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# I got nothing to regret



**--Foreign Minister Kemayah gives farewell speech**

Minister Kemayah



# UP smells the rat

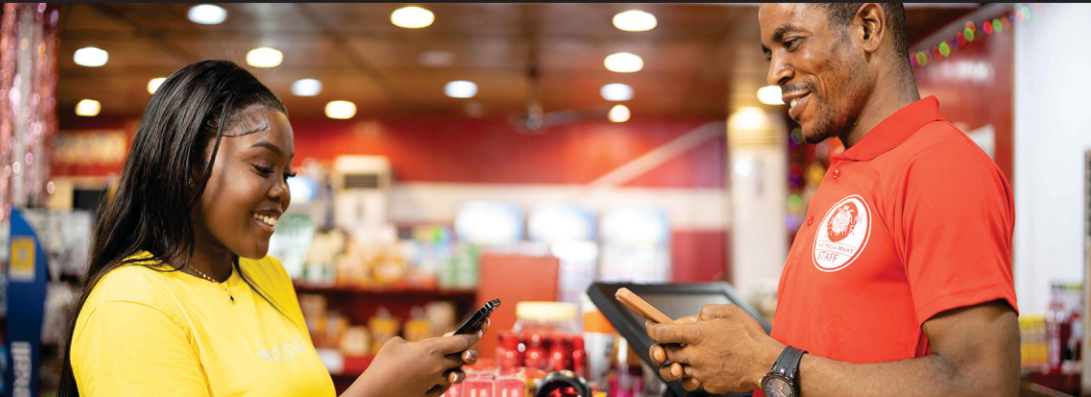
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# Continental News

## Ernest Bai Koroma: Former president can leave Sierra Leone amid Nigeria exile rumours

A former Sierra Leonean president has been granted permission to travel abroad on medical grounds despite facing



President Koroma has been under house arrest since the attack last November

than three months and that he must appear before a Sierra Leonean magistrates court on 6 March. During last year's attack, gunmen broke into a military

armoury and several prisons in capital city Freetown, freeing almost 2,000 inmates. The government described it as an attempted coup and earlier this month, Mr Koroma was charged alongside 12 others suspects.

Anonymous sources from the United Nations and Ecowas, a bloc of West African countries, told the BBC that Ecowas had brokered a deal for Mr Koroma to go into exile in Nigeria if the charges were dropped. The BBC also saw a letter saying Mr Koroma had agreed to the deal, which would see him continue to enjoy the perks of a former president even while he was in Nigeria.

However, Sierra Leone Foreign Minister Timothy Kabba previously told the BBC the government did not support the proposal, which he described as a "unilateral proposition" by the president of the Ecowas Commission.

Ecowas has been concerned about heightened tensions in Sierra Leone following the coup attempt. In the 1990s Ecowas closely witnessed the horrors of a brutal civil war in the West African country and sent a peacekeeping force to help end the conflict.

Some diplomats believe Mr Koroma will not return from Nigeria after travelling there on medical grounds and that the court order in effect allows him to go into exile as a way of restoring calm to the country.

Mr Koroma was president for 11 years until 2018, when current President Julius Maada Bio was elected.

The former president's daughter, Dankay Koroma, has previously been named on a list of suspects wanted by police investigating the failed coup. She has not commented.

The attempted coup came five months after a disputed election which saw President Bio narrowly re-elected for a second term. The results were rejected by Mr Koroma's All People's Congress.

International observers also criticised the elections, highlighting a lack of transparency in the count. BBC

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## Ibadan explosion in Nigeria: 'The roof fell on my mother in bed'

A deadly blast that rocked the Nigerian city of Ibadan overnight was caused by explosives stored by illegal miners, the Oyo state governor has said.

Two people were killed and 77 others injured in the explosion that has affected seven suburbs of Nigeria's third most-populous city.

Crowds have thronged the site of the blast as rescue efforts continue.

A man whose mother's home was destroyed says she was in bed at the time of the blast and is now in hospital.

"The roof and everything

Bodija, a residential district of district of the city.

It was heard across the city of Ibadan, the capital of south-western Oyo state.

One of the onlookers at the scene is a painter who had been working at one of the buildings that collapsed. He turned up to work in the morning and is unable to find his boss.

"I have been calling him but the number is not connecting and I saw that his vehicle has been destroyed," he told the BBC.

Oyo Governor Seyi Makinde posted a statement on Facebook promising that those responsible would be "brought to book".

"I have directed that the



Several buildings have been destroyed



Many are anxiously waiting for news of their relatives

went down. She was inside in her bed when it happened. She was rushed to the hospital naked and I'm going there rushing to see her.

Buildings have been reduced to near rubble at the site of the blast and vehicles destroyed. Further away from the blast zone, windows have been blown out of houses and rooftops damaged.

Eyewitnesses say the explosion happened at around 19:45 local time (18:45 GMT) in

medical bills of all victims be covered by the government," he said.

"We will also be providing temporary accommodation for those whose houses were affected and ensuring that they are supported to rebuild their lives."BBC

## WFP: 2.7 Million Zimbabweans Need Food Aid as El Nino Compounds Drought Crisis

The U.N. World Food Program said Wednesday that it was working with Zimbabwe's government and aid agencies to provide food to 2.7 million rural people in the country as the El Nino weather phenomenon contributes to a drought crisis in southern Africa. Food shortages putting nearly 20% of Zimbabwe's population at risk of hunger have been caused by poor harvests in drought-ravaged areas where people rely on small-scale farming to eat. El Nino is expected to compound that by causing below-average rainfall again this year, said Francesca Erdelmann, WFP country director for Zimbabwe.

El Nino is a natural and recurring weather phenomenon that warms parts of the Pacific, affecting weather patterns around the world. It has different impacts

in different region

When rains fail or come late, it has a significant impact, Erdelmann told a news conference.

January to March is referred to as the lean season in Zimbabwe, when rural households run out of food while waiting for the next harvest.

More than 60% of Zimbabwe's 15 million people live in rural areas. Their life is increasingly affected by a cycle of drought and floods aggravated by climate change.

Dry spells are becoming longer

and more severe. For decades, Zimbabwe's rainy season reliably ran from October to March. It has become erratic in recent years, sometimes starting only in December and ending sooner.

Once an exporter of food, Zimbabwe has relied heavily on assistance from donors to feed its people in recent years. Agricultural production also fell sharply after the seizures of white-owned farms under former President Robert Mugabe starting in 2000 but had begun to recover. VOA



An official from the U.N. World Food Program inspects a donation of \$11 million worth of food aid in Harare, Zimbabwe

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# EDITORIAL

## VP Taylor's cry over spilled milk

OUTGOING VICE President Jewel Howard-Taylor's recent disclosure of treatments received in the Coalition government of President George Manneh Weah that she serves for six years is nothing but crying over spilled milk. How could a woman of her status allow herself to have suffered such psychological humiliation without speaking out!

YET, SHE WAS bold enough to come in public defending the CDC and repeatedly criticizing the opposition, including former Vice President now President-elect, Joseph Nyumah Boakai, for performing dismally under Madam Sireaf. Such political decent boomeranged.

Madam Taylor took the National Patriotic Party (NPP) to President Weah's Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) in a coalition that offered her the Vice Presidential slot during the 2017 election, but received cold shoulders after the CDC came to power.

In the entire first year or so of the administration, she did not report for work in the Senate where she presided as President, because the Executive Mansion withdrew her official aids and motorcade amid claims and fears in the ruling party that she wanted to out shine President Weah. It took public pressure to have her amenities restored.

Appearing as guest on a live online talk show recently, the Vice President lamented that she never had access to the inner cycle of the Weah administration despite being the second in command, while her value in terms of education and experience was downplayed in the government. How does this gain attention of the public when she is already on her way out to give way to a new administration?

The Coalition for Democratic Change lost the 14th November 2023 Presidential Runoff Election to the Unity Party, clearly thwarting President Weah's bid for second term in office.

But for the woman, who once served as First Lady of the Republic of Liberia before her election as Vice President to have endured such humiliation for six long years in total silence, is not only a serious disappointment to herself, but disappointment to Liberian women aspiring for public office.

By her revelation, Madam Taylor clearly indicates that she was completely sidelined. No wonder why cries for jobs from within the NPP faction that headed went unheeded because she had no influence on President Weah or key officials to push her interest, and could not say so publicly.

"Certain point in time I was blocked; I was no longer part of the team. In 2016-2017, I was part of the team; we sat at the roundtable to talk and he (President Weah) will asked me at the end of everybody's conversation to talk, 'Deputy S.B., what you say' and I always had the chance to speak my mind."

But she observed that subsequently, all this changed, and she was increasingly ostracized in the Coalition, lamenting "That disunity of not communicating and consulting actually ate into the fabric of me. If I could look back, I will say that was the hardest part for me. As a woman, you know, we like to talk. And so, I always wanted the opportunity to talk about some of the things that were happening. And I always wanted to say that President Weah and I had never had an argument, a face-to-face argument; never."

Coming out now at the eleventh hour is, as it is often said in a Liberian parlance, "water under the bridge" that makes no significant relevance at the moment. All that is before her now is to move on with her life after January 22nd.

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

# COMMENTARY

By Daron Acemoglu

## What It Takes to Build Democratic Institutions

**B**OSTON - There are plenty of good models around to help both developing and industrialized countries build better democratic institutions. But with its abortive attempts to draft a new constitution, Chile is offering a lesson in what to avoid.

Though it is one of the richest countries in Latin America, Chile is still suffering from the legacy of General Augusto Pinochet's brutal dictatorship and historic inequalities. The country has made some progress in building democratic institutions since the 1988 plebiscite that began the transition from authoritarianism, and education and social programs have reduced income inequality. But major problems remain. There are deep inequalities not just in income, but also in access to government services, high-quality educational resources, and labor-market opportunities. Moreover, Chile still has the constitution that Pinochet imposed in 1980.

Yet while it seems natural to start anew, Chile has gone about it the wrong way. Following a 2020 referendum that showed overwhelming support for drafting a new constitution, it entrusted the process to a convention of elected delegates. But only 43% of voters turned out for the 2021 election to fill the convention, and many of the candidates were from far-left circles with strong ideological commitments to draft a constitution that would crack down on business and establish myriad new rights for different communities. When the resulting document was put to a vote, 62% of Chileans rejected it.

