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CENTRAL BANK OF LIBERIA
MARKET BUYING AND SELLING RATES
LIBERIAN DOLLARS PER US DOLLAR

| DATE | BUYING | SELLING |
|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 2022 | L\$152.6701/US\$1.00 | L\$154.4496/US\$1.00 |

These are indicative rates based on results of daily surveys of foreign exchange market in Monrovia and selected cities of Liberia. These rates are collected from the Central bank, commercial banks, parallel market and the license forex bureaux. The rates are not set by the Central Bank of Liberia.
 Source: Research, Policy and Planning Department, CBL.

The New Dawn

French Version Inside

TRULY INDEPENDENT

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Even Ellen couldn't save Samukai

-Supreme Court nominee tells Senators

Former Pres. Sirleaf *Mr. Samukai*

Weah launches US\$100 Million program

- to bridge rural-urban gap



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Continental News

Cop 27: Uganda-Tanzania oil pipeline sparks climate row

Uganda and Tanzania are set to begin work on a massive crude oil pipeline a year after the International Energy Agency warned that the world risked not meeting its climate goals if new fossil fuel projects were not stopped. The two East African countries say their priority is economic development. Juma Hamisi,

enough to feed the village, along with a surplus to sell at local markets. But it too lies bare. "We used to be the source of cassava and lemons, now there's scarcity. We can't even harvest the coconuts you see over there because it's not our land any more," Mr Hamisi says. Several signs bearing the name Tanzania Petroleum Development Cooperation, a

western Uganda. Eighty percent of the 1,440km- (895 mile) pipeline, whose construction will begin in a few months, will be in Tanzania including a terminal-storage facility in Chongoleani. French energy giant Total Energies and Chinese energy firm CNOOC International also have a stake in the \$5bn (£4bn) venture.

Because of the waxy nature of Lake Albert's crude oil, it will be transported through a heated pipeline - the longest in the world. But only a third of the reserves of 6.5 billion barrels, first discovered in 2006, is deemed commercially viable.

Despite the projected economic benefits, the timing of the project has divided opinion in Uganda and beyond. In September, the European Union waded into the controversy surrounding the East African Crude Oil Pipeline (Eacop), and called for it to be halted, citing human rights abuses and concern for the environment and the climate.

The intervention was dismissed by the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments which see the pipeline as vital to turbo-charge their economies. "They are insufferable, so shallow, so egocentric, so wrong," Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni said of the EU lawmakers. BBC



not his real name, keeps his distance, careful not to trespass, as he points to mounds of rubble spread across an open field. They are signs that a thriving community once lived here in a mix of concrete and grass-thatched mud houses. At this time of year, the surrounding fertile land would normally be covered with a variety of sprouting crops -

state agency, now claim ownership of the area where villagers once lived, farmed and played. Some of the inhabitants of the Chongoleani peninsula, some 18km (11 miles) north of Tanzania's port city of Tanga, sold their land for compensation two years ago, after the government signed a deal to construct a pipeline to transport crude oil from the shores of Lake Albert in

Uganda Confirms Ebola in Kampala; Officials Urge Public Not to Hide Possible Cases

Ugandan health authorities have confirmed nine cases of the Ebola virus in the capital, Kampala. The Ministry of Health says it has increased vigilance and set up an isolation center as confirmed cases in the country jumped to 90, with 28 deaths. The Uganda Medical Association says health workers are facing challenges getting patients into isolation.

In a tweet Monday, Health Minister Jane Ruth Aceng confirmed that Kampala had recorded 14 positive Ebola cases in the last 48 hours. All have the Sudan strain. Ministry spokesperson Emmanuel Ainebyoona tells VOA the public needs to know that Ebola is now within close range, with contact numbers in Kampala now above 1,800. "There is Ebola in Kampala, without a doubt.

The beauty is that we have already an isolation facility at Mulago," said Ainebyoona. "We are setting up in the playing field at Mulago. We have an isolation facility in Entebbe. And most of the people testing are contacts who have been in our isolation and quarantine." In Aceng's

tweet, she asked Ugandans to report themselves if they or a person they know had contact with an Ebola patient. But health care workers around the country say they are facing obstacles.

Dr. Sam Oledo, president of the Uganda Medical



A medical officer from the Uganda Red Cross Society instructs people with suspected Ebola symptoms

Kenyan Police Oversight Authority Investigating Journalist's Death

Kenya's police oversight authority is investigating the shooting death of well-known Pakistani investigative journalist Arshad Sharif at a checkpoint on Oct. 23. Police say the shooting of the 50-year-old journalist was a case of mistaken identity. The officers said they mistook the

journalists. Pakistani Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif said he spoke to Kenyan President William Ruto about the journalist's death and requested that Kenyan authorities provide fairness and transparency in the investigation. Anne Makori, chairperson for Kenya's Independent Policing



Media representatives shout slogans during a protest in Karachi on Oct. 24, 2022

vehicle, driven by Sharif's brother, for one connected to a child kidnapping in Nairobi. When the car didn't stop at the checkpoint, they shot at the vehicle. The Kenya Union of Journalists spoke out against the killing of Sharif. Its secretary-general, Charles Eric Oduor, said that police "should not have killed the journalist. They should have found a way of arresting him in the event that they were following this car."

He added that the members of the union, "condemn that in the strongest terms possible. And we believe that once we get the facts, this police officer—in the next few days—should be arraigned in court and charged with murder." Sharif fled Pakistan in August due to death threats and a series of controversial sedition charges against him and several other

Oversight Authority, said her agency is looking into the incident and that "Our rapid response team has already been dispatched."

Oduor said that he has doubts about the circumstances in which Sharif was killed and said "we believe we will have a current investigation other than what the police are telling us."

In the week before Sharif was killed, Ruto disbanded a special police unit accused of abuse and the extrajudicial killings of civilians. Four officers in the unit were arrested and arraigned in court on Oct. 24 in connection with the disappearances of two Indian nationals and their Kenyan driver. However, a report released in 2020 by the IPOA said most cases involving police abuses and killings go without a successful conviction. VOA

Association, says the public's habit of seeking local remedies and treatment from herbalists remains a challenge and places health workers at risk.

"If you're a contact of someone who is under isolation, report yourself, other than you hiding and predisposing everyone," said Oledo. "But now, the community members are the ones to help us to report to authorities which herbalist, which African traditionalists is seeing patients."

The government is currently in the process of recruiting nearly 1,500 additional staff to combat the Ebola outbreak.

The Ebola Sudan strain currently has no proven effective vaccine. Uganda has received supplies of two trial vaccines—the Oxford vaccine from the United Kingdom and the Sabin vaccine from the United States.

But authorities are waiting for clearance from medical investigators before rolling them out to the public. VOA

EDITORIAL

LISGIS' credibility hangs in the balance

WHATEVER IS LEFT of the Liberia Institute for Statistics and Geo-Information (LISGIS) that is supposed to conduct the 2022 National Population and Housing Census in the country is nothing to write home about.

CORRUPTION, LACK OF transparency and accountability at every process along the way, including withdrawals of money from the census fund basket without proper explanations, recruitment and deployment of enumerators across the country leading to conducting the actual census has dragged LISGIS' image into the mud.

THE STATISTICS HOUSE or authorities there have compromised everything regarding this critical process to the extent that even faith in the conduct of the actual census, if there would be any, has eroded.

HAULING AND PULLING between key oversight actors at the 54th Liberian Legislature and LISGIS over planning and execution of the census process has laid bare the depth of lack of coordination in having the 2022 National Population and Housing Census conducted before elections next year.

EVEN EXPERT OPINIONS about LISGIS' works have not been so supportive or welcoming, principally because of the shallow manner in which the Institute has proceeded towards the conduct of census.

IT IS BECOMING increasingly clear that whatever will come from LISGIS as census results after November 22, 2022 would have been compromised because the start of the entire process has been nothing but messy.

AUDIT REPORT HAS indicted LISGIS for misappropriation of census money, which authorities of the Institute are yet to speak on publicly.

IT IS SO DISAPPOINTING and embarrassing that critical issue such as census, which partners and friendly governments are supporting, is being handled so poorly by this administration.

PRESIDENT GEORGE MANNEH Weah has refused to speak on circumstances impeding smooth conduct of the census, so is his Minister of Finance and Development Planning, Samuel Tweah, who chairs the Board of LISGIS.

THE WEAH ADMINISTRATION should be ashamed of itself that it cannot demonstrate competence and trust in the conduct of the 2022 National Population and Housing Census that these country and international partners need desperately to plan development programs.

COMMENTARY

By Jayati Ghosh

India's Self-Inflicted Economic Catastrophe

NEW DELHI - Nearly 80% of the estimated 70 million people around the world who fell into extreme poverty at the onset of COVID-19 in 2020 were from India, a recent World Bank report has revealed. But even this shocking figure could be an underestimate, as the lack of official data makes it difficult to assess the pandemic's human costs.

What accounts for this alarming rise in Indian poverty? COVID-19 was undoubtedly India's worst health calamity in at least a century. But the pandemic's economic and social consequences go beyond the direct effects on health and mortality. As I argue in my recent book, *The Making of a Catastrophe: The Disastrous Economic Fallout of the COVID-19 Pandemic in India*, very significant policy failures - owing to government action and inaction - were responsible for widespread and significant damage to Indian livelihoods and for the country's decline in terms of many basic indicators of economic well-being.

