAKE NO MISTAKE**, Tuesday, July 26 violence against peaceful students expressing their minds is just a tip of the iceberg of what to expect under this administration, as the nation prepares for Presidential and General Elections in 2023 when state-sponsored violence would take centerstage to suppress dissenting views. It is about time Liberian stand up against rule by terror and brutal force.

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# COMMENTARY

By Daron Acemoglu

## Closing Tax Havens Is the True Test of West's Resolve

**C**AMBRIDGE - Russia's war in Ukraine may not be going as it had planned, but the worst is still to come. And while Western financial sanctions against Russian institutions and oligarchs have exceeded what some were expecting, they have not targeted the Western-based roots of Russian President Vladimir Putin's regime.

As in many other kleptocratic regimes, Putin's power is based on a deal between an autocrat and oligarchs. The autocrat rules the country however he wants and enriches his allies, who make huge fortunes from the country's natural resources or through regime-sanctioned monopolies.

But there is a catch: As the oligarchs' coffers grow, they become more concerned about the autocrat's power to seize their assets or harm their families. They are left with two options. The first is to develop formal and de facto institutions to constrain the autocrat, perhaps even paving the way for much-needed structural reform. The second option is to move their assets and their families abroad, so that they can avoid the fate of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the leading Russian oligarch whom Putin expropriated and imprisoned in the early 2000s.

Many Russian oligarchs have availed themselves of the second option, which requires two essential forms of Western assistance. First, the Western banking system needs to provide easy opportunities for them to launder their wealth. London, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Cyprus, Jersey, the Bahamas, and many smaller jurisdictions such as the Cayman Islands have been meeting this demand for years. European banks also have been enthusiastic participants in the process, and the US financial system has provided all of them with the critical infrastructure.

Second, Western financial capitals need to welcome the oligarchs' families, allowing them to buy property (often via trusts and shell companies) and enroll their children in premier educational institutions. Cities like London and New York have welcomed oligarchs and their kin to the heart of high society.

It is reasonable to assume that Putin's ability to establish a personalist autocracy would have been substantially curtailed if Russian elites had not had these golden trap doors to the West. But this is not just a Russian story. The superrich in many other countries - including the Gulf petrostates, China, India, Turkey, some Latin American countries, and Ukraine in earlier times - have also secured their illicit gains with the complicity of Western financial institutions and governments.

These arrangements have not only helped to sustain autocratic regimes in Russia and elsewhere. They have also engulfed Western financial institutions and economies. Oligarchs' money has transformed financial markets by injecting huge amounts of liquidity, thereby changing the nature of financial intermediation and contributing to growing global imbalances. Since 1990, the United States, the United Kingdom, and several other Western countries have run large current-account deficits financed by capital flows from the rest of the world.

After three decades of this, the amount of dark money circulating in the international financial system has reached gargantuan proportions. Gabriel Zucman of the University of California, Berkeley estimates that at least 8% of global financial wealth (more than \$7.5 trillion) is now

held in tax havens - a figure that does not include the other forms of dark money residing at the heart of the Western financial system. Not surprisingly, autocratic regimes account for a disproportionately large share of these dark-money activities. Zucman finds that some 52% of all household wealth in Russia - and even greater shares in the Gulf states - is held offshore.

These illicit flows have exacerbated social and political problems around the world. The demand for luxury housing has fueled disruptive real-estate booms in hotspots like London, New York, and Vancouver. Because prime real estate in these cities was already predominantly owned by the wealthy, the resulting housing-price inflation has exacerbated inequality. Illicit financial flows probably have contributed to the remarkable boom in Western stock markets in recent years as well, further benefiting the rich.

But the most pernicious effects can be found within Western financial and fiscal institutions. The West's accommodation of dark money has accelerated the trend toward more opaque ownership structures and complex trusts aimed at evading taxes, supported by a massive infrastructure of bankers, accountants, and lawyers around the world. When Zucman and his colleagues analyzed data from random audits to determine the scale of tax evasion in the US, they concluded that the richest 1% of American households hide more than 20% of their income using the tools provided by this nefarious industry.

Similarly, through the Panama Papers and then the Pandora Papers, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists has demonstrated that offshore tax evasion is much more systemic and widespread than was commonly believed. Thousands of businesspeople, politicians, and celebrities from around the world have been implicated in what amounts to a global money-laundering operation.

These schemes have left a stain on Western democracies and financial institutions. While the world's kleptocrats have amassed vast, illegitimate fortunes - and while Western elites have gotten in on the action - Western governments have been unable to generate tax revenues from the rich. As a result, welfare-state institutions and services have been cut back, and existing inequalities have deepened.

Shocked by Putin's unprovoked war, Western politicians have rushed to support severe trade sanctions, kicking most (but not all) Russian banks out of the SWIFT financial messaging system and freezing the bulk of the Russian central bank's foreign-exchange holdings. But it will take more courage to clamp down on tax evasion and dark money now that they have become integral features of the current financial system.

Still, if there was ever a moment to change course, this is it. Western policymakers can rein in a tax-evasion scheme that has been unfairly benefiting the world's most powerful corporations and tycoons for years. In doing so, they can also raise sorely needed tax revenues to support new infrastructure and social programs at home. If the West wants to see itself on the right side of history, targeting Russia is not enough. It must clean out its own Augean stables.

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* (Profile, 2019) and *The Narrow Corridor: States, Societies, and the Fate of Liberty* (Penguin, 2020).

## O-PED

By Antara Haldar

# One Small Step for Manchin, One Giant Leap for Mankind?

**C**AMBRIDGE - On a celebratory night in late 2016, the Arc de Triomphe and the Eiffel Tower were lit up in green to remind the world to implement the Paris climate agreement. Yet in recent years, climate legislation in the United States has been stuck at a red light, most recently because Joe Manchin, a conservative-leaning Democratic US Senator from West Virginia, single-handedly made a hostage of America's commitment to the Paris agreement's decarbonization targets.

But now, after previously striking a lethal blow to US President Joe Biden's \$2 trillion Build Back Better Act - the most ambitious climate legislation in US history - Manchin has come around in support of a modest substitute bill that will include hundreds of billions in federal funding to support the clean-energy transition. At a time when extreme weather events are ravaging many parts of the world, the compromise package comes as a big relief. But it is also somewhat disappointing for a beleaguered Democratic Party that is still reeling from the Supreme Court's reversal of *Roe v. Wade*, and for an American electorate that is increasingly anxious about climate change.

Efforts to establish a global climate-policy governance regime have taken a long, zigzagging path, passing through 26 annual "conferences of parties" (COPs). The process got off to a promising start, in 1988, with the creation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the world's premier climate-science entity. And that was soon followed by the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, where 178 countries adopted the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

But the UNFCCC imposed no binding requirements, and at the 1997 Kyoto Conference, the first attempt to mandate specific emissions reductions (for developed countries) in global climate talks hit a roadblock. After the US Senate refused to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, declaring it "dead on arrival," there would be almost no progress for almost two decades.

By the time that 196 parties to the UNFCCC approved the Paris accord, in late 2015, the world had already crossed the 1° Celsius warming threshold. Nonetheless, with its central goal of limiting global warming to well below 2°C, and preferably to 1.5°C, the Paris agreement marked a decisive, epochal shift in climate regulation. Having been adopted (though not ratified) by every country on the planet, it is the first truly global pact on the issue.

