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Source: Research, Policy and Planning Department, CBL.

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GNI/Cap: \$680
Category: GNI/Cap ≤ \$2,145

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Ruling Justly

Political Rights 27 Score Rank 87% Min 17	Civil Liberties 33 Score Rank 85% Min 25
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20 MCC Menu

Ruling Justly

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Rule of Law 59% Score 0.11 Median 0.00	

-As Liberia jumps 2 places on MCC scorecard, Passes 14 out of 20 indicators

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Continental News

Thieves put gun to South Africa minister's head

South Africa's transport minister has described how she was robbed at gun-point after her vehicle stopped on a highway to

told MPs. She said that at 03:30 local time on Monday her bodyguards - or "protectors" - had got out of the car, which had been travelling on a

"We are fine, we are healthy, we are alive. It was a horrible experience... but God had mercy on us," Ms Chikunga told parliamentarians as she wrapped up her account of what happened.

The police have confirmed that the robbery took place and "a manhunt has since been launched following this unprecedented incident", the AFP news agency reports quoting police spokesperson Brig Athlenda Mathe.

Referring to a common method that criminals use, the ministry of transport said that the tyres of the car "were punctured by spikes [placed on the road], bringing the car to a stop enabling the criminals to rob the occupants of valuables".

The two bodyguards have been placed on leave "until [they are] fit and proper to return to their posts", Brig Mathe is quoted by News24 as saying. "Steps are under way to determine what transpired as far as VIP protection protocols are concerned," she added.

In the latest annual survey nearly 1.3 million people said they had been victims of property crime, which amounts to almost 3% of the population.

The proliferation of small arms is also a big issue in South Africa. Guns were used in more than 66,000 of the recorded home robberies. BBC



Sindisiwe Chikunga said she was traumatised but said "God had mercy on us"

change a burst tyre. Sindisiwe Chikunga told a parliamentary committee that one of the masked attackers pointed a gun at her head during the ordeal early on Monday. They stole some laptops, a phone and her bodyguards' weapons, she said.

South Africa has long faced high crime levels, including car-hijackings, kidnappings and smash-and-grabs.

But it is very unusual for a government minister travelling with armed bodyguards to be robbed in their vehicle.

"I'm in one piece, but the whole experience was very traumatising," Ms Chikunga

main road south of Johannesburg, to replace a burst tyre.

That was when the robbers approached, forcing the bodyguards onto the floor and then opening the car door.

They "pointed a gun at my head and ordered me to come out", Ms Chikunga said. They demanded money, but she explained that she did not have any cash on her. They then searched through the vehicle taking what they could find. Still threatening her with their guns, the robbers also tried to take the minister's ring but she told them: "This was the only thing that I have between my late husband and myself, I value it so much." At one point the minister started praying but was told to keep quiet

Irish chef unseats Nigerian as world-record cook

An Irish chef has broken the world record for cooking non-stop, beating the previous record holder by more than 24 hours.

Alan Fisher, who is based in Japan, cooked for 119 hours and 57 minutes at his Irish-themed restaurant in Matsue, Guinness World Records (GWR) said. Mr Fisher's new record means Nigerian chef Hilda Baci has been dethroned as the world record holder. She won the title earlier this year, causing a sensation in Nigeria.

Her closely followed world-record attempt kicked off a craze in her country with people trying to get themselves in the record books by doing things like crying or singing non-stop.

The Nigerian's record stood at 93 hours 11 minutes.

"I just knew that I need to do something that is... out of the ordinary to put myself on the map, to put Nigeria on the map, to put young African women on the map," she said at the time.

"Lata (a previous record-holder) and Hilda's

achievements served as an inspiration," GWR quotes Fisher as saying.

But now Ms Baci's record has been replaced by Mr Fisher - who peeled 300kg of potatoes has part of his cooking marathon.

"As fatigue started to take hold I would find it more and more difficult to stay awake whenever I sat down to start peeling," he said. "The rhythm of the peeling would almost

hypnotise me. I had one hallucination on the second-to-last day. I turned to ask someone to pass me something, like I would on any normal day only to realise there was no one there."

Incredibly, Fisher then went on to break the non-stop baking record with a time of 47 hours 21 minutes, GWR said.

After both marathon sessions, Fisher had made 357kg



Hilda Baci has graciously handed over her title, wishing Alan Fisher "huge congratulations"

Israel-Hamas conflict exposes South Africa's divisions

The war between Israel and Hamas has exposed deep divisions in South Africa, with the government's staunch support for the Palestinians coming in for criticism from leaders of the country's Jewish community, among others.

The government has announced the withdrawal of its diplomats from Israel, and suggested that the position of Israel's ambassador to Pretoria was becoming "untenable". This has been sharply criticised by the country's Jewish Board of Deputies which has called for an urgent meeting with President Cyril Ramaphosa.

South African sympathy for the Palestinian fight for an independent state goes back to the days of late anti-apartheid icon Nelson Mandela. He famously said in 1997, three years after he became the country's first

while wearing the traditional chequered black and white Palestinian scarf, the keffiyeh.

"They are people who have been under occupation for almost 75 years," he said of the Palestinians. "They have been waiting and waging a war against a government that has been dubbed an apartheid state.

"We have always pledged our solidarity, and have always insisted that the only solution, especially with the issues of Palestine, is a two-state solution." South Africa's foreign ministry has gone even further, suggesting that the Israeli air strikes on the Gaza Strip, which the Hamas-run health ministry says has killed more than 10,000 people, might amount to a genocide. In the statement announcing the withdrawal of its diplomats, Foreign Minister Naledi Pandor accused the Israelis of imposing "collective punishment" on Palestinian civilians - an allegation rejected by Israel.



democratically elected president after decades of struggle against white-minority rule: "We know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians." The unprecedented Hamas attack on Israel, which killed some 1,400 people, has not changed the position of the country's ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), even though two South African nationals were among the dead and another is among the more than 230 people taken hostage. President Ramaphosa has pledged the ANC's solidarity with the Palestinians, saying their history had echoes of apartheid - and South Africa's struggle against white-minority rule.

Although he did condemn the Hamas assault, a week later he led 60 party leaders as they waved Palestinian flags,

The government has not commented on the South African hostage, or named them.

Its pro-Palestinian position has been condemned by the country's Jewish Board of Deputies, the South African Zionist Federation and the largest opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA).

Because of the passionate views on both sides, some South African talk radio stations have deliberately limited airtime around taking calls from listeners keen to discuss the war between Israel and Hamas.

Large pro-Palestinian protest marches have been held around South Africa since the conflict began. Smaller pro-Israel marches and rallies have been held in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Last Friday members of the Jewish community hung up 221 big red balloons across Johannesburg's Nelson Mandela Bridge to bring attention to the Israeli hostages and call for their release.

EDITORIAL

Police should arrest Electoral supervisor Cece Munah Nimely

National Elections Commission electoral supervisor in Pleebo Sodoken District, Maryland County, Cece Munah Nimely, should be apprehended by now, for questioning in connection with a purported leaked audio making rounds in Monrovia that links her to making confession to ballot stuffing against Representative Bhofa Chambers during the 10 October elections.

In the purported audio, Madam Nimely is heard plotting to stuff ballot papers in favor of the declared winner of the district seat, Anthony Williams, who contested against Rep. Chambers, the current Speaker of the House of Representatives.

“I’m going to steal ballot papers since the people do not know how to vote so my attention was, I gave him the ballot papers then he gave it to the people”, Madam Nimely is heard hatching her plot in the purported leaked audio. She adds: “Anything that is supposed to happen passes through the Supervisor and the Presiding Officer, you know how that whole thing looks, the tallying? The thing then we can take from in the field, da it then can put in da system, and nobody change it.”

In the audio, she is also heard explaining that tallying of results from Old Sodoken were delayed to execute the plot against the Speaker.

Speaker Chambers has formally complained to the National Elections Commission, and the NEC is currently hearing the case.

While we do not in any way seek to pass judgment in this matter, our honest recommendation is that the Police should call in the accused for interrogation which will enhance the ongoing hearing.

From all indications, we think she should be given an opportunity to exonerate herself from all accusations and to uphold the integrity of ballots cast at Old Sodoken polling center on October 10, 2023.

This is also necessary to help calm tension that is building up in the district, ahead of the presidential runoff election slated for Tuesday, November 14. Already, supporters of Mr. Anthony Williams are threatening to vote against the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change next Tuesday, if the NEC reversed the poll result in the district in favor of Speaker Chambers, a staunch partisan of the CDC.

The authenticity of the leaked audio is totally something else that we leave up to the NEC hearing officer, but to buttress the exercise, it is important that Madam Cece Munah Nimely is brought in for questioning for her direct role as electoral supervisor.

Lest we are misunderstood, the NEW DAWN does not in any way seek to prejudice the ongoing hearing but to have the NEC bring all sides on board for the sake of transparency and peace without bowing to pressure whatsoever.