A second attempt repeated the same failings, only from the other direction. A right-wing convention majority, emboldened by the public's reaction to the first version, drafted a constitution that also was rejected as a step too far. This experience should sound familiar, because Chile is hardly the only country where an activist body has pushed for measures that a majority of voters oppose. Similar episodes are occurring around the world - not least in the United States - and trust in institutions is suffering as a result.

Can support for democracy be rebuilt? My own recent work with Nicolás Ajzenman, Cevat Aksoy, Martin Fiszbein, and Carlos Molina may provide some clues. We find that people who have experience with democratic institutions tend to support them, but only if they deem democracies to be successful in delivering the kinds of economic performance, public services, and other outcomes that they expect.

What people appear to want from democracies is telling. Support for democracy wanes during economic crises, wars, or other periods of instability, and improves when the public enjoys the benefits of good public services, low inequality, and limited to no corruption. The lessons seem clear. If we want to build a better democracy, we must start with democratic institutions' ability to deliver what people want.

With inequality rising in many countries and global corporations becoming more powerful, it is reasonable for democracies to offer more redistribution and stronger protections for disadvantaged groups. But, again, the right and the left will go about this in different ways.

In Chile's case, the left's hardline anti-business

agenda seems ill-advised. A better alternative is the model pioneered by Scandinavia's social democratic parties, which rose to power after the 1929 stock-market crash and the Great Depression, when there was a palpable need for major institutional changes and policies to restore the economy to health and curb inequality.

There are many misperceptions about the origins of Nordic social democracy. While some commentators seem to believe that these countries were always predisposed toward equality and cooperation, others view them as "democratic socialist" role models. Neither perception seems to be true. Both Sweden and Norway were highly unequal at the beginning of the twentieth century. Norway's pre-tax income Gini coefficient (a measure of inequality on a scale of zero to one) was 0.57 in 1930, which means that it was more unequal than anywhere in Latin America today.

Both countries also experienced frequent industrial conflict. The workers' parties that later became social-democratic parties were rooted in Marxism. But by the time they came to power, they had started moving away from their earlier commitments to revolution and rigid ideology. Instead, they campaigned under a broad umbrella, promising sound macroeconomic management and egalitarian reform of the labor market and education.

For its part, the Norwegian Labour Party made its U-turn from a hardline Marxist agenda after its poor showing in Norway's 1930 election. Like Danish and Swedish workers' parties at the time, it redirected its focus to more practical matters, implementing policies that people wanted. The party also promised a major educational reform to improve the quality of schooling in rural areas that were falling behind. After coming to power again in 1935, the party moved quickly to implement its "Folk School Law" the following year.

In recent work with Tuomas Pekkarinen, Kjell Salvanes, and Matti Sarvimäki, we show that Norway's school reform did more than improve the quality of rural schooling. It also had a profound effect on Norwegian politics, because many of those who benefited from the reform (starting with parents) shifted their allegiances to the Labour Party, thus helping to create the coalition that would sustain Norway's now-famous model of social democracy. Simply put, the party provided the services voters wanted, and voters rewarded it with electoral support.

The Swedish case is broadly similar. After its first election victory in 1932, the Swedish Social Democratic Party delivered on its promise of higher wages, industrial peace, and a stable macroeconomic environment. It was then rewarded at the polls for the next several decades.

There are lessons here for those who want to strengthen democracy and build new institutions to combat inequality and protect the disadvantaged. The first step must be to show that democracy works by forging a reformist agenda that will succeed in delivering services to the population. Attempts to impose extremist policies (of the left or right) on voters are doomed to fail - and are likely to reduce trust in democratic institutions even further.

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## OP-ED

By Dixon Chibanda

## The Global Mental-Health Crisis Demands New Thinking

**L**ONDON - The world is in the grips of a mental-health crisis. From rising climate anxiety in rich countries like the United States to intense trauma in conflict zones like Ukraine and Gaza (especially among children), psychological suffering has become widespread, and traditional health-care services cannot keep up. This leaves tens of millions of people at risk of serious pathologies and suicide.

As it stands, more than 25% of the world's population reports feelings of social isolation and loneliness, and more than 150,000 people aged 15-29 die by suicide each year.

Climate change threatens to increase these bleak figures. As the American Psychiatric Association reports, climate change can "lead to job loss, force people to move, and harm social cohesion and community resources, all of which have mental-health consequences." Moreover, contemplating climate change and its consequences for both "national security and individual well-being" can cause "significant distress."

No groups are spared. Young people fear for their future; older people grieve the destruction of the world of their childhoods; and activists and climate scientists suffer from emotional burnout and despair. And this is to say nothing of the post-traumatic stress and depression experienced by those already affected by climate-related disasters, particularly in vulnerable developing economies.

Traditionally, a psychiatric patient would engage in one-on-one therapy with a trained doctor. But even rich-country health systems lack the capacity to offer such services as widely as is needed: in the US, more than 150 million people live in areas with too few mental-health professionals. Within a few years, the country could be short by as many as 31,100 psychiatrists.

The situation is even worse in poor and conflict-affected countries, where traditional psychiatric interventions are often very difficult to access, if they are available at all. Consider my home country, Zimbabwe: despite being a country of 16 million, it has just 13 psychiatrists and 20 clinical psychologists.

The consequences of this shortfall became starkly apparent in 2019, when Cyclone Idai tore through parts of Zimbabwe. The storm's powerful winds and heavy rains - and the massive flooding and landslides they triggered - led to hundreds of deaths, displaced about 60,000 people, and demolished 50,000 homes. It also decimated unharvested crops, destroyed seed stocks, and killed livestock, leaving people without food or livelihoods. All of this contributed to mental-health problems, including post-traumatic stress disorder.

Barely a year later, things got much worse: the COVID-19 pandemic forced nationwide lockdowns that further undermined people's socioeconomic well-being. The resulting mental-health problems were well beyond the health-care system's capacity to handle.

But that did not mean Zimbabwe had no options. The Friendship Bench project, which I founded, trains community volunteers without any prior medical or mental-health training to provide talk therapy from wooden park benches in all ten provinces of the country. We have so far trained more than 2,000 of these "grandmothers" to provide counseling to their local communities.

The program works. In 2016, a randomized clinical trial found that patients with common mental disorders and indicators of depression who received Friendship Bench counseling had a significant decrease in symptoms. Communities with access to Friendship Bench services also experienced improvements in other areas, from HIV outcomes to maternal and child health. Even the grandmothers delivering the therapy report that they have benefited from a stronger sense of belonging and resilience.

Others in lower-resource countries have also been pioneering new, scalable models for delivering high-quality, low-cost psychiatric care to communities where it was not previously available. One trailblazer is Sangath, an NGO headquartered in the Indian state of Goa that trains ordinary people to deliver psychosocial treatments, particularly in areas with little access to mental-health services. Clinical trials have consistently shown that these "lay counselors" are effective in addressing a wide range of mental-health conditions, from depression and anxiety to alcohol-use disorders.

Similarly, StrongMinds trains "mental-health facilitators" to provide free group therapy to low-income women and adolescents with depression in Uganda and Zambia. The organization reports a powerful impact, not least in supporting communities affected by climate-related environmental disasters. And this impact is set to grow: StrongMinds founder and CEO Sean Mayberry expects the program to reach 335,000 people this year.

Western models of psychiatric care are too resource-intensive to be rolled out across the world, particularly in Africa and South Asia, where fast-growing populations and accelerating climate risks pose huge challenges. But well-crafted community-based initiatives are both cost-effective and highly scalable.

Beyond improving individual mental health and resilience, such programs strengthen community cohesion and encourage collective problem-solving, both of which will become increasingly important as the climate crisis intensifies.

Tackling the global mental-health crisis effectively will require greater engagement from the international community. The World Health Organization's Special Initiative for Mental Health, which sought to deliver greater access to mental-health services across its six regions in 2019-23, was a step in the right direction. But it must be sustained and expanded. Meanwhile, local and national governments and philanthropies should embrace new, locally-based approaches that have proved their ability to help communities cope with growing risks to their lives, livelihoods, and well-being.

## OPINION

By Zhang Jun

## Has China's Economy Peaked?

**S**HANGHAI - The narrative that China's economy is nearing its peak - or has already reached it - has taken hold in Western media. But if you read the doomsayers' analyses carefully, you will find that many of the reasons they give for their bleak assessments are not new. On the contrary, they tend to highlight precisely the same challenges that economists and commentators have been harping on for at least a decade or longer. If China was not sputtering then, why should we believe it is now?

To be sure, the global context has changed. Perhaps most important, the prevailing narrative about China has turned largely negative, and the West is now far more hostile toward it than it was ten or even five years ago. With the United States working harder than ever to contain China, direct Chinese exports to the US have fallen.

Even so, the "decoupling" of the world's two largest economies is probably overstated. A recent study by University of California San Diego economist Caroline Freund and her colleagues shows that the US and China are indeed reducing their engagement in some areas. For example, US import growth from China lagged well behind US import growth from other countries for products subject to US tariffs.

But the same study also found that US and Chinese supply chains remain deeply intertwined, especially for "strategic products." Moreover, the countries from which US imports are growing are often deeply - and increasingly - embedded in Chinese supply chains. In fact, countries seeking to displace China in US supply chains have been increasing their own imports from China, especially in strategic industries.

At the same time, global firms appear to be pursuing a "China+1" strategy, investing in other countries in addition to - but not instead of - China. Chinese companies, for their part, have increased their foreign direct investment in recent years and deployed their own production chains far beyond China's borders, especially to countries that can avoid punitive US tariffs. This trend is likely to persist, ensuring that Chinese capital continues to flow to the rest of the world.

The doomsayers would likely point out that China is also facing domestic challenges. Beyond unfavorable demographics, China is also grappling with issues like large debts, misallocation of capital, severe pollution, and a troubled property sector. But China's government has been clearly aware of these problems - and committed to addressing them - for a decade.

China's program of "supply-side structural reform," for instance, took shape in 2015 and included tighter financial regulations and increased government supervision of - and intervention in - highly leveraged sectors with excess production capacity. While the program helped to prevent a debt or financial crisis, it also constrained growth in many highly leveraged industries, such as real estate. But the view that a sluggish property sector will trigger China's economic collapse is overly dramatic.