All Paris signatories are expected to submit their own decarbonization pathways - known as Nationally Determined Contributions - and then to revisit and increase their targets every five years. In the spirit of setting a common destination while allowing each party to chart its own course, the agreement relies more on carrots (international approval) than on sticks (there are no fees, sanctions, or formal system of arbitration for noncompliance).

As a uniquely dynamic, hybrid, and flexible legal framework, the Paris agreement embodies state-of-the-art contract-making. It is light on enforcement, heavy on consensus, and mediated by participation, interaction, and regular monitoring. In addition to being a breakthrough for climate policy, the accord offers a masterclass in institution building, drawing its moral force from a broad-based global movement of activists, NGOs, students, Indigenous groups, and many others.

Although the accord is technically a legally binding treaty (at least procedurally), it relies on the goodwill of individual actors (in this case nation-states), which makes it a landmark in international law. True, there is no scientific litmus test to determine definitively whether something counts as a "legal system." Rather, the best definition we have is the one given by the English legal theorist H.L.A. Hart, who argued, in *The Concept of Law*, that a legal system is the union of primary and secondary rules - meaning "rules" and "rules about rules."

Hence, one way to determine if the Paris agreement marks the start of an effective global climate-policy governance system is to see if its "rules about rules" are percolating down to the "rules" set by nation-states through domestic legislation. So far, the European Union, Canada, South Korea, Japan, South Africa, and the United Kingdom have all updated existing laws or enacted new ones to uphold their commitments under the Paris agreement. And all have embraced the emerging gold standard of compliance: a 2050 net-zero emissions target.

Moreover, individual members of the European Economic Area (such as Iceland) have also chosen to incorporate Paris targets into national law, even though they are not legally bound by the EU's commitments. And even China, the world's biggest emitter in absolute terms, has committed to achieving carbon neutrality by 2060.

International law rests on the notion of *opinio juris*, which refers to the sense of something being binding. For many around the world, the Paris agreement has indeed instilled this sense of obligation. But not so in the US, where the Republican Party and one Democrat with disproportionate power have been able to threaten the emerging global climate-policy regime.

The US is one of the world leaders in per capita emissions, so its cooperation is necessary to achieve the Paris agreement's goals. Good-faith US participation also is important for global morale. When then-President Donald Trump withdrew the US from the agreement in 2017, the move was felt around the world. America's climate credibility has been at low ebb ever since. Although Biden has reversed Trump's decision and committed to reducing the country's emissions by 50-52% (from 2005 levels) by 2030, his climate ambitions have been hampered by both Congress and the Supreme Court.

If the US cannot back up its climate rhetoric with substantive domestic achievements, its participation in global negotiations is likely to be met with allegations of hypocrisy and "green colonialism." Why should developing countries forego fossil fuels when advanced economies are still consuming them with abandon?

While the voluntary mobilization of corporations, cities, subnational governments, NGOs, and others has been impressive, it cannot substitute for systematic regulation. By further undermining US credibility on this critical issue, Manchin has been setting back not only the Democrats' climate agenda but also the broader project of international cooperation and law. Let us hope that his change of heart is enough to keep the Paris agreement alive.

Antara Haldar is Associate Professor of Empirical Legal Studies at the University of Cambridge.

## OPINION

By Kenneth Rogoff

# Fiscal Policy Should Return to Fundamentals

**C**AMBRIDGE - Recent large interest-rate hikes by the US Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank suggest that monetary policymakers are intent on moving forcefully to bring down inflation. But where are the scores of economic commentators who for years have been arguing that fiscal policy - usually meaning deficit spending - needs to play a much more active role in managing business cycles? If it really makes sense to use both monetary and fiscal policy to counter a routine downturn, why are central banks suddenly on their own in attempting to engineer a soft landing with inflation at a four-decade high?

Before the 2008 global financial crisis, the consensus was that monetary policy should take the lead in dealing with ordinary business cycles. Fiscal policy should play a supporting role, except in the event of wars and natural catastrophes such as pandemics. When systemic financial crises occurred, the thinking went, monetary policy could respond immediately but fiscal policy should quickly follow and take the lead over time. Taxation and government expenditure are intensely political, but successful economies could navigate this problem in emergencies.

Over the past decade, however, the view that fiscal policy should also play a more dominant macroeconomic stabilization role in normal times has gained increasing traction. This shift was influenced by the fact that central bank interest rates ran up against the zero-interest-rate bound. (Some, including me, believe that this argument ignores relatively simple and effective options for cutting rates below zero, but I will not take that up here.) But the zero bound was by no means the entire argument.

It is true that "helicopter money" and other transfer programs proved extremely effective during the initial stages of the COVID-19 pandemic, helping to cushion individuals while reducing long-term economic scarring. But here's the rub: No country, and certainly not a large, politically divided one such as the United States or the United Kingdom, has really figured out how to conduct technocratic fiscal policy on a consistent basis, because politics is hardwired into fiscal policy.

There are myriad ways for governments to spend money, and myriad possible criteria for deciding who merits support and who should foot the bill. Horse trading and implementation issues mean there will always be inefficiencies, and these tend to be bigger as the spending bill increases. Exactly this happened in the US starting at the end of 2020, when politically motivated fiscal policy resulted in too much stimulus too late.

Admittedly, there was a certain logic to keeping monetary and fiscal policy on full expansionary tilt as an insurance policy against the pandemic getting worse or another crisis erupting - as in fact occurred when Russia invaded Ukraine. Still, the cost of this approach, in terms of increased inflationary pressures and reduced capacity to respond to the supply shocks triggered by the war, now has to be paid. Those who argued that a surge in inflation was highly unlikely clearly had their heads in the sand.

With inflation high and growth slowing notably, what should be done? First, interest rates do need to rise, but central bankers and the International Monetary Fund seem to be excessively zealous about the pace at which that should happen. It is far from obvious that the benefits of bringing down inflation to target by say, the end of 2023, are worth the significant risk of yet another deep recession, given the lingering effects of the recent pandemic and the not-so-distant financial crisis.

Second, the fiscal-policy debate has been dominated for too long by the siren song of pundits who promise that real interest rates will never rise, and that deficit spending will be a free lunch. Modern Monetary Theory is an extreme representation of this view, but it is not all that different from some mainstream economists' belief that public debt could be much bigger without any negative consequences.

The right way for governments to redistribute income on a sustainable basis, if that is the goal, is to raise taxes on higher-income individuals and increase transfers to lower-income (and especially very low-income) segments of the population. US Democratic Party congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez had that right when she wore a flamboyant "tax the rich" dress to the 2021 Met Gala, albeit she might have added "and the upper middle class" to the slogan.

Conservatives have to accept that higher taxes on high-income and upper-middle-income individuals are not only fair, but also necessary to achieve social cohesion. Yes, economic efficiency and dynamism are fundamental virtues of the US system, and a major part of the reason why the West is still able to compete with China and Russia in key areas such as technology. But an inadequate social safety net and the failure to tax the economic elite at an adequate rate risks destroying the American model from within.

Fiscal policy needs to go back to fundamentals and be recalibrated. The longstanding argument that go-go Keynesian fiscal stimulus is the answer to every imaginable economic shock has been exposed as bankrupt. Nevertheless, at this juncture, readjustment of macroeconomic policy should take place gradually if we are to avoid a deep recession.