This judgment may seem excessively harsh. After all, India's government did not cause the pandemic, and many other countries experienced economic setbacks after they failed to control the virus. But the devastating impact of the pandemic on India has been compounded by economic policies that reflected the country's deeply-embedded inequalities.

To be sure, the pandemic did not create India's many economic vulnerabilities. But it did highlight India's many societal fissures and fault lines. And while the country already suffered from glaring inequalities of income, wealth, and opportunities long before COVID-19, the government's pandemic response has taken them to unimaginable extremes.

Even as Indian workers faced poverty, hunger, and ever-greater material insecurity due to the pandemic, money and resources continued to flow from the poor and the middle class to the country's largest corporations and wealthiest individuals. The intersecting inequalities of caste, gender, religion, and migration status have become increasingly marked and oppressive. The result has been a major setback to social and economic progress.

The grim state of affairs reflects the priorities of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) response. At the beginning of the pandemic, the central government imposed a prolonged nationwide lockdown with little notice. It then adopted containment strategies that were clearly unsuited to the Indian context, with immediately devastating effects on employment and livelihoods.

Instead of using the breathing space provided by the lockdown to bolster local health systems, the central government left state authorities to manage as best they could with minimal and inadequate

resources. And when the resulting economic disaster threatened to spiral out of control, the government eased restrictions to "unlock" the economy even as the number of cases mounted, thereby putting more people at risk.

But at the heart of India's self-inflicted economic catastrophe is the government's decision to provide very little compensation or social protection, even as COVID-19 lockdowns deprived hundreds of millions of their livelihoods for several months. At a time when governments worldwide were significantly increasing public spending to fight the pandemic and mitigate its economic impact, the Indian government preferred to control expenditures (after adjusting for inflation) as its revenues declined.

But in a country where median wages are too low to provide more than the most basic subsistence, losing even a week's income could lead millions to the brink of starvation. Given that more than 90% of all workers in India are informal - without any legal or social protection - and that around half of those are self-employed, the effect was immediate and devastating.

The government's decision not to increase spending aggravated the shock of the lockdown, generating a humanitarian crisis that disproportionately affected women and marginalized groups, including millions of migrant workers who were forced to return home under harrowing conditions.

But the effects of the official response to the pandemic are only one side of the story. COVID-19 safety measures have been a natural fit for the country's still-pervasive caste system, which has long relied on forms of social distancing to enforce the socioeconomic order and protect those at the top. It also further entrenched India's persistent patriarchy.

Instead of taking appropriate countermeasures, like providing greater support to the population, the BJP used the pandemic to consolidate its power and suppress dissent. This, in turn, limited the central government's ability to generate the widespread social consensus and public trust needed to contain the virus.

None of this was inevitable. Even within India's deep-seated social and political constraints, there is scope for a different economic strategy that would enable a just, sustainable, and more equitable recovery. To ensure that most Indians, not just the stock market or large companies, benefit from growth, India's voters must reject the BJP's policies, which threaten to impoverish them further.

Jayati Ghosh, Professor of Economics at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, is a member of the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Advisory Board on Effective Multilateralism.

O-PED

By Mariana Mazzucato

New Missions for Latin America

SANTIAGO - The war in Ukraine and the global cost-of-living crisis are hitting Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) hard. Growth in the region, which rebounded impressively from COVID-19 to reach an average rate of 6.8% in 2021, will fall to just 1.8% this year, with crippling effects on the most vulnerable people. Compared to 2021, Latin America's poverty rate will increase by 0.9 percentage points to 33%, and extreme poverty will rise by 0.7 percentage points to 14.5% in 2022.

Still, many countries have an opportunity to redefine their economic policies. And while no two countries in the region are alike, they do face a common set of structural challenges, including dependence on natural resources, low productivity, weak public-sector capacity, and narrow fiscal space.

Tackling these structural challenges will require progressive governance and a focus on clear economic objectives like creating jobs, boosting productivity, reducing poverty, closing the digital divide, and accelerating the clean-energy transition. To sustain this agenda, governments will need a new narrative that puts innovation-led growth front and center. This is not to suggest that LAC countries need disruptive innovation for its own sake (as one finds in Silicon Valley). But they do need purposeful innovation to solve concrete, longstanding problems like the growing digital divide and rising greenhouse-gas emissions.

Thus, in a new report for the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) - Transformational Change in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Mission-Oriented Approach - I aim to offer a workable plan for wealth creation across the region. Rather than outlining a definitive pathway for all governments to follow, the report provides a new vocabulary and framework for policymakers, and identifies the kinds of policies, tools, and institutions that are needed to power innovation-led growth.

To achieve an inclusive, sustainable economy of shared prosperity, I propose that LAC governments adopt mission-oriented industrial strategies. This approach would place less emphasis on tried-and-tested policies - like those designed to strengthen import substitution or achieve price competitiveness - and more emphasis on rethinking the role of the state.

The state should be seen not as a barrier to growth, but as a capable and confident market shaper that is uniquely positioned to bring ambition and boldness to bear on a country's biggest challenges. But for the state to succeed in this role, governments must set clear objectives and demonstrate a willingness to use all the instruments at their disposal, from procurement to loans. That is the only effective way to catalyze bottom-up experimentation across multiple sectors of the economy.

Governments can start with the Sustainable Development Goals, and then devise missions to drive a collective, cross-sectoral mobilization in pursuit of each. As the report makes clear, this will require a clear strategy to strengthen the public sector's dynamic capabilities, by leveraging new outcomes-oriented tools and policies, and by building new mission-oriented institutions.

A mission-oriented approach requires recognition of the time that major, far-reaching transitions - for example, from a fossil economy to a sustainable one - can take. The valuable accumulated skills and capabilities in oil and gas can be reoriented so that subsidies for those sectors can be repurposed for a green directional shift.

The report examines eight cases from different LAC countries where mission-oriented policies and institutions could satisfy the appetite for change. Consider the problem of natural-resource dependence, exemplified by the "Lithium Triangle." Wedged between Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile, this region, along with Peru, holds around two-thirds of the world's lithium reserves. But while lithium is crucial for driving both digitalization and the global energy transition, Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina have struggled to get governance of the region's development right, because they have allowed resource extraction to fuel directionless growth.

By positioning a natural resource like lithium at the center of a specific mission - to decarbonize the economy, for example - policymakers can reshape the incentive system. Instead of encouraging mindless exploitation of natural resources, they can ensure that rents are reinvested in more innovative and rewarding activities. Through this kind of strategic, cross-sectoral approach, Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile can transform their resource curse into an opportunity for rapid social and environmental progress.

Likewise, Caribbean countries have an opportunity to green the tourism sector across the entire supply chain, from transportation to construction. By adopting ocean and seabed preservation as an ambitious policy mission, governments can foster innovation and investment in multiple sectors, following the example set by Barbados under its inspirational prime minister, Mia Mottley.

Ultimately, the LAC report is about forging a new social contract between the state, business, organized labor, and ordinary citizens. A bolder and more capable state can be a better partner for business, paving the way for new public-private partnerships that will maximize public benefits rather than just private profits. A crucial element of the mission-oriented approach is to hold the newly empowered state accountable through increased citizen participation.

Strategic clarity is needed now more than ever to face both the immediate cost-of-living crisis and the region's longer-term structural challenges. Fortunately, there is a growing sense of urgency and purpose within progressive LAC governments. With a mission-oriented approach, they can start to redirect growth toward a more inclusive and sustainable future. I hope the report helps show the way.

Mariana Mazzucato, Founding Director of the UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose, is Chair of the World Health Organization's Council on the Economics of Health for All.

OPINION

By Christopher Pissarides,
Fadi Farra, Amira Bensebaa

Leveraging Data for the Public Good

LONDON - The digital age has taught businesses to see people as individuals rather than just as members of certain demographic cohorts. On social media, we receive personalized ads based on our responses to previous ads, our current location, and our shopping habits. Our massive digital footprint enables companies to know precisely how effective their advertising campaigns are at the individual level and to derive immense value from this knowledge.

Alas, it seems that this technological wave has yet to reach policymakers. Despite the advantages of big data, governments still tend to use a one-size-fits-all approach when planning investments or designing policies. To help improve public services through better use of data, we have developed a new framework we call Quantum Governance.

Every successful business is built on three foundations: a shared goal, which serves as its *raison d'être*; the tools and methods to achieve it; and consumers, who are motivated by their own interests, ambitions, and beliefs.

While it has become a staple of public debate that governments should operate like businesses, that is impossible, because these two types of social organization were created for different purposes. What they do have in common, however, is the human factor. And that should be the focus of public-private partnerships in the digital age.

To perform well, both governments and businesses need to measure, assess, and understand information about people. While preventing abuse requires sound data governance, the status quo offers little hope: large and powerful corporations hoard valuable datasets, lose public trust, and lobby legislators to avoid oversight, while governments resort to top-down regulations that alienate voters. Moreover, because large companies have far greater resources to spend on compliance and lawyers than their smaller rivals do, these regulations often benefit the very businesses they were meant to constrain.

