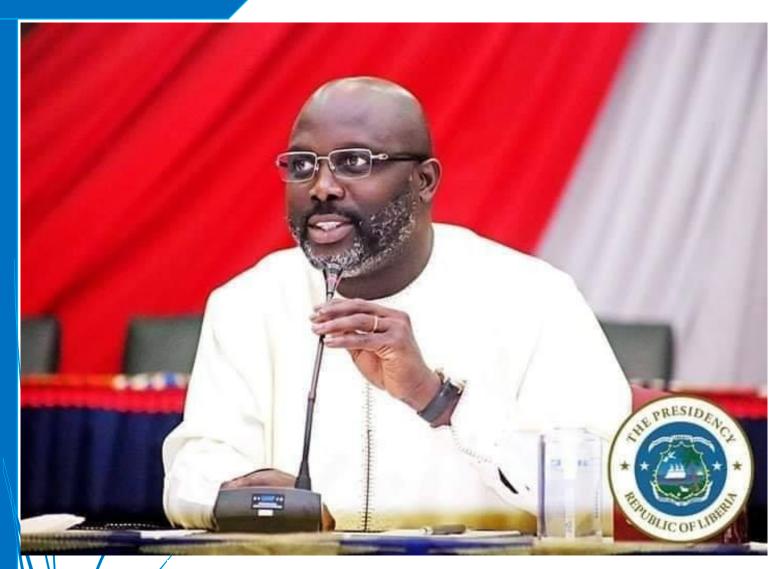
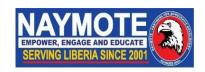
PRESIDENT METER PROJECT REPORT JAN 2018- JUNE 2020

2020-Liberia



Promoting Democratic Accountability, Improving
Government's Performance, and Inclusive Service Delivery in
Liberia through the President Meter Project





ACRONYMS

AFL Armed Forces of Liberia AfT Agenda for Transformation

CDC Coalition for Democratic Change

EU European Union
FPA Front Page Africa

GoL Government of Liberia

LACE Liberia Agency for Community Empowerment

LEC Liberia Electricity Corporation

LGA Local Government Act
LLRA Liberia Land Rights Act
LRA Liberia Revenue Authority

LWSC Liberia Water and Sewer Corporation
MCCTV Monrovia City Corporation Television

MFDP Ministry of Finance and Development Planning

MIA Ministry of Internal Affairs MoA Ministry of Agriculture

MoCI Ministry of Commerce and Industry

MoD Ministry of National Defense

MoH Ministry of Health MoJ Ministry of Justice

NAYMOTE Naymote Partners for Democratic Development

NDMA National Disaster Management Agency

NGOs Non-Governmental Organizations

NTA National Transit Authority

OSIWA Open Society Initiative for West Africa

PAPD Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development

PDU President's Delivery Unit PMP President Meter Project

SAPEC Smallholder Agricultural Productivity Enhancement and Commercialization

SoE State of Emergency UL University of Liberia

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

USAID United States Agency for International Development

WAEC West African Examinations Council

WASSCE West Africa Secondary School Certificate Examination

WHO World Health Organization

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Naymote Partners for Democratic Development through the Board, management and staff is profoundly grateful to all county, national and other stakeholder whose contribution and support remain a core element in ensuring that Liberia's democratic values are being realized through a robust implementation of principles that entail social contract between the voters and their elected officials. We want to recognize those who provided us the necessary support to successfully complete this 30-month project report -5^{th} Edition.

Special thanks to our amazing team at Naymote Partners for Democratic Development for the support, teamwork, collaboration, commitment, and passion and all those who supported us greatly and were always willing to make contribution and suggestion to get this done. A big thank you.

This project would have been impossible without the support of the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA). Thanks for the partnership and support to our institution over the years and for believing in our vision and supporting our work.

To our partners, sponsors and volunteers who have supported us in diverse ways, we are and will be forever grateful for your immense contributions.

1.0 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Liberians, like others across the globe, are used to seeing political promises broken. Since the end of the civil war in 2003, Liberia has held three presidential and legislative elections, which have produced two presidents – Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and George Manneh Weah. In each of their inaugural speeches, there were common threads: ending Liberia's long crisis; fighting corruption, increasing access to social services, ending poverty, improving the economy, increasing food production, and fostering national reconciliation and healing – building a framework of a committed social contract between the electorate and their elected officials. Most of their speeches, campaigns and inaugural messages equally had common themes as well. However, many of the pledges were broken - either actions taken were not enough or in extreme cases, no actions were taken at all.

The "norm" where campaign and post-election promises continue to be broken — essentially means the bridge that cements the social contract breaks just after being elected. This seems to increase the voters apathetic about politics and trust on their elected officials. For decades, Liberians have, by-and-large, put up placidly with the status quo as they struggle with access to quality social services, poor road infrastructures, unemployment, and varying forms of inequalities.

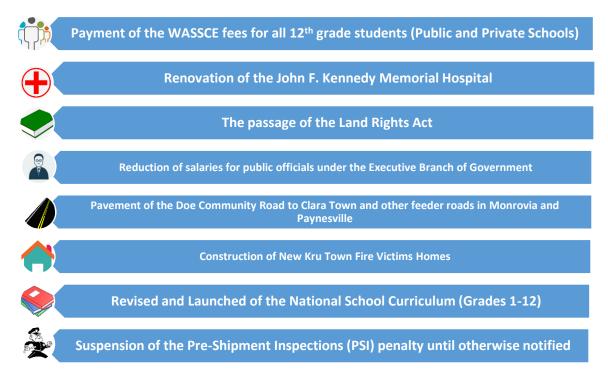
The dramatic victory of the Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) in the 2017 presidential election suggested that the tide may finally be turning. At least, for the first time ever, presidential power was wrested from a ruling party, overturning the prevailing mindset that an incumbent government never loses power during an election. To secure that win, however, President Weah made a lot of promises to Liberians, which were promptly, and accurately documented by the Naymote Partners for Democratic Development and other Liberians. To ensure that he keeps to them, NAYMMOTE, with support from the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) launched the WeahMeter in 2018 to track the progress made by the new government on its promises and policies.