# ARTICLE

# ARTICLE

## The fragility of the Liberian State under George Weah

By S.Karweaye

On July 26, 2022 (Independence Day), members of the University of Liberia campus-based political party known as the Student Unification Party (SUP) were attacked by a group calling itself Coalition for Democratic Change Council of Patriots (CDC-COP), an auxiliary group of the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) of President George M. Weah during the SUP's "Fix The Country" protest in Monrovia.

An unsettling video from the scene shows Christopher Walter Sisulu Sivili, a SUP member, being beaten and abused. The student was observed being beaten up by a mob of CDC supporters who were around him, in what seemed to be a



disturbing echo of the past in which President Samuel Doe was naked, beaten, and tortured by Warlord Prince Johnson, now Senator and a firm supporter of Weah during our violent civil war in Liberia.

As blood dripped from his mouth and nose, they stripped him naked. Some cursed him, tortured him, and accused him and his colleagues of being unappreciative of President Weah, who has provided them with free tuition among other things. To the surprise of journalists, some witnesses, and motorcyclists who subsequently came to his rescue when he was abandoned by his tormentors, anti-riot police did nothing to save him while he was being brutalized. Paul Dolo, another SUP member, also sustained injuries. According to SUP officials, a few members are still missing. Since then, they have claimed that the violent acts committed against their members were planned and carried out by the ruling party.

There are increasing concerns amongst citizens about the fragility of the Liberian state under the CDC-led government. The 1986 Liberia constitution states that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government. The 2020 suspicious deaths of four public-sector internal auditors in Liberia sent shock waves throughout the country. Occurring over eight days, from October 3-10, the four deaths involved Emmanuel Barten Nyeswua, director general, Liberia Internal Audit Agency, Albert Peters, Gifty Lama, and George F. Fanbutu, all with the Liberia Revenue Authority. All four reportedly were conducting audits of Liberia government accounts over allegations of misappropriation of funds. Nyeswua died of an apparent fall, while the others died in apparent car accidents. In February of 2022, Melvin Earley, a presidential guard-Executive Protective Service (EPS) traveling with the president on a nationwide tour died from a gunshot. According to EPS, Melvin Earley committed suicide, however, the family of Melvin Early said under no circumstance he would have killed himself. According to the family, Melvin was executed.

The 2022 Fragile States Index (FSI) ranked Liberia as the 33rd most fragile state in the world and 21st in Africa. According to the Index, Yemen is the "most failed" state, followed closely by Somalia, while Finland, Norway, Iceland, New Zealand, Denmark, and Switzerland are among the best and most stable states on earth. FSI, a yearly report by Washington, DC-based think tank Fund for Peace, ranks 178 countries "across" 12 indicators of the risks and vulnerabilities faced by individual nations.

Some of the risk indicators include security, group grievances, economic decline, brain drain, state legitimacy/human rights and rule of law, demographic pressures, and internally displaced persons or refugees. These indicators

assessed: "the vulnerability of states to collapse" by measuring "vulnerability in pre-conflict, active conflict, and post-conflict situations. The 2022 FSI report identified Liberia as one of the states the international community must keep in view, having scored a relatively high figure which places it in the "alert" category, trailed only by countries with long-standing political and security woes like the Central African Republic, Sudan, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan, Nigeria and the like.

On September 6-13, 2019, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) secretariat visited Liberia to observe "key impressions" to determine if the country is "Fit for Fragility Project." The group collected cutting-edge data and research to advise and direct donor policy in delicate situations. It compiles information and research on fragility, adopts a fact-based understanding of what makes certain contexts vulnerable, contributes to keeping issues related to fragility at the top of the international development agenda, and encourages more productive programming on the ground.

The OECD 2020 report titled "The States of Fragility," stated Liberia is becoming a fragile state. According to the report, the lack of faith in the government continued impunity for war crimes, and corruption remains ingrained in the Liberian state. State fragility is also manifested in the failure of the state to deliver basic services to citizens. And, of course, Liberia lacks the ability to get things done, to provide basic things that are taken for granted in many other states! Liberia probably has one of the worst public sectors in West Africa, with poor quality of policy delivery and public investment management.

There is no disputing the fact that Liberia merits her position. Government legitimacy is not just about winning elections, it's also about the social contract. If a government doesn't meet the needs of the people, it would lack legitimacy in their eyes. Liberia is a country where successive governments have failed to tackle unemployment, poverty, inequality, and insecurity, while public officers abuse the state for personal gain. The failure to do these things is put squarely at the doorsteps of the government that has lost the capacity to rein in sundry auxiliary groups of Weah's CDC who now terrorize any group or individual protesting against Weah's administration around the country. To compound the problem, the prevailing economic downturn has constrained the capacity of individuals, so much so that necessities of life, including food, medicare, and shelter have gone far beyond the reach of most Liberians under Weah's administration. The conflicts are widening, and agitations are increasing by the day.

The solutions to state fragility are largely domestic. Liberia must build strong and effective institutions of governance, develop the right societal norms and values, create a business and market-friendly environment, have honest leaders with the vision and competence to transform the nation, and create an enduring political settlement, including decentralized governance structures, to engender harmony and cohesion. Liberia, with an estimated population of 5.4 million and a gross



domestic product of \$3.4 billion United States dollars, is the first independent country in Africa with a history of coups and civil war. This means that this West African country cannot afford to succumb to insecurity or state fragility because it will reverberate across West Africa as it did in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Ivory Coast during the Liberian civil wars (1997, 2003).

# MORE HEADLINE NEWS

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## Liberian leaders lack empathy

### -Dr. Whapoe asserts

By Lincoln G. Peters

Opposition Vision for Liberia Transformation (VOLT) political leader Dr. Jeremiah Z. Whapoe says Liberians are suffering so badly in their own country because they are governed by leaders that lack empathy and compassion for the plight of others.

Dr. Whapoe made the claim while delivering a keynote address at the first

those they are leading," said Dr. Whapoe.

Whapoe lamented that Liberia is currently governed by leaders that have no understanding, feelings, compassion and empathy for the people and country they govern. He believes these are responsible for the poverty and backwardness of the country.

"Character is not a purchased commodity, but a fundamental commitment

Liberian leaders should learn to put themselves in the situation of the people.

"I am discussing empathy where you will put yourself in the case and situation of others and this is the question our leaders have failed to ask themselves," said Dr. Whapoe.

The VOLT political leader suggested that until Liberian leaders can put themselves in the shoes of their citizens and country, they will never be good leaders.

Addressing the school administration, Dr. Whapoe urged it to be patient and continue to develop and train the grass root children of this country. He added that character and integrity are what Liberia needs, saying they can be achieved when the current generation is developed.

"Character is like planting [a] seed. When you plant a seed, you have to do it on solid ground and water it. And when it grows up the roots can not easily be uprooted," noted Dr. Whapoe.

He said today the school is planting a seed in the children and tomorrow the society will remember the institution for doing that.

In a related development, Dr. Whapoe has awarded two years scholarship to five students each of the institution through his organization called "Leaving

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 11

## OMEGA Insurance Liberia Insures APM Terminals Liberia workers

Leading Insurance services provider, Omega Insurance Company, a Liberian company, has signed on APM Terminals Liberia onto its medical and life insurance policies. This follows months of negotiations between the two companies on an insurance deal which provides the best possible cover for workers of APM Terminals Liberia. The medical and life insurance package covers personal accidents of workers in their line of duty, workers compensation insurance as well as life insurance for APM Terminals Liberia workers and their dependents.