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

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COMMENTARY

By Daron Acemoglu
and Simon Johnson

America's Real China Problem

BOSTON - Instead of assuming that more international trade is always good for American workers and national security, US President Joe Biden's administration wants to invest in domestic industrial capacity and strengthen supply-chain relationships with friendly countries. But as welcome as such a reframing is, the new policy may not go far enough, especially when it comes to addressing the problem posed by China.

The status quo of the last eight decades was schizophrenic. While the United States pursued an aggressive - and at times cynical - foreign policy of supporting dictators and sometimes engineering CIA-inspired coups, it also embraced globalization, international trade, and economic integration in the name of delivering prosperity and making the world friendlier to US interests.

Now that this status quo has effectively collapsed, policymakers need to articulate a coherent replacement. To that end, two new principles can form the basis of US policy. First, international trade should be structured in a way to encourage a stable world order. If expanding trade puts more money into the hands of religious extremists or authoritarian revanchists, global stability and US interests will suffer. Just as President Franklin D. Roosevelt put it in 1936, “autocracy in world affairs endangers peace.”

Second, appealing to abstract “gains of trade” is no longer enough. American workers need to see the benefits. Any trade arrangement that significantly undermines the quality and quantity of middle-class American jobs is bad for the country and its people, and will likely incite a political backlash.

Historically, there have been important examples of trade expansion delivering both peaceful international relations and shared prosperity. The progress made from post-World War II Franco-German economic cooperation to the European Common Market to the European Union is a case in point. After fighting bloody wars for centuries, Europe has enjoyed eight decades of peace and increasing prosperity, with some hiccups. European workers are much better off as a result.

Still, the US had a different reason for adopting an always-more-trade mantra during and after the Cold War: namely, to secure easy profits for American companies, which made money through tax arbitrage and by outsourcing parts of their production chain to countries offering low-cost labor.

Tapping pools of cheap labor may appear consistent with the nineteenth-century economist David Ricardo's famous “law of comparative advantage,” which shows that if every country specializes in what it is good at, everyone will be better off, on average. But problems arise when this theory is blindly applied in the real world.

Yes, given lower Chinese labor costs, Ricardo's law holds that China should specialize in the production of labor-intensive goods and export them to the US. But one still must ask whence that comparative advantage comes, who gains from it, and what such trade arrangements imply for the future.

The answer, in each case, involves institutions. Who has secure property rights and protections before the law, and whose human rights can or cannot be trampled?

The reason the US South supplied cotton to the world in the 1800s was not merely that it had good agricultural conditions and “cheap labor.” It was slavery that conferred a comparative advantage to the South. But this arrangement had dire implications. Southern slaveowners gained so much power that they could trigger the deadliest conflict of the early modern era, the US Civil War.

It is no different with oil today. Russia, Iran, and Saudi Arabia have a comparative advantage in oil

production, for which industrialized countries reward them handsomely. But their repressive institutions ensure that their people do not benefit from resource wealth, and they increasingly leverage the gains from their comparative advantage to wreak havoc around the world.

China may look different, at first, because its export model has lifted hundreds of millions out of poverty and produced a massive middle class. But China owes its “comparative advantage” in manufacturing to repressive institutions. Chinese workers have few rights and often labor under dangerous conditions, and the state relies on subsidies and cheap credit to prop up its exporting firms.

This was not the comparative advantage that Ricardo had in mind. Rather than ultimately benefiting everyone, Chinese policies came at the expense of American workers, who lost their jobs rapidly in the face of an uncontrolled surge of Chinese imports into the US market, especially after China's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001. As the Chinese economy grew, the Communist Party of China could invest in an even more complex set of repressive technologies.

China's trajectory does not bode well for the future. It may not be a pariah state yet, but its growing economic might threatens global stability and US interests. Contrary to what some social scientists and policymakers believed, economic growth has not made China any more democratic (two centuries of history show that growth based on extraction and exploitation rarely does).

So, how can America put global stability and workers at the center of international economic policy? First, US firms should be discouraged from placing critical manufacturing supply-chain links in countries like China. Former President Jimmy Carter was long ridiculed for emphasizing the importance of human rights in US foreign policy, but he was right. The only way to achieve a more stable global order is to ensure that genuinely democratic countries prosper.

Profit-seeking corporate bosses aren't the only ones to blame. US foreign policy has long been riddled with contradictions, with the CIA often undermining democratic regimes that were out of step with US national or even corporate interests. Developing a more principled approach is essential. Otherwise, US claims to be defending democracy or human rights will continue to ring hollow.

Second, we must hasten the transition to a carbon-neutral economy, which is the only way to disempower pariah petrostates (it also happens to be good for creating US jobs). But we also must avoid any new reliance on China for the processing of critical minerals or other key “green” inputs. Fortunately, there are plenty of other countries that can reliably supply these, including Canada, Mexico, India, and Vietnam.

Finally, technology policy must become a key component of international economic relations. If the US supports the development of technologies that benefit capital over labor (through automation, offshoring, and international tax arbitrage), we will be trapped in the same bad equilibrium of the last half-century. But if we invest in pro-worker technologies that build better expertise and productivity, we have a chance of making Ricardo's theory work as it should.

Daron Acemoglu, Institute Professor of Economics at MIT, is a co-author (with Simon Johnson) of *Power and Progress: Our Thousand-Year Struggle Over Technology and Prosperity* (PublicAffairs, 2023). Simon Johnson, a former chief economist at the International Monetary Fund, is a professor at the MIT Sloan School of Management and a co-author (with Daron Acemoglu) of *Power and Progress: Our Thousand-Year Struggle Over Technology and Prosperity* (PublicAffairs, 2023).

OP-ED

By Muhannad Alazzeah

The Futility of Violence in the Middle East

AMMAN - The October 7 Hamas attack and Israel's remorseless military response have once again revived a seemingly unending cycle of violence in the Middle East. As matters stand, there are no serious efforts underway to break the cycle, and the prospect of finally resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict seems more distant than ever. All those who desire peace must speak truth to both Israelis and militant Islamic fundamentalists.

Growing up, most of us were taught that knowing and carefully considering one's own past is a mark of character. Today, however, we are dealing with parties that refuse to account properly for past experiences, or to plan for their futures.

Hamas's operation on October 7 was a more advanced version of its previous attacks in 2008, 2014, and 2021. Its professed goal was to respond to the provocative occupation practices around Al-Aqsa Mosque in East Jerusalem, and to liberate Palestinian prisoners. But these attacks have never changed anything on the ground in Gaza; rather, they have consistently caused more deaths on both sides - though usually five times as many Palestinians as Israelis. Then there is the inevitable destruction of infrastructure, the predictable tightening of the blockade, and the continuing crackdown on Palestinians (such as those being arrested at Al-Aqsa in growing numbers).

Similarly, in seeking to punish Hamas militarily for the 1,400 Israelis killed on October 7, Israel has not paused to examine its own record. Previous wars in Gaza did not achieve their primary objective of taming Hamas, because Israel's approach has been to deal with the symptoms instead of the root causes.

Since its inception, Israel has fought many bloody wars in the name of preserving its security, which in turn has come at the cost of Palestinians' lives, rights, and future prospects. Most recently, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's far-right government (now pushed aside in favor of an emergency national-unity government) had placed religious zealots in key cabinet positions, where they ratcheted up tensions with Palestinians over Al-Aqsa and throughout the occupied West Bank.

Israelis consistently make the mistake of believing that the Palestinians will submissively accept the status quo despite leading lives under harsh conditions with little hope. Yet the history of conflicts and occupations in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Syria, and Egypt makes clear that such a mindset is doomed to bring failure. Oppressed people may go through periods of seemingly deep apathy, but their desire for freedom remains. They will always awaken from their quiescence at some point.

In this latest war, Israel's goals seem to be to avenge those who were killed by Hamas, to restore the Israel Defense Forces' dented deterrent power, and to eliminate Hamas from Gaza. But it has not explained how it will accomplish the latter goal, nor how it will deal with the aftermath.

Every time Hamas drags Gaza and its people into a bloody war with Israel, emotions inevitably run high across the Arab world. Images of Gaza's destruction incite anger not just on the Arab street, but also among typically cooler heads. While disappointing, it is not surprising to see support for Hamas and its usurpation of the Palestinian cause spread to some of the most educated and enlightened members of the Arab elite. One such figure recently chastised me for criticizing Hamas, arguing that it is not a terrorist organization but a resistance movement, and that the slain Israelis were not civilians but settlers who deserved it.

Such reactions demonstrate how waves of violence and hatred consume everyone in their path. Even intellectuals can succumb to emotions and rage, much of it fueled by social media and propaganda.

If Israel is unable to eliminate Hamas, or even to undermine its military power and political authority, it will have accomplished little. The unprecedented damage being inflicted on Gaza will take decades to overcome. Likewise, all Hamas will have done is stage a narcissistic display of force, one that the innocent people of Gaza must pay for with their blood, their homes, and their future. Hamas's disdain for innocent civilians will reach its peak whenever the war ends. Once again, its supporters will celebrate "victory" while standing on the rubble of demolished homes and the corpses of innocent Gazans.