This report is the 5th Edition of the WeahMeter project. The 5th edition covered the period January 2018 to June 2020 with the aim to track and document promises and policies and to use the outcomes to stimulate discussions. This discussion is part of ensuring that voters have a voice in reviewing the social contract keeping the attention of citizens fixed on the cycle of governance from election to end-of-tenure. Ongoing citizens engagement delve to suggest that the Liberian democracy is pointing in the direction that Liberians want a president who either meets his or her promises or is honest and forthcoming about any challenges he or she encounters as he or she battles to do so. The previous norm where anybody can break the social contract and live happily with it is no longer an option.

The WeahMeter tracked and documented 109 promises that cemented the 2017 social contract between the CDC and the Voters. These 109 promises, 65 came from the Coalition for Democratic Change Manifesto of 2017, 27 promises from campaign speeches, policy statements, presidential priority projects, 3 from State of the Nation Address (January 2020), 6 from the State of Emergency (SoE), and 8 from the Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development (PAPD) Pillar 4.

Nearly three years in power, the findings from the WeahMeter collected enough evidence as documented in this report indicating that the Weah-led administration needs to do more, increase the speed of implementation and promote smart budgeting to meet targets if they are to live up to the promises made during the campaign, inauguration, and other public events. As of this report, based on available data and records, eight (8) promises were completed constituting (7%). The below info graphic shows specifically those promises completed as of this report.

Figure 1: Promises documented to have been completed since the Weah-led government assumed state power in 2018.



In comparison to all the promises documented and being monitored as of this reporting period, 47 promises, which is 43% is ongoing, and 54 promises constituting (50%) have not started or not rated due to limited or lack of available data to assess progress made towards implementation. The graph below shows all promises documented against their implementation.

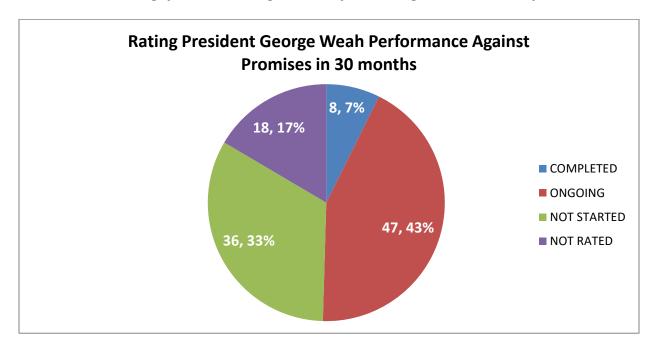


Table 2: Overall Rating of President George Weah Performance Against 109 Promises for 30 Months.

In analyzing the reports by sectors or Pillars, the promises were also categorized and tracked under the four pillars of the PAPD. The below graph represents Pillar One of the PAPD.

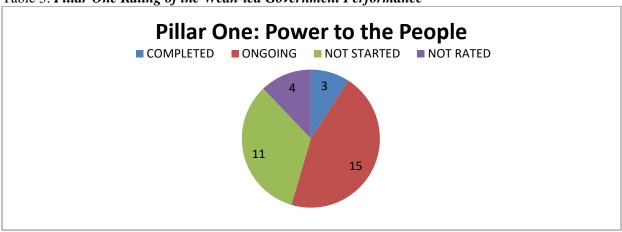


Table 3: Pillar One Rating of the Weah-led Government Performance

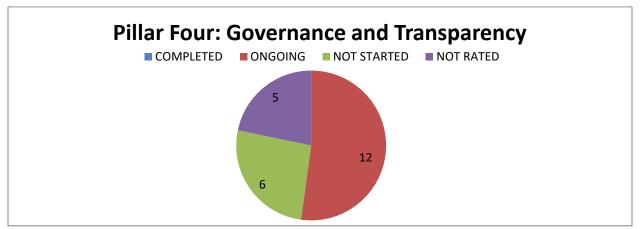
<u>Under Pillar One: Power to the People, 33</u> promises were tracked and rated. Of this figure, 3 promises were completed, 15 ongoing and 15 not started or not rated due to lack of available information to assess action taken.

<u>Under Pillar Two: Economy and Jobs, 37</u> promises were rated: 4 were completed including reduction of salary for members of the executive branch of government, passage of the Land Rights Act, Pavement of

Doe's Community Road and Construction of New Kru Town Fire Victims Homes. 15 promises are ongoing and 18 not started or not rated.

<u>For Pillar Three: Sustaining the Peace</u>, 10 promises were rated, and none completed, 4 ongoing, 6 not started or 3 not rated due to lack of available information to assess action taken.

Table 4: Pillar Four Rating of the Weah-led Government Performance



Under Pillar Four, 23 promises were made: none completed, 12 are ongoing, 11 not started or not rated due to lack of available information.

In addition, 6 promises were tracked and assessed during the State of Emergency (SoE) that was declared on April 8, 2020. Of the 6 promises, 1 was completed which is the Government immediate suspension of the Pre-Shipment Inspections (PSI) penalty until otherwise notified. One Promise is ongoing which the food distribution, 4 not started or not rated due to the lack of available information. Other Promises such as the provision of free Electricity and Water (Never implemented), the settlement of loans taken by market women and informal traders from commercial banks (not rated) and the promise to service Government's domestic debt was not fulfilled.

Governance and Transparency, the fourth pillar of the PAPD, remains the weakest pillar. The government is making efforts to fulfill promises made under this pillar through policy statements which is not a response neither a good strategy to arrive at an outcome that provides a building block for a fulfilled social contract. This pillar is critical for ensuring that the country's resources are properly managed to support the government's development programs so that citizens can benefit and share in the dividend of democracy. The lack of transparency in governance creates the environment for the mismanagement of public resources to benefit a fewer group of people rather than addressing the needs of the larger populace.

2.0 INTRODUCTION:

The President Meter (WeahMeter) is a democratic monitoring tool used by researchers and political analysts to provide an independent assessment of the implementation of campaign and post-election promises made by President George Manneh Weah and the Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) during the 2017 elections and after he took office. This initiative seeks to promote transparency and democratic accountability to cement social contract between Liberians and their elected officials. The aim is to improve the lives of citizens and to improve communication between the governed and the government in a sustained manner. This is intended to mainstream the voices of citizens in how the county is being governed against the background that most governments come to power on the rhetoric of change. In many instances' voters believe that change will take place. In the CDC Manifesto, their change agenda is well articulated in these words:

"It is time for change; a change that will move Liberia from a low to a middle income country, where the affordability of basic goods and services will no longer be a luxury accessible to the privileged, but rather a right for all Liberians; where the practice of corruption, injustice, resource, mismanagement and low performance will have no place in our society; and where our resources will develop people, infrastructure and institution" President George M. Weah, (CDC's Manifesto).