At a signing ceremony taking effect on August 1st, the two

record in delivering high quality insurance services in the corporate sector. He further stressed that insuring workers of APM Terminals Liberia and their dependents is in line with "Our People" value of the organization which seeks to place the welfare of stakeholders of the company at the center of its operation.

"With this signing we are providing significant comfort for our hard-working staff and their families to know that in emergencies they can rely on this health cover. Likewise, this policy provides great Life Insurance coverage to ensure families are confident in their future in case of a loss. It is all part of our efforts to enhance the



Dr. Jeremiah Z. Whapoe

kindergarten graduation and thanksgiving program of the High Learner International School over the weekend in Barnesville.

"Our country is currently ruled by people that have no empathy and compassion for

of love, understanding and compassion for other people," Whapoe continued.

Dr. Whapoe noted that if Liberia will get better and transform for the betterment of everybody,

## LRA returns smuggled cigarettes to Sierra Leone

The Anti-Smuggling Unit (ASIU) of the Liberia Revenue Authority (LRA) has intercepted and turned over 138 cartons of cigarettes to Sierra Leonean customs collectors at Jenema Customs collectorate in Freetown.

According to a press release, the LRA anti-smugglers seized the cigarettes from two Liberians on separate occasions in July when they attempted crossing Bo Waterside in Grand Cape Mount County during midnight hours.

LRA Anti-Smuggling Unit Supervisor, Abel Sneh, said the two brands of seized cigarettes (Bon and Sir) are not meant to be sold in Liberia but exclusively made for Sierra Leone. The smuggling of the cigarettes, he said, violates the revenue code and related Liberian laws.

This is the third time the LRA has seized and turned

over illegal goods to its Sierra Leonean counterpart.

The collaboration between Liberia and Sierra Leone Customs is backed by a framework under the Nairobi Convention, allowing customs administrations to collaborate to prevent, investigate, and repress customs offenses. The initiative further bolsters Liberia and Sierra Leone's regional partnership in strengthening border collaboration and combating

smuggling.

During the handover, the supervisor of the Sierra Leonean customs team at Jenema Customs Collectorate, James Ineh, thanked the Joint Security for the level of collaboration in handling both border posts. Ineh thanked the LRA for the smooth collaboration as both work to protect citizens within their respective borders while collecting revenues for the states. **Press Release**



companies represented by their MDs finalized the deal. The Executive Chairman of Omega Insurance, Mr Charles L. Ananaba expressed his confidence in the deal and assured that the staff of APM Terminals Liberia will have the highest quality insurance services under the partnership.

"Our mission as an insurance company is to initiate and maintain long-term professional relationships with clients in pursuit of quality risk management solutions through reliable and professional underwriting at a fair price. We are happy to have concluded this deal with APM Terminals Liberia and we are going to extend to all its cherished staff and their dependents, prompt, efficient and professional services especially in terms of claims" Mr Ananaba remarked.

Mr. Jonathan Graham signing on behalf of APM Terminals Liberia said the company reposed confidence in Omega Insurance because of their track

working conditions of each and everyone working here to grow this company and indeed the Free Port of Monrovia." said Mr Graham.

Omega Insurance Company underwrites insurance products for public and private sector customers in Liberia. It offers accident, cash-in-safe, erection-all-risks, goods in transit, marine, home, public liability, assets-all-risks, consequence loss, electronic equipment, fidelity guarantee, hotel/guesthouse, money, pro-indemnity, travel, burglary, contractors-all-risk, employer's liability, fire, life, motor, and products liability insurance policies, as well as customs bonds.

Based in Monrovia, the company was founded in 2007 to provide the general public with the most often needed financial services in insurance.

It adds APM Terminals Liberia to its already rich portfolio of corporate clients with this signing.

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## SUP petitions UN in Monrovia

By Lincoln G. Peters

University of Liberia (UL) - based Students Unification Party (SUP) protesters and other concerned university students have petitioned the United Nations' head office in Monrovia after

that this is a complete state-sponsored action and the government is in support of it," Lansana S. Kenneh, chairperson of the Concerned Students stated when he read their petition Monday, 1 August 2022.

During Liberia's 175th Independence Day

calling themselves CDC Council of Patriots (CDC - COP) and stripped naked.

His video went viral on social media, reminding Liberians of the inhumane treatment and painful murder of then sitting Liberian president Samuel Kanyon Doe by rebel fighters under the command of now Nimba County Senator Prince Yormi Johnson (PYJ).

Besides Sivili, several other members of SUP were badly injured when they were attacked by the CDC - COP outside the United States Embassy near Monrovia on Independence Day, 26 July 2022.

"We need justice for our comrade because we are not prepared to go back to our dark days," said Kenneh.

In a show of solidarity for their wounded colleagues following the Independence Day bloody protest, SUP and the Concern Students of the University of Liberia on Monday staged a march in Monrovia to call partners' attention to their plights.

They alleged bad governance, police brutality and dehumanizing acts being carried out by the

government.

The group of students marched to the United Nations headquarters on First Street, Sinkor, and read a petition calling for an immediate investigation and prosecution of culprits linked to the July 26 attack.

"We like to bring to your attention the continued human rights violation, police brutality, mysterious deaths, corruption, bad governance and constitutional violation in our country," Kenneh said further.

Kenneh said it is very saddening that during a peaceful gathering of students, SUP was attacked by an alleged 'state - sponsored group' under the banner CDC-COP.

According to him, during the protest, one of their comrades was beaten, disgraced, dehumanized and stripped naked because he had joined the campaign to call on President George Manneh Weah to "Fix the state."

Kenneh contended that this

is a serious human rights violation.

"We want to believe that you, our partners, have seen the video footage of our comrade who was dehumanized and butt naked and beaten by CDC-COP," Kenneh continued.

"You also saw the brutalization of several other comrades, some of whom [were] badly injured and undergoing critical medical attention."

He said the Concerned Students believe by petitioning the UN, it will help the Government of Liberia to pay attention to the country and address the prevailing economic hardship, corruption and human rights violation.

He lamented that they are currently living in fear and insecurity because of how the government is handling the security sector and alleged state - sponsored groups to counter peaceful citizens that have petitions and issues of national concern.--Edited by Winston W. Parley



government supporters brutally attacked and wounded several of their colleagues last week. "Since the incident on Tuesday, July 26, the government is yet to make an arrest. This shows

celebration, student protester Christopher Sivili Walters was attacked mercilessly by supporters of the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC)

## SALI on women's participation in politics

By Ramsey N. Singbe,

Jr. in Margibi

As part of its "Liberia Election Support Project," Sister Aid Liberia Inc. (SALI) has conducted a daylong stakeholder forum in Kakata City, Margibi county on inclusive political participation and eliminating violence against women in politics.

SALI is a women-led National Non-Governmental Organization that promotes women's rights advocacy and leadership empowerment, research and policy engagements, and leadership and capacity building, mainly targeting women and girls.

The group works with individuals, institutions, social movements, and communities with shared interest to fight in justices, poverty, and human rights abuses against women and girls. The recent event brought together women from different sectors such as the Liberia Marketing Association, National Traditional Council of Liberia, Ministry of Gender, schools and the communities as well as six women lawmakers and

a senatorial aspirant, among others.

The Executive Director of SALI Madam Miatta Garmai Darwolo said the dialogue was intended for participants to make commitment of support to women who are contesting in the county come 2023.

"We're here to give our commitment; we will take word from your mouths and we will put it on paper, we will follow you wherever you are to ensure that the support you give here today will go for all our women who running to 2023" she told the

women.