Chinese policymakers understand that a transition is inevitable in the real-estate sector, and are committed to ensuring that it occurs smoothly. More broadly, the structural reforms that have already been implemented have boosted China's economic resilience, and, despite US tariffs, Chinese exports have remained robust. Meanwhile, new sectors - from services to the digital economy and high-tech industries - have been growing fast.

All of this helps to explain why China achieved 6.6% three-year-average growth in 2017-19. While the COVID-19 pandemic slashed growth in 2020, the economy rebounded strongly in 2021, growing at a rate of 8.1%. And the growth rate in 2023 is most likely to be slightly over 5%; even a round of lockdowns in 2022 did not prevent growth.

This does not mean that China emerged from the pandemic unscathed. Three years of reduced opportunities to generate income limited Chinese consumers' ability to fuel a rapid post-pandemic recovery. The government must now redouble its efforts to support domestic demand and job creation by pursuing more expansionary monetary and fiscal policies over the next two years.

Chinese policymakers must also work to accelerate the liberalization of some industries. For example, productive services where private and foreign capital is barred from entering must be freed of these restrictions as soon as possible. Fortunately, there are signs that the authorities are aware of this imperative: financial regulators just granted a bank-card-clearing license to the US firm Mastercard. China also unilaterally introduced visa-free entry for six countries - including France, Germany, and Italy - last month.

Nobody expected China to sustain double-digit growth forever. Capital accumulation was always going to slow, and the early dividend generated from structural drivers of growth were always going to weaken. Now, economic growth will require higher shares of spending on household consumption, rather than on investment.

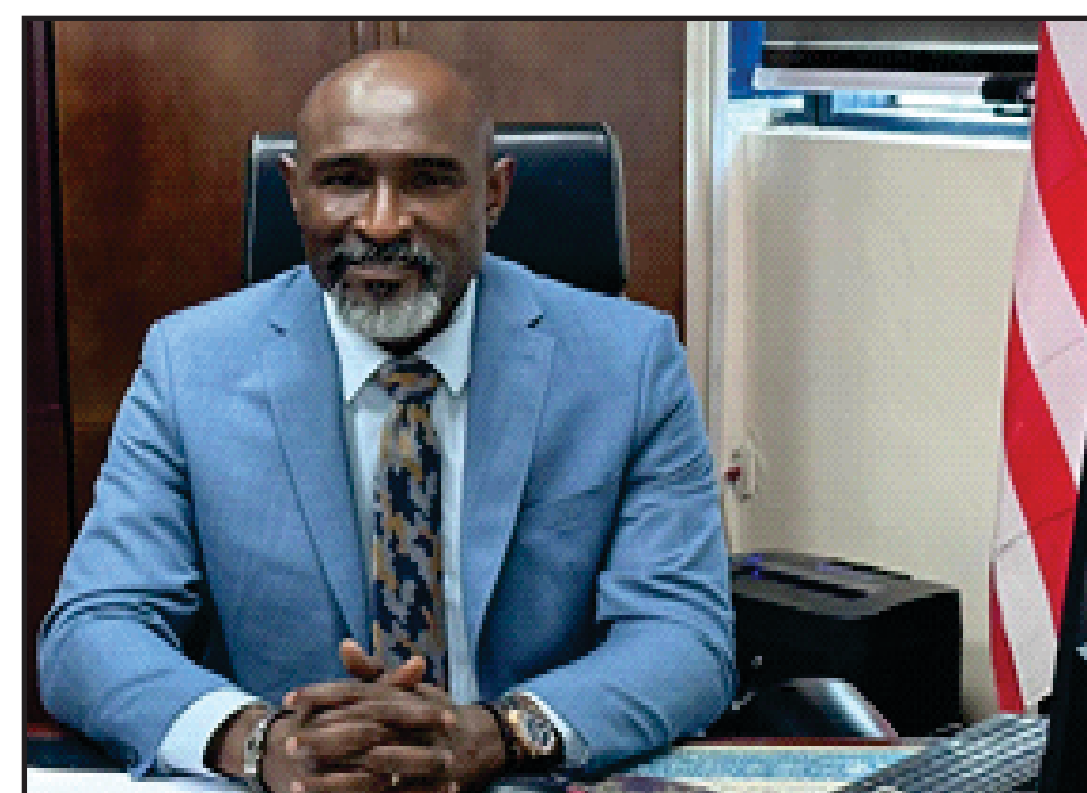
That is why China's government is expected urgently to reduce the share of investment in GDP and support household consumption, such as through income transfers and stronger welfare programs (which would enable households to reduce precautionary savings). This will create a prosperous domestic market, encourage the expansion of the service industry, and support the shift to sustainable growth.

China's economy has not exhausted its development potential, nor has it matured to the point that it has lost its vitality. While the economy's current status has made rebalancing possible, it also opens a time window for China's leadership to commit to carrying out structural reform. Certainly, growth has been slowing down and the global context has changed, creating a sense of urgency. But this is likely to work in the country's favor, accelerating the structural reforms that its emerging growth model needs.

# Thomas Doe Nah: Prolificity Humanified

A Eulogy by Samuel D. Tweah, Jr.

Thomas Doe Nah was among the finest in his generation. The creative and innovative spark ran through his arteries like blood, enabling him to distill complex challenges through fresh and fertile lenses scarcely imagined by compatriots. He could illuminate the quotidian, setting it in stark relief and forcing others to gasp in awe that what was otherwise perceived as ordinary held the potential to goad or to inspire into action or toward greatness. He applied these gifts and skills throughout his life and career in myriad ways: as a sports enthusiast and sportswriter in the late eighties; as a University of Liberia (UL) student political leader quietly weaponizing innovation and creativity to nearly disrupt the dominance of the Student Unification Party (SUP); as a banker, abstracting from routine banking processes and procedures to develop new approaches that assured greater results; as a social advocate defining the fight against corruption as the crux of Liberia's national development challenge long before anti-corruption policy in Liberia was vogue; as a technologist using modern technology and its adaptations to variously simplify, elucidate, motivate,



inspire and organize; and even as a family man leveraging his enthusiasm as a morbid fan of Arsenal F.C. and his footballing knowledge to personally drive his two sons Denny and Kenny to the echelons of Liberian football. Thomas Doe Nah brought his varied range of skills, expertise, experiences and his super-human motivation to bear in his first call to public duty as Commissioner General (CG) of the Liberia Revenue Authority (LRA), where he took domestic revenue to its highest nominal level since the country's founding.

And so shattering was the news of his passing in India on the evening of December 23, 2023 after succumbing to the ailment he was battling. A beautiful wife had lost a great and loving husband, three well-groomed children had lost their inspirational father, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and other siblings had lost the family pillar, countless friends in and out of Liberia had lost a loyal buddy, and the nation had lost a patriotic soul who held endless visions and conversations about Liberia's transition from the nadir of its political decrepitude to the zenith of its true potential.

I first met Thomas, T-man or T-Doe as he was variously, affectionately dubbed, on the main campus of the UL in the mid-nineties. He was in the throes of building a formidable student movement but was doing so, as was his wont, quietly. Silence and reticence were weapons he lavishly deployed to distract onlookers. He would go at great lengths to appear unassuming, to mask the force of his personality, allowing the consequences of his innovations and actions to betray that force. While serving as its chairman, he quietly recruited many promising young freshman and other students into the Student Democratic Alliance: Boima S. Kamara, Dixon Worwlee Seboe, Acarous Moses Gray, Nathaniel Farlo McGill, Varfolay Gbandoe Tulay among so many. Wielding a gift for organizing, he was adept at spotting and recruiting talent and using it to widen the reach of his organization's goals. I found myself walking every evening from the UL main campus to Thomas' 24th street residence, holding wide-ranging conversations about strategy, politics and revolution. In all these discussions, I sensed the latent storm of a revolution brewing within the man, biding its time to explode. When I made the decision to join STUDA, I did so because I was drawn to the quiet revolution he was wreaking as a student leader.

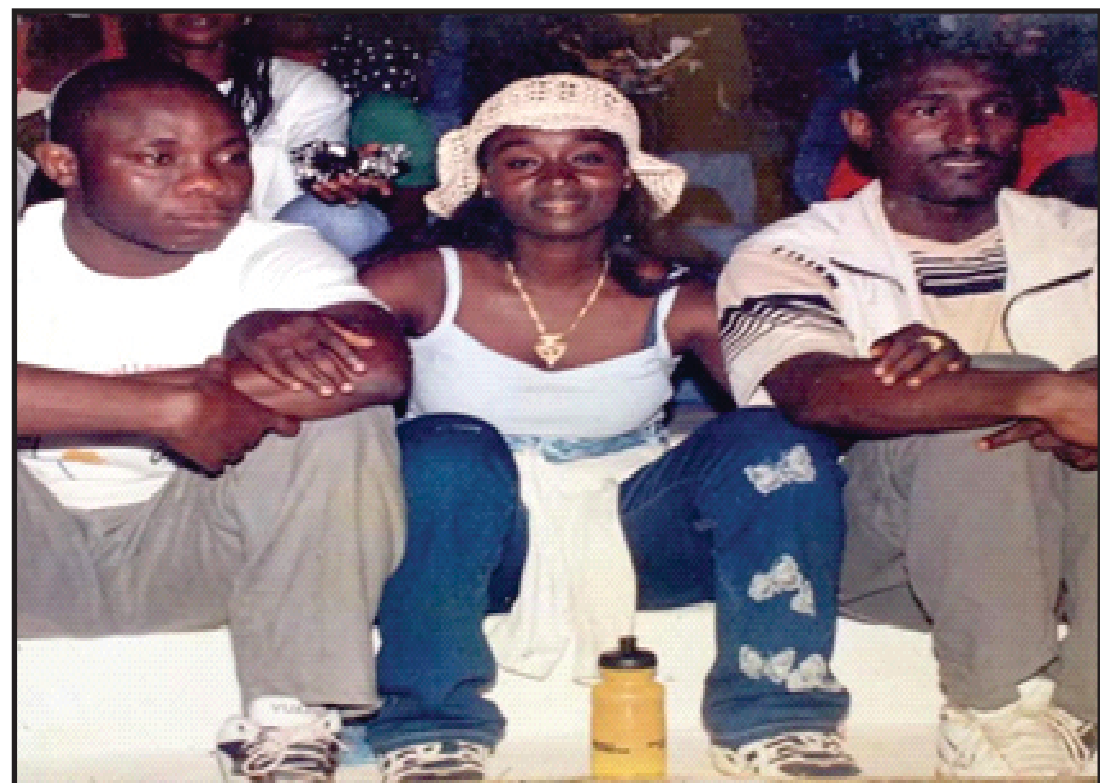
Thomas' formative years at the UL bore the telltale signs of everything he eventually became. He was a student of strategy and he used UL student politics to test the rigors of his strategic genius, as he would subsequently use strategy in his career as a banker, as a social advocate and as a revenue czar. He adopted innovation and creativity' as the byword for his UL student revolution, launching

tutorial programs for incoming students, sanitizing dehumanizing bathrooms, organizing drama and different social clubs that brought different genres of students together to pursue various goals. Many of these organizations did not have outright political objectives. But Thomas' mind was an Aristotelian one: man by nature is a political animal and so all these would eventually redound to his strategic student political aim. In the end when Thomas contested the leadership of the University of Liberia Student Union as Standard Bearer of the SIM- STUDA coalition, the result was a shocker. He lost by mere 41 votes, and of course it had to take some electoral jujitsu for SUP to edge edge him by 41.