President Weah's election was historic. In 73 years, this was the first peaceful transition of political power from democratically elected government to another. President Weah and the CDC won on the slogan: "Change for Hope" promising equal opportunity for all Liberians. The Party's Manifesto for the 2017 elections outlined four pillars including, **Pillar One: Power to the People, Pillar Two: Economy and Jobs, Pillar Three: Sustaining the Peace and Pillar Four: Governance and Transparency.** These pillars were integrated as the key components of the PAPD to drive the government's development program.

Although the President did not participate in any of the public debates attended by other presidential candidates where campaign pledges and promises were presented to the voters; President Weah presented his governance and development promises through campaign speeches and the CDC Manifesto as well as post-election policy statements.

From the Manifesto, campaign and post-campaign speeches, a total of 109 promises were made. These were the promises tracked and monitored by NAYMOTE from January 2018 to June 2020. On January 25, 2018, the President announced Presidential Priority Projects (3Ps) to begin the process of cutting waste, realigning the national budget, and re-purposing resources to address critical challenges in a range of areas relative to the government's development plan (PAPD). In all, 13 projects were identified. These were also tracked.

This project was based on the following theories of change embedded into three thoughts: (i) When citizens have access to reliable and timely information on status of promises, they can make informed decisions at the ballot box; (ii) When citizens are more informed about government's actions, it leads to democratic accountability; and (iii) When citizens have access on the status of government's promises, it makes misinformation less attractive to the government.

3.0 METHODOLOGY:

In tracking and documenting promises, several distinct yet inter-related quantitative data monitoring tools were used. They included:

Extraction: All the promises contained in this report were extracted from the CDC Manifesto of 2017, campaign speeches and post-election promises. We tracked these promises from documented reports to avoid a subjective approach in the selection of promises and to ensure that all information are readily in the public for quick referencing.

<u>Media Monitoring:</u> Promises were systematically tracked using different sets of tools or checklists (See performance analysis matrix). Seven national radio stations¹ were monitored on a daily basis during the morning and afternoon hours to gather information about the government's performance. Three television stations⁴ were monitored daily during the evening hours to track visual presentation of progress made on the implementation of promises. Newspapers were also monitored daily for stories on pre and post campaign promises.

<u>On-Site Visitations:</u> On-site visits were made to locations where physical infrastructure development projects were taking place. This was intended to verify the status of the projects and to generate evidence.

<u>On line platforms:</u> Online platforms including the Executive Mansion website where information about the government's activities is posted were monitored. Formal written communications were also sent to government officials requesting information on the status of promises being implemented.

<u>Database</u>: A database was established where all information generated from the various tracking tools was stored and collated. To ensure accuracy and reliability, information collated was triangulated using primary data source gathered by NAYMOTE, reports from other Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and independent media reports, and interviews. Through this triangulation method, data was analyzed, findings were generated, and conclusions made whether a promise could be classified as completed, ongoing, not started or not rated.

<u>Limitation:</u> Some promises were not descriptive, concrete, and measurable and this made it difficult to assess and verify the status of implementation.

Three key and guiding principles were adhered to in the implementation of this project. They include:

- 1. Non-partisan: The outcome of the tracking is free of political biases.
- **2. Objectivity:** The findings of the tracking are not based on any person's opinion or driven by their emotions but objectively verified.
- **3. Evidence-based:** The findings are informed by evidence triangulated from at least three sources demonstrating due diligence.

 $^{^1}$ ELBC, Truth FM, ECOWAS Radio, Power FM, Prime FM, OK FM, and Fabric 101. 4 ELTV which is State managed TV, SKY TV, and Power TV both commercial stations.

4.0 PERFORMANCE ANALYSIS: GOVERNMENT PROMISES & CURRENT STATUS (30 MONTHS IN OFFICE)

PILLAR ONE: POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Education and Training

Access to affordable and quality education has been one of the sources of social inequalities in Liberia. Structural conditions such as teacher training, monitoring and supervision, resource materials, and better salaries giving rise to his problem have not been addressed. Most interventions by this government have been superficial as demonstrated in the achievements highlighted below. The CDC led government embark on the following interventions.

	Key Indicators (Status)	C Co	mplet	ed	0	Ong	oing Not Started NR No	ot Rated
	Promises	Sector		St	atus		Means of Verification	Comment
	EDUCATION AND TRAINING (11 PROMISES)		C	o	NS	NR		
1	Pay the West African Examination Council (WAEC) fees for all students sitting the exam	Education	C				Interviews conducted, Newspaper publication	Promise Completed
2	Optimize Online Registration Platform & Free Wi-Fi Internet at UL	Education		0			Interviews conducted with students, site visit and the University of Liberia Website: (link to e-portal http://ulportal.net/login.aspx?login=1 Link to the launched story https://ul.edu.lr/?p=12780)	Registration E-Portal active and an MTN Mobile Money Fees Payment Launched. Wi-Fi Internet remain a challenged
3	Review and reform school curriculum to address 21st century development and labor needs	Education	С				MOE Website: http://moe-liberia.org/national-curriculum/, MoE Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/LiberiaMOE/ & Deputy Minister/Administration https://www.facebook.com/latim.dathong/post s/3721744561185247)	The Ministry of Education revised and launched national school curriculum (Grades 1-12) to address 21st century development and labor needs.