Yet data are simply too important to be entrusted to either governments or large corporations that treat them as their private property. Instead, governments should collaborate with companies on joint-governance frameworks that recognize both the opportunities and the risks of big data.

Businesses - which are best positioned to understand big data's true value - must move beyond short-sighted efforts to prevent regulation. Instead, they need to initiate a dialogue with policymakers on how to design viable solutions that can leverage the currency of our era to benefit the public good. Doing so would help them regain public trust.

Governments, for their part, must avoid top-down regulatory strategies. To win the support they need from businesses, they need to create incentives for data sharing and privacy protection and help develop new analytical tools through advanced modeling.

Governments should also rethink and renew deeply-rooted frameworks inherited from the industrial era, such as those for taxation and social welfare.

In the digital age, governments should recognize the centrality of data to policymaking and develop tools to reward businesses that contribute to the public good by sharing it. True, governments require taxes to raise revenues, but they must recognize that a better understanding of individuals enables more efficient policies. By recognizing companies' ability to save public money and create social value, governments could encourage companies to share data as a matter of social responsibility.

But collaboration is just as critical as data sharing. Neither governments nor businesses properly account for the human factor in their decision-making processes. Adapting to the age of big data would mean shifting away from outdated metrics like GDP toward metrics that focus on people.

To this end, our Quantum Governance approach introduces an accounting framework we call the Balance of Public Policy, which treats the intangible and tangible aspects of policymaking as equal. When designing policies, policymakers often grapple with intangibles such as individual policy adoption, public legitimacy, popular narratives, and community beliefs. Similarly, the accounting standards that businesses use provide little guidance on how to value certain assets - for example, they often consider workers a disposable cost. But workers' talents are a major factor in any company's success or failure. Accounting frameworks should be revised to quantify and record such assets in business performance statements.

While it is widely acknowledged that intangible assets drive our economies and societies, we still lack adequate tools to measure and value them. Governments and businesses must work together to revise the prevailing metrics by which we value such assets. Both would benefit from developing the tools needed to better leverage big data, and doing so would serve the public good.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE

Liberia: The Nation is Hungry and Undernourished!

By Ambulah Mamey

Save for Nigeriens, who are land-locked in Niger and bordered by mostly troubled neighbors, Liberians in Liberia are the hungriest people in West Africa. Globally, Liberians in Liberia are only less hungry than those in land-locked Madagascar and six other countries including Yemen, Chad, DRC, and Haiti that are engulfed by war or other forms of prolonged crises. No less than a hundred thousand Liberians- who were not undernourished when Weah promised to prioritize agriculture and address Liberia's hunger and nutrition problems- are now undernourished.

Today, Liberians in the Country's capital struggle in long queues to find rice- their staple food- and if they find a bag, it is either unaffordable, substandard or both. The struggle for rice is more intense in the rural parts of the country. Substandard rice and other food imported to Liberia and consumed by Liberians contribute to a rise in food-related non-communicable diseases among Liberians, including diabetes and obesity. No fewer than 16.5% of adult Liberian are obese with a "pop belly!"

The Agri-food system and those that manage it have not been able to address the food and nutrition crisis in the country. For example, what should be the market for fertilizer, quality seeds, and other inputs needed to boost the productivity of farms is almost nonfunctional,

Weah's Tolerance for Incompetence:

"Every country that has succeeded in boosting agricultural productivity did so by improving agriculture research and extension. In these countries, agronomists, soil scientists, etc. - led by experienced and competent individuals- designed and took innovation to farmers that boosted yield through farmer-centered research and extension programs. In Liberia, the Minister for Agriculture Research and Extension is an undergraduate student"

leading the World Bank to categorize Liberia as the worst place in the world to operate a farm business. The last time I checked, only 4% of farmers could access and use certified seeds for rice and other major crops. Consequently, when rice farmers in Liberia plant rice on the same size of land as farmers in Cote d'Ivoire, Liberian farmers harvest 50.2% less of what farmers in Cote d'Ivoire get; 13.1% less than farmers in Guinea, 20.2% less than farmers in Sierra Leone and 45.8% less than farmers in Ghana. See FAOSTAT.

The massive failure in the sector is because of strayed interventions! There is more emphasis on large

plantations that grow cash crops and less attention on smallholder farmers that grow food crops. President Weah's tolerance for incompetence and strong political will to not fight corruption in the agriculture sector are two other significant factors. His Minister of Ag enjoys his confidence even after being indicted by Liberia's Anti-graft institution for multiple acts of corruption, including awarding a contract to a company managed by her son and for which she is a beneficial owner.

Every country that has succeeded in boosting agricultural productivity did so by improving agriculture research and extension. Agronomists, soil scientists, plant breeders, animal breeders, veterinarians, etc. in these countries- led by experienced and competent individuals- designed and took innovation to farmers through farmers-centered research and extension programs that boosted the productivity of farms.

In Liberia, the Minister for Agriculture Research and Extension is an

undergraduate student. Being a Weah fanatic is the only qualification he needs to keep a job that has such a huge bearing on addressing Liberia's food and nutrition challenges.

On a biannual basis, the African Union (Au) tracks the progress of its members toward agriculture transformation. Weah's strong political will in support of corruption and incompetence in Liberia's agriculture sector has, since 2017, kept Liberia consistently ranked "Not on Track" to transforming its agriculture sector.

In the AU latest scorecard or report, Liberia failed 21 of the AU's 24 progress indicators.

Liberia scored 0 out of 5 points for capacity to engage in evidence-based agricultural intervention; 2.4 out of 7.92 points for farmers' access to fertilizers, seeds, and other inputs, 0.9 out of 10 points for farmers' access to finance, and 0.39 out of 6 points for resilience to climate-related risks. Even with a woman Minister of Agriculture and a President that adorns himself "Feminist In-Chief", Liberia scored 0 Out of 5 for women's participation in agribusiness.

Liberia will experience socioeconomic development and prosperity only after the country improves the productivity of its farmers (especially smallholders), jacks up growth in its agriculture sector, and use that growth as the foundation for country-wide economic growth and development. No country in the world (if any Korea and Taiwan) has led a successful poverty reduction and economic transformation outside of firstly improving the productivity of its farmers, increasing their income, and transforming its agriculture sector.

With 12 months to Liberia's general and presidential elections and considering Weah's 5yrs performance record in the agriculture sector, he lacks everything, besides life, that Liberians urgently need for the herculean task of developing and transforming their country through agriculture.

Considering all that we know, it is safe to conclude that Weah did not only fail to deliver what he promised for agricultural transformation but, in many respects, reversed some of the gains he inherited. Liberians should therefore reject Weah at the polls in 2023, not only as a punishment for prioritizing the accumulation of personal wealth over fulfilling his promises but to send a strong message to incoming leaders that Liberians are not fools!

Poor Quality Seeds Equals Low production:

"When farmers in Liberia plant rice on the same size of farmland as farmers in Cote d'Ivoire, Liberian farmers harvest 50.2% less than farmers in Cote d'Ivoire; 13.1% less than farmers in Guinea, 20.2% less than farmers in Sierra Leone; and 45.8% less than farmers in Ghana."

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

UNFPA differs with ex-staff Ibrahim M. Sesay

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) distances itself from opinions expressed in series of audio releases in the media here, attributed to one of its former staff, Mr. Ibrahim M. Sesay.

According to UNFPA, Mr. Sesay's tenure as Chief Technical Adviser for the National Population and Housing Census with UNFPA ended on 26 August 2022, but notes that prior to becoming Chief Technical Adviser for

signed by Resident Representative Ms. Bidisha Pillai, the UN Agency says while it has not verified that the voice in the audio circulating in the local media is that of the former Chief Technical Adviser for the Census, it believes the release of such allegations at a time when frantic efforts by many collaborating partners are being made to ensure successful count of the population of Liberia, is counterproductive.

"Population and housing

be conducted at least once every ten years, adding "It generates a wealth of data, including numbers of people, their spatial distribution, age, and sex structure, as well as their living conditions and other vital socioeconomic characteristics."

The UNFPA Resident Representative continues that these data are critical for good governance, policy formulation, development planning, crisis prevention, mitigation and response, social welfare programmes, and business market analyses, among others.

UNFPA says it provides technical and financial support to ensure that censuses are of high quality, uphold international principles and standards, and produce widely disseminated and utilized data for development.

According to Ms. Pillai, since the signing of the National Population and Housing Census Project Document for Liberia on 08 October 2019, UNFPA has been working closely with the Government of Liberia through the Liberia Institute of Statistics and GeoInformation Services (LISGIS) to ensure that the census is implemented meeting international standards and practices; especially the use of technology to improve data quality, timeliness, and accessibility.

She thanks partners, including the Government of Liberia, the Embassy of Sweden, the Embassy of Ireland, the World Bank, the United States Government through USAID, and sister UN entities for the support and partnership to ensure successful conduct of a credible National Population and Housing Census here. *Editing by Jonathan Browne*

census is among the most complex and massive peacetime exercises a nation can undertake. It requires careful planning, resourcing, and implementation - from mapping an entire country, mobilizing and training large numbers of enumerators, and conducting major public awareness campaigns to canvassing all households, carefully monitoring census activities, and analyzing, disseminating, and using the resulting data", Ms Pillai explains.