Thomas began his career as an accountant at the Liberia Bank for Development and Investment (LBDI), where he was recruited with the likes of John B. S. Davies by Mrs. Elfredi Tamba, who served as General Manager. Elfreda Tamba loomed large in the formative organizational mindset of Thomas Doe Nah. An aficionado of strategy, he would spend countless hours telling me about the marvels Mrs. Tamba was wreaking at LBDI. He would variously praise her methods but would challenge himself to impose refinements and modifications on her approach. Her demanding rigor, exactitude and discipline he admired, and these traits were to influence his thinking and actions in the years ahead. We held many of these LBDI conversations during our evening dinner at our one-bedroom 13th street apartment, where we usually ate rice mixed with mashings of corned beef or luncheon meat, prepared by young chef Jefferson Tamba Kojjee, who was drawn to Thomas from his heyday at the UL, coming under his tutelage and influence at a very young age.

The 'Little House' on 13th street was an intellectual center. After usually downing corn beef rice on most Saturday mornings, students and intellectuals would embark on endless intellectual forays, ranging from UL student politics, through discussions and debates on the Liberian civil war, on books and on to global developments. Isaac Jackson would come by most times to modify chef Kojjee's menu, exposing us to a particular variety of rice with our usual mashing of corned beef called bojorborlorpuan, a Bassa term we eventually began using. We also would often spend the time planning social evenings at Merit Night club which was nearby on 11th street, where we often went to enjoy great music by DJ Fargo. I and Thomas honed our social skills at Merit, where we learned some serious real dance moves and where I learned from Thomas that social advances had to be 'gracefully tactical and restrained', a kind of advancing without advancing, the Nahian maneuver I would be witness to on countless occasions. When Thomas returned from Ireland on an LBDI sponsored information technology training, the '13th street lectures' took on a new dimension. Thomas' congenital innovation had now acquired an information technology bent and from then on, the world would never again be the same.

Even Thomas' life would never again be the same. One evening, he barged through the door buzzing with excitement, eager to share something. I had prepared my mind for another discussion into a strategy on an IT innovation or something of that sort. "Busted," he blurted, using the term we often deployed to describe our broke and busted status as moneyless young people. "I saw a ravishing beauty with grace, elegance and poise that I believe I can get and marry." 'Grace, elegance and poise' were the passwords in the Nahian maneuver. We shared his excitement. Get, yes, since that was immediate and had to be pursued. Marriage, we thought not sure, since this lay far ahead yet. What Jefferson Tamba Kojjee and I



needed most was somebody to start sending us regular cassava leaf, potato greens or palm butter dishes to escape the boredom of corned beef and luncheon meat 'dry rice'. Intense strategy sessions on capturing Queenie Kamara ensued. Conceal excitement when facing a target, use praise, tact and poise in their balanced proportion as effective tools, were his usual musings. When the beautiful eagle

finally landed at 13th street, we were happy for Thomas but the reason for our glee lay elsewhere.

And so, with Queenie Kamara by his side, stability had entered the man's life. The two would eventually marry in 2003 to begin what would become a great and wonderful life together, blessed with three children: Denny, Kenny and Cynthia. Thomas would subsequently move on to greater heights. Thomas left LBDI and joined the International Bank (IB) but not as a traditional banker. He was given the charge to build and lead the money gram remittance program at IB. Remittance inflows are a partial lynchpin to Liberia's macroeconomic stability. The ebbs and flows of remittances, especially in response to global economic booms and busts, have jived with the ups and downs of Liberia's macroeconomics. As such, his running the IB MoneyGram remittance program enabled him to enhance Liberia's macroeconomic



fortunes, albeit indirectly. He was extremely proud of his achievements at IB, raking in about the highest volume of remittance flows by industry standards at the time. Little did he know that this experience would prove seminal in his future more direct contribution to the assertion of macroeconomic fundamentalism as a revenue czar.

Thomas Doe Nah sensed that routine banking or its non-traditional variants ran at cross-purposes with the monstrous transformative force bubbling within him. He was an agile figure, endowed with a fierce but quiescent competitive drive. Traditional routine banking might sap this vigor. The world was out there to be conquered, to be transformed. His next assignment at the US Embassy brought him closer to these aspirations, affording him a fresh perspective into the interface of national policy and international diplomacy. At the embassy, he gained exposure to the governing sub-structures of Liberia's policy environ, working as an economic officer whose task was to assess and analyze policy and overall governance, supporting the embassy's interactions with the Liberian Government. In this role, Thomas supported the establishment of the Governance and Economic Management Program (GEMAP), heralded by the US Government, as a beginning toward constructing Liberia's post-conflict governance architecture in marked departure to prewar and intra-war patterns of governance. This was an experience Thomas relished. Prior to GEMAP, when I had returned from the U.S. in 2005 for elections, Thomas would discuss with me at length the important work he was doing at the embassy, and how that work was opening new vistas for his perception of Liberia. He even shared the embassy's perception of the crowd momentum of the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC), after the CDC had staged a major rally at the party headquarters, which was the talk of the town. "The embassy folks were impressed with the crowd but mainly with the balance between grown men and women and the absence of kids", he had said. He was making this observation in contradistinction to an earlier rally the CDC had staged, which had shown a prevalence of too many young people to the near exclusion of 'grown working men and women.'

Eventually, Thomas left the embassy in pursuit of visions churning in his mind. Few individuals would disrupt the certainty of a nine to five job or career path to settle for building an alternative career more in tune with their aspirations. Those who do so have an innate confidence in their capacity and exhibit a measured tolerance for risk that is balanced only by the belief that visions and concepts imagined must have a chance at the dawn of reality. Thomas Doe Nah was of this genre. T-Doe was born to be a creative human force, to transform ailing student organizations and limping social causes into meaningful enterprises; to imagine social constructs and will them into being by the sheer force of ideas and sustained action. It was this drive that led Thomas to join deceased comrade G. Jasper Cumme and others in establishing the Center for Transparency and Accountability (CENTAL) in 2004.

Thomas Doe Nah and his compatriots were ahead of their generation in establishing CENTAL. Thomas had seen the role non-governmental organizations had played during Liberia's civil crisis and the immediate years after conflict. These institutions were basically delivering humanitarian relief and providing capacity diminished by the war-induced collapse of government institutions, which would require some time to recover. Many Liberians began to write project proposals to donor organizations for delivering post-conflict emergency services, or for service delivery in key sectors such as health and education. Others were organizing civil

society organizations that seemed too meshed with the political class. Still other Liberians saw their post-war future in the political space via the joining or establishing of political parties, arguing that politics is the be all and the end all of the Liberian society. Nah himself briefly dabbled briefly in this thinking, joining the movement styled Liberians for Winston Tubman (LIBWIN), in which he and Nathaniel Farlo McGill were the major organizing actors. I too was involved with LIBWIN while in the U.S. but withdrew later to establish the CDC. Thomas soon sensed that between short-term visions of forming NGO-type organizations for service delivery and a career path as a full-time politician, there lay a vast middle to be filled by a purposeful more long-term vision of enduring value: his anti-corruption vision would be the best candidate. If politics was critical in the recovery and rebuilding of Liberia, he reasoned it had to be a different kind of politics. Some independent or serious-minded group of Liberians or organizations had to hold the politicians' feet to the fire in rather different form and manner than the country had seen. Thomas provided the vision and the intellectual leadership for this rethinking in the form now widely known and respected as CENTAL.

Anti-corruption policy in Liberia was a new phenomenon emerging only after the debris of war.

Liberia's state collapse in the nineties was occasioned largely by corruption which sustained major class divisions in the country. Thomas' grasp of the post-conflict nuances, challenges and opportunities of governance in Liberia while working with the GEMAP program greatly spurred his thinking and ambition on the role CENTAL could play in cementing anti-corruption policy in Liberia.

And Thomas was best fit to lead this fight against corruption as a simple, honest and patriotic Liberian. Born to the union of God-fearing Christian parents, mother Suzana Cummings, and his father Athanasius Nah, Thomas Doe Nah was raised on a staple of strong moral scruples of fairness and integrity. In several visits to the home of his mother, Consu, as siblings affectionately called their mother, and that of his father, who both resided in the borough of Old Road, I could immediately sense the stern upbringing that had stood the young Thomas in good stead. Their conversations severally betrayed the discipline and probity that groomed young Thomas into the man he had become, his penchant for caution, silence, frugality and fairness clearly emerging from principles, beliefs and worldviews shared by his parents. His father had once run a business in Tapita, Nimba county, imparting a practical business sense of discipline to the young Thomas. I observed the same sense of probing rectitude in conversations with his elder sister, now Supreme Court Justice Jamesetta Howard-Wolokollie, whose conservative stances and tough demeanor were occasionally the subject of our many discussions. These were the virtues Thomas Doe Nah would stand on to lead STUDA, CENTAL, the Carter Center and more recently the Lions Club and few others.