4	Provide free Tuition for students in all public universities	Education	0		President George M. Weah State of Nation Address (January 29, 2019).	An Act has been submitted to RATIFY AND AUTHORIZE THE PAYMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA OF TUITION FEES FOR ALL UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS IN ALL PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN LIBERIA
5	Enroll PSL teachers on Government Payroll	Education	0		Interviewed on ELBC, Latim Da-thong, Deputy Minister for Administration, Ministry of Education	1100 teachers from supplementary are now placed on the regular payroll
6	Double efforts and resources to reinforce and implement the current national compulsory free education policy and Act	Education	0		The MOE Website: (http://moe-liberia.org/)	The Ministry of Education is enforcing some section of the Education Act 2011
7	Reintroduce and expand the school feeding program in public schools.	Education	O		President George M. Weah State of Nation Address 2019 https://thenewdawnliberia.com/schoo l-feeding-enhances-students- performance/	The Government of Liberia has secured a US\$30 Million Investment from the United States Government through USAID to expand the School feeding to four counties in the Southeast.
8	Provide adequate and special attention to vulnerable students with a history of misconduct, learning and physical disabilities.	Education		NS		No available information
9	Prioritize early learning and adult illiteracy programs in pre-schools and local communities.	Education		NS		No available information
10	Revitalize and upgrade teaching and learning facilities and programs in existing TVET institute.	Education	o		Interviewed with Assistant Education Minister for Research	TVET programs are ongoing and revitalized with modern equipment

nformation yet

Health and Sanitation

Like the education sector, most Liberians lack adequate access to affordable health care services. Maternal and child mortality are widespread. This problem is further compounded by the lack of essential drugs, limited specialized skills among doctors, equipment and attractive salaries for health practitioners. The CDC government promised to promote the prevention of non-communicable disease programs, modernize health infrastructure, introduce health care subsidiary program for the impoverished, ensure clinicians undergo continuous medical education to be able to practice, and create performance based incentives for healthcare workers. The CDC led government embark on the following interventions.

	HEALTH AND SANITATION (8 PRO	OMISES)					
12	Renovate the John F. Kennedy	Health				Site visit, media monitored,	Part of the JFK Hospital Renovated,
	Memorial Hospital		C			dedication ceremony	Equipped and Dedicated.
13	Construction of the 14 th Military Hospital	Health		O		Meeting, interviews conducted, media monitor/ELBC, Jan 22, 2019, Ministry of Defense Facebook Page, Newspaper Publication, Bush chicken: https://bushchicken.com/india-provides-us2-million-to-finance-completion-of-14th-military-hospital/)	Hospital completed at an appreciable level and structure partially used to support covid-19 victims.
14	Construction of New Redemption Hospital	Health		0		Onsite Visitation, interview conducted, Newspaper publication: (https://allafrica.com/stories/2018 08120193.html & https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qOS4fvm7znI)	Phase 1 of the construction work completed including groundbreaking, fencing of premises, construction of warehouse and the foundation of the picritic and maternity center. Phase 2 is nearing completion.
15	Enact legislation to establish a functioning health subsidy program for citizens below the poverty line	Health			NS		The Bill is yet to be submitted to the legislature.

16	Establish a functional emergency medical service including referral system between primary, secondary and tertiary care	Health		NR		No available information
17	Strengthen Emergency Preparedness and Response mechanisms and institutions to prevent diseases	Health	0		Media reports (WHO Website, UNDP Facebook Page and ELBC), Newspaper (Front Page Africa- November 30, 2018)	Emergency and disaster policy formulated. NPHIL refurbished and dedicated Liberia veterinary diagnosis laboratory in Fendall.
18	Improve childhood preventable disease vaccination coverage	Health	0		Media reports, MoH Website: (<u>http://moh.gov.lr/ca</u> <u>tegory/news/</u>)	The Ministry of Health continues to carryout nationwide health vaccination for new born.
19	Support health professionals' in-service training and career advances	Health	О		Media monitored, Newspaper (Daily Observer Oct. 16, 2018)	Trainings being conducted for specialized health practitioners in Kenya.

Gender Equality

Gender inequality is a major challenge underpinning Liberia's development process. Social norms and practices discriminate against women undermining their ability to access education which makes them vulnerable to forms of exploitation. Women drive the informal economic sector and they make up the largest proportion of the farming population but economically, they are not empowered. Sexual and Gender Based Violence is widespread across the country. The CDC led Government promised to close the current gender inequality gap, and to also put an end to violence against women through the following key measures:

GENI	GENDER EQUALITY (4 PROMISES)										
20	Review existing gender policies and strengthen where needed to ensure gender equality in public and private sectors	Gender Equality				NR	No available information				
21	Establish in communities within various counties a viable adult literacy program for rural farming and market women	Gender Equality			NS		No available information				

	Continue to support and strengthen existing acts and regulations on Violence Against Women		С			FrontPage Africa reports: (https://frontpageafricaonline.com/fro nt-slider/liberia-house-of- representatives-finally-passed- domestic-violence-bill/)	The Domestic Violence Act has been passed into law.
23	Establish Gender and Social Inclusion Units in all government ministries, agencies and commissions	Gender Equality			NR		No available information

Youth Re-orientation and Empowerment

Liberia population is predominantly young. 65% of the population is under the age of 35 years, creating an opportunity to accelerate the country's development process. Access to education, life skills and livelihood opportunities are ongoing challenges faced by the youth. Their number makes them a critical factor in determining the country's future leadership yet democratic dividend is not forthcoming. The CDC led government promised to embark on the following interventions:

YOUT	YOUTH RE-ORIENTATION AND EMPOWERMENT (5 PROMISES)											
24	Construct 7 modernize mini soccer stadiums across 7 counties capital	Youth Re-or. & Emp.			NS			No available information				
	Design and execute a strong reputable national inter-school competition agenda respectively at primary, junior and senior high school and university levels	& Emp.		O			(ELBC, MCCTV), Postline: MCC Facebook page November 5, 2019	Inter-school intellectual debates and have taken place. National Spelling Bee competition held to promote primary education in line with goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals: Quality Education.				