She underscores that a census involves the complete enumeration of the population in a country, territory, or area and should



Representative Ms. Bidisha Pillai

the Census in August 2021, Mr. Sesay served as Technical Data Specialist for Reproductive Health Commodity Security as well as Census Operations Manager during the 2008 National Population and Housing Census in Liberia.

Mr. Sesay has appeared in audio recordings broadcast by various media outlets in the country, including Spoon Talk, a live online broadcast, in which he is heard criticizing and accusing authorities of the Liberia Institute for Statistics and Geo-Information Services (LISGIS) of corruption and incompetence.

However, in a statement

Sen. Kaipay seeks accountability for US\$11m rice subsidy - as Senate invites Commerce & Finance Ministers

By Ethel A Tweh

Grand Bassa County Senator Jonathan Kaipay has urged the Ministers of Commerce and Industry, Finance and Development Planning to provide clarity on Eleven Million United States Dollars allocated in the 2022 National Budget as subsidy for

Senator Kaipay says it is unbelievable for Liberia to face rice shortage when the Legislature took a giant step in provide subsidy

for the commodity in the tone of US\$11Million.

In a communication to

both ministries to speak on the matter. He notes that a reflection of the country's political history



FLY elects first female president

Ms. Banica Stephanie Elliot

BUCHANAN, Grand Bassa County - Liberia's largest youth grouping, the Federation of Liberian Youth (FLY) has elected its first female president, Ms. Banica Stephanie Elliot in its 48 years of existence.

Ms. Elliot was elected in a landslide victory at FLY's 7th general assembly convened in Buchanan, Grand Bassa County was held under the theme 'Enforcing the Youth Agenda

America - National Democratic Institute (NDI), among others.

Ms. Elliot raised to prominence on the specific leadership goals that "Aims to rebrand the Federation as an accountable institution and leverage on potential resources and partnership that promotes the space for active youth engagements, welfare, programs and policy development and stands as A Voice for All despite affiliation and associations."



continuing the Journey in Unity' with over 300 Youth delegates from different youth institutions from across the 15 counties of Liberia.

Ms. Elliot contested against the former president of the University of Liberia Student Union (ULSU), Flomo Mau Maiwo and won with a vote margin of 214 to 16.

Prior to her election, she initially served FLY as its 2nd Vice President. She is a graduate of the University of Liberia and the Bluecrest University College Liberia, bagging a Bachelor of Science degree in both Economics and Information Technology with distinction (CUM LAUDE).

She is a Fellow of the Young Political Leadership School of Africa and has indulged her career with acclaims of professional certificates in organizational development, program planning, advocacy, diplomacy, among others. Internationally, she is associated with the Folke Bernadotte Academy (Sweden); Diplomacy at the International Diplomacy Conference (Ghana); UN Climate Change COP 26, Glasgow, United Kingdom; Fellow, Getting Ready to Lead (United States of

During the campaign, she decried the lack of innovation of the institution to cater to youth issues; the absence of traditional programs that address youth issues, inactivity of youth structures across the counties, youth policy issues; the absence of branding or institutional image; the lack of staff capacity development and low budgetary support among other.

She vowed to address these challenges and prioritize youth empowerment and employability, youth program and innovations, advocacy and youth policy enhancement, accountability and rebranding, gender and social inclusion and partnership, cohesion, and capacity building.

She pledged that her leadership would fight to close the gap, fast-track youth access to opportunities, enhance hard skills and personal realization by way of establishing a vibrant platform.

In addition, she said her administration will establish a 'National Startup Fund competition for young people wishing to launch their own ventures; National Youth Agriculture Farms' in two

▶ CONT'D ON PAGE 7

provides an instructive lesson as to the impact the unavailability or shortage of rice has on the peace and stability of the State. Senator Kaipay maintains that there should not have been any strangulation of the population, considering the fact that the budget is in its full implementation stage, and there has been no representation from

the Executive Branch regarding impediments to its implementation.

Meanwhile, the Plenary of the Senate has invited heads of both ministries to appear before its Committee of Whole tomorrow, Tuesday, October 25, at 12:00 noon to give clarity on the usage of the US\$11Million subsidy for rice.

Editing by Jonathan Browne

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

MORE HEADLINE NEWS

IAA announces robust reform process

By Bridgett Milton
 As the Liberian government prepares for the next fiscal year, the Internal Audit Agency (IAA) says it is leaving no stone unturned thus, announcing two weeks' review of all existing policies.

Speaking to this paper Friday at the IAA Head Office in Congo Town, Communication Director

Adolphus Kawah said, the IAA has embarked upon a robust reform process to enhance services to the public.

He said the reform is aligned with a five-year strategic plan aimed at improving internal controls

across government, enhance human resource capacity, increase efficiency and effectiveness of internal audit functions, and enhance stakeholders and public confidence.

He said to achieve this, the IAA is beginning a two-week in-house technical working session to review all existing policies and develop new ones that are relevant to its processes and align them with the five-year strategic plan for subsequent validation.

Kawah added that the technical working session will also extensively review the entity's strategic plan and determine how realistic are the milestones that will drive

the achievement of strategic goals in the short, medium and long terms. "Though the plan is for five years, but the IAA is determined to begin achieving some of the major goals in the ensuing fiscal years, including; transitioning from manual to automation of audit processes to ensure real time reporting, efficiency and quality of service delivery, manual auditing is time consuming and highly prone to errors, and enhancement and capacity building of staff by supporting them to acquire professional certifications, such as CIA, CPA, ACCA, CA, CFE, etc", Kawah noted.

According to him, the reform should not come across as censoring the works of predecessors; instead, it is building upon what was passed over from previous management to develop new strategies and ideas that conform with present realities.

He added that the reform presents an opportunity to assess institutional weaknesses and identify opportunities for improvement in the services they provide at various ministries, agencies, and commissions of the government. **Editing by Jonathan Browne**



Adolphus Kawah said, the IAA has embarked upon a robust reform process to enhance services to the public. He said the reform is aligned with a five-year strategic plan aimed at improving internal controls

with the five-year strategic plan for subsequent validation. Kawah added that the technical working session will also extensively review the entity's strategic plan and determine how realistic are the milestones that will drive

WEDOL to launch "She Builds Peace" campaign

By Ramsey N. Singbeh, in Margibi

Women Education and Development Organization of Liberia (WEDOL) in collaboration with International Civil Society Network (ICAN) is to launch "She Builds Peace" campaign in Gbarnga, Bong County this Friday, October 28.

"She Builds Peace" is a global campaign to help women peace builders to ascend to public life by ensuring their safety, fulfilling obligations to make peace and security inclusive, and resourcing critical works they do to build a future in which all flourish.

With support of ICAN and partner WEDOL, this campaign has been launched in more than 80 countries globally.

It was officially launched in Liberia in December 2021 in Kakata, Margibi County with people from diverse backgrounds in attendance.

WEDOL is a women-led

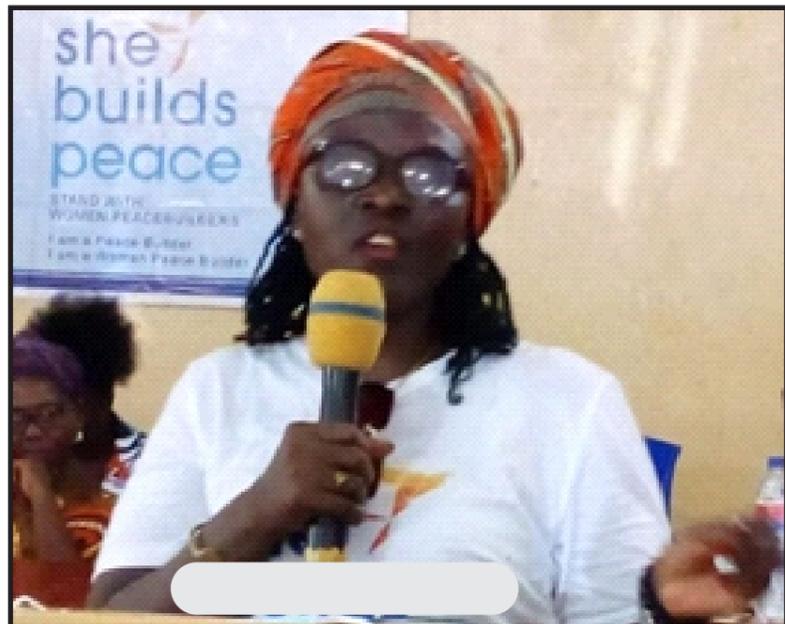
non-government organization registered in Liberia since October 2012, with a mission to empowering disadvantaged and underprivileged young women and girls.

The pending launch is expected to be held at the Gbarnga Administrative Building and graced by local officials, including Bong County Superintendent Esther Walker, Assistant

Gender Coordinator, Klubo Flomo; Police Inspector Fasu Sheriff, and Gbarnga City Mayor Lucia F. Herbert, among others, Executive Director Roseline Cassell says.

Also expected to be in attendance are women and youth groups, students, marketers, Muslim, and Christian communities.

WEDOL is based in Weala, Jacksonville community, Margibi.