She said the Liberia Election Support Project is under the organization's leadership and capacity building program, saying "So based on all what we do under our leadership and capacity building program, we are running this program called the Liberia Election Support Project (LESP)."

She narrated that the Project is being implemented in Montserrado and Margibi counties with sponsorship from the Swedish Development Cooperation, Irish Aid, UNDP and UN Women respectively. **Editing by Jonathan Browne**

## China pledges support to Group of 77, Jewel Starfish Foundation



By Lincoln G. Peters

The People's Republic of China through its embassy accredited near Monrovia over the weekend pledged overwhelming support and cooperation to the Jewel Starfish Foundation and disable people or Group of 77.

China aims to provide support to the less - fortunate and disadvantaged groups in Liberia for a better future.

During the dedication of the Young Women Christian Association of Liberia Jewel Training Center, Chinese Ambassador to Liberia Ren Yisheng said that it's important to invest in the potential of young women and girls.

He noted that it is also important to invest in the vulnerable group because they are part of the society, m and they are potential future leaders.

"Madam Vice President, China - Africa, and China - Liberia are good friends, good brothers

and they have always supported each other," said Amb. Ren.

"We will do more to work with you to help the vulnerable group and less fortunate across the country," he added.

The Chinese Envoy assured Vice President Jewel Howard - Taylor that his country will continue to support the important work of her office.

"The Jewel Starfish Foundation, [Group of] 77, including the Jewel Training Center through our capability, we will do everything possible to contribute our best," Ambassador Ren stated.

He paid tribute to VP Howard - Taylor for her constant care, and love for the young people and vulnerable groups of the country.

"I want to extend thanks and appreciation to the Jewel Training Center, it's a beautiful facility at a very nice location and we feel proud about that," he concluded.--Edited by Winston W. Parley



Madam Miatta Garmai Darwolo, Executive Director of SALI

# Français

## L'opposant Gongloe accuse le régime Weah d'être responsable du sang des étudiants

L'opposant Tiawan Saye Gongloe et ses partisans tiennent le régime de la Coalition pour le changement démocratique (CDC) responsable de la brutalité infligée aux étudiants de l'Université du Libéria (UL).

La déclaration intitulée "TACHES DE SANG D'ÉTUDIANTS SUR LES MAINS DE TRUGS AIDÉS PAR LE GOUVERNEMENT" a été publiée le dimanche 31 juillet 2022, condamnant l'attaque brutale contre certains membres du Parti de l'unification des étudiants (SUP) le 26 juillet.

"Cela dit, nous tenons le régime de la Coalition pour le changement démocratique (CDC) responsable de la brutalité infligée à certains membres du Parti de l'unification des étudiants (SUP) de l'Université du Libéria", indique le communiqué.

"Nous voudrions ajouter que les taches de sang des étudiants sont sur les mains des voyous que le

gouvernement a aidés et déchaînés pour nuire aux étudiants", ajoute le communiqué.

Selon les partisans de Gongloe, se rassembler et exprimer son mécontentement sous forme de protestation face à l'incapacité du gouvernement à tenir ses promesses, est un ingrédient de la démocratie et un droit inaliénable des gens.

Une manifestation dite

pacifique avait été organisée par le Parti de l'Unification des Étudiants (SUP), une organisation syndicale estudiantine basée à l'Université du Libéria, pour dénoncer la cherté de la vie et exiger une amélioration des conditions de vie des populations.

Mais la manifestation a tourné au sang lorsque le CDC-Council of Patriots s'est

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 9



## Espace CEDEAO : Un projet de force anti-putsch en gestation

animée par les présidents français Emmanuel Macron et Bissau-guinéen Umaro Mokhtar Sissoco Embaló, aussi président de la conférence des Chefs d'Etat de la CEDEAO, ce dernier a annoncé la création très prochainement d'une force anti-putsch dans l'espace sous-régionale pour permettre à tout le monde

de comprendre que nous sommes au 21ème siècle et qu'il est inadmissible et inacceptable de faire des coups d'Etat.

Le Président en exercice de la Communauté économique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'ouest (CEDEAO), Umaro Mokhtar Sissoco Embaló Président de la Guinée Bissau, a annoncé, jeudi, la création bientôt d'une force anti-putsch.

Le président Bissau-Guinéen

SEM. Umaro Mokhtar Sissoco Embaló s'exprimait au cours d'une conférence de presse conjointe avec son homologue français, Emmanuel Macron en visite dans le pays.

"Il y a déjà sur la table de la CEDEAO un projet de création d'une force anti-putsch qu'on est en train de penser à créer", tout en affirmant que "cette entité va permettre à tout le monde de comprendre que nous sommes au 21ème siècle et qu'il est inadmissible et inacceptable de faire des coups d'Etat", a-t-il déclaré.

Avant d'ajouter qu'on ne peut penser que pour arriver au sommet de l'Etat, c'est un fast track. Il y a des procédures pour être chef d'Etat. Il faut qu'on soit tous républicains. C'est le peuple qui a le droit de sanctionner les dirigeants mais pas avec des coups d'Etat militaires.

Le Président français Emmanuel Macron a, pour sa part, indiqué avoir été

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 9



## Éditorial

### Les douleurs de Christopher réclament justice

L'étudiant Christopher Walter Sisulu Sivili de l'Université du Libéria et ses camarades qui ont été brutalement attaqués par les pro-Weah le 26 juillet dernier devant l'ambassade des États-Unis réclament justice. Le seul crime que ces étudiants ont commis a été de manifester pacifiquement à Monrovia contre la célébration du 175e anniversaire de l'indépendance du Libéria.

Pour eux, il n'y a rien à célébrer car le Libéria est englouti dans des difficultés et la pauvreté en raison d'une corruption massive au sommet de l'État qui prive les citoyens des services de base comme la santé et l'éducation, entre autres.

En fait, les étudiants de l'Université du Libéria ont organisé une manifestation loin du pavillon du centenaire à Ashmun Street, où la cérémonie officielle de la fête de l'indépendance a été organisée. Mais ils ont été poursuivis et attaqués par des pro-Weah, blessant beaucoup d'entre eux, dont l'étudiant Christopher Walter Sisulu.

Malheureusement, encore malheureusement, le régime a fermé les yeux sur cette violence et la police prétend qu'elle ne sait pas qui sont ceux qui ont commis ces actes barbares. Ce-ci est bien évidemment à de la complaisance.

Manquant délibérément de volonté politique de poursuivre les auteurs présumés, la police demande plutôt au public d'identifier ceux qui ont attaqué les étudiants qui ne faisaient qu'exercer leur droit constitutionnel de protester pacifiquement.

Le ministère de la Justice a condamné la violence et ordonné une enquête approfondie, mais quelques jours plus tard la police a dit avoir aucune informations pour procéder à quelque arrestation que ce soit. Tout ça n'est rien d'autre que de l'impunité.

C'est pourquoi nous nous félicitons du Conseil des Églises du Libéria qui demande au gouvernement de faire un compte rendu complet sur cette violence. Quoique la police ait renforcé sa présence près de l'ambassade des États-Unis lors des affrontements, elle demande au public de l'aider pour procéder à l'interpellation des auteurs. Voilà ce qui est paradoxal.

Nous nous félicitons également de Tiawan Saye Gongloe, militant des droits de l'Homme et candidat déclaré à la prochaine présidentielle, pour avoir promis de porter plainte personnellement contre le gouvernement à son retour des États-Unis.