26	Design and execute a well-structured occupational skill-determination program focusing on re-orienting and refocusing the minds and attitudes of at least 250,000 street and out of-school youths over a five-year period	& Emp.	О		Newspaper publication and Emp (Front Page Africa and Daily Observer, December 9, 2018) MYS 1 project s	lational Youth Empowerment aployment program launched ruitment of project iaries started. launched 20 million grant sponsored by EU, support to 6 institutions.
27	Establish and operate, in partnership with national and international enterprises, a comprehensive integrated Sports and Academic Academy	& Emp.		NS	No avail	ilable information
28	Pass the National Youth Act: When passed into law, it will enhance young people's human capacity development.		0		President George M. Weah State Of The bill Nation Address 2019, Media Reports: Represent https://allafrica.com/stories/20190410 Presiden 0776.html)	entatives in April 2019 by

Physically Challenged and Senior Citizens

The lack of inclusive service delivery has reinforced societal inequalities and largely affecting people living with disabilities and the elderly. People with disabilities do not have access to institutions that provide adequate social services to them in Liberia, and as such they face a lot of disadvantages and marginalization. As part of its change agenda, the CDC led Government promised to take measures to address the inequalities faced by physically challenged and senior citizens:

PHYSI	ICALLY CHALLENGED AND SENIO	R CITIZENS	(5 PR	OMI	SES)		
29	Enact legislation to establish a functioning health subsidy program for citizens below the poverty line.	Physically Chal. & Senior Citz			NS	No evidence to show been drafted.	that a bill has
30	Work in partnership with the private sector to ensure appropriate infrastructure in public places that will accommodate the special needs of physically challenged.	Physically Chal. & Senior Citz			NS	No concrete action h	as taken place
31	Initiate and pursue the establishment of at least two functioning Mental Health Centers where patient's rehabilitation treatment can be undertaken.	Physically Chal. & Senior Citz			NS	No concrete action h	as taken place
32	Ensure the provision of free medical service and recreation centers for senior citizens beyond the age of 70 years	Physically Chal. & Senior Citz			NS	No concrete action h	as taken place
33	Strengthen education, training and equal employment opportunity policies, programs and processes where they exist for persons living with disabilities	Physically Chal. & Senior Citz			NS	No concrete action h	as taken place

PILLAR TWO: ECONOMY AND JOBS

Sustainable Economic Growth

The CDC led Government promised Liberians to build a business-friendly, people-centered, and private sector driven economy. The government promised that growth will be socially responsible, diversified, spread geographically, and comes from genuine value addition and environmentally sensitive through private sector empowerment with a goal to achieve double digit GDP growth annually on a sustained basis. To accomplish this, CDC committed to formulate sound policies built around monetary and fiscal discipline and macroeconomic stability by pursuing the following interventions:

SU	SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH (12 PROMISES)											
34	Reduction of Salary for members of the executive branch of government	Sustainable Economic Growth	C				Interviews conducted, Newspaper publication (Daily Observer April 26, 2018)	Cabinet resolved that no head of public cooperation or autonomous agency will make more than US\$7,800				
35	Reduce tariffs on all basic commodities imported into the Country	Sustainable Economic Growth		0			Interviews conducted with marketers, Newspaper publication (New Public Trust, May 30, 2018)	Executive order issued instructing LRA to reduce tariffs on commodities imported.				
36	Review Concession Agreements entered between companies and the previous government.	Sustainable Economic Growth		0			Monitored Newspaper reports/ publication (Reuter Feb. 15, 2018/Executive Mansion Website April 17, 2018)	President set-up committee to review concession agreements.				
37	Ensure concession companies are fulfilling their social corporate responsibilities outlined in concession contracts.	Sustainable Economic Growth		0			Newspaper publication (Daily Observer, October 18, 2018). Monitored social media posts: (https://www.facebook.com/pwlib/posts/2727648810607840)	Provisions of Corporate Social Responsibilities are ongoing in education, roads and health, etc. In specific terms, ARCELORMITTAL has started the GANTA – YEKEPA Road Project of sixty-seven kilometers (67 km).				
38	Stabilize the rapidly declining value of the Liberian dollar by reducing export stocks	Sustainable Economic Growth		0			Media monitored, Newspaper publications (FPA 2018)	Gov't infused USD \$25 million into the economy to stabilize the rapidly declining value of the Liberian dollar				

39	Develop and implement strategic manufacturing and industrial policies and action plans to invest in rural, coastal, and inner city	Sustainable Economic Growth		NS			No available information
40	Undertake financial sector reform to deepen financial markets, promote financial inclusion, enhance regulation of the financial institutions	Sustainable Economic Growth			NR		No available information
41	Reform business legislation thus eliminating red tape process	Sustainable Economic Growth			NR		No available information
42	Introduce non-discriminatory loan and grant facility to support Liberian owned businesses	Sustainable Economic Growth	0			Newspaper publication-Daily Observer, December 20, 2018, FPA Dec 22, 2018	President Weah Launched US\$3M Loan Scheme for Small Businesses
43	Develop and enforce an effective Liberalization program in accordance with a "local content policy" for Liberians in the procurement of public goods and services	Sustainable Economic Growth		NS			No available information
44	Encourage and facilitate equity-based public-private partnership business arrangements	Sustainable Economic Growth		NS			No available information
45	Strengthen the current legal and fiscal regulations to improve government support services for both local and foreign investors.	Sustainable Economic Growth		NS			No available information

Agriculture and Forestry

Agriculture is the sector that will contribute to sustained economic growth. 80% of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood. The forest sector also contributes significantly to the national budget. The CDC led Government promised protection of forest resources. It promised to ensure that reforestation becomes a key action for the security of future generations by undertaking the following measures:

AG	RICULTURE AND FORESTRY (7 PR	OMISES)					
46	Ensure the speedy passage of the Land Rights Act	Agri.& Forestry	С			Media report, and signing ceremony (FPA /Daily Observer Sept. 6, 2018)	The LRA was passed into law
47	Formulate and pursue policies on processing of raw material into agriculture products such as Oil Palm, Mango, Cassava etc.	Agri.& Forestry		O		Monitored Newspaper reports/ publications, radio/MoA website/ Daily Observer Feb. 28, 2018) (Source: Executive Mansion and World Bank Websites), Newspaper pub. (New Democrat, January 7, 2019)	SAPEC project ongoing in 12 counties, farmers are processing improved cassava varieties into flour, fufu, gari. World Bank 25 million support to STAR-P project. MoU signed between MoA/SAPEC.
48	Technical, financial and mechanical support to farmers for the development of low agricultural land and swamp land	Agr.& Forestry		0		FrontPage Africa, January 17, 2019, MoA website (https://www.moa.gov.lr/content.php?press&related=7&news_id=97&pg=sp)	= =