When I returned from the U.S. in 2011 to take up residence in Liberia and began work as an economist with the Government, I met Thomas in full command of CENTAL, brimming with ideas and unleashing many different programs. My brother Cllr. Norris Tweah, then Deputy Minister of Information and James Thompson, then management consultant, were inseparable from Thomas. They would spend hours together on a daily basis. They would support him in his work at CENTAL, while feeding on his expansive innovative charisma. Today, CENTAL has arguably a long way to go to perfect its founding vision, but there is no denying it has imposed a credible dent in the anti-corruption space in Liberia, thanks in large measure to Thomas Doe Nah. Gifted with an eye for talent, Thomas nurtured a cadre of young leaders at CENTAL, whose capacity and expertise have been a boon to the institution after his departure from CENTAL.



He subsequently left for a Master's at the Kenney School of Government at Harvard University, an experience and education that added fuel to his already burning urges for change. He would share wonderful insights from distinguished Harvard professors, relate perspectives from Harvard colleagues from many countries, share motivating Ted Talk series with me on a range of subjects and generally discussed books. After Harvard, Thomas joined the management team at Carter Center, a globally reputed institution straddling niches of governance, development and electioneering. He would remain at Carter Center until his appointment as Commissioner General of the LRA.

Thomas' reputation for integrity, innovation and transformation preceded him and largely willed his appointment as the CG of the LRA. Long before I could even broach the subject of his replacing Mrs. Elfreda Tamba as CG in 2018, Monrovia was agog with rumor that the man had gotten the job. Truthfully, we had had no such conversation and I had never discussed this with the President. When the rumor became so pervasive, he visited me to discuss how it was that I had not even talked to him about going to LRA but the whole town was whizzing about it. I joked in response that in politics perception tended to always be ahead of reality. I related to him that people probably expected that I would recommend him for the job but that his skills, character and reputation were bigger reasons behind the widespread rumor.

When the rumor finally congealed into truth, Thomas Doe Nah found himself sitting before President George Manneh Weah in his office at the Executive Mansion. The President had asked to see the man I had lavished with praise. I had previously variously related to the President what Thomas thought of his 'out-sized' generosity, in particular, and of his personality more generally. In several conversation on George Weah, Thomas had attributed his political rise more to his humanitarian largesse than to his stardom as a football legend. He often reminded me of the kindness Mr. Weah had shown the Legends of Virtue, a social club at the University of Liberia, of which we were both members.

Legends had asked Mr. Weah for support for its inauguration program, and we had gone to see Mr. Weah on the request. When Amb Weah handed some crisp US 100-dollar bills amounting to \$7,000, Thomas was touched. Seven thousand U.S dollars was no child's play in the late nineties, probably the equivalent of US\$30,000, adjusting for inflation in today's terms. Thomas would often recount Mr. Weah's support for the University of Liberia, both to students and the University of Liberia student Union, in scholarships, renovation of the student center and donation of buses, as well as support to families for weddings, funerals and other important



causes. Now Thomas Doe Nah sat right before the man whose generosity he was inspired by, probably prepared for his first interview for one of the most important positions in the Government of Liberia.

But it was hardly an interview for Thomas was characteristically quiet for much of the time as both exchanged pleasantries and started small talk. Walking him out of the Mansion after the meeting, I asked while he surprisingly didn't say much during the meeting, to which he responded, "Bob," which was the avuncular way we occasionally addressed one another in our close circle on jovial occasions, "the presidency can be overwhelming even for the brightest mind." I agreed with him. During Thomas' second meeting held this time in the presence of Nathaniel McGill, he was unreservedly expressive about his vision for the LRA. When he left the second meeting, one impression stood out the most: the President's statement that the future of the country lay in the hands of people like Thomas who were now challenged to do their utmost in service to country.

Rising to this challenge was something Thomas set his sight on when he began work as CG in middle of 2018. This was a year of economic and politically motivated turbulence. Exchange rate volatility, soaring inflation, declining revenue depicted a gloomy macroeconomic picture. Macro fundamentalism was weak, and we had to battle this at the Economic Management Team meetings at the Central Bank of Liberia. In 2019, the economic crisis deepened, and the Government moved into the IMF supported program, having previously undertaken a series of reforms in the nation's wage system, without which the Government would have collapsed. As the crisis deepened, Thomas once paid me a visit at my 16th street apartment to wrap his head around the dire economic situation.

"What are we doing wrong, Dtweah?" he had asked. I relished the question as a moment of truth and honesty among two buddies at a very bleak moment in the country, friends entrusted with critical roles in turning the dark situation around. "We are doing nothing wrong Thomas," I replied, adding "that if Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz held my position and were not given any extra help, he would make the same decisions we are making today. It is only a matter of time before success happens. We can do nothing but wait." This is a conversation I have heard Thomas recount severally at public functions, describing the macroeconomic turnaround

that began in 2020, impinging on deficit management, inflation reduction, exchange rate stability and domestic revenue mobilization.

Of course, Thomas went on to collect the highest level of domestic revenue nominally, and he did so by building a strong team at the LRA and by drawing on his congenital gift for innovation and creativity. A huge part of Thomas' success at LRA lay in strategic reorganization of the LRA, building on the foundation CG Elfreda Tamba had laid. Thomas had a keen sense of people and their capabilities, and he had to reassign staff to achieve optimal outcome. Drawing on his experience with technology, Thomas brought transparency to most of LRA processes and payment systems using digitalization. He motivated LRA staff by launching a highly successful credit scheme in which workers could take advances on their salary to consume goods and services, a program he wanted to see widely adopted by the Government as a stimulus for macroeconomic consumption. He knew how to push and inspire people to get things done.

Raising revenue is a complex process. The ultimate goal of a revenue czar is minimizing any gap or large discrepancies between business transactions and sales that companies periodically report through tax filings to revenue authorities and the actual volume of sales that factually occur. The larger this gap, the greater the size of the revenue leakage. Technology and digitization are the major means to solving this tax collection dilemma and Thomas would usually discuss his ideas in this area and share the successes he was having with trial runs of Point-of-Sale digital devices located at businesses.

We would discuss his reorganization of real estate tax division, his organization of the Sinkor business areas into tax districts and the general potential for improvements in real estate tax collection. We would discuss the need to minimize tax expenditures and giveaways and reforms we were pursuing in legislation to achieve these aims. Most of our revenue conversations would wind its way back to technology and the role it could play in talking Liberia closer to billions in revenue and the whole process of change management in revenue reorganization across African countries.

As he became more and more successful, he launched the 'going to billions program.' He once mentioned to me that an observant visitor scanning the Liberian economy from our borders through the major economic corridors would reach the inevitable conclusion that we should be doing a billion yearly in revenue. "Dtweah if we could increase revenue by \$200 million annually," he would often say, "we could increase it by the next \$200 million moving us closer to a billion. But serious work has to be done." Thomas was overly committed to pursuing this goal and and the President and the Government were determined to help him achieve it. We had a model relationship any minister of finance and LRA CG should have to achieve revenue maximization.

I sometimes received complaints that "Thomas was eroding my powers as a finance minister in his drive to collect revenue," to which I often responded, "I could cede more authority to him to do more for his country."

Discussing the motivation and drive of Thomas Doe Nah could consume pages, the prolific and multi-faceted man he was. Every goal he approached he did so with the full panoply of his strategic, galvanizing genius. He even applied his strategic mindset to his family, drawing on his knowledge of football and his enthusiasm for Arsenal F.C to raise his two sons Denny and Kenny to the highest level of Liberian football. Most parents would allow the passion of their children to ineluctably take flight: Thomas goaded his boys into footballing excellence, with the pair now playing for the Invincible Eleven F. C. He was probably a coach and motivator more than he was a father to these boys and their beautiful little sister Cynthia Nah, the full replica of her beautiful mother Queenie Nah, who herself was transformed from the receding taciturn beauty queen she once was to the fully intellectually practiced and assertive Queenie we now see. He was the pillar to his siblings and a veritable bastion to countless friends.

Now lies Thomas Doe Nah beyond the Elysian realms of life, leaving us mortals the business of conjuring up reminiscences and remembrances of his short but wonderful and impactful life. We are all broken by his loss and join the family, friends and the nation in this difficult moment of grief. His life continues in the lives he touched in innumerable ways, in the memories he stirred within so many people, in the laughs he evoked via boundless, unrestrained, sometimes ironic humor. No more shall we behold that receding façade of quietude he presented, only to be elegantly belied by the illuminating, transformative consequences of his actions. Ron Chernow, the prolific biographer, in Washington: a Life, captures the first American president George Washington describing himself thus: "With me it has always been a maxim rather to allow my designs appear by my works than by my expressions." Thomas Doe Nah might have said the same thing about himself, except that he never said it; those of us who shared intimate spaces with him only observed it. He was deeply private yet more public in the same vein, a duality he nursed strategically to achieve his aims.

He impacted a generation- family, friends, students, professionals, politicians, clerics, organizations, and Governments through the sheer reach of his amiable personality and by dint of his versatile, creative organizational genius. He now resides at the interface of memory and history, which will undoubtedly do more than its fair share of justice to his pursuits, impacts and accomplishments and even more so to his flaws and failings as a human being.

May his blessed soul rest in peaceful repose perpetually and may God grant us the strength to carry on where he has left off!

# Français

## Retraite ou stratégie politique ? La retraite anticipée du président Weah suscite des interrogations

Des questions sur la sincérité de l'ancien président George Manneh Weah quant à sa récente retraite de la scène politique, à peine un mois après avoir perdu les élections se trouvent sur toutes les lèvres dans la

potentiellement désespérés pour soutenir financièrement la CDC, pour finalement les abandonner à l'orée des élections présidentielles de 2029.

La CDC, qui renoue à la vie de l'opposition, voit en M. Weah son candidat le plus favorisé depuis

semble que M. Weah demeure le visage politique fort de la CDC, prêt à s'engager dans une bataille électorale présidentielle sérieuse. L'annonce de sa retraite alors qu'il est encore énergique suscite des doutes quant à savoir s'il s'agit d'une stratégie pour tromper ceux qui pensent que Weah ne reviendra pas pour la prochaine élection présidentielle.

Immédiatement après la défaite de la CDC aux élections présidentielles, des rapports ont émergé suggérant que certains cadres envisageaient de confier le parti à l'homme d'affaires devenu politicien Alexander B. Cummings. Cummings dirige la Collaboration des Partis politiques (CPP), composés de son Alternative National Congress (ANC) et d'une faction du Liberty Party (LP).