Cummings raps on CPP's

Starts from back page

earn their livelihood and access public facilities without discrimination.

Responding to concerns about over population of Monrovia, Cummings said decongestion of Monrovia will require creating jobs and opportunities throughout the 15 counties for every Liberian, and decentralization of government services.

He pledged a CPP Government commitment to ensuring good roads (construction and connectivity), reliable water and electricity supply, and network connectivity needed to facilitate increased productivity, trade and commerce.

He said agriculture would be given special preference, by ensuring farmers are empowered, have access to

credit that will enable them buy seeds, fertiliser, form cooperatives, pool their resources to acquire equipment needed for large scale or mechanized farming.

Cummings assured farmers of improved farm to market roads and creation of markets for them to sell their products.

Cummings said Liberia, with a small population of an estimated five million, needs all its citizens to unite and work together, guided and protected by the laws. He said a CPP Government will have absolutely no intention to witch hunt any citizens due to tribal, religious, or political affiliations, but rather every Liberian will be subjected to the law and that any violations will be punishable, without discrimination.

Starts from page 6

FLY elects first female

counties, the formulation of the FLY Annual Youth Development and Icon Awards that evaluate and recognizes youth efforts and the implementation of the National Youth Policy Dialogue amongst others.

Other elected include Mr. Jeremiah Wilson, Vice President for National Affairs, Abdullah O. Bility, Vice President for International Affairs, Emmanuel Varney Tamba, Coordinator, Region One; Benetta Kollie, Coordinator, Region Two, and Maxlord Hinson, Coordinator, Region Three and Ernest Duku Jallah, Secretary General (Head of Secretariat), among others.

The Federation of Liberian Youth is an umbrella organization of Youth and students in Liberia. It is clothed with the responsibility of coordinating and organizing the activities of

the youthful population of Liberia. Since its enactment into law by an Act of the National Legislation in January 1974, FLY has been a broad based democratic pluralistic, non-governmental and non-partisan Youth organization that advocates for and enhance the development of Liberian Youths.

Meanwhile, the election of the Ms. Elliot and her team brings to an end to leadership crisis that has engulfed FLY following the suspension of its President Amos William for "deliberately pursuing actions which contravene the constitution of the group."

Former FLY's president Augustine S.M. Tamba was installed as interim president and led the organization for five months.

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Français

Éditorial

Pour avoir battu à mort son mari, elle est officiellement inculpée d'homicide involontaire

Une femme de 35 ans a été inculpée d'homicide involontaire par la police nationale du Libéria pour avoir battu à mort son mari de 43 ans lors d'une bagarre à Pleebo, district électoral n° 2, dans le comté du Maryland, au sud-est du Libéria. La suspecte Josephine Diabeh a été inculpée le vendredi 21 octobre 2022 aux termes d'une enquête du

sur la mort horrible de M. Williams. Le regretté Nathaniel Zambia Williams était agent de sécurité d'Orange Tower à Pleebo, dans le comté du Maryland. Des sources communautaires affirment que Mme Diabeh est la principale suspecte dans la mort de son mari. Elle était détenue au dépôt de police de Pleebo. Elle faisait face à un interrogatoire. L'équipe d'enquête criminelle de la police

beaucoup. J'étais venu du comté de River Gee Gbepo Karweaken jeudi dernier. Et je suis arrivé à la maison dans l'après-midi et on m'a donné du kola. Mais après la cérémonie du kola, parce qu'on ne donne de kola aux gens le soir, nous avons ri, mais plus tard, la confusion a éclaté entre notre frère et sa femme ce même jour. Mon frère a accusé sa femme d'avoir des relations



Département des services criminels de la police nationale du Libéria à Pleebo. Elle est actuellement jugée par le tribunal d'instance de Pleebo conformément à l'article 14.2 de la loi pénale du Libéria. La suspecte avait été arrêtée et incarcérée le lundi 18 octobre 2022 dans le cadre d'une enquête préliminaire

dirigée par M. Jimmy Kardor à Pleebo, district électoral n° 2, refuse de fournir des détails. Un proche parent de M. Williams a révélé que Mme Diabeh et son frère cadet se sont battus. Il a été hospitalisé avant de mourir le 18 octobre. Selon certains proches, la veuve avait l'habitude de battre son mari, leur frère. Un parent a raconté : « Merci

extraconjugales avec quelqu'un de la communauté. J'ai alors dit à feu Williams que je ne suis pas venu leur rendre visite pour cela. Je lui ai demandé de faire preuve de patience et d'oublier tout malentendu. Mais mon jeune frère a dit qu'il n'écouterait même pas Jésus-Christ du ciel

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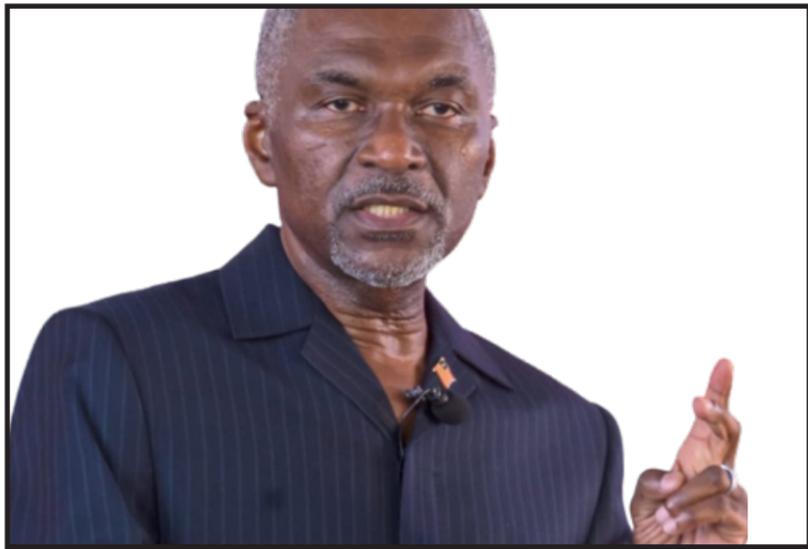
Cummings prononcera un discours à la Conférence Columbia-Africa

Le leader politique de la Collaboration des partis Politiques (CPP) devrait prendre la parole à la 19e Conférence annuelle de Columbia Africa qui doit débiter le 28 octobre. La conférence se déroulera du 28 au 29 octobre et aura pour thème : "Profiter du moment". Il sera question de discuter de la manière dont les Africains pourront saisir et utiliser ce moment au profit du continent. M. Alexander Cummings a été sélectionné parmi plusieurs cadres et dirigeants africains. Il est le fondateur et président de Cummings Investments Holdings, Ltd. Cummings est homme d'affaires. Il est très connu. Il est également fondateur et président de la Fondation Cummings Africa. M. Cummings parlera du

rôle du patrimoine et de la culture dans le progrès et le développement socioéconomiques. Ce thème est au centre de la plateforme de M. Cummings, qui est "Engaging Hearts and Minds" des Libériens. Le porte-drapeau de la CPP

estime que l'on sera en mesure de parler aux Libériens et de changer leur mentalité pour construire le Libéria que nous voulons et méritons en servant correctement de notre patrimoine, de notre culture et d'autres moteurs sociaux

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Le groupe de travail sur le riz est un comité mort-né

Le nouveau groupe de travail sur la stabilisation du riz mis en place par le Président George Manneh Weah n'est rien d'autre qu'un coup de publicité clair, d'autant plus que les ministères et les agences qui sont à la base de l'échec de l'économie et de la souffrance du peuple sont les mêmes que le président a choisis pour, selon lui, s'attaquer à la crise du riz.

Il est tout à fait incompréhensible que le président Weah s'attende à ce que les ministères de l'agriculture, du commerce et de l'industrie, qui sont visiblement très éloignés de la question du riz dans le pays, soient ceux qui apportent des solutions. En ce qui concerne le ministère des Finances et de la Planification du développement, n'en parlons même pas, car il n'a pas encore totalement rendu compte des 5 millions de dollars américains qu'a approuvés le parlement pour subventionner l'importation du riz dans le pays.

C'est aussi le cas pour les autres membres du groupe de travail, à savoir le ministre d'État chargé des affaires présidentielles et le conseiller économique du président.

Ces derniers se sont montrés incapables de conseiller et d'informer le Président convenablement sur la pénurie du riz au point qu'à son retour de New York où il a pris part à la 77e Assemblée générale de l'ONU, le dirigeant libérien a rejeté la nouvelle de la rareté de l'aliment de base national, la traitant de simples rumeurs de rues.

Pourtant, en réalité les entrepôts des principaux importateurs au port de Monrovia étaient pratiquement vides, tandis que le ministère de la Justice, qui fait également partie de la Taskforce, était resté bras croisés pendant que le peu d'importateurs insatiables qui avaient du riz exploitaient et maltraitaient les Libériens en les forçant d'acheter d'autres marchandises totalement contre leur gré, ne serait-ce pour pouvoir acheter un sac de riz de 25 kg.

Ces institutions étaient pourtant censées résoudre la crise du riz en stabilisant les prix, en garantissant une disponibilité constante de l'approvisionnement et en conseillant le président Weah sur la voie à suivre en ce qui concerne cet aliment de base que nous sommes toujours incapables de cultiver pour assurer notre auto-suffisance alimentaire.