49	Formulate policies to minimize the export of raw wood and implement policies to enhance local production and processing of wood	Agr.& Forestry		NS			No available information
50	Public Extension Workers programs to assist small and medium famers shall be revisited	Agr.& Forestry			NR		No available information
51	Encourage farmers to use simple machines to maximize yields and form stronger cooperatives and cross national partnerships	Forestry	0			Media Monitor, Frontpage Africa, Jan 24, 2019 and ELBC news	Ministry of Agriculture, Internal Affairs Sign MOU for Communal Farming
52	Establish an Agriculture Bank dedicated to providing loans, grants and equity participation in the agro enterprises.	Agr.& Forestry		NS			No available information

Infrastructure Development

Infrastructural development remains a major development priority for the CDC-led government and it promised to undertake the following actions:

INF	RASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT	Γ (17 PROMISES)					
53	Pavement of the Doe's Community Road to Clara Town	Infras. Development	C			Onsite visitation, Executive Mansion Website (December 26, 2018), Newspaper publication (New Dawn, January 17, 2019)	Road construction completed and dedicated by President Weah
54	Install 2,000 street lights in Monrovia and other places	Infras. Development		0		Onsite visitation, newspapers publication, etc. Daily Observer March 12, 2018/ Executive Mansion Website June 4, 2018	Verified instillation of some new streetlights by LEC at Rehab, ELWA Junction, Bushrod Island and around Monrovia.
55	Construction of 568 housing units across the 15 sub-political divisions	Infras. Development			NS		No physical evidence that construction work has started.

56	Prioritize resources allocation to ensure passible farm-to-market roads	Infras. Development	О			Monitored Newspaper reports/publications, radio /Daily Observer Feb. 15, 2018/ MoA Website, Ministry of Public Works social media page (https://www.facebook.com/pwlib/posts/2720014134704641)	Some feeder roads are being worked on through budget allocation and county social development funds.
57	Construct Coastal Highway	Infras. Development		NS		Media Monitoring, Executive Mansion Website	No construction work has started.
58	Construct Mini City on "Bali Island" to Become a New City of Monrovia	Infras. Development		NS		President George M Weah State of the Nation Address	No construction works has started.
59	Upgrade and Modernize township of West Point by constructing 2,000 housing units	Infras. Development		NS			No available information
60	Expansion of the Robertsfield Highway by four lanes	Infras. Development		NS			No available information
61	Policies and measure put in place to expand and ensure affordable and accessible electricity supply for our people	Infras. Development			NR		No available information
62	Policies and measure put in place to improve current air, road, and sea transportation	Infras. Development		NS			No available information
63	Review, and if necessary, reform the Liberia Water and Sewer Corporation	Infras. Development	O			Media monitor, Website (http://www.lwsc.gov.lr/2content.php ?sub=131&related=31&third=131&p g=sp), Interviews, Executive Mansion Website (November 2, 2019), Monitored media reports-FPA & Daily Observer	Water and Sewer is expanding access to other areas outside of Monrovia

64	Prioritize the development of public infrastructure projects.	Infras. Development		o		publications, radio	There is evidence of infrastructural work taking place, community road projects, feeder roads etc.
65	Pavement of all feeder roads in Monrovia and its environs	Infras. Development		О		- E	Substantial efforts have been made in this area.
66	Provide affordable housing for for Liberians	Infras. Development			NS	2019, Observer January 14, 2019, Monrovia Times-	2 MoU signed between Gov't and partners for construction of housing units but actual work has not started.
67	Pave the road ELWA Junction to Coca-Cola Factory.	Infras, Development		O		Onsite visits, Media Monitoring and President George M Weah State Of Nation Address 2019	
68	Construction of the New Kru Town Fire Victims Homes in 60 days.	Infras, Development	С			Media Monitoring, Executive Mansion Website	Housing units completed, dedicated and turned over to the fire victims on August 9, 2019.
69	Ensure the full restoration of the Executive Mansion by the end of this year(2020)	Infras, Development			NS		No available information
TR	ANSPORTATION (1 PROMISE)						
70	Repair NTA Buses to aid with public transportation	Transportation		0		Media monitoring, interview and Newspaper publication (Bush Chicken (http://www.bushchicken.com/ new-nta- leadership-met-only17-functional-buses/) NTA Website	The number of transport buses repaired and has increased to 32 buses from 17. On 17 th December, the NTA received 45 new buses from the Government of India to

			`	boost and transport.	aid	public
1						

PILLAR THREE: SUSTAINING THE PEACE

Justice and Human Rights

The CDC led Government promised to uphold and protect the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia, defend, and enforce the fundamental human rights, and abide by the rule of law through the following interventions.

	Promises	Sector		Status			Means of Verification	Comment						
JUS'	USTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS (5 PROMISES)													
71	Review and strengthen the Judiciary ensuring that only men and women of proven integrity with requisite professional qualification are appointed to serve	Justice & Human Rights		0			Monitored Newspaper reports/ publications (Liberia News Agency Oct. 28, 2018)	Some appointments of judges who are law school graduates have taken place						
72	Removal of the racial clause in the Liberian Constitution that restricts citizenship to negro decent.	Justice & Human Rights			NS			No public discourse on the issue has taken place since the promise was announced.						
73	Design and put in place a functioning judicial information system to be accessible by both legal practitioners and the general public	Justice & Human Rights			NS			No available information						
74	Enhance the capacities of the judicial system, through the creation of additional courts outside of the capital	Justice & Human Rights			NS			No records or evidence of the opening of new courts.						
75	Strengthen the National Commission on Human Rights with the intent to enhancing its operational capacity.	Justice & Human Rights				NR		No available information						

Reconciliation

In pursuit of national reconciliation, the CDC led Government promised to undertake the following interventions:

RECONCILIATION (2 PROMISES)

76	Organize in various counties "Pavala Hut" peace initiative meetings involving youths, elders, and women groups to reconcile our people and nation	on	0		Interview conducted, reports	No action taken in this area.
77	Create an inclusive government and employment opportunities, not based on the common practice of winner takes all	on		NR		No available information

Security and National Defense

The CDC led Government promised to embark on the following interventions:

SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE (3 PROMISES)