Both Arabs and Israelis must think carefully about what their policies and actions are likely to accomplish. Remembering past experience is the only way to return to a path that offers at least some hope for the future on both sides of the conflict.

OPINION

By Daniel Gros

An Industrial Strategy for Europe

MILAN - "Industrial policy" has moved to the center of economic and even national-security debates, from the United States to the European Union. But the term can be misleading, not only because its meaning is rather vague, but also because it fails to capture the true imperative facing policymakers.

Industrial policy refers to the use of a wide range of tools, from regulations to subsidies and tax incentives, to support overall economic growth or foster dynamism in specific sectors. It is as old as the state. Go back 2,000 years to China's Han dynasty, and you will find that iron-making was a state monopoly.

Europe has its own long history of pursuing industrial policy. European governments spent centuries supporting vital industries and technologies - especially those most relevant to war - in order to stay ahead of their enemies, who were often also their neighbors. More recently, they have pursued joint industrial policies to integrate, not fight, with one another.

The fundamental shift began in 1950, with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community. Far from improving countries' chances in war, this Europe-wide industrial policy to pool the production of coal and steel discouraged fighting on the continent. Putting coal and steel - both essential to the production of tanks and guns - under the control of a joint High Authority meant that no country could arm itself against the others. At the same time, the policy supported the post-World War II economic recovery.

Other crucial steps toward European integration can also be described as industrial policy. The EU as we know it today began with a program to abolish intra-European tariffs by creating a Customs Union in 1958. This was later followed by a major effort to reduce red tape at European borders by harmonizing hundreds of regulations, culminating in the Single Market Act of 1992.

European member states also pursue individual industrial policies, though strict EU controls on state aid - intended to prevent country-specific subsidies from giving firms an unfair competitive advantage - limit their room for maneuver. But national governments still invest in research and development, support technical education, and build needed infrastructure.

Most economists agree that such interventions can enhance growth and dynamism. Where the debate about industrial policy heats up is over the question of whether governments should directly intervene in the economy by supporting specific sectors. A recent study by Réka Juhász, Nathan J. Lane, and Dani Rodrik, which showed that government action can have very long-lasting implications for the location of certain industries, has added fuel to the fire.

But industrial policy is not high on government agendas nowadays because economic research says it should be. Governments are motivated primarily by geopolitical tensions: both the US and China have introduced official industrial strategies that stress the need to provide support for sectors deemed critical for national security. In this sense, today's industrial great-power competition looks a lot like the old, war-ravaged Europe.

But what about a Europe-wide industrial policy? The European Commission did recently publish a list of critical technologies. But, in implementing a US- or China-style industrial policy, Europe faces a paradox: the EU's effort to end the use of industrial policy as a geopolitical tool among European countries significantly limited its member states' room to respond to geopolitically motivated industrial policies by others.

To be sure, the EU has dealt with sectors in decline. In 1978, when the steel industry was struggling, the European Economic Community implemented the so-called Davignon Plan, which capped production across European countries in a roughly proportional manner. But the EU has never had an active industrial policy for the simple reason that, unlike China and the US, it does not have a federal budget with which to provide large subsidies to specific sectors.

It is thus understandable that EU Commission President Ursula von der Leyen has called for a new European Sovereignty Fund. But it also makes sense that national leaders, who would have to finance this fund, are reluctant to hand their taxpayers' money over to the EU to foster industrial development somewhere else.

In the absence of EU-level financing for a common industrial policy, the European Commission is loosening the rules for state aid. For example, under the European Chips Act, the Commission can approve targeted national support for large semiconductor factories. But whether you believe that member states' newfound ability to support specific industries will have the desired effect depends on which side of the industrial-policy debate you land.

Those who believe that governments can identify sectors with potential for positive growth will welcome the EU's approach, especially because the Commission reserves the right to assess whether any proposed national state aid would be proportional and efficiency-enhancing. The skeptics, on the other hand, believe that national governments are likely to finance "national champions" or politically convenient projects, and that EU bureaucrats are not well-suited to disentangle complex supply chains and pinpoint the sectors with the most potential.

Past experience, which highlights the hold national champions have on politicians, suggests that the skeptics' view might be the more realistic. On the other hand, industrial policy can and should be about much more than providing large enterprises with billions of euros with which to construct high-tech factories at home. Increasing R&D spending would provide a stronger base for high-tech industry in general.

This indirect support could still be targeted. For example, the microchip industry would benefit from the creation of specialist technical schools and support for local expertise on key elements of the chip-making process. Such an approach is more strategy than policy - and it is likely to do far more good for Europe than would pouring public money into a few megafactories.

ON 2ND THOUGHTS



with Othello B. Garblah

Liberia's emerging warring factions

Last August, Liberia celebrated two decades of peace since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement 20 years ago in the Ghanaian capital, Accra.

From the surface, the guns have been long silenced, and the people are focused on consolidating their democracy which has witnessed successive elections, changes of power from one regime to another through the ballot boxes and a prospect for economic growth and development semblance of stability from a volatile history.

However, despite decades of peace and transition of power from one regime to another, Liberia remains fragile. The country is currently sitting on a time boom that could soon explore beyond everyone's imagination.



Yes, the country faces a clear and present danger from two emerging warring factions: Pen-Pen Riders (Commercial motorcyclists) and At-Risk Youth, commonly referred to as Zogoes.

These two groups, one primarily dominated by ex-child soldiers and street dwellers most of whom are drug addicts (Zogoes), and the other because of weak systems have placed this once troubled West African country on a time boom that both politicians and policymakers have continued to ignore.

According to the United Nations Development Programme, there are well over 75,000 disadvantaged youth or zogos in Liberia and can be found mainly in the urban areas. This figure could be higher as new members join daily. There are no exact figures for the Pen-Pen Riders who provide transportation services in both urban and rural communities. However, this group is made up of mostly school dropouts, former combatants, and young family heads.

While this last group of Pen-Pen riders are part of the informal sector and making little contributions to society, their outlaw behaviors outweighed their meager contributions.

For example, they drive recklessly and obey no traffic rules. They are quick to set vehicles on fire whenever there is an accident involving one of their members with impunity too. They have even gone further to set Police

Depots ablaze because of accident cases, again with impunity. They are terror on the road because of their recklessness.

The Liberian Government has yet to come up with any law that would put this group of people in check. And if there are any, they are soon relaxed to the detriment of commuters and vehicle owners.

Recently, one Pen-Pen rider between Zwedru, Grand Gedeh County and Kaweaken, River Gee County, threatened that they would set President George Weah's remaining convoy ablaze if one of their members was harmed.

What was the issue: two vehicles had gotten stuck in the mud and all other vehicles including motorbikes were asked to wait till one of the vehicles was pulled out of the mud. While the process was ongoing; another motorbike rider came running through. When he was told to stop like all others he refused. While drivers and passengers tried talking to him, one of their colleagues remarked: "If anybody touch (sic) any motorbike rider here, we will burn all the cars in this convoy."

This is how far, these Pen-Pen riders have gone because they believe they have the numbers to hold citizens at ransom. There are times they even set up roadblocks in communities to proffer their demands.

But if you thought the Pen-Pen Riders had become law and gospel unto themselves, then think again, the Zogoes are the most dangerous of the two.

Often armed with broken scissors, machetes, clubs, and other dangerous weapons, they parade the streets and inflate pains, while rubbing their victims.

Just last week between 1:30 and 2 AM, over 100 of these Zogoes armed with all kinds of weapons to inflate pains invaded this Newspaper offices, while staff were printing the Wednesday, October 18 edition of the paper wounding two staff and making away with a motorbike and cellphones. The motorbike was later retrieved by officers of the Anti-Robbery Unity of the Liberian National Police. No arrest was made.

Last year, the same group armed with similar weapons invaded this newspaper office after one of their men was caught stealing. That night one of the paper's staff was wounded. The newspaper was advised by Police Investigators who came on the scene that morning around 3 AM to armed staff members in case of repeated similar attacks.

On December 24, last year, these same Zogoes invaded the city's main shopping hub during the eve of the festive season forcing sellers and buyers to run helter-skelter. Businesses and shopping centers closed as early as 2 PM on that day.

The members of the Liberian National Police are ill-equipped to face these Zogoes thereby leaving citizens to repel their attacks.

This situation is becoming rampant, leaving the Zogoes and Pen-Pen Riders to feel like they are in charge of the situation.

Sadly, it is alleged that most of these police officers are in cohort with these criminals particularly the Zogoes. This allegation is based on the premise that these Zogoes soon appear back on the streets two days after their arrest.

Meanwhile, in the case of the New Dawn newspaper, the Police Inspector General Patrick Sudue has yet to respond to an official complaint filed before it by the management of the New Dawn.

With this growing level of impunity, it's time that the government takes a decision to address the situation from the beginning before it develops into a bigger crisis that could plunge the country into chaos.