Pour nous, le président est en train de mettre des piquets ronds dans des trous carrés. Tout cela s'effondrera dans un cercle vicieux et on finira par se retrouver là où nous étions, sans une alternative durable pour résoudre le problème du riz au Libéria.

Certes, les quelques mois à venir, nous aurons du riz en abondance, d'autant plus que ce régime qui cherche à être réélu, procédera à une politique du riz qui consistera à importer énormément du soi-disant « Pro- Poor Rice » pour le distribuer gratuitement aux citoyens affamés et créer un faux sentiment d'auto-suffisance afin de solliciter, en retour, leurs votes. Ce sera en réalité une solution cosmétique à court terme.

Si les plus de 30 millions de dollars américains alloués chaque année par le gouvernement pour subventionner l'importation de riz n'ont pas résolu le problème du riz qui afflige notre pays, ce n'est pas ce groupe de travail, qui n'est rien d'autre que de vieux chœurs en robes neuves, qui y arrivera.

Tous les présidents libériens précédents n'ont pris des mesures pratiques pour promouvoir l'agriculture, en particulier la production des denrées alimentaires au Libéria. Ils ont gardé les citoyens dans l'illusion qu'il vaut mieux survivre avec du riz importé que d'investir dans le riche sol du pays.

Au pouvoir depuis cinq ans, le président Weah n'a pas encore montré le bon exemple en cultivant personnellement un champ pour que ces fonctionnaires et la population fassent de même, afin que le Libéria soit autosuffisant en matière de nourriture.

Français

Pour avoir battu à mort son mari, elle est

parce que la situation est un embarras total pour leur relation.

J'ai tenté de leur dire d'arrêter, mais ils n'ont pas voulu m'écouter. Feu Williams a soutenu qu'il avait enduré beaucoup de frustrations. " Cette femme pense que comme elle est grosse elle peut se permettre de tout, mais je vais lui montrer qui je suis", a dit feu Williams.

Alors tous les deux ont commencé à se bagarrer. Ils sont allés derrière leur maison et ont commencé à se lancer des pierres ».

Selon lui, le suspect Diabeh est alors passé derrière la maison et a dit à feu Williams : « Depuis aujourd'hui, tu ne fais que me lapider. Moi aussi je vais te saisir quelque part o-o ».

« Alors, Joséphine a attrapé la partie intime de mon frère, avant que j'arrive là-bas, les choses se sont gâtées. Il ne faisait que crier. »

L'état de santé de feu Williams s'est rapidement dégradé. Il a dû être transporté d'urgence au centre de santé de Pleebo le lendemain parce que l'incident s'est produit jeudi soir vers 18 heures. Il aurait été diagnostiqué de plusieurs douleurs corporelles, y compris la torture au niveau de sa partie intime et sa colonne vertébrale, à en croire notre source, bien que les autorités sanitaires n'aient pas encore fourni de rapport médical malgré les efforts pour le rendre disponible.

Le regretté Williams a rendu l'âme. Il a eu huit enfants avec sa veuve.

Cummings prononcera un discours

comme les arts, les sports, la religion, le service national et le développement de la petite enfance.

Le fondateur de l'African Leadership Group, M. Fred Swaniker, est parmi les conférenciers principaux.

Swaniker, crédité de plus de 15 ans d'expérience et fondateur de l'African Leadership Group, cherche à améliorer le leadership africain et à développer une nouvelle ère de leaders entrepreneurs pour l'Afrique.

Il s'est engagé à aider à transformer l'Afrique en formant trois millions de dirigeants africains d'ici 2035.

Mme Vera Songwe, résidente de la Facilité de liquidité et de durabilité de la Commission économique des Nations Unies pour l'Afrique, prononcera également un discours. Mme Songwe est coprésidente du Groupe d'experts de haut niveau sur le financement climatique. Elle a précédemment occupé le poste de secrétaire général adjoint aux Nations Unies et

de secrétaire exécutif de la Commission économique des Nations Unies pour l'Afrique. Elle est chercheuse principale non résidente à la Brookings Institution. Elle fut désignée comme l'une des 100 personnes les plus influentes d'Afrique en 2020.

M. Kuseni Dlamini, président de Massmart Holdings, un important groupe de distribution africain propriétaire de plus de 400 magasins dans 13 pays subsahariens, prendra également la parole.

Dlamini est également président d'Aspen Pharmacare Holdings Ltd, le principal fabricant pharmaceutique de l'hémisphère sud opérant dans plus de 50 pays. Il est président de la Chambre de commerce américaine en Afrique du Sud et membre du conseil d'administration de la Chambre de commerce Afrique australe-Canada.

Ensemble, avec cette incroyable liste d'orateurs, la Conférence Columbia Africa est prometteuse.

COMMENTAIRE

Par Jayati Ghosh

La catastrophe économique que l'Inde s'est infligée à elle-même

NEW DELHI - Près de 80% des quelque 70 millions de personnes dans le monde qui sont tombées dans la pauvreté extrême au début de la COVID-19 en 2020 étaient originaires d'Inde, selon un récent rapport de la Banque mondiale. Aussi choquant que cela puisse paraître, ce chiffre n'est peut-être qu'une sous-estimation, car le manque de données officielles complique l'évaluation des coûts humains de la pandémie.

Comment expliquer cette montée inquiétante de la pauvreté en Inde ? La COVID-19 a sans aucun doute été la pire calamité sanitaire de l'Inde depuis au moins un siècle. Mais les conséquences économiques et sociales de la pandémie vont au-delà des effets directs sur la santé et la mortalité. Comme je le soutiens dans mon dernier livre, *The Making of a catastrophe: The Disastrous Economic Fallout of the COVID-19 Pandemic in India*, des échecs politiques très significatifs - dus à l'action et à l'inaction des pouvoirs publics - ont été responsables de dommages considérables et généralisés à l'encontre des moyens de subsistance indiens et du déclin national selon de nombreux indicateurs de base du bien-être économique.

Ce jugement peut sembler excessivement sévère. Après tout, le gouvernement indien n'a pas provoqué la pandémie et de nombreux autres pays ont connu des revers économiques suite à leur échec à contenir le virus. Mais l'impact dévastateur de la pandémie sur l'Inde a été aggravé par des politiques économiques qui ont reflété des inégalités profondément ancrées dans le pays.

Certes la pandémie n'a pas créé les nombreuses vulnérabilités économiques de l'Inde. Mais elle a mis en lumière les nombreuses fissures et lignes de fracture sociétales de l'Inde. En outre, bien que le pays ait déjà souffert d'inégalités flagrantes de revenus, de richesses et d'opportunités bien avant la COVID-19, la réponse du gouvernement à la pandémie les a poussées à des extrêmes inimaginables.

Alors même que les travailleurs indiens étaient confrontés à la pauvreté, à la faim et à une insécurité matérielle de plus en plus grande en raison de la pandémie, l'argent et les ressources continuaient de circuler des pauvres et de la classe moyenne vers les plus grandes entreprises et les individus les plus riches du pays. Les inégalités éventuellement conjointes de caste, de genre, de religion et de statut migratoire sont devenues de plus en plus marquées et de plus en plus oppressives. Le résultat a été un revers majeur pour le progrès social et économique.

La triste situation reflète les priorités de la réponse du parti au pouvoir, le Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Au début de la pandémie, le gouvernement central a imposé un confinement national prolongé, sans avis préalable. Il a ensuite adopté des stratégies de confinement clairement inadaptées au contexte indien, avec des effets immédiatement dévastateurs sur l'emploi et les moyens de subsistance.

Au lieu d'utiliser la marge de manœuvre fournie par le confinement pour renforcer les systèmes de santé locaux, le gouvernement central a

laissé les autorités de l'État gérer la crise le mieux possible en dépit de ressources minimales et inadéquates. Lorsque le désastre économique qui en a résulté a menacé de devenir incontrôlable, le gouvernement a assoupli les restrictions visant à « déverrouiller » l'économie, alors même que le nombre de cas a augmenté, en mettant ainsi plus de personnes en danger.

Mais au cœur de la catastrophe économique que l'Inde s'est infligée à elle-même se trouve la décision du gouvernement de fournir très peu d'indemnités ou de protection sociale, alors même que les confinements contre la COVID-19 ont privé des centaines de millions de gens de leurs moyens de subsistance pendant plusieurs mois. À une époque où les gouvernements du monde entier augmentaient considérablement les dépenses publiques pour lutter contre la pandémie et atténuer son impact économique, le gouvernement indien a préféré contrôler les dépenses (après correction pour inflation) à mesure que ses recettes diminuaient.

Mais dans un pays où les salaires médians sont trop bas pour fournir plus que la subsistance la plus élémentaire, perdre même une semaine de revenus a pu conduire des millions de personnes au bord de la famine. Étant donné que plus de 90 % de tous les travailleurs en Inde sont informels - sans aucune protection juridique ou sociale - et qu'environ la moitié d'entre eux sont des travailleurs indépendants, l'effet a été immédiat et dévastateur.