Comme l'a dit Me Gongloe, le non respect de l'État de droit et des droits de l'homme sous l'administration Weah transforme rapidement le Libéria, une démocratie constitutionnelle, en un État fasciste, comme en témoignent la violence et l'anarchie actuelles qu'on constate dans le pays.

Il ne faut pas se méprendre, la violence du mardi 26 juillet contre des étudiants pacifiques qui exprimaient leur opinion n'est qu'un bout de l'iceberg de ce à quoi s'attendre sous cette administration lors des élections présidentielle et générales de 2023. On assistera à une violence qui sera parrainée par l'État afin de museler les opinions dissidentes.



# Français

## L'opposant Gongloe accuse le régime Weah

violemment attaquée aux étudiants protestataires. Il s'en est suivi un affrontement sanglant entre les manifestants et des partisans pro-Weah.

La violence sanglante a suscité un tollé public. D'aucuns exigent que les auteurs présumés soient traduits en justice. C'est le cas du Congrès national alternatif (ANC), un parti de l'opposition qui, dans un communiqué rendu public mercredi 27 juillet 2022, a appelé le ministre de la Justice à ordonner immédiatement une enquête complète sur l'incident.

L'ANC désapprouve avec véhémence ce qu'il dit semble être un schéma persistant de préparation et d'institutionnalisation de la terreur à l'intérieure de l'État afin de terroriser l'opposition et bâillonner les voix dissidentes.

La police nationale libérienne n'a encore procédé à aucune arrestation. Le porte-parole de la police,

Moses Carter, qui avait précédemment déclaré qu'une enquête approfondie avait été ouverte, appelle le public à aider la police avec des informations.

« Le mouvement des Libériens pour Gongloe (LIFOGO) condamne catégoriquement cet acte barbare dans les termes les plus forts », a déclaré le groupe.

Il appelle tous les Libériens, peu importe leur affiliation politique et religieuse, à dénoncer le despotisme « rampant » du CDC et du président Weah.

Les partisans de Gongloe ont exhorté les Libériens à ne pas permettre à leur beau pays de dégénérer à nouveau dans la barbarie.

« Parce que la police nationale du Libéria n'a pris aucune mesure pour freiner le soi-disant Conseil des patriotes du CDC qui a attaqué les étudiants, l'administration Weah a irréfutablement cautionné la cruauté », ont affirmé les partisans de Gongloe.

## Espace CEDEAO : Un projet de

informé par le président Embalode la volonté de la Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEDEAO) de bâtir une force luttant contre le terrorisme dans les différents pays membres de la CEDEAO.

Saluant l'initiative, le Président de la République française Emmanuel Macron estime que c'est un instrument extrêmement efficace pour lutter contre les déstabilisations qu'on a vues fléchir dans la région où des groupes militaires ont exploité, parfois, l'affaiblissement de l'Etat pour prendre le pouvoir. Voilà ce qui est attendu de la CEDEAO.

Avant de terminer, le

Président Macron a rassuré que la France continuera à jouer son rôle dans la région au service d'Etat souverains légitimes. "Car nous considérons que notre rôle est d'aider à réussir cette bataille contre le terrorisme et à permettre le développement stable et la formation de la jeunesse dans cette partie du continent africain".

Enfin, Embaló annonce une mission bientôt à Bamako qui sera conduite par son ministre des Affaires étrangères pour rencontrer la junte suivi de sa visite au Mali. L'objectif vise, dit-il, à discuter avec les autorités maliennes de la transition à trouver un accord car c'est très important qu'on finisse avec la transition au Mali, au Burkina et en Guinée

## COMMENTAIRE

Par Daron Acemoglu

## La fermeture des paradis fiscaux – ou la véritable mise à l'épreuve de la détermination de l'Occident

CAMBRIDGE - La guerre de la Russie en Ukraine ne se déroule peut-être pas comme prévu, mais le pire reste à venir. Bien que les sanctions financières occidentales contre les institutions et les oligarques russes aient dépassé les attentes de certains, elles ne visent pas les racines que le régime du président russe Vladimir Poutine a plantées en Occident.

Comme dans de nombreux autres régimes kleptocratiques, le pouvoir de Poutine repose sur un accord entre un autocrate et des oligarques. L'autocrate gouverne le pays comme il l'entend et enrichit ses alliés, qui amassent des fortunes colossales à partir des ressources naturelles du pays ou par le biais de monopoles approuvés par le régime.

Mais il y a un hic : au fur et à mesure que la fortune des oligarques augmente, ces derniers s'inquiètent de plus en plus du pouvoir qu'a l'autocrate de saisir leurs actifs ou de nuire à leurs familles. Il leur reste deux options. La première consiste à développer des institutions formelles et de facto pour contraindre l'autocrate, peut-être même en ouvrant la voie à des réformes structurelles indispensables. La seconde option consiste à déplacer leurs biens et leurs familles à l'étranger, afin qu'ils puissent éviter le sort de Mikhail Khodorkovsky, le principal oligarque russe que Poutine a exproprié et emprisonné au début des années 2000.

De nombreux oligarques russes ont profité de la seconde option, qui nécessite deux formes essentielles d'assistance occidentale. Premièrement, le système bancaire occidental doit leur donner des possibilités facilement accessibles de blanchir leur argent. Londres, la Suisse, Luxembourg, Chypre, Jersey, les Bahamas et de nombreuses juridictions plus petites comme les Îles Caïmans répondent à cette demande depuis des années. Les banques européennes ont également participé avec enthousiasme à ce processus et le système financier américain leur a fourni les infrastructures essentielles.

Deuxièmement, les capitales financières occidentales doivent accueillir les familles des oligarques, leur permettant d'acheter des biens immobiliers (souvent par le biais de fiducies et de sociétés écrans) et d'inscrire leurs enfants dans des institutions d'enseignement de premier plan. Des villes comme Londres et New York ont accueilli des oligarques et leurs proches au cœur de la haute société.

Il est raisonnable de supposer que la capacité de Poutine à établir une autocratie personaliste aurait été considérablement réduite si les élites russes n'avaient pas disposé de ces issues de secours en or vers l'Occident. Mais il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une histoire russe. Les super riches de nombreux autres pays - dont les États pétrochimiques du Golfe, la Chine, l'Inde, la Turquie, certains pays d'Amérique latine et l'Ukraine par le passé - ont également obtenu leurs gains illicites grâce à la complicité des institutions financières et des gouvernements occidentaux.

Ces arrangements ont non seulement contribué à soutenir des régimes autocratiques en Russie et ailleurs. Mais ils ont également envahi les institutions financières et les économies occidentales. L'argent des oligarques a transformé les marchés financiers en y injectant d'énormes quantités de liquidités, en modifiant ainsi la nature de l'intermédiation financière et en contribuant à des déséquilibres mondiaux croissants. Depuis 1990, les États-Unis, le Royaume-Uni et plusieurs autres pays occidentaux ont d'importants déficits de comptes courants financés par des flux de capitaux provenant du reste du monde.

Après trois décennies de ce régime, la quantité de financement occulte en circulation dans le système financier international a atteint des proportions gargantuesques. Gabriel Zucman de l'Université de Californie à Berkeley estime qu'au moins 8 % de la richesse financière mondiale (plus de 7,5 billions de dollars) est à présent détenue dans des paradis fiscaux

- un chiffre qui ne comprend pas les autres formes de financement occulte qui résident au cœur du système financier occidental. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que les régimes autocratiques représentent une part disproportionnée de ces activités liées au financement occulte. Zucman constate que près de 52 % de la richesse des ménages en Russie - et une part encore plus importante dans les États du Golfe - est détenue à l'étranger.