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Moniba avoids endorsement

Defeated presidential candidate Dr. Clarence Moniba says he will not endorse any of the two rival presidential candidates going to the 14 November 2023 run-off. Moniba lamented Tuesday, 7

our President," he said. "Therefore, we will not be endorsing any particular party because of where we are as a nation. We are divided enough, people have already died

someone because they are popular, or because it is their time," he cautioned Liberians.

The LINU leader recalled that on 10 October 2023, the people of Liberia decided that at this moment in the country's history, it was not his time to lead. He said he accepts this fact, knowing that he has a lot of work to do over the next six years to earn the trust and support of the Liberian people. "We are committed to this journey and can promise all listening, that we will work towards Liberia's transformation," Dr. Moniba assured Liberians.

Since the announcement of the results, he said he has consulted with both parties, where he laid out a set of preconditions for his support. According to Dr. Moniba, the preconditions include the construction of the Salayea to Foya Road in Lofa, the Sanniquelle to Zwedru Road stretching from Nimba to Grand Gedeh, the completion of the Robertsports Road in Cape Mount, and the Buchanan, to RiverCess Road. "We also asked that plans be made to build technical and vocational colleges in every county capital. Several other policies for which we ran on, were put forward," he explained.

He detailed that the policies include the refurbishment of all government hospitals, beginning with JFK and Jackson F. Doe, as well as better training and salaries for our nurses and doctors.

"Discussions also centered on better support, in terms of salary, training, and equipment, for the security and judiciary as we fight corruption, crime, and drugs in the country," Dr. Moniba continued.



Dr. Clarence Moniba

November 2023 that the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) and the opposition Unity Party (UP) which are headed to the run-off have been in control for the past 18 years.

"CDC and UP who were both in the runoffs in 2005, 2011, and 2017, have come to us again with promises and the message of change," Moniba said in a statement issued in Monrovia.

Dr. Moniba who contested on the Liberia National Union (LINU) presidential ticket secured 5,298 of the total votes cast in the October presidential election or 0.29 percent.

For the run-off, he said it is not about him picking a side, but it is about the people of Liberia demanding that CDC or UP does a better job in leading this country than they had for the past 18 years.

"Therefore, as the people of Liberia did on Oct 10, we will again listen to the people of Liberia, and anyone that is chosen to lead Liberia, will be

because of these elections, properties have been destroyed and families have been broken," he noted. He stated that Liberia is still way behind the other countries that are way behind, and as all of this has been happening, the two parties that have been in control for the past 18 years have come to again with promises and the message of change.

"But how can we truly say that we want to change Liberia, when we continue to vote the same two political parties?" he wondered. Dr. Moniba stated that what he hopes and prays for in 2023 and going forward, is that Liberia, in the near future, becomes a great country. "But in order to do so, we have to demand more from our leaders...it is not good enough to vote for

Nuquay seeks Margibi's votes for Weah

By Naneka A. Hoffman

Margibi County Senator James Emmanuel Nuquay is seeking votes nearly in every trench of his county for President George Manneh Weah's re-election. President Weah had a very challenging election result in Margibi County during the first round of the vote in October.

But Mr. Nuquay has been traveling to major cities, towns, villages, and in trenches explaining to Margibians why President Weah should be re-elected overwhelmingly on 14 November 2023.

He also explained that a majority of the leaders in the county are working with and supporting President Weah's re-election.

According to him, as leaders of the county, their citizens reach out to them whenever they have problems for solutions.

As such, he suggested that the

give him about 90 percent of the votes.

He cautioned them to listen to their representatives and senators in the county to vote for President Weah instead of fussing with each other and making a presidential decision on their own, especially a president that they allegedly have no connection to directly or through their leaders in the county.

Nuquay argued that one cannot logically compare a 12-year performance of another person to someone's 6 years' work.

Nuquay continued that it is unfair to compare the performances of a six-year-old child to a twelve-year-old child as some people are doing with President Weah and his predecessor. He thinks that the Unity Party under former President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf got re-elected and served for 12



citizens should help them vote for President Weah who he thinks will assist them in coming to the cries of Margibians.

He appreciated them for their support of President Weah during the first round of the election.

Sen. Nuquay stated that the citizens stood by President Weah in the first round but urged them to give him more votes in the run-off. The senator said after the elections, their voices in the county as leaders will be strong in advocating on behalf of the citizens to the president if they

years, and therefore, Weah's one-term performance cannot match his predecessor after just six years in office.

Nuquay narrated that Mr. Weah has kept the country peaceful on the trajectory of development and the gains he has made should not be reversed.

He stated that he would stop at nothing but to go in the trenches of the county to ensure that President Weah is re-elected.

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Margibians give Boakai huge endorsement

By Thomas Domah, from Kakata

Residents of Kakata City in Margibi County on Tuesday, 7 November converged in huge

our children are now been involved in taking drugs amid lack of vocational training institutions and rehabilitation centers for them”, they lament.

Our reporter covering the endorsement rally says the residents gathered in huge numbers and paraded through the streets of Kakata City, singing and dancing, as they



numbers and endorsed Ambassador Joseph Nyumah Boakai, for the Presidency ahead of the 14 November runoff election, describing the Unity Party Standard Bearer as the best candidate and only hope Liberians now have to deliver the country from misrule.

Annie Jackson and Elders Samuel Johnson told reporters that the November 14 election is critical and Liberians should stand up to show President Weah the exit door so that Boakai can clean up the mess that the CDC-led government has created.

They explained that the

called on Amb. Boakai to rescue them from the hands of bad leadership instituted by the ruling CDC.

Speaking to the huge crowd, the former Vice President calls on Liberians from everywhere not to support the re-election bid of President George Weah, but rather, the Unity Party.

“Look at the living conditions of Liberians today, we are suffering, your children are now taking drugs, it’s about time for the citizens to speak with one voice and vote for the Unity Party”, Boakai urges.

He vows to deliver Liberia and impact lives of Liberians, if elected on 14 November, through job creation, women empowerment, agriculture and improved health facilities.

According to the head of the rescue ticket, his leadership will bring pride and more investments to improve living conditions of Liberians, amongst others.

An old woman, who was seen struggling in attempt to make her way to greet Ambassador Boakai, describes the former VP as the best leader who will make a difference if elected President of Liberia. Editing by Jonathan Browne



The residents outlined insecurity and suffering Liberians continue to face across the country under the Weah administration.

Country is now in the hands of bad leadership and needed to get out as they referred to the Unity Party political leader Boakai as the best leader.

“Joseph Boakai, you are the only hope Liberians now have; we are with you, come and deliver this country from the weakness and bad governance that Liberians are now facing;

Eric Sackie, a student in Kakata, explains that due to economic hardship, enrollment in various private schools in the county is very low, compared to previous administration.

EISA releases report on women’s political participation in Liberia

-Records seven elected female candidates

The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) through its Elections Observation Mission (EOM) on Monday, 6 November 2023 officially released its report on women’s political participation in Liberia.

The report is coined “EISA Election Perspective Series” on Women’s Political Participation in Liberia.

It reported that only seven female candidates won elected positions in the just-ended elections.

The report covered the 10 October 2023 presidential and legislative elections across the country, focusing on Women’s Political Participation in Liberia with the question: Is Liberia Making Progress?

In its Election Perspective Series, EISA explained that in a quick fact checkout, of 1,030

the voters’ roll, slightly less than half the total,” said EISA. In high-population counties such as Nimba, Bong, and Montserrado, EISA said more women were registered than men.

At the senatorial level, it added that there were seven women out of the 100 candidates and two female presidential candidates. “The period before the elections also marked the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between NEC [National Elections Commission] and political parties to promote women’s political participation by ensuring not less than 30% of women on party tickets,” the report stated.

EISA further indicated that after the candidate nominations were finalized, only two political parties met this target, adding that data from the NEC shows that new female lawmakers are now



candidates for the House of Representatives seats, 152 candidates were women. It also observed that out of 100 senatorial candidates, seven were women. EISA also reported that 22% of independent candidates were women, and only two political parties achieved the 30% female quota during the nomination process. Furthermore, the report pointed out that out of 32 political parties, six parties had no female candidates, and six female candidates were elected to the House of Representatives and one to the Liberian Senate. “Elected candidates - seven new lawmakers, six representatives, and one senator, were elected during the 10 October polls,” EISA reported. It noted that this figure is less than the previous election outcome in 2017.

representing some of the most traditional counties in Liberia, such as Grand Cape Mount, Grand Gedeh, Bong, and Lofa.

EISA narrated that although three female incumbents were defeated, one senator was gained, a total of three females in the Senate presently. In Montserrado, it said, the largest county with seventeen districts, only one district was won by a female candidate.

“So, whilst the numbers may appear to be low, women are being represented in strategic counties. The Unanswered question with the number of female independent candidates, what does it mean for the accountability of parties and candidates themselves? EISA pondered. With no consequences for parties that do not meet the 30% quota, EISA wondered if there are any other ways through which women’s participation and representation can be enhanced.