La décision du gouvernement de ne pas augmenter les dépenses a aggravé le choc du confinement, ce qui a produit ainsi une crise humanitaire qui a affecté de manière disproportionnée les femmes et les groupes marginalisés, notamment des millions de travailleurs migrants qui ont été contraints de retourner dans leur pays d'origine dans des conditions difficiles.

Mais les effets de la réponse officielle à la pandémie ne sont qu'un aspect de l'histoire. Les mesures de sécurité de la COVID-19 ont naturellement été adaptées au système de castes qui est toujours omniprésent du pays et qui s'appuie depuis longtemps sur des formes de distanciation sociale pour faire respecter l'ordre socio-économique et protéger ceux qui sont au sommet. Elle a également ancré davantage le patriarcat persistant de l'Inde.

Au lieu de prendre des contre-mesures appropriées, par exemple en fournissant un plus grand soutien à la population, le BJP a utilisé la pandémie pour consolider son pouvoir et pour supprimer la dissidence. Cela a par la suite limité la capacité du gouvernement central à produire le consensus social et la confiance publique nécessaires pour contenir le virus.

Rien de tout cela n'était inévitable. Même au sein des contraintes sociales et politiques profondes de l'Inde, il est possible d'adopter une stratégie économique différente, qui permette une relance économique juste, durable et plus équitable. Pour s'assurer que la plupart des Indiens (pas seulement la Bourse ou les grandes entreprises) bénéficient de la croissance, les électeurs indiens doivent rejeter les politiques du BJP, qui menacent de les appauvrir davantage.

Jayati Ghosh, professeur d'économie à l'Université de Massachusetts Amherst, membre du Conseil consultatif de haut niveau du Secrétaire général de l'ONU sur un multilatéralisme efficace.

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ARTICLE

ARTICLE

Protect Liberia's elections from its political class

By S. Karweaye

Liberians will go to the polls for elections in October 2023. In line with its mandate, the National Election Commission (NEC) released electoral dates ahead of the 2023 general and presidential elections with the date of the election being put on October 10, 2023, and campaigns will begin on September 4, 2023, and end on October 8, 2023.

In Liberia, the campaign period is a very delicate time and is often characterized by violence, abuse of power, hate speech, and corruption. For the 2023 general elections, Liberians will elect a president and vice president, senators, and members of the house of representatives. The elections come with huge logistical and operational challenges, but the greatest challenge facing election officials in Liberia is the enforcement of rules, and by extension, securing the cooperation of the political class. The 2023 elections, if not well managed, portend to be a turbulent one concerning upholding democratic values in Liberia

The framers of the Constitution of Liberia chose population to be the basis for sharing political power, not wealth or land. Article 39 of the Constitution states: "The Legislature shall cause a census of the Republic to be undertaken every ten years..." The census provides significant information for development planning. Unfortunately, the census, which should have been held since 2019, has been postponed thrice. The estimated cost for the census is US\$20 million with the Government of Liberia expected to contribute \$3 million, while the United Nations Population Fund (UNFP) and other partners provide the larger portion of the census budget.

In September 2022, the Plenary of the House of Representatives passed a joint resolution forwarded to it by the Liberian Senate calling for the NPHC to be conducted this year. The resolution, as passed, sets October 24 to November 7, 2022, as the new date for the 2022 National Population and Housing Census. However, with barely 13 months until elections, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the government's plan to conduct a census is heading to a mess, as the writings on the wall clearly indicate.

Accusations and counter-accusations of significant corruption among some public officials at the country's statistical house -- Liberia Institute of Statistics and Geo-Information Services (LISGIS) have surfaced. The corruption allegation against LISGIS came to light after FrontPage Africa reported that out of US\$1.8 million received by LISGIS from the government of Liberia as a share of the budget to conduct the delayed national housing and population census, only US\$ 700,000 has been transferred by LISGIS to the Census account, which is being managed by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). FPA investigation established that to date, the remaining US\$300,000 remains unaccounted for. Also, FPA gathered that LISGIS Director General Francis has been making withdrawals from the LISGIS census account unilaterally and converting the same into personal use and in some instances, amounts withdrawn are distributed among him and his principal deputies.

The Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission (LACC) had indicted several senior officials of LISGIS, including director Francis F. Wreh, Mr. Lawrence George, Mr. Wilmot Smith, and Mr. Dominic Paye for corruption before President George Manneh Weah thru the 54th Legislature dissolved the anti-graft commission. he former LACC had documented thru an Investigative Report that Mr. Francis F. Wreh, Mr. Lawrence George, and Mr. Dominic Paye in the discharge of their duties as director general, deputy director general for administration, deputy director general for information and coordination, and comptroller respectively

knowingly and wilfully authorized the withdrawal and spending of cumulatively US\$70,000 of the census fund in June this year. Unfortunately, the Executive Mansion thru President Weah challenged the report on grounds that the accused were never given due process. The President then hastily moved along with the Legislature and announced the dissolution of the entire LACC and its officials, effectively trashing the indictment.

The National Election Commission's integrity has been called into question after the Chairperson of the NEC was hooked for corruption, conflict of interest, and money laundering by the Liberia LACC. The LACC's findings against Davidetta Browne-Lansanah are a result of a month-long investigation into a Daily Observer report that the electoral body leased twenty facial recognition thermometers at the total cost of US\$182,320 from a firm with family links to the NEC chair. In the end, the LACC investigation found Mrs. Lansanah to violate Section 1.3.6, of the National Code of Conduct, which speaks against conflict of interest; Part II, Section 2.2 of the LACC Act and section 15.3 of the Money laundering Act of

in power including the burning of ballot papers for opposition candidates. After the election, Samuel Doe appointed a 50-man board -- including two senior Doe aides and 19 members of his Krahn tribe -- to count the votes by hand. Emmett Harmon, head of the Special Election Commission that supervised the counting, said Doe received 265,000 of the 519,000 votes cast in the Oct. 15 election, against 137,000 for his main challenger. The aftermath of Samuel Doe and his National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL) rigging the 1985 election and installing Doe as president of Liberia led to General Thomas Quiwonkpa's November 12, 1985, coup and the Liberian civil war which led to the death of Samuel Doe and over 250,000 people according to Human Rights Watch and more than 750,000 internally displaced or refugees according to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

The US Department of State 2021 human rights report stated, "in December 2020 the country held midterm senatorial elections that observers deemed largely peaceful, although there were some reported instances of vote tampering, intimidation, harassment of female candidates, and election violence." Unfortunately, no further action was taken. Despite its best efforts, the NEC is unable to tackle allegations of voter fraud, voter intimidation, or voter suppression as evidenced in past elections. The structures of accountability and law enforcement in Liberia are often under the control of politicians (especially those in power) who exercise undue influence on the actions of those agencies. For example, the police are responsible for investigating crime, including that related to elections. But the NEC has no operational control over the police to ensure the investigation of allegations of electoral fraud. The ministries of justice which exercise a complementary role in criminal prosecution, have typically shown little interest in electoral accountability in Liberia. This makes any form of accountability difficult. Furthermore, How can the present NEC fulfill its duties when the institution has integrity issues?



2012. The NEC Chairperson has neither resigned nor dismissed.

In September 2022, the Liberian Senate amended the Elections Law and declared all election magistrates' seats vacant nearing crucial elections. According to James Fromayan, a former Chairman of the NEC, the Senate amendment is unfortunate, and the Legislature has embarked on tampering with the election law for the wrong reason, rather than for the good of the country.

Historically, elections if not managed through a transparent process are a major trigger for conflict and instability in Liberia. The worst-ever case of electoral malpractice was witnessed in Liberia during the 1927 presidential election. During the 1927 general elections, King beat his opponent Thomas Faulkner to the presidency, receiving 243,000 votes compared to Faulkner's 9,000. This is despite there being less than 15,000 registered voters in the country. As a result, Liberia has the dubious achievement of being listed in the Guinness Book of Records for the most fraudulent election reported in the history of the world. Charles King resigned in disgrace and retired from seeking higher office thereafter until his death. This happened following the publication of an international report on the existence of forced labor practices in the country.

During the 1985 presidential election, Samuel Doe and his Interim National Assembly government engineered a large-scale election fraud to keep Doe

Elections are the fundamental element and the most important event in any democratic regime and should be the immediate goal in any attempt to establish democracy. The brutal and destructive civil wars that erupted after Doe rigged the 1985 elections should serve as a warning to all Liberians. However, given the weakness of Liberia's electoral and judicial institutions, the political class has little incentive to play by the rules. We must demand President George Weah fire the current NEC Chairperson, Mrs. Browne-Lansanah for the sake of integrity and confidence in the electoral process as well as those indicted for corruption at LISGIS.

The success of the 2023 Liberia elections will hinge partly on tough love from international election observers and foreign governments. The United States in particular can help avert a crisis by supporting a framework for electoral accountability that encourages respect for the rule of law in Liberia. This framework must include punitive measures. Within this context, the United States should consider targeted sanctions and travel bans against individuals who abuse their office or who undermine the electoral process through their political parties or supporters. In instances where such actions trigger mass violence, observer missions, and the United States and other foreign governments should demand accountability.