Ces flux illicites ont exacerbé les problèmes sociaux et politiques dans le monde entier. La demande de logements de luxe a alimenté des booms immobiliers perturbateurs dans des centres d'activité comme Londres, New York et Vancouver. Dans la mesure où l'immobilier de luxe de ces villes appartenait déjà auparavant aux plus fortunés, l'inflation des prix de l'immobilier qui en résulte a exacerbé les inégalités. Les flux financiers illicites ont probablement également contribué au remarquable boom des marchés boursiers occidentaux au cours des dernières années, bénéficiant encore davantage aux riches.

Mais les effets les plus pernicieux se trouvent au sein des institutions financières et fiscales occidentales. L'hébergement du financement occulte mis en place par l'Occident a accéléré la tendance vers des structures de propriété plus opaques et des trusts complexes visant à échapper aux impôts, soutenus par une infrastructure massive de banquiers, de comptables et d'avocats dans le monde entier. Lorsque Zucman et ses collègues ont analysé les données issues d'audits aléatoires visant à déterminer l'ampleur de l'évasion fiscale aux États-Unis, ils ont conclu que les 1 % des ménages américains les plus riches cachent plus de 20 % de leurs revenus à l'aide d'outils fournis par ce secteur d'activité infâme.

De même, grâce aux Panama Papers puis aux Pandora Papers, le Consortium international des journalistes d'investigation a démontré que l'évasion fiscale extraterritoriale est beaucoup plus systémique et généralisée qu'on ne le croyait généralement. Des milliers d'hommes d'affaires, de politiciens et de célébrités du monde entier sont impliqués dans ce qui équivaut à une opération mondiale de blanchiment d'argent.

Ces plans laissent une tache sur les démocraties et les institutions financières occidentales. Bien que les kleptocrates du monde aient amassé de vastes fortunes illégitimes - et alors que les élites occidentales se sont mises à prendre des mesures - les gouvernements occidentaux ont été incapables de générer des revenus fiscaux de la part des riches. En conséquence, les institutions et les services de l'État-providence ont été réduits et les inégalités existantes se sont aggravées.

Choqués par la guerre sans provocation de Poutine, les politiciens occidentaux se sont précipités pour appuyer de sévères sanctions commerciales, en faisant sortir la plupart (mais pas toutes) les banques russes du système financier SWIFT et en gelant la majeure partie des avoirs de change de la banque centrale russe. Mais il faudra plus de courage pour réprimer l'évasion fiscale et le financement occulte maintenant qu'ils font partie intégrante du système financier actuel.

Pourtant, s'il y a bien un moment pour changer de cap, c'est maintenant. Les décideurs occidentaux peuvent contenir un programme d'évasion fiscale qui bénéficie injustement aux entreprises et aux magnats les plus puissants du monde depuis des années. Ce faisant, ils peuvent également augmenter les recettes fiscales dont ils ont cruellement besoin pour soutenir de nouvelles infrastructures et de nouveaux programmes sociaux dans leurs pays. Si l'Occident veut se placer du bon côté de l'histoire, il ne suffit pas de prendre la Russie pour cible. L'Occident doit nettoyer ses propres écuries d'Augias.

Daron Acemoglu, professeur d'économie au MIT, co-auteur (avec James A. Robinson) de *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty* (Profile, 2019) et de *The Narrow Corridor: States, Societies, and the Fate of Liberty* (Penguin, 2020).

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# LIBERIANS DEBATE

By Naneka Hoffman

Gashly attack by pro-government group, CDC-Council of Patriots against protesting students of the University of Liberia on July 26, 2022, Independence Day has left many Liberians condemning the Weah administration for condoning such bloody violence in the country. Several students of the campus-based Vanguard Student Unification Party (SUP) are nursing wounds from the brutal attack before the Embassy of the United States near Monrovia where the protesting had gathered to present a statement to the U.S. Government on the worsening economic, security and governance issues in Liberia, characterized by systemic corruption and abuses.

Several residents of Monrovia express their views on the violence and apparent lack of action from the government, as compiled below.



Prince Sonii

“The result from the protest on July 26 celebrations I condemn it in the strongest term. It is not a good sign that was sent out by this regime and the country. Looking at these guys, who call themselves CDC-Council of Patriots, it doesn’t give them right to beat on any student and stripped the person naked,

as if we are fighting war in our country. This is all because the students have decided to stage a peaceful protest, calling on the Government of Liberia to address the economic hardship that has taken over the country; it doesn’t give anyone right to beat on anybody and stripped that person naked. Remember that it reminds someone of us about the country’s dark day of April 12, 1990, and the rice riot. It’s not a good sign or image for our country. People need to desist from this debauched behavior.”

“Actually, the issue on the July 26 protest is a matter that we observe the angle of the government and take it into consideration that the government complied with group of militias. And on that note, the purpose of the students especially, at the American Embassy, the students went there to make sure that they engage constructively and in order to test the democracy of our State, for which George Manneh Weah, our President had stated that he was going to be more proactive, as compared to Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf’s days. But what we saw; it reminds us about our dark days in our history. If President Weah will push us toward the dark days in our history, then it means that there are issues that we need to address. Let take for example, one of the concerns from the Student Unification Party on that particular day was to take away the happening that is about to occur which has to do with our election. And taken into



Ernest W. Toe

consideration that no country will go to election without identifying the total number of people. So, up to present in Liberia, we don’t even know our population and we have people, who have taken away the census money and that which we are asking our government in order to engage these people because we don’t want violent in the elections. We don’t want President Weah to rig the election, for this reason we continue to enlighten the minds of the people that indeed, the census must be conducted before the electoral process comes into being, because the government feels it is already in the position to rig this particular process. So, they never wanted the students to enlighten the minds of the people on the issue of elections. They decided to bring in the Liberia National Police and few other guys, who we refer to as rebels to move on the students. So, on that day, it was very saddening for our democracy.”



Jenkins Sieh

“In my view as a citizen, the Student Unification Party students were wrong because, it

was Liberia’s Independence Day, which made Liberia 175 years of existence. So, it makes no sense to go protest or to go demonstrate on Independence Day. It was against me and it was against so many people. For example, it was just looking like this, I am celebrating my birthday then somebody wants to attack me. It is bad; SUP needs to desist from this.”

“Firstly, when I overheard the protest, I felt bad because it was Independence Day and we have to celebrate that day. I didn’t expect that from SUP, looking at SUP to be the leading political party at the highest institution of the Republic of Liberia to carry on such action. They failed to realize that other citizens were happy on that day, and went to celebrate alongside with the government. While other people carried on their normal business activities then SUP planned to disrupt that day. As for me, it never went down well with me,



T-marc Jarteh

and if they continue to carry on that act, I think it will be a bad practice for us in our democracy. They need to change and desist from that attitude.”



Prince Dickson George, Jr.

“I think the CDC-CoP is in error. The Constitution of Liberia gives every citizen right to carry on a peaceful assembly, if he/she thinks that things are not going on good in the country. SUP is a student political party at the State-run University of Liberia; they have the right to stage a

peaceful protest against the government, if things are not going well with the people in the country. So, it is not only University issues they have to speak on. Remember, SUP is there for the masses; let the CDC-Council of Patriot be aware of it. We are not saying that they should not do their royalty work for the government and CDC. But the right thing needs to be done. We are not fighting war in this country for a man to look at his friend man and beat and stripped him naked, all because he wants to satisfy party. We should stop this as young people; government goes, government comes. We don’t know where we will find ourselves in the future.”