“Regrettably, for many women aspirants, however, the results of the 2023 elections were not kind. At the voter registration stage, 1,237,257 women registered on

“Additionally, how are women who constitute half of the

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Français

L'IJG critique la Chambre des Représentants pour avoir adopté une loi controversée sur l'avortement

Au cours de la 54^e législature du Libéria, les membres de la Chambre des

2023, alors que le Libéria se préparait pour le second tour des élections présidentielles prévu le 14 novembre 2023. Le groupe

Selon Cllr. Verdier, le projet de loi "Avortement à la Demande" est perçu comme une tentative du gouvernement



Représentants ont été vivement critiqués pour avoir voté en faveur d'un projet de loi intitulé "Avortement à la Demande", actuellement en attente d'approbation par le Sénat. Cette législation vise à légaliser l'avortement au Libéria, une rupture radicale par rapport au cadre juridique existant qui considère l'avortement comme illégal et passible de sanctions légales.

Cette décision a été prise peu de temps avant la clôture des travaux de la Chambre le 1er novembre

Justice Internationale (IJG), dont le siège se trouve à Washington, DC, a rapidement condamné le projet de loi, le qualifiant de préjudiciable pour le Libéria. Dans une déclaration publiée le 6 novembre, Cllr. Jerome J. Verdier, directeur exécutif de l'IJG, a exprimé fermement son désaccord, déclarant : "Nous condamnons catégoriquement cette initiative et dénonçons les pratiques de corruption visant à influencer et à compromettre le processus décisionnel de la législature nationale et du pouvoir exécutif, tout en ignorant l'intérêt public du peuple libérien."

libérien de mettre en œuvre son engagement à légaliser et à institutionnaliser l'agenda LGBTQ (Lesbiennes, Gays, Bisexuels, Transgenres). Cet engagement a été pris lorsque le ministre des Affaires étrangères du Libéria a autorisé la signature d'une résolution lors du Sommet des Leaders États-Unis-Afrique, s'engageant à soutenir les modes de vie et les agendas LGBTQ.

Cllr. Verdier a soulevé des préoccupations selon lesquelles la loi adoptée par la Chambre vise principalement à introduire une "éducation sexuelle" auprès

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Révélation choquante dévoile un prétendu complot visant à saper la réélection de Dr Bhofal Chambers

Un enregistrement vocal accablant a refait surface, mettant en lumière un complot présumé visant à contrecarrer la tentative de réélection du président de la Chambre des représentants, le Dr Bhofal Chambers, en tant que représentant du district de Pleebo Sodoken, comté de Maryland.

L'aveu compromettant aurait été fait par une figure clé au sein de la Commission électorale nationale (CEN), Cece Munah Nimely, qui a exercé les fonctions de superviseur électoral dans le district de Pleebo Sodoken lors des élections législatives et présidentielles. Dans l'audio divulgué, Mlle Nimely a avoué sa participation à un complot anti-électoral organisé contre le Dr Bhofal Chambers.

"Je vais voler des bulletins de vote puisque les gens ne savent pas comment voter. Alors mon attention

était, je lui ai remis les bulletins de vote et il les a donnés aux gens", a-t-elle révélé.

Mlle Nimely a ensuite expliqué que le sinistre plan avait été élaboré en réponse à l'avance substantielle du Dr Bhofal Chambers dans la région de Pleebo et ses environs. Les conspirateurs avaient l'intention de bourrer les urnes à Old Sodoken, retardant davantage le dépouillement des résultats pour

exécuter leur complot.

De manière choquante, Mlle Nimely a admis avoir soutenu une demande visant à manipuler l'élection en faveur d'Anthony Williams, en violation directe des lois électorales du Libéria. Elle prétendait que l'autorité incontestée du cartel lui avait permis de mettre en œuvre de manière unilatérale ce plan

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Éditorial

La parole est bonne, la collaboration est meilleure

La Coalition au pouvoir pour le Changement Démocratique (CDC) et le principal parti d'opposition, le Parti de l'Unité (UP), sont actuellement en mouvement, frappant aux portes et dialoguant avec d'autres partis et individus pour obtenir leur soutien en vue du vote du 14 novembre. L'état d'esprit actuel au sein du spectre politique devrait être encouragé par tous ceux qui veulent du bien pour le Libéria.

C'est d'autant plus important car il y a de la force et de l'unité non seulement dans la parole, mais surtout dans la collaboration pour atteindre un objectif commun, que ce soit pour gagner une élection ou dans n'importe quel domaine de l'entreprise humaine.

Tant la CDC que l'UP reçoivent des soutiens de la part d'autres partis, de dirigeants politiques et d'individus pour augmenter leurs chances lors du second tour. N'oublions pas qu'en politique, il n'y a pas d'ennemis permanents, seulement des intérêts communs. Les ennemis d'aujourd'hui aux yeux du public peuvent devenir les meilleurs amis de demain s'ils trouvent un terrain d'entente.

L'exercice actuel en dit long sur les défis de la politique au Libéria aujourd'hui. Il est essentiel de favoriser la collaboration au lieu de se diviser en groupes égoïstes motivés par l'avidité et incapables de voir au-delà de l'horizon.

Imaginez ce que la politique et les élections pourraient devenir au Libéria si nous avions quelques partis - disons au moins trois ou quatre - mieux organisés et bien financés, axés sur les questions essentielles ! Cela épargnerait au pays bien des soucis au lieu de gaspiller du temps à se lancer des piques et à se déchirer, comme s'il était impossible de coexister après les élections.

Nous encourageons l'exercice en cours, car il est bénéfique non seulement pour la paix, mais aussi pour l'unité et le développement. Si davantage de politiciens et de dirigeants politiques partagent des objectifs similaires, une grande partie du travail serait accomplie bien avant le jour des élections.

Rappelons-nous la stratégie de l'opposition lors des élections sénatoriales spéciales de 2020, quand quatre partis se sont unis sous la bannière de la Collaboration des Partis Politiques (CPP). La CPP a montré sa force lors du vote en remportant la plupart des comtés, y compris Montserrado.

Les partis devraient réduire les discours incendiaires et privilégier le dialogue, la discussion et la collaboration, comme ils le font actuellement. Nous ne devons jamais permettre que notre diversité précipite la nation vers l'effondrement, comme les Libériens l'ont enduré pendant 14 années de guerre civile brutale.

Dans tout ce que nous faisons et disons, gardons à l'esprit qu'une seule personne peut occuper le poste le plus élevé du pays. Cependant, cela ne signifie pas qu'un homme politique ou un parti politique devrait lutter seul pour y parvenir. Si l'objectif ultime est sincèrement d'améliorer le Libéria et le bien-être des Libériens, alors nous devons dialoguer et collaborer pour obtenir le meilleur pour notre patrie, au lieu de nous quereller et de nous battre.

Français

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L'IG critique la Chambre des

des jeunes et des enfants libériens, les incitant ainsi à adopter le mode de vie LGBTQ. Cette loi encourage les individus à envisager un changement de genre comme un droit, leur permettant de passer d'un genre à l'autre, tout en promouvant les agendas LGBTQ et le mariage entre personnes de même sexe dans le pays. L'IG estime que, bien que l'avortement soit considéré comme socialement immoral, culturellement répréhensible et religieusement condamnable au Libéria, offrir un accès illimité et gratuit à l'avortement sans limites ni restrictions n'est pas la réponse appropriée à ce problème.

Il a argumenté que l'agenda LGBTQ promu par le projet de loi "Avortement à la Demande" est encore plus problématique et pourrait potentiellement compromettre l'avenir et la prospérité de la nation libérienne. En tant que pays peu peuplé, le Libéria pourrait connaître une diminution de sa population, entraînant la perte de ses valeurs culturelles chères.

Clr. Verdier a souligné : "Le Sénat doit rejeter ce projet de loi "Avortement à la Demande", tel qu'il a été adopté par la Chambre des Représentants, et se concentrer plutôt sur un programme visant à promouvoir l'éducation à la santé sexuelle, en mettant en avant l'importance de la sexualité dans le cadre du mariage uniquement. Cette approche devrait décourager les relations sexuelles hors mariage tout en promouvant la chasteté, la moralité et les valeurs familiales traditionnelles qui ont depuis longtemps servi de base à la société libérienne."

Il a également noté que cette loi, considérée comme contraire aux intérêts du public libérien, est le résultat de fraudes, de la corruption et du non-respect des intérêts publics du Libéria et

de ses citoyens. Il a souligné que le contenu final de la loi, actuellement entouré de secret, contient plusieurs dispositions strictes, répréhensibles, immorales et impies, en contradiction avec les principes religieux chrétiens et islamiques, et donc en conflit avec les codes moraux sur lesquels la nation libérienne a été fondée, reconnaissant la suprématie de la direction et de l'autorité de Dieu sur le pays.