Dans une récente déclaration, M. Weah a annoncé sa retraite anticipée de la politique en réaction à une révélation faite par l'un de ses membres lors d'un culte dans son église à Paynesville. La révélation portait sur son long service à la présidence libérienne et la construction d'une tombe pour le président libérien assassiné Samuel K. Doe. Weah a déclaré que bien que la révélation soit positive, il estime que c'est au prochain gouvernement de s'en charger.

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Pres. Weah

capitale Monrovia.

Certains Libériens se demandent si le président Weah et son parti, la Coalition pour la démocratie (CDC), ne sont pas en train de manipuler habilement des politiciens

2005. Malgré les efforts de nombreux politiciens chevronnés pour diriger le ticket présidentiel de la CDC, seul Me Winston Tubman a réussi à le faire en 2011, lorsque Weah a accepté le rôle de colistier.

Pour certains Libériens, il

## Sollicitation intense pour l'investiture du président élu Boakai

Un rapport du comté de Margibi révèle qu'en dépit de l'allocation de 650 000 dollars américains par le gouvernement du Libéria pour l'investiture du président élu Joseph Nyumah Boakai et du vice-président élu Jeremiah Kpang Koung le 22 janvier 2024, certains acteurs clés et parties prenantes de l'Unity Party, ainsi que l'administration du comté, sollicitent activement des fonds auprès des entreprises locales pour le programme inaugural, suscitant des inquiétudes parmi de nombreux habitants.

Une communication officielle sollicitant de l'aide du bureau du secrétaire général de l'Unity Party à Margibi, signée par la présidente du comté, Cecelia K. Doe, la présidente du programme inaugural, Mme Harrisona Tomah Grigsgby Grimes, la Dr. Nancy T. Freeman en tant que

personne de contact, et le surintendant du comté de Margibi, Jerry O Varnie, avec le sceau officiel du secrétaire général de l'Unity Party dans le comté, est actuellement en circulation auprès des entreprises et des institutions.

"Le comté de Margibi célébrera l'investiture de l'ambassadeur Joseph Nyumah Boakai et du sénateur Jeremiah Kpang Koung, président et vice-président élu le 22 janvier 2024, dans les différents districts politiques du

comté de Margibi, avec un focus sur Kakata. Avec cela, nous vous demandons aimablement, en tant qu'institution/entreprise, de nous aider financièrement pour faire de ce jour une réussite dans le comté de Margibi."

Une source interne de l'Unity Party à Margibi a confié au NEW DAWN qu'une somme de 2 500 dollars américains est allouée par district, mais que l'équipe sur le terrain

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Amb. Boakai

Sen. Koung

## Éditorial

### Les lamentations de la vice-présidente Taylor sur du lait versé

Les récentes révélations de la vice-présidente sortante Jewel Howard-Taylor sur les traitements qu'elle aurait subis au sein du gouvernement de la coalition du président George Manneh Weah, qu'elle a servi pendant six ans, ne sont rien d'autre que des lamentations sur du lait versé.

Comment une femme de son statut a-t-elle pu permettre de subir une telle humiliation psychologique sans réagir ?

Pourtant, elle a été assez courageuse pour défendre publiquement le CDC et critiquer à plusieurs reprises l'ancien vice-président, maintenant président élu, Joseph Nyumah Boakai, pour sa performance médiocre sous Madame Sirleaf. La même chose qu'elle disait de l'autre s'est retournée contre elle.

Madame Taylor a conduit le Parti patriotique national (NPP) au sein du Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) du président Weah dans le cadre d'une coalition qui a fait d'elle vice-présidente à l'issue des élections de 2017. Mais elle a été négligée après l'accession au pouvoir du CDC.

Au cours de la première année de l'administration, elle n'a pas repris son travail au Sénat qu'elle préside, car le palais présidentiel a retiré ses collaborateurs officiels et son cortège officiel, invoquant des allégations et des craintes au sein du parti au pouvoir selon lesquelles elle voulait éclipser le président Weah. La pression publique a été nécessaire pour que ses avantages soient rétablis.

Lors d'une émission en direct sur Internet récemment, la vice-présidente a déploré qu'elle n'ait jamais eu accès au cercle intérieur de l'administration Weah malgré son statut de deuxième commandant, tandis que sa valeur en termes d'éducation et d'expérience était minimisée dans le gouvernement. Comment cela peut-il attirer l'attention du public alors qu'elle est déjà sur le départ pour laisser place à une nouvelle administration ? La Coalition for Democratic Change a perdu le second tour de l'élection présidentielle du 14 novembre 2023 au profit de l'Unity Party, contrecarrant clairement la tentative du président Weah de briguer un second mandat.

Mais le fait qu'une femme qui a déjà été première dame de la République du Libéria avant d'être élue vice-présidente endure une telle humiliation pendant six longues années dans un silence total, est non seulement une déception sérieuse pour elle-même, mais aussi pour les femmes libériennes aspirant à des fonctions publiques.

Par ses révélations, Madame Taylor indique clairement qu'elle a été complètement mise à l'écart. Ce n'est donc pas étonnant que les appels à l'emploi au sein de la faction NPP soient restés sans réponse, car elle n'avait aucune influence sur le président Weah ou les principaux responsables pour faire valoir ses intérêts, et elle ne pouvait pas le dire publiquement.

"À un certain moment, j'ai été bloquée ; je ne faisais plus partie de l'équipe. En 2016-2017, j'ai fait partie de l'équipe ; nous nous sommes assis autour de la table pour discuter, et il (le président Weah) me demandait à la fin de chaque conversation de parler, 'Deputy SB, qu'en dis-tu,' et j'avais toujours la chance de dire ce que je pensais."

Mais elle a observé que tout cela a changé par la suite, et elle a été de plus en plus ostracisée au sein de la Coalition, regrettant "Ce manque de communication et de consultation a réellement atteint ma personne. Si je pouvais revenir en arrière, je dirais que c'était la partie la plus difficile pour moi. En tant que femme, vous savez, nous aimons parler. Et donc, j'ai toujours voulu avoir l'opportunité de parler de certaines des choses qui se passaient. Et j'ai toujours voulu dire que le président Weah et moi n'avions jamais eu d'échanges en face à face ; jamais."

Le fait de s'exprimer maintenant à la onzième heure est, comme on le dit souvent en parlant libérien, "de l'eau sous le pont" qui n'a pas une grande pertinence pour le moment. Tout ce qui lui reste maintenant, c'est de continuer sa vie après le 22 janvier.



# Français

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## Retraite ou stratégie politique ?

Le président Weah a affirmé n'avoir aucune intention de faire de la politique jusqu'à l'âge de 70 à 80 ans, souhaitant consacrer du temps à lui-même, à sa famille, à ses enfants et petits-enfants. Il a dit que les Libériens seront convaincus de sa décision, étant donné son âge actuel qui est de 57 ans et l'âge de la retraite fixé à 65 ans.

Weah a insisté sur le fait qu'on ne le traînera pas en politique jusqu'à ses 90 ans. Il a exprimé son engagement à penser à ses enfants et petits-enfants et à leur consacrer du temps. Il a affirmé que son rôle actuel consiste à promouvoir la paix et la prospérité pour le Libéria, et personne ne le forcera à prolonger sa carrière politique.

Le président sortant a expliqué que les "parents" qui étaient en politique lorsqu'il était jeune ont maintenant plus de 80 ans et poursuivent toujours leur engagement politique. Il a dit que quand il avait à peine un an, son oncle était déjà en politique. Et aujourd'hui, bien qu'il ne puisse plus marcher, il est toujours impliqué dans la politique.

Weah a dit qu'il n'est pas venu en politique pour s'accaparer du pouvoir, mais plutôt pour laisser une empreinte.

Sa révélation, selon lui, est une contribution significative, soulignant son engagement envers l'unité à travers la construction du parc PHP. Ce parc, destiné à promouvoir l'unité, la paix et la solidarité, établit des bases historiques pour la paix et la stabilité au Libéria.

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## Sollicitation intense

considère ce montant comme insuffisant.

Certains s'interrogent dans le comté sur la raison pour laquelle l'Unity Party n'a pas présenté de projections au gouvernement national, ce qui aurait pu les dispenser de la recherche de soutien financier pour l'investiture du président.

Le président élu Boakai a récemment promis 5 000 dollars à chaque district électoral (soit 73 districts) à travers le Libéria pour la célébration, car tous les

citoyens ne peuvent se rassembler à Monrovia pour cet événement historique.

Ancien vice-président du Libéria, l'ambassadeur Boakai est le vainqueur déclaré du second tour de l'élection présidentielle du 14 novembre 2023, remporté par l'actuel président George Manneh Weah.

M. Weah a depuis concédé et a nommé une équipe de transition qui travaille avec l'administration entrante pour une transmission en douceur du pouvoir.

## Côte d'Ivoire : une équipe de transition au sein du Parti démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire

Un mois après l'élection de Tidjane Thiam à la tête du Parti démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), cette formation de l'opposition se réorganise petit à petit. Une équipe de transition a été créée afin de conduire les affaires courantes du parti.

Première priorité : organiser les funérailles de l'ancien président Henri Konan Bédié, décédé le 1er août 2023. Aucune date n'a pour l'instant été officiellement retenue. Mais ces obsèques impliquent à la fois le parti, la famille et les autorités ivoiriennes.

Seconde priorité : restructurer le parti. Dans l'immédiat, une équipe de transition a été nommée. Elle est dirigée par le député-maire de la commune de Port-Bouët, Sylvestre Emmou, qui est

épaulé par cinq personnalités. Cette équipe est chargée de conduire les affaires courantes du parti. Le secrétariat exécutif, dirigé par Maurice Kakou Guikahué depuis 2013, est donc mis en veilleuse.

« Souffle nouveau »

« Tidjane Thiam veut apporter un souffle nouveau, affirme Soumaïla Bredoumy, le porte-parole du PDCI. Il est en train d'observer pour composer au mieux une nouvelle équipe », poursuit ce responsable.

Son élection semble créer un appel d'air. Ces dernières semaines, 4 114 nouvelles adhésions ont été enregistrées. Et 65% de ces militants ont moins de 60 ans. Le parti a prévu de lancer une caravane à l'intérieur du pays, après la CAN, pour toucher plus de monde.