78	Focus attention on making the army attractive for our youth to serve Liberia and participate in international peacekeeping missions	Security & Nat'l Defense	0		Media Monitoring and Meeting (MoD Website) Truth FM 96.1 and President George M Weah State Of Nation Address (January 29, 2019)	Liberian army participating in International Peace Keeping Mission in Mali and Sudan, training and promotion ongoing, promotion examination administered by the AFL, deployed 4 rotation troops to Mali.
79	Strengthen the technical and operational capacities of the National Police and public security agencies in our urban and rural cities	Security & Nat'l Defense		NR		No available information

80	Continue and improve upon the professional and operational development program of the Armed Forces of Liberia with focus on securing better equipment, strategic recruitment of new soldiers, and physical and skill training	Security & Nat'l Defense		0			Media Monitor, Truth FM 96.1, MoD Website and Facebook page ((Source: https://www.facebook.com/modliberia/)	Ongoing training has taken place for security personnel
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PILLAR FOUR: GOVERNANCE AND TRANSPARENCY Decentralization of Institutions and Systems

Decentralization has the potential to create an effective, efficient and inclusive service delivery and advance economic activities at the micro-level. The CDC led Government promised to carry out the following actions in decentralizing institutions and systems:

	Key Indicators (Status)	Completed	70	0	Ongoin	g	NS Not Started	NR Not Rated	
	Promises	Sector			Sta	tus	Means of Vo	erification	Comment
DEC	CENTRALIZATION OF INSTITUTION	ONS AND SYS	STEM	IS (8F	PROMI	(SES)			
81	Initiate and execute a nation-wide consultation process on the extent and structures of a viable decentralized governing system	Decent. Of Inst. & Systems		O			Newspaper report, MiA Minister and social		The Local Government Act has been passed into law but implementation is slow.
82	Call for a national referendum and submit to the nation a comprehensive framework that would ensure full participation of all citizens in national development.	Decent. Of Inst. & Systems		0			1 1 1	on.gov.lr/doc/Offic ndum 2020 20191 Daily Observer) 2, 2019	Elections Commission has set December 8, 2020 as the date for referendum.

					s/legislature-set-agenda-for-popular- referendum/	
83	Design the physical lay-out of the designated proclaimed city-area to host the new Capital City of Liberia	Decent. Of Inst. & Systems		NS		No available information
84	Governing systems, and responsibilities shall be decentralized within three demarcated geo-politico regions,(Western, Central, and Eastern)	Decent. Of Inst. & Systems		NS		No policy or law formulated to implement this promise.
85	Increase citizens and residents' registration in the national biometric database from 0.5% (22,312) to 50%	Decent. Of Inst. & Systems	0		MFDP, PAPD Pillar Four Specialists Division, Reports	The National Identification Registry (NIR) is functional and citizens have started using the system.
86	Improved overall service delivery and wage bill management in the Public Sector through an established Civil Service Commission (CSC)	Decent. Of Inst. & Systems	O		MFDP, PAPD Pillar Four Specialists Division, Reports	Three (3) County Service Centers in Grand Kru, River Cess, and River Gee have been renovated.
87	By 2023, Strengthen land tenure security and improved land information management system	Decent. Of Inst. & Systems	0		MFDP, PAPD Pillar Four Specialists Division, Reports	The LLA in the process of developing policies and regulations for the implementation of the Land Rights Act.

88	By 2023, ensure the full	Decent. Of	O		MFDP, PAPD Pillar Four Specialists	Gov't through the NDMA has begun
	implementation of the national	Inst. &			Division	preliminary work for the
	environmental policy	Systems				implementation of the National
						Environmental Policy.

Accountability and Anti-Corruption

Accountability and the mismanagement of public resources is a major challenge facing Liberia's governance system and it impacts negatively on the country's development process. The CDC led Government committed itself to undertaking the following actions in addressing this problem:

ACCONTABILITY AND ANTI-CORRUPTION (9 PROMISES) No available information Review structures, mandates and Account. & NR operations of the four major existing Antiagencies with responsibilities for Corruption accountability ensuring and transparency Review and build upon the current Account. & NS No available information Code of Conduct for Public Officials Antitogether with the Assets Declaration Corruption Platform Review mandates. Account. & NS No available information structures. administrative procedures and Antistaffing levels and requirements of Corruption current Ministries and Agencies and undertake necessary restructuring exercises Pursue without fear or favor legal Account. & No available information NS actions against companies involved in Antibid rigging, price fixing and corrupt Corruption practices

93	By 2023, increase internal audit presence in government from 85% to 99%		0		MFDP, PAPD Pillar Four Specialists, Reports	Eighty-seven (87) new staff/auditors were trained and deployed at various ministries.
94	By FY2021/2022, an e-procurement system deployed to 50 MACs	Account. & Anti- Corruption	0		MFDP, PAPD Pillar Four Specialists, Reports	PPCC on November 8, 2019 launched the monitoring of 100 government entities.
95	By 2023, the total number of cases persecuted by LACC, through MoJ increased from 6 to 30	Account. & Anti- Corruption	0		MFDP, PAPD Pillar Four Specialists, Reports	Several cases investigated by LACC and prosecuted by LACC or jointly with the Ministry of Justice (MoJ). Ex: Ministry of Gender Payroll Paddling Case; Tubman University Bribery Case; Ministry of Defense/Mismanagement of AFL pension fund etc.
96	Deployment of an integrated management system that will automate the voter registration and post-voting processes	Account. & Anti- Corruption	0		MFDP, PAPD Pillar Four Specialists Division, Reports	Not started.
97	Introduce new legislation to amend the law creating the Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission, in order to give it more prosecutorial powers	Account. & Anti- Corruption		NR		No action taken.

Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Relations

The CDC led government made six promises in this sector:

FOR	FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (6 PROMISES)											
98	Establish strategic partnerships with countries that share mutual commitments towards and respect for the protection of human rights, democracy and negotiate development-oriented agreements	Foreign Policy & Dipl. Relations		0			Newspaper reports-Daily Observer (September 7, 2018), In profile Daily, (November 30, 2018) Executive Mansion Website, Daily Observers, Inquirer Newspaper)	Several Ambassadors presented letters of Credence to President Weah and pledged support to the Government of Liberia. The Government secured a US\$120 Million grant from USAID and U.S Government through direct support.				
99	Develop and maintain a cordial working relationship with the Foreign Affairs Committees of both houses of the legislature on matters related to the formulation and implementation of foreign policy	Foreign Policy & Dipl. Relations				NR		No available information				
100	Review the staffing, premises, and operations of our Diplomatic Missions abroad and put in place requisite diplomatic and consulate machineries, structures and approaches to effectively meet 21st century diplomatic challenges	Foreign Policy & Dipl. Relations				NR		No available information				
101	Initiate and undertake measures that would ensure that foreign policy agenda and its implementation are guided by the principles of good governance	Foreign Policy & Dipl. Relations				NR		No available information				
102	Secure national interests by forging and maintaining closer and stronger ties of friendship and economic partnerships with our traditional allies	Foreign Policy & Dipl. Relations		0			Monitoring of newspaper reports, Daily Observer September 7, 2018, FPA October 26, 2018	Gov't seeking and establishing Private Sector Partnership with China, EU and other nations.				

					President George M. Weah State of the Nation Address (January 29, 2019)	
103	Implement a Visa-upon-Arrival program, as well as the issuance of Tourist Visas.	Transportati on		NS	President George M. Weah State of the Nation Address (January 29, 2019)	

COVID-19 PANDEMIC & STATE OF EMERGENCY

On April 8, 2020, President George M. Weah declared a State of Emergency for the period of one (1) month in response to COVID-19. In furtherance of this action, the President wrote the 54th Legislature providing reasons for the SoE and outlining actions that needed to be taken in responding to the pandemic. The President promised to undertake the following actions:

	Promises	Sector			S	tatus	Means of Verification	Comment
	VID-19 PANDEMIC & STATE OF E		6 PR	OMIS				
104	Distribute food to households in designated affected counties for the period of 60days.	COVID-19 pandemic and State of Emergency		O			2020) https://frontpageafricaonline.com/fron	The Government of Liberia led by the National Steering Committee and the World Food Programme (WFP) distributed food to some most vulnerable communities in Montserrado County.
105	Pay electricity bill of households in the affected counties for the duration of STAY-AT-HOME order	COVID-19 pandemic and State of Emergency				NR		No available information

106	Fully pay the loans owed by market women, and petty and small traders in affected counties	COVID-19 pandemic and State of			NR		No available information
		Emergency					
107	Begin servicing of Government's	COVID-19		NS			No available information
	domestic debts incurred in the last	pandemic and					
	several years in the tone of US\$15	State of					
	million from the FY2020/2021 national	Emergency					
	budget						
108	The Government is suspending for	COVID-19		NS			No available information
	the period of six months the Sub	pandemic and					
	charge Regulation that imposes an	State of					
	additional on imported goods that are	Emergency					
	also manufactured in Liberia						
109	The Government is also immediately	COVID-19	C			LRA Official Website	The Government suspended the Pre-
	suspending the Pre-Shipment	pandemic and					Shipment Inspections (PSI) penalty.
	Inspections (PSI) penalty until	State of					
	otherwise notified	Emergency					

5.0 CONCLUSION:

Election Promises made during political campaign period forms the basis for a Social Contract between the Voters and Aspirants. This contract, wherein candidates promise to perform certain actions in return for the votes of citizens needs to be respected and adhere to at all time. The votes that George Weah received place an obligation on him to deliver on those things that he promised. Political accountability is an essential element in ensuring that politicians are held to account for promises that they make during campaign period but also promises they make when elected.

While it could be recognize that no President can make good on all promises that are made, President Weah and his CDC-led government are under legal and moral obligation to deliver on their social contract contained in their promises they have made to the Liberian people. Democracy is meaningless when a government is not held accountable for its action or inaction. Three years in power, the government needs to increase it speed of implementing programs if there will be a genuine and successful fulfillment of promises made in 2017 during the elections and ongoing commitments.

The tracking shows that of the promises made, the government has made substantial efforts in the area of infrastructure mainly roads. Despite this effort, investment in roads has been limited to feeder roads in Monrovia and nearby communities. Access to other social services such as education and health remains limited. Prior to the outbreak of COVID-19, the economy was in a declining state with little compliance to fiscal and monetary policies. The impact of COVID-19 will further weaken the economy because low or no production in the agriculture sector.

State institutions are underperforming due to the lack of resources for the implementation of programs. 80% of the national budget is spent on recurring costs. Weak state institutions couple with high unemployment, inadequate access to social services and lack of respect for the rule of law continue to make the country fragile. Fragility, if not properly managed, can adversely affect the development of a country and exposes it to various forms of shock.

6.0 ABOUT PARTNERS

Naymote Partners for Democratic Development is a prime democratic advancement institution in Liberia with 17 years of professional experience. We have trained some of the most prominent young politicians in Liberia. The institution was established in 2001 by student's leaders and activists to promote citizens' understanding of democratic processes and the long-term benefits of their participation in these processes. The institution has been one of the leading grassroots organizations promoting democracy, peace building, human rights and civic engagement in Liberia. NAYMOTE is a member of the World Movement for Democracy, the World Youth Movement for Democracy, the African Movement for Democracy and the National Civil Society Council.

The institution since 2001 has initiated several programs to foster political accountability, thereby making elected leaders more accessible, responsible and accountable to the electorates. Naymote has built the capacity of local leaders to be more effective in-service delivery, increase youth and women participation in decision making processes, etc.

The Center for Democratic Governance is a Think Tank civil society organization that has been operating in Liberia since 2016. The CDG does research work on a wide range of governance issues including land reform, accountability, electoral violence, electoral reforms, political transition, transitional justice and inclusive service delivery. The CDG uses the outcomes of its different research to develop policy briefs for advocacy targeting high level policy makers. The executive director is Atty. Oscar Bloh he has over 15 years of professional experience.

The President Meter Project is sponsored by the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA). OSIWA plays a dual role in the region as both an advocate and grant-maker by enabling itself to be



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agenda-setters both within and alongside other organizations working on the ground. For more information please contact info@naymote.com, 0770510479.

Social Media Platforms:

Facebook: Liberia Decides / NAYMOTE-Liberia

Twitter: @Naymoteliberia YouTube: NAYMOTE-Liberia