De plus, la loi "Avortement à la Demande" est perçue comme un élément de l'agenda de dépopulation de l'Afrique des Nations Unies d'ici 2030. Selon les experts en population et démographie, cela pourrait entraîner environ 40 000 décès par an au Libéria. Des allégations ont également émergé, suggérant que la Suède, divers autres pays européens et de nombreuses nations dans le monde ont dépensé d'importantes sommes d'argent pour influencer les membres de la législature libérienne et le Président Weah en vue de faire adopter ce projet de loi.

Actuellement, la loi sur l'avortement en vigueur au Libéria permet l'avortement dans certaines conditions, notamment en cas de danger pour la vie de la mère ou de l'enfant, en cas de viol, d'inceste ou d'autres actes moralement ou légalement répréhensibles, avec l'approbation d'au moins deux médecins.

Au début de l'année, un journal local a rapporté que plusieurs pays avaient approuvé une déclaration lors d'un sommet sur la démocratie organisé à Lusaka, en Zambie. Cependant, certains pays ont exprimé des réserves ou se sont dissociés de certaines parties de la déclaration, en particulier celles liées à l'"orientation sexuelle" et à d'autres questions de droits.

Le Libéria était représenté lors du sommet par son ministre des Affaires étrangères, Dee-Maxwell Kemayen. Parmi les pays africains qui ont approuvé les 17 points de la déclaration du Sommet pour la Démocratie figurent le Libéria, le Sénégal, le Niger, l'île Maurice et le Botswana.

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néfaste pour saper la volonté du peuple.

"Tout ce qui est censé se produire passe par le superviseur et l'officier président. Vous savez comment ça se présente, le dépouillement ? La chose que nous pouvons prendre sur le terrain, c'est ça, nous pouvons la mettre dans le système, et personne ne peut la changer !" a-t-elle déclaré illégalement.

Mlle Nimely a avoué que,

avec sa participation, les urnes ont effectivement été manipulées au détriment du Dr Bhofal Chambers, le véritable gagnant de l'élection.

Cette révélation choquante de la superviseuse électorale de la CEN, Mlle Nimely.

laisse entendre un cas de fraude électorale contre le Dr Bhofal Chambers lors des élections d'octobre, provoquant

Le vrai problème chinois de l'Amérique

Par Daron Acemoglu et Simon Johnson

BOSTON - Au lieu de partir du principe que l'intensification du commerce international est toujours bénéfique pour les travailleurs américains et la sécurité nationale, l'administration du président américain Joe Biden souhaite investir dans la capacité industrielle nationale et renforcer la chaîne d'approvisionnement avec des pays amis. Toutefois, même si cette réorientation est bienvenue, la nouvelle politique pourrait ne pas aller assez loin, en particulier lorsqu'il s'agit de s'attaquer au problème posé par la Chine.

Le statu quo des huit dernières décennies était schizophrène. Alors que les États-Unis ont poursuivi une politique étrangère agressive - et parfois cynique - en soutenant des dictateurs et en organisant parfois des coups d'État organisés par la CIA, ils ont en même temps épousé la mondialisation, le commerce international et l'intégration économique au nom de la prospérité et pour rendre le monde plus accueillant aux intérêts américains.

Maintenant que ce statu quo s'est effectivement effondré, les décideurs politiques doivent formuler une solution de remplacement cohérente. À cette fin, deux nouveaux principes peuvent constituer la base de la politique américaine. Premièrement, le commerce international devrait être structuré de manière à encourager un ordre mondial stable. Si l'expansion du commerce met davantage d'argent entre les mains des extrémistes religieux ou des revanchards autoritaires, la stabilité mondiale et les intérêts des États-Unis en pâtiront. Comme l'a dit le président Franklin D. Roosevelt en 1936, "l'autocratie dans les affaires mondiales met en danger la paix".

Deuxièmement, il ne suffit plus de faire appel à des "avantages commerciaux" abstraits. Les travailleurs américains doivent en voir les avantages. Tout accord commercial qui porte atteinte de manière significative à la qualité et à la quantité des emplois de la classe moyenne américaine est mauvais pour le pays et sa population, et suscitera probablement une réaction politique négative.

Historiquement, il existe des exemples importants où l'expansion du commerce a permis d'établir des relations internationales pacifiques et de partager la prospérité. Les progrès accomplis depuis la coopération économique franco-allemande de l'après-Seconde Guerre mondiale jusqu'au marché commun européen et à l'Union européenne en sont un bon exemple. Après avoir mené des guerres sanglantes pendant des siècles, l'Europe a connu huit décennies de paix et de prospérité croissante, avec quelques accrocs. Les travailleurs européens s'en portent beaucoup mieux.

Cependant, les États-Unis avaient une autre raison d'adopter le mantra du "toujours plus de commerce" pendant et après la guerre froide : garantir des profits faciles aux entreprises américaines, qui gagnaient de l'argent grâce à l'arbitrage fiscal et à l'externalisation de certaines parties de leur chaîne de production vers des pays offrant une main-d'œuvre à bas coût.

L'exploitation des réservoirs de main-d'œuvre bon marché peut sembler conforme à la célèbre "loi des avantages comparatifs" de l'économiste du XIXe siècle David Ricardo, qui montre que si chaque pays se spécialise dans ce qu'il sait faire, tout le monde s'en portera mieux, en moyenne. Mais des problèmes surgissent lorsque cette théorie est appliquée aveuglément dans le monde réel.

Certes, compte tenu des coûts de main-d'œuvre chinoise inférieurs, la loi de Ricardo voudrait que la Chine se spécialise dans la production de biens à forte intensité de main-d'œuvre et les exporte vers les États-Unis. Mais il faut encore se demander d'où vient cet avantage comparatif, qui en profite et ce que de tels accords commerciaux impliquent pour l'avenir.

La réponse, dans chaque cas, implique les institutions. Qui bénéficie de droits de propriété sûrs et des protections accordées par la loi, et où les droits de l'homme peuvent-ils être bafoués ?

La raison pour laquelle le Sud des États-Unis a fourni du coton au monde entier dans les années 1800 n'était pas simplement qu'il disposait de bonnes conditions agricoles et d'une "main-d'œuvre bon marché". C'est l'esclavage qui conférait un avantage comparatif au Sud. Mais cet arrangement a eu des conséquences désastreuses. Les propriétaires d'esclaves du Sud ont acquis un tel pouvoir qu'ils ont pu déclencher le conflit le plus meurtrier du début de l'ère moderne, la guerre civile américaine.

Il en va de même pour le pétrole aujourd'hui. La Russie, l'Iran et l'Arabie saoudite disposent d'un avantage comparatif dans la production de pétrole, pour lequel les pays industrialisés les récompensent généreusement. Mais leurs institutions répressives veillent à ce que leurs populations ne profitent pas de la richesse en ressources, et ils tirent de plus en plus profit de leur avantage comparatif pour semer le chaos dans le monde.

La Chine peut sembler différente, à première vue, parce que son modèle d'exportation a permis à des centaines de millions de personnes de sortir de la pauvreté et a donné naissance à une classe moyenne nombreuse. Mais la Chine doit son "avantage comparatif" dans l'industrie manufacturière à des institutions répressives. Les travailleurs chinois ont peu de droits et travaillent souvent dans des conditions dangereuses, et l'État s'appuie sur des subventions et des crédits bon marché pour soutenir ses entreprises exportatrices.

Ce n'est pas l'avantage comparatif que Ricardo avait à l'esprit. Au lieu de profiter à tout le monde, les politiques chinoises se sont faites aux dépens des travailleurs américains, qui ont rapidement perdu leur emploi face à l'augmentation incontrôlée des importations chinoises sur le marché américain, surtout après l'adhésion de la Chine à l'Organisation mondiale du commerce en 2001. La croissance de l'économie chinoise a permis au parti communiste chinois d'investir dans un ensemble encore plus complexe de technologies répressives.

La trajectoire de la Chine n'augure rien de bon pour l'avenir. Elle n'est peut-être pas encore un État paria, mais sa puissance économique croissante menace la stabilité mondiale et les intérêts des États-Unis. Contrairement à ce que pensaient certains chercheurs en sciences sociales et décideurs politiques, la croissance économique n'a pas rendu la Chine plus démocratique (deux siècles d'histoire montrent qu'une croissance fondée sur l'extraction et l'exploitation ne le fait que rarement).

Alors, comment l'Amérique peut-elle placer la stabilité mondiale et les travailleurs au centre de la politique économique internationale ? Tout d'abord, les entreprises américaines devraient être dissuadées de placer des éléments essentiels de la chaîne d'approvisionnement manufacturière dans des pays comme la Chine. L'ancien président Jimmy Carter a longtemps été ridiculisé pour avoir souligné l'importance des droits de l'homme dans la politique étrangère des États-Unis, mais il avait raison. La seule façon de parvenir à un ordre mondial plus stable est de veiller à ce que les pays véritablement démocratiques prospèrent.

Les patrons d'entreprises à la recherche de profits ne sont pas les seuls à blâmer. La politique étrangère des États-Unis est depuis longtemps parsemée de contradictions, la CIA sapant souvent les régimes démocratiques qui n'étaient pas en phase avec les intérêts nationaux, voire corporatistes, des États-Unis. Il est essentiel de développer une approche davantage fondée sur des principes. Dans le cas contraire, les promesses des États-Unis concernant la défense de la démocratie ou des droits de l'homme continueront à sonner creux.