Even Ellen couldn't save Samukai

By Winston W. Parley

President George Manneh Weah's Supreme Court nominee Judge Yamie Quiqui Gbeisay says even if former President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf had testified, it would not have changed former Defense Minister Brownie Samukai's conviction. Gbeisay presided over a trial at Criminal Court "C" when Samukai, Joseph P. Johnson, and James Nyumah Dorkor were found guilty in 2021 of misapplying US\$1,147,656.35 of Armed Force of Liberia (AFL) soldiers' private money. "But in my interpretation of

nominee explained that he knows by law that the president did not have the authority to order the use of private money. "President nowhere in the world is allowed to use private money, and that money was private money because it was deducted from each soldier's salary based on their rank and placed in an escrow for a specific purpose," said Judge Gbeisay. He added that if you do it for any reason other than that, it is a form of misapplication of entrusted property. He said Samukai did not deny

soldier retired. "But the record clearly showed that instead of using that money for that purpose, it was used for different [reasons] including the uniform, death benefits, including sending people abroad," said Judge Gbeisay. Gbeisay narrated that he was in a different jurisdiction when Samukai was indicted, but the matter appeared before him when he took an assignment in Montserrado County. He said the Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission (LACC) paraded witnesses and documentary evidence against Mr. Samukai. He argued that Samukai was represented by a lawyer, and he did testify in the trial. Judge Gbeisay stated that when Mr. Samukai took the witness stand, he did not deny the allegation, instead, he justified it. "He didn't say no, I didn't take the money; he didn't say no, I didn't use it. He said, 'I used it on the order of the president, and that the present government is also aware of it'", said Judge Gbeisay. Samukai won the 2020 senatorial by-election in Lofa County, but he was prevented from taking a seat at the Liberian Senate because he had been found guilty in a criminal trial relating to the soldiers' private money. That decision led to another by-election being held which Senator Jallah won this year. In 2020, Mr. Samukai and his two Defense Officials were indicted for theft of property, criminal conspiracy, and economic sabotage, among others. The AFL private pension fund was established in July 2009 and used to deduct portions of serving officers' salaries and placed it in an escrow account with the understanding of using it when they are sick, retire, or die. Liberia's Supreme Court convicted the three former officials and ordered them to retribute the money or face jail terms. Mr. Samukai made some efforts aimed at paying 50 percent of what he thought was his portion of the total judgment sum, but the Supreme Court said he and his two deputies were convicted together and so they had to pay the money collectively.



Former Pres. Sirleaf

Mr. Samukai

the law, even [if] the president had appeared to testify, I would have still ruled as I did," said Judge Gbeisay. He faced a Senate confirmation hearing Monday, 24 October 2022 following his nomination by President Weah to serve as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. In responding to a question posed by Lofa County Senator Joseph K. Jallah, Judge Gbeisay began by saying he did not know why he was being hunted by Mr. Samukai. Senator Jallah, a counselor-at-law, won a by-election held this year in Lofa County after Samukai was disallowed to occupy the senatorial seat because he had been convicted in a criminal trial last year. Judge Gbeisay told Senator Jallah and the Senate Committee on Judiciary that the issue was "did the president of Liberia have [the] authority to order the use of that money?" In answering this himself, the

it, but all he said was that the president ordered the use of the money. But the judge contended if a president is allowed to use private money, tomorrow the president could order the use of Senators' or their families' money. Moreover, he stated that in Samukai's trial, former President Johnson-Sirleaf never appeared in court to testify to her order. Judge Gbeisay argued that presidents elected all over the world in democratic societies use money that is budgeted, and that's why lawmakers pass a budget every year. The Supreme Court nominee told Senators that the money in question was deducted from soldiers' salaries and placed in an escrow account for three purposes written in the bank statement. According to Judge Gbeisay, the three purposes were when a soldier died, when a soldier was sick, or when a

Weah launches US\$100 Million program

By Emmanuel wise Jipoh

President George Weah launches Accelerated Community Development Program (ACDP) here, aimed at bridging gap between urban and rural communities. The launch was held on Monday, 24th October during the 77th United Nations Anniversary at Pan African Plaza in

lighting, improve road connectivity, energy, sanitation and food security to large rural communities. He says the ACDP was created out of genuine concern from the Liberian people, during his Presidential tours (2021-2022), who he observes, have been suffering for far too long, from



Monrovia. President Weah says the ACDP is a flagship program designed by his office to address social economic challenges faced by poor rural and urban communities in Liberia, something he notes, will bring about unprecedented development.

lack of basic social services. The President lauds UNDP for helping to maintain the peace in Liberia and reaffirms his government's commitment to upholding peace and democracy, which describes as key to development.

The initiative, which is still in its early stages, is sponsored by the Government of Liberia under the direction of a national steering committee to be supervised and executed by the Office of the President in collaboration with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and other partners.

The theme of this year's Forum, "The Future we want, the UN we need: Reaffirming our collective commitment to national peace and development," emphasizes the critical role peace plays in galvanizing the people of Liberia to contribute their collective quota towards the realization of national development. "As I have said on many occasions: without peace, there can be no sustainable development. This is more than a mere observation; it is - in fact - my firm conviction. And because of this, I have dedicated every effort since my incumbency to ensure that peace prevails in Liberia, our native land", the President notes.

The launch comes barely a year to presidential and legislative elections in 2023 in which Mr. Weah is seeking a second term. Critics say he has done much in his first term, pointing to widespread corruption in the administration characterized by lack of transparency and accountability. President Weah says in line with his government's Pro-poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development (PAPD) roadmap, the ACDP aims to improve access of rural populations to essential social services through establishment of socio-economic infrastructure.

President Weah: "You will all be aware that a successful Peace Agenda must always consist of at least three (3) distinct phases: Firstly, achieving the peace; Secondly, consolidating the peace so as to prevent reversals; and Thirdly, sustaining the peace."

According to him, the ACDP will directly address needs of the citizenry at grassroots level, and compliment other ongoing initiatives by government. Mr. Weah explains that the project is very close to his heart, and will provide potable water, solar

For his part, UN Resident Coordinator Niels Scott says the UN in Liberia will increasingly focus more of its work "downstream" at county and community levels to ensure that every person in the country enjoys development goals.

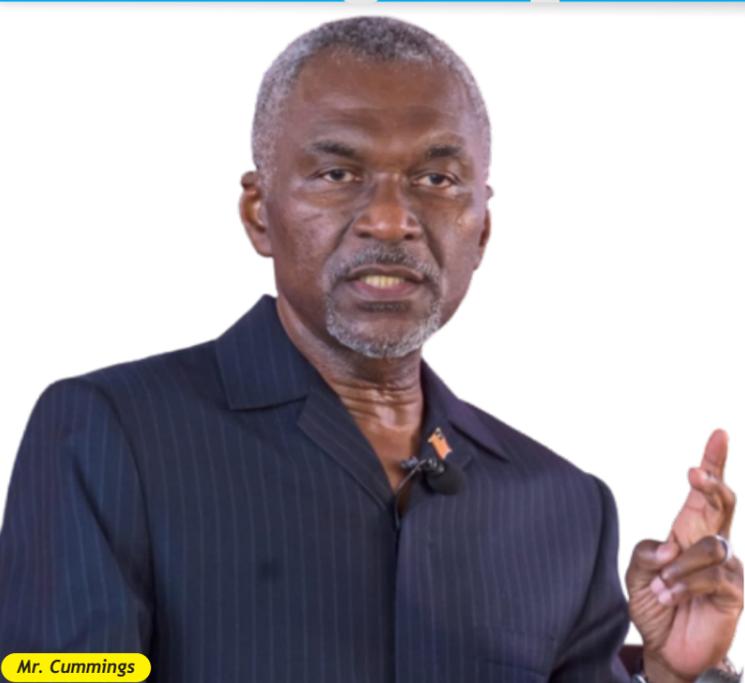
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Cummings raps on CPP's National Development Plan



Mr. Cummings

Radio/TV platform, on Sunday, October 23, in the United States.

The interview covered plans on building a strong immigration service to protect Liberia's porous borders; empowering Liberians with disabilities; strengthening of the Police and Armed Forces of Liberia; resuscitation of the country's ailing economy as well as diversifying the economy from the extractive industry to expand agriculture and ecotourism sectors badly needed to create jobs and opportunities for Liberians.

Cummings said a CPP Government would train, equip, and ensure adequate funding and living wages for Immigration Officers, Police and Soldiers to perform their statutory functions, respecting the rights of all citizens and foreign nationals wishing to enter, live and work in Liberia. He said civil servants will be paid living wages, promptly and regularly, commensurate with their works, qualifications, and competence. Importantly, he said Liberians with disabilities will be given equal opportunity to acquire skills to

The Standard Bearer of the Collaborating Political Parties (CPP), Mr. Alexander Cummings, has assured Liberians of forming a government of inclusion that will restore good governance based on the rule of law and merit systems.

Cummings said a CPP Government will commit to changing the system, processes, expectations of Liberians and enforcing the laws without discrimination, making Liberia a country of

laws. He said a special campaign Policy Team is formulating a national development platform focusing on the financial sector, infrastructure, agriculture, national security, and the creation of a business-friendly environment that will not be over regulated.

He made the assertions during an interview with Mr. Jeroy Cummings on his Positive Show hosted on the Ramah Christian

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