## JFK souhaite que Boakai accorde une priorité au développement des professionnels de la santé



Le directeur général de l'hôpital commémoratif John F. Kennedy, le Dr Jerry Brown, a encouragé le président élu Joseph Nyumah Boakai à accorder une priorité dans le renforcement des compétences des professionnels de la santé à travers le pays.

S'exprimant lors d'une récente interview avec des journalistes, le Dr Brown a exhorté le futur gouvernement dirigé par l'Unity Party, sous la présidence du président élu Boakai, à porter une attention particulière au développement de la spécialisation dans le secteur de la santé.

Selon lui, le Libéria disposera d'un secteur de la santé robuste et amélioré si le nouveau gouvernement se concentre sur le développement des ressources humaines des professionnels de la santé à travers le pays. "Avec le nouveau gouvernement, l'une des choses que je dirai est de porter une attention particulière aux ressources humaines de la santé", a-t-il déclaré.

"Le développement de nos ressources humaines et de notre capacité en personnel avec des spécialités nous aidera à avoir un secteur de la santé dynamique et amélioré", a-t-il ajouté.

Il a exhorté le nouveau gouvernement à développer l'infrastructure et à introduire tout l'équipement sophistiqué nécessaire.

Brown a souligné que sans la capacité de ressources humaines appropriée, le pays n'a encore rien accompli.

Il a également commenté certaines améliorations au sein du JFK sous l'administration sortante du président George Manneh Weah.

Le Dr Brown a déclaré qu'il y a eu de nombreux développements significatifs dans le secteur de la santé sous la direction du président Weah au cours des six dernières années, qui ne peuvent passer inaperçus.

Selon lui, au cours des cinq dernières années, en particulier au JFK dont il est en charge, ils ont mis en place pour la première fois une unité de soins intensifs. "Avant notre prise de fonction, il n'y avait pas d'unités de soins intensifs au JFK. Aujourd'hui, nous pouvons nous vanter d'une unité de soins intensifs fonctionnelle qui a sauvé de nombreuses vies", a-t-il souligné.

"Beaucoup de Libériens sont en vie grâce à l'existence de cette unité de soins intensifs. Nous avons également introduit une unité de pathologie, une unité de traumatologie moderne, entre autres", a-t-il ajouté.

Selon lui, ils ont également fait venir plusieurs consultants étrangers pour prendre soin des Libériens dans différentes spécialités, ce qui empêche les Libériens de quitter le pays pour chercher des soins médicaux à l'étranger.

## Formation sur la collecte de données sur les droits de l'homme en Afrique de l'Ouest ouverte à Monrovia



21 défenseurs de base et activistes de première ligne en Afrique de l'Ouest se réunissent au Libéria cette semaine pour une formation de trois jours sur la collecte de données afin de documenter les attaques de représailles contre les défenseurs de la région.

La formation, qui débute le mercredi 17 janvier et se poursuit jusqu'au 19 janvier, est organisée par Green Advocates International et la Plateforme de gouvernance des droits des ressources naturelles de la Société civile de l'Union du fleuve Mano, un réseau de défenseurs de la terre et de l'environnement en Afrique de l'Ouest.

L'atelier vise à doter les collecteurs de données des seize pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest des connaissances, des compétences et des outils nécessaires pour surveiller, documenter et traiter de manière efficace le sous-signalement aigu des abus contre les défenseurs de première ligne dans les communautés autochtones.

Avec le soutien de la Coalition internationale pour la terre, du Centre des ressources sur les droits de l'homme des entreprises et de Global Witness, la formation renforcera la compréhension des collecteurs de données sur les protocoles des droits de l'homme, les méthodologies de surveillance et les techniques de documentation des violations, contribuant ainsi à la promotion et à la protection des défenseurs de la région.

Le Représentant pays du Haut-Commissariat des Nations unies aux droits de l'homme (HCDH), M. Christian Mukosa,

devrait s'adresser aux participants à l'ouverture de la formation le mercredi, à l'hôtel Corina sur le boulevard Tubman à partir de 9 heures.

Les organisations internationales de collecte de données n'ont pas pu couvrir pleinement l'Afrique dans son ensemble. En conséquence, les défenseurs sont victimes de violations/meurtres non documentés. En 2021, le réseau a lancé l'Annuaire des défenseurs de base en Afrique de l'Ouest pour répondre au sous-signalement aigu des attaques contre les défenseurs après une évaluation complète des bases.

Le rapport d'évaluation des bases a révélé un compte rendu accablant des conditions des défenseurs des droits de l'homme (HRD) dans la région, déclarant un sous-signalement aigu des attaques de représailles contre les défenseurs, principalement dans les communautés de première ligne luttant contre les crises foncières, environnementales et climatiques.

Un communiqué cite le coordinateur, Peter Quaqua, disant que les défenseurs ont souffert de décennies d'abus de la part de leurs propres gouvernements et des sociétés transnationales opérant dans la région, avec très peu ou pas d'attention portée à leur situation.

Il a remercié les organisations de soutien et a déclaré que le projet est une tentative de raconter l'histoire africaine et de relever le profil des défenseurs peu connus qui travaillent pour protéger la planète.

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Whapoe prevented at UP retreat

-As supporters accuse him of wanting their jobs

By Lincoln G. Peters

Vision for Liberia Transformation Party (VOLT) standard bearer Dr. Jeremiah Z. Whapoe was reportedly prevented from participating in the Unity Party retreat in Tubmanburg, Bomi County.

Dr. Whapoe was reportedly invited by President-elect Joseph Nyumah Boakai to participate in the UP retreat at his residence in Bomi County.

However, it is reported that the VOLT political leader was prevented by some party executives who claimed he had gone there to take their jobs.

The NewDawn Newspaper has been informed that UP Secretary General Amos Tweh, Madam MacDella Cooper, and other party executives were allegedly the

members of the UP concerning VOLT which seemed to have been very serious and it demanded an urgent response from the leadership of the Alliance.

This paper is not aware if those issues have not been cleared.

In a telephone interview with this paper on Wednesday, 17 January 2024, UP Secretary General Amos Tweh said at no point in time was Dr. Whapoe prevented from entering the retreat hall.

Mr. Tweh also denied referring to Dr. Whapoe as an individual who has come to take their jobs, stating that he was invited by the Standard Bearer to have a private conversation.

"That is not to my knowledge that Whapoe was thrown out of the retreat because he came to take our jobs. I saw Whapoe and I know he had a discussion with the



Dr. Jeremiah Z. Whapoe

key individuals who opposed Whapoe's participation during the retreat.

Madam Cooper heads the Movement for One Liberia (MOL) political party and is a staunch supporter of Amb. Boakai. She is also an executive of the combined opposition political parties known as the UP Alliance that backed UP's 2023 presidential bid.

Our investigative team understands that the majority of the UL Alliance executives allegedly demanded that Dr. Whapoe leave the hall because they didn't get the support they needed from him during the election.

Before Boakai picked his running mate, Whapoe was one of the opposition leaders close to the Unity Party leader. Whapoe contested in the 10 October 2023 presidential election, but he declared his support for Boakai on 12 November 2023 for the 14 November run-off.

Following Boakai's victory, the leadership of the Unity Party Alliance suspended the membership of Dr. Whapoe's VOLT party due to some issues the party had with the UP.

According to the UP Alliance, it had an encounter with some

standard bearer. He went to visit the President-elect and they had a fruitful conversation," said Mr. Tweh.

"The standard bearer is the one who invited people. Mr. Whapoe went there and had a great conversation with the standard bearer."

"I don't know which one you call thrown out. So, Maybe the standard bearer invited him for a private conversation. Others went there not for the retreat, but private conversation," he concluded.

Some two Fridays ago, Dr. Whapoe was invited by President-elect Boakai for the UP retreat in Tubmanburg, Bomi County.

During the early morning, everybody converged at the retreat but, Dr. Whapoe was informed by Amb. Boakai that he didn't need a pass because was invited.

Our investigation established that after having breakfast, Dr. Whapoe was prevented from entering the palava hut where the retreat was held.

At the breakfast table, he had a conversation with the President-elect, but later some unusual movements and derogatory statements allegedly came from some key individuals in the UP.

Woman cries foul in US\$1.7 Million property case

By Emmanuel wise Jipoh

The Supreme Court of Liberia has ruled in favor of Plaintiff Augustine B. Kormah, declaring him rightful owner of a property valued US\$1.7 million situated in Thinker's

bought the property from the same family as far back in 2006, and has legitimate deed to the three-acres of land. Mr. Kormah said he asked Madam Van Dorst to halt construction on the land, which led to litigation that has eventually given him

of the property when call for re-survey was not adhered to by the Supreme Court, which she said has deliberately ruled in favor of Mr. Augustine Kormah, putting him in possession of the three acres of Land that contain her daughter's over \$1.7 million building. She continued that in the objection, the LLA Chairperson Adams, raised concern how the plaintiff should be placed in possession of the property, when Mr. Kormah allegedly did not provide evidence or there was no record that he was specifically instructed by the Court to take hold of the property. Pastor Brown also noted that the LLA also objected to a survey conducted by Surveyor Samuel Darway, because Madam Van Dorst was not adequately notified to have been present through her technical representative in order to observe and ensure that the right thing was done. According to her, during the trial at the Civil Law Court, there was no investigative Survey conducted to establish whether or not, Madam Van Dorst's property was indeed the very same property that was described in the deed presented by Mr. Kormah in court. She added that the LLA communication was intended to ensure the needed things were done some of which include, correction on the deed of Mr. Kormah's to give a clear picture for the investigation, which was ignored by the Court that rendered judgment without the recommendations proffered by the Land Authority, and went ahead and turned the property over to Mr. Kormah.

justice. However, seeking redress and weeping on behalf of Madam Van Dorst, who she described as her daughter, Rev. Pastor Mamie Brown of the God's Favor Divine Ministries located in Du-Port Road Baptist football field, Paynesville, notes that there were errors in the adjudication by the Supreme Court. Pastor Brown explained to the New Dawn on Tuesday, 16th January 2024, in grieves that before the Civil Law Court's ruling, the Liberia Land Authority through its Chairperson Attorney K. Adams Manobah wrote a letter of objection to a survey conducted by Mr. Samuel Darway, on several counts, but they were denied. According to her, the LLA's letter of objection to the court indicated how could the Plaintiff be placed in possession



Pastor Mamie Brown

Village, Kende Town, along ELWA highway in Paynesville.