Deuxièmement, nous devons accélérer la transition vers une économie neutre en carbone, ce qui est le seul moyen de priver les États pétroliers parias de leur pouvoir (il se trouve que cela est également bon pour la création d'emplois aux États-Unis). Mais nous devons également éviter toute nouvelle dépendance à l'égard de la Chine pour le traitement des minerais critiques ou d'autres intrants "verts" essentiels. Heureusement, il y a beaucoup d'autres pays qui peuvent les fournir de manière fiable, notamment le Canada, le Mexique, l'Inde et le Viêt Nam.

Enfin, la politique technologique doit devenir un élément clé des relations économiques internationales. Si les États-Unis soutiennent le développement de technologies qui favorisent le capital au détriment du travail (par l'automatisation, la délocalisation et l'arbitrage fiscal international), nous serons piégés dans le même mauvais équilibre que celui qui a prévalu au cours du dernier demi-siècle. En revanche, si nous investissons dans des technologies favorables aux travailleurs, qui permettent d'améliorer l'expertise et la productivité, nous avons une chance de faire fonctionner la théorie de Ricardo comme il se doit.

Daron Acemoglu, professeur d'économie au MIT, est coauteur (avec Simon Johnson) de *Power and Progress : Our Thousand-Year Struggle Over Technology and Prosperity* (PublicAffairs, 2023). Simon Johnson, ancien économiste en chef du Fonds monétaire international, est professeur à la Sloan School of Management du MIT et coauteur (avec Daron Acemoglu) de *Power and Progress : Our Thousand-Year Struggle Over Technology and Prosperity* (PublicAffairs, 2023).

ARTICLE

ARTICLE

The Action of the Joint Security is the Failure of LTA and MICAT

Writes Peter Quaqua

I am aware of the public sentiments, for and against the reported action taken against the owner of Freedom FM regarding the critical broadcast of the station about the Army and its Chief of Staff. Permit me not to restate that commentary, but the reported mistreatment of the station's owner by the joint security is one more reason why this country has been begging for an Independent Broadcast Regulator.

By law, the Liberia Telecommunication Authority (LTA) and the Ministry of Information are supposed to regulate the broadcast sector, but they appeared to lack the nerves to perform their regulatory mandates due obvious political thinking as most of the stations are owned or patronized by politicians. Under a normal and properly functioning regulatory environment, the inflammatory, outlandish and hate broadcast on the airwaves would not have gone unchecked.

I am not just talking about Freedom FM. Many of you would agree that the airwaves have been inundated with unwholesome and unprofessional broadcast, but we care



less because some of you have benefited from those broadcasts politically. So, the action of the joint security seems justified because Freedom FM is a "progovernment station." Would you have felt the same way if said action was taken against an "opposition friendly station?" Did I hear the Attorney General of the Republic was there? I am finding it difficult to process that.

Some supporters of the Government have recently been calling for action against the Spoon Network in the wake of its coverage of the elections, probably because Spoon and Freedom are in the same league? Make no mistake; these kinds of arbitrary actions are counter-productive and should not be celebrated. Our crusade for the press freedom and free expression was to enable the civic space, not one policed by security people. Unacceptable!

The Chilling effect

When state security actors take on the role of a media regulator, it renders the media susceptible to censorship, interference and intimidation, with significant implications and chilling effects on press freedom and free speech.

In the aftermath of the chastening of the owner of Freedom FM, who is also thought to be a member of the security community, the station immediately went into panic and suspended all of its public affairs programs as announced on Facebook verbatim below:

Kindly be informed that the management of Freedom FM has suspended all political shows and news-related programs beginning this Friday, Oct 20, 2023, until further notice. Programs include:

- FREEDOM MORNING RISE
- FROM THE PRINT NEWS
- FREEDOM HUB
- FACE THE ISSUES
- THE NIGHT-TIME SPIN
- FREEDOM NEWS BASKET
- FREEDOM NEWS HALF HOUR
- FREEDOM NEWS ARCHIVE
- FREEDOM NEWS INSIGHT

We will remain committed to commercial obligations and open for commercial purposes to include, the airing of Jingles, Announcements, and Social, Business, and Religious Programs. Thanks!

Self-regulation

I am a proponent of self-regulation. But when the media fails to take responsibility for its errors and excesses, it invites external control with consequences for both society and the media industry itself. It must be said quickly that media self-regulation is about preserving the freedom and independence of the press, not self-censorship. When journalists submit themselves to a professional peer review, they do not leave room for state and non-state actors to censure them first. The media must be pro-active in challenging its sins.

Admittedly, the spread of media companies across Liberia points to the changing political situation in the country. Further evidence of that change in the ecosystem is the enactment in 2010 of the Freedom of Information Act and the abolition of criminal defamation laws in early 2019.

Thanks to the media for contributing to this story of change. However, much is desired in improving the operating environment and raising the professional standards of practitioners.

There is reasoning among media stakeholders that the ownership of the growing number of media outlets presents a new kind of threat to professional and independent journalism in the absence of a proper regulator. The basic responsibility of media in a post-conflict-transitioning country such as Liberia is to strengthen democracy and consolidate peace. This cannot however be achieved if ethical imperatives are sacrificed at the altar of self-serving journalists and media owners pursuing political interests.

The Regulator

The LTA is the agency of government responsible to assign and manage frequencies under the Telecommunications Act of 2007. However, it seems the LTA has largely been concerned only with the issuance of license.

Other important parameters, such as ownership, content including the amount of time devoted to news and current affairs programs, percentage of local production, protection of minors, hate speech, etc are not of their business. The Ministry of Information is responsible for broadcast media content, under the heavily-loaded PRC Decree no. 46. As part of the licensing regime, MICAT must first issue a permit to a would-be operator before the LTA acts. I took part in study that discovered stations on the air that did not submit neither to LTA nor MICAT. How is that even possible? Meanwhile, there is a moratorium on the issuance of license in Montserrado - seemingly overstretched. I must restate calls for the establishment of an independent broadcast regulator, considering all the infractions we are experiencing in the sector. Crucially, I am convinced that if we had an independent sector regulator, perhaps the AFL/joint security could never have done what we are reading in the media about the punishment the Freedom FM owner endured.

I am wondering what would have happened if this man himself was not a security personnel - the Deputy Director of the National Security Agency (NSA), it is said. Would the Army have moved on the station to make arrests? Hope not!

Looking back in our recent past, I should submit to you that if we had an independent regulator, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's government would not have been directly involved in the closure in 2011, of Power FM/TV, Kings FM/Clar TV and Love FM/TV. Again, if the country had a proper regulator, the Sirleaf government would not have been involved in the closure of Voice FM in 2016; Certainly, if the regulator was not conflicted, the government of President George Weah would have avoided the temptation of closing down Root FM in 2019.

If we had an apolitical regulator, the government of Mr. Weah would have easily excused itself from the reported denial of PUNCH FM operation and the court hearings that attended the standoff.

So, it is very much in the interest of the government of Liberia to stay clear of these technical and professional decisions making by constituting a competent authority of technicians who will act in line with internationally accepted standards and not based on political predisposition.

To this end, it will be a smart move for whoever leads the next government to relinquish some of its authorities by allowing a comprehensive reform of the powers of the Ministry of information and LTA. I am aware that even in places where proper regulatory regimes exist, state actors still encroach on the media space. Our country must find the courage to take the first by putting together dedicated professionals to do the job without any fear of reprisal.

In the cause of media rights, free expression and democratic development, I remain. God bless our country.

In the cause of media rights, free expression and democratic development, I remain. God bless our country.

Boost for Weah ahead of runoff

By Othello B. Garblah

Liberia jumped two places on the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) scorecard for Fiscal Year 2024, passing 14 out of 20 indicators, according

individual country's scores for each of the policy indicators, which the MCC uses to determine eligibility for its assistance programs.

To be eligible for select assistance by MCC Board of

indicators: Health Expenditure; Education Expenditure; Natural Resource Protection; Immunization; Girl's Primary Education and Child Health, Liberia scored 2/6 passing only in Health Expenditure and Immunization, while failing in Education Expenditure, Girl Primary Education Completion, Child Health and obtaining zero in Natural Resource Protection.

The government is yet to make any official statement on this latest scorecard which was published on the MCC website on Tuesday, November 7, but it could be recalled that while commenting on the FY 2023 scorecard, Liberia's Finance and Development Planning Minister Samuel Tweah noted that the MCC scorecard signifies that the government and the country were moving in what he termed as an "upward trend."

Mr. Tweah said at the time during an interview on state broadcaster ELBC that the country's success in the MCC scorecard will give a different sense of direction.

He argued at that it will also give a different thought to individuals who always have a negative perception of the country and the government.

Tweah, however, admitted that passing the MCC scorecard has been a difficult thing for the country.