# Wounded student protester leaves Liberia

By Bridgett Milton

Badly wounded student protester Christopher Sivili Walters has been taken out of Liberia to an unknown destination for further medical treatment, leaders of his campus-based Student Unification Party (SUP) say.

The University of Liberia

celebration, Sivili was attacked mercilessly by supporters of the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) calling themselves CDC Council of Patriots (CDC - COP) and stripped naked live on video.

The video went viral on social media, reminding Liberians of the inhumane treatment and painful

were attacked by the CDC - COP outside the United States Embassy near Monrovia on Independence Day, 26 July 2022.

SUP Secretary General Jusu Kamara alleged on Fabric FM that they had to take Sivili out of the country because people were still after the wounded student's life. Kamara lamented that the health

conditions.

He said some have been unconscious for days, suffering severe pains and are not responding to treatment.

"SUP was never in confrontation with any rival group. Our comrades were very peaceful in our assembly but unfortunately, they were simply beaten and brutalized gruesomely by gangs and hoodlums," Kamara said.

He said they have not been able to go back to school because there are people who are after them.

Last week, members of the Student Unification Party were about to stage a peaceful protest when their assembly was disrupted by some members of the CDC - COP.

The students had gathered Tuesday morning, 26 July outside the US Embassy to embark on a peaceful parade,

far from Centennial Memorial Pavilion where Liberia's 175th Independence Day indoor program was taking place.

While the students were setting up for the protest under the banner "Fix the Country," they were attacked by CDC - COP, a group loyal to the ruling establishment.

The students said they intended to bring to the attention of the public and the international community the bad governance, including corruption, poverty, insecurity and the dire state of infrastructure under the rule of the CDC regime.

The government is yet to make any arrest despite videos and photos of the perpetrators flooding social media, in addition to the suspects holding a press conference to justify their action. --Edited by Winston W. Parley



(UL) - based SUP told a local broadcaster in Monrovia Monday, 1 August 2022 that Sivili had to be taken out of Liberia because people were still allegedly after his life while in hospital here.

During Liberia's 175th Independence Day

murder of then sitting Liberian president Samuel Kanyon Doe by rebel fighters under the command of now Nimba County Senator Prince Yormi Johnson (PYJ).

Besides Sivili, several other members of SUP were badly injured when they

condition of SUP militants and peaceful university students who were brutalized on 26 July remain very critical and severe.

Kamara complained that their comrades were brutalized and they continue to suffer cruel pains in critical

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## Liberian leaders lack

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# Weah denies CDC-CoP exists

By Jonathan Browne

President George Weah received a barrage of trolling across social media platforms on Monday August 2, 2022, after he vehemently denied that the CDC-Council of Patriots does not exist.

On both Facebook and WhatsApp chatrooms the president was described as "a liar" with some asking questions saying "who can believe this sh\*\*\*t among other invectives that cannot be used in this paper.

The president was addressing the July 26, violence for the first time, six days after students of the Vanguard Student Unification Party (SUP) where brutally assorted before the watchful eyes of uniformed police officers by thugs calling themselves CDC-Councils of Patriots.

"As the founding father of the Congress for Democratic Change, now the Coalition for Democratic Change, that we do not have any CDC-COP within our organization."The governing CDC has not publicly commented since the violence, leaving many to

believe it is working in concert with the CoP.

But President Weah in his statement denounced in the strongest terms, the violence which occurred in the early hours of July 26, at the time Liberians were preparing to celebrate.

He said violence is totally unacceptable, and notes that he has emphasized in all of his public engagements the need to maintain the hard-earned peace Liberians now enjoy, adding "This is a cause for which I have lent personal sacrifice - as an ambassador of peace."

He says anyone who claims to love him or to follow his political ideology, cannot do so with violence.

"Anyone or group that has my image on a banner in support of me and my government must be peaceful, respectful, and tolerant. You cannot support a man of peace by being violent."

One social media user, Seltue Karweaye Sr. wrote: "So international & local pressures forced Dator to finally leave his recording studio to disown the CDC-COP & instructed for their immediate arrest. My Pekins, your on your own."



"President George Weah, we are tired of EMPTY TALK with no action. Arrest, charge and prosecute all your loyalists who carried out the violence on July 26. We want to be convinced by real actions, not words," another user Varney Sackey wrote.

Meanwhile, Weah has mandated the Ministry of Health here to provide medication to students, who sustained injuries during protest on July 26, Liberia's Independence Day, six days after the bloody violence that was streamed live via social media.

University of Liberia campus-based Vanguard Student Unification Party (SUP) on Tuesday, 26, 2022 staged a peaceful protest before the Embassy of the United States near Monrovia against celebration of Liberia's 175th Independence, citing among others, extreme hardship, despicable suffering and sordid social decadence in the country.

But the protesters were chased and attacked by a pro-government group, CDC-Council of Patriots, inflicting wounds on the students, leaving several of them

hospitalized. One the critically wounded students, Christopher Walters, has been reportedly taken abroad for proper medication. The government initially condemned the act but stopped short of making any arrest.

A statement issued by the Ministry of Information said the students never sought permission from the government to protest.

The Liberia National Police via its spokesperson Moses Carter, said it has no clue on those behind the attack, and called on the public to help the Police with information that would lead to arresting suspects.

However, in a nationwide address on Monday, August 1, exactly six days after the incident, President Weah mandated the Ministry of Justice and the entire national security apparatus to immediately arrest all those involved in the violent incident on July 26, 2022 and ensure that they face the full weight of the law.

"I have also instructed the Minister of Health to ensure that all those who sustained injuries during the violent attack be given the best medical treatment at the expense of the government", Mr. Weah says.

# Leopard snatches 3-year-old girl in Nimba



Traditional leaders meet after the incident

By Thomas Domah, Nimba County

Traditional leaders in Nimba county have launched an investigation into circumstances that led to a leopard from the bush snatching away a three-year-old girl on July 25, 2022.

The incident occurred while the victim was eating with her friends in a house in Garr Whynor Town, electoral district#2, Nimba county.

Family members told The New Dawn that the minor came from plaiting her hair a nearby house to celebrate the recently held July 26 Independence Day with friends. The grandmother of the little girl, Ma Betty Dolo, narrated that after her granddaughter returned from plaiting her hair, she

joined her friends to eat when a leopard came from the bush and snatched her from among her friends and took her into the bush.

Ma Dolo revealed that two women in the town openly confirmed that the animal came from the bush and took the child away.

This is the first of its kind in Garr Whynor Town, she added.

She said for a living animal to come from the bush and to take human being in town is a very bad situation.

Speaking to reporters, Alvin B. Toaloe, a senior staff of the traditional council of Nimba said traditional leaders are working with some zoes, who were invited by residents of the town,

including family members to search for the little girl dead or alive.

Mr. Toaloe said whenever such an incident happened, traditional leaders are invited to make sure the body is retrieved from the bush.

This is the second incident in less than a year for a child to face such fate while playing with friends.

Few months ago, a two-year-old girl went missing in another town, Lao Zeanpea, and her body was discovered subsequently with several parts missing.  
*Editing by Jonathan Browne*

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