Verdict adjudicated by the Supreme Court emulating from the Civil Law Court at the Temple of Justice places Mr. Augustine D. Kormah, as legitimate owner of the property, rather than Miss Olivia Newton Van Dorst, a Liberian based in Belgium, who has claimed ownership of the property. According to Madam Olivia Newton Van Dorst, she acquired the land from the Kende Family for a sum of US\$5,100 in 2010, and after constructing a three-storey building worth over US\$1million on the property and was at the verge of completion when Mr. Augustine Kormah appeared to seek redress, claiming ownership. According to Plaintiff Kormah, he had

Fire destroys business in Ganta

By Thomas Domah, Nimba County

A fire outbreak in Ganta, Nimba County has left a business center destroyed with thousands of dollars' worth of goods. The fire incident, which cause has not been established, occurred early hours of Friday, January 12, 2024 at 7:20A.M.

However, residents of Ganta, including the proprietor of the business center blamed the cross-border electricity program being administered by Jungle Energy Power (JEP).

Since the Jungle Energy Power took over the electricity project in Nimba County in 2012 to present, more than 30 houses with valuable properties have reportedly been destroyed as a result of unstable power.

Fifteen of those more than

30 business houses gutted by fire transpired in Ganta only, while the rest occurred outside of Ganta, including Sanniquellie, Saclepea, among others.

Several victims of the JEP's cross-border electricity program expressed disappointment and frustrations in the company for what they term poor maintenance by the management and workers, who have failed to conduct public awareness on usage of electricity.

According to them, their homes and properties have been destroyed without any apology from the companS

peaking to reporters following the incident, the proprietress of the affected business, Princess Kakie, said they took nothing from the premises because their absence during the fire.

She narrated that they had left home when the incident occurred which might be as a result of electrical fault that she blamed on Jungle Energy Power. In early September, 2023, AJ Business Center suffered heavy flooding that destroyed most of its businesses while fire caused by electrical fault razed two stores to the ground.



A business center in flames

# I got nothing to regret UP smells the rat

By Emmanuel wise Jipoh

Outgoing Liberian Foreign Minister Dee Maxwell Kemayah says he has nothing to regret serving in the role over the past years as his government fades away.

The Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC)-led government which Kemayah serves as Foreign Minister is due to hand power over to the opposition Unity Party (UP)

and as a happy man knowing of what we have done at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the short time, a little over three years as Minister of Foreign Affairs," he said.

"I've got nothing to regret about exiting the stage, nothing absolutely," he noted.

Talking about some of the work done, he cited the complete renovation and refurbishing of the building and gave the credit to President Weah.

Minister Kemayah described the character of President Weah as true tenacity and courage as a man of humanity, who exemplifies his true leadership.

Speaking further at the dedicatory ceremony of the refurbished Foreign Ministry building, Minister Kemayah said reform was key to the uplifting of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Ministry served as the temporary seat of the Liberian Presidency for over 15 years from 2006-2020 while the Executive Mansion underwent renovation following a fire incident.

Kemayah described reform policies at the Ministry as unwavering.

Minister Kemayah spoke about the revised passport regulations, stating that it was done in line with best practices and in a standardized manner and form.

He hailed the Senior Management of Foreign Affairs for the dedicated service and for diligently executing its duties over the last three years.

Giving an overview of the Project, Deputy Foreign Minister for Administration Thelma E. Duncan Sawyer said the ceremony demonstrated a man of vision, referring to her boss Mr. Kemayah.

She said Kemayah has not only replicated but clearly executed the vision and blueprint of President Weah, who she said is an excellent leader.

Minister Sawyer said the dedication of the refurbished building was key in making the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as number one.

She expressed gratitude to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Morocco for generously funding the project.

He said President Weah has exemplified true humanity as a leader for his selflessness, and passion for nation-building.

"I'm not only pleased with the level of renovation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but I'm also delighted for the opportunity you have given me to serve my country and all of the work done at the Ministry," he continued.

"Mr. President for indeed you are a man of great wisdom, and being around you is like being in school and I am one of the students," said Kemayah.

He said he was opportune to have learned from President Weah's tutorship over the years.

By Lincoln G. Peters

It appears like folks at the incoming ruling Unity Party have smelled the rat of a backlash in their lawsuit filed against newly elected Speaker Fonati Koffa in which they had questioned his citizenship, thereby withdrawing the case in less than 48 hours after filing.

UP on Wednesday withdrew its case filed before the Civil Law Court seeking to question House Speaker Koffa's citizenship.

The opposition party, which is due to assume power on 22 January 2024, fled to the Civil Law Court after its candidate for the position of Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Richard Nagbe Koon failed to win the top legislative seat against Koffa.

UP filed a petition for declaration judgment against Cllr. Koffa at the Civil Law Court regarding his alleged dual citizenship.

In its notice of withdrawal at

The party cited several provisions to back its challenge of Koffa's citizenship, including the Aliens and Nationality Law Relating to Citizenship and Restoring the Citizenship Right.

UP had argued that Article 4 Section 1 of the Aliens and Nationality Law provides that a Liberian citizen who holds the citizenship of another country shall not be eligible for any elective public office while still a citizen of another country.

It added that should such a person desire to contest for public office, the person must renounce the citizenship of the other country at least one year before applying to the National Elections Commission (NEC) to contest for an elective public office.

It noted that such documentary evidence of such renunciation of citizenship of the other country shall be filed with a circuit court in Liberia and with the NEC at least one year before application to the NEC to contest for the elective public.



Minister Kemayah

this Monday, 22 January 2024 after a hard-fought election last year.

Mr. Kemayah said he is pleased to have served as Minister, arguing that he served diligently with pride and he is leaving as a happy man.

In his farewell speech, Minister Kemayah looked excited, saying he was short of words on how to describe his service in government.

He hailed outgoing President George Manneh Weah for allowing him to serve.

"I'm truly honored to serve, and with God above, I am leaving from here very happily



Rep. Koon

the Civil Law Court dated Wednesday, 17 January 2024, the opposition party informed the court of its decision to withdraw the case.

"Please take judicial notice and spread on the records of this court that petitioner in the above-entitled cause of action, has on this day and date withdrawn its petition for declaratory judgment with reservation," the judicial notice stated.

Earlier in its petition for declaratory judgment filed by its National Chairman Rev. J. Luther Tarpeh, National Secretary General Amos Tweh, and all other officials of the UP, the petitioner said Cllr. Koffa is a citizen of the United States of America.

The UP urged the court to nullify Koffa's election as Representative of Electoral District 2 of Grand Kru County.

The UP complained that Speaker Koffa is a citizen of the United States of America, and he holds a valid passport.

It argued that Speaker Koffa is not qualified to occupy an elected position under Liberian laws, referencing his alleged passport number as "489973788," said to be issued 13 February 2012.

The UP involved the NEC in the case, arguing that the electoral house or the first respondent in the case, in keeping with the Constitution of Liberia, conducted a presidential and legislative election as the result of which the Cllr. Koffa was duly elected and certified by the NEC.

Before the withdrawal of the UP's lawsuit, the assigned judge of the Civil Law court on Monday, 15 January 2024, had ordered the clerk Mr. Victor G. Gailor to issue a writ of summon for Koffa to appear and answer to the petition of declaratory judgment brought against him.

## UP clarifies fund-raising report

Starts from back page

inauguration prior to Mr. Boakai's return from the United States.

She insists that the President-elect halted the process and cancelled all other fund-raising activities for the inauguration in the county that were planned by them, not with the involvement of the UP's national leadership or Amb. Boakai himself.

She also clarifies that they reached the decision in a December 29, 2023 meeting after the first meeting held on December 11, 2023 at the time their terms of reference had not been established.

Ms. Cecelia K. Doe, Unity Party Margibi Chairperson,

narrates: "We were given a mandate in December before even the Christmas, and on the 11th, we had our first meeting to the city hall. The committee that was given us, the names that were given us to work with the superintendent, the city mayor, the collaborating parties, one representative from there. The seven-member committee met before even it increased to Dr. Freeman coming on board. So it was on that note that we went in our committee room, not knowing the President-elect was going to come out with a statement that he's going to fund the process."

She underscores that at their own level in the county, they only tried to find a way to raise

money for their own portion of the inauguration, not knowing that the President-elect and the national leadership of the party were going to make funding available for the process.

She adds that they are expected to receive money allotted by President-elect Boakai, today, January 18, 2024, for the inauguration but could not confirm a specific amount per district. A source from the UP in the county hints that they will make available US\$5,000, while another says US\$2,500 is being allotted per district.

President-elect Joseph Boakai and Vice President-elect, Jeremiah Kpan Koung are scheduled to be inaugurated on Monday, 22nd January 2024.

Editing by Jonathan Browne

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## UP clarifies fund-raising report

By Ramsey N. Singbeh, Jr.

The United Party chairperson in Margibi County clarifies here that decision by the UP inaugural committee to seek financial assistance for the inaugural program of President-elect, Joseph Boakai was made earlier before Ambassador Boakai halted the exercise.

Cecelia K. Doe, inaugural program chair Mrs. Harrisona Tomah Grigsby Grimes, Dr. Nancy T. Freeman, focal person; and Margibi Superintendent Jerry O. Varnie with the official stamp of the UP secretary general in the county, soliciting financial assistance from business houses and institutions for the

inauguration of Amb. Joseph Nyumah Boakai and Senator Jeremiah Kpang Koug, President and Vice President-elect on January 22, 2024, in the various political districts of Margibi County focus in Kakata. With the above, we are kindly asking your institution/business to kindly assist us financially to make this day a successful one in Margibi County."

But the UP county leadership says they did not receive a dime from any other person apart from the money allotted by the President-elect which is expected to be made available on January 18, 2024.

Madam Cecelia K. Doe says though the decision was reached, and letters were written, they did not take a cent from any one when Ambassador Boakai put a stop to the process.

According to Madam Doe, who spoke to our reporter via mobile phone on Wednesday, January 17, 2024, they (UP Officials in Margibi) made the decision to solicit funding for the



The NEW DAWN obtained copy of an official communication from the office of the secretary general of the UP in Margibi under the signatures of county chairperson

pending inaugural program. Extract of the communication reads: "Margibi County will be celebrating the

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