He noted that Liberia has only succeeded once over the past 15 years in the Millennium Challenge Corporation scorecard due to the country's low budget.

This FY2024, which shows some upward movement in the country's performance could be a boost for incumbent President George Weah ahead of next week's Presidential runoff.

Methodist Bishop pleads with CDC and UP

A Liberian group, Faith and Justice Network, is calling on the ruling Coalition for Democratic Change and the main opposition Unity Party to exhibit good moral conduct during the campaign process leading to the November 14 presidential runoff election in the country. Speaking at a news conference in Monrovia on Tuesday, November 7, Faith and Justice Network board chairperson and United Methodist Bishop, Samuel Quire, said the eyes of the world are on Liberia and any negative action will reflect on the country's dedication to democracy.

Bishop Quire cautioned politicians affiliating with the UP and CDC to campaign responsibly with the highest regard for civility and respect. He stressed that it is important to maintain peace and stability in Liberia during the critical period in the country's history.

The Bishop stated that Liberia depends on the collective

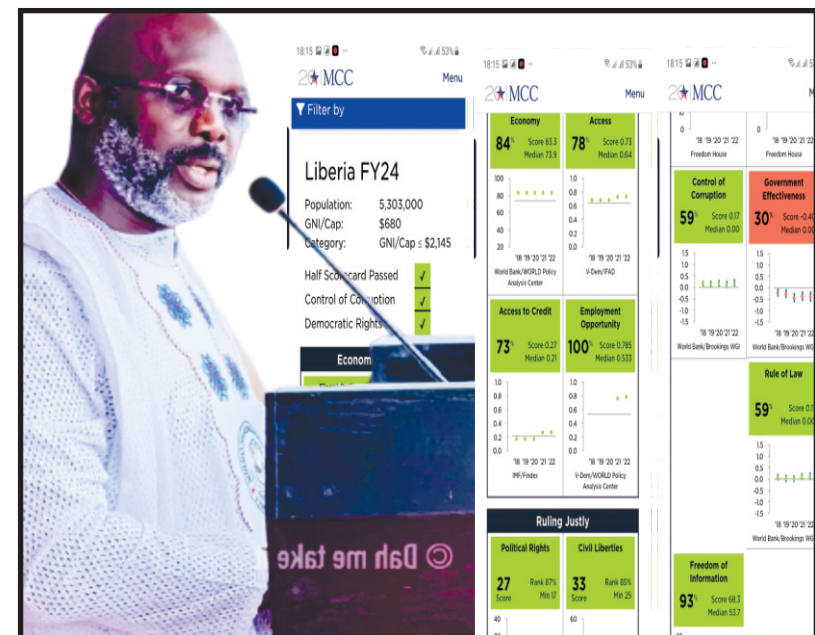
However, the United Methodist Church Bishop pointed that the success of the country's democratic journey hinges on the willingness of political leaders to uphold the principles of fairness, integrity and respect for the rule of law.

"It is essential that we maintain the peace and stability in Liberia during this critical period and let's refrain from hate speech, incitement and action that could undermine the harmony and security of our nation."

He explained that electorates should have the opportunity to make informed choices without fear or intimidation and Liberians should be exemplary in their conduct, showing the world that Liberia is a beacon of democracy in the region.

"We emphasize the importance of remaining peaceful and law abiding during the electoral process because our participation in the elections is integral to our democracy."

Bishop Quire encouraged all citizens to follow the due process



to the MCC official website, compared to 12 out of 20 for FY 2023 indicators.

For the first time since 2007, Liberia recorded a pass in the Fiscal Policy indicator. The country recorded similar feat in 2022, when it passed the Rule of Law indicator for the first time.

This is the second time Liberia has successively passed the MCC scorecard after failing to obtain a passing mark in 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021 under George Weah's administration.

The MCC scorecards measure policy performance on the eligibility criteria established in MCC's authorizing legislation. Countries' performances are assessed in three policy categories: Ruling Justly, Investing in People, and Encouraging Economic Freedom.

The Country Scorecard is used to consolidate an

Directors, a country must demonstrate a commitment to just and democratic governance, investing in people, and economic freedom.

According to the MCC scorecard, under Economic Freedom, with eight indicators: Fiscal Policy; Inflation; Regulatory Quality; Trade Policy; Gender in the Economy; Land Rights and Access; Access to Credit, and Empowerment Opportunity, Liberia passed 7 out of 8, failing in Regulatory Quality obtaining 46% with a score of -0.03.

Under Ruling Justly with six indicators: Political Rights; Civil Liberties; Control of Corruption; Government Effectiveness, Rule of Law and Freedom of Information, Liberia scored 5/6 recording a failure in Government Effectiveness obtaining 30% with a score of -0.04

In the third category which is Investing in People with six

Starts from back page

Appleton endorses Boakai

other words, the party voted unanimously for the UP," said Mr. Appleton.

"And so, as a leader who believes in democratic principles and equal participation, I posed no objection to the decision," Mr. Appleton explained. He noted that based upon the decision, all members and partisans of GDM have decided to join hands with the UP and ensure that Amb. Boakai became the leader of Liberia.

"Finally, we want to officially endorse and pledge our support to Amb. Joseph Nyumah Boakai and Senator Jeremiah K. Kun as President

and Vice President in the runoff election," Appleton announced.

He also called on all GDM officials, members, and partisans to go all out and continue the "Jehovah's Witness" campaign to ensure that they rescue the country. Responding to the endorsement, Amb. Boakai expressed thanks and appreciation to Mr. Appleton and the entire GDM, describing the endorsement as timely and welcoming.

According to Amb. Boakai, there is no better time to join hands and rescue Liberia and Liberians than now, adding that Liberians have become an

international laughingstock and an example of corruption.

"I want to thank you for taking this wise decision. There is no better time to join hands and rescue our country than now," said Amb. Boakai. "We have seen a lot happening in our country. We have seen bad governance, corruption, abuse of the rule of law, extra-judicial killing, and above all there is no hope and future for our children under this government," the opposition leader added.

He assured that his leadership will make the Weah regime account for what it is doing to the Liberian people, especially the alleged corruption.

responsibility of all stakeholders to ensure the success of the pending presidential runoff election. He commended Liberians for the manner in which they concluded themselves during the October 10, 2023 presidential and legislative elections. "Your commitment to the democratic process and peaceful participation is commendable", he said.

He noted that the integrity and transparency demonstrated by NEC and the collective responsibilities of all stakeholders in ensuring the success of the first round of election is a demonstration of progress Liberians have made as a nation in upholding democratic values. "We recognize the hard work of NEC and our international partners in organizing a credible and more peaceful electoral process." He thanked the Unity Party and the Coalition for Democratic Change for their commitment to the democratic process and desire to participate in the upcoming runoff election.

of the law and turn to the Supreme Court of Liberia because it is the legitimate channel for addressing electoral malpractices, adding "We trust the impartiality of the judiciary."

"Liberia has come a long way on its journey towards peace and prosperity and it is our collective duty to safeguard the process we have made." Meanwhile, the senior prelate emphasized that the runoff elections should be a testament to the nation's commitment to democratic values and vision for a brighter future.

"Let us remember that the future of Liberia lies in our collective commitment to peace, justice and democracy because together; we can build a nation that stands as a shining example of unity and progress."

He said Liberians should continue to stand as a united and peaceful nation, guided by the principles of justice, integrity and unity so that the grace of God will bless and grant all citizens the wisdom to choose a path of peace and progress. Editing by Jonathan Browne

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Appleton endorses Boakai

By Lincoln G. Peters

Third-placed opposition presidential candidate Mr. Edward Appleton, Jr., and his Grassroots Development Movement (GDM) have endorsed

In the first round of the elections, 19 presidential candidates challenged incumbent President George Manneh Weah for the nation's highest seat.

Reading the endorsement statement, Mr. Appleton said his party has decided to endorse Amb. Boakai and the entire Rescue Team because they believe he has the



UP Boakai with GDM Appleton

Amb. Joseph Nyumah Boakai's presidential bid in the 14 November 2023 run-off.

Mr. Appleton obtained 40,271 of the total votes cast or 2.20 percent in the 10 October 2023 presidential and legislative elections. GDM's endorsement program for Amb. Boakai was held Tuesday, 7 November 2023 at the GDM headquarters in Congo Town.

The program attracted supporters from GDM, Boakai's Unity Party, and other supporters and well-wishers.

Mr. Weah obtained 804,087 votes, constituting 43.83 percent, followed by Amb. Boakai with 796,961 votes, constituting 43.44 percent. Most of the candidates could not secure one percent of the total votes cast, besides Appleton's two percent and three other candidates who managed to have just about one percent each. Weah and Boakai will meet in a run-off next week on Tuesday, their second in such a battle.

blueprint to transform and develop Liberians from poverty and corruption.

He stated that GDM's decision was overwhelmingly endorsed by the party's Executive Council as well as partisans.

"The decision to endorse is from the belly of the GDM. We voted and after our votes, 70% of the votes went in favor of the Unity Party. In

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